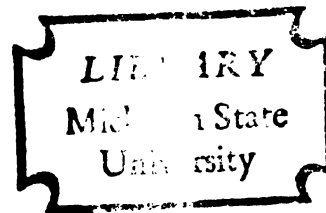


ENTREPRENEURSHIP AND CACIQUISMO:  
A STUDY OF COMMUNITY POWER IN A MEXICAN  
GULF COAST VILLAGE

Dissertation for the Degree of Ph. D.  
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY  
GEORGE ARTHUR GENZ  
1975



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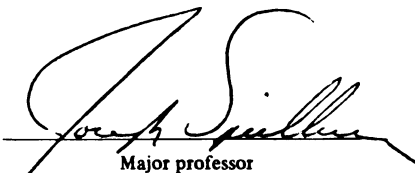
ENTREPRENEURSHIP AND CACIQUISMO:  
A STUDY OF COMMUNITY POWER IN A MEXICAN  
GULF COAST VILLAGE

presented by

GEORGE ARTHUR GENZ

has been accepted towards fulfillment  
of the requirements for

Ph.D. degree in Anthropology



Major professor

Date 6 August 1975



## 152

George A-

Previous studies of castes stressed the political role of political leaders or political groups (Goldkind 1965). These studies are criticized as being in a state of confusion. The activities of castes are not a higher standard of living.

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# ABSTRACT

## ENTREPRENEURSHIP AND CACIQUISMO: A STUDY OF COMMUNITY POWER IN A MEXICAN GULF COAST VILLAGE

By

George Arthur Genz

The major purpose of this study is to present an ethnographic account of caciquismo ("strongman" leadership) in the community of Cayala (a pseudonym), located near the coast of the Gulf of Mexico near the city of Veracruz, Mexico. Cayala, which is populated by the descendants of former African slaves, has had a traditional economy based on estuary and lagoon fishing. In recent years, however, tourism which centers around several local seafood restaurants has become the most significant factor in the village economy. The local tourism business as well as many other local institutions is controlled by a powerful local cacique ("strongman").

Previous studies of cacique dominated Mexican villages have stressed the political role of caciques i.e., caciques are defined as political leaders or politicians (Friedrich 1958; 1965; 1968; 1970; Goldkind 1965). These studies characterize cacique dominated communities as being in a state of cultural change as a result of the activities of caciques. However, social and economic development and a higher standard of living does not usually result from the

activities of caciques. Rather, change is accompanied by local political factionalism, violence, "institutionalized" homicide, and despotic, non-legitimate cacical leadership. In Cayala, cultural change has been a peaceful process that has occurred without factionalism, violence, or homicide. This study attempts to explain how and why cacique directed cultural change has taken a peaceful course. It is suggested that this process might be explained by viewing the Cayala cacique not as a politician, but as an economic entrepreneur, and by the analysis of the nature of the social relationships the cacique has entered into with representatives of both supra-community and local-level institutions. Relationships discussed are those the Cayala cacique has with supra-community institutions such as municipal and state government and political organizations, the state police, a labor union official, and other regional caciques. The relationships between the Cayala cacique and local-level institutions such as formal government, the ejido organization, improvement groups, kinships groups, the fishing cooperative, Church, and school are also discussed.

It was found that in all instances the cacique's relationships with representatives of supra-community institutions are formal and result in the cacique obtaining resources, not available locally, that can be utilized to make his enterprise grow and expand. It was found that his relationships with local institutions are generally informal and flexible patron-client relationships. From these relationships the cacique derives local resources, particularly labor and land, that can be utilized in the operation and expansion of his businesses. It is concluded that the cacique is better viewed as an

economic leader (a patron and business owner), and not a politician, and that certain current definitions of caciquismo are too narrow. It is further concluded that cultural change in Cayala has been a peaceful process because it has been headed by a cacique who is considered to be a legitimate leader by most local residents. His economic activities are supported by most residents because as the cacique expands his business operations, local residents gain employment, local services, and a generally higher standard of living.

The case of the Cayala cacique should cause us to alter the current image of caciquismo in Mexico, which depicts caciques as local tyrants exploiting peasants and generally impeding social and economic development. To the contrary, the Cayala cacique has been very instrumental in bringing economic and technological development to his community.

The data for the analysis were collected during sixteen months of fieldwork in Cayala from March, 1970 to May 1971. Data collection techniques included the use of a census questionnaire, and other standard ethnographic techniques such as participant observation, interviews with informants, and formal and informal surveys on selected topics.

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ENTREPRENEURSHIP AND CACIQUISMO:  
A STUDY OF COMMUNITY POWER IN A MEXICAN  
GULF COAST VILLAGE

By

George Arthur Genz

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to  
Michigan State University  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Anthropology

1975

DEDICATION

For my wife Molly, in love and gratitude.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

My special thanks is extended to Dr. Joseph Spielberg of the Department of Anthropology, Michigan State University, Chairman of my Guidance Committee and Director of this dissertation. Dr. Spielberg's comments and encouragement have been invaluable to me not only in seeing this task to its completion, but also in every phase of my graduate career. The community of Cayala has long had special meaning to Dr. Spielberg, and I appreciate his sharing this with me. I also wish to thank the members of my Guidance Committee, Drs. Moreau S. Maxwell and John H. Whiteford, for their assistance. I am deeply indebted to Drs. John Donoghue and Iwao Ishino for the support and encouragement they gave me, especially during the early years of my graduate career.

The field research for this dissertation was made possible by funds provided by a National Institute of Public Health Pre-doctoral Research Fellowship (#FO1 MH41833-01A1), and Training Grant (#TO1 MH12206-01), for which I express my thanks.

Many people in Mexico have in one way or another contributed to this work and to the personal lives of myself and my family. I particularly wish to thank Dr. Fernando Cámara Barbachano of the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia for his many kindnesses. My wife and I will always be grateful for the help and kindness given to us by Dr. and Sra. Jorge López-Bustillos of Veracruz, Dr. Gonzalo





Retana V., Lic. Concepción Ortega, Srta. Susana Monnier, Major and Sra. Luis Alarcón, and Alejandro and Haydee Terrazas of Mexico City.

To all the good people of Cayala we are forever indebted. I especially wish to thank Doña Rosa Salga and her family, and Don Antonio Salga and his family, who helped us during fieldwork in ways too numerous to mention. I hope that peace will always reign in their village.

I wish to thank Mrs. Susan Stamper and Miss Susan Deeter for their assistance in preparing the manuscript.

Certain debts can never be repaid. To Clare and James Madden of Rochester, Minnesota, I extend my thanks for their assistance and encouragement over many years. To my Mother and Father, Hildegarde and Arthur Genz, I am forever grateful for their love, and for their never-failing confidence and faith in me during good times and bad. Their's has truly been the most difficult task.

It is to my wife Molly that I am most indebted and grateful. She has spent countless hours helping me in the field and in the preparation of this dissertation while at the same time providing a loving home for me and our children Steven, Ana Lucia, and Andrew. Her unfailing love, faith, and courage have been my inspiration in all things. Her sacrifice has been great, but she has remained a good sport, and I cannot thank her enough.

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ENTREPRENEURSHIP AND CACIQUISMO:  
A STUDY OF COMMUNITY POWER IN A MEXICAN GULF COAST VILLAGE

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Primary Objectives of the Thesis

My main objective in writing this thesis is to present an ethnographic description of a cacique dominated Gulf-coastal Mexican peasant community. The community, Cayala, Veracruz and its roughly six hundred inhabitants is one of perhaps thousands of Mexican communities that are dominated by locally powerful caciques ("strongmen") i.e., community administration in Cayala is a form of caciquismo, or informal "strongman" leadership. More will be said about this shortly. For now, suffice it to say that presently we have only two more or less complete studies on this "largely unstudied and partially covert feature of Mexican culture" (Friedrich 1958: 23), the various works of Paul Friedrich (1958; 1962; 1965; 1968; 1970), based on research from the Tarascan Indian region of the state of Michoacán, and an article by Victor Goldkind titled "Class Conflict and Cacique in Chan Kom" (1966). The latter

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is an attempt to reinterpret Redfield's earlier (1950) study of this Mayan Indian community in Yucatan. As I will explain later, *caciquismo* as a form of community administration in Cayala seems quite different from the descriptions given by Goldkind and Friedrich.

Cayala also merits place in the anthropological literature on Middle America because it exhibits certain other characteristics that have not been dealt with extensively in existing monographs. With a few notable exceptions most ethnographies on Mexican communities have dealt with people whose primary mode of subsistence is small scale or subsistence agriculture. Studies that have dealt with people whose subsistence base is other than agriculture can be roughly divided into two general types. The first type of studies deal with rural villages whose inhabitants have developed a specialized economic base, often as a consequence of or reaction to economic opportunities initiated outside of the community. For example, Frank Miller's recent study of "Ciudad Industrial" (1973) describes the processes by which a rural community in the state of Hidalgo has developed a manufacturing economy as a result of a federal government project involving planned economic and industrial development. May Díaz' study of Tonalá (1970) depicts the culture of a village of pottery-makers near Guadalajara, Jalisco. Another example of this type of study is Theron Nuñez' (1963) examination of the economic and social changes that well-to-do urban tourists from Guadalajara have made in the village of Cajititlán as a result of their weekend pleasure excursions to that community.

The second type of studies are those that deal with former peasants who are residing in urban areas. Perhaps the most notable

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But, with these few exceptions, ethnographic studies of Mexican communities have dealt mainly with agricultural communities. This emphasis is perhaps understandable considering that many non-urban Mexicans are indeed farmers. However, this emphasis could lead to the impression that all rural Mexicans are small scale farmers. This impression is, of course, false.

Cayala is a rural community. However, small scale agriculture or subsistence farming is of no practical significance to the local economy or general way of life. Most Cayalanos earn their living in one of two ways, they either fish the inland estuary-lagoon system adjacent to the village, or they are employed in one aspect or another of the rapidly growing local tourism business which is focused around several locally operated seafood restaurants. Ethnographic studies of Gulf coastal fishing communities or communities in which tourism is a major feature of the economy are, to my knowledge, few, if any.

Generally, monographs on Mexican communities have been studies of either traditional Indian or acculturated Indian (mestizo) communities. This emphasis is understandable given that in recent years indigenismo (a social philosophy that stresses the value of Indian culture), has been a major intellectual trend among Latin American and Mexican anthropologists and also among North American anthropologists working in Mexico (Adams 1965: 4). The situation in Mexico has aptly been described by Ruiz (1958: 105): "Out of the Revolution ignited by the creole Francisco Madero (1910-1913) there emerged a struggle to vindicate the Indian, long-forgotten by



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the rulers of Mexico." Thus many anthropological studies have been at least implicitly directed toward helping the Indian find his "place" in post-revolutionary Mexican society. Indianism as a social philosophy to some extent continues today (Friedlander 1975). At the same time emphasis on the study of Indian communities has been continued by a new breed of anthropologist, the applied anthropologist, dedicated to the task of improving the social, political, educational, and material conditions of countless "forgotten" Indian and mestizo peasant communities in Mexico and other Latin American countries (Adams 1965: 10-11). To some extent this emphasis still is strong, as illustrated by the following comment by George Foster, one of the most widely read and respected contemporary students of Tarascan Indian peasant society. Foster (1967: 5) states:

"As a social anthropologist I have been concerned for a good many years with the problems involved in drawing peasant peoples into effective participation in national life, with the search for the key factors in personality, culture, social forms, and economic conditions which favor modernization."

Regardless of the motives of individual anthropologist, since the 1940's some excellent ethnographic and theoretical works on Indian and mestizo peasant communities have been written including "classics" such as Robert Redfield's Folk Culture of Yucatan (1941), A Village That Chose Progress: Chan Kom Revisited (1950), Oscar Lewis' Life in a Mexican Village: Tepoztlan Restudied (1951) and Foster's Tzintzuntzan (1967), just to name but a few of the many.

However well placed this emphasis has been we run the risk of having the impression develop that all Mexican peasants are Indians or mestizos. As Frank Miller has stated recently (1973: 41-42):

There is another point in Mexican village history, that the analysis carried out selection of research tends to be relative heritage is still subject accounts of the they are certainly in villages, most of which changing rapidly."

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"There is another point about the anthropological image of the Mexican village that needs to be made emphatically, and that is, that the image is shaped, not only by the kinds of analysis carried out by anthropologists, but also by the selection of research sites. The communities studied have tended to be relatively traditional places where the Indian heritage is still strong, and Foster and Wolf have given good accounts of these kinds of communities. Nevertheless, they are certainly not typical of the thousands of Mexican villages, most of which are not Indian and many of which are changing rapidly."

The community of Cayala is notable for its lack of either Indian or mestizo heritage. While its people are very "Mexicanized" culturally and linguistically, they are of Black African origin, very likely the descendents of former African slaves. To my knowledge, Aquirre-Beltrán's study of Cuijla (1958) is the only in-depth ethnographic description of a Black Mexican community. However, Cuijla is situated in a very isolated area near the Pacific coast of Mexico, between the states of Guerrero and Oaxaca. The Gulf coast of Mexico, and especially the coastal region of the state of Veracruz, has up until now been relatively neglected for purposes of ethnographic study. There are hundreds of towns and villages along the Gulf coast, many with populations that are Black African in origin, that as yet have not been looked at through the eyes of the ethnographer.

Undoubtedly the fact that so many of the inhabitants of the Gulf coast have African origins has been a significant factor in the evolution and formation of coastal Veracruzano culture (or Jarocho culture as local people prefer to call it). Unfortunately my own limited knowledge of African cultures presently prevents me from attempting to deal with the complex problems that would stem from an effort to analyze the significance of African cultural origins

Western Gulf coastal area  
extremely worthwhile and  
hope that this thesis will  
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record above.

### General Orientation

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for modern Gulf coastal culture. However, such an analysis would be an extremely worthwhile undertaking in the future. For now, it is my hope that this thesis will at least in part begin to fill some of the gaps in the ethnographic literature on caciquismo and Mexico mentioned above.

### Theoretical Orientation

As I have stated, the primary objective of this thesis is to present an ethnographic account of caciquismo ("strongman leadership") in the rural Gulf coastal community of Cayala, Veracruz. A short time after I arrived in Cayala to do fieldwork, local residents, and later "outsiders" from the Veracruz region informed me that most affairs in Cayala were dominated by a local cacique. However, a preliminary comparison of community administration in Cayala with that of certain other cacique dominated communities, particularly those described by Friedrich (1958; 1962; 1965; 1968; 1970) and Goldkind (1966) reveals that there are fundamental differences in modes of cacical administration and the structure and functions of cacique headed organizations. I am suggesting that these differences in mode of administration and social organization and function might possibly explain certain basic characteristics of the communities in question. I will elaborate these points shortly. In brief, however, Friedrich and Goldkind characterize cacique dominated communities as being in a state of cultural change, but cultural change is seemingly always a process characterized by widespread political factionalism, community administration based on the use of armed naked force, resulting in rampant conflict, violence, and murder. In contrast,

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Cayala is a community that has been the scene of fundamental social and economic change for several years, but change has been a peaceful and orderly process characterized by a lack of factionalism, and the exercise of coercive power; organized conflict, violence, and murder have had no place in the transformation of the village. In very general terms, this thesis will attempt to explain why social change has taken the peaceful course that it has in Cayala.

To understand what has taken place in Cayala we must first consider certain concepts that are useful in viewing Mexican society in general and certain concepts relevant to caciquismo. I will elaborate on the following concepts shortly in this chapter.

For purposes of this study it seems useful to view Mexico as a "complex society" consisting of several often distinct social components that at times may be viewed as being hierarchically ordered on the basis of social complexity. In this context we will begin with a discussion of complex society particularly as it is viewed by Julian Steward (1955), Eric Wolf (1967), and Richard N. Adams (1970).

Wolf (1956) has recognized that often the relationships between distinct units of complex societies are carried on through what he calls "cultural brokers", who act as liaisons between different units of society. Friedrich (1968) has pointed out that Mexican caciques have traditionally acted as cultural brokers in that they have often been the "middlemen" mediating the relationships between distinct units of Mexican society. It appears that the Cayala cacique is also such a cultural broker, but, as we shall see, he is perhaps a type of broker that heretofore has not been described in the anthropological



Literature.

It has been pointed out by several authors that cultural brokers in general and Mexican caciques in particular (Friedrich 1958), act in a leadership capacity of one sort or another, especially in the local communities they dominate. Hence, it will be worthwhile to discuss certain views on the nature of leadership derived from "orthodox" political theory and recent anthropological theory. In this context we will discuss certain concepts related to leadership, particularly the concepts of power, authority, and legitimacy.

Current writings on Mexican caciquismo (Padgett 1966; Friedrich 1968; Goldkind 1966), tend to stress two points. First, these authors agree that caciques are involved in a series of relationships with social units that are located outside of their local communities. This we would expect given the cultural broker role performed by caciques. However, these authors also tend to stress that caciques are involved primarily in political relationships with "outside" social units, and that caciques are generally involved in such relationships to enhance their own positions as political leaders in their communities. Data on the Cayala cacique suggest that his relationship with many "outside" social units are calculated to achieve economic rather than political objectives. Therefore a following section will be devoted to a discussion of the concept of entrepreneurship, and the nature of the Cayala cacique's relationships with social units operating outside of Cayala.

Finally, Friedrich (1968) has analyzed the legitimacy of a particular Mexican cacique, Pedro Caso, and has concluded that because of various circumstances it is extremely difficult for Mexican



caciques to achieve legitimate status in their local communities. Data on the Cayala cacique indicates that the opposite might be the case i.e., that the Cayala cacique is considered legitimate by local people. Thus, in a subsequent section I will discuss Friedrich's analysis of Pedro Caso and its usefulness for analyzing the legitimacy of the Cayala cacique. Let us now turn to a more detailed discussion of the concepts mentioned above, and in the process raise the specific issues that will be dealt with in this thesis.

#### Complex Society and Cultural Brokers

I make the assumption that no Mexican community can be fully understood if it is treated as if it were a self-contained, self-sufficient and isolated entity. Mexico has been appropriately termed a "complex society," and is a modern nation-state. Thus any community study should also attempt to place the particular community in the context of the complex society of which it is a part. By so doing it is hoped that our understanding of both the particular community and the larger society of which it is a part will be clearer.

An important contribution to our understanding of complex societies was made by Julian Steward with his formulation of the concept of "levels of socio-cultural integration: (1955: 43-77). Steward recognized that a modern state is not the same thing as a traditional, homogeneous, egalitarian tribal group or "folk society" in the sense that Redfield (1947) used the term, but rather, that a state consists of several often quite distinct socio-cultural entities or subgroups. All of the socio-cultural features i.e., the institutions, which are found within a particular state system

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are not equally relevant to all subgroups within the state. Steward recognized three major subdivisions or "levels" of state systems, the national, community, and family levels, and has shown how different institutions function at certain of these levels but do not function in the same way or do not function at all other levels. For example, a national level political party or educational system can be analyzed with little regard to how these institutions effect behavior within a given nuclear family.

Eric Wolf in an article titled "Levels of Communal Relations" (1967) has applied Steward's concept to the specific case of Middle America and has distinguished several other levels in addition to the three proposed by Steward (Wolf 1967: 300):

"In applying the concept of socio-cultural levels to Middle America, we must include both major levels and sublevels to construct a series which would appear as follows: nuclear family, kindred, barrio, or ward, community, constellation of town center with dependent communities, constellation of regional capital with satellite towns (given institutional form in Mexico as states, in Guatemala as departments), and, finally state."

Having thus determined the specific sub-cultural levels with a state system, both Steward and Wolf turn their attention to the question of the "integration" that exists between the various levels. In both formulations the various levels are seen as being vertically or hierarchically arranged beginning with the nuclear family and proceeding up through various levels to the state. If we are to be able to understand the structure of a multi-leveled society, we must also understand the means through which the various levels of society are articulated or integrated with one another i.e., we must be able to describe the state as a system, the parts of which are related to each other in particular institutional ways. As Wolf has stated (1967:

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"The term "integration" taken by itself signifies the social and cultural processes by which the part-processes characteristic of a plurality of social and cultural units are coordinated into a social system. Integration may be either horizontal in that such coordination takes place among units of approximately the same form and scale; or it may be "vertical" in that coordination is accomplished by a group of decision-makers, organized into a social unit superordinate and embrative of previously existing units. It is in the second case that we may speak of "levels of integration." Integration may, however, be weak, if the participating units coordinate only a few of their processes or do so ineffectively. It may be strong, if the coordinating units interfere effectively with a wide range of processes."

Richard N. Adams has recently offered certain refinements on Steward's and Wolf's conceptualization of the nature of complex societies. In his Crucifixion by Power (1970) Adams argues (pp. 39-53) that the units of analysis of state systems (e.g., family, community, region, nation, etc.), the various "levels" of society described by Steward and Wolf, while perhaps adequate for a general characterization of state systems, are perhaps inadequate for the empirical analysis of the nature of the relationships that hold between specific social groups in specific situations.

Adams suggests that in the analysis of complex societies we focus our attention on the relationships between what he calls "operating units" which are: (Ibid.: 48):

"...any and all social relational sets that provide some focus of human activity; commonly they have come into existence and have continuing existence for some period by virtue of producing some kind of consistent output peculiar to that unit....Operating units are sociocultural entities and, as such, must meet two requirements: they must adapt, at least minimally, to relevant elements of the environment, both social and nonsocial; and they must receive sufficient recognition within the cognitive system of the other members of the environment that they receive license to act out their roles."

Examples of "operating units" would be empirical entities such

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While operating units are found at different levels of society, they may well differ greatly in their size, composition, and internal social organization. However, according to Adams they share one functional characteristic: "they are all devices that adapt to and exploit their environment" (Ibid.: 46). As units of adaptation and exploitation Adams suggests that all such units have "survival" value for their members. That is, the operating units of a complex society function in one way or another as the means by which various groups of people exploit the physical or social environment and adapt to changes in this environment.

In addition to the basic function the operating units have in a complex society, Adams goes on to discuss other features of operating units. The first of these has to do with the relationships between the specific operating units of a society and what Steward and Wolf have called the "levels" of a society. According to Adams (Ibid.: 55):

"the notion of "level" is really a set of intellectual categories into which articulations between units are placed in order to arrange them, relative to one another, in some sort of ordinal scale. For this purpose we can speak grossly of such levels as the "individual," "family," "local" or "community," "regional," "national," and "supernational," or "international."

In Adam's view the "levels" of a society are best seen as (Ibid.):

"The loci where articulations (between operating units) occur and to understand that such articulations may occur between a great variety of operating units. Thus, at what may be called generally a "local" level, there will be articulations among nuclear families, kinsmen, compadres, potential marital partners, potential in-laws, and so forth. There is no level that operates with only one kind of unit, and specific individuals may operate at a number of different levels".

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Thus viewing the levels of a complex society as the loci or contact points at which various operating units meet, Adams proposes that the term "level of articulation" (Ibid.: 55-56) be used for what Steward and Wolf previously called "level of integration."

Adams proposes this term for yet another reason. The fact that different operating units may articulate with one another at a certain level does not automatically mean that "integration" occurs, especially if by integration we mean a process that results in a cooperative or harmonious relationship. As Adams states: "In the present usage, all such levels involve both integration and opposition, cooperation and competition, coalitions and conflict" (Ibid.: 56). For example, two villages might on one occasion join together to cooperate in organizing a fund raising dance, the proceeds from which will be equally shared by the two villages. On another occasion, however, the same two villages might find themselves in a bitter dispute with one another over a question of land or water rights. In both instances articulation has taken place; in the former case a sort of integration occurs, whereas in the latter, competition and conflict is the mode of interaction. In this and subsequent chapters the term articulation will be used in a neutral sense. The term articulation will here mean that a relationship between operating units exists, but whether the fact of articulation represents integration or conflict will depend on the particular case in point.

Since Wolf's seminal article (1956) on "cultural brokers," anthropologists have increasingly recognized the importance of the role brokers play in the articulation of different levels, units, or subgroups found within various state systems. What Wolf called the

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cultural broker has been variously termed "brokers" (Press 1969; Geertz 1960) the "political middleman" (Swartz 1968) the "community-nation mediator" (Silverman 1965) and "representative mediator" (Löffler 1971). While the specific cases noted above vary greatly in detail as will be discussed shortly, all of these studies point up the fact that the role of the cultural broker is important in articulating the various levels of the respective states in question. Cultural brokers in Wolf's words, ". . . stand guard over the crucial junctures of synapses of relationships which connect the local system to the larger whole" (1956: 97); they are the "decision-makers" that coordinate the vertical integration that exists between local villages and higher levels of society. The above writers agree that the cultural broker plays a significant role in the modernization process of developing countries because it is often through them that the goals, values, and institutions of the state are interpreted and passed on to the masses of rural peasants residing in more or less "traditional" local communities. It is also through the cultural broker that the values, goals, and institutions of rural village society are made known to those who control institutions at higher levels.

Theoretical works by anthropologists on the phenomenon of cultural brokers, have, it seems to me, addressed themselves to two basic questions: (1) How does the cultural broker articulate the different levels of a state? and (2) How does the cultural broker initiate and maintain his influence over the local population he supposedly represents i.e., how does the cultural broker legitimize his local leadership position? Both of these questions are logically

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With regard to the question of how the culture broker articulates distinct levels of society, unfortunately few anthropological studies have examined the actual and specific types of structural relationships that obtain between individual cultural brokers and representatives of state or national institutions, except in those cases where the cultural broker has been a part of a national level institutionalized bureaucracy. Thus, for example, the Oaxacan village president described by Dennis (1973) is an official representative of state and hence national formal government. Geertz' (1960) description of the Javanese Kijaji, a Moslem religious teacher, points up the fact that the Kijaji is the formal local representative of the "great tradition" of Islam. Gibson's (1964) Colonial Mexican Indian caciques and Faller's (1955) "modern" African chief in Uganda are both in their respective positions by virtue of having been appointed by a national government, and are, in both cases, official representatives of that government. This being the case, perhaps there was no need in the studies above to spell out in concrete empirical terms the specific nature of the relationships between specific cultural brokers and specific national institutions because the relationships were clearly defined and regulated by formal legal statutes. Where the position of the cultural broker is part of a formal institution the connection between the broker and the national institution has been formally defined and can be perhaps taken as a

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More will be said shortly about the local legitimacy of cultural brokers. However, it is worth noting here that brokers who are the official representatives of national institutions would logically have a certain degree of power over local people that is derived solely from being the incumbent of an official position. Thus all other things being equal, a man who holds an official position would be expected to be more influential in local affairs than a man who does not.

Of course, not all cultural brokers that have been described in the anthropological literature are the official representatives of national institutions. A few such as Mahmud, the Iranian peasant "representative mediator" described by Löffler (1971) and Primo Tapía, the Mexican agrarian cacique described by Friedrich (1970), are informal, unofficial middlemen who have at best only temporary ad hoc relationships with national level institutions. In these situations it is understandably difficult to specify the structural links between cultural broker and national institutions simply because in many instances there are no regular patterns of social interaction. Often, as both Friedrich and Löffler have effectively done, it is possible to describe only a single or a series of rather unique events. Cultural brokers in such cases are themselves ad hoc in that their leadership and/or broker functions come into play only with regard to specific social or political issues. When the particular issue has been resolved, the position of cultural broker in the strict sense of being a middleman between distinct levels of

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It would thus appear that the matter of the types and nature of social structural connections between cultural brokers and national level institutions is still rather unclear. This is especially the case where the specific cultural brokers in question are not part of a formal national level institution or organization such as a government bureaucracy, educational system, or church.

But, are these the only types of cultural brokers there are? Data on the Cayala cacique suggest that there we are dealing with a cultural broker of a type that has been heretofore overlooked in the literature. The Cayala cacique is informal i.e., he seems to hold no "official" position. But at the same time, he is "permanent" in that he appears to have functioned as a liaison between operating units for many years and in a more or less regular fashion. If it can be shown that the Cayala cacique is such a cultural broker, then certain questions logically arise, such as : (1) Does the informal but permanent cacique function to articulate the various levels or units of a complex society or is his functional significance to be found in some other area? (2) If the cacique does indeed articulate certain levels or units of society, which levels and what kind of units does he articulate? (3) What is the nature of the structural relationships between the cacique and the articulated units, if articulation occurs? Are the relationships formal, permanent, "integrative," or are they informal, ad hoc, and conflict producing? (4) Are the relationships between articulated levels or operating units dependent upon the existence of the cacique, or can

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these relationships be maintained without the cacique after initially made i.e., does the cacique function mainly as a "catalyst" or is his long-term participation required? (5) Does the cacique play a positive or negative role in cultural change i.e., does he function to promote and facilitate processes such as modernization, nationalization, and economic development or does he function to impede or obstruct these processes? These are some of the questions I hope to resolve in the concluding chapter of this thesis.

In the various descriptions of cultural brokers cited above, one common characteristic emerges. In all cases in which we are dealing with a cultural broker, we are dealing with a type of leader, especially at the local or community level. Therefore, it is appropriate to briefly discuss certain concepts and definitions which are applicable to persons in a leadership position. To understand the concept of leadership as it applied to cultural brokers, the related concepts of power, authority, and legitimacy will now be discussed.

A basic problem in arriving at operational definitions with respect to cultural broker/leaders is that the "middleman" leadership position has generally been neglected in the theoretical social science literature. Concepts such as "power," "authority," and "legitimacy" as Friedrich (1958: 266) has rightly pointed out, have usually been applied only to cases where political leaders are involved, and then only to a particular type of political leader, the heads of state. Thus, for example, Hobbes was particularly interested in the leadership of kings. Likewise, Max Weber, Karl Marx, and other theorists have generally confined themselves to

discussions of state systems and the leadership of heads of government. Now a cultural broker or a cacique is clearly not a king or a president, but I think that it is possible to combine certain concepts from "orthodox" political theory with certain concepts from recent anthropological theory to come up with definitions that are applicable to cultural broker/leaders.

An important concept in the consideration of leadership is the concept of power. There are many definitions of power that would be suitable here. Max Weber, for example, has written: "we understand by power the chance of a man or of a number of men to realize their own will in a communal action even against the resistance of others who are participating in the action" (1958: 180). This definition implies that power is not a "thing" or a possession, but rather a relational quality that exists between men. Richard N. Adams has made this relational quality clear when he states that: "Power, in general, refers to the control that is exercised by a party over the environment; power in a social relationship, therefore, refers to the control that one party holds over the environment of another party" (1967: 32). A brief, but nonetheless applicable definition is given by Friedrich: "Let us agree to refer to control over men and resources as 'power'" (1968: 243). Combining the aspects of these definitions I will define power as a social relationship in which a person or persons has the ability to make and carry out decisions with regard to the utilization of resources and the activities of men. A leader will here be defined as a person who exercises power in his dealings with other men.

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of leader that one is dealing with can, I think, be defined by the type of activities in which that leader is primarily engaged and, to some extent, on the source of the power the leader exercises. If, for example, a leader is the holder of a political office that carries with it political power, we can speak of a political leader. Likewise, if a person holds power because he controls land or wealth and exercises this power in economic activities, we can speak of an economic leader. Other types of leaders would be religious leaders, military leaders, and so forth.

Yet in the literature on cultural brokers cited above, the authors appear to generally conclude that the type of leadership role played by the respective cultural brokers is basically a political role, and that we are generally dealing with a type of political leader or politician, regardless of the source of the power the broker holds and regardless of the type of activities in which the broker is primarily engaged. I suggest that perhaps there has been a bit too much emphasis placed on the political aspects of cultural broker leadership and that indeed, as will be discussed shortly, in the case of the Cayala cacique it would be useful to focus our attention on other aspects of leadership. It would seem entirely possible, for example, that a cultural broker could also be an economic or business leader and still play an active and important role in articulating various levels or operating units in a complex society.

But to distinguish political leadership from other possible types it is first necessary to settle on a definition of politics and political leadership. Here I will utilize the definition of politics that has been offered by Swartz (1968: 1-6): "'Politics'....refers



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to the events which are involved in the determination of and implementation of public goals and/or the differential distribution and use of power within the group or groups concerned with the goals being considered." The important concept in this definition is that of "public goals." While Swartz is not explicit as to what he means by public goals, my interpretation is that these are goals which are of value and interest to the majority of the members of a community. For example, the question of whether local tax money should be spent for a new school or a water system is one around which we would expect to see political behavior and the exercise of political power to emerge. A political leader then, would be a leader whose primary role is the exercise of power with respect to the carrying out of public goals.

Contrasted with the activities and behavior that center around public goals are those activities and behavior that center around private or personal goals. If, for example, a businessman orders his employees to wear a particular kind of uniform hoping that this action will increase his sales and profits, we are speaking of an action that is not political, even though the employer exerts his power over his employees to make them go along with the change. In this instance I think it is safe to say that since the exercise of power is directed toward achieving a personal goal-profit, we can properly speak of economic, and not political leadership. The leader who exercises his power primarily in the area of economic activities, to further economic goals, can thus be called an economic leader.

Now regardless of the type of leader with which we are dealing, there is another aspect of leadership that must be considered. With

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A legitimate leader will here be defined as a leader who has been given the right or "authority," either implicitly or explicitly to exercise power by those persons over which the power of the leader is being exercised (Beattie 1959). In other words, a legitimate leader is granted the authority to lead by his followers. Robert MacIver has pointed out the relationship between power, authority, and legitimacy when he states:

"By authority we mean the established right, within any social order, to determine policies, to pronounce judgement on relevant issues, and to settle controversies, or, more broadly, to act as leader or guide to men. When we speak of an authority we mean a person or body of persons possessed of this right. The accent is primarily on the right, not power. Power alone has no legitimacy, no mandate, no office"(1947: 83).

Examples of legitimate leaders are wide-ranging and numerous. They would include public office holders elected by popular vote, business managers who have been appointed by a board of directors, kings who rule by divine right, and so on.

Non-legitimate leaders are, by contrast, leaders who exercise power without first having been granted the right or authority to do so. Such leaders generally are able to exercise power because they hold the threat of physical force of one kind or another over the population they wish to lead. The power of such a leader is not based on the freely given consensus of their followers. Thus, for example, most rational men would follow the orders of an armed robber engaged in a bank hold-up. The orders of the gunman, however, would not be followed because he has the consensus of the followers,

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With regard to cultural broker/leaders the nature of legitimacy becomes important in understanding their position in a complex society and the role they play in articulating the various levels and operating units of society. This is especially the case where the particular cultural broker is not the incumbent of an "official" position, but rather is an informal leader, such as the Cayala cacique.

In a following section I will return to the question of legitimacy with particular reference to the Cayala and other Mexican caciques. Before doing this, however, it is worthwhile to first clarify certain concepts relative to caciques and caciquismo in general.

#### Mexican Caciques and Supra-Community Institutions

An example of relatively permanent yet informal cultural brokers are the modern day rural caciques of Mexico, one of which operates in the community of Cayala.

The term cacique originally came from the Arawak language (Alegria 1952) in which it meant roughly "chief." The term, brought to Mexico from Jamaica by the earliest Spanish conquistadores, has since been applied to various seemingly distinct types of individuals--members of the colonial Aztec aristocracy (Cumberland 1968: 24; Gibson 1964) post-independence hacendados (Wolf 1959; 1956; Simpson 1937: 259; Lewis 1951: 51) local agrarian revolutionaries active in the early part of this century (Friedrich 1958; 1962; 1965; 1968; 1970) and to any person who wields power over a local area (Padgett 1966: 83). While there have been many specific types of caciques

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throughout Mexican history, all share one characteristic in common. All have been cultural brokers in the sense they they have occupied a middleman position in articulating distinct levels of Mexican society; the local rural community and regional and national level institutions.

The few writers who have described contemporary caciques have pointed out their role as cultural brokers. Thus, for example, Paul Friedrich (1968: 247) has written:

"With particular reference to Mexico, this article defines a cacique as a strong and autocratic leader in local and regional politics whose characteristically informal, personalistic, and often arbitrary rule is marked by the diagnostic threat and practice of violence. These caciques bridge, however imperfectly, the gap between peasant villagers and the law, politics, and government of the state and nation, and are therefore varieties of the so-called "political middleman" (Wolf, 1956)."

L. Vincent Padgett, a political scientist, has described modern Mexican caciques thusly (1966: 83):

The local political boss (cacique) is a man who has been able to form a small group of henchmen willing to stop at nothing so that the caciques' will is law in the area. The rule of this political entrepreneur is always despotic and often approaches a genuine tyranny. Usually his power is buttressed by relations with persons of influence in government at higher levels...Later the term cacique came to be applied to any person who could build a following sufficient in his local community to provide the influence necessary to keep the people there from demanding rights from higher governing authorities. The cacique not only keeps order in the local area, but is the one person who has contact in any meaningful way with the officials at higher levels... There are thousands of these persons throughout the country..."

Victor Goldkind, in an article that attempts to reinterpret Robert Redfield's view of social stratification in the Mayan community of Chan Kom (Redfield 1950) finds evidence that much of the "progress" made in that village was actually due to the influence and operations of a local cacique. The Chan Kom cacique is described by Goldkind in



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A number of informants...referred to Don Eus as a cacique. This term has the connotation of tyrant when applied to leaders of the Revolution of 1910. A cacique is understood to have the economic and political power to dominate his local community, although this power may be shared among several caciques. Typically the cacique engages in illegal dealing with allies of which he occupies or controls. A substantial share of all public funds collected or distributed in the community is apt to be taken for his private use. The cacique is often ruthless in his treatment of all who oppose him in any undertaking, and in his exploitation of the economically poor and the politically weak. The cacique achieves and maintains his position through political intrigue, alliances, and bribery within the local community, with politicians in larger urban centers, and through the use of threat or armed violence. The cacique uses political power to obtain economic wealth and vice versa, and the greater his success, the higher his prestige.

Two significant points about Mexican caciques emerge from the above questions. Along with pointing out the role of the cacique as a cultural broker, the above writers have chosen to stress the political activities of caciques, and one is led to thinking that all caciques are a particular type of political leader or politician. Indeed, the term cacique itself is variously translated as "political boss", "chief", "political strong man", etc. As I will explain shortly, I think that perhaps this view of caciques is somewhat narrow, and that there are other kinds of caciques in Mexico.

Second, while all three writers allude to the fact that caciques relate themselves and the areas they dominate to levels of society above the local community, in no case is the exact type of relationship spelled out specifically. We are told of "relations with persons of influence in government at higher levels" and relations "with politicians in larger urban centers", but nowhere in these statements or in the complete works from which they are taken do we learn of the specific relationships that hold between caciques and

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"outside" institutions or individuals. Thus, we do not know how a cacique achieves the integration of distinct levels of society because we do not know the institutional channels through which a cacique can or does (or does not) articulate one level (the community) with others (the region, state, or nation).

I will return to this point shortly, but let us first briefly consider the former point - that Mexican caciques have generally been considered mainly as a particular type of political leader. Now, it may indeed have been the case that in the years following the Mexican Revolution, times when Mexico was often in a general state of political turmoil, that caciques were involved primarily in political activities of one sort or another. Mexico today, however, can be characterized as a politically stable country that has turned the national attention to more orderly processes such as economic development, industrialization, and the general upgrading of the standard of living, especially in long neglected rural areas. Thus, it certainly seems at least likely that modern rural caciques in some cases might in their activities reflect this more modern national goal of economic "progress". Indeed, as Adams (1967: 168-169) has commented, throughout Latin America the more traditional "local boss-middlemen" (caciques) have been rapidly disappearing in recent years because the type of political leadership they have represented is now out-of-place and nonfunctional in today's world. In those cases where caciques continue to operate and to function it seems reasonable to expect that their activities and their leadership roles have, at least to some extent, become changed from those of the more traditional cacique.

Indeed, the activities of the Cayala cacique seem to be such that it might be possible to classify him as a cacique who is also economic entrepreneur. The term entrepreneur is here used in the same general sense that Belshaw (1954); Barth (1966: 17-18); Burling (1962) among others have used the term. For our purposes an entrepreneur can be described as having five basic characteristics. This is (1) the manager of a commercial undertaking such as a business, ranch, store, etc. But an entrepreneur who is also a cacique would have to be more than simply a business manager. He would also be the dominant leader - in effect, the manager - of a local community. In addition to operating a business, he would also be the individual who makes most of the major decisions that effect community life. We would expect him to exert his influence in areas such as local economic activities and employment, land tenure and land use patterns, civil and criminal justice, and even perhaps religious, educational, and recreational activities.

An entrepreneur is also (2) an innovator, and might likely be responsible for the appearance of new cultural features in the local community. These cultural features might include new forms of socio-economic organization, jobs, items of material culture and technology, previously absent economic and political attitudes, and new sets of social, economic, and political relationships with "outside" institutions and persons.

The cacique/entrepreneur also would have the characteristic of seeking personal profit. Profit in most instances means money, but as both Barth (1966) and Burling (1962) have pointed out, "profit" can be anything of value such as leisure time, social prestige,

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and relative freedom of choice. While personal motives for gaining profit may be numerous and complex, I think it is safe to say that the motives of a cacique/entrepreneur would be basically self-serving. However, it may be the case that other individuals and the community as a whole might also profit from his entrepreneurial activities.

A cacique who is also an entrepreneur would exhibit a certain orientation in his activities. He would not simply be a business manager out for profit, but would be engaged in what Belshaw (1954: 147) has called (4) "expansive management." That is to say, a "true" entrepreneur would constantly be seeking ways to expand his operations and make his business (and profits) grow larger and/or more efficient. This characteristic implies that the entrepreneur would always be on the lookout for new economic opportunities to exploit. It would also imply that his enterprise would be changing as it expands to include new profit making activities.

Finally, Belshaw (1954: 147) states that an entrepreneur is always subject to (5) "uncertainty bearing." To achieve growth, previously earned capital is reinvested in new ventures which involve financial risk. The entrepreneur can never be certain that entering a new venture might not result in the loss of all or a portion of his investment.

It seems very likely, indeed highly probably, that the economic activities of an entrepreneur will place him in a position to effect the articulation of different levels of society and different operating units within a society. The cultural broker role of economic entrepreneurs has received relatively little attention in the anthropological literature, but Sidney Mintz for one has recognized this function.

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a discussion of "internal market systems" in Haiti, Jamaica, El Salvador, and Guatemala Mintz describes the role of economic entrepreneurs, in this case "resellers" of a variety of goods, thusly (1959: 27-28):

"Only brief mention has been made so far of the intermediaries in internal marketing systems. Such middlemen stand between producer and consumer in the marketing chain, whether the exchange is proceeding horizontally or vertically. Hence they play a central role in the articulation of the peasantry with other classes, and of different segments of the peasantry with each other...These resellers form what are perhaps the most significant categories of intermediary, insofar as the market as a mechanism of social articulation is concerned."

In reading the substantive chapters of this thesis the reader is asked to direct his attention to the points above as they apply to the Cayala cacique. Specifically, the reader is asked to note the entrepreneurial activities of the cacique i.e., his activities as the manager of a business and a community, his role as an innovator of cultural features, his profit seeking activities, and his activities that are calculated toward achieving the expansion and growth of his enterprise. Furthermore, the reader is directed to focus his attention on the ways in which the activities of the cacique articulate various levels and operating units of society i.e., his role as a cultural broker.

Now I would like to elaborate on a point made earlier - that those who have written on Mexican caciques have generally failed to spell out the exact nature of the relationships that hold between local caciques and individuals or institutions that operate at supra-community levels.

There are several different kinds of relationships with supra-community institutions that a Mexican cacique could choose to engage

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non-binding kinds of relationships. These would include relationships such as friendship, informal visits to government offices, cash transactions involving small amounts of money and, to some extent, kinship in situations where one has flexibility in recognizing kinsmen.

On the other hand, there are other types of relationships that a cacique could choose that are of a more permanent, binding, formal, and contractual nature. These types of relationships would include formal marriage (excluding common law marriages), written agreements, compadrazgo (ritual fictive kinship) ties, cash transactions involving large sums of money, and formal elections. These latter types of relationships are different from the former primarily in that they require a high degree of personal commitment i.e., the persons entering into these relationships must assume rather binding and often expensive obligations sanctioned by formal law and/or religion. These relationships might also involve a high degree of financial risk. The informal, temporary type of relationship, however, requires little personal commitment, involves no serious obligations, and usually involves little financial risk. Such relationships can be entered into or broken quite easily and are not generally sanctioned by either formal law or religion.

A hypothesis that this thesis advances is that the type of relationship - formal, permanent and/or contractual, as opposed to informal, temporary and ad hoc - that exists between a cacique and representatives of supra-community institutions is an indicator of the relative importance, in the eyes of the cacique, of that institution in the maintenance or expansion of his power and/or enterprise.

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Thus, for example, if a cacique has a compadrazgo or marriage tie relationship with a representative of a supra-community institution, I would suspect that that institution is an important source of the cacique's derived power. On the other hand, if a cacique has a relationship of friendship or simply makes ad hoc visits to see a representative of a supra-community institution, we might suspect that that institution is of little significance to the maintenance or expansion of cacical power. Where a cacique holds no relationship of any kind with the representatives of a supra-community institution, we could assume that that institution is of no significance of the maintenance of cacical power at that particular point in time.

Both types of relationships are, of course, reciprocal. I am making the assumption here that nobody would enter into any of the above relationships unless they expect to ultimately derive some benefit from their involvement. Specifically, I think it is safe to say that regardless of the type of relationship in question both the cacique and the persons representing supra-community institutions expect to gain something of value from the relationship. I think it can also be assumed that what is given and what is received will, in most cases, be different kinds of things of value, otherwise there would be no practical reason for the relationship to exist. I might add that this would also probably be the case with regard to the relationships that the cacique is engaged in with members of his local community.

The kinds of things of value that hold these relationships together are, of course, many and varied. They would include things such as money, prestige, obedience, election votes, armed support,

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labor, and various types of rights, such as the right to govern, to make decisions, to do business, to earn a living, and even the right to break the law in certain situations. Exactly what kinds of things of value are involved in specific relationships naturally must be determined by an empirical examination of the particular case in point.

In subsequent sections of this thesis, the reader is directed to take special note of the types of relationships that the Cayala cacique has with representatives of supra-community institutions. Specifically, the reader is asked to note the type of relationships that hold between the Cayala cacique and the Veracruz State Police, certain other regional caciques, the Veracruz stevedores labor union, representatives of the all powerful P.R.I. national political party, representatives of municipal and state formal government, representatives of the national ejido system, representatives of the federal rural school system, and representatives of the Roman Catholic Church.

#### Cacique Dominated Communities: The Question of Cacical Legitimacy

The position of a cacique is based in part on the nature and types of relationships he might have with representatives of supra-community institutions. However, precisely because a cacique is a middleman he is also at the same time involved in another set of relationships with people and institutions in his home community.

In the quotations by Padgett and Goldkind given earlier, the relationships between a cacique and members of the local community are presented as being very negative and one-sided. We are given

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the impression that all caciques are "tyrants" and "despots" whose decisions regarding the community are enforced by brute force alone. Paul Friedrich (1965; 1970; 1968) has also stressed the fact that it was often through the application of "coercive power" (Carl Friedrich 1961: 8), sometimes involving political assassination and murder, that the numerous caciques he has studied in the Tarascan Indian area of Mexico have been able to hold onto their power. Indeed, Paul Friedrich has called small-arms violence "a sort of diagnostic trait" of caciquismo in that area (1968: 265). Thus we are left with the impression that Mexican caciques, except in a few rare cases during the Revolution, are little more than armed robbers who, by force, are exploiting the members of local communities for their own selfish enrichment or who are exercising their power for the sheer joy they derive from so doing.

Certainly to Padgett and Goldkind Mexican caciques are what could be called non-legitimate leaders in that their leadership is not supported by most community members. The power of such a leader is not based upon the freely given consensus of the followers; they are forced to follow.

Legitimate leaders, as has been mentioned above, are leaders who have been given the right or "authority" to exercise power. The decisions of a legitimate leader are carried out by his followers not because they are forced to do so, but rather because they believe the leader has a right to make demands of them.

Paul Friedrich in a recent study (1968) of the legitimacy of the leadership of the Tarascan Indian cacique, Pedro Caso, has examined Pedro's legitimacy in the light of several theories that deal with

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various criteria for legitimacy. In contrast with leadership based solely on coercive power (naked force) Friedrich speaks of legitimate power and leadership as:

"...the power based on a partly rational or reasoned or at least explicit appeal to the values or principals of a community, and in particular to the political and governmental and legal values which might be called its "political culture." In the degree to which the villagers think, believe, or feel that a leader's rule is right, and that he is acting on the basis of their ideal political culture we may speak of "legitimacy." Legitimate rule is validated by a persuasive and convincing relation to the political tradition, and to the ideals and positive norms of the political culture" (1968: 243-244).

Friedrich then goes on to analyze the case of Pedro Caso in the light of "simple rules of legitimacy that have been found to be axiomatic in particular political cultures." (1968: 244-246).

These criteria for legitimacy include such things as elections by majority, and birth into a royal lineage and, may be "adduced without any elaboration of the underlying premises or axioms that make up the cultural system."

At another level, Friedrich is involved in the "microsystemic analysis of single systems" in the search for criteria for legitimacy that are specific to a particular cultural group. These criteria are "worked out with reference to a more or less adequate analysis of the institutions, such as economics...or the social stratification, or the religion of one particular culture; above all, how do the criteria for legitimacy fit into the larger network of principles of politics, government and law?" (1968: 245). Friedrich does not cite specific studies of this kind.

Thirdly, Friedrich considers sociological "ideal types," specifically Max Weber's concepts of "charismatic" leadership and

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legitimacy, non-individual legitimacy i.e., "traditional legitimacy" and "rational legitimacy" (Weber 1947: 324-386). Friedrich implies that Weber's ideal types, while not perhaps of great utility in understanding the position of Pedro Caso himself, nevertheless, are of some utility in understanding the bases of power of certain revolutionary "agrarian caciques" who came before Pedro in the area.

At a fourth level, Friedrich examines certain theories of legitimacy from classical political theory, specifically Thomas Hobbes' theory on the functions of the state and sovereign rulers. Especially important in this context are Hobbes' view concerning mankind's "instinct for self-preservation," man's "natural" individualism and man's eternal quest for power and security, in which each man finds himself pitted against all other men in a "war of survival." In such a situation men rationally enter into "covenants" with each other "by which all resign self-help and subject themselves to a sovereign" (Sabine 1961: 468). The legitimate use of coercive power is given to the sovereign in the covenants so that the state can effectively regulate the individualistic tendencies of man which, if left unchecked, would lead to complete chaos and anarchy. The sovereign thus becomes a "protector," protecting man from those who might otherwise defeat him in the war for survival. Here Friedrich sees parallels in the role of Hobbes' sovereign ruler and certain revolutionary agrarian caciques who protected local "peasants against the priests, landlords, and other exploiters" (Friedrich 1968: 246).

After an empirical examination of the above criteria for legitimacy in the case of Pedro Caso, Friedrich concludes that "the

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legitimacy of an agrarian cacique is precarious," and has many negative (non-legitimate) features i.e., Pedro's leadership goes against the local "political culture" in several important ways. Pedro, states Friedrich (1968: 265), is not elected or representative of any public, he violates village attitudes by resorting to armed violence and political homicide to stay in power, he lacks supernatural support ('charisma'), is anti-Church, and is personally disliked by a majority of the local population.

On the other hand, Pedro can be considered legitimate along certain dimensions. He is the "heir" to a traditional, if informal, status; Pedro is just one of a long line of local caciques. Pedro, to some extent, "protects" the interests of local people against "outsiders," and serves as a link between the community and "outside" authorities. Pedro and previous caciques in that region have also functioned as interpreters of national agrarian laws, and have played an active role in the resolution of local disputes.

There are three points that emerge very clearly from Friedrich's analysis of Pedro Caso and from his other works on Tarascan caciques. The first is that within their locality of operations i.e., the local community, caciques are involved in a seemingly never ending struggle to hold onto their power in the face of extreme competition from other caciques or would-be caciques originating from within the community. It should be stressed that we are now considering the struggle for power only at the community level, and are not presently concerned with power struggles at the regional and state level in which local caciques might also become involved.

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factionalism. "The faction is the political group par excellence within the pueblo," writes Friedrich (1965: 198), and he shows how since 1885 there have always been at least two and sometimes more factions within the community engaged in fierce competition for power.

The second point that emerges from Friedrich's work on Tarascan caciques is that in their struggle for power within the local community, armed "military" force was most often the decisive factor in determining the outcome of factional disputes. Even at times when opposing factions had been temporarily subdued the dominate cacique still found it necessary to rely on armed force or the threat of physical violence to maintain his position. For example, Friedrich (1965: 119) in describing the life of "Bones" Gomez, a "fighter" (henchman) for a cacique in one Tarascan community, states that: "His career of violence had been launched at the age of twenty-two when he joined the faction that won the agrarian revolt. Since 1920, he had killed at least eight men, and wounded many others..." Indeed, Friedrich (1965: 129) has described such political violence as "institutionalized."

The motives for the high degree of violence in the Tarascan area are many and complex, involving issues of land tenure, personal revenge, and competition for sexual rights in women. These motives, however, need not be of concern here. The point I wish to make is that Friedrich's various works present a clear picture of the nature of the relationships that hold between caciques and local people in the area that he has dealt with. The power of a cacique is most often based upon brute force and, as Friedrich (1968) has properly concluded,



the leadership of a cacique in this area is only marginally legitimate. Swartz has, I think, fairly summarized Pedro Caso's position in stating (1968: 36):

"It appears that his possession of coercive supports in the form of land that can be taken away through a new "interpretation" of the Agrarian Code...and the ultimate availability of political murder keep the opposition inactive while the other, legitimacy-based, supports enable him to operate effectively as a village leader."

A third and obvious point that emerges from Friedrich's analysis of Tarascan caciques is that caciques are very definitely involved in political activity and politics in the local community. "Politics," he defines as "the patterns by which men cooperate and compete for....power," power being "control over men and resources" (1968: 243). The Tarascan caciques are truly what could be called politicians in their dealings with not only "outside" groups, but, more importantly for present purposes, when operating within the local community.

A further objective of this thesis will be to determine to what extent, if at all, the sort of analysis that Friedrich has applied to the cacique Pedro Caso is applicable to the Cayala cacique/entrepreneur. The basic question is this: Can the criteria that have been used to explain the legitimacy of a political leader also be used to explain the legitimacy of a cacique who is also an economic leader or must we search for different and distinct criteria for legitimacy?

It is hoped that once the legitimate basis for leadership in Cayala is understood, certain fundamental differences between Cayala and other communities in which caciques are found will become clearer.

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Of special concern here is the rampant violence, murder, and eternal struggle for power that seems to characterize cacique dominated communities. Cayala, on the other hand can be characterized in an almost opposite way. The community has a regional reputation for being tranquilo (peaceful), bonito (beautiful), and alegre (happy). While interpersonal conflicts naturally occur, there is an absence of the violence that occurs in other communities in which caciques operate. While murder and homicide are not unknown in Cayala, the few that have taken place were in almost all cases carried out by residents of other communities. There are no competing factions within the community in the sense that Nicholas (1965) has defined the term. The leadership of the Cayala cacique appears to be crucial in determining what kind of community Cayala is. Therefore, to better understand the community we must first understand the nature of its leadership.

### Methodology

Since this thesis makes several assumptions about the nature of Mexican society, several distinct, yet complementary, methodological strategies will be employed, depending upon the particular question at hand. Thus, to understand the position of Cayala in a complex society and the role of the cacique as a cultural broker I have chosen to view Mexican society as consisting of several "levels" of social organization (eg. nuclear family, kindred, community, municipio, region, state, nation), each succeeding level encompassing the operating units of the level "below" it, and hence representing a more complex form of social organization. This strategy, which has been discussed in

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detail earlier, is derived from the works of Julian Steward (1951), and later refinements of this method by Eric Wolf (1967) and Richard N. Adams (1970).

This thesis is not intended to be a study of "acculturation" or of the diffusion of cultural forms from the "outside world" into the village of Cayala. However, implicit throughout this thesis is the recognition that a variety of cultural features have and continue to diffuse into the village from the outside. Cayala has never been totally isolated from the rest of Mexico, and undoubtedly cultural diffusion has always occurred. This is perhaps even more the case since tourism has become a major factor in the local economy. Here I should make one point. The exchange of cultural features between Cayala and the rest of Mexico should not be viewed as an exchange between two fundamentally distinct cultural systems. Rather, I prefer to think of it as an exchange between levels or operating units of the same larger society. While the life style at levels above the village is somewhat different from that in the village, many cultural features (eg. language, forms of kinship, religion, compadrazgo, and certain values and attitudes) have always been more or less shared in common.

With regard to questions concerning caciquismo as a form of community administration, and questions relative to the legitimacy of caciques, I have chosen to employ what is generally known as the "comparative method." Specifically, Friedrich (1958; 1962; 1965; 1968; 1970), and Goldkind (1966) have described certain characteristics of cacique dominated communities (factionalism, rampant violence and murder, non-legitimate cacical leadership), that appear to be absent

in Cayala. It is hoped that a comparison of the structure and function of cacical administration in Cayala with that in other communities will explain the differences that have been observed.

As stated earlier, this thesis in large part focuses on the Cayala cacique, and the role he has played in the many cultural changes that have recently occurred in the village. While I will describe many of the activities of the cacique, it is not my intention to present a biography or "life history" of a unique individual personality. Such a biography would, of course, be an extremely interesting and worthwhile ethnographic document. However, here I will follow the advice of Bee (1974: 200) and be concerned with the personality and activities of the cacique "...to the extent that they have an effect on the behavior of others in the group", the "group" in this case being the residents of Cayala.

A community is always found in a particular context i.e., the physical and social environment in which the activities of men take place. A basic assumption of this thesis is that if we are to understand the workings of a community we must take into account those environmental factors that have in one way or another contributed toward shaping the activities of men. Hence, in this thesis we will be concerned with "cultural ecology", following the construct and method elucidated first by Julian Steward in his 1955 publication of Theory of Culture Change, and later by Robert Netting in his work Hill Farmers of Nigeria (1968). A more detailed explanation of this method will be presented by way of introduction to chapter III, "Economic and Subsistence Patterns."

Finally, I will attempt to describe certain cultural changes that



have taken place in the village, which creates certain problems. I am painfully aware of the fact that a "base-line" ethnographic description of Cayala as it was ten or twenty years ago is not in existence. Therefore in attempting to arrive at a base line I have had to rely solely on the "facts" and interpretations of local history and past conditions that have been provided by local informants. As Kearney (1972) has recently pointed out, the "facts" and "meaning" of history, and the descriptions of conditions in the past that one obtains from informants is often at variance with the "true" or "official" history of a place (p. 27). However, it is my hope that the ethnographic description that follows will provide the sort of base-line study that might be of use in future research in Cayala. The contents of this thesis are as follows.

Chapter II, "The Setting" will be devoted to a discussion of certain general features of Cayala. Specific topics discussed include the local physical environment, formal municipal and village government, the Cayala ejido, local services and general living conditions, public education, and certain aspects of local history.

In Chapter III, "Economic and Subsistence Patterns" we will discuss the ways in which Cayalanos earn their living. Topics include tourism, fishing techniques, and the socioeconomic organization of fishing, the local fishing cooperative, cattle raising and agriculture, and certain other productive and economic activities.

In Chapter IV, Part A, we will discuss the important features of social organization that characterize Cayala. We will begin with looking at the ways in which villagers distinguish social status and prestige and then turn to certain aspects of courtship and marriage,

family and household relationships, and kinship. In part "B" of chapter IV we will consider the nature and varieties of compadrinazgo (ritual fictive kinship) relationships that are manifested in Cayala.

In Chapter V, "Religious Activities and Beliefs", we will discuss the important religious activities carried on in Cayala and certain pervasive beliefs about the supernatural. For descriptive purposes, religious activities and beliefs are divided into two types: (1) formal activities and beliefs which here will mean those activities and beliefs that are focused around the Roman Catholic Church and (2) informal activities and beliefs that would include any non-Church related activities and beliefs that deal with what Durkheim (1965: 52) has called the "sacred". In Cayala the "sacred" would include a variety of phenomenon such as supernatural "cures", communications with the dead, demon and spirit activities, and so on.

For about the last twenty years, the Cayala cacique has been the key figure in determining local economic, political, and social patterns. He is a leader in community affairs because over the years he has amassed a tremendous amount of personal power. In chapter VI we will focus on several aspects of cacical leadership, beginning with some general remarks about the Cayala cacique. Then we will turn to a discussion of his power and how it is derived from supra-community sources and social relationships. Next, the local sources of cacical power and his relationships with certain local groups will be discussed.

The concluding chapter will begin with a brief summary of the salient features of caciquismo in Cayala that will have emerged in

the preceeding descriptive chapters. In this context we will review the general concept of caciquismo to first establish that we are indeed dealing with a cacique in Cayala, and then turn to other dimensions of caciquismo, particularly the role of the cacique as an economic entrepreneur and as a cultural broker.

In the "Conclusions" section I will try to account for the presence of factionalism, violence, and non-legitimate cacical leadership in certain Mexican communities, and the absence of these characteristics in Cayala. I will then turn to a consideration of the current image of Mexican caciquismo as portrayed in the anthropological literature, and present certain possible modifications of this image, suggested by the data from Cayala. In the final section of this chapter I speculate on the future of caciquismo in Mexico, and offer some suggestions for future research.

#### Fieldwork and Research Techniques

The data presented in this thesis is the result of approximately sixteen months of fieldwork in the village of Cayala and the surrounding region conducted between March 1970 and May 1971. Funds were provided by a National Institute of Mental Health Predoctoral Research Fellowship (#1 FO1 MH11833-01A1), and Training Grant (#1 TO1 MH12206-01), for which I here wish to express my gratitude.

The idea of conducting fieldwork in the Veracruz region and specifically in Cayala was suggested to me by Professor Joseph Spielberg of the Department of Anthropology, Michigan State University. Professor Spielberg had previously conducted fieldwork in the Veracruz region and his knowledge of the area was of great benefit to me in formulating

my own plans.

During most of the period of fieldwork I maintained a residence for myself and my family in Veracruz. In Cayala I resided in the home of a local family, a sister of the cacique. The adult men in this family are fishermen and the women operate a small restaurant. My association with this family provided a rich source of data, especially during the early months of fieldwork. Nearly all of my days were spent in the village except for those days when I visited surrounding towns and villages. I also spent many nights in the village, especially when special activities (shrimp fishing, wakes, dances, etc.) warranted my presence. Other nights were spent at the Veracruz residence reviewing and typing field notes.

The Veracruz residence proved to be advantageous in two ways. First, it provided the opportunity to become acquainted with many Veracruz government and other officials and certain other Veracruz residents some of which proved to be important sources of information. Second, the Veracruz residence proved to be useful as a place to conduct interviews on sensitive issues with certain Cayala residents. Privacy in the village could at times be difficult to come by, and some individuals preferred to discuss certain topics in the privacy of our Veracruz home. Since our Veracruz residence and Cayala were only a few minutes apart by car, commuting between them was no difficulty.

During March and April of 1970, I conducted a general census of the 119 households located within Cayala village, and of the several households scattered here and there throughout the congregación of Cayala y Boscaje. This census was updated during April and May of

1971, just prior to leaving the field. Shortly after the original census was taken a map was made of the village and its immediate surroundings. I was assisted in making the map by several fifth-year civil engineering students attending the University of Veracruz in Veracruz.

The majority of the remaining time in the field was devoted to gathering basic ethnographic data using standard data collection techniques. These techniques included participant observation, informal surveys on selected topics given to selected samples of informants, and extended interviews with selected local informants. From government officials and agencies I attempted to collect whatever official documents there were that related to Cayala. While most officials tried to be helpful, either very little printed matter relating to Cayala exists, or, for various "official" reasons, it is unobtainable. Throughout the period of fieldwork several hundred photographs of various activities were taken.

Data collection presented certain problems primarily related to the sensitive nature of some of the data I sought. Many of the past activities of the Cayala cacique are known only to him. For his own reasons, he sometimes ignored some of my questions, especially certain ones about his dealings with government ejido officials. Generally speaking most cattlemen, who were otherwise often excellent informants, were hesitant to answer questions relating to their arrangements with government officials.

Other than this, fieldwork presented no special difficulties other than general health and adjustment problems. This is perhaps in part due to the fact that Professor Spielberg had visited the

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village on two previous occasions, accompanied by Michigan State graduate students. Perhaps because of this my presence as a "student", while not totally understood by local people, at least caused no more than a healthy suspicion among them. As a whole we found Cayalanos cooperative and helpful, not only in sharing their way of life with us, but also in making our stay in their village a pleasant experience.

## CHAPTER II

### THE SETTING

#### Location

The congregación (analogous to a U.S. township) of Cayala y Boscaje\* is located in the state of Veracruz, Mexico, in the vicinity of the port city of Veracruz. The sole nucleated settlement of the congregación is the small village of Cayala, which is situated about one-half mile inland from the coast of the Gulf of Mexico, at the base of a high sand dune which shelters it from view from the highway that runs along the coast, and at least partially protects it from the winds and blowing sand emanating from the Gulf. The village is far from isolated; a short paved branch road connects it to the coastal highway which in turn leads to the city of Veracruz, a major highway and railroad junction, from which other important areas of Mexico can easily be reached (see accompanying map).

Cayala y Boscaje forms part of the municipio ( analogous to a U.S. county) of Los Barcos. The political and administrative cabecera (capital) of the municipio is the small city of Los Barcos (pop. about 12,000 inhabitants), a port and fishing city.

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\*Note: A psuedonym. Psuedonyms have been used for the real names of places and persons throughout this thesis.



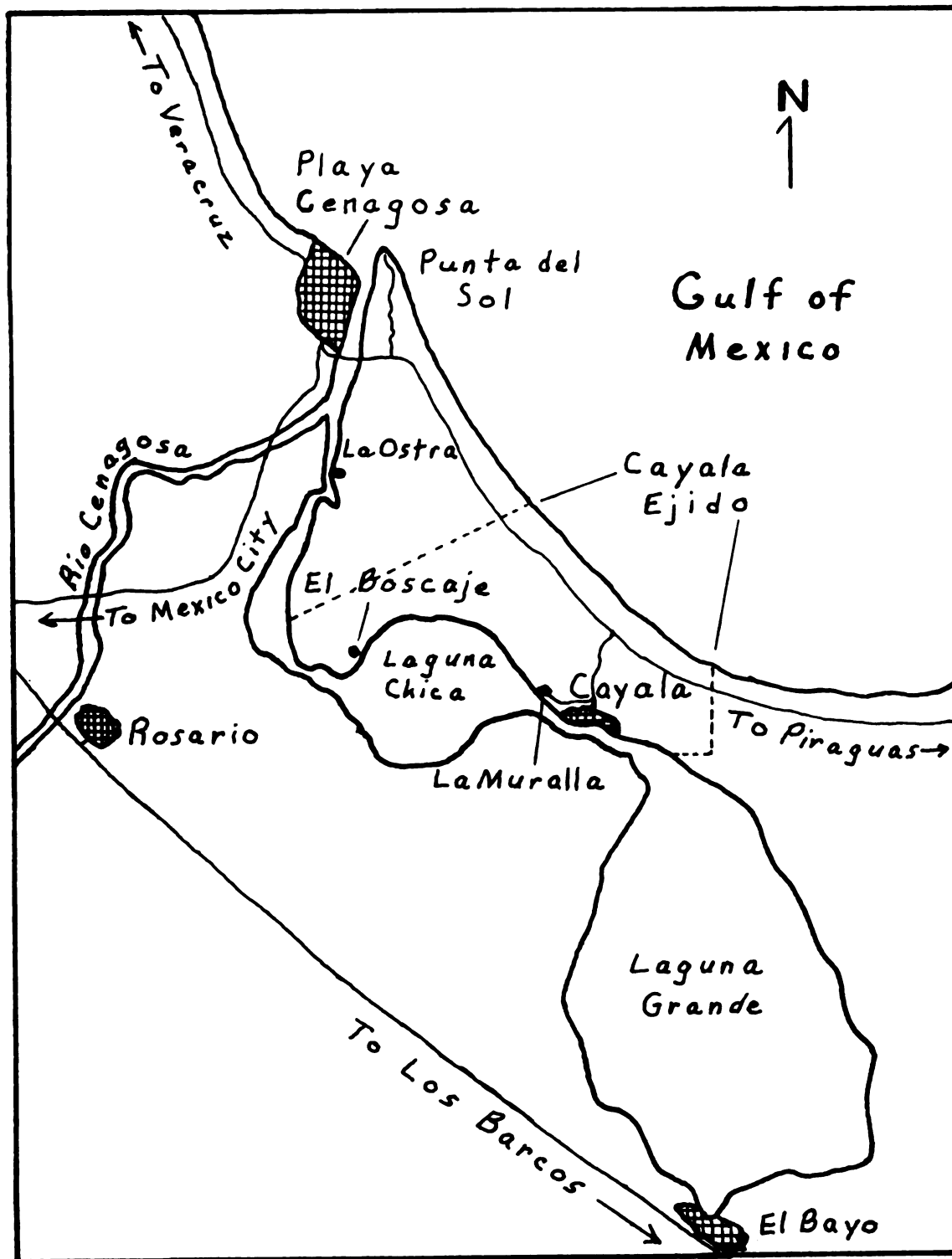


Figure 1 • Cayala and Environs (not to scale).

### Climate and Physical Environment

Cayala is located in the tierra caliente or the "hot land". It lies within the coastal plain which extends inland to the base of the Sierra Madre Oriental mountain range. Except for a few low hills near the coast, the land is generally flat and at or near sea level.

The soil around Cayala is classified as azonal soil. Azonal soils are:

"those in which the soil forming processes have not been sufficiently active in degree and time to change considerably the chemical composition of the mineral soil, so that the parent material remains an all-important factor in determining their morphology and productivity" (Stevens 1964: 288).

More specifically the soil around Cayala is of the "Dry Sands" type of Regosol soils. According to Stevens (Ibid: 289):

"Regosols include the 'Dry Sands'... found in the drier desert areas...and even in more humid areas along stream courses and windward coasts (e.g., near Veracruz city). Moving sand dunes of course, can hardly be regarded as soil, but where the vegetation has begun to fix the sand in place we may find, if internal conditions are dry enough, the 'Dry Sands' soils. The extreme porosity of these soils allows rapid infiltration of the scant rainfall they receive. Porosity results in high loss of soil water by evaporation and percolation, but there is a compensation to plant life in the ease whereby its roots can penetrate long distances in search of any available soil moisture and nutrients."

Thus, most of the terrain around Cayala consists of sand and sand dunes which are relatively fixed or permanent, being held more or less in place by grasses such as blue grass, several varieties of cacti and other xerophytic plants. New soil material primarily in the form of fine sand, however, is constantly being deposited by the prevailing north winds during the summer. This type of soil is generally unsuitable for farming unless large amounts of organic

matter and/or chemical or natural fertilizers are added. Fertilizers, while not unknown to Cayalanos, are not used to enrich local soils. It is possible to grow some crops using the slash and burn method. However, the sterility of the soil necessitates several years of fallowing before a given piece of ground can again be tilled. According to informants who have tried to grow corn on the same piece of land two years in a row, the yield the second year is only 50% of the yield the first year.

The natural vegetation found in the area has been called "tropical scrub" by West (1964: 377), who attributes the sparse ground cover primarily to the seasonal aridity of the region, and the poor quality of the soil. However, local residents have cleared much of the natural scrub vegetation from the land surrounding the village. Cleared land, if left untouched, will generally be invaded by various types of grasses. The grasses are an important food for locally grown cattle, and some cattlemen hasten the process of grass invasion by sowing seed.

There are basically two major weather seasons in the area, verano, or the hot rainy season and invierno, the cool dry season. Verano (summer) lasts roughly from April through September and during these months daytime temperatures are often in the 90's and rarely fall below 80° Fahrenheit in the evenings. The heat is accompanied by relative humidity often in excess of 75%. June through October are the months of the heaviest rainfall, which sharply drops during the rest of the year (see monthly rainfall and temperature graphs).

During the rainy season there are normally two heavy rainfalls occurring at night, the first between midnight and two A.M., as

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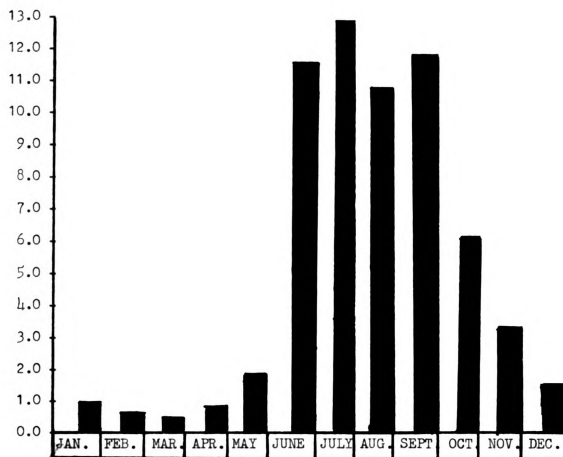


Figure 2. Monthly Rainfall in Veracruz Mexico (Adapted from James 1969).

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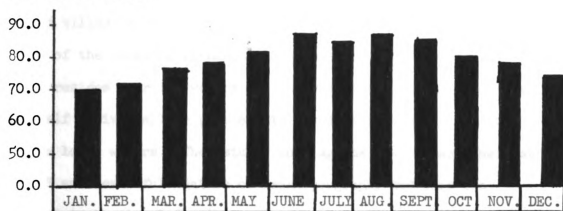


Figure 3. Monthly Temperatures in Veracruz Mexico (Adapted from James 1969).



ing winds bring moisture from the Gulf inland, and the  
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 October through April, daytime temperatures are in the  
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 that often approaches hurricane velocity. A norte may  
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 utiful weather. While nortes rarely cause serious  
 ge, fishing activities in the Gulf and in the Cayala  
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tes carry large quantities of dust, fine sand, and sea  
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#### -Lagoon System

the several major roles this body of water plays in the  
 llagers, the estuary-lagoon system is a most important  
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 ides near the waters of the estuary or lagoons, and just  
 derives all or part of its livelihood from the seafood  
 cal waters. The estuary and lagoons are perhaps the most  
 d beautiful feature of local geography and thus are  
 o the local tourist trade. The system is used for local  
 ion by dugout canoe and to a lesser extent by motorized

small craft. The part of the estuary near the village is the scene of many routine daily activities. From the water's edge one might see children or horses being washed, housewives dumping garbage or cleaning fish, and adolescents gaily swimming around playing underwater tag or splashing unsuspecting passers-by. Since there are few modern toilets in the village, many local people relieve themselves at certain secluded spots along the banks.

In local terminology the estuary is sometimes referred to as el estero (the estuary). Most often, however, it is referred to as el río (the river). The shoreline on either side of el río is called la orilla (the edge, bank) or el manglar, indicating the fact that the shore is lined with lush green mangrove trees that project their tentacle-like branches into the warm brackish shallow waters of the estuary. While in a dugout canoe on the waters of the estuary one has the feeling of being in a pristine tropical world far from the realities of everyday life. The thick mangrove trees and the convoluted course of the estuary cut off one's view of the village and deaden the noises of human activity that originate there. If one is seeking solitude, it can be found on the estuary.

The estuary, which is about a mile in length, connects the two lagoons. As one approaches the village from over the sand dune hill that shelters it from the coastal highway, the first thing that attracts attention is the lagoon known locally as la laguna chica (the small lagoon). Going a bit farther and to the left, the laguna grande (the large lagoon) soon comes into view. The laguna chica is connected to the Gulf of Mexico near the town of Playa Cenagosa by another winding estuary about eight kilometers long. Thus, the

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water in the system is a mixture of salt sea water from the Gulf, and fresh water from numerous natural springs and rainfall. Being connected to the Gulf, the lagoons and estuary are affected by tidal movements, although to a lesser extent than the Gulf itself. At certain times of the month the depth of the estuary might be as much as 40 cm. higher at high tide than at low tide. Playa Cenagosa can be reached by water from the village, but it is about an eight-hour round trip in a dugout canoe, which is the most common form of water transportation. The general environmental and climatic conditions that have been described have been important in shaping the economic and subsistence activities of Cayalanos, which will be detailed in a later chapter. Here I will just mention some of the most basic features by way of introduction.

Today, tourism is the most important and fastest growing source of income for Cayalanos. Well over 50% of local families as well as numerous non-residents derive all or part of their living from the tourist trade. The main tourist attraction, aside from the scenic beauty of the estuary-lagoon system, is several rustic open-air seafood restaurants. There are presently nine restaurants operating full time, and on special holidays four or five temporary establishments open to serve meals to tourists. Besides eating and drinking, a tourist in Cayala can take a scenic cruise in a motor-boat, sport fish in the estuary, and listen to several local bands playing and singing typical Jarocho (Veracruzano) songs.

Estuary-lagoon fishing is the "traditional" way in which Cayalanos have made their living. Today, however, fewer than one-half of the families in the village depend on fishing for their

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livelihood. Most local fishermen use the same time-honored techniques and equipment that were used by their forefathers. Fishing in the estuary and lagoons is generally done from two-man dugout canoes, but some fishermen prefer to fish from the shore of the estuary. Fish are caught in large round homemade nets, are scooped from the water with a spoon shaped dip net, or are sometimes speared from a canoe or the shore. The catch includes shrimp, crabs, bass, robalo, and other species of small salt water fish. Oysters are generally plentiful in the estuary and are obtained by stooping or diving underwater and plucking them from rocks or submerged mangrove roots. Traditionally, Cayala fishermen have not exploited the nearby Gulf of Mexico.

While agriculture is a relatively insignificant factor in the local economy, cattle raising is important to the few local residents who have monopolized the ejido lands surrounding the village. Cattle are raised for their meat and milk, although milk production is rather low due to the long dry season when there is little food available for cattle. The Brahman breed, originally from India, is well adapted to local environmental conditions.

#### Congregación Divisions and Administration

A visitor driving on the coastal highway that borders the congregacion is apt to be negatively impressed by the almost boring sense of uniformity produced by miles of sand dune after sand dune. So apparently uniform is the countryside along the highway that after a few minutes the scenery would very likely become little more than a dusty grey blur in the eyes of the onlooker.

First impressions, however are not always accurate, and a closer inspection of the congregacion would reveal that far from being homogeneous, the congregacion consists of several formal and informal subdivisions that are marked with major differences in soil type and land use, land tenure patterns, population density, and type of administrative control.

In this section I will discuss the major areas that either through law or custom have become significant to Cayalanos. I will begin with the "heart" of congregacion life, Cayala village, and then turn to the surrounding countryside "appendages", particularly the local ejido, and satellite population concentrations. In each case I will attempt to show those features of local geography, land use, land tenure and formal administration that are important in the lives of local people.

### Cayala Village

About six hundred of the eight hundred permanent residents of the congregacion occupy or utilize the almost one hundred and eighty man-made structures that are thickly snuggled between the high sand dune known locally as "el monte" and the quiet waters of the estuary. This compact population center is referred to locally as el poblado (the populated place) or la comunidad (the community), but most of the people refer to their village simply as el pueblo (the village), or Cayala.

Most of the structures in the village, which are situated in rows as irregular as small children on parade, are the homes of local residents. The cacique lives in the "fanciest" house in the village,

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which is located just a few steps behind the rear entrance to his restaurant. It is the only two-story house in the village, a box-like structure made of material (brick plastered over) and topped by his personal radio-telephone antenna. The upper floor consists of a bedroom and the indoor toilet and shower of which he is so proud, while the lower floor is a large room used as a combination office and private entertaining room. It is in this office that many of the decisions effecting the life of the village have been made.

The cacique's quarters, however, are not typical of the homes most other villagers live in, which range from roomy well-built structures of material roofed with sheets of galvanized steel (lámina) to tiny and rather dreary rustic huts of madera (rough planks) or carrizo (rough one-inch poles), topped with asbesto (sheets of corrugated asbestos), cartón (tarpaper or cardboard), or palma (thatched palm leaves). Palma is the most popular roofing material used; it is relatively inexpensive, durable, sheds the heavy tropical rains, and effectively insulates the household from the intense rays of the blazing tropical sun. However, for all its efficiency in combating the elements, palma has one major drawback. It provides a haven for rats, roaches, spiders, and a host of assorted local vermin.

A "typical" fisherman's or restaurant employee's home is rectangular, measuring about twenty-five by thirty-five feet. While most homes have floors of cement, at least twenty percent have floors of hard packed sandy earth. Inside, the typical home is divided into two rooms, one used as a combination kitchen, dining, and living room, which is the focus of family activity at meal times and in the evenings.

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The other is used as sleeping quarters for the entire family.

During hot summer days household activities shift to the open-air thatched roof porches that are attached to the front or rear of many homes.

Family dwellings are, in most cases, very close to one another. Often houses are but five or six feet apart, and a number are actually joined together so that upon first inspection two or three separate dwellings appear to be one continuous structure. The houses being so close together, very little in the way of conversation or activity escapes the eyes and ears of curious neighbors.

Scattered here and there between houses are a number of net drying sheds, pig pens, and a few temporary lean-to shelters. Outhouses are notably lacking. Most of the commercially used structures, e.g., restaurants and fruit stands, are connected to the living quarters of the owners or operators, with the exception of the bakery, one small general store, and two large restaurants. Other important structures are the two-room federal school, the small one-room church, and the small fishing cooperative office.

Since Cayala village is situated on ejido lands which are considered "communal" property, house and commercial sites come under the administrative control of a group of local officials known as the comité ejidal (ejido committee), which will be described in a later section. Suffice it to say for now that if a person or family should wish to construct a house or other type of structure within the village, he must first ask the permission of the comité ejidal stating what he wishes to build and where he wishes to build it. If the committee grants his request he is free to proceed with construction.



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Although certain "outsiders" might be refused permission to build in Cayala, I know of no case where a permanent resident born in the village has ever been denied. Many non-natives have been granted house sites, after a period of close scrutinizing during which they gain approval, trust, and acceptance of the comité ejidal.

Building sites thus acquired do not, however, become the private property of the petitioner. Sites cannot be bought or sold, although houses or other structures built on them are considered the private property of the individual who builds them.

#### Intra-Village Divisions

The focal point of the village is the area directly in front of the cacique's large restaurant. Sometimes this area is referred to as "el centro" (the center). The pavement of the branch road to Cayala terminates on the outskirts of the village, but a thoroughfare paved with small white clam shells leads from the pavement directly to the front of the restaurant. Actually, four restaurants and one smaller cantina (bar) face el centro. There is always something going on here. This is where tourists park their cars, where the local bus stops, where traveling vendors peddle their wares, and where the majority of persons employed in the tourist trade spend their working hours. During the day el centro is filled with the sounds of guitar music and singing from the restaurants, people laughing and shouting, and children and dogs scampering about playing games or singing along with local musicians.

Beyond el centro there are several informal residential divisions within Cayala village. These divisions have developed generally as

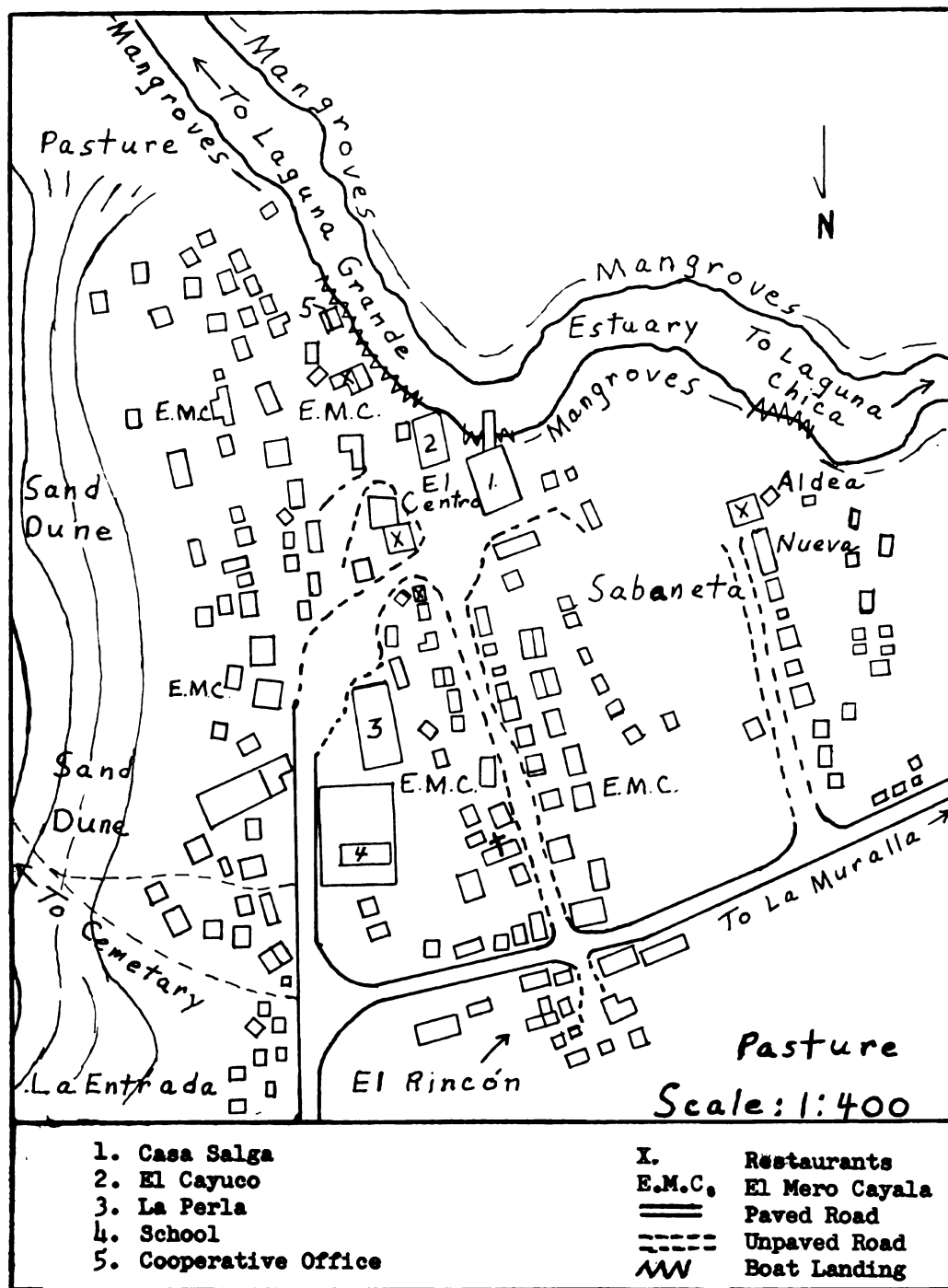


Figure 4 • Village Divisions and Settlement Pattern

a matter of local history, population growth, economic diversification, and in some instances, because of certain features inherent in the natural geography. It should be noted that the following intra-village divisions are not to be confused with the barrio divisions that are found in some Mexican communities. Unlike barrios in other communities the divisions within Cayala village have no tangible focal point such as a chapel, Catholic saint, athletic team or a special holiday.

### "El Mero Cayala"

The most desirable section of the village from an economic, convenience, and prestige standpoint is "El Mero Cayala" (roughly, Cayala proper or the "real" Cayala). In this area are located over half of all homes and businesses, the school, church, cooperative office, water tower, bakery, general store, and nearly all other commercial establishments, including the cacique's restaurant and four other restaurants. The principal boat landing for both dugout fishing canoes and motorized pleasure craft is located at the southern extreme of this area, along the shore of the estuary. The Veracruz-Playa Cenagosa-Piraguas bus stops in this area, in front of the cacique's restaurant.

Land to build on within El Mero Cayala is extremely scarce as all of it has been claimed for several years. During the period of fieldwork only two new structures were erected in this area, both very small one-room houses. In one of these cases a man of about fifty who had separated from his wife and family claimed piece of ground about 2 x 3 meters, arguing that several years ago (at least

twenty or more) his mother had lived in a house (now completely gone) that had been situated on the same site. As the site in question was between two existing houses and not being used, the comité ejidal granted him his claim and he built his house. In the other case a man had been granted a small (about 6 x 8 meters) house site a few years before our arrival but had deferred actual house construction until later.

El Mero Cayala is also the area of longest settlement, where the founding fathers of the village first located their dwellings. Their direct descendents, the household heads of today, tend to be elderly, often the oldest living members of their particular families, and surnames such as Salga, Moreno, Velasco, Herrera, Campos, and Faredes have been common here since the village was first settled.

Although fishermen reside in all village divisions, the majority reside in El Mero Cayala. This is probably due to the fact that the best natural boat landing on the shore of the estuary is most easily reached in all weather from this area. The boat landing is of relatively firm sand and is actually a continuation of the gentle slope of the sand dune hill. While there are other boat landing places at other nearby points, heavy summer rains often create swampy conditions on the land that must be crossed to reach them. I suspect that this may be one reason why this area was chosen for first settlement, as the original inhabitants subsisted primarily by fishing the estuary.

Another reason El Mero Cayala was perhaps the most desirable area at the time of settlement, as it is today, might be the protection provided by the sand dune hill. The hill acts as a buffer against



the summer easterly winds coming off the Gulf, and provides some measure of protection against winter nortes. Furthermore, the land itself is entirely sand which absorbs heavy rains rather quickly, resulting in a minimum of soil erosion, mud, and hence inconvenience to persons getting about on foot. The hill also provides at least a temporary reprieve from the hot, intense, summer sun. Up until about 10:00 A.M., El Mero Cayala is a few degrees cooler than other more exposed areas of the village.

### La Sabaneta

La sabaneta (the field) lies just to the east of El Mero Cayala. It is a flat area about 150 meters long by 50 meters wide. There are no houses built on this land, which is primarily used as a baseball field and as a place to hobble horses or burros for a few hours while one is busy in the village. The sabaneta is often sarcastically and jokingly referred to as la plaza or el parque (the park), because it seems that for several years there has been talk (but no action) of fixing up the area, planting flowers, and making a small park for all to enjoy. The major obstacle, however, is drainage. During heavy rains the field is often covered with water so that it is impossible to cross other than on horseback or in a dugout. The drainage problem is also, I suspect, the reason why this land remains a communal field and why no houses have been built on it.

### Aldea Nueva

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area. This area is called Aldea Nueva (new town). As the name indicates, it is a more recent area of settlement than El Mero Cayala, although not the most recent in the village. Roughly one-fourth of the homes found in the village are located in this area, which is strictly residential. The only commercial establishment located here is a rather inactive cantina.

Aldea Nueva is not particularly desirable for its scenic beauty or convenience. There is a small boat landing on the nearby estuary, but to reach it involves walking on a muddy path through mangrove trees and thick scrub underbrush. During the rainy season the landing is often impossible to reach on foot. Also during the rainy season when the sabaneta is flooded, access to the rest of the village is cut off except by boat or by taking a route half way around the entire village. The houses, however, are on slightly higher ground than their surroundings and consequently are in little danger of being flooded.

Nearly all household heads residing in Aldea Nueva are native born Cayalanos. Household heads tend to be younger (20 to 40 years of age) than in other parts of the village. Many of the sons and daughters of the residents of El Mero Cayala live in Aldea Nueva, including many relatives of the cacique.

With few exceptions, the working adults are employed in some aspect of the tourist trade. The household incomes of the residents are all about the same, not the highest in the village, but by no means the lowest. Most houses are made of brick and cement and are generally larger, newer, and more expensive than houses elsewhere.

### El Rincón

From the standpoint of prestige, perhaps the least desirable area in which to reside is El Rincón (literally the corner; figuratively, the out-of-the-way place). El Rincón is located near the entrance to the community, north of the road leading to the laguna chica. It is a small pocket of tiny run-down shacks constructed of old boards, poles, tarpaper, and thatch. About ten dwellings are found in the area, as is the local jailhouse and the new pumphouse which supplies the village with potable water.

Many residents of El Rincón are not native to Cayala, although many have lived in the village more than twenty-five years. Ortega is the most common surname found. Nearly all adult males are comparatively untalented musicians, unsuccessful fishermen, or work at odd jobs when work can be found. Persons living here have, as a group, the lowest general status in the village and can to some extent be considered social outcasts. For example, upon the death of the oldest Ortega male a velorio (wake) and funeral were held at the house of the deceased as is the custom. Not one single Cayalano outside of the immediate family attended the funeral, however, even though the deceased had lived and worked in Cayala for forty-five years.

### La Entrada

La Entrada (the entrance) is the most recently settled area in the village, having come into being as a distinct residential area only in about the past five years. La Entrada refers to the small area to the left of the branch road leading into Cayala just as it

reaches the village. It is on the steep western slope of the sand dune hill.

All residents of La Entrada are recent immigrants to Cayala who have come with the hope of finding employment in the tourism business. If respectable work is found, usually the recent immigrant is given permission to live in La Entrada. Most houses are nothing more than makeshift lean-to's made of wooden poles covered with tarpaper or old bedsheets.

Residents are as a rule quite young (under 30), and earn a very low income. Many do not stay long in Cayala, moving on after a few weeks or months. During the period of fieldwork about seven shelters sprang up, but at least four others disappeared with their owners. At any given time there would probably be from eight to twelve families living in the area. The exact number, however, fluctuates.

### La Muralla

The branch road leading to Cayala takes a sharp turn to the right by La Entrada and extends about 300 meters northwest of El Mero Cayala to an area known as La Muralla (the terrace; rampart). This area is on the bank of the laguna chica at a point where the view of the lagoon is very striking. The place gets its name from the fact that a few years ago engineers and workers employed by the Mexican Navy constructed a twenty-foot high cement retaining wall up from the waters of the lagoon to hold the adjacent higher ground and roadbed in place.

La Muralla is not a residential area as such, as only two

families actually live there. Both of these families operate restaurants. There are now three restaurants located here, two of which have been constructed in recent years. If the tourism business continues to grow in Cayala as it has in recent years, I suspect that this area will become increasingly desirable for homes and businesses.

### Levels of Formal Government

Village government in Cayala, which will be described in a following section of this chapter, is at the bottom of a hierarchically arranged, complex, and often colorful formal political system. In this section I will briefly summarize those features of political parties and national, state, and municipal government that are helpful in understanding the position of Cayala in the chain of political authority. I will not attempt to describe in detail the entire political system of Mexico, as this has been done elsewhere. The reader who seeks more information on the history, structure, and philosophy of recent Mexican government is encouraged to consult Scott (1964), Padgett (1966), Moreno (1970), Prieto Laurens (1968), and Ezcurdia (1968), among others.

Robert Scott has written (1964: 145):

"One can as correctly say that today Mexico has a single-party system as say that the United States has a two-party system. In both countries, the success of the major party or parties overshadows the very existence of minor parties that represent specialized political viewpoints and seldom capture more than a token representation in local or national government."

The single party in Mexico to which Scott refers is the all-powerful Partido Revolucionario Institucional (Party of the Institutionalized Revolution), known the length and breadth of Mexico as the PRI, and

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it is worthwhile to say a few words first about this institution, since it plays such an important role in the politics of the country.

Despite the singular dominance of the PRI over the Mexican political scene it does not espouse a single "party line" or represent the philosophy or interests of one specific group. Rather, as Scott (Ibid.: 164) has noted, the PRI has been successful in Mexico primarily because its leadership over the years has molded the party into an "aggregating mechanism" that brings together in one organization a wide variety of what otherwise might be competing or conflicting interest groups. That is to say, there is room for almost anyone in the party.

That the PRI functions as an aggregating mechanism is reflected in its organization into three main, theoretically co-equal, sectors, the labor sector which represents the interests of organized labor unions and confederations of unions, the farm (agrarian) sector, which represents the views of peasants, ejido members, and small farmers confederations, and the "popular" or middle sector (Padgett 1966: 123-135) which represents the interests of a diversity of "middle class" groups ranging from intellectuals, teachers, and civil servants to cooperative organizations, artisans, small businessmen, and Indian, youth, and women's associations. Ideally, representatives of each sector sit on the decision-making party committees that exist at municipal, state, and national levels, and it is quite common for members or officers of special interest groups to simultaneously hold office or membership on PRI committees. In this way special interest groups such as labor unions, ejiditarios, teachers associations, "chambers of commerce",

and so on have direct channels of input and feedback to the party at all levels of organization.

At the apex of the PRI power pyramid is the national Comité Ejecutivo Central (Central Executive Committee), commonly referred to as the CEC, which is a seven-member group consisting of a president, secretary-general, secretaries of agrarian, labor, and "popular" activities and two secretaries of political activities. The functions of the CEC are many, and its authority permeates down to all levels of party organization. Among its several prerogatives, the CEC has the authority to accept or reject state and municipal party candidates for elected public office. Since throughout Mexico PRI candidates almost invariably win their respective elections, which are often merely a formality, the CEC in effect has the power to "name" government officials from municipal presidents up to state governors.

Beneath the CEC, and at the state level, are thirty-two Regional Committees, one in each state and territory of the nation. The state committees are very similar in structure to the national CEC (Ibid.). The functions of state committees are similar to those of the CEC at the national level, except that decisions made by state PRI committees are subject to review and approval of the CEC, which has the final say even in state party affairs.

At the bottom of the PRI organizational chart, but closest to the masses of Mexican people, are the hundreds of municipal party committees, which consist of at least five committeemen appointed by the national CEC upon the recommendation of state party committees. Municipal committeemen ideally represent, and are initially selected

by local or municipal interest groups and/or sector organizations (Ibid.: 160-161).

From among their own ranks, municipal committeemen elect a president and secretary-general upon whom fall several important tasks. These officers and other committee members collect local political contributions and party membership dues, suggest candidates for local government offices to the state committee, distribute campaign literature, recruit new party members, promote party programs, and make the desires of local interest groups known to officials higher up (Ibid.; Padgett 1966: 57-58).

In summary, we see that the PRI is a hierarchically structured political machine into which has been plugged a heterogeneous array of opinions and special interest groups. The party permeates almost every level of society, and is also in a sense a sort of "right arm" of formal government, since it selects the persons who will hold public office from the most "rustic" municipal official up to the President of the Republic.

Formal government in Mexico is also hierarchically structured and consists of several levels. At the top of the hierarchy at the federal level is the President of Mexico, the commander-in-chief of the nation. Legislative functions at the national level are carried out by two federal legislative bodies, the national senate and the chamber of deputies (congress). The President and the members of the senate and congress are elected by popular vote.

Political power at the state level is centralized in the office of the state gobernador (governor), who is elected by popular vote. Legislative power at the state level is vested in the unicameral



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Each state has its own state constitution and series of códigos (codes) which specify state laws on a variety of matters such public education, agriculture, property inheritance, alcoholic beverages, state highways, non-federal taxes, etc. For the most part, state constitutions are very similar to the National Constitution, except that they are usually more detailed and specific. As Tucker (1957: 377-390) has noted, in theory, Mexican states are relatively autonomous in carrying out state legislative and law enforcement functions. In practice, however, ..... "the role of the states is restricted by concurrent powers exercised by the central government and by positive and negative obligations that the Constitution (Federal) imposes on the states."

The Mexican Constitution states that the officially recognized unit of local government is the municipio libre ("free" municipality), and each state is subdivided into several municipios. The state of Veracruz is divided into 203 such local units. As a unit of territory, the municipio is roughly analogous to a United States county. It consists of a cabecera municipal (municipal capital), which is normally the largest town or city within the territory of the municipio. Municipal government extends to various other smaller territorial and political entities (e.g., congregaciones; literally, congregations) comunidades (villages) ranchos and rancherías (roughly, ranches) that might be located within the boundaries of the municipio.

As an administrative unit, a municipio libre is not as "free"

as the official term given to it might imply. In the first place, municipio officials have almost no legislative powers, i.e., they do not have the political autonomy to pass major laws of their own or to reject state and federal laws. While each municipio has its own Ley Orgánica (roughly, a constitution or a set of regulations), these rules are, in general, very similar to federal and state constitutions and laws, which local regulations must never contradict. Municipal officials do, however, have the authority to pass certain minor regulations that effect local inhabitants. For example, they would normally have the power to determine local real estate taxes, the hour local bars must close, how much a birth certificate will cost, whether or not a local organization can hold a fund-raising dance, and so forth.

Perhaps the most significant power that municipal authorities hold is the right to request and organize the labor of municipal residents for building public facilities such as schools, water systems, local roads, and so on. The officials of political sub-units within the municipio have no legislative powers of their own. They are, for the most part, agents and representatives of municipal authorities.

The two levels of formal government that most directly effect the people of Cayala are the municipio and congregacion levels. Since municipio government officially holds jurisdiction over congregacion government, I will first give a description of those features of municipal government that are of significance to the people of Cayala. This will be followed in the next section with a discussion of the structure and operations of village government.

Municipal Government

The municipio of Los Barcos consists of the cabecera municipal (municipal capital) of Los Barcos and sixteen congregación divisions including the congregacion of Cayala Y Boscaje. Located within the various congregaciones are about seventy-five other named localities ranging in size from about 20 to 1500 persons. As we shall explain in greater detail later, municipal government is officially represented at the congregación level by two local officers, the agente municipal (municipal agent) and the comandante de policía (police commander), who are in theory congregacion residents appointed to their posts by the head of municipal government, the presidente municipal (municipal president).

The current municipal president of Los Barcos plays a vital role in many of the events that will unfold in later chapters of this thesis and, therefore, it is worthwhile here to describe certain features of his background and personality, and some of his views on the office he holds. The president of the municipio, who was elected by municipio residents to a three-year term in July 1970, is quite unlike many of the municipal officers elected in more "backward" regions of Mexico in that he is a well-educated and well-traveled man who holds a university degree in engineering and has done post-graduate study. A native son of Los Barcos, he has for the past twenty years or so held several administrative and advisory positions with government agencies including the Federal Electricity Commission, the Public Education Ministry, and the Mexican Navy.

A gregarious, out-going man, at ease in front of a large crowd

as well as in the more intimate setting of his book-lined municipal office, he is very much a "middle-class" man. His presidential candidacy was backed primarily by popular sector interests in the Los Barcos PRI organization such as local businessmen, fishing cooperative members, professionals, and educators. He has been associated with the PRI for many years and has told me that he considered his nomination to the municipal presidency to be somewhat a "reward" for his many years of both government and PRI service.

On several occasions he has described to me what he considers his leadership strong points and his personal plans and goals for the municipio. Probably due to his experience as an engineer, he is particularly interested in the expansion of modern technology within the municipio. Along these lines his top priority is the introduction of electricity and potable water systems into the many villages and rural areas that until now have not benefited from these services. He is also pushing for the expansion of port facilities in Los Barcos and for increasing the size and quality of the Los Barcos deep sea fishing fleet, in order to take full advantage of the opportunities for economic growth made possible by the large, modern, federally funded and operated seafood canning and freezing factory that has been recently constructed in the area. While he has stated publicly and privately that improvements in local education, agricultural production, land reform, and medical facilities are greatly needed, I have the personal impression that these areas are not as high on his list of priorities as are electricity and clean water, which he feels will result in the

economic diversification of many villages if people utilize these resources to develop local light industry.

How does he plan to achieve these goals? On several occasions he has lamented the fact that the municipio itself has almost no funds of its own to spend on local development. As he has told me, and as Tucker (1957: 391-406) states is the case throughout Mexico, limited by federal law, municipal governments have little taxation power and few sources of revenue. The small amounts of money municipios collect from notarizing personal documents, issuing birth, marriage, and death certificates, granting cattle slaughtering, vending, and construction permits, and from fines collected from petty lawbreakers, barely is enough to pay municipal employees a meager salary (the president earns about \$1000.00 pesos per month, and other employees less), and pay for the overhead and supplies needed to keep municipal government running.

Because of this situation the president has chosen to play the role of municipal "advocate", and act as a "middle-man" representing the needs and desires of his people before the federal and state funding agencies from which the money for local development projects must invariably come. His technical expertise and the personal contacts he has made during his many years of government service will, in my opinion, ably equip him to compete for the federal and state funds he needs to convert his plans into realities.

Under the municipal president are several lesser appointed and elected officials that should be mentioned. However, I want to stress that except for rather routine matters such as recording births, obtaining a permit to slaughter a cow, and so

forth, Cayalanos have little contact with these officials. This is especially true of the cacique and other Cayala cattlemen; they prefer to deal directly with the "top man", the president, and all but ignore other officials. This attitude on the part of the cacique first came to my attention during a casual but meaningful incident. Prior to the municipal elections the presidential candidate, accompanied by the three men running for regidor (aldermen) came to Cayala to introduce themselves and give campaign speeches. After the speeches the cacique invited them all to a sumptuous lunch which included an expensive imported wine, the cacique doing the pouring honors. While the soon-to-be president's wine cup was filled several times, the candidates for regidor were not even offered any, and were instead served beer.

The municipal president, a síndico (roughly, attorney general) and two regidores constitute the popularly elected ayuntamiento municipal (the municipal council). However, after the president, the most powerful municipal official is the secretario del ayuntamiento (council secretary) who is appointed to his post by the president. The current municipal secretary, a lawyer, has long been a PRI supporter and close friend of the president for whom he acts as a "chief of staff" and legal and political advisor. In many respects the secretary runs the daily routine operations of government, and, with but a few exceptions, anyone wishing to gain the president's ear is first channeled through the secretary.

From among the three elected regidores, the municipal president chooses one man to serve as the municipal síndico, the chief law enforcement officer in the municipio. A sort of attorney-general,

the síndico gives orders to the head of the small municipal police force, oversees the activities of the force itself, and is responsible for apprehending and prosecuting local lawbreakers. He is also charged with the inspection of cattle that are slaughtered within the municipio, to ascertain that the animals are neither diseased or stolen.

For all practical purposes the síndico's law enforcement activities are confined to the city of Los Barcos. Since other communities of any size within the municipio have their own local police forces, and since most village officials are extremely reluctant to call in municipal authorities, most crimes and civil disputes are handled informally at the village level and only major offenses such as murder or large scale cattle rustling reach the síndico's attention. During the period of fieldwork municipal authorities were called to Cayala only once, when a local man attempted to shoot the Cayala police commander. The municipal police were too late, however, as the would-be murderer fled the village immediately after his unsuccessful attempt.

According to the municipal president the candidates for regidor (including the síndico) were selected jointly by himself and Los Barcos PRI officials with two thoughts in mind. First, they wanted at least two candidates who were well-known and respected in outlying areas of the municipio. I am not familiar with the areas where these men came from, but neither was from any of the communities near Cayala, i.e., both candidates were complete strangers to Cayalanos. The regidor who was to become síndico, it was decided, should come from Los Barcos itself, since most of his



future dealings would be with residents of that city.

The second objective in the selection process was to pick persons who would represent some of the major interest groups in the municipio. To accomplish this end, one of the regidores selected from outside Los Barcos is a schoolteacher and the other a rancher-farmer. The regidor who became síndico among other things holds an interest in some Los Barcos-based small deep sea fishing boats and is active in the local seafood business. Thus, while some effort was made to select officials who would represent both the city and the rural areas of the municipio as well as certain major economic interests, the slate was heavily weighted with "middle class" candidates.

The regidores perform a variety of tasks in municipal government, but since they and other officials were only recently in office during the period of fieldwork, it was not clear exactly which individuals were going to be responsible for specific tasks. According to the municipal president, he was going to assign certain areas and communities within the municipio to each regidor and the síndico. These officials would then serve as a liaison between village governments, headed by appointed agentes municipales (village municipal agents), and the president's office. A major part of their job would be to visit periodically the areas and communities they had been assigned, and keep the president informed of what was happening. I am not certain if Cayala was assigned to a regidor, since after the elections no mention was made of an assignment, and no regidor came to the village, although the president himself visited several times most often accompanied

by his secretary.

Regidores also have special duties to perform at the palacio municipal (municipal "palace"; the government office building) in Los Barcos. One of them acts as the municipal tesorero (treasurer and bookkeeper), and another functions as the municipal juez menor ("minor" judge), who decides the disposition of minor civil and criminal cases involving municipal regulations. Typical matters brought before him would include wife-beating, petty theft, vagrancy and drunkenness, fighting in public places, inheritance disputes, selling beer or liquor without a permit, and so forth. More serious matters are generally referred to the appropriate state or federal courts.

The municipal judge deals with cases primarily from Los Barcos, except in those rare instances when someone from an outlying village, failing to receive satisfaction at the hands of village authorities, might bring a complaint to Los Barcos. To my knowledge, no resident of Cayala appeared before the judge during the period of fieldwork.

There are several other municipal employees in the palacio municipal that, while appointed by the president, more often than not take their orders from the síndico or the secretario. These include the police chief and police officers, as has been mentioned, an office receptionist, two or three clerk-typists, a custodian-errand boy, and a municipal tax collector-inspector. Of these, only the tax collector-inspector is of significance to some of the people of Cayala. The inspector-tax collector, who visited Cayala twice during the period of fieldwork, sooner or later comes to most small

businesses within the municipio, especially bars, restaurants, stores, and other small retail operations. His job is to check if business establishments and traveling vendors have the proper municipal, state, and federal permits. Most small retail operations are assessed a small municipal tax. In Cayala several of the small owner-operated restaurants and cantinas pay about twenty pesos per month in municipal taxes. If these are not paid, the tax collector can recommend to the president that a business be closed. The tax collector is very conscientious in his job, as he is paid a percentage (normally twenty-five percent) of the taxes he collects. According to several local informants, he is well disposed to accept la mordida (the bite; a bribe). For example, if a local cantina only has a permit to sell beer, but is caught selling hard liquor, usually a "gift" of a few pesos will prevent the inspector from reporting the incident.

Cayala restaurant owners are also assessed taxes by the Los Barcos branch office of the federal Secretaría de Hacienda (Secretary of the Treasury). In order to sell beer, liquor, or food retail, the operator of a business must first secure a patente (permit, license) from the Hacienda office. Patentes are renewed on a yearly basis and fees vary according to the specific type, but rarely exceed two hundred pesos.

In addition to patente fees, Cayala retail businesses pay a yearly federal income tax to the Hacienda office. This tax is based on profits earned after overhead and business expenses are deducted. The amount of income tax paid by Cayala businesses varies greatly; in 1970 one small owner-operated restaurant paid only \$140.00 pesos

(excluding fees for licenses), while the cacique's restaurant, according to a son of the owner, paid almost \$30,000 pesos (about \$2,400). According to informants, it is common practice for local restaurants to report the smallest believable amount of profit. It should be noted that most Cayalanos pay no income or other taxes at all.

Finally, it appears that the municipal president personally commands a clandestine force of agentes especiales (special agents). I was unable to ascertain the full extent of the duties and activities of these special agents, but on the basis of conversations with two of them, a few facts emerged. The agents are usually locally powerful individuals from the various localities within the municipio. They are strong supporters of the PRI, and gain their status as partial reward for favors they have performed for the local PRI organization, such as having contributed large sums of money or having delivered a large number of local votes at election time. The agents are allegedly involved in espionage activities, especially in the field of politics, and report anti-government sentiments. They can legally carry firearms which is normally against Mexican law. To my knowledge, most people are unaware of the existence or the activities of these agents.

#### Village Government

Formal village and congregacion administration, except for certain land tenure matters handled by the ejido committee, is in the hands of two puppet officials, the agente municipal (municipal agent)

and the police comandante (commander), whose strings are manipulated by the cacique and a handful of cattlemen. A few years ago Cayalanos could also rely on members of the local Junta de Mejores Materiales (material improvements group) to provide leadership in promoting community well-being. This group, while still formally in existence, has all but abdicated its role in civic affairs due to circumstances I will mention shortly.

In this section I will briefly describe what might be termed the "ideal" and formal operations of local government so that the reader might later contrast this with the portrait of the "real" or informal operations discussed later.

The titular head of government in Cayala is the municipal agent who is appointed to his post by the municipal president for a term of three years. At the same time the agent is appointed a suplente (alternate) is also named who would take over the municipal agent's post should the latter for any reason be unable to serve. Directly under the municipal agent in the structure of local government is the comandante de policía (police commander), who heads the five-man police force.

In theory, the police commander should take his orders from the municipal agent. In practice, however, it works the other way around. Don Vicente, the commander, is a very shrewd and observant man possessed with a very forceful and dominating personality, a characteristic that in part accounts for his remaining in office through the terms of several municipal agents. During his long tenure (about ten years) he has managed to build a small hard core of local followers, his policemen and certain

fishermen, so that today, except for the cacique and the cattlemen, he is perhaps the most powerful man in the village. He is hated by some of his fellow villagers, feared by many, but respected by all.

In part the police commander derives his local power from an "outside source." In theory, a local police commander is appointed by the municipal agent, and his appointment must be approved and made "official" by the president of the municipio. Don Vicente, however, has side-stepped the normal chain of command by publicly declaring that his "mero jefe" ("real boss") is an officer high in the Veracruz state police force in the state capital in Jalapa. The officer, who is responsible for the state-wide enforcement of traffic and transportation laws, was a former powerful cacique in a community nearby Cayala and has been for years a friend and crony of the Cayala cacique, as will be discussed in detail in a later chapter. Thus, by claiming primary allegiance to a "top man" in the state police force, who is also a friend of the cacique, the commander has been able to effectively make his position independent of local and municipal authorities, to whom he pays only lip service if anything.

Village authorities do not receive a salary from either the municipio or the community. In theory they have "volunteered" their services for the good of the community. In practice, however, the agente municipal and police commander, and to a lesser extent members of the police force, do receive an income for their efforts. This income, which is not insignificant by Cayala standards, is derived from fines collected locally, "permit" fees charged to "outside"

entrepreneurs, (vendors and musicians), and from small tips received for "guarding" the automobiles of restaurant clients.

Fees paid by outsiders are assessed on either a daily or a weekly basis, depending on the arrangement that has been worked out. Musical groups that regularly play in Cayala pay twenty pesos per week. Groups that come to Cayala only for special occasions are charged up to twenty-five pesos per day. Souvenir vendors, candy sellers, photographers and so on, are charged from two to ten pesos per day. During periods when there are many tourists and therefore many outside entrepreneurs in the village, I would estimate that as much as from two to four hundred pesos might be collected per week. This represents a sizeable sum to most Cayalanos.

In theory, the money collected from these fees should be used in two ways: some should remain with the agente municipal to be used for official expenses such as trips to Los Barcos, policemen's uniforms, office supplies, etc., and whatever is not used for official expenses should be turned over to the treasurer of the material improvements group to be ultimately used for public works projects.

In practice, however, almost all of the money collected stays with the police commander who shares it with the agente municipal, and none is turned over to the junta. According to the commander, he has permission from the state police official in Jalapa to keep whatever money is not needed for expenses. He has stated that with so many "outsiders" in the village, his job is made more difficult, and therefore, he and the agente municipal deserve something "extra" for their efforts.

Besides the collection of fees from outside entrepreneurs the official duties of village authorities fall roughly into two categories - the maintenance of local "law and order", i.e., the apprehension of law breakers and the settlement of disputes, and the organization and supervision of local labor on public works (faenas). The police commander is primarily concerned with the maintenance of order while the municipal agent is generally in charge of public works projects although very often their roles overlap. It is worth mentioning that neither official has legislative or law-making authority, as law-making and policy decisions are made at higher levels of government. Let us now turn to some examples of local government in operation.

From the cacique's point of view, an opinion shared by most villagers, if tourism is to continue to thrive and expand, it is absolutely crucial that Cayala maintain a reputation as a peaceful, happy, and safe place. To accomplish this end, each day the comandante takes up a position in his small cantina, which is located just across from the cacique's main restaurant. From this vantage point he can see most of the village, nearly every person who enters the village by bus or car, and has a clear view of the goings-on in the cacique's and three other restaurants. His primary concern with the restaurants, he has stated, is to stop potential fights between clients, and to break them up before they become serious. He also closely watches traveling vendors and musicians to see that they do not molest restaurant customers by pushing their wares too hard. Should the least disturbance occur, the comandante or one of the local policemen is usually on the



scene within seconds.

Other than generally keeping the peace, the major duty of the policemen is local automobile traffic control, especially on weekends. They direct tourist traffic, find parking places for restaurant clients, and "guard" parked automobiles against theft, break-in, and vandalism. For this service policemen, otherwise non-salaried, receive a one or two peso tip.

In the administration of justice, to some extent a double standard prevails - one set of rules for local residents, and another for "outsiders", with residents being favored. While many cases and disputes involving local people came before local authorities during the period of fieldwork, only a few residents were actually fined and none were jailed, to my knowledge. In one case a mother was fined a small amount for beating her young daughter for not selling as many shell necklaces as the mother thought she should. The mother was accused of child-beating by the girl's father, who was living with another woman. Once a man was accused by his wife of beating her when she confronted him with her knowledge of an extra-marital affair in which he was involved. In this case the wife-beater was fined twenty pesos, but his wife was also admonished for having brought a complaint against her husband.

Another case involved a complaint against a young man, brought to local authorities by the parents of an eighteen-year-old young woman. The young man and woman had secretly been novios (lovers) for some time and had engaged in sexual relations, although the young woman was not pregnant. When a brother of the young

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woman found out about the affair, he told his parents, who were outraged. They came to the agente municipal and the police commander demanding that the young man be forced to marry their daughter immediately, or be put into jail in Los Barcos. The police commander met with the young man. According to him, the commander was very "fatherly" and found the whole business rather amusing. He advised the young man to "lay low" until the girl's parent's anger had subsided. If the young man and woman wanted to continue seeing each other the commander said, they should just make sure they did not get caught. Eventually the couple did get married, several months after this incident occurred.

While local offenders get off relatively easy, "outsiders" such as traveling vendors and musicians, and an occasional rowdy tourist are often fined more heavily and jailed more frequently. For example, one fifty-year-old musician who was accused of molesting a pre-teen local girl, was forced to give the girl's parents all the money he had on him (about one hundred pesos), and was told to leave the village. If he ever returned, the authorities told him, he could expect to be shot, and there would be no questions asked. In another case a drunken tourist in the cacique's restaurant pulled a gun and threatened to kill a companion. The man was subdued and disarmed by local police. After consulting with the cacique, local authorities fined the man two hundred pesos and put him in the local jail. He was released from jail after about two hours, during which time he had "sobered up" and "cooled off". No formal charges were brought against the man, although the police commander kept possession of his gun.

To give an indication of the role played by village authorities in administering public works projects I will briefly describe how they operated during the construction and installation of the new potable water system that Cayala now boasts.

The potable water system cost a total of roughly \$180,000 pesos. Of this sum the federal government paid \$160,000 pesos and the remaining \$20,000 pesos was to be paid by the residents of Cayala, a portion of this sum being assessed to each household. As part of the agreement with the federal government, the community was obligated to supply all the necessary manual labor needed to complete the project. No machinery was used in the construction of the system. This meant that a deep well had to be dug, hundreds of yards of water-pipe trenches had to be dug, and several tons of cement had to be prepared - all by hand, using only shovels, picks and hoes. Workers did not receive pay for their efforts, as their labor was considered "community service" and therefore non-salaried. The project, which took several months to complete, required the organization and supervision of approximately one thousand man-days of manual labor.

The agente municipal was responsible for organizing this labor force or faena. Each afternoon the agente made up and posted a list of from ten to twenty eligible males who were to work on the project the following day. The names were selected from a master list (padrón) of all voting-age males (males of eighteen years of age and over) in each household. Men over age sixty were exempted. Names were selected on a rotation basis, but only one male from each household was required to work on any given day. If there



were more than one eligible male in a household whose turn came up, for example, a father and an adult son, the household had to supply only one worker on any given day. The decision as to which male was left to the members of the household. On the average, a household could expect to supply a worker for the feana every five or six days.

In some cases a household did not wish to supply a worker on a given day. When this was the case, a household representative would inform the agente municipal and pay a fee of twenty-five pesos. The agente in turn would then locate another man to fill in. This other man would be paid the twenty-five pesos. In several instances a designated worker simply failed to appear on the job. When this occurred, the agente would locate the reluctant worker and persuade (or threaten) him to come to work. If persuasion failed, the agente along with the police commander would go to the man and demand that a twenty-five peso fine be paid (to hire another worker), or, they said, they would report him to Los Barcos authorities, who in all probability would demand a much greater fine or even a jail term. In all such cases that I am aware of the individual paid the local fine.

Besides making up the daily work list and seeing to it that each household did its proper share of the work, the agente municipal also served as the work crew foreman. Each morning before work began the government paid maestro (expert in construction) gave specific orders and job assignments to the agente. The agente in turn would then assign specific tasks to individual workers or groups of workers, and throughout the day would check on their progress.

While the agente was not paid a salary for performing his duties, he generally exempted himself from doing hard labor.

A few years ago the water project would probably been directed by the local Junta de Mejores Materiales (material improvements groups), often referred to by local residents simply as the junta (groups). The junta is in theory a permanent community council which should raise funds for, initiate, promote, administer, and supervise all local public works projects. The council is also responsible for the maintenance and upkeep of public facilities such as local roads, the school, public water wells, and so forth.

Members of the junta are residents of Cayala. The junta consists of a president, secretary, treasurer, and four vocales (voting members) who are elected to office by the eligible voters of the congregacion for three-year terms. According to informants, however, elections are held irregularly, generally when the need arises as when, for example, the president might decide to resign. No elections were held during the period of fieldwork.

The functions of the present junta are for all practical purposes non-existent, i.e., the junta was inactive during the period of fieldwork. As will be explained in detail in a later chapter, the normal functions of the junta have been taken over by new ad hoc organizations dominated by the youngest son of the cacique. For example, in 1967, the then presiding junta prepared the official request for government funds for the water project. Early in 1970 the community was informed that the request had finally been granted. Immediately after the community had been so informed a new junta proagua (roughly, water promotion group) was formed. The

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formation of this new group was precipitated by a visit to Cayala by the now past municipal president of Los Barcos. The municipal president presided over a town meeting in which he strongly urged the formation of a new junta and suggested the cacique's son as the leader (president) of this new group. The result was that local people voted to form a new junta and the youngest son of the cacique was elected president. In effect, the administration of the water project was taken out of the hands of the junta.

A similar incident occurred in 1971, with regard to an electrification project. The pro-agua junta, which was then winding up its work with the water project, petitioned the government and made preliminary arrangements to bring electricity to the village. A town meeting was called by the present municipal president of Los Barcos. In this meeting he, like his predecessor, urged that a new junta pro-electricidad (roughly, electricity promotion group) be formed. The result was the same as with the water project. A new group was formed and the youngest son of the cacique was elected president. Again, the junta had been replaced with another group.

The local junta de mejores materiales did, however, organize a carnival dance to raise money for the water project. This dance will be described in the chapter on religious organization. However, the dance actually lost money. After this disappointment, the junta did not attempt to organize any other fund-raising projects.

According to local informants, the junta, in the past, has been much more active than it is presently. The local school, which was constructed in 1965, was the result of the efforts of the

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There are, I suspect, several reasons why the junta has fallen into inactivity, and some of these will be taken up in a subsequent chapter. In brief, however, the usurpation of its functions resulted from two things. First, several local residents refused to support the junta especially when it came time to pay their share of the money they were required to put up for the water project. Indeed, at one point it was doubtful if the water project would be completed due to lack of funds. At this time the cacique and others, who saw clean water as vital to the growth of tourism, concluded that the junta was simply not effective and, by using their money and influence with outside authorities, gained control of the project so that it would continue. When Cayala was ready for electricity, this same small group decided not to give the junta a second chance, and again assumed control of the project themselves in the name of "efficiency".

### The Cayala Ejido

In Mexico the term ejido generally refers to an area of land that has been given por dotación (by grant) by the Federal government to a community for use by community members in accordance with the various "agrarian reform" laws stemming out of the 1910 Mexican Revolution. In many cases the ejido lands granted to a community were formerly privately owned hacienda lands that the Federal government has expropriated for use as ejido lands. The government retains

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ultimate ownership of ejido lands, but members of a community are granted, in common, rights of usufruct. However, no person can buy or sell land that is part of an ejido grant.

An ejido comes into being after the members of a community formally petition the Federal Department of Agriculture, the agency charged with the initial formation of ejidos. If the petition is granted, the members of the community are granted provisional use of the lands in question, and receive official títulos (titles) as ejiditarios (ejido members).

After a community has received an ejido grant, it is placed under the jurisdiction of the Federal Department of Agrarian and Colonization Affairs, which operates at the national, state, and regional levels. This agency along with certain representatives of the Department of Agriculture share the responsibilities for the administration of the ejido system. For a more complete description of the organization and responsibilities of these and other Federal agencies involved in the ejido program, the reader is directed to Martha Chavez' Ley Federal de Reforma Agraria (1972), which contains the most recent (1971) agrarian law, and an analysis of that law.

Cayalanos received their titles as ejidarios in 1944, shortly after they filed a formal petition, and the lands they requested were given provisional ejido status. The community was granted 920 hectares of former hacienda land immediately surrounding and including Cayala village. The ejido, which lies to the north of the village, consists mainly of monte (sand dune hills covered with low tropical scrub forest). Monte land is generally unsuitable for agriculture, but can be used to graze cattle after it is cleared

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and grass has been sown or allowed to invade naturally. A few small fields known as bajas (bottom lands) are scattered here and there in the ejido and are, after being cleared, suitable for agriculture, as they consist of soil that is richer and retains moisture longer than the sand dunes.

The final declaration granting Cayala full ejido status was made in 1943. According to local informants who are original title-holders, there were approximately fifty to sixty original ejiditarios. I was unable to determine the exact number of present-day title-holders as since 1944 some of the original title-holders have died, some have left the village, and in some cases original title-holders have lost their titles. My best estimate based on information provided by local informants is that there are now about fifty original ejido titles in Cayala, and perhaps five or six non-residents who claim the right to use Cayala ejido lands. According to several informants, no new ejido titles have been issued since 1944, except in some cases where an heir has taken the title of an original ejiditario.

In many Mexican ejido communities after the final declaration granting ejido status is given, the members of the ejido petition the government for parcelization of the land. In the parcelization process government officials survey ejido lands and divide it into parcels of more or less equal size and/or productivity. Each ejiditario, generally a household head, is then assigned an individual parcel of land for use by his household and his heirs for as long as they remain working on the land.

In Cayala, however, the cacique and a few local cattlemen have

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been able to block the parcelization process by means that will be discussed in a later chapter. Instead, the cacique and the cattlemen dominate ejido affairs and control ejido lands, which they have informally divided between themselves, and which they use to graze their own herds of cattle. Thus, while many villagers hold title to ejido lands, only a few benefit financially from their use.

This rather unfair situation persists because cattlemen have been able to maintain their hold on ejido lands by putting their own people, or "puppets", in key ejido organization positions. It would be worthwhile, then, to briefly describe here the formal aspects of ejido organization so that the reader might later contrast these aspects with the informal ways in which the ejido has been manipulated by the cacique and other cattlemen.

Ejido organization consists of three sub-units - the asamblea general (general assembly; all ejido title-holders), the comisariado ejidal (ejido commission; executive council) which is known locally as the comité ejidal (ejido committee), and the consejo de vigilancia (vigilance council). Each of these sub-units has been relegated certain powers and duties by federal law.

According to federal law, the general assembly of ejiditarios has the first and last word in all ejido affairs such as land parcelization, rents levied for use of ejido lands, election of officers, and productive and economic activities, i.e., in theory an ejido is a very "democratic" organization with ultimate decision-

*making* power vested in the membership rather than in particular offices. All major ejido matters should be decided by majority

vote of the general assembly which is the only ejido sub-unit with legislative authority.

The will of the membership should be carried out by the comisariado ejidal, a council of three officers (president, secretary, and the treasurer) elected by majority vote of the membership. The comisariado, along with a suplente (alternate) for each position, is elected for a three-year term, but any officer can be removed by the general assembly for infractions of the law such as stealing funds, failure to enact assembly decisions, being absent from the ejido, and so forth.

The duties of the comisariado are, by law, rather general in nature (Chavez 1972: 53-55) and include supervising the day-to-day operations of the ejido, collecting whatever rents have been assessed, calling regular monthly and yearly meetings of the assembly, keeping financial records, fomenting production, and settling minor disputes between members, and so on. The comisariado should also maintain communications between the ejido and representatives of the federal Department of Agriculture and Department of Agrarian and Colonization Affairs. A representative of one of these agencies should be informed of and attend all general assembly meetings, to make sure local ejiditarios are following proper procedures. As we will see in a later chapter, the Cayala ejido comisariado in fact performs few of the functions it is supposed to.

In Cayala, the primary function of the cattlemen-controlled comisariado is the regulation of the use of ejido lands for productive <sup>pur-</sup>poses and ejido lands used for house sites in and around Cayala village. With regard to the former, since the ejido has not been

parceled, an ejiditario or other local resident who wishes to use ejido lands for farming or cattle-raising must first ask permission of the comisariado, usually represented by the president. The comisariado then either accepts or rejects the person's petition. With regard to the use of ejido lands for house sites the process is similar. Any person, whether ejiditario or "outsider", must make a request to the comisariado for a piece of land on which to build a house. Again, the comisariado has the authority to either accept or reject the person's request.

All persons, whether ejiditarios or not, who have been granted permission to use ejido lands are obliged to pay the ejido a small monthly fee as "rent" for their use of ejido lands. The amount of rent paid is based more or less on the size of the piece of land an individual is using. This rent applies both to land being used for productive purposes and for house sites. Ideally, a portion of this rent is to be paid to the Department of Agriculture office in Los Barcos as a tax for administrative and technical services supposedly rendered by this office. The remainder of rents collected ideally should go into the ejido treasury to be used generally in ways that will benefit all ejiditarios. Ideally, the general membership of the ejido dictates the specific ways in which these funds will be used.

In practice, to my knowledge, no ejiditario or other long-time resident of the community pays rent on house sites. In only a very few cases that I am aware of, "outsiders", i.e., recent arrivals to Cayala, are asked to pay a nominal sum. Unfortunately I was unable to determine the full extent of rent collection on

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According to informants, the tax that is paid to the Department of Agriculture is collected almost in its entirety from those persons who use ejido lands for cattle-raising purposes. To some extent, then, the cattle raisers subsidize the rents of other local residents. While I am not sure of the exact amounts paid by cattle raisers, informants generally agree that the amounts paid are very small in proportion to the income derived by cattle raising and dairying activities.

The group that is charged with keeping the comisariado "honest" is the consejo de vigilancia (vigilance council), three elected officials (the standard president, secretary, and treasurer along with alternates), who serve for a period of three years. As their title implies, these officers are supposed to tener ojo ("keep an eye on") the other officers and report to the general assembly and government officials any abuses of power, fraud, theft of funds, manipulation of records, or any other chueco ("irregular") activities they might suspect. These would-be "watchdogs" of the ejido, however, are like the comisariado, more like "lap-dogs" of the cacique and the cattlemen.

#### Population Concentrations in the Countryside

Cayala village can be considered the nerve center of the congregación, the scene of most congregacion activities and social interaction. For the most part the countryside around the village is uninhabited except for cattle wandering over the dry sand dunes in



f grass. However, due to certain environmental features  
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should be noted that the outlying populated areas, El  
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inhabitants of El Boscaje consist of fifty or so people in  
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who tends to dominate economic activities in the area.

Economic activities in the area include cattle raising and agriculture, El Boscaje being one of the few spots in the congregación suitable for growing limited amounts of corn, black beans, squash, and rice. While much of the land in the area is sandy and covered with low scrub forest, some cleared land near the shores of the lagoon is richer in organic matter and can be farmed with some success. The abundant scrub forest in the area provides the raw material for producing charcoal, which is made in hand-made kilns. The charcoal from El Boscaje is transported on the backs of burros to Cayala village, where it is sold to village residents who use it to fuel the fires of their cooking stoves.

Because the trip between El Boscaje and Cayala village is a rather long one, El Boscaje residents rarely visit the village for purely "social" reasons. However, many El Boscaje residents, especially the Martínez, have long-standing ties of kinship, marriage, and compadrazco with numerous village residents. For a number of years the head of the Martínez kindred lived in the village where he operated a large restaurant next to the cacique's. As local gossip has it, Martínez was forced to sell his restaurant because most of his profits were squandered on food, drink, and wild parties which are said to have gone on for days. After losing his restaurant Martínez retreated to El Boscaje in hopes of building up his personal fortune through cattle grazing and farming. He once told me that it was his intention to return to the village when possible and start in the restaurant business anew.



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### Punta Del Sol

The Punta de Sol (sun point) is sometimes referred to by local people as La Barra (the sandbar). The Punta is a small peninsula that juts out into the Gulf of Mexico at the northern extremity of the congregacion, directly across the estuary from the town of Playa Cenagosa.

For the most part the Punta is uninhabited. The land is rather flat, consisting entirely of fine gray sand, and covered with low scrub forest. The Punta is unsuitable for agriculture. The point of the peninsula that faces the Gulf, however, is a long, wide, clear strip of beach that makes the Punta a popular place for families and young couples from Veracruz to hold outings and picnics.

On this point reside eleven families (fifty-six persons) who are the only permanent residents of the Punta. These families operate several small seafood restaurants, cantinas, and pop stands which are connected to the family living quarters. These concessions are patronized by the picnickers and sun-bathers who flock to the Punta on Sundays and holidays. During most of the week, however, the beach is almost deserted, except for occasional pairs of lovers seeking the relative privacy the beach affords.

In recent years North American tourists have begun to invade the Punta with their campers and tents. It has also become a gathering place for American and foreign "hippies" who can enjoy "pot" in relative safety from Mexican police authorities. During the period of fieldwork a small colony of about twenty-five young

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American and foreign tourists were in temporary residence. Some individuals stayed but a few days or weeks, while some had been camping on the Punta for as much as six months. Tourists generally camp inland in the scrub forest, away from the local restaurants. No rent or other fees were charged them either by residents of the Punta or people from Cayala. One individual, a young French citizen, was even given a part-time job in Cayala as a janitor in a restaurant. He received no salary, but was given free meals. After a while, however, when it was discovered that he was smoking marijuana, he was fired from his job, but was allowed to remain camping on the Punta.

The permanent residents have long established ties with residents of Cayala village. Some Cayala fishermen occasionally sell shrimp and crabs to restaurant owners. The restaurants are, however, primarily supplied by fishermen from nearby Playa Cenagosa. Frequently individuals or small groups of men from Cayala go to the Punta restaurants to do some private drinking and gambling. Several people from Cayala have compadrazco and kinship ties with Punta residents. School-aged children from the Punta attend school in Playa Cenagosa, however, the school there being much closer and, in the opinion of most Punta parents, much better.

### La Ostra

While officially within the congregación, at least according to the Federal census, for all practical purposes La Ostra (the oyster) can be considered as apart from Cayala y Boscaje. It is located on a bend in the estuary between the laguna chica and the town

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of Playa Cenagosa, about three hours by dugout canoe from Cayala village.

La Ostra is a tiny cluster of small huts and makeshift restaurants (12 families, 52 persons) situated along a narrow beach. People here make their living from tourism, selling beer, soft drinks, and seafood to lower income people from Veracruz and Playa Cenagosa.

Persons living in the area have no ties with persons living in Cayala. On my first visit to La Ostra, I was accompanied by a fisherman from Cayala, Juan Campos, a man in his fifties, a lifelong resident of Cayala, and a former congregacion official. In the course of our visit we talked with members of every family in La Ostra. Campos did not recognize or know any family that was living there. Based on these and subsequent conversations with people from La Ostra, it seems that they are actually recently arrived squatters who have set up residence on previously unoccupied and unutilized land. Children from the area go to school in Playa Cenagosa, and, indeed, the people living there consider themselves to be a colonia (colony) of that town.

La Ostra is situated at the far extremity of a vast tract (at least 1000 hectares) of privately owned land that runs from the northern boundary of the Cayala ejido almost to Playa Cenagosa. This land, monte land very similar to the Cayala ejido, while within the boundaries of the congregación, is owned by a wealthy cattleman from the town of Playa Cenagosa. The owner, who grazes cattle on this land, is a powerful local cacique in his own right and is a long-time friend of the Cayala cacique. For all practical



purposes, Cayala officials do not meddle in his operations.

#### Local Services and Living Conditions

In this section we will discuss some of the types of public services and facilities available (or not available) to Cayalanos, and the general living conditions that prevail in the congregación. The topics include communications, water and electricity, diet and nutrition, illnesses, medical facilities and formal education.

#### Communications

Cayala can hardly be called an isolated community. A scheduled bus service links Cayala with Veracruz and the rest of Mexico on a regular basis. The first bus of the day arrives at the village about seven o'clock A.M., and the last leaves about seven o'clock P.M. Buses normally come and go at about two-hour intervals throughout the day. Two locally based taxis run between Cayala and Playa Cenagosa. They are rather expensive, however, (15.00 pesos to Playa Cenagosa, 30.00 pesos to Veracruz) and seldom are used by local residents except in an emergency.

There is one radio-telephone in the village, located in the private office of the cacique's restaurant. Technically it is possible to place and receive calls from anywhere in the world. Use of the radio-telephone, however, is strictly limited to the cacique and certain members of his immediate family.

Cayala is not linked directly to the national postal service, but one may send and receive mail at the post offices in Playa Cenagosa or Veracruz. There is no telegraph service in Cayala, and



no regular delivery of Veracruz or other newspapers, although these services can be obtained in Veracruz.

### Electricity and Water

At the time of this writing there is no public electrical system functioning in Cayala, although a project to electrify Cayala is well on the way and should be completed within a few months. For the time being, however, most people light their homes in the evenings using kerosene lamps or candles. A few more fortunate families own Coleman or Sears and Roebuck camping lanterns. The cacique and another restaurant owner have gasoline powered electrical generators which can light their restaurants and private homes. Generally, however, if one enters the village much after nightfall everything is shrouded in darkness and the only light visible might be a few faint flickers of candle light coming between the cracks in the wooden shutters of quiet homes.

A new potable water system has recently been installed in the village, but so far only a few families have pipes leading directly into their houses. Most families must carry water to the house in buckets or cans from one of the five public faucets or several shallow wells located here and there throughout the village. The water from the wells is not clean, as surface water polluted with human and animal wastes enters the wells when it rains. Also, it is not uncommon to find small fish or turtles swimming in the wells, which are fed to fatten for later consumption.

### Diet and Nutrition

The diet of nearly all Cayalanos is relatively a good one, and is especially rich in protein derived from shrimp, oysters, various kinds of fish, crabs, black beans, and eggs. At least one meal per day will include a generous portion of one or more of the above, and it is not uncommon for all three meals to include a source of protein. As seafood is readily available for the taking, no family need be without, and cost is not a significant factor limiting protein intake.

Protein sometimes is eaten in the form of beef, pork, and poultry, but to a limited extent. An average of perhaps one hog or cow is slaughtered per week and the meat sold publicly. Here cost is definitely a limiting factor (beef and pork cost around 16.00 pesos per kilo), and poorer families rarely, if ever, purchase meat except on special occasions.

Carbohydrates are also plentiful in the diet, coming from corn tortillas, rice, and white bread. There is a molino (mill) which sells masa (corn meal) dough cheaply, and a bakery which supplies rolls, bread, and various pastries daily at reasonable prices. Sugar is widely consumed as a sweetener in coffee and tea, in various types of punch, in soft drinks, beer, and occasionally as candy. Potatoes are an additional source of carbohydrates, but, as they are fairly expensive and must be purchased outside of Cayala, most families eat them only once or twice weekly.

Citrus fruits and green vegetables are notably lacking in the Cayalano diet. Almost no fruits or vegetables, with the exception of a few bananas, mangoes and watermelons, are grown locally, and

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most are relatively expensive. The most commonly eaten vegetables are tomatoes and onions prepared as spicy sauces or in soups. Fruits such as plums, mangoes, strawberries, cantelope, papaya, and peaches are eaten occasionally when in season. Various kinds of hot chili peppers are widely consumed by all but the smaller children and are an excellent and readily available source of Vitamin C.

Dairy products, especially raw milk, are available but the supply rarely meets the demand. When it is available, milk is usually reserved for younger children and is served boiled and sweetened or as café con leche (coffee with milk) at the morning or evening meal. Cheese and butter are considered luxury foods and are enjoyed by only the more well-to-do.

Meals are prepared three times a day, and include desayuno (breakfast) almuerzo (lunch) and cena (dinner). Lunch is the largest meal of the day and is served between one and three P.M. Breakfast is the second largest meal and is served between nine and eleven A.M. Dinner is often nothing more than a light evening snack eaten anywhere from eight P.M. to midnight. A typical daily menu in Cayala might be as follows:

<u>Breakfast</u>	<u>Lunch</u>	<u>Dinner</u>
fried fish, shrimp or eggs	fried fish, fish soup, shrimp	bread, sweet roll or tortilla
refried or boiled black beans	oysters, crab, chicken or meat	milk, coffee or beer
tortillas, bread or rice	tortillas, bread, or rice	
coffee, tea, often with milk	soft drink or beer	

Between meals, snacks are often eaten. Favorites include soft drinks,

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Persons employed in restaurants generally eat better than those who are not. As a part of their salary, restaurant employees receive two free meals per day. Often they are allowed to take home food left at the end of the day or portions not consumed by paying customers. The variety of foods consumed by restaurant employees is also much greater than for the rest of the population. It is not uncommon for restaurant owners and patrons to bring imported cheeses and canned goods to Cayala and share them with restaurant employees.

A word should be said about the consumption of alcohol in Cayala. Consumption is, in my opinion, very high, especially among adult males and to a lesser extent among females and teen-agers. While diagnosing clinical alcoholism would require more expertise than I have, I would estimate that 30% to 40% of the adult males and perhaps 20% of the females have a serious drinking problem, consuming alcohol in quantity on a daily basis, often a liter or more of hard liquor. Alcohol consumption is to some extent related to occupation in that restaurant workers and musicians are often invited to partake with clients. Waiters, for example, are quite often given their tip in the form of a few drinks instead of in cash.

The most popular alcoholic beverage, especially among poorer individuals is caña (sugar cane brandy), which is distilled in Veracruz. It is relatively cheap (about \$15.00 pesos per liter) and in abundant supply. Rum ranks second in popularity and is often drunk on special occasions such as dances or parties. Imported

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(contraband) scotch is consumed on a regular basis only by a few wealthy individuals. Beer, a local favorite, is sometimes considered more as a food than as an alcoholic beverage.

#### General Sanitary Conditions and Illness

Sanitary conditions in Cayala are very poor. Only the cacique's restaurant and five private homes have flush toilets, and the one in the restaurant rarely works. Adults generally take care of their daily excretory functions in certain more or less secluded spots around the village, or go directly into the estuary from the shore or from a dugout. Children generally void wherever they happen to be at the moment, usually near the front or back door of their homes. The school has sanitary facilities including toilets and showers, but these are available only to school children during school hours. Household and restaurant garbage is dumped directly into the estuary or is fed to pigs penned near the house.

In 1959, Dr. Roberto Torres Camou, then a student completing medical studies at the University of Veracruz Medical School, ran a series of diagnostic medical examinations on a sample of 100 Cayalanos, 20 adults and 80 children. Some of Camou's relevant findings are (Camou 1959):

1. In 100% of the sample individuals regularly drank polluted water without having first boiled it.
2. Only 15% of the individuals sampled regularly wore shoes.
3. 13% of the children sampled regularly ate dirt around their homes.
4. Some form of skin disorder (e.g., sores, eruptions, fungus, etc.) was found in 95% of the sample.



5. 83% of the sample suffered from frequent diarrhea, accompanied by fever in 15% of the cases.

Internal parasites is the most common ailment suffered in Cayala and is directly related to the sanitary conditions mentioned above. On the basis of corproparasitic examinations given to the same 100 individuals Camou found that:

1. 100% of the sample hosted Necator Americanus or hookworm. The hookworm thrives under conditions like those found in Cayala, and enter the body by boring through the skin, usually of the soles of the feet. According to Faust and Russell (1964: 380-388) readily observable symptoms of more advanced stages of hookworm infection are diarrhea and constipation, severe itching at the point of entry, severe gastric pains, "pot belly" especially in children, and a general attitude of apathy. Smillie and Spencer (1926) in a study of school children in Alabama found that the I.Q. of hookworm infected individuals could be lowered as much as 14 points due to their infection. If left untreated (as is generally the case in Cayala), hookworm infection may result in mental dullness, apathy, physical exhaustion and cardiac failure.
2. 100% of the sample were infected with Trickuris trickiura or the human whipworm, an intestinal parasite contracted by ingesting eggs contained in human fecal matter. The readily observable symptoms of whipworm infection are nervousness, diarrhea, abdominal pain, dehydration, severe weight loss and extreme physical weakness. Occasionally prolapse of the rectum occurs in severe cases (Hunter, et al., 1960: 402). Camou observed three cases of rectum prolapse in Cayala in 1959.
3. 84% of the sample were infected with Ascaris lubricoides or the giant intestinal roundworm. This parasite is also ingested as eggs contained in human fecal material. The symptoms accompanying roundworm infection are similar to those of whipworm although perhaps less severe in the majority of cases (Faust and Russell 1964: 424). Symptoms include fever, abdominal pain, weight loss, and diarrhea. Faust and Russell mention that studies have demonstrated that Ascaris infected school children are physically less developed and mentally less alert than uninfected ones, and that, after removal of the worms, nutrition improves, and with it scholastic ability (Ibid.).
4. 30% of the sample were infected with Giardia lamblia, an intestinal protozoa ingested in the form of cysts contained in human fecal matter or by intimate contact with infected individuals. Children are especially susceptible to

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5. Other protozoan parasites that infect 5% or less of the sample include Trichomonas hominis (5%) and Entamoeba histolytica (4%), both having symptoms analogous to Giardia lamblia.

Although Camou's data were obtained in 1959, it is my opinion (strictly as a layman) that the general conditions favorable to parasitic infection still prevail in Cayala and that the situation remains essentially unchanged. Medical treatment for parasites is rarely sought and I suspect that even if it were, reinfection would probably take place within a matter of weeks or months. Although I have no precise statistics on the incidence of parasitic infection, I personally observed all of the various symptoms described above in the majority of the population.

Insofar as other medical problems are concerned, the people of Cayala are more fortunate. However, I observed one case of polio (a middle-aged male), one case of dwarfism (a young adult female), one case of mental retardation (a boy age nine), and six individuals who claim to have azúcar (diabetes). Most persons suffer from dental problems of one sort or another and many adults have missing teeth, which in a few cases have been replaced with dental plates. The common cold, aching bones, and headaches occasionally bother Cayalanos especially during winter, but do not, in my opinion, constitute a serious medical problem.

#### Medical Facilities in Cayala

Modern medical facilities in Cayala are practically non-existent. There is no doctor or nurse in residence and if medical treatment is

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needed, one must go to Playa Cenagosa or Veracruz. In 1971 a female doctor, a recent graduate, came to Cayala and announced that she would be available for consultation two days per week. After showing up about three times, she was never seen in the village again. On one other occasion a government doctor came to Cayala and set up shop in the fishing cooperative for two days. The consultations were gratis, and he examined approximately 80 persons during the two days. I was told that such visits take place once every one or two years. One local resident, a young adult female, gives hypodermic injections for a small fee, but does so under very unsanitary conditions and with equipment that is hardly sterile.

Ideally any Mexican citizen can receive inexpensive medical treatment at the Seguridad Social (social security) clinic or the Red Cross hospital in Veracruz. In practice, however, Cayalanos are very suspicious of these agencies, often with good reason, and rarely take advantage of the services offered. I have observed various situations where the rural poor are made to wait hours before being seen, and then are insulted and ridiculed by agency personnel. After this abuse the examination itself is often cursory, superficial, and rarely includes diagnostic tests. Treatment by private physicians in Veracruz is often no better. In the first place a consultation costs between \$50.00 and \$100.00 pesos, a price few Cayalanos can afford. In many instances doctors also own drug stores and prescribe expensive medicines which again few people can afford. Certainly the majority of physicians in Veracruz are honest and dedicated persons, and I do not wish to imply that they are not. There are a few, however, who appear to be

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exploiting the ignorance of the poor, and I have reservations about their integrity. The result of these practices is that professional medical treatment is seldom sought except when it looks like all other hope for recovery is lost.

When household remedies fail to cure a particular ailment, many residents of Cayala go to a practitioner in Playa Cenagosa who has the trust of local people. This man owns and operates a drug store and has had a couple of years of medical school, although he failed to graduate and is not a licensed physician. He diagnoses and treats a variety of illnesses and even performs minor surgery at times. His fees are quite modest when compared to Veracruz doctors. He has excellent rapport with the villagers and many swear he is the best practitioner in the entire region. I have observed him work on several occasions, and while I cannot judge his professional competence, people who go to him often recover. I personally suspect that his greatest asset is the confidence that people have in him.

In some instances Cayalanos visit curanderos (curers) either locally or in Veracruz. Since the methods of the curanderos are primarily supernatural in nature these activities will be discussed in a later chapter.

### The Village School

The school in which the children of Cayala pursue an often elusive formal education, is under the jurisdiction of the Veracruz Dirección General de Educación Popular (Public Education Commission), which has offices in the state capital at Jalapa. Direct responsibility

for educational activities in Cayala, however, is in the hands of the inspector of the regional zona escolar (school zone), who has an office in Los Barcos. The official function of the school inspector is to see to it that all schools under his jurisdiction are running smoothly, state and federal educational regulations are being followed, that all local children attend school regularly, that teachers are performing their duties faithfully, and that the proper (state determined) curriculum is being taught in the school. He also is to see to it that local school buildings and grounds are being adequately maintained.

In practice, however, most local schools are more or less allowed to run themselves with little or no advice or interference from the inspector. According to him, this is the case because he has neither the time or the staff to check up on the operations of all local schools under his jurisdiction. The inspector is responsible for nearly all schools (primary, secondary, kindergartens, rural and urban) in a region that includes four municipios. There are at least two hundred schools of various types within this region. Since the inspector works without a staff except for secretarial and clerical help in his Los Barcos office, it is impossible, he says, for him to maintain close supervision over the schools. This being the situation, the inspector's contact with local schools is generally limited to cases in which he has received specific complaints from local people or teachers. During the period of fieldwork, the inspector visited the Cayala school only once, during a pre-arranged visit that lasted about one hour. He had no special reason for coming; he planned to visit about a dozen area schools that





day as a matter of routine.

Primary school in Cayala as in other parts of Mexico is both free and compulsory through the sixth grade. Texts, workbooks, teachers' salaries, and so forth are provided by state and federal government. Parents, however, must buy the school supplies a child uses and must provide a small sum monthly to pay the salary of the school custodian. Parents must also pay for any "luxury" items the school might have, sports equipment, soft drinks at recess, visual aids, and so on. Most Cayalanos cannot afford these "extras", and consequently the school is very sparsely equipped, and operates using only the materials provided by the government. But the Cayala school today is a great improvement over the past.

Formal education in Cayala had its beginnings around 1950 in a tiny hut with a thatched roof. The first school was organized by a woman from Veracruz, who was sent to the village by the state government. It was a poorly equipped school, makeshift at best. Students, if they wished to sit during class, had to bring their own chairs from home.

During the first few years schooling in Cayala was rather casual. Both children and adults were enrolled in school initially, but it seems that attendance was quite low and often irregular. The adults soon stopped coming. The primary objective of schooling at this time was to reduce the widespread illiteracy that characterized Cayala, and therefore basic reading and writing courses were stressed. At this time, a local child could receive the rough equivalent of a second grade education.

In 1958, at the urging of the school teacher, local people formed the Padres de Familias association. This is a parent-teacher association, similar to a P.T.A. in the U.S., that was formed with the expressed purpose of raising funds so that a "decent" local school might be built in the future. However, as a result of the formation of the Padres de Familias group, a minor educational crisis occurred.

The group decided that a small quota (ten pesos) would be assessed to each family with school-age children. The money collected was to go toward the upkeep of the school, but whatever was left over was to go into a fund for the construction of a new school. The quota was duly collected and held by the group's treasurer, a son of the cacique. After the quota had been collected for several months, some members of the group asked for an accounting of the funds. The treasurer could not produce the money, and he was accused of robbing the treasury and spending the funds on gambling and drinking, an allegation that informants say is probably true given the personality of the individual. Although there was talk of calling in the Los Barcos police and jailing the treasurer, no concrete action was taken. He was, however, forced to resign from his position by local parents.

The result of this affair was that villagers became very suspicious of Padres de Familias officers. This attitude still exists today, i.e., the officers of the group are considered dishonest, and not to be trusted.

A few years after this incident took place, a new woman teacher came from Veracruz. She was very dedicated and is by all accounts

the most popular teacher the village has ever had. About 1964 she started a campaign to build a new school. Having been made aware of the feelings of villagers toward the Padres de Familias, she chose to work with another group, the Junta de Mejores Materiales, which was under the general jurisdiction of municipio government, and not connected directly with the school or state educational agencies.

A monthly quota (\$90.00 pesos per month) was levied against all families with children. The money raised locally was to be matched with an equivalent sum from the federal rural school commission. Knowing what had happened in the past the teacher, accompanied by a local policeman, collected and held the funds herself. In 1965 she, along with several local men turned the money over to the office of the federal education commission in Jalapa, and soon afterward construction of the present school building was started.

The federal government arranged for all materials, a civil engineer to plan the construction, and a maestro (journeyman bricklayer) to take charge of the actual work. The community provided the manual labor, three men per day who worked without pay as bricklayers. In 1966 the school was completed.

The new school opened with two teachers teaching four grades in the two classrooms. The next year a third teacher and grade five was added and the year after that another teacher and grade six was added. Today the school staff consists of a director-teacher and three teachers. Grades one through six are offered, and a student can receive an elementary school diploma upon graduation.

Literacy

If we compare literacy statistics from rural Veracruz villages taken from the 1960 national census with statistics from the census taken by myself in Cayala in 1970, it can be said that a higher percentage of Cayalanos are literate than is the case for the state of Veracruz as a whole. The national census shown that in 1960 slightly over forty-three percent of the state's rural population age seven and above could read and write at a minimal level of achievement. In Cayala in 1970 almost seventy-one percent of the population could read and write. I suspect, however, that the literacy rate in Cayala has gone up considerably since 1966, when the present school was constructed.

Considering only Cayala, census data collected in 1970 reveals several interesting points. Over ninety percent of young people between the ages of seven (the age at which a child begins school), and twenty-five are literate, i.e., they can read and write, but with varying degrees of expertise. Roughly sixty percent of all persons between ages twenty-six and sixty can read and write. These figures reflect the fact that today's children have a much better opportunity to go to school than did their parents and grandparents. Furthermore, a young person today is more likely to use his formal schooling on the job than was the case several years ago. This is especially true of the young person who goes into the tourist business locally, or who finds a job outside of the village which requires reading, writing, and arithmetic skills. However, young people who stay in the village to become fishermen or fishermen's wives are likely to forget what they have learned in school after a

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few years. Indeed, several older villagers have said that at one time they knew how to read and write, but have long since forgotten these skills.

A few local people have gone on to continue their formal education. Over sixty Cayalanos have received an elementary school diploma, and of these about fifteen either have, or are in the process of seeking more advanced schooling or vocational training. However, to continue one's education it is necessary to go to Playa Cenagosa, Veracruz, or elsewhere, which means that a child's parents must pay for tuition and room and board. Because these expenses are relatively high for most Cayala parents, only those parents who are well off financially can afford the price of secondary school or vocational training.

While most tourist trade employees use school learned skills in their jobs, these skills are rarely used for recreational or "self-enrichment" purposes. Recreational reading is limited to fotonovelas (romance or crime novels, illustrated with photographs or cartoon drawings; they contain a minimum of written dialogue), comic books, sports magazines, and, only occasionally, newspapers. The results of a survey taken of all Cayala households indicated that in no home are there any books of any kind, even though books are readily available and relatively inexpensive in Veracruz. Recreational reading also suffers from competition with the transistor radio. The same survey indicated that over 90% of all homes had at least one and often two or three radios. In many homes the radio is played from morning to night, the favorite programs being disc jockey shows which feature popular music, and "soap operas", usually

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Writing is even more limited than reading. On special occasions, such as an upcoming trip to visit a relative in another town, personal letters are written to inform the other party, but rarely are letters written solely to communicate greetings. If a person cannot write at all, and finds it necessary to do so, he will ask another person to write, or consult one of the professional letter-writers established in stalls next to the post office in Veracruz.

#### Major Historical Events in Cayala

According to the oldest living informants in the village, Cayala came into being as a settlement about ninety years ago in the early 1880's. Thus, Cayala has a relatively recent history of settlement when compared to many Mexican communities that date back to Pre-Columbian times.

To my knowledge, no written accounts of the settlement of Cayala exist, nor is Cayala mentioned in any of the various historical works on the Veracruz region. Therefore, the only historical information available comes from the present day inhabitants of the village and is very likely a mixture of fact and legend.

One story that is commonly told by local people describes Cayala village as a former way station in the Negro slave trade that illegally operated along the coast of Veracruz as late as perhaps the 1850's. It is said that slaves were brought in ships to the nearby Gulf coast, and from there taken to the present-day

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site of the village and hidden until they were sold to landowners in other parts of the country. It is said that many were sold to landowners around Puebla.

The story follows that in the 1870's and 1880's many slaves from around the Puebla region escaped from their masters and found their way back to the Veracruz coast. Some of these former slaves, it is said, came to what is now Cayala and formed a small squatter settlement on land that then was part of a large hacienda. These refugees were the founding fathers of Cayala village.

The story appears plausible considering a number of factors. First, the present-day village site would have been at that time quite inaccessible and well hidden from the coast. Even today the sand dune hill El Monte conceals nearly all traces of human habitation from the coastal highway. Inland, the two lagoons provide a measure of protection from intruders. From El Monte or from the shores of the lagoons people can easily be seen coming long before they arrive. Thus, the geography of the immediate region provides an excellent place for both a way station for smuggling and, later, for a refuge area.

A second factor that lends credence to the story is the nature of the land in the immediate area, which is very sandy and is covered with tropical scrub forest. As has been mentioned, lack of rain during much of the year creates almost desert conditions and because of this situation, the land has never been used for agriculture. Thus, I suspect that landowners from Veracruz would have had very little interest in the land around Cayala. Indeed, informants state that land around Cayala, even though it was part of an

hacienda, was never under the effective control of anyone, mainly because it was considered worthless. The immediate area of the village seems to have been a sort of "no man's land" until the 1880's. On the other hand, the abundant shrimp, oysters, fish, and crabs found in the estuary could have provided, then as now, a more than adequate food supply for refugees.

A third factor that supports the story is the physical type of the present day inhabitants of the village. Today many inhabitants of Cayala state that they are really Africanos (Africans), and the descendants of former slaves. Indeed, most Cayalanos as well as a great many coastal Veracruzanos exhibit a strong African physical type. Physical characteristics include dark skin color, coarse kinky black hair, and relatively large lips. Race mixture had undoubtedly occurred, however, as the modern population of Cayala shows much individual variation in the above overt physical characteristics. The genetic mixture that has occurred has probably been between persons of African and European ancestry rather than between African and Indian. Only three or four present day adults in Cayala show obvious Indian genetic influences.

Even though their physical type shows that most villagers are of African ancestry, obvious remnants of African culture are missing. However, the name of the village and the surname of the largest family group (Salga) are very likely West African in origin. Other than this, there are no traces of any African language; no living person can remember speaking or hearing anything but Spanish. Certain musical styles (sones) that are popular in the Veracruz area might be African in origin, but are relatively recent, probably

having been introduced from the Caribbean islands.

Neither does the culture of Cayala seem to be directly or heavily influenced by native Indian culture. Rather, the culture of Cayala appears to be a mixture of elements from several cultural traditions that have become modified and adapted to the local situation.

No one in Cayala is certain of his ancestry before the founding of the settlement. Geneologies collected in Cayala go back only four or five generations, to the original founders of the village. Distant ancestors do not, however, generate much interest in Cayala, and people do not worry or think too much about them.

Local informants generally agree that the founders of Cayala were Basilio Salga, Carlos Moreno, Teobaldo Campos, Serapio Velasco, Adolfo Paredes, and Amado Herrera. These men built modest homes near the estuary in the area now known as El Mero Cayala, and earned their living by fishing and gathering the limited resources afforded by the nearby scrub forest. These surnames are today the most common found in the village, often in combination with each other (e.g., Paredes Herrera, Salga Moreno, etc.), and it appears that community endogamy was the preference of Cayalanos until about thirty or forty years ago. This was probably due to the relative isolation of the original settlement.

The 1910 Mexican Revolution had little direct effect on the inhabitants of Cayala. Again, probably due to the isolation of the village, local people did not become involved in the great social upheaval that was changing the lives of millions of people elsewhere in Mexico.

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I have been told that small bands of both loyalist and rebel forces came to the village on two or three occasions, but stopped only for a few hours to rest their horses. Some informants claim that once a cow was stolen by one of the bands, but it is not clear which side was guilty of the theft. It is said that on one occasion a young man, a recent squatter, left the village with a band of troops loyal to Carranza, never to be heard of again.

If anything, Cayalanos were perhaps nominally allied with the rebels. This was due to the fact that three brothers named Tenario lived "on the road to Los Barcos" and were rebel captains in the area. The brothers befriended the people of Cayala, and placed no demands on them other than requesting a little food now and then. It appears that the main concern of the Tenario brothers and indeed, of both sides during the Revolution, was control of the Veracruz-Los Barcos railroad line, which is quite a distance from Cayala. The fighting along this line is said to have been quite fierce on many occasions. In any event, the Revolution brought no bloodshed to the village.

The development of the present form of village political organization had its beginnings around 1935. According to informants, at this time Cayala was urged to form a junta (committee) to run the affairs of local government. It seems that a man from Los Barcos arrived in the village one day to help set up and organize the junta. His visit was unsolicited and marks the first occasion since the founding of the settlement on which outside political authority and influence was felt in Cayala. But little interest was aroused by the visit and the subsequent junta. According to Aquiles Pichardo,

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the president of the first junta, "We formed the junta because the man from Los Barcos said we should. I was the president but we didn't know what to do and so we didn't do anything. It is difficult to know what to do about these things, especially when you don't know how to read and write."

After a while, and with the further guidance of the politicians from Los Barcos, the junta became converted into a permanent local governing body much as it is (at least ideally) today. The first village agente municipal (municipal agent) was Luis Molina, the grandfather of the present fishing cooperative president.

Molina was followed in office around 1940 by Antonio Salga, who is now the cacique. Salga remained in office for four terms or twelve years, which is important to bear in mind as it is during this period that Salga began his rise to local power. When asked why Salga held the office so long, especially when a single three year term was the law, local informants replied in effect: "There was much ignorance here. Salga was the only person who could do the job."

It was during Salga's term as municipal agent that the people of Cayala petitioned the federal government to establish the land on which Cayala was built and surrounding countryside as ejido lands. Informants state that Salga and a few other descendants of the founding fathers gave impulse to the move to make Cayala an ejido, and that without his efforts Cayala might still be part of a hacienda today. In 1944 Cayala was granted ejido status and local residents were squatters no more.

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of Cayala took place in 1947, with the completion of the two-lane paved all-weather coastal highway which connects Cayala with Veracruz. Shortly after the completion of the main road a paved branch was constructed into the center of Cayala village, and for the first time in its history the village was no longer isolated, but was now connected to nearby and distant population centers by bus, truck, and automobile.

The coming of the road marked the beginning of the transformation of Cayala from an isolated fishing village into a tourist attraction, a process that still continues today. The local geography which contributed to the foundation of Cayala as a refuge area now took on a different meaning. Los Montes, the estuary, and the lagoons which had served so well to hide Cayalanos from intruders, now served, due to their scenic beauty, to draw outsiders into the life of the village.

The fishing economy of the village was in many ways pre-adapted for tourism, in that local fishermen were capable of producing a surplus of shrimp, crabs, oysters, and other fish. According to informants a portion of this surplus was sometimes carried to Playa Cenagosa in canoes or on horseback. There it was sold for cash used to purchase equipment and necessary supplies. It is also quite likely that some Cayala residents made and transported charcoal to Playa Cenagosa. The natural scrub forest found around Cayala would have provided ample raw material for charcoal making. However, according to informants seafood surpluses often exceeded what could be feasibly taken to Playa Cenagosa, and sometimes seafood was left to "rot in the sun." Thus, restaurants were a means

by which seafood surpluses could be sold locally to tourists, with little or no change in local subsistence patterns or food supply.

I suspect that the nature of the village and the local fishermen themselves played an important role in the developing tourist trade, even as they do today. People, especially from a large city such as Veracruz, enjoy looking at the "quaint" little thatch roofed huts of the fishermen, and enjoy watching them catch seafood with their "primitive" nets thrown from dugout canoes.

The present-day restaurant business in Cayala had its humble beginnings a few years prior to the coming of the road when Antonio Salga opened a small puesto (store) where a few staple grocery items such as sugar, flour, coffee, beans, etc., and especially *caña* could be purchased. The store was located near the estuary where his large restaurant now stands. After the road was completed and "outsiders" more frequently came to the village, Salga's store became little by little more of a cantina (small bar) than a grocery store. As time went on he began serving simple seafood meals, and the restaurant business was born.

During this same time Salga began his rise to local power. First through his puesto and his cantina later, Salga extended limited amounts of credit to local customers, especially on their purchases of *caña*. After a while many villagers became obligated to him as a result of their indebtedness. These economic obligations coupled with Salga's leadership role in local ejido and political affairs (his twelve years as municipal agent) made him the most influential individual in the village at the time of the coming of the road. His influence was still strictly local, however; no villager or outsider

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would have recognized him then as the cacique that he is today. He was basically like most villagers, although somewhat better off than many. He was, however, beginning to build the skeleton of the local economic organization that he controls so effectively today.

A couple of years after the road was constructed Salga had a stroke of luck that made him, in a very short time, the unquestioned economic leader of the community. He won \$100,000 pesos (\$8,000 dollars) in the national lottery. With this newly gained capital he built "La Casa Salga" restaurant on the site of his old cantina, and he was in the tourist business on a large scale. His restaurant remains today the largest, most popular, and most profitable tourist attraction in the village.

In the years since La Casa Salga began operating several local people have followed Salga's lead and have opened restaurants. All, however, are much smaller than Salga's. Salga and other villagers have seen to it that no "outsiders" have ever operated restaurants in Cayala. Today there are nine restaurants operating on a full-time basis. The growth process has not ended, however. Two new restaurants, one operating daily, and one operating mainly during holidays, came into being during the period of fieldwork.

As might be expected, the growth of tourism has greatly altered the "traditional" village way of life. Perhaps the most significant change is that villagers no longer share a relatively homogeneous lifestyle. Whereas in pre-tourist times nearly all adult males were engaged in estuary and lagoon fishing, now only about half engage in this activity and many of these on a part-time basis. Many

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young men and boys now hold fishing almost in contempt, saying that it is hard, dirty work, with very little compensation. Instead, many are seeking jobs as waiters, bartenders, musicians, taxi drivers, and pleasure boat operators, as people in these jobs generally enjoy a higher standard of living. Their incomes are more stable than those of fishermen and often substantially higher. The houses of tourist trade workers are as a rule newer, larger, and more "modern" than those of fishermen, and more likely to have gas stoves instead of charcoal stoves, running water in the house, tile or cement as opposed to dirt floors, clear glass instead of wooden windows, and so forth. Tourist trade workers also dress differently than fishermen. While many fishermen and their families still go barefoot or wear inexpensive rubber sandals, tourist trade workers almost always wear shoes and socks, and more "fashionable" clothes. Most fishermen wear the inexpensive Jarocho style straw hat, whereas tourist trade workers, when they wear hats at all, generally prefer tailored felt hats or the "cowboy" style made in Michoacán and the northern border states.

There are also other minor yet interesting differences in the lifestyles of these two groups. Fishermen prefer to drink bottled beer or caña, but most tourism workers, if given a choice, prefer to drink more expensive beverages such as canned beer, Bacardi rum and Scotch whiskey, although few can afford the latter very often. Many fishermen still eat their meals using only a tortilla and their fingers as eating utensils, but tourism workers, especially restaurant employees, use standard knives, forks, and spoons.

These differences reflect more general differences in the orienta-



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tion of these two groups. For most fishermen, the village and the estuary are the focal points of their lives and activities. Tourist workers, on the other hand, are much more orientated toward the urban life style of Veracruz. They are in daily personal contact with urban tourists and other urbanites such as musicians, photographers, and vendors who commute to Cayala to make their living. Likewise, while most fishermen and their families only rarely leave the village, tourism workers, especially the younger adults, frequently travel to Veracruz and other nearby towns to visit friends, shop in the city stores, and to go to dances, movies, and sports events. In the city they are exposed to the multitude of things that characterize urban popular culture: color television, rock music, foreign movies, newspapers and magazines of all sorts, factories, night clubs, Paris fashions, American hamburgers, and the host of other things that the city has to offer.

Many Cayala fishermen, however, maintain that they are content with their way of life and do not care to change. Many have told me that above all, a fisherman is independent, i.e., the fisherman is not a wage laborer, is free to work when he wants to, and is not "under the thumb" of a boss, namely the cacique and other restaurant owners. With regard to the things the city has to offer, while many fishermen have said that they enjoy the recreational opportunities that the city provides, many have also stated that there is danger in the city and sooner or later something bad will happen to those who spend too much time there. They cite as urban dangers such things as bus and auto accidents, muggings, being cheated by city businessmen, being exposed to marijuana and other drugs, the ubiquitous

presence of the police, and catching venereal disease from city prostitutes.

As will be detailed later, the growth of tourism has resulted in occupational specialization for both men and women. The following paragraph is a list of local job specialties that have been created as a result of the growth of tourism in Cayala.

(1) Restaurant owner/operator; (2) Seafood buyer; (3) Fish cleaning crew leader; (4) Fish cleaner; (5) Cook; (6) Dishwasher; (7) Bartender; (8) Waiter; (9) Waitress; (10) Janitor; (11) Musician/singer; (12) Dancer; (13) Taxi driver; (14) Pleasure boat driver; (15) Shoe-shiner; (16) Personal chauffer; (17) Sport fishing guide; (18) Shell necklace maker; (19) Shell necklace seller (children), and so forth.

This list does not point out situations in which new duties have been attached to pre-tourism jobs. For example, the control of automobile traffic by local policemen is a new function of the police force that has been added only recently. The current size of the force itself (six men) is a result of tourism. Nor does the above list include the variety of specialized jobs that are performed in Cayala by outside entrepreneurs. These would include specialties such as photographer, candy maker/seller, jewelry, ceramics, and textile artisan/seller, and so on.

Many local women have given up the traditional roles of wife, mother, and daughter, and are now professional cooks, waitresses, barmaids, and business women. In recent years several immigrant families have moved to Cayala village. Immigrants now, however, instead of seeking refuge and seclusion are seeking jobs.

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This brief discussion brings us up to the present state of affairs in Cayala. Let us now turn our attention to the many important features of the contemporary village, beginning with the "backbone" of village life, subsistence patterns and economic activities.

## CHAPTER III

### ECONOMIC AND SUBSISTENCE PATTERNS

#### Cultural Ecology

In the introductory chapter of this thesis under the heading Methodology it was stated that a basic assumption of this thesis is that to fully understand the nature of a community we must take into account those environmental factors that have in one way or another contributed toward shaping the activities of men. In this chapter we will therefore in part be concerned with the "cultural ecology" of Cayala, following the construct and method elucidated first by Julian Steward (1955), and later by Robert Netting (1968).

Steward (1955) has set forth three basic procedures that should be followed to understand the interrelationships that hold between a specific cultural group and the environment in which that group is found. These are (Ibid.: 40-41): "First, the interrelationship of exploitative or productive technology and environment must be analyzed . . . Second, the behavior patterns involved in the exploitation of a particular area by means of a particular technology must be analyzed. And...The third procedure is to ascertain the extent to which the behavior patterns entailed in exploiting the environment affect other aspects of culture."

In other words, cultural-ecological analysis requires three steps.

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In the first we examine the "tools" of exploitation, their physical characteristics and how they are put to use. In the second, we examine how men, using their tools, arrange their patterns of productive work. Certain types of activities require varying degrees of cooperation, while other types of activities are more efficiently done alone. In the third step, we attempt to show how these productive arrangements might affect other features of social organization and culture. In this last procedure no prior assumptions are made. As Steward states (Ibid.): "Although technology and environment prescribe that certain things be done in certain ways if they are to be done at all, the extent to which these activities are functionally tied to other aspects of culture is a purely empirical problem."

Robert Netting has carried Steward's method a bit farther, in that he has proposed that certain types of social institutions will, in a variety of specific environmental settings, regularly be of importance to how a particular cultural group has adapted to a specific environment. States Netting (1968: 16): "We begin with the functionalist notion that 'institutions are instrumentalities fulfilling certain ends' (Goldschmidt 1959: 120) and focus on those institutions whose purpose is production or protection and which show most clearly the links of reciprocal influence with exploitative activities."

Netting goes on to say that certain specific characteristics of a society "seem to be regularly and instrumentally related to ecological considerations" i.e., that the interrelationships between man, technology and environment are perhaps most clearly understood by an examination of the following factors. These are (p. 16):

1. The size, density and aggregation of the population.



2. The division of labor and the composition of productive groups.
3. The rights to the means of production.

In the present chapter the reader is asked to direct his attention to these factors as they are manifested in Cayala.

#### The Economy of Cayala: General Characteristics

According to informants, up until about twenty years ago, Cayala was un pueblo de pescadores (a community of fishermen). This is because at that time, nearly every male old enough to work was engaged in the occupation of fishing. Twenty years ago the major source of sustenance for the inhabitants of Cayala were the seafood products caught in el río, the term they apply to the estuary that links the two lagoons. Until about twenty years ago, the young women of Cayala were destined for but one occupation in life, the occupation of casera (homemaker, housekeeper). While today many of the women of Cayala are still caseras, and nearly all male native sons are still knowledgeable and experienced in the art of fishing, the times have changed, and with them so has the economy of Cayala.

Some of the factors that have affected the traditional economy of Cayala have been alluded to earlier. Chief among these was the coming of the road, ending the long period during which the village was relatively isolated from nearby and distant population centers. As has been mentioned, the road opened up the village to tourism and the restaurant business. As a result of tourism and other factors, the population of Cayala village has recently increased greatly. In 1959, Torres Camou (1959: 27) estimated the population of the village (excluding outlying habitation areas) to be about 430 inhabitants. The census I conducted in 1970 showed a population of nearly 600

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permanent residents. In other words, in slightly over ten years the population of Cayala village has increased by roughly 28.5%, a sizeable increase in such a short time.

Informants state that because there are so many more people to feed today, and because so many more young men (in terms of absolute numbers) are fishing, the estuary and lagoons are greatly overfished. In the opinion of informants, this situation has resulted in smaller catches for all fishermen.

According to informants, after the road was built, enabling locally caught seafood to be sold at the Veracruz markets, fishing activities increased in intensity. In the past a fisherman caught more or less the amount of fish that his own household could consume. Motivated by a cash return for their catches, however, fishermen began to take amounts of seafood that greatly exceeded the amounts needed for household consumption. At the same time, demand for seafood in newly established local restaurants resulted in an even greater intensity in fishing activities.

In recent years local fishermen have been struck by a major economic disaster. Nearly all fishermen agree that up until about 1968 or so clams (almejas) were found in abundance in the estuary-lagoon system. Clams were perhaps the number one single cash producing seafood product caught (or rather dug) by Cayala fishermen. Since about 1968, however, the local clam population has declined so rapidly and drastically, that during the period of fieldwork I never once saw fishermen bringing in clams. Informants state that there are so few clams remaining that fishing for them is a waste of time. All fishermen agree that the disappearance of clams more than any other

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single factor is responsible for the sharp decline in income from fishing that has occurred over the past few years.

Why the almejas disappeared I do not know, but informants have offered several speculative opinions. The opinion shared by the majority of fishermen is that during the sixties so many clams were taken that the few remaining were unable to reproduce in numbers sufficient to maintain a more or less balanced population. Others state that the clam population naturally increases and declines in seven year cycles. The population increases year by year for seven years until a peak population is reached. After the peak has been reached, the population decreases year by year for seven years until the clams have all but disappeared. The cycle then begins again. If this is indeed the case, then it seems that 1970 was perhaps the year of lowest clam population, and that 1977 should be the year of the next peak population. However, according to a Japanese marine biologist associated with the oceanographic research center in Veracruz, overfishing is probably the main reason for the disappearance of the almeja.

Due to the decline in marine resources, a young man can no longer assume that he will be able to provide for a family by fishing local waters. Many young men, not always by choice, realize that they must seek occupations that would have been quite unfamiliar to their fathers and grandfathers. As one young man in his early twenties put it: "I just want to be a fisherman like my father. This is because I like to fish more than anything else. But, I know that if I want to get married and have my own house, I will have to find another job. These days you can't make any money fishing."

While fishing is still a significant factor in the economy and social life of Cayala, the village can no longer be called un pueblo de pescadores. Local residents, men and women alike, are now holding a wide variety of jobs, many of which were unknown in the village twenty or even ten years ago. The present economy of Cayala is a mixed economy based primarily on fishing and tourism, particularly the restaurant business, and to a lesser extent on cattle ranching and agriculture.

Reflecting the mixed economy of Cayala, Tables 1. and 2. show the various general job categories that presently exist in Cayala for males and females, and the number of local residents employed in the various jobs. The information on the tables was compiled from various sources, including data obtained from the general census of the village that was taken during the fieldwork period, extensive observations made in local restaurants and other businesses, lists of employees and workers given to me by various local employers, and interviews with several local informants engaged in various occupations. The tables do not include all persons living within the boundaries of the congregación, but only those persons normally residing within the village itself. In some cases, certain individuals could have been placed in more than one category. In these cases the individuals were placed in the category that seemed to best describe their principal occupation. People who live in other communities such as Veracruz, Playa Cenagosa, and Piraguas who commute to Cayala to work were not included. The majority of these persons come to Cayala irregularly; most are traveling salesmen who peddle various products such as candy, costume jewelry, souvenirs of

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Table 1 • OCCUPATIONS OF CAYALA PERMANENT RESIDENT MALES

	<u>Number of persons</u>	<u>Percent of Working Males</u>
Full-time fishermen (cooperative <u>socios</u> and <u>libres</u> )	46	28.22
Full-time restaurant worker (eg., waiter, bartender, etc)	28	17.17
Restaurant owner/operator	4	2.45
Non-restaurant commercial (owner)	7	4.29
Agriculture and cattle raising	7	4.29
Employed outside Cayala, eg., in Veracruz	16	9.81
Ranch work (employee)	3	1.84
Full-time musician	8	4.90
Taxi driver	3	1.84
Pleasure boat driver	3	1.84
Part-time fisherman - Part-time other job (eg., musician, policeman, etc.)	25	15.33
Carpenter	1	0.61
Baker	1	0.61
Retired or disabled	7	4.29
No special occupation	4	2.45
Total	163	

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SOURCE: Census data obtained in 1970 and 1971, and interviews with Cayala employers and workers.





Table 2 • OCCUPATIONS OF CAYALA PERMANENT RESIDENT FEMALES

	<u>No. of Persons</u>	<u>Percent of Working Females</u>
Housework in household of residence only	98	55.37
Part-time household business, e.g., crafts, laundry services, hair- styling, etc.	28	15.82
Full-time restaurant employee	23	12.99
Part-time restaurant employee	16	9.04
Restaurant owner/operator	5	2.82
Local services	2	1.13
Pool Hall	2	1.13
Unclassified	<u>3</u>	1.69
Total	177	

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SOURCE: Census data obtained in 1970 and 1971, and interviews with Cayala employers and workers.

Veracruz, magazines, etc., to both tourists and local residents.

### Tourism

Tourism is today the most significant economic activity in Cayala in terms of the amount of cash and goods exchanged and the number of local residents involved. As Table 1. shows, one hundred and ten local residents, male and female, derive all or part of their income from tourism related jobs. If we include the families of these employees it is safe to say that over fifty percent of the residents of the village are directly dependent on tourism for their livelihood. In addition, on any given day twenty to forty "outsiders," traveling vendors, musicians, and so on, will be found in Cayala, having commuted to the village in hopes of tapping the pocketbooks of visiting tourists.

Tourists are drawn to Cayala by the several seafood restaurants located there. Tourists are mainly city dwellers from Veracruz, but many come from as far away as Cordoba, Jalapa, Puebla, and Mexico City. The majority of tourists are middle class Mexicans: government employees, college students, bank employees, businessmen and so on. But it is not uncommon to find Americans there with their campers, French, German or Japanese teachers on tour, or college students and "hippies" of various nationalities. But, there are numerous modern, clean, and well stocked restaurants in Playa Cenagosa and Veracruz. Why do city people come all the way to Cayala to eat in restaurants that serve a limited menu, that are not air conditioned, and that are certainly not noted for their cleanliness?

I think the major appeal Cayala holds for the city dweller is the "rusticness" of its people, local restaurants, and the village itself.

The urbanite who spends most of his life amidst steel and concrete, fuming cars and buses, noisy crowds and machines finds, I think, a certain peace and tranquility in being surrounded by tiny thatched roof houses, hand-hewn dugout canoes, lively "Jarocho" songs such as "La Bamba," the quiet waters of the estuary, and the open, friendly, and unpretentious people of Cayala. A recent travel article in a major Chicago newspaper has described Cayala thusly:

"A little further afield is Cayala Lake, fifteen miles from downtown (Veracruz), which is a dead ringer for the Amazon River even down to the primitive dugout canoes. Several native 'restaurants' there - really thatched huts with picnic tables - offer freshwater fish just as it's pulled in, along with chickens scratching about underfoot and village children selling curios."

Cayala is also mentioned in a recent American Automobile Association publication. The entry is as follows:

CAYALA LAGOON, a mangrove-hidden lake of brackish water... Fishermen may take bass and perch. Boats and motors may be rented, but there are no other tourist facilities."

It is significant that the A.A.A. almost seems to go out of its way to not mention local restaurants. I suspect that this is due to the fact that the restaurants in Cayala would hardly meet the A.A.A.'s standards of hygiene and sanitation. Dishes and eating utensils are more often than not hastily washed in polluted estuary water, and soap or detergent is often not used. Food preparation areas and kitchens are thick with flies, cockroaches and a multitude of other insects. No restaurant has sanitary bathroom facilities or even a place for either tourists or restaurant employees to wash their hands after using what facilities there are. Oysters obtained locally from polluted waters and eaten raw are delicious, but may very likely carry salmonella bacteria that can cause serious and

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painful food poisoning. At least a half dozen medical doctors, natives of the Veracruz region, warned us never to eat anything in Cayala. This being as it may, most tourists soon ignore the unsanitary conditions as they get caught up in the relaxed, festive atmosphere that permeates the village.

Another major attraction in Cayala is the people of the village themselves. Even though gossip among themselves about local affairs is rampant and often quite malicious, when it comes to restaurant clients from the outside, the people of Cayala are above all discreet. The outsider from Veracruz, Cordoba, or Jalapa knows that, whatever he says or does in Cayala short of committing a major criminal offense, local people will keep his secret. For this reason, Cayala is a favorite place for well-to-do men of the region to entertain their current mistresses or lovers, and there are at least twenty individuals who regularly frequent Cayala with their lovers, safe in the knowledge that news of their activities will never reach their wives and families. One man, for example, a middle-aged owner of a large shoe store in Cordoba, once came to Cayala six times in a matter of two weeks. Each time he came, he had a different young girl with him. When such individuals come, they usually spend heavily and tip generously, so that everyone is happy with the arrangement.

I hasten to add, however, that men from the outside do not come to Cayala seeking the favors of local women. There is no prostitution in Cayala, and no prostitutes among the local women. Occasionally, however, female dancers, not residents of Cayala, engage in prostitution with restaurant clients. According to one informant, a few years ago a dancer/prostitute from Playa Cenagosa was shot to

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death by a client in the main restaurant after refusing a proposition. The man who shot her was evidently quite drunk at the time.

Cayala is also a place where businessmen from the region can conduct semi-secretive business meetings. Bankers, lawyers, real estate agent, etc., will often congregate in a Cayala restaurant to conduct their business, especially if a person they are dealing with is someone they do not wish to be seen with in their home town. On several occasions I have been told by people in the restaurant business that: "We do not just serve our clients, we also protect them."

Tourists visiting Cayala are presented with several different types of restaurant to choose from ranging from the "Casa Salga," the largest and most active restaurant, to small, more secluded, family owned and operated cantinas. Since the Casa Salga plays the most significant role of any restaurant in the village economy, let us first describe its operation, and then turn to a discussion of other types of local restaurants.

#### The Casa Salga

The Casa Salga, named for its founder and owner Antonio Salga, the Cayala cacique, is the focal point of tourism in Cayala and the scene of the most intensive economic activity in the village. It is located in "El Centro" area of the village, on the shore of a bend in the mangrove-lined estuary. It is the largest structure in the village with a total floor space of about 4,000 square feet. It is an open-air building with no side walls to obstruct the tourists'



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view of the estuary or the daily activities of local residents. It is, by design of the owner, very rustic; the floor is of pale red concrete; the roof, which is supported by hand-hewn and concrete posts, is made of palm thatch woven in typical Cayala fashion, although a newer section of roof made of corrugated sheet metal was added a few years ago when the size of the dining area was expanded.

To the rear of the restaurant and to the left is the fish cleaning area where several employees are busy gutting and scaling fish, peeling bright red-orange jumbo shrimp or opening the hundreds of oysters that will be daily consumed raw by visiting tourists. Fish cleaning is done in full view of restaurant diners, and while the sometimes messy spectacle might upset a squeamish American tourist on occasion, Veracruzanos pay no attention to it, having witnessed the scene many times before.

A few paces to the right of the fish cleaning area is the kitchen, which is partially blocked off from the dining area by a brick and plaster wall in which have been left two large rectangular windows. Raw seafood passes into the kitchen through the window facing the cleaning area, and emerges as a cooked meal from the window that faces the dining area.

To the right of the dining area is a small room that opens to the dining area through another window. This room is the bar from which hundreds of cuba libres (rum and coke), toritos (literally, little bull, a drink prepared from fruit juice and pure alcohol), coco locos (literally, "crazy coconut," a drink made with coconut milk and gin, vodka, or caña and served in a coconut shell), and more "orthodox" drinks such as gin and tonic, scotch and soda, and

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beer are served each day to thirsty restaurant patrons. The bartenders also prepare the spicy shrimp and oyster cocktails that are a favorite of diners.

The owner of the Casa Salga directly employs forty three local residents, nearly all of whom have kinship ties with him. Of these, twenty nine are full time employees and fourteen are regular part-time employees. The owner, who resides in a compound of houses behind and beside the restaurant, makes all major decisions with regard to restaurant operations. He is assisted by his youngest son, who serves as his father's general manager. In this capacity he handles most of the day-to-day business of the restaurant such as purchasing food and liquor, making special job assignments, advertizing and so forth.

Another son of the owner functions as the headwaiter. The restaurant employs ten full time waiters and waitresses and from one to six or seven part-time people depending on the size of the crowd. The headwaiter is responsible for assigning specific waiters to individual tables and summoning the part-time help as the need arises. He also oversees the busing of dishes from tables (unless very busy, waiters generally bus their own tables) and supervises custodial activities. Under the headwaiter are the two full time bartenders. Often up to four are needed on busy days. The kitchen crew consists of five full time cooks and dishwashers. As many as ten persons may be in the kitchen on busy days. The kitchen crew is under the direct supervision of a female head cook, but the headwaiter is responsible to see that the flow of food keeps up with the demand.

Fish cleaning, shrimp peeling and oyster opening activities

are under the direction of the owner's youngest brother. He also is responsible for the day-to-day purchase of oysters and fish from local fishermen. Four full-time fish cleaners are employed, and two or three other persons can be called when necessary.

In addition to the employees above, there is also a full-time and several part-time cashiers, a full-time driver and handyman, and two persons working full time who always are available to run errands, make trips to Los Barcos or Veracruz or do whatever task might need doing.

#### The Work Day

The average day in the restaurant begins between nine and ten A.M., long before the first customers arrive. The waiters and the kitchen crew are the first to arrive. The waiters busy themselves with jobs such as cleaning off their assigned tables, folding paper napkins, and peeling shrimp for shrimp cocktails. Between eleven o'clock and noon they stop work for a while and eat breakfast, which is provided by the restaurant.

In the kitchen during this time, the cooks are cleaning up from the day before, and begin cooking large pots of black beans, rice, and the broth for robalo fish soup, which is a popular dish. After getting things more or less ready for the day's business, the kitchen help also has a bit of breakfast.

The fish cleaning crew generally comes in a little after ten A.M. They swab down the floor and cleaning table, check the supply of various kinds of fish and begin opening oysters that will be consumed later. After a while, they too, take a breakfast break.

About noon, members of the two or three local orchestras that play in the restaurant begin to congregate to tune up their instruments, practice, or catch up on local gossip. The bus from Veracruz and Playa Cenagosa usually arrives about twelve-thirty bringing with it more musicians (anywhere from three to six bands are on hand daily), trinket vendors, candy sellers and often a photographer with a Polaroid camera.

The first restaurant clients begin to trickle in about one o'clock. The large crowds, however, begin to arrive about two o'clock, after the stores and offices in Veracruz have shut their doors for the afternoon break. By three o'clock things are in full swing - people are eating and drinking, waiters are rushing back and forth with orders, several bands may be playing different songs at tables scattered here and there, and the entire restaurant is enveloped in a cheerful, noisy atmosphere. This frenzy of activity continues until about seven o'clock. When darkness begins to set in, the restaurant is once again deserted, except for the employees. At this time if employees have not been able to eat during the afternoon, they will have a second meal and perhaps a few drinks. The worst of the day's mess is hastily cleaned up and the employees leave their jobs for the day, to return again the next.

Saturdays, Sundays, and holidays are the busiest times in the restaurant. Also, certain national vacations such as school Easter and Christmas breaks, the annual government workers' vacation period, and, of course, the pre-Lent carnival period bring very large crowds to Veracruz and to Cayala. During these times the work day begins earlier and terminates later. All the part-time help, and just about

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anyone who wishes to work are employed. On some busy weekends and during the vacations many local fishermen will stop their activities and temporarily get a job cleaning fish or waiting on tables.

#### Casa Salga Related Employment

In addition to those persons directly employed by the Casa Salga, several others gain their livelihood from tourist-related jobs that center around the restaurant. Six full-time and perhaps five part-time musicians regularly play in the restaurant. Musical bands will normally frequent other local eating places only if, by chance, there are no clients in the main restaurant.

Musical groups usually consist of from three to five members. The minimum number is three, one man playing the harpa (Veracruz harp), another the jarana (an eight stringed, four note guitar-like instrument about the size of a large baritone ukelele; the strings are double, like a mandolin) and the third, a classical guitar. On occasion, two guitars or jaranas might accompany the harp, which is the instrument most basic to the group. All members of the group participate in singing. The musical groups wander from table to table playing requests from clients. Their songs range from sorrowful love ballads to lively and risque songs in which extemporaneous verses are made up, designed to embarrass a particular client.

An orchestra normally receives ten pesos for a single song, although the rate might be reduced if several songs are requested at a table. It is customary for the clients to buy one or several drinks for the musicians, especially if they have enjoyed the music. At the end of the day, the total sum collected is divided equally



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among the musicians. On a very good day each musician might earn up to one hundred pesos, although on slower week days one might earn as little as ten or twenty pesos. During the winter, when a norte is blowing and there are few customers, a musician might not make anything for several days. Musicians receive no salary at all from the restaurants.

During carnival and school vacations, Mariachi groups from as far away as Puebla and Mexico City come to Cayala. As might be expected, local musical groups resent the competition from outside bands. Perhaps justifiably so, they often complain that outside groups come mainly when there is a lot of money to be made in a short time, but disappear when the going gets rough. There is nothing, however, that local groups can do about it, and indeed, certain other members of the community are working against them.

All outside musical groups, vendors, photographers, etc., who come to Cayala must pay a fixed fee to the police commander for the right to perform, or peddle their wares in Cayala. The fee is normally five pesos per day for each musical group and two to five pesos per day for souvenir vendors, candy sellers or photographers. Outside musical groups that come to Cayala only for special occasions, however, are often charged up to twenty-five pesos per day. It is quite obviously then, to the commander's advantage to have outside groups come in. On the other hand, local musicians do not pay anything to play in Cayala, and are not, therefore, an economic advantage to the commander.

Another group of individuals whose living depends directly upon the operation of the Casa Salga are taxi and pleasure boat operators.

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Of the five pleasure boats that operate from a landing on the estuary side of the restaurant, two are owned and operated by independent persons, while three are operated by paid drivers. The owner's son, the headwaiter, owns one of the boats and the owner's brother, who is in charge of fish cleaning, owns the other two.

The pleasure craft are sixteen-foot modern speedboats powered with five to twelve horsepower outboard motors. Restaurant clients, especially those that bring their families, can take tours of the estuary system and the lagoons. On occasion, a group might first purchase food and drink in the restaurant, and then have a picnic either in the boat itself, or on a remote stretch of beach. The boat rides, which usually last about forty-five minutes, cost fifty pesos, although the price might be negotiated down to twenty-five pesos on very slow days. Boat operators take turns in approaching prospective customers about taking boat rides. If an arrangement is not worked out initially, however, then all operators are free to approach a client again later on in the day.

The paid drivers work on a commission basis. They usually receive fifty percent of the fare. The owner receives the other half, but is responsible for the cost of fuel, oil, and repairs. The operator is responsible for the care and general cleaning of the boat.

The income from boat rides, like other tourist-related income, depends upon the size of the crowd on any given day. Several days may go by with little or no income coming in, but on some weekends an operator might make as much as \$100.00 pesos or more per day.

The two taxis that service Cayala are both operated by paid drivers. One is owned by the man in charge of fish cleaning, the

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other is owned by the headwaiter. The drivers receive a minimum salary of twenty pesos per day, in addition to a forty percent commission. The owners pay for fuel, oil, and major repairs. A taxi ride from Cayala to Playa Cenagosa costs about twenty-five pesos.

Cayala taxis are not permitted to operate in the city of Veracruz itself, as the type of license they operate under restricts their route to the area between Cayala and Playa Cenagosa. On occasion, however, the taxis will carry clients to Veracruz. While very few local residents use the taxi service because of the high cost, occasionally a group of five or six young people will hire a taxi in the evening after the tourists have gone. They usually go to a movie or sports event in Veracruz. The taxi on these occasions is operated by a local person going with the party, instead of by the regular driver. Two of the three regular drivers commute to Cayala to work, and the cars stay in Cayala. The taxis are also used by the owners for personal trips.

#### El Cayuco and La Nueva Casa Salga Restaurants

"El Cayuco" (the dugout canoe) is managed by a son of the owner of the Casa Salga. It is a relatively new restaurant with a concrete floor and roof of corrugated sheet metal. It is located only about six feet from the Casa Salga and the front corners of the two restaurants form a right triangle opening onto the estuary. El Cayuco, however, lacks much of the rustic charm of the Casa Salga, and is not patronized by tourists nearly as much.

El Cayuco was originally built and owned by a man now living in El Boscaje. I am told that for a few years the original owner did a

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fair business and offered some competition to the Casa Salga. However, it appears that he spent his profits mainly on drink, gambling, and wild parties, instead of on staffing and stocking his restaurant. Little by little his business deteriorated until he was on the brink of financial ruin.

At about this same time a son of the cacique, who had been working in the Casa Salga for his father decided that he wanted out from under his father's thumb. So it was decided that the cacique would lend his son the money to buy the failing El Cayuco restaurant so that the son might go into business on his own.

It might seem as if father and son are in direct competition with each other for tourist business. This is not the case, however, as the two restaurants cater to quite different clients. While the Casa Salga serves primarily middle class urban patrons, El Cayuco is one of the most popular places frequented by local residents, especially fishermen, and outside vendors and musicians who stop at El Cayuco for lunch or to have a few beers. Local residents and outsiders who make their living in Cayala are never seen in the Casa Salga unless they have legitimate business there. Indeed, it is almost as if there is an unwritten law barring them from the cacique's restaurant. Actually, I think most local residents feel out of place among the more wealthy and "sophisticated" patrons of the Casa Salga.

El Cayuco does serve outside tourists on occasion. Generally, however, these tourists are much less affluent than those in the Casa Salga. It is not uncommon for tourists in El Cayuco to bring their own food with them from home, and purchase only drinks from the restaurant. On very busy weekends and some holidays El Cayuco



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gets the spill-over crowd from the Casa Salga, but usually only after the latter has been filled to capacity.

El Cayuco is also the setting for certain other events. El Cayuco is where most village social functions take place. Events such as community meetings with government officials, fund raising dances, the annual crowning of the local carnival queen, etc., normally are held in this restaurant. The cacique prefers not to have public functions held in his restaurant, but will usually see to it that his son's place is available for such events.

El Cayuco also provides the cacique with a location for his personal entertaining. The cacique himself rarely eats or drinks in his own restaurant, but prefers the somewhat less crowded and less noisy atmosphere of El Cayuco. At least once or twice weekly a group of his close friends, compadres, or political and business associates get together for afternoon-long banquets and private parties. Occasionally he invites a group of local girls to spend a couple of hours chatting and having a few drinks. During these events, his son is in charge of making all the arrangements for food, drink, and table service. He personally attends his father's table.

El Cayuco supports nine regular employees five of which, a bartender, a waiter, a fish cleaner and two cooks, are full-time. Four part-time employees work at various jobs on weekends, and other local people can be called in if necessary. All employees are local residents and most are kinsmen of the owner and the cacique.

"La Nueva Casa Salga" (the new house of Salga) is, as the name indicates, a fairly new restaurant located about a quarter of a mile

from the village proper in the Muralla area. It is situated on the near shore of the laguna chica from which it commands a view of the entire lagoon. If one is moved by lush, seemingly pristine, tropical scenic beauty there is no better place in Cayala from which it can be enjoyed. However, perhaps because it is somewhat away from the hub of activities in the center of the village, few outside tourist frequent La Nueva Casa Salga.

La Nueva Casa Salga is managed by the same son of the cacique that manages El Cayuco. In this case, as with El Cayuco, the cacique supplied his son with the funds to build the restaurant and get started in business.

Because it is often deserted except on weekends, the Nueva Casa Salga is operated by a light crew of employees. The manager's wife, with the aid of a teen-aged girl, performs the cooking and cleaning duties and acts as the cashier. A young man serves as a combination fish cleaner, bartender, and waiter.

#### Single Family Owned and Operated Restaurants

While the cacique and his sons get the lion's share of the income from local tourism in their restaurants, they do not hold a monopoly on the restaurant business. In addition to the Salga restaurants there are seven other smaller, independently owned and operated establishments scattered throughout the village, four in El Mero Cayala, one in Aldea Nueva and two in the Muralla. All but one of these small restaurants are physically connected to the owner's residential dwelling. The restaurants have a small kitchen and one or two bedrooms toward the back and a small bar and dining

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area under a connected porch in front of the household living quarters. The dining areas hold from four to eight tables, and can seat from about fifteen to perhaps thirty customers. In nearly all cases the kitchen and dining areas are used by the owner and his or her family for their own personal needs.

Most of the cash taken in by family operated restaurants comes from small sales of beer or liquor to local residents or vendors and musicians, although on weekends a few meals might be served to outside tourists.

It should be noted that sales to local residents represent a smaller profit margin for restaurant owners. For example, in most restaurants a bottle of beer would cost outside tourists \$2.25 to \$2.50 pesos. To local residents the going price in 1971 was \$1.50 pesos per beer. Soft drinks cost \$1.50 to 2.00 pesos to tourists, whereas to local residents the price is normally \$1.00 peso. Thus, on a bottle of beer or pop sold to a tourist a restaurant owner makes a profit of up to \$1.25 pesos per bottle, while selling the same bottle to a local person means a profit of from twenty-five to fifty centavos. As might be expected, the income, especially during the week, from these restaurants is very little. Daily profit in most establishments rarely exceeds ten pesos per day during the week, but might reach fifty pesos on Saturday and Sunday if one is lucky and serves some meals.

In nearly all independent restaurants, the income from the restaurant alone is not enough to support the family. The entire family shares the work in the restaurant, but always at least one or more family members has another job which supplies at least half,

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The largest independent restaurant is "La Perla" owned and operated by Enrique Moreno. It is especially popular to those local residents who do not wish to patronize Salga restaurants. Moreno has installed a gas motor operated electrical generator and has electric lighting in his place. His is the only restaurant in the village open after dark, and he does most of his business at night. He also has recently purchased a television set and a juke box, which are the only ones in town. These have proved to be quite an attraction to local people, and on any given night up to twenty-five adult and teenage males can be found inside drinking and watching television or listening to popular music. Outside, swarms of small children mill about, all trying to see the television through the open windows.

The Perla is located near the entrance to the village a short distance from the school. It is a fairly new structure, generally cleaner than other local eating places, and can seat a crowd of at least fifty persons. Despite these advantages, however, tourists tend to pass it by and go on to the Casa Salga. As might be expected, the owner of the Perla resents this very much, and is at a loss to explain why his establishment is so often bypassed in favor of the Casa Salga. The cacique, however, offered me an opinion. He believes that the reason the Perla is often ignored is because it is not "rustic" enough. That is, it does not have a thatched roof, and is enclosed in brick and plaster walls. In the opinion of the cacique, the Perla is just the same as scores of other restaurants in Veracruz and Playa Cenagosa, and has nothing novel to offer the city tourist.

The restaurant "Las Brisas" (the breezes) is located in the

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Muralla area and is owned and operated by a woman, Blanca Espinosa and her family. Her oldest son has recently opened up a small makeshift restaurant next to his mother's. Blanca's husband provides most of the family income from his job as a ticket-taker in one of the largest Veracruz movie theaters. Again, what little business is done, is done on weekends. Customers are either the spill-over from the main restaurant or persons seeking the relative solitude the location provides.

In early 1971 an incident occurred, however, that made "Las Brisas" a very popular place for a while, and might result in an increase in future business. Las Brisas is quite rustic in appearance and commands a very good view of the laguna chica. There are also no other houses in the immediate vicinity. For these reasons, a French movie company selected Cayala and specifically "Las Brisas" as a site for filming certain movie scenes on location.

The film starred the famous Brigitte Bardot and Lino Ventura, an Italian actor. The film, entitled "Bulevar de Ron" (Rum Boulevard), deals with romance and smuggling in Cuba during the 1920's and the producer evidently thought that Cayala ideally represented the setting and atmosphere Cuba had at that time.

Miss Bardot and the cast and crew were in Cayala for five days. For those five days up to 500 people per day came from the region to view the proceedings. Las Brisas was gayly decorated and partly remodeled by the movie crew. Several local people were hired as extras, and the area took on an almost carnival atmosphere. For those five days few local men fished, but preferred to watch the sometimes scantily clad star and members of the supporting cast. Local women

reacted in an entirely different manner, proclaiming that the whole thing was shameful and that the men were not only neglecting their families and work but making pendejos (roughly, fools) out of themselves. The star, the film, Cayala, and 'Las Brisas' received a good deal of publicity in the Veracruz newspaper and over local radio stations.

Three other small restaurants are owned and operated by Rosa Salga (a sister of the cacique), a separated woman of the Moreno family, and the local police commander respectively. Like the other independent restaurants, most of the business is from local people, and beer and soft drinks are the items primarily sold.

Another establishment is owned and operated by Amanda Salga, the widowed daughter of the cacique. Her place, which was given to her by her father, is not really a restaurant at all in that although she sells beer and soft drinks to Aldea Nueva residents, no meals are served to the public. Her place is popular, however, for holding private parties given by local people. When a person is celebrating a birthday or saint's day, or when the local baseball team celebrates a victory or a loss, these events are often held at her place. People usually bring their own food which they have prepared at home, and buy their drinks from the owner.

Her place also functions as a movie theater. At irregular intervals a truck with a portable generator and movie projector comes to the village to show vintage films. These take place at two or three week intervals. Up to perhaps forty or fifty local people, mainly children, attend these movies for a nominal admission charge.

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Fishing: Introduction

While many Cayala males have given up fishing for tourism related jobs, fishing still represents a way of life and a source of livelihood for a large segment of the population of the village. As Table 1., in the preceeding section indicates, over seventy (roughly forty-three percent), of the one hundred sixty-three working male residents in the village are actively engaged in some type of fishing. Forty-six of these can be classified as full-time fishermen, men whose entire income is derived from fishing. The remaining twenty-five fishermen fish part-time, but derive at least half of their income from fishing activities.

Although the incomes of individual fishermen vary greatly, generally speaking full-time fishermen earn less actual cash income than local men in other occupations. For example, a full-time restaurant waiter might clear up to fifteen hundred pesos per month in salary and tips plus two daily free meals. Based on census data and interviews with fishermen I calculate that a full-time fisherman averages about five hundred pesos (forty dollars) cash income per month. However, some individual fishermen earn as little as two hundred-fifty pesos per month, while others earn as much as one thousand pesos per month or more.

Precise figures on income from fishing are somewhat difficult to obtain for two reasons. First, an individual's catch is highly variable from day to day or even week to week depending on the weather, a fisherman's "luck" and the amount of time and personal effort expended. Cash income, of course, varies with the size of the catch. Second, the above income estimates do not take into account

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the fact that often a portion of the catch is not sold for cash, but rather is brought home for family consumption. While it is difficult to put an exact monetary value on fish consumed in the home, I would estimate that up to two hundred pesos worth of fish (retail value) would be consumed by an "average" family of five persons in one month.

Still, the income from fishing is generally lower than that in other occupations. The differences in income between fishermen and other local workers are not so much reflected in the family diet, but in housing, clothing, and recreational activities. Fishermen's homes tend to be smaller and less well constructed than other workers. Fishermen tend to wear less expensive clothing and wear their clothing longer than other workers; they often go barefoot even while not fishing. Rarely can they afford to take short excursions to nearby dances or go into Veracruz for entertainment; they tend to seek diversion in the village.

There are many different aspects of fishing in Cayala, and these will be the topic of discussion in this section. We will begin with a look at the technology utilized in different types of fishing and the various techniques employed in the catch. We will then proceed to a discussion of the social and economic aspects of fishing including the organization and functions of the local fishing cooperative, marketing procedures, and the nature and composition of work groups. Finally, we will examine certain aspects of change in fishing technology and social organization.

### Fishing Techniques and Technology

The fishing waters exploited by Cayala fishermen can, for present purposes, be considered as consisting of two somewhat distinct microenvironments. One of these is the shallow, winding, mangrove lined estuary, and the other is the broad deep lagoons, which here can be considered together as one microenvironment. Different species of marine life inhabit the different microenvironments, and due to the distinct habits of the species found in them, distinct fishing techniques and types of equipment are utilized in the catch. For example, shellfish such as crabs (jaiba), shrimp, and oysters are most plentiful in the estuary whereas fish such as skate (librancha) and robalo are found in greater numbers in the lagoons. Certain species of fish, however, are found in both the estuary and in the lagoons. Let us first discuss the various techniques and equipment used in estuary fishing and then turn to a consideration of lagoon fishing.

### Estuary Fishing

Unless a man should decide to fish from the bank of the estuary, he will fish from a long narrow dugout canoe called a cayuco. Cayucos range from about three to six yards in length and are about a yard and a half wide in the middle. They are hand hewn from a single log of hard, rot resistant wood such as cedar, nacaste, palo de acú and María, using an adze.

Cayucos are not made in Cayala, as the type of logs needed are not found locally. According to local informants, however, Cayalanos made their cayucos in the past. Today, cayucos are purchased ready

made from craftsmen living in villages in the municipio of Tlacotalpan, which is southwest of Los Barcos, about a four hour bus trip from Cayala.

A large cayuco (five or six yards long, the most popular size) costs about three thousand pesos, plus truck transportation charges which might run as high as two or three hundred pesos. The smallest canoes (about three yards long) cost between one thousand and fifteen hundred pesos.

According to local informants, cayucos, if properly cared for, can last forty years or more. After a canoe has been used it is pulled onto dry land. Care must be taken to empty all water out of it, and palm fronds are put inside to shield the wood from the intense rays of the sun. Periodically the cayuco owner must caulk any small cracks in the wood that might have developed. The caulking most often used is a type of tar that is also used to repair asphalt roads. Every two or three months the road repair crew comes to Cayala to sell fishermen tar from the government tank-truck. This seems to be a beneficial arrangement for the road repair crew as well as for Cayala fishermen. The tar is usually boiled down to obtain a thicker consistency and then smeared over cracks with a stick or old paint brush. Some boat owners paint the entire canoe with tar every two or three years. In more recent years some have been painting the outsides of the canoes with brightly colored commercially produced paints.

Cayucos are poled through the relatively shallow waters of the estuary and the lagoons. The fisherman stands up in the back of the canoe and pushes it forward with a flexible wooden pole about twelve



to fifteen feet long and about two inches in diameter. Steering is done by pushing from one side of the canoe or the other. The pole can also be held rigid in the water behind the canoe to serve as a rudder. If one is in a hurry, speeds of up to perhaps ten miles per hour can be reached over short distances in a cayuco. Cayucos, however, because of their narrow width, are very prone to rock and capsize. A lot of practice (and a good many dunkings) precede one's becoming expert at handling a cayuco. Even the most experienced fisherman will on occasion, and much to their embarrassment, get a good soaking.

The most commonly used piece of equipment used in fishing in both the estuary and lagoons is the ataraya net, which is a large circular net. The ataraya has a diameter of from about twelve to as much as twenty-four feet. To the center of the circle is attached a sturdy cord which is wrapped around the left forearm, which the fisherman holds after casting. Around the circumference of the net is attached a continuous row of elongated lead sinkers. An ataraya weighs about fifteen pounds.

As the net is thrown, it opens in the air, and hopefully strikes the water flat like a pancake. Under water, as it descends, the sinkers draw the edges of the net together, entrapping the fish. The net is then slowly pulled out of the water and whatever fish may have been caught are disentangled from the net by hand. Usually a certain amount of debris such as oyster shells, sticks, leaves, etc., are also pulled up and must be cleaned out of the net.

Nets are woven by hand in the village by individual fishermen, and only rarely are they sold to another. Nets have traditionally been

made out of silk thread, but in very recent years some fishermen have been experimenting with translucent nylon thread. Many say that nylon, which is a pale turquoise color, is less visible to fish and therefore more effective. It does have the advantage of not rotting in the heat after use, as may happen to a silk net if not hung out to dry immediately. Both cost about the same. An average sized net requires about three hundred pesos worth of thread and lead, and perhaps fifty to seventy man hours of labor.

All fish, except for shrimp and oysters, are caught with the ataraya. Normally men fish in pairs, one standing in the back of the canoe doing the poling, the other standing in the front casting the net. The whole process of preparing, throwing, pulling in and then cleaning the net takes from five to ten minutes. If one is lucky, one might catch one or two fish or crabs every four to six throws.

The catch is, however, highly variable; one may at times catch fifteen or twenty kilos of fish in a few minutes, or at other times catch nothing after two or three hours of tiresome casting.

Although at any time during the day canoes can be seen in the estuary, normally a team will go out once or twice daily for periods of from one to four hours. Most prefer to go out shortly after sunrise, from about four P.M. on. At any time of the day, however, two or three men will be fishing with atarayas from the shore, near the fishing cooperative office. There is a bend in the estuary there, where the current has deepened the channel. Garbage from homes and restaurants thrown into the estuary attracts fish and especially crabs to this area. This spot is one of the very few along the shore of

the estuary free of thick mangrove trees and roots. Along most of the estuary, net throwing from shore is obstructed by mangrove trees.

In catching some types of fish, especially mojarra, often bait is used. The man casting the net will throw a handful of masa (corn meal dough) bits into natural corners or pockets near the shore of the estuary. After waiting about five minutes for fish to be attracted to the bait, the fisherman throws the ataraya net over the area. Sometimes baseball sized rocks are thrown in the water ahead of the cayuco in the hopes of scaring fish toward the oncoming craft. When the bow of the canoe meets the ripple in the water caused by the rock, the fisherman casts his net.

Cayalanos use a special apparatus, the nasa net, for catching crabs (jaiba). No other species is caught with the nasa net. The nasa is a circle of thick rigid metal wire about a foot and a half in diameter. Inside the circle is woven silk or nylon netting. The weave is fairly large, the net squares being about one and one-half inches on a side. To the wire edge of the net are attached three or sometimes four sturdy cords about one and one-half or two feet long. The cords are brought together and knotted above the center of the wire circle. To the knot formed where the cords meet a single cord is attached, usually four to seven feet in length. To the end of this cord is attached a float, a cylindrical piece of cork or styrofoam plastic a bit larger than a hockey puck.

Crab fishing with the nasa net is done by setting out a number of nets along the length of the estuary at a distance of ten to perhaps thirty meters apart. The nets are first baited by attaching

a piece of inedible vagre fish (bullhead, gar, manta ray, etc.) or masa dough to the center of the net. The net is then lowered to the bottom, and the float, which also serves as a marker, is adjusted to the water depth. After one has laid out all the nets he has (from twenty up to seventy) he goes back to the beginning of the line and begins pulling up the nets by the cord attached to the float. Hopefully, one will find a crab sitting in the net, feeding on the bait. If a crab is found, it is removed by hand and the net is again baited and replaced. If a crab is not found, the net is re-lowered and the fisherman continues on down the line. If luck is with the fisherman, perhaps every second or third nasa will have a crab in it.

Crab fishing with nasa nets is always done alone. A lone fisherman can easily pole his cayuco from net to net, and perform the necessary operations himself. Depending on his luck and the number of nets he has, anywhere from two to five hours will be spent fishing at a time. If one's luck is poor the first time around, one might stop for an hour or so and rest in a shaded corner of the estuary, and then start over again.

Oyster fishing while the most consistently dependable fishing endeavor, is at the same time the most physically demanding and dangerous. Oysters are found clinging tightly to submerged mangrove roots, rocks or other debris scattered on the murky estuary floor. To efficiently harvest oysters one must be able to dive underwater and hold one's breath for relatively long periods of time, during which the tightly anchored oysters are forced from their place of attachment. Although the depths reached in a dive are not great (rarely over ten feet) the length of time one must stay underwater

discourages most older men from this endeavor.

Perhaps the greatest danger in oyster diving is stepping on or being attacked by manta ray fish. Three cases of manta ray attack occurred during the fieldwork period. In all three cases, the victims were unable to fish for at least a month after the attack. The manta has a sharp barb-like tail that in the cases observed pierced through the sole of the foot and came out the other side. The real danger is not from the wound itself, but from the infection that is likely to subsequently set in, even though the wounds are generally cauterized with a red hot steel rod. I have been told that in the past some fishermen have been laid up for as long as six months from manta ray wounds. Fishermen are especially vulnerable during the rainy and norte seasons, as estuary water becomes very muddy then and an approaching ray cannot be seen.

For these reasons many, especially older, fishermen prefer not to dive for oysters. Many older fishermen will, however, stoop in shallow water for oysters where actual diving is not necessary.

Oyster fishing can be done with one, two, or three men. Some men prefer to go alone, securing their cayuco to the nearby shore of the estuary. Some men work in teams, with one or two younger men diving, and an older man left to tend the canoe. At times two or three men will go together and all dive at intervals, with the cayuco being held in place by whoever is not diving at the moment. All methods seem to be equally efficient. Whether one fishes alone or with others is more a matter of personal preference and a desire (or lack of it) to have some company while fishing.

Little special equipment is used in oyster fishing. Some

men dive and detach oysters using only their bare hands. Some wear a leather glove on one hand to prevent small cuts from the sharp shells. Occasionally a knife or a stick will be used to help pry oysters off from where they are attached. In recent years some fishermen have taken to using diving masks or underwater goggles as an aid to vision and to protect the eyes from the salt water. After they have been detached, oysters are brought to the surface and thrown in a pile on the bottom of the cayuco. With luck, one may bring up 800 to 1000 oysters in four to five hours, although often one will stop after 400 or 500 have been taken.

Shrimp fishing requires the use of special man-made structures. In the center of the estuary between the village and the laguna grande fishing cooperative members have erected fifteen empalmados or shrimp traps. Empalmados are large V-shaped underwater fences built with the point of the V facing the incoming tide. They are built by sticking poles in the estuary bottom at two or three foot intervals for about twenty-five feet. Around the poles, from the bottom of the estuary to slightly above water, are woven large palm leaves and fronds. At the very tip of the V an opening about one meter wide is left to allow cayucos to enter and leave. There are fifteen empalmados in the estuary situated from twenty up to about fifty yards apart.

As the tide comes in, shrimp and other species move with the current and past the empalmados. When the tides go out, however, shrimp are restricted by the empalmados and remain within the area of the V. The fisherman locates his canoe within the V and scoops out whatever shrimp may have been entrapped.

The major piece of equipment used in catching shrimp is the cuchara (spoon) net. As its name indicates, this is a large spoon shaped net with a sturdy handle about four or five feet long. It is similar to a large landing net except that the net weave is very tight, the squares being about one-quarter inch on a side. The net is merely dipped into the water and pulled along for a few feet near the bottom, catching whatever might be there.

Nearly all shrimp fishing is done at night. Most fishermen carry with them a home-made lantern made from a tin can with a hole cut in the side and with a candle or small kerosene lamp inside. Also, as mosquitos are more than plentiful on the estuary at night, one usually will take along a bottle of "6-12" insect repellant.

Shrimp fishing is most often done alone, but occasionally two men will work from the same cayuco. For most of the year, the fishing cooperative strictly controls the use of the empalmados. One member is assigned the use of a single empalmado on a rotating basis. As there are sixty-six cooperative members and only fifteen empalmados, one's turno (turn) to use the structure comes up every three or four nights. Often, then, just to have another net going, a man might take his son along. In rare cases a man might bring his wife with him.

Shrimp fishing, while potentially the most profitable fishing endeavor, is also the most erratic. On a lucky night one might catch up to twenty or thirty kilos of shrimp in a couple of hours. On other occasions, however, one may bring back nothing but mosquito bites for half a nights work. Indeed, many times I have heard shrimp fishing likened to the national lottery in that most of the time you

get nothing or stay about even, but sometimes you can strike it rich.

The least common method of estuary fishing in Cayala involves the use of the chuzo, a three-pronged spear. Not more than perhaps seven or eight fishermen are expert with the chuzo. The spear has a wooden handle (sometimes a broom handle is used) to which is attached the metal spear head. The spear heads are purchased in Veracruz for about twenty-five pesos. The spear is used almost exclusively to catch the large robalo fish. During the day robalo tend to congregate in the shallow water close to the shore of the estuary or the lagoons, where they hide themselves among the mangrove or other large roots that extend from the shore into the water. Often a long seining net is placed a few yards away from the shore, and sticks or rocks are thrown into the roots to scare the robalo into the open. They are confined by the seining net, and the fisherman, who is inside the enclosure, then spears the robalo. Sometimes a fisherman will climb into the branches of trees that extend over the water. He then waits quietly in his perch until a robalo comes by, and the fish is speared from above.

Spear fishing is most often done in pairs, with one man poling the cayuco, and the other throwing the spear. It can be done alone, however, especially from the shore. On occasion two or three pairs will go together and take along a couple of bottles of caña (sugar cane brandy) or some beer. Some will catch and roast crabs while others attempt to spear robalo. These excursions are usually more recreational than businesslike in nature and serve to relieve the boredom of the day to day fishing routine.



It should be noted in passing that Cayala fishermen rarely use hooks, lines, or rods in fishing. Neither do they use poisons, wiers, explosives, guns, or traps. Rod and reel along with other manufactured tackle might be used by the rare tourist who comes to fish the lagoons, but are not used by local fishermen.

### Lagoon Fishing

For the most part lagoon rishing is very similar to estuary fishing especially with regard to the use of the circular ataraya net that is used to catch robalo, sargo, mojarra, and an occasional crab in the lagoons.

The major difference between estuary and lagoon fishing is that some lagoon fishing involves the use of redes, or long nets. The red is a net up to one hundred meters in length and about four or five feet wide. Along the length of the top of the net are attached hundreds of cork or styrofoam floats. Along the length of the bottom are attached hundreds of lead sinkers. Most of the long nets are knitted from silk thread by Cayala fishermen. In recent years, however, some Cayala fishermen have purchased the necessary materials in Veracruz and then taken them to the Veracruz prison. There, prison inmates are allowed to work on the nets in their cells. The fisherman pays the prisoner a fee for making the net. The total cost of an average net including prison labor and materials is about \$3000.00 pesos. This represents a relatively large investment in Cayala. For this reason only a few men actually own long nets. In addition to the initial price of the net and the hundreds of man-hours required to make it, many hours must be spent in repairs. The



chief culprit in damaging the nets are crabs, who tend to bite their way through the threads if they become caught.

Lagoon fishing with redes is most often done during the hot summer months of May through August, when shrimp are scarce and estuary fishing is least productive because many species of fish have left the shallow warm waters of the estuary for the deeper somewhat cooler waters of the lagoons.

Lagoon fishing with the long nets is a team effort involving two to four pairs of fishermen in separate cayucos. The composition of the teams will be discussed in the next section. In the lagoon, one end of the long net is held by one pair of fishermen while another pair slowly unravels it into the water until a huge closed circle has been formed by the net. The net itself is perpendicular to the lagoon bottom. The fishermen then slowly haul in the net at both or at one end, causing the circle to gradually become smaller and smaller. Finally, when the net circle is just a few meters in diameter the net may either be hauled into a cayuco or the entrapped fish caught with an ataraya. Larger fish are often trapped by their gills in the net itself.

Sometimes the long nets are used from shore. When this is done, the net is placed in the water off shore in a half-moon formation. The net is then slowly pulled into the shore by two or three men standing in shallow water or on shore. When the net is nearly all in and the catch concentrated in a small shallow area, the men go into the middle and pick out the fish by hand. As is the case with other types of fishing, the size of the catch is highly variable.

Before leaving the discussion of fishing techniques and technology,

mention should be made of the procedures involved in catching the elusive congrejo crab, which is caught on land. The congrejo is a large blue-gray crab that lives in holes in the ground in swampy areas. They have one very large claw filled with delicious meat. The mano (hand), as the claw is called, is up to six inches long and two or three inches wide, and are a highly prized delicacy.

For most of the year congrejos are buried deep in their three to five feet deep holes. Once a year, however, they engage in a mass migration from the swampy land on the far side of the estuary to the nearby Gulf, where they go to mate. The migration occurs sometime between the middle of June and the end of July, usually right after the first two or three days of hard rain at the beginning of the rainy season. When they do migrate they come by in thousands, through and around the village. One is quite likely, for example, to find two or three in one's bed in the morning, or dozens hanging by their claws from the thatched roofs of houses.

For about a week most local men, women, and children temporarily forget other duties and go in search of the congrejo. As many as a hundred families from Veracruz and other places come out to Cayala to join in the hunt, and a carnival-like atmosphere prevails in the village. Travel by car on the highway to Playa Cenagosa may get a bit dangerous especially at night, because the number of crabs that have been run over is so great that the pavement becomes very slippery.

Congrejos are caught with the bare hands as they scurry along, or are extracted from their holes using a stick with a metal hook attached to the end. People from other places tend to take and eat

the entire crab, while most Cayalanos will break off only the most developed claw, and set the crab free to live. During the next year, the least developed claw will grow to full size, and a new small claw will replace the one broken off. Most Cayalanos realize that a crab that is not killed will yield claws in future years, and they consciously practice congrejo conservation.

Many congrejo manos are consumed right after catching. They are usually boiled or steamed, then cracked open to extract the meat. Many people also sell the claws to the youngest son of the cacique for about ten to twelve pesos per dozen. In 1970 he bought over 2000 dozen claws locally. The claws are cooked in Cayala and then taken to Los Barcos to be frozen and stored. They are later brought to the cacique's restaurant as needed. In the restaurants a dozen manos sells for between twenty and thirty-five pesos.

In the following sections we will discuss certain social and economic aspects of fishing. Specifically we will discuss the organization and functions of the local fishing cooperative, the activities of non-cooperative member fishermen, the composition and activities of fishing teams, and local marketing procedures.

#### The Fishing Cooperative and Unassociated Fishermen

According to the Mexican Constitution inland bodies of water that are an extension of the high seas are under federal jurisdiction and regulation. Being connected to the Gulf of Mexico at Playa Cenagosa, the estuary-lagoon system exploited by Cayala fishermen is considered a federal body of water. According to law fishermen who exploit federal waters should be registered as socios (members)

of a duly constituted fishing cooperative. Furthermore, fish taken in federal waters are supposed to be sold to a fishing cooperative which acts as the marketing agent for the fishermen. The fishing cooperative in Cayala is duly constituted and registered with the federal Secretaría de la Marina (Marine Ministry) which has a local office in Los Barcos.

Despite these regulations, many Cayala fishermen are not members of the local fishing cooperative. Two categories of fishermen exploit Cayala waters -- socios (members) of the fishing cooperative, and pescadores libres ("free" fishermen) most often referred to simply as libres (independents), indicating that these fishermen are at least ideally independent of cooperative regulation.

While the sixty six members of the cooperative constitute a formal organization that has legal personality, the approximately sixty or seventy libres in Cayala do not constitute an organized group; they have no leader, "official" membership, and they do not, as a group, engage in any productive, marketing, or social activities. Rather, in fishing and marketing activities each libre goes about his business in his own individually prescribed way.

The question might be asked: Why do so many local fishermen prefer to operate as libres, especially considering the fact that cooperatives are supposed to be a means by which small scale producers can pool their products, market large quantities, and thus gain a better price for their goods than they could operating individually? The answer to this question is very simple -- in Cayala a libre can get a higher price for his fish by selling them directly to local restaurants, especially the Salga restaurants,

than he can get by selling them to the cooperative.

How does this work? Let us say, for example, that a particular species of fish is being purchased by the cooperative for ten pesos per kilo. The cooperative, however, subtracts from this price one or two pesos per kilo (depending on the species) for operating expenses. Thus the fishermen would receive only eight or nine pesos per kilo in cash after the "tax" has been taken out. On the other hand, local restaurants normally pay the going price for fish, but do not take out any tax. Thus, in the example above, the fisherman would receive the full ten pesos per kilo for his catch. This arrangement is also beneficial to restaurant operators, since the price they pay to libras is lower than that which they would otherwise have to pay the cooperative or outside wholesalers of seafood.

There are, in addition, several other reasons why many local fishermen prefer not to associate themselves with the cooperative. Many local fishermen feel that the cooperative is ineffective as a marketing agent, that its leadership is corrupt and self serving, and that the cooperative does not represent the best interests of local fishermen. I will now elaborate on these points as we turn to a discussion of the organization of the cooperative.

#### Cooperative Organization

At the head of the sixty six member Cayala cooperative is the president, who is elected by majority vote of the general membership. Ideally, the cooperative president is the general manager of all cooperative activities. He is responsible for buying members' catches,

seeking out the highest market prices for local products, hiring salaried cooperative personnel, conducting business meetings, keeping the books, paying cooperative taxes, dealing with government officials, and generally seeing to it that all runs smoothly. He also has the obligation to see to it that socios sell only to the cooperative, that only socios fish cooperative waters, and that socios obey cooperative and federal regulations concerning fishing. He has the power to initiate punitive proceedings against and/or fine cooperative members for infractions of the rules, although any fines levied must be approved by a majority of the socios in a special meeting.

In most of these duties the cooperative president, who has been in office several years, has failed rather miserably. His activities are a major source of discontentment for cooperative socios, and an important reason why so many local fishermen prefer to remain unassociated with the cooperative. Let me cite a few examples of the way in which the president operates.

In past years the president has received a salary of twenty pesos per day for his efforts. Recently however, the cooperative decided to discontinue the daily salary and put the president on a commission i.e., he would receive a percentage of the sales made to Veracruz and other wholesale seafood buyers. This system was designed to give the president the incentive to seek out the highest prices for local products. After working on a commission basis for only a few weeks, the president abruptly announced that he did not like the system because it was too "complicated" to figure his earnings. He then, on his own, set his salary at fifty pesos per day and said



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that if the members did not like it he would resign immediately. While there was widespread grumbling over this heavy-handed act, none of the other socios wanted to assume the president's job, and so he remained in office.

Indeed, during the period of fieldwork, the president actually did resign his post for a few weeks. After being repeatedly accused of stealing cooperative funds and being intoxicated every day instead of on the job, the president quit, claiming he no longer had to stand for slanderous attacks on his "fine character." In his place was elected another socio, an honest but illiterate fisherman. After a short while the responsibility, especially the bookkeeping chores, became too much for him, however, and he pleaded to be relieved of the position. The former president proclaimed that he would come back to the presidency provided that there would be no more complaining in the future. Many members were reluctant to have him in the office again, but as no one else wanted to take the job, he was grudgingly given back the position. At every general cooperative meeting that I attended while in Cayala (four out of the five held), discussion took place about removing the president from office. The president's stock response to complaints was to deny all accusations made against him, tell people to stop complaining unless they could prove anything, call the accusers "hijos de la chingada" (roughly, sons of bitches), and then proceed with the business at hand.

People remain convinced that he is stealing money. For one thing, the cooperative treasury is always empty. During August 1970, for example, a minor crisis took place when the hired cooperative truck driver parked the truck used to carry fish to Veracruz in

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front of the office, but refused to turn over the keys. Normally, early each morning he takes the previous day's and night's catch into Veracruz for sale. He said that he had not been paid his salary for over two weeks and would neither turn over the keys or drive to Veracruz until he was paid. The total amount owed him was \$420.00 pesos. The president claimed that there was no money in the treasury to pay the salary. He stated that there had been many "expenses" recently, but failed to give details. A general meeting was called shortly. The president told the socios that a special assessment would have to be made to raise the money for the salary. The members were outraged and stated that there should be more than enough money in the treasury. After a lengthy and heated argument, the driver turned over the keys. No assessment was made against the members. The president said he would raise the money in the next few days (from where I do not know) and that the driver would be paid if he went back to work the following day. There was some more talk about removing the president, but nothing ever came of it.

On another occasion, a few months after the first, an assessment of fifty pesos per member was made for repairs to the truck. Again, most members felt that the money should have been there, and most declared that they would not pay the extra sum. The repairs on the truck were not made.

Another reason why members are suspicious of the president is that his personal life-style has improved noticeably in a relatively short time. Since becoming president he has all but given up fishing himself, especially in recent years. In spite of this he has recently

purchased a fancy new stove, gas tanks, two new radios, a long net (red), added a new room to his house, and gave a wedding party for his daughter to which at least one hundred guests were invited. He is also sending a son to secondary school in Playa Cenagosa, in addition to supporting his wife, eight children, and two grandchildren.

In addition to the president, the cooperative also has an elected secretary, treasurer, and a Junta de Vigilancia (vigilance committee). The secretary is a cousin of the president and works very closely with him. The treasurer, in practice, has little to do with the operation of the cooperative, although his official duties include keeping the books and handling the money. Money is handled by the president or by the secretary in his absence. Unfortunately I was not granted access to the cooperative's books, so I cannot say with certainty to what extent accurate financial records are kept. I was not alone in this, however, as a major complaint of many socios is that they are also denied the right to review the books. I am reasonably sure that no long term records on fishing production are maintained. Also, it appears that most of the daily purchases from individual fishermen are not recorded. Fishermen are normally paid in cash on the spot from a cash drawer in the office. The president has the only key to the drawer. Only when there is no ready cash on hand to pay a fisherman is a notation made in a book, and an I.O.U. given to a member.

The cooperative, according to law, has a three member elected Junta de Vigilancia (vigilance committee), whose job it is to oversee the activities of the cooperative, and especially to

to periodically review the account books. If anything irregular is found, they should report their findings to the membership. In Cayala, the individuals elected to these positions are not granted access to what records there are. In effect, the Junta de Vigilancia does not function at all. When asked who comprises the current Junta, many socios were hard pressed to remember the names of these officials.

A further source of discontent for socios and other fishermen as well has to do with current membership fees and the use of funds collected from membership fees in the past. According to local cooperative regulations, a fee of five hundred pesos in cash must be paid to the cooperative to become a socio. The funds collected from membership fees are to be used in two ways. First, these funds are to go for facilities and equipment that might increase the production of cooperative members. Such things might include cooperatively owned outboard motors, fishing nets, and so forth. Second, a certain portion of the fees collected should go into a permanent fund from which socios can take out small, short term, low interest loans.

Most libres feel that five hundred pesos is too much to pay in membership fees given the limited services provided by the cooperative. Furthermore, many socios are disgruntled by the fact that the cooperative does not maintain a loan fund. What has happened to membership fees collected in the past? According to several socios, certain individuals, especially cooperative officials, have taken out large "loans" in the past, but simply failed to repay them.

Yet another source of problems for the cooperative stems from

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the fact that many socios are in a position of conflict of interest with the cooperative. As Table 3 shows, fewer than one-third of all cooperative socios are actually full-time fishermen and less than one-half of all socios earn fifty percent or more of their income from fishing. Conversely, over fifty percent of all socios fish only rarely (once a week or less), and many never fish at all. The figures in Table were compiled from census data, interviews with socios, and observations made of fishing activities throughout the period of fieldwork.

Table 3 • CAYALA FISHING COOPERATIVE MEMBERSHIP  
PARTICIPATION IN FISHING

Total cooperative members= 66

Full-time fishermen (entire income from fishing)	20 or 30.30%
Part-time fishermen (about 50% of income from fishing)	11 or 16.66%
Occasional fishermen (fish about 1 time per week or less)	14 or 21.21%
Inactive (almost never fish)	9 or 13.63%
Retired	4 or 6.06%
Other (including five (5) members no longer residing in Cayala, two (2) females, and one (1) resident of Playa Cenagosa.	8 or 12.12%

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SOURCE: Census data and interviews with cooperative members.



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While some inactive socios are retired fishermen whose sons fish in their place, many are full or part-time employees in the Salga restaurants. For example, the brother of the cacique who buys fish from libres for the Casa Salga is a cooperative socio. The manager of La Nueva Casa Salga and El Cayuco restaurants, a son of the cacique who buys large quantities of seafood from libres, is also a cooperative socio. The president of the cooperative is a compadre of the cacique. In fact, he refers to the cacique as "mi mero compadre" (roughly, my most important compadre). Several other restaurant employees, including three brothers, and several nephews of the cacique are cooperative socios.

It is not difficult to understand why many socios do not press for reforms in the organization of the cooperative, especially tighter regulation of libre fishing and marketing activities. That is, many socios have a vested interest in maintaining the status quo, especially the existence of libres who supply local restaurants with cheaper products than does the cooperative.

#### Cooperative Regulation of Fishing

A major function of the Cayala fishing cooperative is the regulation of certain fishing activities. Ideally local cooperative members have exclusive fishing rights, granted by the federal government, over certain local waters. The waters pertaining to the Cayala cooperative include the large lagoon, the estuary between the lagoons, the small lagoon, and roughly two kilometers of the estuary between the small lagoon and Playa Cenagosa, where the estuary is connected to the Gulf of Mexico.

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For the most part, non-local fishermen do not violate these regulations, except, of course, that Cayala libres fish these waters. However, occasionally fishermen from Playa Cenagosa attempt to invade the oyster rich Cayala estuary waters that are easily accessible from Playa Cenagosa. When this occurs, Cayala cooperative socios and libres forget their own differences and join together against the "common enemy." Oyster poachers from Playa Cenagosa are usually driven away by shouts and threats of violence from Cayala fishermen. Normally verbal threats suffice. On one occasion, however, after repeated violations, there was some talk among Cayala fishermen of sending out several canoes of men armed with shotguns to scare off the intruders. This task force was never mounted, however, as the violations stopped.

With regard to controlling the fishing activities of Cayala socios themselves, the main function of the cooperative is the regulation of shrimp fishing. As has been mentioned, nearly all shrimp fishing is done in the fifteen empalmados located in the estuary between the village and the laguna grande. In past years there were as many as forty empalmados between the two lagoons, and a few in the lagoons themselves. A few years ago, however, a representative of the federal secretary of fisheries, ordered that all but fifteen empalmados be torn down. The reason given to Cayala fishermen was that with fewer shrimp traps, the oyster crop would increase. All but fifteen empalmados have been torn down, but fishermen agree that the oyster crop has not increased at all.

With only fifteen traps now available to local fishermen, certain problems have developed. First, the sixty-six cooperative

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socios must take turns using the empalmados. One's turn comes up only every third or fourth night, so not all socios can fish when they want. A cooperative meeting held in June 1970 was devoted to the issue of the use of the empalmados. Empalmados are to be used only by cooperative socios, but libres are constantly sneaking into the traps at night before or after cooperative members fish. Thus, a socio might find that most of the shrimp have already been cleaned out by the time he arrives to fish.

Another problem in regulating shrimp fishing stems from the attitude held by many socios that their right to use the empalmados automatically extends to their sons or other relatives who are not socios, but libres. Thus, for example, if a socio decides not to use an empalmado on a given night, he might send his son in his place. The replacements, however, are rarely cooperative members and therefore feel no obligation to sell their catch to the cooperative. When asked why the regulations are not enforced more strictly, the usual answer most socios give is to the effect that since nearly all fishermen are "sons of Cayala" (and often their own sons are involved) they cannot be denied the right to earn a living.

In the June 1970 meeting the informal general consensus of the membership was that only paid socios would be allowed to use the empalmados except when a member was physically unable to fish. In this case one son or a close relative could replace the member, on the condition that he sell the catch to the cooperative. However, there has been no change in the prior pattern of empalmado use, and the situation remains the same.

During the rainy months of July, August, and September,

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environmental factors to some extent regulate oyster fishing. The heavy rains which often cause the estuary to overflow its banks can be extremely harmful to the oyster crop, killing thousands of recently hatched cría (offspring). It is therefore felt that limits should be placed on the number of mature oysters harvested so that an adequate number be left for reproductive purposes. During this time then, the cooperative allows only five socios per day to dive, and will buy only up to 700 oysters from each of the five. As only a few socios actually want to dive for oysters on any given day, there is little problem in enforcing the regulation. Again, however, libres feel free not to observe the rule, and dive for oysters whenever they want.

The catching of certain species of fish such as skate, mojarra, and robalo is prohibited during some months of the year by federal game laws (vedas). These are prohibited especially during the spawning season. Fried fish eggs are, however, considered a delicacy among local people and restaurant patrons, who are willing to pay a high price for it. Consequently, local fishermen, urged on by the thought of a high financial return, and safe in the knowledge that federal game officials are never around to enforce the laws, tend to ignore federal game laws.

Indeed, it seems likely that violation of game laws by Cayala fishermen is, at least in part, a major factor in the decline of the local almeja (clam) population, as has been mentioned. It seems that local fishermen simply ignored cooperative and/or government regulations, dug as many clams as they could, which resulted in the almost complete demise of the almeja as a source of local income.



While some local fishermen realize the harm caused by ignoring federal fishing laws, none are anxious to call in federal authorities to deal with this or other cooperative problems. This is because if federal authorities were to come in and examine the operations of the Cayala cooperative, they would probably find that the cooperative for years has been violating federal tax laws. By law, each fishing cooperative should pay four centavos per kilo of fish in taxes to the federal government. I have been told that the Cayala cooperative actually declares only about 25% of the total catch. Thus, if federal inspectors were to come in, and in the course of their investigation discover this fact, all members could be in serious legal and financial trouble.

#### Fishing Productive Units

In this section we will discuss the social arrangements that Cayala fishermen, libres, and cooperative socios, have entered into to exploit local waters. In Cayala there are three basic types of fishing productive units: lone fishermen, two men pairs, and larger groups consisting of two to four pairs of men. The three types of productive units will be discussed in the order given above.

About one third of all fishermen, whether they be cooperative socios or libres, prefer to fish alone at all times. "Lone" fishermen, as I will call them, share certain general characteristics.

First, lone fishermen fish for crabs with the nasa net or fish for shrimp using the cuchara, but rarely, if ever, use the ataraya or redes. As we have seen, crab and shrimp fishing are one man operations, that do not require cooperation with other persons.

Secondly, neither crab or shrimp fishing are as physically demanding as other types. Because of this, lone fishermen tend to be older men, generally over age forty, for whom other types of fishing might be too strenuous. There are no lone fishermen under the age of thirty.

Third, lone fishermen appear to be highly individualistic. Many do not get along with other fishermen, and prefer to work alone. Several lone fishermen have stated that working with partners or in groups often results in interpersonal problems over matters such as when to fish, dividing the catch, whose equipment will be used, and so forth. In short, lone fishermen prefer to be their own bosses, and not have others interfering with their work.

At least two-thirds of all local fishermen prefer to fish using a cayuco and the ataraya net. Since this type of fishing requires two men, one to guide the cayuco and another to cast the ataraya, the productive unit in this case is a pair of fishing partners. There are roughly twenty-five pairs of partners in Cayala.

In most cases one partner owns the cayuco and the other the net. If this is the case both will share the profits of the catch equally. However, a few men must rent cayucos and/or nets from semi-retired or part-time fishermen. If a cayuco is rented the owner usually receives twenty percent of the catch, or a flat rate of ten to fifteen pesos per day. If it is necessary to rent a net, the net owner usually receives twenty-five to thirty percent of the catch. If one member of a pair must rent either cayuco or net, and the other member supplies his half of the equipment, the renter will normally receive about twenty percent less than his partner after

the share that goes to the equipment owner has been deducted. Rarely are both cayuco and net rented, as this would result in each partner receiving about one-fourth of the total catch, which hardly makes fishing worthwhile.

In some instances one is able to borrow a canoe or net without making any payment to the owner. This privilege is almost solely limited, however, to members of one's immediate family. A father or grandfather, for example, might, for a short time, lend a cayuco or net to his son or grandson. Brothers will sometimes loan equipment to each other if it is not being used, but more distant relatives are expected to pay for the use of the equipment.

In selecting a partner for fishing with the ataraya, certain criteria are involved. Chief among these is that the partner must be trustworthy, dependable, hard working, and that the pair be personally compatible. After these criteria, skill in fishing and the amount and type of each man's equipment are considered.

Other than the criteria mentioned above, there are few hard and fast rules in the selection of fishing partners. Some partners are compadres, but father-son, brother-brother, cousin-cousin, uncle-nephew, and brother-in-law teams are all about equally common. Many partners are friends, with no family or fictive kinship ties. None of these combinations is found significantly more frequently than others. With the exception of father-son, uncle-nephew teams, partners tend to be roughly of the same age.

In approximately fifty percent of the twenty five fishing partnerships one partner is a cooperative socio while the other is a libre. With this arrangement the team can potentially sell their



catch to either the cooperative or to local restaurants, depending on where demand for their catch might be greater. However, I do not think that this possibility is necessarily a primary consideration in the formation of these partnerships, as criteria such as fishing skill, kinship ties, or friendship are more important criteria in the selection of partners.

In about fifteen of the roughly twenty five partnerships, partners have been working together for longer than one year. A number have been together three to five years, and two teams have been together for over eight years. The majority of long term partnerships are found among younger men, under thirty-five years of age. This is perhaps because as men become older, they tend to engage in more lone crab or shrimp fishing. Except for three father-son teams, most of the long term fishing partners tend to be friends, with no other family or fictive kinship relationships.

There are two cliques of friends in Cayala the members of which frequently pair off for ataraya fishing. Members of these cliques do not have fixed fishing partners, but rather go fishing with whichever friend is available and wants to fish at a given time.

One clique consists of eight men, the local police commander, four policemen, the current municipal agent, and two other individuals. These men have much in common. All but two of these men are involved in local formal government, all are part-time fishermen, all are mature men in their forties and fifties, all are household heads, and all are cooperative socios. This group also acts as a productive unit in lagoon fishing with long nets owned by the police commander. When not fishing, the members of this clique tend to congregate

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The second clique consists of seven young unmarried men in their twenties. These young men are considered by many Cayala residents to be rather immature, irresponsible, lazy, and frivolous. Three of these men are cooperative socios who inherited their memberships at the death of their fishermen fathers. Members of this clique spend little time in productive activities and are most often found hanging around the fish cleaning area of El Cayuco restaurant, where three members of the group irregularly work part-time cleaning fish and peeling shrimp. Other members of the group are available to run small errands for the restaurant manager who pays them with a drink of caña or a bottle of beer. When one or two members of this group feels the need for a few pesos, they will go and fish for a short time. However, they spend most of the day in idle gossip, horseplay, and beer drinking.

Several local men, especially part-time fishermen and men who do not get along well with others have no fixed partners. In some cases a person might have gained a reputation for cheating past partners, laziness, or quarellsomeness. These persons have difficulty finding a partner and team fish only when another man's regular partner is sick or out of town. Many part-time fishermen have no fixed partner, but will have a number of occasional partners. For example, a man might fish one day with the ataraya with his son, work in a restaurant for a day or two, then the next day dive for oysters with a friend or compadre. In the course of a month, he may have fished with five or six different men, depending on the type of activity, the number of days spent fishing, and who might be available.

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During the hot months of May through August, when many fishermen shift their productive activities from the warm waters of the estuary to the cooler and deeper waters of the lagoons, often two man fishing partnerships are set aside for several days out of the month, and larger productive groups consisting of four to six men in two or three cayucos are formed. Estuary fishing is not abandoned, however, as the larger groups fish the lagoons only once or twice per week. During the other days of the week fishermen fish as they normally would.

At least two pairs of fishermen are required to handle the long nets. Normally one pair of fishermen remains in a relatively fixed spot in the lagoon holding one end of the heavy net. The other pair takes the free end of the net and, as they pole their cayuco away from the fixed boat, unravels it into the water. Then, both pairs of fishermen maneuver their cayucos and the net until the net forms a large circle. The net is then gradually rewound into one cayuco, making the circle smaller and smaller, drawing the entrapped fish into an ever decreasing area. When the net circle has become quite small, the fish confined within the area are captured with atarayas.

Because of the high cost of long nets, most long-net fishermen do not own nets, but work for net owners, who normally do not fish themselves. Long nets are, except in one case, owned by more well-to-do individuals: the cooperative president, the police commander, a cattleman, a restaurant employee, and a semi-retired fisherman (both brothers of the cacique), and a part-time fisherman who buys crabs locally for sale in Veracruz. In one case an active fisherman is the largest "shareholder" in a net owned jointly by him, his son,

and a nephew. These men fish together as a unit aided by other relatives.

The catch from lagoon fishing with redes is initially divided in a number of shares equal to the number of men in the team. The owner of the long net usually receives one and one half or two shares of the catch when the net is new. After the net has paid for itself (which may take up to three years) the owner receives one equal share of the catch. If the owner also serves as a fishing team member, he will receive an additional share for his labor. The net owner pays for all materials necessary for the upkeep of the net including an open-air shelter where the nets are hung to dry after use. All team members, however, are obligated to help with repairs, which are supervised by the owner who usually works along with his team.

#### Changes in Fishing Organization and Technology

Perhaps the most significant change that has occurred in fishing practices in Cayala in recent years is that local fishermen, especially libres, now have a local market for their products. However, the presence of this new market has not greatly affected fishing techniques, methods, or technology, as most fishermen earn their living in much the same manner as did their forefathers.

During the period of fieldwork, however, slight changes in fishing technology occurred on a limited scale. Two fishermen have recently acquired outboard motors and have adapted their cayucos for the use of motors. A motor is a major investment for a fisherman; a three to five horsepower outboard costs about four thousand pesos new, and only slightly less used. The advantage of having a motor is that

using one it is possible to reach the distant oyster beds in the estuary between the laguna chica and Playa Cenagosa. These beds are rarely fished by Cayalanos because it is a three to four hour round trip poling the cayuco. With a motor the beds can be reached in about a half hour.

About a dozen local fishermen have recently taken to the use of nylon instead of silk thread for ataraya nets. These men claim that nylon, being a light blue-green in color is not as visible to fish underwater, and hence fish do not flee from inside of the nylon ataraya as readily as from one made of silk. Furthermore, nylon net users claim that nylon nets last longer, as they do not mildew or rot as readily as do silk nets. The use of nylon instead of silk, does not, however, alter either the form of the net or its manner of use. Nylon nets are used exactly as are silk nets. But, these changes are insignificant in comparison to what might have occurred in Cayala had not local fishermen, especially cooperative socios, been so reluctant to change their ways, as we shall see in the following series of events.

The Mexican government is vitally interested in increasing fishing production in the Veracruz and Gulf coastal region. According to a pre-election position statement made in 1970 by the now President of Mexico, Luis Echeverría (Echeverría 1970: 67-69), Veracruzano fishermen have "for too long been fishing the sea shore." Instead, fishermen must now "turn their backs from the sea, face it, and fish in far away and deep waters." The problem, said Echeverría in effect, is not that the fishermen of Veracruz are afraid or lack the will and desire to fish the high seas, but rather that up until

now they have lacked the technology i.e., the boats, nets, and technical knowledge to fully exploit the tremendous sealife resources of the Gulf of Mexico.

Concrete interest in increasing fishing production in the Veracruz region has been manifested in many ways. Perhaps the most impressive is a new canning factory and fishing research center located about one and one half hours from Cayala by truck. Teams of specialists in all phases of fishing, from the catch to the foreign export of canned and frozen goods, are engaged in practical research along the nearby coastal waters. The cannery provides a ready and dependable market for all types of sea-food. Technical experts are readily available, free of charge, to offer the most modern advice on increasing fishing production. This technical service is especially designed to aid regional fishing cooperatives.

In Veracruz an institute for oceanographic studies has been established as part of a program to increase fishing production. The institute, as cooperative effort between the governments of Mexico and Japan, is staffed in large part by Japanese fishing experts who are testing the latest fishing techniques and equipment in the waters off the Veracruz coast.

During the course of fieldwork an incident involving the Mexican-Japanese institute and the Cayala fishing cooperative occurred that perhaps best illustrates the general attitude of Cayala socios toward changes in their traditional fishing patterns. For over two years Japanese fishing scientists had been experimenting with different types of nets and net positions along the Veracruz coast. Their objectives were to establish the migration patterns of various

species of ocean fish during different times of the year, to discover exactly which types of nets and net locations would be most effective in producing the largest catch of various species. Some of the species under study included sierra, tuna, robalo, and red snapper, as well as many others. The nets used were long nets of one to three hundred meters in length, very similar to the long nets used in lagoon fishing in Cayala. The boats were outboard motor powered open vessels which required a three or four man crew. They are similar in size and shape to the small pleasure craft used in Cayala to give tourist rides. All equipment has been donated to the project by the Japanese government.

The general fishing procedure the experts worked out was not particularly complicated. Depending on the particular fishing season and species sought, nets are set out in likely spots either in the early morning or late afternoon. After about six or eight hours, the nets are drawn together in a circular manner, or brought to shore, the method of net retrieval very similar to that used in the Cayala lagoons, except, of course, that the depth of the water was somewhat deeper. All net positions as well as a timetable for fishing various species were charted as a part of the project.

After all tests had been made, the Mexican government decided that the best thing that could be done with the equipment and information was to turn it over to regional cooperatives. Actually, there were several areas and nets involved, so that up to five or six cooperatives could receive the equipment, free of charge. In addition, the Japanese government agreed to provide on-the-spot technical advisors free for a period of one year. The new fish cannery had agreed to

purchase all products at competitive prices. To obtain the equipment a cooperative had only to make a request to the government Dirección de la Marina (maritime commission) which was sending two representatives to Veracruz especially to transfer ownership of the equipment from the project to the cooperatives.

The youngest son of the cacique had obtained information from contacts in Veracruz that the government representatives were coming. He arranged a meeting with them in Playa Cenagosa, and was told that the Cayala cooperative, because estuary production had been declining greatly the past few years, would be given top priority to receive one set of equipment if the members requested it.

At the urging of the son of the cacique, and to some extent myself, several members of the cooperative, including the president, went to Playa Cenagosa to meet with the government representatives. After a long delay the representatives finally arrived and basically outlined the situation.

For the members of the Cayala cooperative participation in the new arrangement would have meant that each morning and afternoon eight to ten men would ride in the cooperative truck to a stretch of beach about thirty minutes from Cayala. About two hours would be required in both the morning and afternoon to set out the nets and later to haul them in. The cooperative truck would then take the catch to the new fish cannery. Each member would work one or at most two days per week with the nets, being free to fish as usual the rest of the time. The only conditions were that the cooperative should keep the nets in repair, and try the arrangement for at least one year. If after one year the members did not wish to continue,

they simply could return the equipment with no further obligation. The experts had estimated, on the basis of the catch over the last two years, that each operation would result in a first year's catch valued at a minimum of \$300,000 pesos. With time and experience, they stated, the figure could grow to over \$1,000,000 pesos per year.

After listening to the government representatives outline the benefits the proposed project, the cooperative members decided to wait a day or two to think over the proposal. Cooperative officials said that they would hold a special cooperative meeting to decide on the matter in two days, and would notify the government officials of the decision immediately thereafter.

Initially there was a great deal of enthusiasm among the members; nearly all agreed that the offer was a windfall for a failing local fishing economy. Then, for reasons unknown to me, the enthusiasm dropped and all kinds of doubts began being expressed. The special meeting the cooperative that was to have taken place never materialized. Cooperative officials informally decided to let the offer drop, and made no reply to the government. That was the end of it.

Why this decision was made I frankly do not know. The only reason I can suggest is that perhaps because the son of the cacique had been involved in making some of the arrangements, cooperative members were suspicious and feared to participate. I asked several members why they had refused the once-in-a-lifetime offer. One man said it was because he was afraid of the sharks in the Gulf. Another stated that he just did not want to leave the village to work. Several socios, however, replied that they had refused the offer because "somos pendejos" (roughly, "we're fools") or because "somos

brutos y flojos" ("we're ignorant and lazy").

The equipment finally went to two cooperatives from Playa Cenagosa and one from a hamlet called Las Arenas, which is south of Veracruz.

#### Cattle Raising, Agriculture, and Miscellaneous Economic Activities

Cattle raising is a significant factor in the economy of Cayala in terms of the income produced, but not in terms of the number of local residents who benefit financially. At any given time there might be up to five hundred head of cattle grazing on Cayala ejido lands which, at roughly \$2000.00 pesos per head on the hoof, represents a total value of about \$1,000,000 pesos (\$80,000 dollars). However, cattle in Cayala are owned by only about a dozen local ganaderos (cattlemen), including the local cacique, who, acting as a special interest group, have managed to assume control of, and divide among themselves, nearly all of the ejido lands outside of the village. How this small group of men control ejido lands will be taken up in a subsequent chapter dealing with community administration. Suffice it to say for now that this small group tightly controls ejido lands for their own purposes, and that most Cayala residents are prohibited by them from using ejido lands for agricultural or other purposes.

Cattle are raised primarily for meat production although some cows are kept for milking purposes. Milk production is relatively low for the major portion of the year due to the lack of good range pasture. A cow in a single day might give up to a gallon of milk, which is but a fraction of its potential. During the rainy season, the vegetation quickly becomes lush and milk production goes up.



Animals that have become very thin during the dry season fatten and are sold for meat during September through November, when they are at their highest weight for the year. A small portion of the daily milk production is sold locally to Cayala residents. The rest is normally taken to Playa Cenagosa and Veracruz in large cans on the back of a pickup truck and sold directly from the street to residents as raw milk. No butter, cheese or other dairy products are made locally for commercial sale, although on special occasions, an individual rancher may make these for his own consumption.

Cattle are generally allowed to roam, the various herds intermingled over the entire area of the ejido. Most cattlemen, however, brand their animals with their own identifying brand. Some owners have makeshift pens constructed here and there where a portion of their herd might be put at night, to be milked, or for breeding. Only one rancher, the cacique, has built a permanent corral and milk house. Certain areas of the ejido are fenced off temporarily at different times of the year, to allow the rather sparse vegetation to grow back after grazing.

### Agriculture

In a few cases cattlemen have granted certain local residents permission to farm small plots of ejido lands. However, the lands granted to residents for agricultural purposes are generally hilly, sandy, swampy, and generally non-productive.

Corn, which is the crop most often planted, is usually planted on the side of steep hills. Individual plots are not large, generally less than 1,000 square feet. No use is made of modern methods, tools,

or commercial fertilizers. The basic tools used in corn planting are the hoe, machete, and dibble stick. Corn is cultivated using the slash and burn method. In June, before the heavy summer rains begin, the area to be seeded is cleared of weeds and other vegetation with a hoe or machete. Sometimes the debris is collected in a pile and burned, but usually burning is not necessary as the vegetation is quite sparse. In late June or early July the ground is seeded. A hole is punched in the sandy soil with a stick, and two or three seeds are planted. Sometimes a few squash seed are planted interspersed here and there in the cornfield. Generally both clearing the land and planting are done in a matter of one or two days. One elderly widow pays a man fifteen pesos to do both the clearing and planting. Every two or three weeks a man, his wife or children go to the plot and do some weeding.

Harvesting takes place about three months later, near the end of September or in early October. Corn that is not to be used for seed the next year is pulled off the stalk by hand or chopped off with a machete. Most corn is consumed shortly after harvest in the form of elotes (corn-on-the-cob) or as tamales which are sometimes sold locally to neighbors.

The vast majority of families in Cayala purchase corn meal and masa dough for tortillas directly from the man who owns and operates the local molino (mill). Nearly all of the corn processed at the molino is brought in from Veracruz. Some individuals, if they happen to be going there, bring ready-made tortillas to Cayala from Piraguas, which boasts a tortilla machine. All other staple vegetable food items such as rice, black beans, and potatoes also are imported

into Cayala.

Household gardening supplements the food supply of about ten village households but is a relatively unimportant supplement even for those who garden. Gardens are located to the rear or on a side of a household dwelling. There are about fifteen banana trees scattered here and there throughout the village. Bananas are generally consumed in the home and not sold publically. Numerous coconut palm trees dot the village, and one can usually help oneself to coconuts if he cares to scale the tree to pick them. Coconuts are generally desired for the milk which is consumed fresh or mixed with caña or gin. The meat is eaten only rarely and is usually discarded. Other garden crops include hot chili peppers, a few squash plants, pole beans, cantalope, and watermelons. One man grows a small patch of sugar cane along the road by the side of his house. After harvesting, the cane is cut into foot long sticks and sold for a nominal sum to children as candy.

Lack of available land near household dwellings is the main reason more gardening is not done. Houses are spaced so close together that often only a few feet separate them on all sides. If one has a bit of space vacant near the house, more often one will build a small pen and raise a few chickens, ducks, turkeys, or a small pig. Chickens, however, do not seem to do well in Cayala and are rather scarce. These animals are generally left to roam the village during the day, and are penned at night. Most are fed household scraps and garbage in addition to whatever they are able to find during the day. Fowl is primarily for home consumption, while occasionally a pig might be sold to a neighbor or butchered and sold

publicly.

### Miscellaneous Economic Activities

In addition to the major economic activities described above, several Cayalanos earn small amounts of cash by performing certain services on a part-time and irregular basis.

About thirty women, mainly widows, divorcees, and young single adults, take in washing, ironing, and sewing. Three women cut and set other women's hair. The income earned by performing these services is relatively low, and the work sporadic.

Eight families supplement their income by selling a small variety of food items, mainly to local children. Their selling place is usually a table set up in front of the house, manned by the wife or an older child. Items sold this way might include cookies, candy, horchata (punch), plums, mangos, pineapple slices and juice, etc. The total sales per day for any given household rarely exceeds fifteen pesos.

Nearly all items sold in this manner are purchased in Playa Cenagosa or Veracruz at retail prices. For example, one might buy a package of twenty cookies in Veracruz for ten pesos. In Cayala the package would be opened and the cookies sold separately for seventy centavos. The seller would thus make a profit of twenty centavos per cookie, or four pesos per package.

Often over-ripe fruits and vegetables are purchased cheaply in the central market in Veracruz. A person might go to Veracruz and buy, for example, a bushel of tomatoes or a crate of bananas. These are then sold singly in Cayala for a small profit.

The local police commander and a widowed elderly lady specialize in hog slaughtering. They either purchase the hog directly or slaughter the animal for a fee. Normally, the meat is sold publicly. The skin and fat are fried down to make lard and chicarrónes (fried pork rinds) which is considered a rare treat. On the average, one hog is slaughtered in the village every two or three weeks.

Locally grown cattle are almost never slaughtered in the village. One local man, about once or twice a month, goes to Piraguas to purchase an animal, and brings it back to Cayala to be slaughtered and sold to local residents. Most Cayalanos purchase household items such as dishes, furniture and so on from stores in either Veracruz or Playa Cenagosa. However, two men, both from Veracruz, regularly come to Cayala to sell clothing and other goods. They carry their stock in the trunk of their automobiles and sell directly from their cars. I would estimate that perhaps up to fifty percent of all clothing worn by local residents is purchased from these two men. Both offer ready credit at reasonable rates, which is normally difficult for a villager to obtain in the stores in Veracruz.

In addition to selling clothing, one of these men is a source of contraband goods, such as scotch whiskey, foreign wines, perfumes, canned goods, and cheeses. These goods are sold mainly to the cacique and members of his family who consume these items at home, or, on occasion, resell them to tourists.

Other vendors irregularly come to Cayala hawking comic books, sheet music, clay cooking pots, candy, fruits, religious pictures, and a variety of other miscellaneous inexpensive items. Occasionally a vendor will appear in the village selling pornographic literature,

pictures, and related devices.

One popular form of raising cash locally is to hold a raffle. Raffles are rarely organized by groups such as the Junta de Mejores Materiales or the school, but rather by one or two individuals. The proceeds are not intended to go toward charitable causes or improvement projects, but are clearly intended to go to the person or persons organizing the raffle. When, for example, a hog is slaughtered, a person will buy the complete severed head of the animal for about twenty-five or thirty pesos. He will then make up a list of numbers from one to one hundred. The person then goes throughout the village selling the numbers to individuals for one peso a piece. After all or most of the numbers have been sold, a drawing is held in public view. Duplicate numbers have been placed in a box or hat, and usually a young child is asked to pick the winning number. The child draws the number and the lucky winner collects the pig's head, which has cost him a peso. The organizer ends up with a profit of up to perhaps seventy-five pesos depending, of course, on how many numbers were sold.

Such raffles, organized by different individuals, occur on the average of once or twice per month. Pig heads are the most common prize offered, although on occasion items such as bottles of whiskey or rum, women's dresses or men's jackets, a turkey, etc., are raffled.

Very few residents of Cayala have anything to do with banks. Most villagers do not have enough ready cash on hand to bother with savings or checking accounts, and because they lack collateral, it is all but impossible for villagers to secure even very small loans. Up to about fifty persons, however, participate in local savings

societies called poros. Perhaps ten to twenty individuals, usually friends or relatives, get together and decide to put five or ten pesos per week into a common fund. Each week one of the members of the group receives the entire sum of money collected from all members. For example, ten persons, numbered from one to ten each contribute five pesos per week, the total sum collected thus being fifty pesos. The first week person number one on the list receives the entire amount. The next week person number two receives it. The third week person number three receives it, and so on down the list. After ten weeks the turns start over again with number one. All members must, of course, pay the five pesos each week during the entire ten week period.

This form of savings has developed, I am told, because people realize that if they try to save cash individually, very soon they find that they have spent it on small necessities. With poro membership it is possible to plan one's finances in advance and be certain of a relatively large sum of cash on a specific date. Usually a poro member has previously designated a specific, more expensive article that he or she will buy when his turn comes. For example, a woman may need a dress that might cost fifty pesos. For ten weeks she thinks about the dress, and upon receipt of the lump sum when her poro turn comes up, she buys the dress as soon as possible before other demands are made on her money. Whatever money might be left over after making the major purchase is considered a "profit," and often is spent on inexpensive personal "luxuries" such as make-up or entertainment.

## CHAPTER IV PART A

### PATTERNS OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

#### Status Distinction and Prestige

Villagers distinguish themselves on the basis of several characteristics. The major factors that are used to distinguish status are relative wealth, ancestry, length of residence in the village, and, to some extent, occupation. One's relative prestige is a function of how one is ranked with regard to these characteristics. Let us discuss each of these characteristics in order.

On the basis of wealth, there are two classes of people in Cayala - los ricos (the rich) and los pobres (the poor). Sometimes a similar distinction is made by saying that there are los patrones (the "bosses", or patrons), and los empleados (the workers or employees).

Los ricos include the cacique (by far the richest villager), certain of his sons, and about a dozen cattlemen and/or restaurant operators or businessmen. Los pobres would include just about everyone else, fishermen restaurant employees, ranch hands, farmers, and those who provide various local services. However, in certain contexts the categories of "rich" and "poor" are broken into sub-categories that reflect finer individual or family wealth distinctions. For example, some people are muy pobre (very poor), other pobre (poor)



and still others ni rico ni pobre (neither rich or poor). Likewise the rich can be un poco rico (a little bit rich), rico (rich) or rico-rico or muy rico (literally, "rich-rich" or very rich). The latter distinction is used exclusively to refer to the cacique and his youngest son, Luis.

To be rich in Cayala is more than to possess money or goods. A rich man is powerful, influential and often thought to be "smarter" than less fortunate individuals. While it is not a "disgrace" to be poor, it is widely accepted that the poor are relatively powerless, and that the opinion of a poor man need not be taken too seriously.

After wealth, one's ancestry is the second most important distinguishing feature. All other things being equal, if a person is a direct descendent of one of the founding fathers of the village, he will be accorded a higher status than a person who is not.

Related to the above, is length of residence in the village. All other things being equal, un hijo del pueblo (a son of the village) or un nativo (a native) i.e., someone born in Cayala has higher status than someone de afuera (from the "outside"). Similarly, one who has lived in the village for many years is distinguished from more recent arrivals, and is granted higher status.

Villagers distinguish themselves on the basis of occupation, but some occupations are not ranked. Clearly to be a "boss" i.e., cattleman, restaurant owner, is "better" than being an employee i.e., restaurant worker, chauffeur, or a fisherman. However, among employees and fishermen, success at one's job, measured in relative wealth, is more often used in status ranking than the job itself, all other factors being equal.

In Cayala, as perhaps in all human communities, people are distinguished on the basis of how well they get along with their fellows and on the basis of "good citizenship." For example, all other factors being equal, a person who is buena gente (roughly, a "nice guy") i.e., someone who is friendly, cooperative, modest, sober, and responsible, will be granted more respect from his peers than a person who is not.

### Mate Selection and Courtship

In Cayala interest in the opposite sex usually begins about a year or so after puberty. Serious interest in mate selection, however, does not begin until much later, usually when a young person reaches about eighteen or nineteen years old. According to informants, marriage is not seriously considered until a young man is at least twenty-one or two, or until a young woman is about twenty. The "ideal" age for marriage is about twenty-five for a man and about twenty-three for a woman.

In practice, two factors seem to be the most important in determining the age at which people marry (or enter a free union). The first is whether or not one's novia (girl friend) becomes pregnant. During the period of fieldwork at least four pregnancies occurred among single girls between ages thirteen and twenty-four. In all instances a marital union took place, usually during about the fourth month of pregnancy. The second factor determining the age of marriage is the young man's financial situation. Barring an unexpected pregnancy, a couple generally will not form a union until the young man can afford to set up a household independent of his parents.

Being independent means having enough money to build and basically furnish at least a small house.

A young man looks for several qualities in a prospective wife. First, she should not have had previous sexual relations with other men. If later on the young man himself takes her virginity, he still looks on her as if she were a virgin. If a girl has had previous admirers and still remains a virgin, this actually enhances her to the young man. It shows him that because others have admired her, she must have many good qualities, and that she can exercise self-control, which is a quality to be admired.

Equally as important as the girl's virginity is whether or not she is a good worker. Being a good worker means being a good cook, being a good housekeeper, a good laundress, and so on. Above all, a girl should do her work without complaining. A girl who complains about work before marriage will probably do so even more after marriage, and this is highly undesirable in a wife. Informants also mentioned other qualities that are of a more general nature such as responsibility, pleasantness, thriftiness, and so forth.

The most important quality a woman looks for in a young man is his potential as a provider i.e., whether he has a good job and is a hard worker. A man's disposition is also a very important matter to a young woman. Most young women live in fear that they will marry a man that will physically beat them. This is perhaps because they have, in many cases, seen their own fathers physically abuse their mothers. Therefore, a man with a steady even temper is much preferred to one who has a reputation for violent outbursts. Along these same lines, a man who is a heavy drinker is undesirable. In

the first place, a wife is more likely to receive a beating when her husband has been drinking. Also, a drinker might spend household money on liquor or beer, rather than on food and clothing.

The courting process is usually initiated by the young man when a particular girl catches his eye. According to several young men, a girl's physical beauty is only of importance initially. After having first noticed a girl, the young man "sizes her up," a process that might take several months. By unobtrusively observing the girl and by discreetly talking about her with friends, relatives, and others, he gets a good idea of the type of person she is. During this time only the young man himself is aware of his intentions i.e., he will not yet make any overtures toward the girl, or discuss her openly with anyone.

After this initial "inspection" period, a young man decides whether or not he will pursue courting. If he decides not to further pursue courting, the matter is simply dropped. If he decides to go ahead with it, he makes his intentions known to the young woman, often through a go-between to inform him to overtly court her. If she does not want to be courted, she informs the go-between, who in turn informs the suitor. Her refusal to be courted usually ends the matter. By acting through a third party, both the young man and woman avoid the potentially humiliating situation of a face to face refusal, which could be devastating to the young man's ego.

If the young man has been encouraged to court further, he will meet with the girl "on the sly" and personally tell her of his intentions. At this time, the couple become novios (roughly, betrothed) and the period of open courtship begins.



The young man must now go to the home of the girl's parents and ask their permission for him to come and visit his novia in their home. If the girl's parents object to the young man, often her father will hit her with a belt or his hand until she promises not to see him again. In some cases this ends the courtship, but in many cases the young man and woman decide to court secretly.

If the young man is acceptable to the girl's parents, he then comes to their home to visit with the girl and her family. He also might see the girl at parties, dances, or at other open or public functions. At the young woman's home, the couple is often left alone together for about a half hour, during which time they kiss, talk intimately, and make plans for the future. The girl's parents, however, are always very close at hand.

During the courting period a young man has no formal obligations or duties with regard to the young woman's parents or family. He is not expected to provide labor or financially contribute to her family. Most likely, however, he will bring small gifts when he comes to visit, such as after-shave lotion or razor blades for the girl's father, shampoo or cologne for the girl's mother, and candy or gum for her brothers and sisters.

This stage in the courtship process could last from a few months to several years. However, after three or four months of open courtship the girl's father generally sets a time limit at the end of which the couple either gets married or the affair is ended by the girl's father, who will urge his daughter to seek a more willing novio.

When the young couple decides to actually marry, the young man goes to his parents to tell them of the decision. A lengthy discussion

generally ensues, primarily concerning the young man's finances, and other wedding arrangements.

Shortly after this discussion the young man, accompanied by his parents, will visit the girl's parents. They usually bring along some gifts, normally a case of beer or a bottle of caña or rum. Most of the talk during this visit centers around financial arrangements, especially if a Church wedding is planned.

### Marriage

Cayalanos contemplating marriage have three options to choose from. A couple might live together in free union (unión libre), they might chose to be married in a nonsecular civil (civil) ceremony, or they might decide on a Catholic Church ceremony, which is always preceded by a civil ceremony. Let us examine why a couple would chose one or another type of union.

Common law, or free union marriage is the most common type of marriage bond in Cayala. Census figures show that about 60% of all current unions are of this type. In a free union, the couple simply decides to live together without either a civil or religious ceremony. Although this type of union has the lowest prestige in the eyes of the community, it is considered valid i.e., the offspring of such a union are considered to be the legitimate sons and daughters of the couple involved.

There are several reasons why people enter into free union marriages instead of the civil or religious types. First, free union is the least expensive type of marriage; no expense at all is involved.

Sometimes the parents of a young man or woman have strong

objections to their offspring's choice of a mate and might attempt to sabotage a pending marriage. When this is the case the young couple might plan a robo (literally, a "robbery"; an elopement). During the dead of night, at a prearranged hour, the young man sneaks over to his lover's house and "steals" his lady from under the noses of her sleeping parents and carries her off to the home of a trusted relative or to a cheap hotel in Veracruz. There they remain hidden for a few days, enjoying a premature "honeymoon." After a while they return to the village openly, the girl, of course, no longer a virgin. Since she might possibly be pregnant, after a show of public indignation and outrage, the parents of the couple usually give their reluctant consent to the union. However, under these circumstances parents are not in a generous mood, will not put up the money for a civil or religious wedding, and so the "bride" and "groom" simply cohabit together in free union.

Most young men are unwilling to legally marry a woman who has had sexual relations with other men. This is especially true if the woman has had a child born out of wedlock, as a man would not want to assume legal responsibility for a child not of his own making. A man who would marry such a woman would very likely be the object of intense ridicule and teasing by his fellows, indicating that the woman had deceived him, and that he was a fool. Therefore, at least from the man's point of view, it is better not to marry a "tarnished" woman, but rather live with her in free union.

In Cayala, second and third unions, which are quite common, are always of the free union type. People entering into second and third unions have learned that marriage, in practice, is not always a



permanent arrangement and are hesitant or even openly opposed to entering into a civil or religious union with all the attending legal implications and potential responsibilities.

Villagers who wish to be married legally but who cannot afford the expense of a religious ceremony opt for a civil wedding. Approximately twenty-one percent of all current unions in the village were formed at civil ceremonies most of which were performed by the municipal president or his secretario (administrative assistant) at the nearby municipal government building in Playa Cenagosa.

Civil ceremonies are rather casual, brief and to the point (the couple vows to accept the legal responsibilities of marriage and uphold the Mexican Constitution), and not occasions for a lot of celebration. The following account of a civil wedding in which I participated is, I think, typical.

A woman of about twenty from Cayala was to marry a young man from Playa Cenagosa. I had known both bride and groom casually for about eight months. At about noon the Cayala cacique asked me if I would be willing to drive the young woman, a niece of his, and her family to Playa Cenagosa to get married. I said that I would do it. About one o'clock in the afternoon the young man arrived in Cayala on the bus. The groom, myself, and a few other local men sat in a restaurant for awhile chatting and drinking beer until word was sent that the bride was ready to go to Playa Cenagosa. Arriving at the palacio there, we found the groom's parents and several other friends and relatives. We all went inside the palacio and someone informed the clerk-receptionist that the couple wished to get married. The bride and groom's names and those of their parents were recorded in a record

book. The clerk then asked for the witnesses to sign the record. The father of the groom (whom I had just met for the first time) suggested that I be a witness. The groom thought that it was a good idea too, and I signed the record book.

Then we were told that there would be a delay, as both the president and his secretario were busy at the time. All the adult males present, including the father of the bride and groom, agreed that because it was so hot we should all wait across the street in a cantina, and perhaps have a beer. After about 45 minutes someone came over to the cantina to inform us that the secretario had been free for a few minutes and had performed the ceremony in our absence.

We all went back over and congratulated the young couple. The groom's father then invited the same group of males back to the cantina for more beer. I drive the couple back to Cayala, where the bride went to her house to pack a bag to take on their honeymoon. Several of the groom's friends got together with him in a local restaurant and bought several rounds of beer. After a while word was sent over that the bride was ready. The groom went to her house to get her, and they took the next bus to Veracruz to spend a two-day honeymoon in a hotel.

Marriages sanctified in the Roman Catholic Church are the most prestigious unions, but are also the most expensive. During the period of fieldwork only one Church wedding occurred and only about eighteen percent of all local unions have been so blessed.

Cost, not personal preference, is the one single factor against a Church wedding. The Catholic priest, who comes to the village from Playa Cenagosa charges at least \$300.00 pesos for the wedding mass.

The bridal dress can cost as much as \$700.00 pesos. Another \$500.00 pesos can easily be spent on "trappings" such as flowers, photographers, and so forth. In addition, it is almost mandatory that the groom's family provide a wedding reception for the relatives and friends of the couple. The reception, if done properly, should include plenty of food, beer, and hard liquor. Depending on the number of guests that attend, up to \$3-4,000.00 pesos could be spent on the reception. At the reception that I attended, an entire steer and several turkeys and chickens were consumed along with at least fifty cases of beer and gallons of caña, rum, and scotch whiskey.

In Cayala, marriage, regardless of the type of union, is a rather tenuous arrangement. While no villager has ever obtained a legal divorce (probably because of the high cost of attorney and court fees), informal separations occur readily. During the period of fieldwork at least ten out of the approximately 100 marital unions terminated in separation. On the basis of census data on household composition, I would estimate that as many as 100 adult villagers have gone through at least one separation in their lifetime, and several have separated two, three, and even four times. According to informants, separations result from many factors chief among which are infidelity, wife or child beating, drunkenness, and money problems. Let us now turn to certain aspects of domestic life in the village--the composition of households, interpersonal relationships within the household, and the daily household routine.

### Family and Household Composition

Ideally, the domestic unit in Cayala consists of an independent nuclear family--mother, father, and children, living in a separate dwelling place. In reality, however, not all domestic units are of the ideal type for various reasons such as the past death of a spouse or parents, or separation.

Two basic family types are prevalent in Cayala. Following Murdock (1957), these are:

1. Independent families, i.e., familial groupings which do not normally include more than one nuclear family.
2. Stem families, i.e., minimal extended families normally consisting of only two related families of procreation, particularly of adjacent generations. In Cayala nearly all stem families are "incomplete" in that at least one adult of one of the two families of procreation is absent. The most common situation is, for example, a separated woman along with her children living in the household dwelling of the woman's parents.

Household composition in Cayala is variable, i.e., there are several distinct types of households consisting of different sets of kinsmen. Following Murdock (Ibid.), the following types of households are found in Cayala:

1. Nuclear family households, i.e., normal occupancy of a single dwelling by one married couple and their children. I have classified as "nuclear incomplete", households in which one or the other adult parent is missing (most commonly the father), and households consisting of recently married or elderly couples, with no children residing in the household.
2. Stem family households, i.e., normal occupancy of a single dwelling by a stem family.
3. Grandparent-grandchild households, i.e., a household comprised of an elderly married couple and one or more grandchildren only.
4. Grandmother-grandchild, grandfather-grandchild households, i.e., a household comprised of a single elderly male or female only and one or more grandchildren.

5. Single male, single female households, i.e., a household comprised of a single adult male or female only.
6. Other types-temporary stem, joint, family segments, i.e., households that do not lend themselves to ready classification. There are only three households in this residual category.

There are a total of 119 households in Cayala. The following table summarizes the frequency of the above family and household types:

Table 4 • INCIDENCE OF FAMILY AND HOUSEHOLD TYPES

<u>Family Type</u>			
Independent	106	or	89.08%
Stem (Incomplete)	11	or	9.24%
Other	2	or	1.65%

<u>Household Type</u>			
Nuclear	69	or	57.98%
Nuclear (Incomplete)	23	or	19.33%
Stem (Incomplete)	9	or	7.56%
Grandparent-Grandchildren	4	or	3.36%
GrandMo/Fa-Grandchildren	5	or	4.20%
Single Male	4	or	3.36%
Single Female	2	or	1.68%
Other	3	or	2.52%

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SOURCE: Census data obtained in 1970 and 1971.

On the average, there are almost five persons per household in Cayala. This figure is a bit deceiving, however, because of the relatively large number (six and fifteen respectively) of one and two

person households. In most cases these households consist of elderly couples or individuals who no longer have offspring living at home, or recently married young couples who do not yet have children. The number of persons in Cayala households is given in the following table.

Table 5 . HOUSEHOLD SIZE

<u>No. of Person in Household</u>	<u>No. of Households</u>	<u>Total No. of Individuals</u>	<u>Percent of Households</u>
11	3	33	2.5
10	2	20	1.7
9	2	18	1.7
8	12	96	10.1
7	12	84	10.1
6	18	108	15.1
5	18	90	15.1
4	15	60	12.6
3	16	48	13.4
2	15	30	12.6
1	6	6	5.0
<hr/>			
Total Number of Households	<u>119</u>		
Total Number of Inhabitants	<u>593</u>		
Average Size of Household	<u>4.98</u>	Persons per Household	

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SOURCE: Census data obtained in 1970 and 1971.

One point about the nature of Cayala households should here be

made. The figures given above are taken from census data and as such represent a rather "ideal" portrait of Cayala household and family composition. In reality many Cayala households are not "fixed" in size and/or composition, but are rather flexible and "fluid" in nature. That is, at any given time a particular household dwelling could contain more or fewer individuals than indicated on a census. For instance, it is very common for young children to leave their parents' house for often several days to "live" with grandparents or aunts and uncles. Sometimes children will eat in their parents' home but sleep in the home of another relative or vice versa.

Many Cayala homes are very "open" in that people, relatives or not, feel free to wander in and out at will i.e., household boundaries generally do not serve as barriers to social interaction. In this regard I should mention that there are almost no fences in Cayala to keep neighbors out nor are there any vicious watchdogs to impede a visitor as is the case in many Mexican communities. People generally visit uninvited and many rarely bother to knock or announce their presence before entering another persons' house. For example, in the early months of fieldwork a Cayala youth of fifteen accompanied me while I was gathering census data. In several instances this young man, not finding household members up and about in the kitchen, entered bedrooms and woke napping household members to inform them that I wanted to census them. In no case did people object or indicate that the young man had invaded their privacy. To mention another example, the family I stayed with during the early weeks of fieldwork operated a small restaurant and cantina. In the course of an average day

sometimes as many as twenty or thirty friends, relatives, or neighbors might pop in, perhaps help themselves to a bit of food, sit and chat for several minutes, and then casually move on. I would roughly estimate that perhaps up to 100 local people would feel free to enter the kitchen of this household, and help themselves to food without first asking permission.

#### Interpersonal Relations Within the Domestic Unit

In Cayala, as is probably true throughout the world, the quality of interpersonal relations within the family is highly variable, and depends a great deal on the personalities of individual family members. Some households are marked by mutual respect and affection between members, a quiet congenial atmosphere, and a spirit of cooperation. On the other hand, some households are marked by constant bickering and fighting, jealousy, mutual dislike and distrust, and a spirit of non-cooperation. Most families in Cayala would fall somewhere between these two extremes.

Generally speaking, the father has the ultimate say in family affairs. He is ideally deferred to by other family members, and a sign of disrespect from mother or children might get them a swat on the side of the head. In many cases the father is feared, and mother and children often work together to conceal minor misdeeds from him. The mother generally oversees and disciplines the children in most matters, and will not bring a matter to her husband unless she absolutely cannot handle it herself. When a matter is serious enough to be brought to the father, some form of corporal punishment is usually the reward of the wrongdoer. Mothers rarely use physical punishment,



but rather discipline children by humiliating them in front of others, by threatening physical punishment, or threatening to tell the father about the misdeed.

Bribery is a very common method manipulating young children. For example, a mother might ask a child to run to the store, and be refused by the child. She might then promise to give the child candy or a few centavos to run the errand. When the errand is completed, however, most likely the child will not be given his reward because he refused to obey the first time. Needless to say, a child catches on to this trick after a time or two and new means of coercion must be employed. Older siblings often discipline the younger. The eldest son, after reaching about sixteen years of age, is granted almost the same respect as the father, especially in the father's absence.

Ideally, all children should be treated equally by their parents but, in practice, many parents show some favoritism, which is a common source of sibling conflict. A father's favorite child would most likely be a daughter, and the mother would most likely choose a son as her favorite. Young children are generally indulged, especially young boys. For example, if a little girl were to use a swear word, she most likely would be verbally chastised. If a small boy were to say the same word, it would be considered funny and little or no criticism would result.

As a general rule, household members do not participate in activities together. About the only time all household members are together in one place is at night, when all are asleep. Husbands and wives have quite distinct and separate spheres of informal social interaction, especially with regard to recreational activities. Men tend

to group with men, and women tend to group with other women, and rarely do they mix. Visiting friends or relatives in the village is usually done individually. Even on those rare occasions when both sexes are together in the same place, for example at a party, they normally are segregated, the men chatting with one another on one side of the room and the women doing the same on the other.

Traditionally the division of labor between the sexes has been quite strict and clear cut. Mothers are responsible for shopping, cooking and serving meals, doing the washing, caring for children, and keeping the house. Daughters from about age five on are expected to help their mothers, and are given more and more responsibility as they grow older. With the exception of a few families, the mother also handles the household money. Husbands turn most of their earnings over to their wives, keeping a small percentage for themselves for recreation. Just how much a husband keeps for himself is often a source of husband-wife conflict, especially if most of what the husband keeps goes for liquor or beer. The money a husband gives his wife is to be spent on the family for food, clothing, etc. In these day-to-day purchases, the wife makes most economic decisions. Decisions regarding major purchases such as new furniture, appliances, needed equipment, and so on are, however, made by the husband. As a rule of thumb, a husband is consulted before purchasing any single item costing twenty-five pesos or more.

The father is the family provider. He also does the heavy work around the house such as cutting firewood, fixing the roof, painting, and so on. Sons are expected to help their fathers to the extent that their age and physical abilities permit. Fathers have little interest

in the day-to-day operation of the household, except when something is not to their liking. If all goes smoothly, the father does not interfere.

In more recent years, the traditional division of labor has changed, especially for women. Many are now working outside of the household in tourism related jobs and are no longer dependent on their husbands or fathers for their livelihood. In most cases where married women work, they pool their earnings with those of other family members and the family as a whole enjoys a somewhat better standard of living.

The availability of tourism related jobs has perhaps had the greatest effect on single and separated women. Several single young adult working women have told me that because they hold jobs and earn their own money they do not plan to get married as early in life as they might have otherwise. Because they contribute financially to their households, their parents are not as anxious for them to marry and leave as they might have been in the past. Likewise, separated women, with children, do not feel it necessary to remarry as soon as they might have ten years ago.

### The Daily Routine

Cayala begins to stir at about seven o'clock as mothers throughout the village rise to meet the new day. While other family members sleep on, the mother starts her day by lighting the charcoal fed kitchen fire (if the family is not fortunate enough to own a gas stove), and preparing the family breakfast, which might consist of leftovers from yesterday's lunch. Once breakfast is on the fire the mother wakes

her sleeping offspring, sees that they are properly dressed and fed, and sends them off to school which begins about nine o'clock, depending on what time the teachers come in on the bus from Veracruz.

Mornings are a flourish of household activities as most women try to get their most unpleasant tasks out of the way early, before the blazing sun saps one's energy and will to work.

The most arduous and time consuming task of all is doing the family laundry in the cement basin located at the back or side of the house. Since Cayalanos change clothes quite frequently, the mother always has a pile of dirty laundry greeting her in the morning. The wash is done by hand in water carried to the basin in buckets or cans from nearby wells or the new public faucets. The work is made somewhat more palatable by the fact that one's neighbors are also out in back washing, and all within earshot keep up a lively conversation on local gossip, interspersed with occasional "dirty" jokes and shouts at misbehaving children playing here and there often under their mother's feet.

Feeding the family is perhaps the second most time consuming job. Since each meal is started from scratch someone, the mother or an older child, must run here and there throughout the village picking up the necessary supplies. Basic grocery items, canned goods, beans, rice, onions, tomatoes, and so on, can usually be found at the small local puesto (store). Masa (cornmeal) for the ubiquitous tortilla is bought at the local molina (mill), where dry corn is soaked in lime water, softened, and then ground by a machine into dough. If white bread or sweet rolls are on the menu, these can be obtained at the panadería (bakery). Children, especially boys, often



refuse to go to the bakery for their mothers because, as local gossip has it, the baker is a maricón ("queer"). Seafood is brought home by the father after the day's fishing or purchased from the fishing cooperative.

Meals are served to different family members at different times, it is rare to see a family seated and eating together. Generally the father is served first on demand, followed by older and finally younger children. Mothers usually eat alone after everyone else has been served but most mothers nibble at food while it is being prepared. After the early afternoon meal has been served, when the heat of the sun is most intense, many women try to sneak in a nap until it cools off a bit.

Male restaurant employees normally rise between 8:00 and 9:00 A.M., dress, wash, and leave for their jobs around ten o'clock. They eat their meals at work, and are absent from their homes until the last customers leave the restaurants between 7:00 and 9:00 P.M. Women working in restaurants follow a schedule similar to men, except that they must do household chores when they can.

Fishermen have a more irregular schedule depending on their specific fishing plans for any given day. If a man has been shrimp fishing the night before, he might stay in bed until 10:00 or 11:00 A.M. Otherwise, he normally would rise between 7:00 and 9:00 A.M., dress, wash, shave, eat a light snack, and then walk over to the boat landing, fishing cooperative, or the pool hall. Here he would catch up on local gossip and formulate his plans for the day's fishing activities. Individual fishermen set their own daily work schedules, and are seen going to or returning from the fishing grounds through-



out the day. During their leisure hours (often several hours during the day), fishermen might spend some time repairing fishing equipment, taking a nap at home, shooting pool, or sitting around the cooperative office or one of the small restaurants exchanging gossip with other fishermen.

After the dishes have been cleared away following the evening comida (a light snack), family members lounge around the house chatting, sewing, and listening to the radio. In many households the family is asleep by 9:00 or 10:00 P.M. However, occasionally fishermen and male restaurant employees gather at the La Perla restaurant to drink beer, gossip, watch television, or listen to music from the juke box. But unless a special event is going on, the village is silent before midnight, its people restoring themselves to cope with the work that the next day will bring.

### Kinship

"All Cayalanos are parientes (relatives), we all belong to one big family." This and similar statements from informants points up the fact that while not all Cayalanos are in truth related, the majority of them are. Based on census and geneological materials I would estimate that over two thirds (at least four-hundred) of the permanent resident population of Cayala is descended from the founding fathers of the village. Geneological evidence points out the fact that in each generation since the founding of the settlement, first and second cousin marriages were rather common, so that today most Cayalanos can trace their ancestry to at least one if not several of the founders, and are related to each other by both descent and



marriage.

Descent in Cayala is bilateral in that one's "blood line" is traced equally through one's father and mother. This results in the formation of relatively large non-corporate kindred groups which are ego's primary focus of kinship identification beyond the nuclear family. Kindred groups in Cayala are similar in structure and function to the kindreds described by Murdock (1949: 56-57) in the United States. A kindred is:

...that group of near relatives who may be expected to be present and participant on important ceremonial occasions, such as weddings, christenings, funerals,...and "family reunions." Members of a kindred visit and entertain one another freely, and between them marriage and pecuniary transactions for profit are ordinarily taboo. One turns to support one another against criticism or affronts from outsiders.

However, in Cayala there are variations from the pattern described by Murdock. First, transactions for profit are quite common between kindred members. For example, a man would not normally sell fish to a first cousin or even a brother for less than the going price paid at the fishing cooperative or at local restaurants. One does not necessarily turn to kindred members for aid, especially financial aid. More often than not one's relatives are in a distressed financial position themselves and cannot help out. When this is the case a villager has two alternatives. The preferred alternative is to search among one's compadres, which will be discussed later, to see if a compadre will help out. If this fails, the only other alternative for many villagers is to approach the cacique or other cattlemen and ask for aid. Cattlemen generally grant favors when their help is sought, but the petitioner knows that the debt must be repaid in one form or another, usually to the

disadvantage of the aid seeker. On the other hand, favors not involving money are freely exchanged among kinsmen. If, for example, one has a knife or a dugout canoe that is not being used, and a kinsman asks to borrow the item for a time, the request is normally granted.

Marriage between kindred members, while not preferred, is not taboo. As mentioned, there are several cases of past and present cousin marriages.

It should be noted that kindred groups in Cayala are localized groups. If a relative does not reside in the congregación or in a nearby town, for all practical purposes he is excluded from one's kindred group. Thus personal knowledge of and contact with an individual are necessary for his inclusion in one's kindred.

There are several major kindred groups in Cayala, the largest (about two-hundred people) and most prestigious being the Salga group in which the cacique is the most powerful figure. The cacique's leadership role among his relatives is, however, based on his personal wealth rather than on his kinship status. The Salga kindred is followed, roughly in order of size and local power, by the Moreno, Velasco, Martínez and Paredes kindreds and several smaller groups, the Campos, Herreras, Mirandas, and Ortegas. Kindred membership is not particularly clear cut, however, as most villagers are in fact related through descent and/or marriage to individuals in several kindred groups.

All other things being equal, a villager has more local prestige if he is a member of the Salga or Moreno kindred especially, or a member of another kindred group started by a villager founder. Within

the kindred, however, one's prestige is based on non-kinship factors such as wealth, personality, and so on.

Being a non-corporate entity, one's kindred group does not serve a regulatory function in matters such as mate selection and marriage, residence, inheritance, and so on. Rather, such matters are generally considered to be the business of members of individual households.

### Kinship Terminology

The system of kinship terminology used in Cayala is quite similar to the system that Parsons (1943) and Schneider (1955) have described for the United States. Both are of the "Eskimo" type because of the following characteristics:

Fa is terminologically distinguished from FaBr, Mo from MoSi, while parents' siblings are grouped in categories distinguished from one another by sex but not collaterality. Cross and parallel cousins are grouped together and distinguished from siblings, while own children are differentiated from the children of siblings, who are differentiated from each other only on the basis of sex (Schneider Ibid.: 1194).

However, kinship terminology deviates from the "standard" United States system in certain respects. The first of these centers around the use of the term primo(a) hermano(a) (literally, brother (sister) cousin). This category of kinsmen includes FaBrCh, FaSiCh, MoBrCh, and MoSiCh, i.e., both matrilineal and patrilineal cross and parallel cousins. In the American system all of these individuals would be referred to as first cousins. In Cayala the offspring of primos(as) hermanos(as) are, however, called sobrino(a) (nephew or niece), which are the same terms that are applied to the offspring of one's brothers and sisters. In line with this, the offspring of ego's primos(as) hermanos(as) refer to and address ego by the term tío(a) (uncle or aunt).

This is the same term that ego's siblings' children use for ego.

This situation is to some extent reflected in the nature of day-to-day primo(a) hermano(a) relationships. Generally speaking, relationships between primos hermanos are very close. In terms of giving mutual support, the granting of favors or financial help, and in the sharing of confidences, this relationship is the most important one outside of the nuclear family. In fact, it is not uncommon for primos hermanos to cooperate more with each other, and get along better than do siblings.

Another feature of kinship terminology in Cayala is that certain collateral relatives are lumped together on the basis of age and generation, regardless of their actual kin status toward ego. For example, ego's FaFaBrSo (Da) is technically ego's primo segundo (second cousin). However, if this person is perhaps twenty or more years older than ego i.e., a contemporary of ego's parents, he might in fact be referred to as tío(a) (uncle or aunt).

Generally speaking, Cayalano kin terms for affines are similar to those used in the United States, with one notable exception. In the American system HuBr(Si), WiBr(Si), HuSiHu, WiSiHu, WiBrWi, and HuBrWi are lumped together under the terms Br(Si)-in-law. In Cayala, however, HuBr(Si) and WiBr(Si) (called cuñado(a)) are distinguished from HuSiHu, WiSiHu, WiBrWi, and HuBrWi, who are addressed and referred to as concuño(a). Thus, at least terminologically, cuñados(as) are "closer" to ego than concuños(as).

Apart from kinship, villagers are also involved in networks of fictive kinship ties (compadrinazgo). We will now discuss these relationships in Part B of this chapter.

## CHAPTER IV PART B

### COMPADRAZGO AND PADRINAZGO RELATIONSHIPS

#### Selection of Participants

The institution of compadrazgo or ritual co-parenthood (Mintz and Wolf 1950), more recently called compadrinazgo by Ravicz (1967), is an important feature of the social organization of Cayala, as it is in most Latin American communities that have come under the influence of the Roman Catholic Church. Mintz and Wolf (Ibid.), Foster (1953) and Ravicz (1967) have provided extensive accounts of the European origin, the diffusion to the New World, and the general structure and functions of the institution and therefore I will not elaborate its general characteristics, but briefly review them and then turn to a description of the institution as it is manifested in Cayala.

Essentially, the institution involves the formation of two types of fictive kinship bonds in response to certain Roman Catholic sacraments or rituals. These ties are generally established at the time when a particular individual, often a child, is passing through certain life crisis events or rites de passage such as baptism, confirmation, first communion, and marriage. However, as we shall see shortly, in Cayala there are several other occasions when compadrazgo ties are established which have little or nothing to do with the Church.

When a child is going through a rite de passage, his parents select a pair of persons, usually a male and a female, to be the child's padrinos (godparents; sponsors). These kinlike ties, which Ravicz (1967: 238) calls padrinazgo ties are between the child and his padrinos. The child refers to his male godparent as padrino and to his female godparent as madrina. When speaking of both his male and female godparents, the plural term padrinos is used. A child's padrino and madrina refer to their godchild as their ahijado (godson), or ahijada (goddaughter).

The second type of bond formed is that between the child's parents and the child's sponsors, i.e., the compadrazgo (co-parent) bond. Male co-parents are referred to or addressed as compadre; female co-parents as comadre. When both male and female co-parents are referred to the plural term compadres is used.

A third type of bond, that between the child and his parents is also involved. This bond, of course, is one of real, rather than fictive kinship and as such is not altered by compadrazgo-padrinazgo relationships. However, as shall be explained later on, it is not at all uncommon in Cayala for persons to establish compadrazgo bonds directly, without the involvement of a child, as it is possible for a material object such as a house, wooden cross, fishing net, etc., to take the place of a child.

All compadrazgo or padrinazgo relationships, regardless of the occasion on which they were formed, ideally bind the participating parties to observe reciprocal general and/or specific rights and obligations.

Let us now turn to a discussion of compadrinazgo as it is manifest-

ed in Cayala. We will begin with a discussion of the "ideal" norms that are considered in the selection of participants and then proceed to an examination of the various types of social bonds formed on different occasions and the rights and obligations involved. Finally we will discuss the extent to which ideal norms are reflected in "real" behavior.

Since compadrazgo relationships are ideally life-long, Cayalanos put much thought into the selection of compadres. Informants agree that the most important characteristic considered in choosing any type of compadre is whether or not the person(s) being considered is "una persona de respeto" (a person of "respect"). Second, it is hoped that the relationship being considered will be advantageous in furthering one's personal, social, economic, or political interests. A good compadre is one who will be able to help you when you need him. Third, the persons being considered must be willing to accept the sponsorship being offered him. The individual must be a person(s) "de voluntad", i.e., someone who will not take the relationship lightly, but who will try to make it work. Let us now consider each of these points.

It is highly desirable that one tiene respeto (have respect) for a potential or actual compadre. The notion of respeto in Cayala embodies somewhat more than the English noun "respect". A person of respeto is honorable, trustworthy, dependable, and generally hard-working, sober and self-sufficient.

Respeto in compadrazgo relationships is ideally manifested in several specific ways. For example, one should never fight or quarrel with fictive kinsmen, but go to all lengths to maintain a harmonious,

peaceful, and cooperative relationship. One should never gossip or slander a compadre or padrino. On the contrary, one should readily defend his honor and good name publicly, to the point of fighting with any other person who might suggest that one's compadres or padrinos are less than honorable. Formal fictive kinship terminology should be used to address and refer to a compadre or padrino; one never uses first names only, even though one might have been doing so for years before the bond was established. In speaking directly to a compadre or padrino, the Spanish formal second person "usted" form should be used rather than the more familiar "tú" form. The use of these terms indicates that the relationship is of a special and formal nature as opposed to the more familiar nature of both family and casual friendship relations.

According to informants, respeto involves an incest taboo. Compadres and comadres should never have sexual relations with each other. Many informants stated that the taboo against sexual relations extends to certain members of a compadre's kinship group. For example, one compadre should not have relations with the other's sisters, daughters, or mother. First cousins and more distant relatives are not, however, morally taboo.

A further aspect of respeto in compadrinazgo relationships has to do with cooperation and mutual aid. If at all possible one should never refuse a compadre or a padrino any reasonable request. If for example, one compadre needs to borrow money, the other should lend it to him without question. If one compadre needs additional labor, say to repair a roof or mend a fishing net, the other should help him out without expecting to receive payment. It is understood, however, that



a favor given will have to be repaid in one form or another in the future.

In addition to being a person of respeto, one hopes that a potential compadre will help further one's personal financial, social, or political ambitions. For this reason Cayalanos often attempt to enter a compadrazgo relationship with persons of higher economic and social status than themselves. These higher status compadres might be residents of the village or "outsiders" from Veracruz or other localities. Several poor Cayalanos can boast of compadres who are well-to-do lawyers, ranchers, doctors, teachers, and businessmen. Such vertical bonds provide the poor with access to legal and medical advice, small cash loans, and discounts on merchandise that otherwise would not be available to them.

Vertical relationships, however, do not work only to the advantage of the poor. In return for favors from their well-to-do compadres the poor are expected to perform a variety of services such as doing manual labor at the home or business of their compadre, arranging for special fiestas in Cayala restaurants, providing fresh caught seafood, and so on.

While Cayalanos generally seek compadrazgo bonds with higher status persons, some well-to-do Cayalanos will enter into relationships with poor local people especially if the poor person initiating the relationship is a person de respeto. For example, one local cattleman has consented to be a compadre of two poor local fishermen. The two fishermen form the nucleus of a lagoon fishing team headed by the cattleman. The cattleman does not fish himself, but rather has supplied the team with the red (long net) and other equipment necessary for

lagoon fishing. The fisherman and one or two others fish using the cattleman's equipment. The fishermen compadres receive one share each or all fish caught while the cattleman compadre receives two shares as net owner. The arrangement is considered fair by all concerned.

If at all possible, a potential compadre should be a person de voluntad, i.e., a person who is willing to make the relationship work. Finding a person de voluntad in Cayala is sometimes a difficult task as many Cayalanos are hesitant to commit themselves to a relationship in which they could become obligated to help another person. There are indeed several villagers who, because of their reputation for dishonesty, quarrelsomeness, laziness, and the like, cannot find any fellow villager willing to be their compadre. Because of this, the children of such people often do not get baptized or confirmed.

#### Types of Compadrinazgo Ties

Compadres, padrinos, and ahijados are distinguished in the minds of local people by the specific occasion which prompted the formation of the fictive kinship bond. For example, if a married couple has a son named Juan, the compadres that serve as Juan's padrinos at baptism are then known as los compadres del bautizo de Juan (roughly, the compadres who baptized Juan). Different occasions require that different acts be performed by the involved individuals. Also, fictive kinsmen acquired on certain occasions are thought to be more "important" to an individual than fictive kinsmen acquired on other occasions. On some occasions both compadrazgo and padrinazgo ties are formed, and on others only compadrazgo ties are formed. In some instances

formal Catholic Church ritual cements and sanctifies the ties, while in others the Church plays no active role. The following paragraphs will describe these different occasions and indicate the general nature of the ties that are formed.

Much of the information given below is the result of a survey taken of the compadrinazgo relationships of fifteen selected households. The following occupations were represented: cattleman (2), rancher-farmer (1), campesino (low income farmer) (2), fisherman (4), restaurant waiter (3), restaurant employee-fisherman (1), restaurant owner-operator (2). The sample includes low income families, some of moderate means, and two of the wealthiest families in the village.

Informants were asked to list all of their compadres, ahijados and their own and their children's padrinos; along with the various occasions when compadrinazgo relationships were formed. They were asked the occupations, place of residence, relative income, and marital and kinship status of all persons involved. The survey was supplemented with several informal interviews with other local informants.

Cayalanos agree that the most important rite de passage in a person's life is baptism, and that compadres de bautizo (co-parents of baptism) are the most important compadres one has. Baptism is the single most common occasion at which compadrazgo ties are formed. The parents wishing to baptize a child usually select a married couple to be the child's godparents. A different set of compadres is normally chosen for each separate child that is baptized. Thus, for example, if a couple has five children baptized, they will have ties with five

distinct sets of compadres de bautizo.

The compadres de bautizo should, if they can afford it, buy the child's shoes, baptismal dress, and perhaps a small crucifix. The sponsors might also pay the small baptism fee (\$10.00 or \$15.00 pesos) that the Church charges for the baptism certificate. After the brief ceremony the sponsors normally will give a small fiesta in honor of the occasion. The sponsor should ideally pay for all the food and liquor consumed at the fiesta, but often the child's parents will assume part of the expense. From the time of the baptism ceremony on, compadres de bautizo are expected to reaffirm their relationship by holding small fiestas on the Día del Santo (Saints' Day) of each compadre and comadre. Normally one compadre will pay for the fiesta held in honor of the other compadre's Día del Santo.

Confirmation in the Church, which takes place when a child is between the ages of seven and ten, is considered to be the second most important ritual event in the life of a child. While nearly all children in Cayala are eventually baptized, I estimate that only perhaps seventy percent of all children are confirmed. The annual confirmation ceremony, in which large numbers of children from the region are confirmed together, is conducted by a Bishop in the church in Playa Cenagosa.

More often than not only one person is chosen as the sponsor of the child. When this is the case, the sponsor is always a person of the same sex as the child being confirmed. If the sponsor is married, which is often the case, his or her spouse is not normally considered by the child's parents to be a compadre or comadre.

Sponsors, if they can afford it, should pay for their godchild's

confirmation clothing. They also might buy the child a copy of the Misa Catolica (Catholic Missal), a book containing the Catholic liturgy and prayers. After the ceremony a small fiesta is usually held much the same as it is for baptism.

Many Cayalanos form fictive kinship ties at the time of a child's primer comunión (first communion). During the time of fieldwork, this ceremony was performed once, when on a previously specified date the regular priest from Playa Cenagosa came to Cayala to offer the special communion mass. According to informants, first communion is perhaps the least important rite de passage in a young persons' life. The survey indicated that very few children in the past had "officially" been through the first communion ritual. However, I counted roughly thirty-five or forty children between the ages of nine and fourteen at the mass held in Cayala.

A child has only one sponsor for his or her first communion, an adult of the same sex as the child. The child's sponsor normally should buy the special candle that the child holds during the mass, and a small book titled Recuerdo De Mí Primer Comunión (Remembrance of My First Communion). The book contains several standard Catholic prayers and an essay on the importance of the sacrament of communion. In all cases that I am aware of, the child's communion clothing was purchased by his parents. In many cases the compadre de confirmation paid for a small fiesta held at the child's home. In several cases, however, no fiesta was held to mark the occasion.

Marriage in the Catholic Church is an occasion when several distinct compadrinazgo bonds can be formed if so desired, although the Church requires only that the bride and groom be separately

sponsored by padrinos de casamiento or de boda (sponsors of marriage, of the wedding). Ideally the bride's padrinos de casamiento, generally a married couple, should pay for her wedding dress. However, because a wedding dress can be quite expensive, often the parents of both the bride and groom, as well as the padrinos, contribute toward paying for the dress.

If one wishes to take the opportunity of a Church wedding to greatly increase one's network of compadrinazgo relationships, one can choose to select one or all of the following compadres: (1) Compadres del anillo (sponsors of the ring), two married couples chosen by the parents of the bride and groom respectively. These persons should ideally pay for the wedding rings that will be worn by their godchildren, the bride and the groom. (2) Comadre del ramo (sponsor of the bouquet), a woman selected by the parents of the bride. She should ideally buy the bouquet of fresh flowers held by the bride during the wedding. (3) Comadre de la corona (roughly, sponsor of the crown), a woman chosen by the parents of the bride. She buys the special headpiece and veil worn by the bride.

The several types of compadrinazgo bonds discussed above are initiated in response to Catholic ritual requirements. However, compadrinazgo relationships are often formed outside of the context of the Church with "informal" rituals performed by villagers marking the occasion.

In Cayala, the most common such occasion is the inauguración (inauguration) or bendición (blessing) of a recently completed physical object such as a house, boat, fishing net or fence. The most important of these events is the completion of a new house. When house construc-

tion is completed, the owner, normally a male, selects another man to be the compadre de casa (compadre of the house). The person chosen goes to the church in Playa Cenagosa and secures a small amount of holy water from the basins located just inside the church doors. The sponsor sprinkles the holy water that he has obtained on the house as he says a brief ritualistic phrase such as "Yo te bendigo" (I bless you, i.e., the house).

Informants state that the purpose of the blessing ceremony is to insure good fortune to the owner of the object being blessed. The house blessing, for example, should insure that the structure will be sturdy and not fall apart during bad weather. Also, it is thought that the blessing will aid in the financial success of the occupants, prevent family quarrels, and protect the health of household members. The blessing of a boat or fishing net should insure the safety of the user, and an abundant catch while fishing.

Older houses are also blessed on the third of May (celebration of the Holy Cross or Santa Cruz), when a person or couple brings a wooden, crepe paper covered cross to the house of a person whom with a compadrazgo bond is desired. The cross is nailed above the front door of the house or on to some other conspicuous place. The nailing up of the cross is then followed by a small fiesta, usually involving only the households of the compadres. Persons who become compadres on this occasion are generally known as compadres de la cruz del tres de Mayo (compadres of the cross of the third of May).

These are the major occasions on which Cayalanos initiate compadrinazgo relationships. I should add, however, that if a person strongly desires a relationship with another, picking an appropriate

occasion to formalize the bond is an easy matter. For example, one might pick common occasions such as a trip to Mexico City, the birth of an animal, the illness of a child, or the death of a relative to initiate a relationship.

What we have been saying about compadrazgo above perhaps reflects "ideal" statements rather than "real" behavior in Cayala. The survey mentioned and interviews with informants revealed certain interesting points about compadrazgo as it is actually practiced in the village. First, it would appear that certain compadrazgo ties are not as "sacred" or important as "ideal" statements might imply. For instance, in the survey, about half of the respondents, especially adult males, could not recall the names of one or more compadres, even compadres who had sponsored baptisms of their children. In many instances I had to ask children the names of their padrinos, as neither parent of the child could recall certain compadres. In these cases parents insisted that the compadrazgo relationship still existed, but it seems to me that if one cannot even recall a compadre's name, the relationship cannot be a significant one.

Every respondent in the survey mentioned at least one and often several compadres that they had not seen in several years. In some cases compadres had not communicated with each other since the bond was formed. For example, one owner of a small restaurant counts among his compadres myself, a Puerto Rican doctor in New York City, a police major in Mexico City, and other persons from areas far away from Cayala. All of his compadres, except myself, were tourists who at one time visited his restaurant in the village. During their brief stay the restaurant owner seized the opportunity; he asked the



"outsiders" to sponsor the baptisms of his children, thus fulfilling Church requirements. This man informed me that he was very aware of the fact that his chances of ever seeing his compadres again were very slim.

With regard to the characteristics of persons selected by Cayalanos the survey revealed certain very general trends, but also showed that compadrazgo ties are not easily predicted. For instance, one fisherman, Emilio Salga (a brother of the cacique), has eight sets of compadres de bautizo. Of these, all are or were residents of Cayala and of roughly the same socioeconomic status as Salga. Four sets of compadres are kinsmen (in-laws, cousins, aunt, uncle), of Salga and/or his wife, but four sets are non-kinsmen. Another fisherman, Eduardo Segura and his wife, have seven sets of compadres de bautizo. Of these, three sets are roughly equal in status to Segura, while four sets are definitely higher status. Of the seven sets only one couple resides in Cayala, while six couples are residents of other nearby localities; four are residents of Veracruz. Only one couple has a kinship tie to Segura and his wife (a male cousin of Eduardo); the six other couples have no ties of kinship with him. The case of the Moreno brothers (cattlemen) further illustrates the non-predictable nature of compadre selection in Cayala. One brother, Paco, has three sets of compadres de bautizo. He described all three of his male compadres as "rich cattlemen" from the region. None are residents of Cayala, but one is Paco's cousin. Paco's brother, Eduardo has four sets of compadres de bautizo. Of these, three are residents of Cayala, lower status fishermen, while one couple lives in Los Barcos where the male works as an auto mechanic. The mechanic is a distant

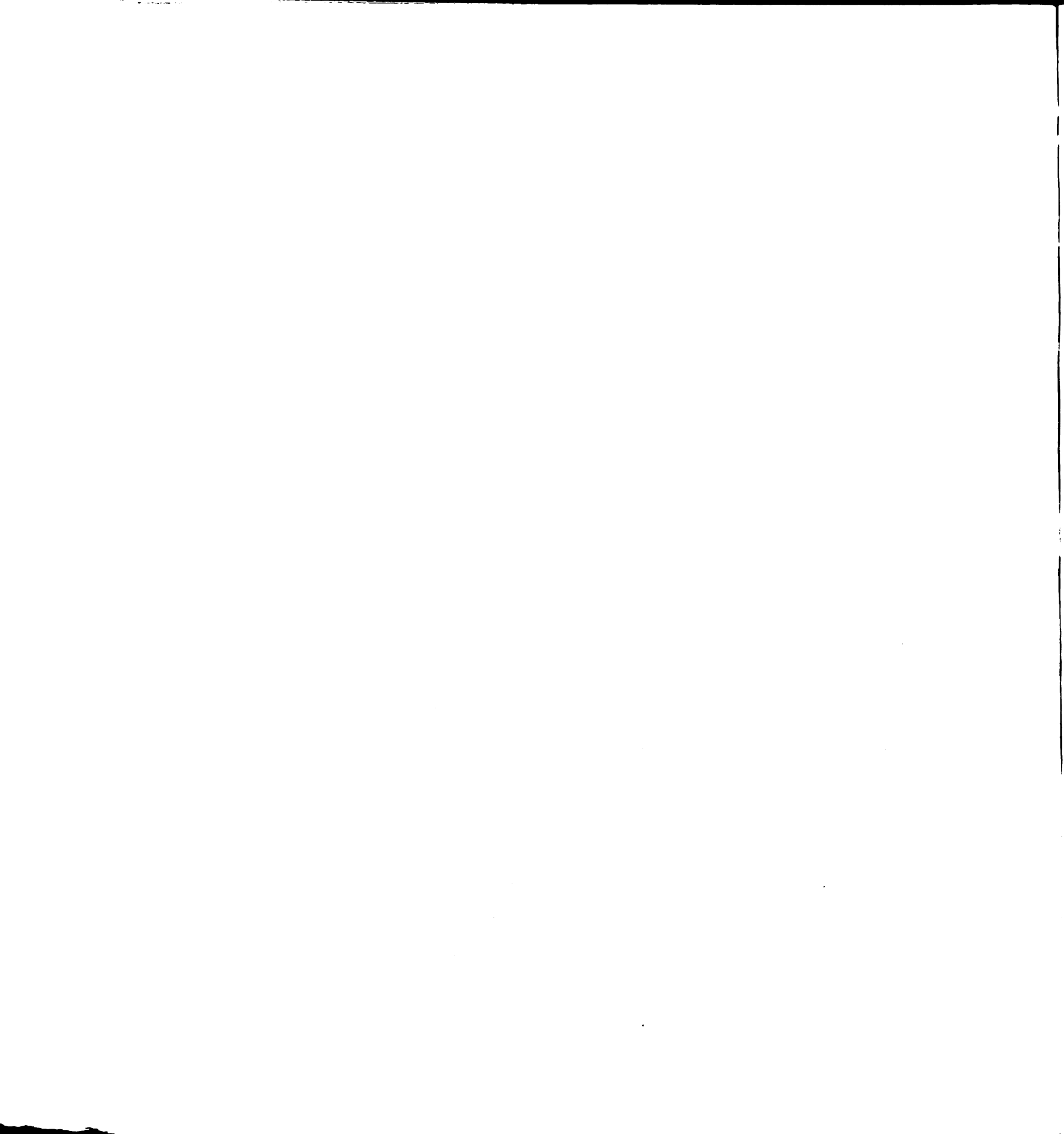
cousin of Eduardo, but none of his other compadres are related to him. I should add that this same lack of pattern in compadre selection is typical in the responses of others included in the survey.

Certain general trends emerged, however. In no case was an individual or a set of compadres asked by the same person to serve as a sponsor for more than one religious ceremony or informal occasion. That is, regardless of the occasion that prompts the formation of compadrazgo ties, different compadres are always chosen. Along these lines, no respondent has ever been asked to serve as a sponsor more than once by the same individual. The result of this is that over the years it is possible for one to accumulate a very large number of compadres. The number of compadres one has, of course, depends to some extent on the number of children one has, and whether or not one wishes to have them all baptized, confirmed, and so on. However, even if one has no children, other people can ask him to be a compadre, and, as mentioned above, there are many occasions on which bonds are formed that do not involve children. For example, a middle-age waiter in the survey has nine children, and has had all of them baptized and confirmed. His five daughters have also gone through the first communion ceremony. Thus he has twenty-five distinct relationships resulting from Catholic Church rituals. However, he also has six other relationships formed on other occasions. In addition, he and/or his wife have sponsored children on twelve separate occasions. In all, he is a compadre to over seventy individuals and perhaps more, as he stated that there were probably other relationships he could not remember. One young man of about

age twenty (single, no children), has already become involved in compadrazgo ties on six separate occasions. Each respondent in the survey with two or more children could name at least twenty compadres and/or comadres, and most could name many more.

The data on compadrazgo obtained in Cayala generally agrees with data on other Spanish American communities summarized by Foster (1953), in that it appears that Cayalanos attempt to establish compadrazgo ties with as many distinct individuals as possible, some higher status, some lower, some equal, some residents of the village, and others from the outside; relatives in some case are chosen, but most commonly non-kinsmen are selected. A person acquires a large group of persons related to him by compadrazgo and, ideally, should be able to count on these individuals for friendship, respect, and aid when necessary.

However, I do not think that the "ideal" always operates in Cayala. Let us consider the significance of the fact that most adult Cayalanos are bound to a very large number of compadres. Is it possible to behave according to ideal norms with respect to each compadre, when one has thirty, forty, fifty, or even more? I think not. It appears that to some extent having so many compadres "waters down" the functional significance of individual compadrazgo ties, since it would be difficult, if not impossible, to deal with all compadres in an ideal way. I suggest that what happens is that most Cayalanos consider only a few ties important, and all but ignore the others i.e., most compadres are of little or no functional significance. Evidence for this is found, I think in the fact that many Cayalanos do not even remember the names of many compadres. Further evidence is the fact



that Cayalanos rarely select relatives as compadres, and never ask the same person twice. That is, it seems that compadres are not chosen with the idea of intensifying existing kinship or compadrazgo ties, but just the opposite - one chooses persons with which one has no existing ties and by so doing adds to his number of compadres. Certainly the fact that many Cayalanos choose "outsiders", persons they know they will see only rarely if ever is evidence that in many cases ties are formed simply to meet Church requirements, and that Cayalanos are consciously attempting to avoid relationships in which the ideal norms of cooperation, mutual aid, and other obligations might be expected. In fact, except for the general trends mentioned above, compadre selection seems to be almost random i.e., in many cases there is no apparent or practical reason why a particular individual is chosen, other than for convenience. The bonds formed are essentially non-functional and have little or no social, political, or economic significance.

One incident took place in Cayala that illustrates this point. Miguel, a young man of the family I stayed with during the early months of fieldwork was asked to be the sponsor of a young local boy at his first communion, a request he accepted. After the ceremony, Miguel's new compadre (the grandfather of the child) came to Miguel's house to visit. It is customary that after such an event compadres get together and hold a small fiesta. Right after the ceremony, however Miguel left his house to go fishing, knowing that his new compadre would probably come to visit. When the child's grandfather arrived Miguel, of course, was gone and so he disappointedly went back home. Later I asked Miguel why he had left so abruptly, without even buying his

compadre a few bottles of beer. He replied in effect : "If I buy him beer now, what will he expect from me later?" It was quite clear that Miguel's actions were taken with one purpose in mind - to let his new compadre know that Miguel, while willing to sponsor the child, did not want the compadrazgo bond to become significant. Unfortunately I did not know to what extent Miguel's action is typical. However, I strongly suspect that actions of this type are not uncommon. For instance, on the day of the first communion ceremony there were only five or six fiestas held in the village, but at least thirty-five children were confirmed.

On the other hand, several informants have stated that a few, perhaps two or three, compadres are very important to them. As I mentioned in an earlier chapter some fishing teams are composed of compadres. The case of the cattlemen (who owns a long net), and his two poor fishermen compadres is an example of a set of compadrazgo bonds with economic significance. Obviously the relationship between the fishing cooperative president and his "most important" compadre the cacique had economic significance for both, especially a few years ago when the cacique and his relatives held the monopoly on Cayala clam marketing. The relationships certain restaurant waiters have with outsiders are also of economic significance to them.

One point should be made, however. In nearly all cases where compadrazgo ties have economic functions, the economic relationship had been established before the individuals become compadres. For example, in most cases where compadres are fishing partners, they were first good friends, later became fishing partners, and then became compadres. The two men who fish for the cattleman did so

before they asked him to be a compadre. This would indicate that the economic tie is more important, and that the compadrazgo tie stemmed from the economic tie rather than vice versa. One further example illustrates how this works. A certain waiter in the cacique's restaurant had some extra money. For years he has been a close friend of the cacique's eldest son, who manages the cacique's ranch. The two reached the following agreement. The waiter bought a couple of calves from the cacique. The waiter and the cacique's son would split the cost of raising the animals, which would range with the cacique's herd. When the animals were full-grown they were to be sold, and the profit divided equally between the waiter and the cacique's son. One day, after this arrangement had been working for several months, the waiter casually mentioned to me that he and the cacique's son were compadres. This waiter was included in the survey I had taken, and had not then mentioned the cacique's son as a compadre. I asked him what was the event that had prompted the formation of the relationship. No special event had occurred, he said, one day he and his friend and "partner" had simply decided to call each other compadre. He said he and the cacique's son were compadres de amistad (compadres of friendship). He added in effect "we have been trusted friends for many years. Why shouldn't we call each other compadre?"

In summary, most of the compadrazgo relationships that Cayalanos have appear to be economically or otherwise insignificant. On the other hand, most Cayalanos will probably have a few compadres that are important to them for economic reasons. However, it seems that in many instances functional compadrazgo ties are formed after the

participants had previously been close friends and/or "business" partners.



## CHAPTER V

### RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES AND BELIEFS

#### Formal Religion

In Cayala religion is not the "tie that binds". Many ethnographic studies of Mexican villages e.g., (Lewis 1951; Foster 1967) stress the complexity of formal, i.e., Catholic Church related, and informal or "folk" religious organization and the important role religion plays in promoting community solidarity, identification, and social control. Cayala, however, is characterized by a lack of both formal and informal complex religious organization, and religion does not appear to play a major role in promoting community solidarity, identification, or social control.

However, nearly all Cayalanos at least claim to be Roman Catholics, but unlike so many Mexican communities that have been directly effected by the presence of the Catholic Church for many generations, Cayala, up until the late 1950's, did not have a local church. According to local informants, previous to this time, when local residents desired the services of the Catholic Church they went to the church in Playa Cenagosa. The fact that the village now has a small, one-room church is directly related to the growth of the local tourism.

In the late 1950's, when the village was first beginning to become a tourist attraction, a frequent visitor was a Veracruzano named

Augustín Lara who was a nationally famous singer and song writer whose popular melodies and lyrics extoll the sensuousness and dark skinned beauty of Jarocho women and the charm of the Veracruz region. Lara, according to informants, was extremely taken by the "rustic" atmosphere of Cayala and very fond of the villagers. So much so, that Lara, to show his appreciation for the kindness shown to him by the people of Cayala, donated the money to construct a village chapel.

The church in Cayala pertains to the parish of Playa Cenagosa, but except for the two hours each Sunday morning during which a priest from Playa Cenagosa offers a mass in Cayala, Cayalanos have very little to do with the Church or Church officials other than occasional baptisms which are generally performed in Playa Cenagosa. During the period of fieldwork only one special memorial mass was held in Cayala and only one Church wedding was performed. Church officials do not, as a rule, officiate at local velorios (wakes), or funerals, which are handled by local specialists.

There is only one voluntary association connected with the Cayala church. It is called the comité de la iglesia (church committee). This group, headed by a middle-aged local woman, consists of four or five women who are generally responsible for the maintenance of the church. The women dust the altar, sweep the floor, wash linens when necessary, and so on. The group thus has primarily a housekeeping function. During the period of fieldwork this group collected no funds, had no special projects, and did not organize any special religious or secular events. The comité is informal, i.e., there are no "official" members, there are no dues, and the group has no constitution; the participants in the group are all volunteers who perform the necessary

housekeeping chores on an ad hoc basis.

It should be noted that there are no voluntary associations for males connected with the Cayala church. Groups such as hermandades, mayordomías, cofradías, etc., that are so often a part of village religious organization in other parts of Mexico do not exist in Cayala.

Going to mass in Cayala is primarily an affair for women and children. Numerous adult males, when asked about their church attendance, stated that the last time they had been in church was when they themselves were baptized. Even on special religious occasions such as the baptism, confirmation, or the first communion of a child, the child's father most likely would not attend the formal ceremony. On the other hand, adult women, usually accompanied by their younger children, attend mass on a more or less regular basis and greatly enjoy attending special ceremonies. The following examples illustrate these points. A first communion mass was celebrated in Cayala during the period of fieldwork. Besides myself and the priest, only two or three adult males were present in the church. On the other hand, I would estimate that at least 150 adult women and small children of both sexes were there. At the one church wedding that took place in Cayala during the period of fieldwork, only five adult males were present. These included the father of the bride, the father of the groom, a compadre de casamiento, the priest, and myself. None of the adult brothers, cousins, or uncles of either the bride or groom were there. Most of these relatives were busy preparing the barbacoa (barbeque) and drinks that were to be served at the fiesta following the wedding ceremony.

The "typical" Cayalanos' notions about Roman Catholic dieties are,

in my opinion, rather vague and not well defined. Most villagers state that the Virgin of Guadalupe (the patron saint of all Mexico), and Christ are the two most important dieties in the Catholic pantheon. Help is sought from the Virgin in time of illness, especially when a child is ill. Many female informants have stated that the Virgin is also greatly concerned that marriage relationships be right, and many women appeal to Her for help when their own marriages seem to be threatened by certain activities of their husbands such as infidelity, drunkenness, child or wife beating, gambling, and so forth. Many women in Cayala believe that the Virgin is best approached through Her son El Niño Jesus (The Infant Jesus), who is the guardian of children.

Cayala males tend to identify more with the adult Christ. It is thought that the adult Christ is sympathetic with the plight of the "common man". As one informant stated in effect, "Christ was poor all his life. He had to work hard all his life, and always suffered at the hands of the rich and powerful." Cayala males might appeal for Christ's help in difficulties relating to their employment, dealings with government officials, and the like.

God, as a supreme being, is a very unrefined concept among villagers. Many informants have stated that God exists, that He created the world, and that God oversees the workings of nature, but, that God is personally rather uninterested in the affairs of men. In my opinion most Cayalanos are not particularly worried about God's wrath, as the Church says they should be, and are not very concerned with the Catholic doctrines of sin, damnation, or hell. Likewise, Church doctrine on personal salvation is little known or thought about by most villagers. It is generally assumed that if a person "believes in

God" and leads a reasonably decent existence in this world he will go to heaven when the time comes.

Cayalanos recognize the existence of numerous Saints in the Catholic pantheon and indeed the village has a patron saint, although several adult villagers could not tell me the name of the patron saint when asked. Others, however, informed me that the patron saint of Cayala is San Martín de Porres, whose almost life-sized effigy, probably contributed to the village by Augustin Lara, adorns the front of the small local church.

Local people could not enlighten me as to the significance of Martín de Porres as the village patron saint. A Catholic priest, however, stated that Martín de Porres was a mulatto Catholic Brother, the son of a Spanish father and a Negro slave mother, born in Peru in 1569. Martín dedicated his life to work among the poor, especially the Negro slave dock workers and fishermen in the port city of Callao. Thus, it seems fitting that the dark-skinned effigy of San Martín presides over the formal worship of the people of Cayala, who surely must resemble in their physical features and occupations, Martín's original flock.

San Martín, despite his racial and occupational affinities with Cayala villagers, is not a central figure in the religious life of the community. Few local people pray in front of his effigy or petition him for aid. If a person has a particularly pressing problem, he would most likely take it to one of the shrines of the Virgin of Guadalupe or Christ that are found in the large churches in Playa Cenagosa or Veracruz. The festival day of San Martín, the third of November, is not in any way celebrated in the village. It could be, however, that

San Martín's day is simply overshadowed by El Día de Los Muertos (the Day of the Dead; All Saints and All Souls Day), a major religious festival throughout all of Mexico that is held November first and second.

Cayalanos do, however, observe certain official Catholic Holy Days. The activities that take place in Cayala on special religious occasions are, however, arranged and organized entirely by local people working in ad hoc volunteer groups, with no direction from Church officials. The following paragraphs will describe the major religious celebrations held in the village.

Clearly the most elaborate celebration of the entire year is the pre-Lent Carnival (carnival), which begins from three days to a week before the last Wednesday in February (Ash Wednesday). The celebration is at least a three-day affair, and sometimes lasts up to a week. Carnival time in Cayala more or less coincides with the very elaborate carnival held in Veracruz, which many Veracruzanos claim is the third largest in the world, topped only by the Rio de Janeiro, Brazil carnival and the New Orleans, Louisiana Mardi Gras.

Carnival in Veracruz and Cayala is a time for parades, queen coronations, dancing, drinking, and sexual escapades. It is a time when normal inhibitions are forgotten; it is one great last wild fling before the somber six-week Lenten period preceding Good Friday and Easter. Many people wear elaborate costumes and masks, so that often it is impossible to ascertain a celebrant's identity. The anonymity provided by masks seems to encourage people to do things they would not normally do for fear of discovery and criticism.

While religious overtones are present in the Cayala carnival

celebration, the affair is best characterized as secular in nature. No religious ceremonies take place and no Catholic masses are held locally. The carnival celebration I observed in Cayala was a two-day celebration which began on the Monday before Ash Wednesday. It was organized by a local woman on the spur-of-the-moment, i.e., all of a sudden, about a week before Lent, a popular local woman simply announced to her friends that Cayala should have a carnival. She and her friends quickly set about spreading the word and drumming up local enthusiasm.

Many local people, especially young unmarried teenagers and adults were delighted at the decision and began working feverishly on costumes and floats.

The highlight of the event was to be an all-night dance on Tuesday night. The dance was to be sponsored by the local Junta de Mejores Materiales (material improvements group) which hoped to earn some money from the sale of beer, liquor, and carnival queen votes to help finance the potable water system that was being installed in the village.

But, the dance had to be advertised to "outsiders", who typically spend more money at Cayala dances than do residents of the village. To accomplish this end it was decided that Cayalanos would dress up in costume and haul their two floats to Playa Cenagosa and Piraguas and stage "parades" in those communities.

On Sunday several local young ladies were hastily selected as queen candidates, costumes were finalized, and the floats made ready. Monday morning about forty costumed young people boarded the floats in high spirits that would later be elevated even more by the generous supply

of beer and caña that had been packed abroad. The procession went first to Playa Cenagosa where the float riders shouted out the news of the big dance to the residents of that community. The next day the whole process was repeated as the revelers spread the word in Piraguas.

Tuesday evening, after the tourists had left Cayala, the big dance was held in "El Cayuco" restaurant. A good time was had by all, although I was later told that after all expenses had been paid there was little profit left over for the water project.

The local carnival provides an example of how the cacique manages community activities. He controls the only local buildings in which a big dance could be held. He also owns the only gasoline powered electrical generator capable of supplying the power to operate the lights necessary for an evening affair. According to informants, the woman who organized the carnival events first consulted the cacique to obtain his permission to use the restaurant and the generator. He gave his permission, but with certain qualifications. First, he said, the dance could only be held on Tuesday night, the night before Ash Wednesday. His reasoning was that since he expected few customers on the Holy Day of Ash Wednesday, it mattered little if his restaurant employees stayed up all night drinking Tuesday and came to work late and probably "hung over" Wednesday. He further stipulated that local people pay all expenses, and clean up "El Cayuco" after the dance.

A celebration called the posadas takes place during the week before Christmas. The word posada in Spanish literally means a lodging place or inn. Each night, for about a week before Christmas, a young man and a young woman act out the Biblical story of Mary and



Joseph seeking lodging and shelter before the birth of Christ. They go to several local households and ask for lodging. They are "refused" lodging by the householder, who plays the part of the innkeeper in the Bible story. Normally in Cayala the "refusal" of lodging is followed by a small party in the home of the "innkeeper". The last night of the posadas (Christmas Eve), the couple carries with them an effigy of the infant Jesus. On this night, an "innkeeper" (usually a good friend or relative of at least one of the young couple) grants "Mary" and "Joseph" and the Christ child lodging. A fiesta generally ensues, which most local young adults attend, all contributing food and drink.

While older villagers look on and enjoy the posadas, the celebration is mainly for young, single people between the ages of about thirteen to twenty-five. All the planning and organization is carried out by the young people themselves under the direction of an informal ad hoc leader, usually a local young woman. It should be noted that while the celebration is related to the Catholic Church calendar celebrations of Advent and Christmas, the celebration in Cayala is strictly informal; no special masses are said locally, and no priest or other Church official takes part in the activities.

El Día de Los Muertos (the Day of the Dead) is celebrated in Cayala on the first and second days of November. The Day of the Dead, a national holiday, is sort of a memorial day when the thoughts and prayers of the living are directed toward the souls of the deceased, especially close friends and relatives.

In many parts of Mexico Day of the Dead celebrations are quite elaborate and highly organized. In Cayala, no organized activity takes

place and no special mass is held. At irregular times throughout the two-day period local people go, either individually or in small groups, to the cemetery, which is located about one-half kilometer from the village. The majority of persons going to the cemetery are women and children, although a solitary adult male can be occasionally seen. At the cemetery people clear the weeds and brush away from the grave sites of their deceased relatives. The weeds and brush are placed on several small piles here and there throughout the cemetery and burned. People then re-mound and reshape the graves of the deceased which the heavy rains have flattened and eroded during the past year. The grave top is then elaborately decorated with fresh and artificial flowers. After the grave has been decorated, people generally pause for a few moments of silent prayer for the deceased.

The general atmosphere and emotional tone at the cemetery fluctuates greatly. There are moments of extreme sadness and crying as people recall their deceased. Decorating the graves, however, is a rather happy activity. People go from grave to grave admiring each others handiwork, often lingering for a while chatting and gossiping. Many bring along a few bottles of beer or some caña and sit in the shade drinking and telling stories about deceased friends or relatives while children play tag and scamper among the tombstones. Other Church Holy Days such as Easter, Corpus Christi, and important Saints Days, while recognized, are not celebrated or marked by any special activity in the community. These Church holidays are, however, of importance to Cayalanos because these are the days when large crowds of tourists come to the village.

As we have seen, most local activities related to the Roman Catholic

religion are neither highly organized or complex. Nor do these activities place heavy obligations on local people in terms of time or money. Cayalanos are indeed only nominally Roman Catholics. However, there is another side to religion in Cayala, a wide variety of non-Church related activities and beliefs that I have chosen to call informal religious activities. Let us now turn to a discussion of the more important of these.

### Informal Religious Activities and Beliefs

The "folk" religion of Cayala encompasses a wide variety of seemingly unrelated phenomenon ranging from funerals to witchcraft. However, informal religious activities in Cayala are based on certain widespread beliefs that form the rationale for local religious activity. Let us first consider beliefs about the relationships between the living and the dead.

According to informants, all persons possess a spirit or soul (espíritu, alma). When a person dies, his spirit does not go directly to heaven, hell, or even purgatory, but may, if it so chooses, remain in the general area of the village. A dead person's spirit also has a "personality", i.e., the spirit can act and react on many of the same emotions that cause activity in the living. The "personality" of a spirit is thought to be similar to the personality of the individual when he or she was alive.

Spirits sometimes take an interest in the affairs of the living. They can be seen if they want to be; they can give advice to the living on matters such as marital relations and economic opportunities. But, spirits can also harm the living by causing illness, accidents and "bad luck."

Spirits can, however, be manipulated by the living through ritual, incantations, and direct personal appeal. Not all persons, however, can deal with the spirits. Some people, according to local informants, are born with the "gift" of communicating with and manipulating spirits. These persons can, if they wish, become curanderos (curers). One knows if he has the "gift" usually because spirits of dead persons have appeared to them on several occasions telling them that they should become curers. There are several persons in the village who have the "gift" of curing powers.

Besides the spirits of dead persons, many Cayalanos believe in other spirits of a more general nature. The spirits of certain deceased curanderos, are thought to be very powerful. One such spirit, El Divino Maestro del Boscaje (the divine curer of the Boscaje) is said to greatly aid local curers in treating their patients. Cayalanos also believe in the devil (El Diablo). The devil can take many shapes and forms, the most common being the forms of animals, especially dogs.

While most Cayalanos fear and respect the spirits, they are not content to remain passive and allow these supernatural agents to do what they will. The following incident, involving a local man and the devil, illustrates how men, using their wits and courage, can sometimes foil the plans of the spirits. The informant is a native of the village, a man of about sixty, who is generally well thought of by his fellow villagers. He stated that one day he had been working in El Boscaje until about twelve o'clock noon. As he was walking alone back toward the village, all of a sudden a huge figure appeared before him from out of nowhere. The figure, he said, looked like a

man, but was larger than any man he had ever seen. His skin was negro colorado (reddish black), and he had black eyes and black hair. His teeth were very large and very white. He had a long black tail. He was all dressed in black and wore a black hat. The man said to the figure: "¿que quiere?" (What do you want?). The figure replied: "Yo soy el diablo y te vengo a buscar" (I am the devil, and I come to look for you), and added, "Yo vengo a llevar te" (I have come to take you). The man was frightened, but immediately realized the figure was a spirit that had come to test him. He replied to the devil: "Chinga tu madre! Me llevará muerto pero vivo, No!" (roughly, Screw your mother! You will take me when I'm dead but not while I'm alive!). The devil stared at him and finally said: "Usted tiene valor" (You are brave), and disappeared as quickly as he had appeared.

The man said that the figure that he had seen was probably indeed the devil, or at least the spirit of one of the antiguos (roughly, one of the early settlers of the village, now dead), that had come to test his courage. He said that if he had not stood his ground, he probably would have died on the spot. There are many spirits roaming los montes he said, and many of them, simply because of mal gusto (capriciousness, meanness), delight in scaring people. "Tiene que tener valor", he said, (you have to be brave), as those who are brave can resist the will of the spirits.

### Supernatural Illnesses and Cures

Cavalanos also believe in the presence of supernatural "forces" not associated with specific spirits. Most of these forces are potentially harmful to human beings in that they cause illness.

These forces go by specific terms which are often interchangeable. They include malo (evil), mal aire (evil air), and malas corrientes (evil currents). According to informants, these forces can act on their own to harm a person, or the forces may be directed by certain individuals in the form of spells cast on a person by a curer, a witch (bruja), or some other person wishing to do harm.

The most common result of the workings of these forces is an ataque (attack). An ataque usually consists of several or all of the following symptoms. A person suddenly feels weak and may fall to the ground. He might have a severe headache and feel nausea in his stomach. Sometimes a person suffers a blackout, i.e., he seems to go unconscious for a few minutes and later has no memory of what happened to him. A person might become very tense, nervous, and agitated almost to the point of hysteria. On the other hand, some people might sit silently for a long period of time without speaking or moving, as if in a trance. Sometimes hallucination occurs; the person "sees" and often communicates with the spirits of deceased relatives or friends. Most often the spirit states that he has come to take the living person with him. In other words, the spirit for various reasons, desires that the living should die. When it is evident that one is suffering from a supernaturally induced ataque, one consults a curandero in hopes of being freed from the affliction.

There are several curers in Cayala, but only three that work with supernatural illnesses. One of these is an elderly divorced woman, one a middle-aged married woman, and the local police comandante. The two women claim that they were born with the gift of curing, i.e., that their ability to talk with the spirits of the dead and their

ability to divine the causes of supernatural illness come naturally to them. The comandante has stated to me privately that he thinks he is the best local curer. In addition to his ability to divine the cause of illness and his ability to speak with spirits, he says he is also a curandero botonico, a curer who is a specialist in the use of herbs in the treatment of illness. His expertise in the use of herbs, he says, came only after several years of study under his father. All three curers deal strictly with supernatural illness. As the comandante once said in effect, "I don't mess with fevers or broken bones -- regular doctors are better at that. But regular doctors never study about the disorders and cures that I know about, they don't even realize they (the disorders and cures) exist. "

Curers are paid for their services. Although there is no set price, ten to twenty pesos per "consultation" is the normal fee. A client rarely recovers from his illness after just one consultation; three sessions with a curer seems to be the minimum treatment. In some cases as many as fifteen or twenty sessions are necessary. If a client recovers from his illness, he normally will give the curer a "gift" of from twenty to fifty pesos. The comandante, who is the most active curer in the village, told me that at any given time he is treating about ten local people. On occasion, outsiders come to Cayala to be cured by him. In 1971, one outsider, a man supposedly suffering from cancer, stayed with the comandante for almost three months before he recovered. According to the comandante, he earns approximately \$500.00 pesos per week from his curing activities. The two women earn much less, probably not more than three hundred pesos per month.

According to local informants, curing a supernaturally caused illness is relatively easy once the cause of the illness has been discovered. The most difficult task for a curer is thus the diagnosis of the illness, rather than the treatment itself. Diagnosis is usually done through divination. The following paragraphs are an account of a case of divination and a cure that took place in Cayala in 1970. While other cases might vary slightly in certain minor details, the general procedures followed by the curer and the client in this case are typical.

A married couple had four children, one of them a boy of fifteen. Both parents often drank heavily, and invariably when they were drinking, a fight would break out between them. There would be much yelling, screaming, name calling and, on occasion, they would exchange blows. One day the father said he had had enough and that he was going to leave the household, which he did. After a few weeks it seemed that the separation was permanent, as the father one day began building a small house for himself. This greatly upset the fifteen-year-old boy who wanted his father to return home. The next day the boy began to show some of the symptoms of ataque. He would sit silently for hours and did not want to talk to anyone. Normally a voracious eater, he suddenly lost all his appetite. He complained of severe headaches and nausea of the stomach. For three days in a row he did little else than lie in bed. Finally he said that he was going to visit a female curer in Playa Cenagosa. I suggested that he first give a local curer a try before going there. He asked his mother for her opinion, and she said he should go to the elderly woman curer in Cayala. This curer, the



mother said, was very capable because she was intimate with the spirit of El Divino Maestro del Boscaje. In the early afternoon I accompanied the boy to the house of the curer.

Inside the small house, after the old woman offered us chairs, she quickly closed all of the curtains so that the house was dark. The boy said he had come to talk to her about a problem he was having. The woman did not want to hear about the boy's problem right then, however. She began speaking and told us of many of her previous clients, all of whom she had successfully cured. She said she only dealt with serious cases, and if his problem was not serious (grave) he should go to some other, less skillful curer. She mentioned numerous persons whom she said would certainly be dead if she had not helped them.

All of this talk had the effect that I am sure the old woman desired. The boy's confidence in her as a curer was built up greatly. He said that he hoped that his problem was indeed serious enough for her to consider, as he definitely wanted her help. She then asked him to describe his symptoms, which he briefly did. While he was describing his symptoms, the old woman sat silently, nodding her head knowingly. Then she said that she thought she could help the boy, but he would have to come back later (about 5:00) as she needed time to "get her head clear" to concentrate on the cure. She told the boy that when he returned he should bring with him some albacar and sauco leaves (both are plants that are found locally), and an egg.

About 5:15 we returned to the old woman's house, the boy bringing with him the leaves and the egg. The woman closed the door and again

drew the curtains. She said that both of us should remain completely quiet at all times; if anyone spoke, she said, she could not be responsible for "what might happen". The boy was asked to stand up and close his eyes tightly; under no condition was he to open them. While the boy stood with his eyes shut, the old woman took the leaves he had brought and separated them into several small bunches. She took one bunch of leaves, washed them in water, and then liberally sprinkled it with ammonia from a small bottle. She then sprinkled the leaves with a colored liquid that smelled like cheap perfume. She took the leaves in her hands and began to rub the boy slowly but pressing down on his skin very hard. She began with rubbing the boy's head and eyes and then gradually worked down to his neck, shoulders, arms, and fingers. It was as if she were trying to push something in the boy's body from his head out through his fingers. This process was repeated two more times. All the while she was rubbing, she was uttering chants or prayers. She spoke so fast and so softly, however, that neither myself or the boy could hear what was being said. After the ceremony was over she said, in response to a question I put to her, that she was praying to the spirit of El Divino Maestro del Boscaje.

After the old woman had finished rubbing the boy, she took up the egg he had brought and sprinkled it with another liquid from one of the several small bottles she kept on a shelf. With the egg in one hand, she repeated the rubbing process, only this time she covered the boy's entire body. After she finished rubbing the boy with the egg, she put it down and waved her hands in front of the boy's face three times. She then blew hard three times directly into the boy's face. She said that the above process should give the boy temporary

relief from his symptoms. The boy said that indeed his headache was gone, and he felt "cooler" than before.

The old woman then said that, using the egg, should would find out the real cause of the boy's symptoms. She broke the egg into a glass containing water and probably some other liquid, as some of the protein in the egg white began to congeal slightly. The shape the egg took in the glass, she said, would reveal to her what supernatural agent she was dealing with.

She began to interpret the egg white. She said that the boy's problem was very complex. His whole house and the people in it were under the influence of malo (evil). This is the reason she gave to explain why the boy's parents drank so heavily and why they fought so much. She said that it would be necessary to perform a curing ceremony on the house to rid it of the evil. If this was not done, she said, in all probability things would get worse. She hinted that perhaps someone had cast a spell on the entire house that would continue to cause misfortune to fall on the inhabitants.

She also said that the egg had told her that the boy had an "inflammation" in his stomach. The inflammation, she said, was caused by a ball of hair lodged in the boy's stomach. Often, she said, human, cattle, or dog's hair is ingested by people unknowingly when they eat. The hair collects in a person's stomach, liver, head, and other parts of the body and can cause pain, sadness, and laziness. She could make the hair-ball go away, she said, but it would require three more curing sessions. The boy was told to return the following day and bring with him some higerilla leaves (a local plant), some Ojo de Aguila (literally, eagle's eye), which is a patent ointment

containing vaseline and zinc oxide. This is a common preparation used to treat athlete's foot and other skin ailments caused by fungus infection. He was also told to bring some Eye-Mo, a commercial eye-wash preparation.

The boy did not return the next day, however, for it so happened that a female medical doctor was in the village that day, and the boy and his mother decided to see what she would say about the boy's problem. After examining the boy, the doctor said that his symptoms were due to an intestinal parasite. She gave him some medicine for the parasites and told the boy to go on a very bland diet for a few days. She also said that the boy was suffering from desarollo (development), which is a general term used to describe the emotions and anxieties young people feel during the process of sexual maturation and puberty. The boy did not, however, tell the doctor of the family problems in his household or of the recent separation of his parents, which I personally think were the immediate cause of his symptoms. Three days later the boy informed me that he had discharged several large roundworms and that he generally felt much better. It seemed to me, however, that although he did seem better, he was still suffering somewhat from the depression that had been brought on by the separation of his parents. After several weeks, the symptoms disappeared and the boy was his normal self again.

It would seem to me that in the partial cure and especially the diagnosis of supernaturally caused illness described above, the curer's intimate knowledge of the boy's personal and family affairs was her major advantage in reaching the conclusion that she did. Since she was very familiar with what had happened to the boy's family, i.e.,

the drinking, the fights, and the separation, she chose to point out all of these factors as symptomatic of the "evil" that was influencing the boy. The curer does an analysis and interpretation of his clients personal situation and then offers common sense advice as to what steps the client should take. In a sense, the curer makes his client more aware of the source of his personal difficulties. This awareness, I think, does help the client to better understand, and thus cope with his problem. It seems that just being able to talk confidentially with a more or less neutral third party serves as a catharsis. The client, on the other hand, is probably unaware of the effect of catharsis, as he generally believes that it is the curing ceremony, the chants and prayers that have made him feel better.

In dealing with cases of witchcraft a curer's knowledge of a client's personal affairs is vital. According to informants, cases of witchcraft are relatively common. Most often the victim of witchcraft is a male, who suffers the general symptoms of ataque, which are interpreted as being the effect of a curse or spell that some other person has placed upon them. Women, and usually a man's wife or lover, are the ones responsible for casting the spell. The information is based on interviews with several local male informants.

Usually witchcraft activities begin when a woman suspects her husband, lover, or novio of having an affair with another woman. She takes her suspicions to one of the female curers (who in this case is acting as a witch, and not a curer), and tells the curer about the affair. The woman, in consultation with the curer, decides that the best way to end the affair is to cast a spell on the filandering male. The overt objective of the spell is to bring on the symptoms

of ataque, which render the male sexually impotent and thus unable to carry on the affair.

According to informants, the witch begins by preparing a small effigy or doll out of clay or corn husks in the likeness of the person to be bewitched. The doll is dressed in clothes that resemble those that the person to be bewitched normally wears. The doll is not, however, prepared secretly, i.e., the witch discreetly makes it known to local people that someone is about to have a spell cast on him. The identity of the person to be bewitched, however, is not revealed.

Late at night, but while a few people are still up, the witch, alone in her house, placed the doll on the floor. She places lighted candles and sometimes flowers around the doll. The set-up is exactly the same as when velorio (wake) is being held prior to a burial. As in a "real" wake, the witch says prayers and chants over the effigy. The sound of the chanting and the lighted house soon draws a few local people, mainly males, to the house of the witch. The next day the news of the ceremony spreads quickly throughout the village, carried by those persons who gathered outside of the witch's house the night before.

Local people are thus aware that someone is being bewitched, but nobody knows for sure who the victim is. People generally discuss the situation at great length, attempting to guess who the victim might be. After much thought and discussion, one person (sometimes more than one) will decide that he is the intended victim. He would say in effect something like, "It must be my wife who is trying to cast a spell on me. She must have found out that I am having an affair with so-an-so and is trying to get even with me." In other words,

a person who feels guilty about a misdeed that he has committed, usually a clandestine extra-marital love affair, makes a semi-public confession of his wrongdoing. Normally a person who considers himself guilty of a wrongdoing and thus the victim of witchcraft, will himself go and consult with a curer, often the same curer who has supposedly cast a spell on him. He normally explains the situation to the curer and again confesses his misdeed. The curer usually can arrange a ceremony to counteract the original spell. Part of the cure in these cases, however, is a promise made by the guilty party that he will terminate the affair that he is engaged in. In most cases, according to informants, the affair is indeed ended, at least temporarily.

Thus, it would seem that one of the functions of witchcraft in Cayala is the regulation of extra-marital sexual relations. A person is suspected of marital infidelity, his wife arranges for a spell to be cast, the offender, fearing the effects of the spell, confesses his guilt and promises to end the affair. The over-all result in such cases is that normal marital relationships are re-established between the man and his wife and, at least for a while, there is harmony in the household.

One bit of interesting information concerning witchcraft was given to me by a brother of the Cayala cacique. He stated that his brother, the cacique, and also the owner of "La Perla" restaurant have been the victims of countless attempts of witchcraft ever since both men began to do well in the restaurant business. Certain local people, he said, are very jealous and envious of the financial success these men have enjoyed and would like to see both get sick or even





die. I asked the cacique about the witchcraft attempts, but, rather characteristically, he quickly changed the subject and would not give a direct answer to my question. I also asked his youngest son, the restaurant general manager, about the situation. He simply laughed at the question and said he hoped that I had not been taken in by the talk of local pendejos (roughly, fools). He said that some jealous pendejos had probably tried to cast a spell on either his father or the restaurant, and probably on himself as well. But, he said, anybody who would worry about such tonterías (foolishness) is even more of a pendejo than those pendejos who had tried casting spells. He did admit, however, that many local people are jealous of his father's business success.

Espanto (fright, shock) and mal ojo (evil eye) are two additional illnesses that sometimes occur to Cayalanos, although there were no cases of these disorders in the village during the period of fieldwork. The symptoms of these illnesses are the general symptoms of ataque that have been described.

Espanto is said to occur when a person's soul is frightened out of his body because the person has witnessed an event that is quite out of the ordinary. For example, witnessing a murder or a violent fight, being attacked by a vicious dog, or seeing the spirit of a deceased relative could bring on the symptoms.

The symptoms of espanto seem to me, strictly as a layman, to be similar to what is commonly known as the "shock" that some people suffer after a traumatic experience of some kind. Indeed, many Cayalanos have said that a person suffering from espanto simply has a bad case of nervios (nerves), i.e., the espanto is considered to

be a "normal" reaction to a traumatic experience. In these cases, one is better off going to bed for a few days as the symptoms will pass with time and rest.

However, many villagers hold that espanto results in soul loss. In this case, the afflicted person should seek aid from a curandero who can, through a special ceremony, diagnose the cause of the illness (again using an egg), and bring the person's soul back to his body.

Mal ojo (the evil eye) is an illness that primarily effects small children and young animals. The illness is caused by persons who have ojos fuertes (strong eyes) or persons who have una mirada fuerte (a strong glance). The most common symptoms of the mal ojo illness are lethargy, loss of appetite, fever, and sometimes vomiting and diarrhea.

According to informants, the illness is caused accidentally, i.e., the person who causes the illness does so inadvertently and without a prior intention of harming the child. To the contrary, the illness is generally brought on when a person with ojos fuertes stops to ojar (to eye) a child admiringly. Children who are particularly attractive, i.e., "cute" children are even more prone to become afflicted than less attractive children. Children who are muy feo (very ugly) almost never get the illness. Presumably this is because few people will admire an ugly child for any great length of time. Informants also state that small children should not be given too much overt praise, attention, or affection. A mirada fuerte along with praise, attention, and affection is even more dangerous to a child than just the glance alone.

Unfortunately, I was unable to observe a cure for mal ojo.

Local informants state however, that curers use their "standard" cure to treat the illness. A Veracruz pediatrician informed me that most cases of mal ojo that are brought to him are usually cases of influenza, food poisoning, or intestinal parasites.

### Death and Funeral Practices

The sound of the church bell ringing at any time except before the Sunday morning mass is a signal to the community that a death has occurred in Cayala. The news and details of a death travel quickly throughout the village so that within a few minutes nearly all local people are aware of what has happened, and rapidly begin to make the necessary preparations for burial.

During the period of fieldwork, several deaths occurred in Cayala. The following is an account of the activities and preparations that take place following a death. The information to be given is based on personal observations of, and participation in these activities on several different occasions. General post-death activities and procedures were, in all cases, the same except for a few details which will be noted. The major differences observed were the elaborateness of the preparations and the extent to which local people participated in post-death activities. In general, the extent of community participation in post-death activities reflects the relative social status held by the deceased while living. The degree of community participation, i.e., the number of persons participating in the post-death activities of a low status person is lower than that in the case of the death of a higher status person.

In Cayala, post-death activities and preparations center around

three major events, the velorio (the wake), the burial of the body (el entierro), and the novenario (the novenary, a nine-day period of mourning during which prayers are said for the deceased each night; a special ceremony is held on the night of the ninth day). Immediately after a death occurs preparations begin for holding the velorio.

The velorio is held at the household of the deceased person, always on the first night following death. Following the news of a death, several activities begin simultaneously. Friends, relatives, or sometimes compadres of the deceased or of the household head are dispatched to Veracruz to purchase a coffin (caja) from one of the numerous funeral parlors there. The coffin is generally a simple wooden box which is painted and decorated with satin or synthetic satin cloth. The coffin is usually paid for by the head of the deceased's household, but sometimes close relatives and compadres will donate part of the cost.

At the same time this is being done, other friends and relatives of the household circulate throughout the village taking up a collection of money that will be used to purchase the food, liquor, and cigarettes that will be served later that evening at the velorio. Contributions generally range from about one to ten pesos. The names of the persons who contribute and the amounts given are duly recorded in a notebook which is later given to the family of the deceased.

In the home of the deceased several activities are taking place. The women of the household and friends and relatives are busily cleaning the house in preparation for the velorio guests. Purchases of food and liquor are being made; dishes, glasses, and silverware, borrowed from friends and relatives, are being washed and dried.



The body of the deceased must be prepared so that it is ready when the coffin arrives. Since bodies are not embalmed, all haste is made so that burial can take place within twenty-four hours after death. The body is washed and dressed in the best clothes of the deceased. After being dressed, the body is wrapped, except for the head and shoulders, in a clean white bed sheet. Several local women have told me that they keep a new bed sheet tucked away in their homes just in case a death should occur suddenly.

When the coffin arrives, the wrapped body is placed in it on a table, usually in the bedroom of the house, where the body will remain lying in state throughout the night. Bouquets of flowers brought by friends and relatives are placed in front of the coffin and in other convenient places in the room. Burning candles are placed on small tables at either end of the coffin.

In the evening, about seven o'clock or so, people begin arriving at the home of the deceased. Upon arriving, condolences are said to the deceased's immediate kinsmen if they have not been said previously during the day. After the greetings have been said, newly arrived persons generally go inside the house and stand silently for a moment or two in front of the coffin. By this time the body has been completely wrapped in the bed sheet, although the coffin remains open.

At eight P.M., twelve midnight, and again at four A.M., the rosary is said in front of the coffin. At these times local women gather inside the bedroom, and a local woman rezadora (specialist in praying) leads the gathering in the rosary. All present know the proper words from memory. After the rosary has been said (which usually takes about forty-five minutes), people file outside, leaving the body



entirely alone until the rosary is said again later.

While the atmosphere in the bedroom is solemn, respectful, and sober, by about nine P.M., the atmosphere outside of the house begins to lighten considerably. People begin to talk loudly, telling jokes and riddles, usually risque in nature. Caña and rum are passed around freely and many guests feel quite high rather early in the evening. At velorios where a large crowd of people is expected, professional albureros (card players, gamblers) come to the village from Veracruz. They organize games of cards, dominos, and other gambling games in which many of the guests participate (and often lose money). Smaller children are running here and there playing tag or wrestling. Young unmarried adults, both male and female, are usually quick to organize a game of come maiz. In this game one of the players is blindfolded and the others take turns hitting him or her on the buttocks. The blindfolded person must then try to guess which of the other players has hit him (or her). In the kitchen of the house several women, joking and drinking as they work, are frying fish and preparing tortillas and other foods. These are eaten by guests just as fast as they can be prepared. This activity goes on all night, although after the midnight rosary the crowd begins to dwindle somewhat.

After the four A.M. rosary has been said, those persons remaining at the velorio prepare to carry the coffin to the cemetery for the entierro (burial).

Just before the quarter-mile trip to the cemetery, the friends and relatives of the deceased gather around the coffin for final prayers. In one case a small piece of rope tied into a special knot was placed on the chest of the deceased. According to informants, this piece of



rope would act as a compañero (companion) to the deceased, so that the person's spirit should not be lonesome and decide to remain in the house with the living. Then the coffin lid is shut and nailed down tight.

The coffin is raised up and carried out of the house by four or six male pallbearers. The pallbearers carry the coffin around the house three times and then set off toward the church, friends and relatives following behind. As the procession passes the church, someone rings the bell three times. The procession then sets out for the cemetery where a grave has been dug the day before. A maestro (specialist) from Veracruz usually has supervised the digging of the grave. He is sided by two or three local men who are paid a small fee for their labor, or who might be friends or relatives of the deceased who have volunteered their services.

The ceremony at the cemetery is quite simple and brief. The coffin is lowered into the grave. Someone, usually a close relative or a compadre of the deceased or of the household head, sprinkles a few drops of holy water on the coffin as a final benediction is said. Then all those present pick up a handful of dirt and throw it on top of the coffin. People then depart for the village except for the grave diggers, who stay to fill in the grave. Upon arriving at the village, the participants in the burial generally go to bed, often sleeping until nightfall or even the following morning.

While the atmosphere and behavior that are a part of velorios might seem at first to be somewhat disrespectful toward the dead, I think that it serves an important function. People, including the close relatives of the deceased, are so busy making velorio

preparations and talking, drinking, and playing that they have very little time to think and reflect on the fact that a death has taken place. I think that all of this activity tends to somewhat soften the blow. When a person wakes up, often two full days have passed since the death has occurred, and by that time the death seems like a bad dream that has gone away.

According to local informants, the nine days immediately following a death are dangerous days for the remaining members of the household. It is believed that the spirit of the deceased, unwilling to leave its home and family on this earth, hovers around the house during this period. The particular danger to those residing in the household is that the spirit of the deceased might wish to take one of the household members with it, i.e., that the spirit will cause another death to occur in the household. To counteract the danger, each night for nine nights a novena (ceremony for the dead) is held in the same room in which the coffin rested during the velorio.

Each afternoon during the nine-day period a member of the household makes a cross of ashes on the floor of the room. The cross is about four feet long. Flowers are placed along the axis of the cross, and on each of the four points is placed a lighted candle. About six P.M. the local rezadora comes to the house and recites the rosary in front of the decorated, candle-lit cross. After the rosary has been said, everybody leaves the room until morning when the cross of ashes is rubbed out, only to be made over again in the afternoon. Generally, the only persons attending the novena ceremonies, until the ninth and last night, are household members and perhaps a few close friends and relatives.

On the ninth night after the death the novenario is held. This ceremony is in many ways similar to the velorio except that, of course, there is no body present. In the place where the coffin rested during the velorio, a dome-shaped shrine made of flexible branches has been constructed. The branches are covered with white paper to which are pinned white lilies, green ferns, and other fresh flowers. Inside the shrine are several pictures of saints and a picture of the Virgin of Guadalupe. On the floor in front of the shrine a cross of ashes is again made. Superimposed on the cross of ashes is a large wooden cross (about five feet long) which has been painted a metallic silver color. The top of the wooden cross is elevated above the floor at about a fifteen degree angle.

Friends, neighbors, and relatives begin arriving at the house in the early evening. Outside the house people are joking, drinking, playing cards, and eating. A festive atmosphere generally prevails all night long. Inside, at eight P.M., twelve midnight, and four A.M. the local rezadora leads the mourners in reciting the rosary. Just after the four A.M. rosary has been recited, a man and a woman, the compadres de la cruz, raise the silver wooden cross upright. All those present at the ceremony kiss the wooden cross while making the sign of the cross on their own bodies. After the cross has been raised, the shrine is immediately dismantled and all candles, flowers, and other decorations are removed from the room. At sunrise, the participants return to their homes and beds and spend the rest of the day sleeping. The novenario is over, and the spirit of the deceased is believed to finally be at rest.

According to informants, it is proper to have a special Catholic

mass said for the deceased one month, six months, and then every year after on the anniversary of a person's death. Since special masses are expensive for the average Cayalano household few special masses are held. The only special mass held in the village during the period of fieldwork was the mass paid for by the cacique on the anniversary of the death of his son.

In summary, religious activities in Cayala are rather ad hoc in nature and not highly organized or complex. Except for the Sunday masses attended by women and children and certain Catholic Holy Days (Carnival, El Día de Los Muertos, and the Christmas Posadas), religious activities take place when personal, non-scheduled events occur such as illness or death.

Cayalanos hold a vague notion of "God", but venerate the Virgin of Guadalupe and Christ. Their supernatural world is also filled with various spirits, devils, and "forces" that can and do effect the lives of men. However, villagers are not passive in their relationships to supernatural agents; specialists and even the "average man" can and does take action to combat and overcome the will of the supernatural.

## CHAPTER VI

### INFORMAL COMMUNITY ADMINISTRATION: THE CAYALA CACIQUE

#### General Remarks

The Cayala cacique has certain personal characteristics that are important in understanding his leadership role. He is a native-born Cayalano who has lived all of his seventy-eight years in the village of Cayala. Except for a few brief vacations in recent years, he has never left the village for any extended period of time. He is the grandson of one of the founding fathers of the village and spent his childhood and most of his adult life living and doing the kinds of things that any other son of a poor fisherman in the village would do.

However, he is now a very wealthy man. Given the general level of income in the region, the assets of the Cayala cacique are considerable. Taking into account his restaurants, several trucks, houses in Cayala, cattle, and real estate holdings in Playa Cenagosa and elsewhere, I would roughly estimate his net worth at least at one million dollars.

His physical appearance, which shows a very definite Black African racial influence, is of a common type for the Veracruz region. A photograph of him as a young fisherman shows that in his younger days he was a rather tall and muscular individual with a sharp and serious facial expression that reminds me of the expression I have seen in

certain photographs of Emiliano Zapata. In his mature years, however, he has gained a good deal of weight, which is evidenced by a very protruding waistline. I would estimate that he presently weighs at least three hundred pounds, if not more.

Despite his weight he is very physically fit and active for his age. His health, however, is a major personal concern of his. While he was not ill a single day during the period of fieldwork, he was constantly trying out new vitamin tablets, tonics, "potions" and so forth. I have seen him consume at least ten vitamin tablets at one time, his idea being that if one is good for you, ten will be ten times as good.

His favorite recreational pastime is eating, drinking, and chatting in his restaurants with friends from outside of Cayala or with local young ladies. A common sight in Cayala is the cacique seated in a quiet corner of El Cayuco restaurant surrounded by five or six young women (ages from about eighteen to twenty-five) from the village. When he entertains, which is about three or four times per week, he is a very generous host; he serves the best food and drink available. Yet his nature at such gatherings could hardly be described as jovial. He is generally quite reserved and serious; when he speaks it is usually in rather gruff, harsh, short sentences that, because of idiosyncratic inflexion, are often difficult for even local people to understand.

The cacique is not given to the use of "flowery" speech, double meaning phrases, or current popular expressions in his conversations, which are often punctuated by profanity and vulgarisms regardless of the listening company. Oratorical skills are completely lacking.

The Cayala cacique is almost completely illiterate. He has had no formal schooling of any kind. He has, however, taught himself to write his name. Any written material that he wishes to know about is generally read aloud to him. He is, however, very quick in making mental arithmetic calculations. Despite his lack of formal education, most people consider him to be the most natively intelligent individual in the community. He is possessed with a high degree of "common sense", and is very quick to grasp and understand the various types of local problems that are presented to him. He appears to be very quick to "size-up" the character, motivations, and strengths and weaknesses of the individuals he comes into contact with.

While the Cayala cacique knows and understands his local environment very well, in my opinion, his knowledge and understanding of affairs that do not immediately effect him is quite limited. For example, even though he is a contributor to the PRI political party, his interest in and knowledge of political philosophy is minimal. In my opinion he espouses no particular political, social, or doctrinal religious ideology. He is generally uninterested in national or world news and current events, except as these might touch him personally, which is rarely the case.

Aside from his personal characteristics there are some other points that should be made about the Cayala cacique. First, it should be noted that he is an informal leader. In Cayala, one is not elected or appointed cacique, nor does one inherit the title or position. An individual becomes a cacique when the members of the community recognize that an individual is able to exercise power over the majority of the

members of the community.

Second, the Cayala cacique is the first cacique that the community has known. That is to say, Cayala does not have a long history of domination by caciques as has been the case in many rural Mexican communities.

Third, the Cayala cacique is very overt. That is, while many of the activities of the cacique are known only to him, the fact that he is the dominant figure in local affairs is known by all local persons. Even during the early days of fieldwork in Cayala, residents referred to Don Antonio as "the cacique." However, they did not use the term to his face. He has a regional reputation as a cacique as well, as I learned from several individuals, residents of Veracruz, Cordoba, Playa Cenagosa, and other regional towns and cities. After telling "outsiders" that I was working in Cayala, a typical comment from them would be: "So you are working in Cayala? You know that that place is run by the cacique Antonio Salga?"

Anyone with more than a casual interest in Cayala soon finds out that Don Antonio is the dominant local power. In this regard I will contrast a personal experience that I had with the Cayala cacique with a situation reported by Paul Friedrich. Friedrich, speaking of the Tarascan Indian cacique Pedro Caso mentions that (1968: 246):

"A Harvard graduate student, when he left Durazno after three months of fieldwork (1959), had never heard of Pedro Caso, Durazno's cacique. Until I began boring into politics during my fourth month in the field in 1955, Pedro was only a familiar face."

My own experience with the Cayala cacique was quite different from the above.



My first personal contact with him occurred early in March of 1970, about one-half hour after I had arrived in Cayala for the first time. I arrived in the village early one morning with the intention of seeking permission to conduct fieldwork. In this regard I carried with me certain letters of introduction that I intended to show to local authorities. I first sought out the local agente municipal, but it happened that he was not in the village that day. A local resident suggested that I speak with the police commander who was in his usual position - in his hammock under the shade of the roof of his cantina, which is located across from the cacique's main restaurant. I had noticed that there were several men sitting in the restaurant who had obviously taken an interest in my arrival. I introduced myself to the police commander, briefly stated my intentions, and showed him the letters of introduction, which he laboriously read through. He told me to wait a few minutes.

Without further comment he took the letters and crossed over to the restaurant. There, he gave the letters to the youngest son of the cacique who was sitting with his father. The cacique's son read the letters and then came over to speak to me. He asked me what I wanted to do in the village, who had sent me, how long I planned to stay, and so forth. I answered as best I could. He then went over to his father, and the two engaged in conversation. He returned to me and told me in effect that his father had said that I could conduct fieldwork in the village as long as I agreed to "behave myself", which I assured him I would do. He then took me over to meet his father. The conversation that ensued was generally to the effect that now that I had the cacique's permission to "study" in Cayala,

local people would help me and even "protect" me (from what I am not completely aware). Thus, within a few minutes after my initial arrival in the village I was aware of the cacique and, to some extent, aware of his power in local affairs. Everyone, including the police commander, that was in the small crowd that had gathered, seemed to accept without question the cacique's decision with regard to my doing fieldwork in the village.

The next day I met with the agente municipal. The first thing he asked me was whether or not I had spoken with el patrón (the boss). I gathered (correctly) that el patrón was the cacique. I said that I had spoken to him and to the police commander and that they both had given me their permission to stay in the village. He then said in effect that he knew this because he had spoken to them the night before. From our conversation it was clear that the agente was not at all sure what I would be doing in Cayala. He said, however, that since I had received permission (presumably from the cacique) to study in Cayala, he would help me in any way that he could.

#### Sources of Cacical Support: Supra-Community Relationships

The leadership position and the power of the Cayala cacique is to some extent the result of certain relationships that he maintains with groups and individuals that are located outside of the village itself. In this section of this chapter I will discuss these relationships.

The Cayala cacique is not a unique phenomenon in the Veracruz region. There are, in fact, several other locally powerful caciques in the towns and villages surrounding Cayala. Thus, for example, the

area around El Bayo is dominated by the Torres family, headed by the cacique Pascual Torres. The area around Rosario was for years dominated by the cacique Alejandro Ibarra. Up until his recent assassination, Fernando (Nando) Parra dominated the area around Soledad. The brothers Pedro and Felipe Pinadero generally controlled the area around Playa Cenagosa. Another man, a Guerra, dominated the area between El Bayo and Ixtlán. The region surrounding Cayala then, up until only very recently was under the control of several caciques. The caciques in the region are not isolated from each other. In fact they were and to some extent still are closely linked to each other in both informal and formal relationships.

According to a knowledgeable Veracruz informant, a man who has for some time been active and influential in state politics, the caciques in the region were and to some extent still are a part of a large-scale "mafia" -type organization. The information supplied by this informant, which has generally been verified by other reliable sources, is as follows:

Miguel Alemán, a native son of the state of Veracruz, was elected President of Mexico in 1946. Adolfo Ruiz Cortines, also a native Veracruzano, was Alemán's campaign manager and political protege. For his efforts in Aleman's successful campaign, Ruiz Cortines was rewarded by being nominated and elected governor of Veracruz, a post he held from 1946 through 1952. At Ruiz Cortines' suggestion, Alemán named another Veracruzano, Salvador Corral, to a high position in the office of the federal procurador (attorney general). This office has the responsibility for apprehending and prosecuting all criminals who have violated federal laws. Corral was

given the assignment of breaking up a large drug smuggling ring that was operating in the north of Mexico, between Sonora and Baja California del Norte and the state of California in the United States.

According to my informant, Corral broke up the drug smuggling ring, for which he was decorated by both Mexico and the state of California. However, Corral went a bit further. He secretly took over the drug smuggling business he had been sent to eliminate, and supposedly made a sizeable fortune, which he invested in Veracruz real estate. His fortune grew. While in the drug smuggling business, Corral was aided by an old friend from Veracruz, Alejandro Ibarra from Rosario, near Cayala.

A few years later, Salvador Corral was nominated and elected to a high position in Veracruz state government. While in office Corral managed to get his old comrade Alejandro Ibarra appointed to a high position in the Veracruz state police. Ibarra was also the head of a small and select group of covert agents who acted as personal bodyguards to Corral. These agents reportedly also served as political "hatchet men", i.e., it is alleged that they were responsible for the murder of several of Corral's political enemies. Ibarra and his group of assassins kept active in the drug smuggling business, which was now made easier by the fact that Ibarra held official authority over the police force in the port cities of Veracruz, Tuxpan, and Coatzacoalcas.

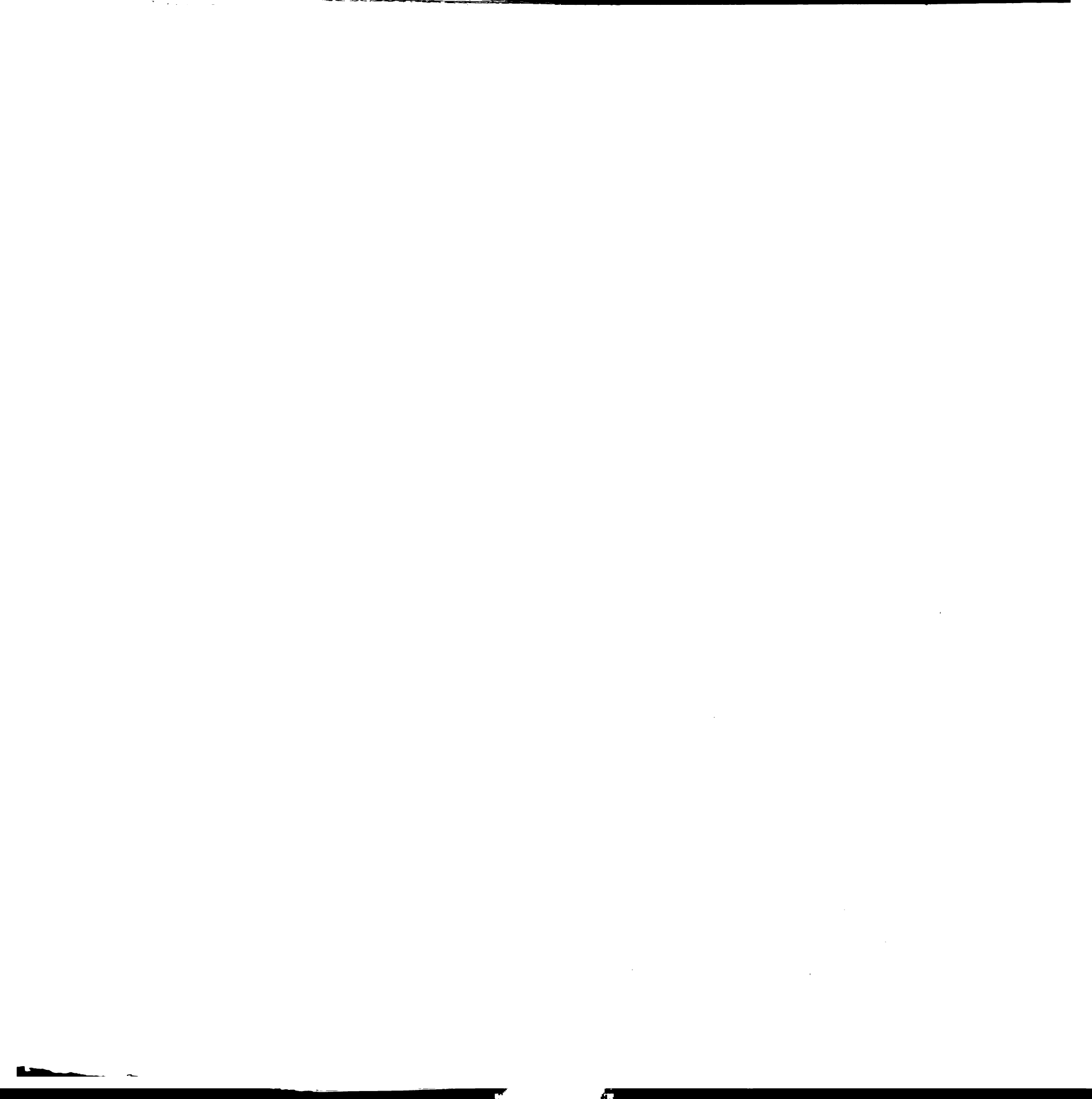
Included in Ibarra organization were several men from the Cayala region. Perhaps the most infamous lieutenant and pistolero (gunman) in the organization was Nando Parra from Soledad, who is said to be responsible for at least fifteen political or "business" assassinations.

Other members of this group were a Torres, a nephew of the cacique from El Bayo, and Pastor Andrade, the present municipal president of Playa Cenagosa, and Pedro Pinadero, the Playa Cenagosa cacique.

While I am not certain of exactly how the Cayala cacique initially became involved with this group, in 1970 when I began fieldwork in Cayala, he was very much a part of it. I learned of the relationships between the Cayala cacique and members of this organization from the cacique himself and from the individuals that will be mentioned. All of these persons visited Cayala several different times to eat, drink, and discuss business, and on several occasions the Cayala cacique invited me to join these sessions. While these men and the Cayala cacique were understandably reluctant to discuss serious business matters in my presence, nevertheless, the nature of the relationships between them was freely discussed.

The Cayala cacique is a compadre de bautizo to Nando Parra of Soledad. This relationship has existed for over twenty years. Parra, until his death, was perhaps the closest associate of the Cayala cacique, and a very frequent visitor to Cayala.

The Cayala cacique is also a compadre of Pastor Andrade, the present municipal president of Playa Cenagosa. According to the youngest son of the cacique, Andrade owes his presidency to the Cayala cacique. It seems that prior to the October 1970 municipal elections, members of the Playa Cenagosa PRI nominating committee approached the cacique's youngest son, Luis, to ask him to run for municipal president. Luis, born in Cayala, is now a resident of Playa Cenagosa. A meeting was held in Playa Cenagosa in which twelve of the fifteen members of the nominating committee voted to nominate

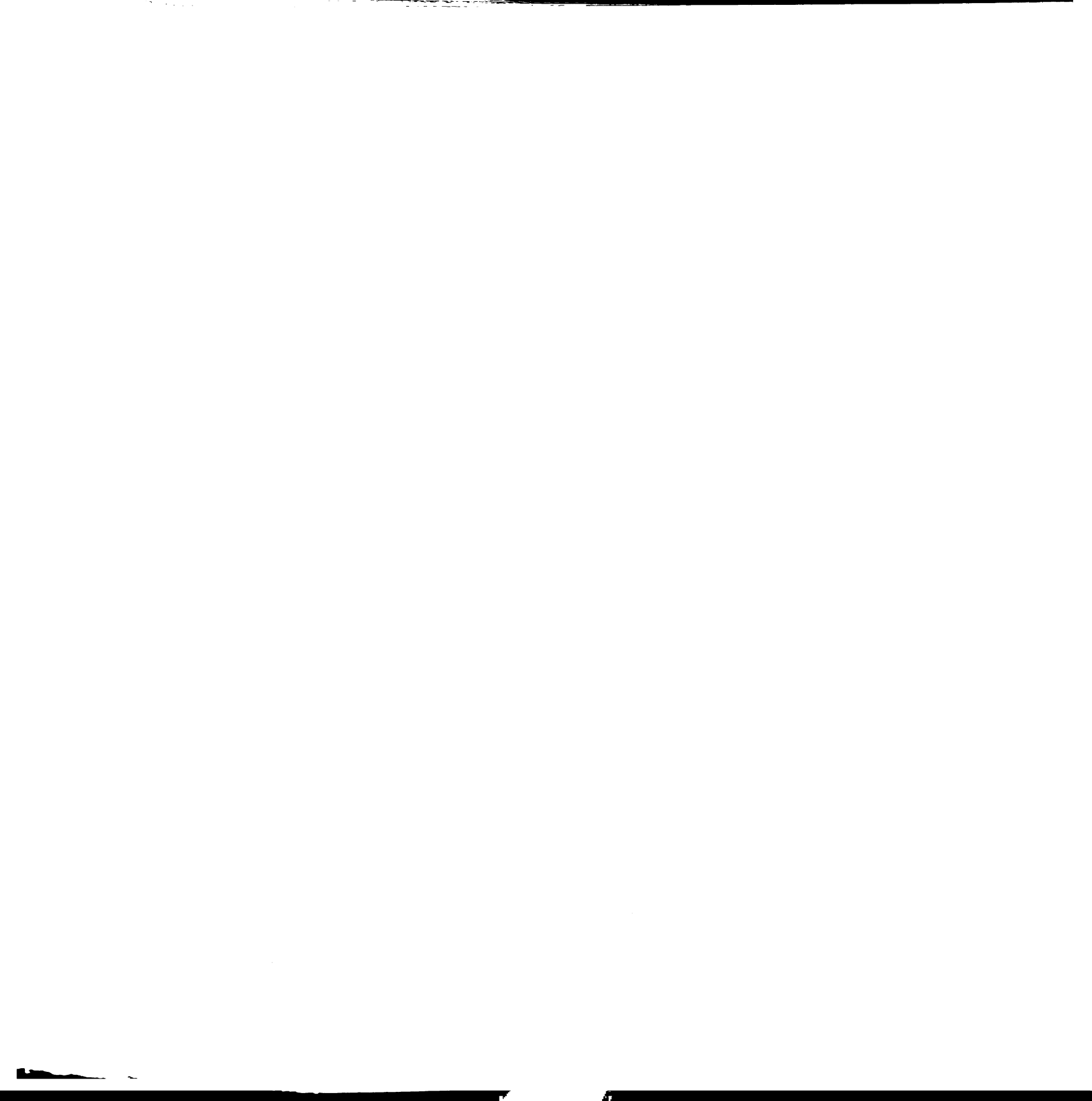


Luis to the municipal presidency. According to Luis, who has a thriving wholesale seafood business among other things, he considered accepting the nomination, but finally decided that his business activities would not allow him the time to hold public office. He realized, however, that it would be advantageous to be municipal president, especially since he, his father, two brothers, and an uncle, all owned what taken together amounted to considerable real estate acreage in Playa Cenagosa. As municipal president, Luis would have the authority to set real estate taxes, issue building permits, and so forth. Not knowing quite what to do, Luis consulted his father.

The result of their discussions was a plan. Luis, as the first choice of the nominating committee, would recommend to the committee that Pastor Andrade, the cacique's compadre, replace him as the official PRI candidate. If the committee would accept the recommendation, Luis's father would donate a sum of money (how much I do not know) to the campaign. The recommendation was accepted and Andrade was nominated and elected municipal president.

About two weeks after Andrade took office, the Cayala cacique asked me to drive him from Cayala to Playa Cenagosa to "pay his respects" to the new president. We arrived at the palacio municipal only to find that Andrade was still at home. At Andrade's home, his wife informed us that Don Pastor was still in bed. The cacique said that if it was not too much trouble, he would like to talk to him. Don Pastor's wife went upstairs and awoke him. In ten minutes Andrade came down, and we all drove over to the palacio.

At the palacio we went immediately into Andrade's private office.





Andrade told his secretary to hold all appointments, despite the fact that several people had been waiting at least two hours to see the president (it was almost noon by then). In Andrade's office we congratulated him on his recent victory. Then he and the cacique asked me to excuse them for a few minutes and went to a far corner of the room and engaged in a low conversation. Unfortunately, I could not hear what was being said. After about twenty minutes we said goodbye and left.

The cacique then asked me if I would like to visit a "friend" of his who lived in a very low income area on a nearby hill overlooking Playa Cenagosa and the Gulf of Mexico. The "friend" turned out to be one of the cacique's mistresses. After he chatted with his friend and her family for a few minutes we left for Cayala. On the way back he asked me how I had liked the view of the Gulf from the hill where his mistress lived. I said that it was a very scenic view. He then said that he was in the process of making plans to clear all of the run-down houses from the hill to make room for a tourist hotel and restaurant. While I cannot, of course, be certain, I strongly suspect that this hotel plan was the topic of the conversation that he had had with Andrade only a few minutes before.

With regard to other connections with people from Playa Cenagosa, it should be noted that Luis is a compadre of the son of Felipe Pinadero, one of the most influential men in Playa Cenagosa. Pinadero's son now controls a large section of his father's land within the congregación of Cayala y Boscaje. Pinadero land borders the Cayala ejido on one side and stretches almost to Playa Cenagosa on the other.

The Cayala cacique is also closely tied to the El Bayo cacique.



Aside from a close friendship with the cacique Pascual Torres, two of the Cayala cacique's sons, Tomas (now deceased) and Pedro, married Torres women, nieces of Don Pascual. Both of these women and their children live in Cayala village. The one who is widowed is totally supported by the cacique.

A combination chauffeur-bodyguard of the Cayala cacique is also a Torres from El Bayo, a first cousin of Don Pascual. According to local informants, this man was also formerly a pistolero in the Ibarra organization.

The Cayala cacique has a compadrazgo relationship with another powerful man - Pablo Zamora, a high official in the Veracruz stevedores union. During the period of fieldwork Zamora was a regular visitor to Cayala, coming out at least once per month and sometimes more often. Zamora had a bit of a drinking problem and could pursue his habit in peace in the cacique's house. While I am not certain what other business Zamora and the Cayala cacique were involved in, Zamora is a source of contraband scotch, whiskey, wines, canned foods, cheeses, and other imported delicacies. On the several occasions when I was invited to join the "party", we always were served the best - Johnnie Walker Black Label Scotch, Danish ham, Spanish wine, Dutch cheese, and, occasionally, Cuban cigars. The Cayala cacique bought these and other items in quantity from Zamora at a good price. A bottle of Black Label Scotch if bought in a liquor store in Veracruz, could run as much as twenty-five dollars per liter. The cacique told me once that he paid Zamora slightly over four dollars per liter.

I am not certain of the exact nature of the Cayala cacique's

relationship with Ibarra himself. To my knowledge Ibarra never visited Cayala during the period of fieldwork. However, Ibarra and the cacique are, according to Luis, long-time friends from the days when Ibarra was still residing in Rosario. Also, according to both the cacique and his son, the cacique donated large sums of cash to the PRI, to help finance the election of Salvador Corral. Because of this and probably other reasons the Cayala cacique could count on support and favored treatment from Ibarra. The following incident I think illustrates what he could expect.

In Mexico the last national election was held on Sunday, July 5, 1970. On national election day and on the preceeding Saturday, all bars, cantinas, liquor stores, and restaurants that sell hard liquor or beer must be closed. Restaurants are allowed to serve meals, but cannot serve alcoholic beverages of any kind. In a spot check that I made of various establishments in Veracruz and Playa Cenagosa, I found that in all cases the law was being carefully observed. In both of these popular centers of tourism there was not a drop of alcoholic beverage to be purchased.

In Cayala, however, the situation was quite different. In the cacique's restaurants and in other local establishments it was business as usual. Hard liquor and beer were being sold openly. Furthermore, because Cayala was the only place in the Veracruz region where liquor was being served on both Saturday and Sunday, the village was packed with tourists. Election day itself was one of the busiest days for Cayala restaurants that I observed during the period of fieldwork.

The tourist crowd in Cayala on Saturday was so large that the local police force could not handle all the people and automobiles.

According to the youngest son of the cacique, on Saturday afternoon, acting on his father's orders, he placed a telephone call to an aide of Ibarra at police headquarters in Jalapa. The next morning, Sunday, six policemen from Jalapa arrived in Cayala in a state police car. They spent the entire election day in Cayala directing traffic and finding parking places for the crowd of tourists who had come to eat and drink. Thus, not only could the Cayala cacique openly violate federal laws by selling alcoholic beverages on election day, but he was aided in this operation by a high official of the state police.

Another incident, related to me by the Cayala police commander, further illustrates the relationship between the Cayala cacique or more specifically, his youngest son and Ibarra. The reader will recall that the Cayala police commander is a member of the state police force, and therefore, directly under the official authority of Ibarra.

According to the police commander, one day in 1967 or 1968 (he could not recall exactly when) a tourist had been drinking heavily and had been causing a disturbance in the cacique's restaurant. The police commander asked him to leave the village. As the man was leaving in his car, he began firing a pistol wildly in the direction of the commander. The commander took the man's auto license plate numbers and called the Veracruz police who intercepted and arrested the man as he entered Veracruz.

The commandante said that the man was released because he "had friends" in Veracruz and Jalapa. However, the man wanted to chingar (roughly, "screw") the commander for reporting him. The man complained to Ibarra in Jalapa, and the Cayala police commander soon received a telegram demanding that he come to Jalapa "with his pistol" to see

Ibarra. Presumably he was to be relieved of his duties and perhaps even arrested.

The commander asked for Luis' help, and they both went to Jalapa to see Ibarra. In Jalapa, according to the commander, Luis talked with Ibarra and convinced him that the Cayala commander had acted rightly. Ibarra agreed, the commander was cleared, and the other man was re-arrested and fined. The Cayala commander is sure that it was Luis' intervention that saved him his job.

What role did the Cayala cacique play in the Ibarra organization? First, while information from local and outside informants is not entirely in agreement as to many details of the operations of this organization, there is general agreement that the Cayala cacique was never personally a pistolero or hatchetman for the group as were some other persons from the area. Nor was the Cayala cacique actively involved in the drug smuggling business. Indeed, the Cayala cacique seems to be somewhat peripheral to all of these activities.

Based on my own observations and on conversations with the Cayala cacique, it seems that he played essentially two roles in the operations or the organization. First, the Cayala cacique is a source of ready cash that could be used to finance election campaigns. He is a heavy contributor to both state and local PRI party coffers, as was illustrated by his donations to both Salvador Corral and Pastor Andrade of Playa Cenagosa. He also informed me that he was a financial supporter of the past municipal president of Los Barcos.

Second, I think that the Cayala cacique provided an important service to certain members of the organization. He, and the village of Cayala provided a peaceful sanctuary for some members of the organ-

ization. They could come to Cayala as they so often did, to relax, eat, and drink, secure in the knowledge that while there they were safe from revenge killings or attempts on their lives from political or business enemies. The case of Pablo Zamora I think illustrates this, but perhaps the case of Nando Parra does so even more.

Nando Parra, the pistolero and compadre of the Cayala cacique, was a very frequent visitor to Cayala. Around September 1, 1971, Parra was in Cayala for two days, relaxing. During this time I had a conversation with him. In it he told me that he was very much on his guard, as he had received word that there were "certain people" who wanted to kill him. He said that he went almost nowhere in public at that time; the only places safe for him were his ranch home near Soledad, and Cayala. He had many friends in Cayala, he said, and his most trusted friend was his compadre the cacique. He could come to Cayala, he said, because he knew that even if he was drunk, his compadre would look after him.

About two weeks later Parra was driving a pickup truck alone down one of the main streets in Veracruz. According to eye witnesses, a Mustang automobile pulled up beside him and two M-1 rifles from the car began blazing at him. He was killed instantly. The next day, at his funeral at his ranch house, the youngest son of the cacique said to me in effect that he (Nando) had been foolish. He should have stayed at home with his sons, or should have been in Cayala where he had friends. He should have known better than to go to Veracruz alone.

The case of Nando Parra illustrates another point as well. Salvador Corral left his position in state government when a new state





governor, Raphael Murillo Vidal, came into office in December 1969. For a time, however, things remained the same, i.e., Ibarra remained with the state police. After a few months, however, Ibarra was replaced by another man. In late 1970 and early 1971 it seemed like the old Ibarra organization was coming apart. Although I have no reliable information as to what was actually taking place, a son of Nando Parra informed me that a new group was trying to replace the Ibarra organization.

In any event, the last I heard of Ibarra was in a headline and story in the Veracruz newspaper in early 1971. He had just been arrested and convicted of drug smuggling in San Antonio, Texas, where I presume, he is still serving a life-prison term. He was caught by U.S. authorities attempting to bring over one million dollars worth of heroin into the United States. Nando Parra had been killed, as mentioned above. Just previous to Nando's death another man named Bringas (I never met him) who was a part of the group, was ambushed and killed on the road leaving Cayala. Guerra, the cacique from the Ixtlán area disappeared in December of 1970. I was informed of his disappearance by a compadre of my wife and myself, who was the formed manager of the Heinz pineapple plantation and packing plant near Ixtlán. The Heinz Company had been leasing land from Guerra to grow pineapples. One day, by mail, Guerra sent his land deed to the Heinz manager with instructions to take care of the deed, and to send all rent money to his wife. He was still missing when we left Cayala.

How all of this will ultimately affect the Cayala cacique is uncertain. Several times he indicated to me that he was worried about

the turn of events. On the other hand, his son Luis has said that since his father was never a pistolero, or personally involved in the drug business, he is probably safe. According to Luis, his father contributed heavily to the campaign of the present governor of the state, which, he says, is a favor that will not be forgotten. I also know that soon after Ibarra left his job with the state police, Luis went to Jalapa to visit the new man, who assured him that they could "work together". In letters that I have received from certain individuals in Cayala since leaving the field, there has been no indication that the general situation in the village has changed.

#### Relationships with Los Barcos Municipal Government

According to several reliable informants the Cayala cacique has for several years been closely associated with past municipal presidents in Los Barcos. He has consistently backed PRI candidates with cash donations, and has regularly invited the presidents to Cayala to be "wined and dined". However, unfortunately I have little reliable information as to the exact nature of the relationships involved.

Just prior to and shortly after the October 4, 1970 municipal elections took place, a series of events occurred that illustrate the nature of the relationship that currently holds between the Cayala cacique and the now municipal president of Los Barcos. These events also illustrate, at least in this one case, how the Cayala cacique initiates a special relationship with "outside" groups.

A few days before the elections the presidential candidate and

the candidates for regidor visited Cayala to deliver campaign speeches. Previous to this occasion the Cayala cacique did not personally know the candidate, as he had been absent from Los Barcos for several years. After the speeches were over, all the visitors were treated to a very lavish lunch party in one of the cacique's restaurants. During the conversation that ensued, the candidate stated that on the Saturday before elections he would be in neighboring Piraguas, and later Cayala, to distribute official ballot boxes and ballots. Generally in Mexico for local elections people vote at the cabecera municipal, but since the distance between Cayala and Piraguas and Los Barcos is so great, it was decided that more voters would turn out if they could vote in their local communities.

Shortly after noon on Saturday, October 3, the cacique and his sons informed me that that afternoon and evening they were all going to Piraguas to "inaugurate" a bar-restaurant that one of the cacique sons had recently rented and opened for business. The cacique and his sons were accompanied by several local friends, including the agente municipal of Cayala. They know, of course, that the candidate would be in Piraguas that afternoon.

In Piraguas elaborate preparations were made for a feast. When the candidate and his staff arrived, they were immediately invited to be the guests of honor at the party. The candidate said that he first had to deliver the ballots and ballot boxes to the agente municipal of Piraguas. He did this and returned to the restaurant at about 4:00 P.M., at which time the inauguration party began. Only the best food and drink was served.

At about 7:00 P.M. the candidate said that he had to leave the



party to deliver the ballot boxes and ballots to Cayala for the next day's election. The Cayala cacique told him that there was no reason to go to Cayala, as the Cayala agente municipal was at the party, and could take the ballot boxes and ballots back to the village with him. About that time a truck arrived from Cayala carrying about ten musicians who began to "serenade" the candidate. The candidate decided to stay on, and gave the ballots and ballot boxes to the Cayala agente municipal. He remained at the party until almost midnight.

The next day in Cayala no voting took place. According to informants the agente municipal had given the ballot boxes and ballots to the cacique, who in turn had returned them, now filled out, to the municipal electoral committee in Los Barcos, which has the responsibility of counting the votes. I was to learn of the results shortly.

About three weeks after the election I had a conversation with the then U.S. Consul in Veracruz. He had just received from the U.S. Embassy a copy of the election returns from his consular district. He was rather surprised, he said, that the returns showed that there had been an almost one hundred percent voter turnout from the congregación of Cayala y Boscaje, and that almost one hundred percent of the votes were cast in favor of the PRI candidate for municipal president. The Cayala cacique, in addition to having treated the candidate like royalty at the Piraguas party, had delivered the Cayala "vote", a favor that the president-elect could hardly ignore.

Within six months of taking office the new president of Los Barcos, working closely with the cacique's son Luis, made the

arrangements for the electrification of Cayala. In fact, the community of Cayala was the first village in the municipio to receive electricity under the new president's administration. Since then and for the remainder of my stay, they were fast friends.

#### The Cacique and the Mexican Military

One incident occurred in Cayala that illustrates the fact that the cacique has access to persons of high rank in the Veracruz military establishment when he needs it. The following information comes from several village informants, and from a United States Marine Sergeant who was stationed in Veracruz, on special assignment to the Mexican Army. The Sergeant, who had previously been stationed in South Viet Nam where he was training South Vietnamese and U. S. troops in anti-guerilla warfare, was performing similar duties while attached to the Mexican Army. His duties in Mexico included taking squads of about twenty-five men in full combat dress on hikes over the various types of terrain in the Veracruz region.

One day in Cayala, from out of the mangrove-lined estuary just behind the cacique's restaurant, there appeared a column of muddy and dripping troops outfitted in full combat regalia including rifles. They were led by a short but muscular guero (blond) who shouted out commands in broken and heavily accented Spanish. After the troops emerged from the brackish waters of the estuary, they stopped to regroup and rest for a few minutes in the swampy sabaneta area, in full view of the cacique, who was standing near the rear of his restaurant. After their brief rest, the troops lined up and, without explanation, marched double pace through the village and over

the sand dunes to the north. Needless to say, the cacique and other local residents were taken aback by the whole affair.

I did not learn the full implications of the incident until a day later when I asked the Sergeant about it, since I suspected that he was the "guero" involved. He said that yes, he had led his men through Cayala, and the look of shock and surprise on the cacique's face was one of the funniest things he had seen in his life. There he stood, "with his mouth open and his eyes popping out more than his belly". But the joke was soon over.

The Sergeant said that when he and his troops reached Playa Cenagosa about an hour later there was a Mexican Army jeep waiting to take him to headquarters in Veracruz. He was taken immediately to see the "top brass" (he would not be more specific even after I pressed the point), and was told that in the future, he should not take his troops into Cayala. He said that, "someone in the top brass" had received a telephone call from the cacique, complaining about the troops in the village. The officer receiving the call had had to "explain" their presence and satisfy the cacique that there was nothing to worry about. Thus, while I am not sure exactly which Mexican officer the cacique had reached, it is obvious that he had enough influence to reach the "top brass" directly by telephone, and to persuade this officer to restrain training activities near Cayala village.

#### Sources of Cacical Support: Community Relationships

In this section of this chapter we will discuss the nature and types of relationships in which the Cayala cacique is involved at the





local or village level. In reading this section the reader is asked to consider the Cayala cacique in his dual role as a community manager and as an economic entrepreneur. Specifically, we will discuss the ways in which the cacique has manipulated certain local institutions - local government, the ejido organization, kinship relations, and local ad hoc juntas, in ways designed to further his personal goals.

#### Relations with Local Government

Formal local government as described in Chapter II is dominated by the Cayala cacique. He first began to dominate local government when he was appointed agente municipal in 1940, and it will be recalled that he served in that position for an unprecedented twelve years, or four terms. According to local informants he held the post so long because "he was the only person in the village who could do the job." The cacique left the post of agente municipal in 1953, and has not held an official government position since that time.

However, according to the cacique himself and several past municipal agents, since leaving his position in 1953, the cacique has personally named each succeeding agente municipal i.e., he selects the individual he wishes to be agente municipal and submits the name to the municipal president in Los Barcos, who then officially appoints the individual.

I have seen this process at work. One day shortly after the current Los Barcos municipal president assumed office, he was in Cayala for a meeting. At a lunch that followed, the municipal president asked the cacique if he could recommend a person to be the

new agente municipal of Cayala. The cacique said that he had two men in mind, but had not yet decided which one he wanted in the office. He mentioned the names of the individuals, and commented that both were gente de confianza (trusted persons). The cacique said he would tell the president his choice in a few days. Later I asked the cacique how municipal agents were selected. He chuckled briefly and said in effect, "I put in office quien me conviene (whoever suits me); whoever I want, I put in." A few days later the cacique, who had not to my knowledge consulted anyone on the matter, informed the municipal president of his choice. About two weeks after that, the individual was officially appointed agente municipal.

Thus, the agente municipal owes his position to the cacique. The job is one that is highly desired among local men as, it will be recalled, the agente municipal derives a substantial income, by local standards, from the permit fees collected from traveling musicians and vendors. This is an important factor especially considering that the last four or five men chosen to be agente municipal while not the poorest individuals in Cayala, have been relatively poor by local standards. The job also carries a certain amount of local social prestige. However, by their own statements past municipal agents have indicated that compared with the economic benefits of the job, the prestige benefits are of little significance.

In exchange for the economic opportunities that the cacique provides the agente municipal, the cacique expects and receives two things in return. In the first place the agente helps to maintain local order and tranquility, as has been discussed earlier. In the second place, the cacique expects and receives the almost unquestioning

personal loyalty and obedience of the agente municipal.

In regard to the latter point, the agente municipal does almost nothing without first personally consulting the cacique or, in his absence, Luis. To mention but two examples, before a local person or a tourist is fined for lawbreaking, the agente or the police commander asks the cacique what should be done. The daily public project faena work lists that the agente prepared during the construction of the water system were always first approved by the cacique or Luis before posting.

The relationship between the cacique and the local police commander is, in many respects, similar to the one described above. Because of the cacique's association with Alejandro Ibarra, the local police commander maintains his job, and thus his income, by the good graces of the cacique. Likewise, the members of the local police force under the commander are involved in the relationship. Policemen hold their jobs because they are special friends of the commander, and if the commander would lose his job, so would the members of the force.

All of the members of local government have expressed to me at one time or another that they fully realize that the amount of their own personal incomes is directly related to the success of the cacique's restaurant business. When there are many tourists in the village, they make more money from the operations that have been previously described. For the income that they derive from the tourist business, they are willing to do the cacique's bidding.



### Relations with the Local Ejido Organization

It will be recalled that the primary function of the local ejido organization is the regulation of ejido lands used for productive purposes and village house sites. Thus, control of the ejido organization, especially the comisariado ejidal is tantamount to control of ejido lands.

What has actually happened in Cayala is that a small group of people has for years maintained control of the comisariado, and hence control over the use of ejido lands. It will be recalled that ejido lands have not been parceled in Cayala. In effect, the cacique and about a dozen other men have informally divided the entire ejido among themselves, except for land lying within the population center. The members of this select group, more or less in the order of the amount of land and the approximate number of cattle they controlled in early 1971, are as follows: The cacique (200 head); Luis Mora and his son Manuel, who reside in Punta del Sol, (150 head); Fernando Salga (100 head); Paco and Eduardo Moreno (80 head); Martín Martínez from El Boscaje (70 head); Octaviano Velasco and his son Gabriel (65 head); Gaspar Martínez (25 head); Victor Salga (25 head); Daniel Mora (25 head); Manuel Herrera (20 head); and Gonzalo Velasco, who rents land in El Boscaje from Martín Martínez (20 head). In addition to these persons there are four or five others who graze two or three head of cattle along with the herds of others.

It should be noted that the number of head of cattle listed above for any given individual is subject to rather rapid change, depending on the immediate financial needs of an individual, and the current price of beef in regional markets. For example, if a cattle-raiser for

whatever purpose is in need of a certain amount of cash, he would very likely sell a portion of his herd to obtain that cash. He would then spend the next few years building up his herd. Or, as happened in 1970, a severe drought in the Veracruz region resulted in the loss of many animals. This pushed the price of beef in the state to record highs, and many Cayala cattlemen sold portions of their herds.

How is it that this small group of men have been able to dominate and control ejido lands? There are several reasons for this, among them the nature of the local physical environment, the traditional fishing economy of Cayala, and the manipulation of ejido elections through the exploitation of kinship relations.

With regard to the physical characteristics of Cayala ejido lands it will be recalled that most is generally not suited for agriculture. Because of the low fertility of the soil the only type of agriculture that could be practiced with any success on ejido lands would be the swidden, or slash and burn type. This type of agriculture requires that each year (or two years at most) the farmer abandon the piece of ground he had cropped the previous year and clear a new piece of ground. According to local informants, on most ejido lands if corn, for example, is grown on the same piece of ground two years in succession the crop the second year will be only about fifty percent of the crop harvested the first year. Local informants generally agree that a piece of ground that has been planted and harvested requires a fallowing period of at least five years before soil fertility again reaches a level that makes cultivating profitable. It should also be noted that Cayala soils, after they have been initially cleared, planted, and harvested, are generally invaded by various kinds of grasses.

This being the case, the parcelization of ejido lands into relatively small parcels to be farmed by individual households would presently be impractical. A parcel of land with fixed boundaries could be profitably cultivated perhaps only every five to eight years and would not provide a household with a steady supply of crops and/or income.

Ejiditarios in Cayala fully realize the limitations that the physical environment places on the practice of agriculture. For this reason, according to several informants, the general membership of the ejido has never pressed for parcelization of the ejido into permanent, individually controlled parcels.

Another reason why parcelization has not occurred and why a small group of men can dominate ejido lands has to do with the traditional fishing economy of Cayala. According to several local informants, at the time the ejido was formed the majority of local men were making a living from fishing, as had their fathers and grandfathers before them. At that time the population of the village was smaller, the road giving access to outside markets had not yet been built, and tourism was not a factor in the local economy. Local fishermen, I am told, actually caught more seafood than they knew what to do with. While people were poor, all were well fed. This being the case, most local ejiditarios at that time did not realize the economic potential of the ejido lands. Most had little if any interest in farming and few could visualize or aspire to using the land for raising cattle.

The few individuals who did realize the potential of the ejido lands for raising cattle took possession of the land almost by default.

That is, when they began clearing the land for use as pasture, the majority of ejiditarios were content to let them do so, as they were fishermen and oriented toward el río, rather than toward the land. According to local informants, when the majority of ejiditarios realized the economic potential of cattle raising, it was already too late, as the cacique and a few others had already informally claimed usufruct rights to ejido lands. These claims were bolstered by the fact that these individuals had actually worked the lands, and had invested time, labor, and money in them while others had preferred to fish, an activity which involves almost no risk.

In recent years the cattlemen have in part been able to maintain their control by putting into official ejido offices persons who are either cattlemen themselves, or persons who are sympathetic to the interests of cattlemen. This has been done through the exploitation of kinship ties, and by promising future rewards to certain individuals who have agreed not to attempt to change the status quo while in office.

I will briefly illustrate this latter point first. In theory, the most important elected position in the ejido structure is the presidente del comisariado, followed by the secretario del comisariado. In 1970, when I arrived in Cayala, the municipal agent was an individual named Marcelino Velasco. Velasco, who had been appointed municipal agent in 1967, was at the same time serving as the comisariado secretary. According to several local informants, Velasco, an ejiditario, was merely a "puppet" of the cacique and other cattlemen. Since he owned no cattle of his own nor did he utilize ejido lands in any way, he had no personal interest in the regulation of ejido lands.



His reward for being the puppet of the cattlemen was the position of municipal agent. Incidentally, Velasco, in 1970, after giving up the post of municipal agent, was given the job of managing the restaurant of one of the cacique's sons, to whom he is also a compadre.

The present municipal agent of Cayala, Gilberto Mora, is also an ejiditario without cattle of his own. Mora was appointed municipal agent early in 1971. Previous to this, i.e., from 1965 until near the end of 1968, Mora served as president of the comisariado ejidal, and was, like Velasco, a puppet leader controlled by the cattlemen.

The man who was president of the comisariado before Mora was Alonso Salga, a first cousin of the cacique. Alonso, in 1971, was perhaps one of the poorest men in the village. He told me that his cousin, the cacique, "put him in" as president. Alonso also states that he does not have an official title as an ejiditario, but that he was "put in" anyway. According to informants, Alonso was also a puppet president. He, as I observed personally, is not a particularly bright individual whom I would have to classify as a serious alcoholic. It is said that while he was in office he was generally incapacitated and that any important ejido decisions were made by Tomás Salga (a son of the cacique) and Paco Moreno, a cattleman. These two men served as secretary and treasurer of the comisariado during Alonso's presidency. Incidentally, Alonso, when he works, now works as a fish cleaner in the cacique's main restaurant.

An interesting phenomenon has occurred in the last three ejido elections. The names of the persons elected to various offices seem to appear again and again, although not necessarily associated with the same office. Also, if certain individuals do not appear on the

roster of ejido officers, they are likely to appear on the list of officers of the junta de mejores materiales or as officers in local government. In other words, while there is no regular pattern in operation, the same group of individuals rotate holding the various offices in the local administrative structure. In addition to the examples of Mora and Velasco mentioned above, there are numerous others. For instance, Carlos Salga (a brother of the cacique) since 1962, has been first the secretary of the ejido consejo de vigilancia, then president of that body, and, in 1971, was named municipal agent alternate. Natividad Moreno (a sister of the Moreno brothers) first served as ejido consejo de vigilancia secretary alternate, then treasurer of the comisariado, in 1970 was secretary of the junta de mejoramiento, and in 1971 was elected as one of the vocales in the pro-electricity junta. Her brother Paco Moreno up to 1965 was ejido comisariado treasurer, is currently president of the comisariado, and also is treasurer of the pro-electricity junta. Victor Salga, another brother of the cacique, was municipal agent, then ejido comisariado president alternate, and is currently comisariado secretary. Several other similar examples could be provided, but I think the above are sufficient to show how the same individuals are regularly rotated to various positions in local administrative offices.

With regard to the local ejido organization the placing of certain individuals in various offices is in part accomplished by ejido members voting as a block along kinship lines. With but a few exceptions, ejido titleholders are men and women who are the direct descendants of the founders of Cayala, and the majority of ejiditarios are kinsmen

through blood or marriage. I would estimate that at least seventy-five percent of the ejido membership have as surnames some combination of the surnames of the founding fathers of the village, i.e., the surnames Salga, Moreno, Velasco, Paredes, and Mora. Furthermore, since the original ejido titleholders are now generally men aged fifty and over (except in cases where heirs have taken over titles), most of these men are now the heads of their own bilateral kindred groups, and in most ejido affairs can count on the support of their sons, grandsons, and other non-ejido member lineal and affinal relatives.

Most original ejiditarios and the kinship groups they head share one common attitude despite whatever personal differences of opinion they might have. By virtue of being the descendants of the founding fathers of the community, they consider themselves to be the rightful "heirs" to ejido lands within and surrounding the village. On several occasions original ejiditarios have contrasted themselves and their kinsmen with "outsiders", i.e., people who are not the descendants of the founding fathers. Included in this "outsider" group are many people who were actually born in the village and others who have lived there nearly all their lives. This and the point previously made are important to remember in considering how (1) control over ejido lands by a small group of men and (2) the election of selected persons to ejido offices is accomplished. These points are also important in explaining why the majority (but certainly not all) of the non-ejido member population of Cayala generally agrees with (or at least does not overtly object to) the activities of ejido leaders.

Let us consider the case of the last ejido election in which Paco Moreno, a cattleman, was elected president of the comisariado. This election was held in 1969, before I arrived in Cayala, however, on the basis of information given by several local informants and on later personal observations I think it is possible to get a general idea of the electoral process as it prevailed at the time.

Before the election local cattlemen informally got together and decided on a slate of major officers. The two most important offices to be filled were those of president and secretary of the comisariado. Paco Moreno and Victor Salga respectively, were chosen for these positions by the cattlemen. Moreno is a nephew of the cacique, and Victor Salga is his youngest brother. Candidates for other minor positions were not chosen in advance to my knowledge. The cacique, in a very low-keyed fashion, advised his close kinsmen who were voting ejido members to support the candidates. It should be noted that fifty percent of the votes, plus one, are required to elect an official. According to informants there were perhaps thirty-five to forty voting ejiditarios present at the election.

Salga is the most prevalent name on the ejido membership roster. Considering near kinsmen alone, the cacique, as head of his kinship group, could count on the votes of himself, five brothers, one sister, and one son. In addition to these kinsmen he also had the votes of several Paredes, and Velasco Paredes, who are close blood relatives of his wife, Ana Paredes. One current and three past municipal agents could also be counted on, not to mention a few compadres and at least four restaurant employees. Although not to the same extent, Moreno could also count on the support of several close kinsmen.

In effect, the election was more of a family election with family members rather than independent ejiditarios doing the electing. The heads of the major local kin groups, the cacique (Salga), Paco Moreno, Luis Mora, Octaviano Velasco, and Martín Martínez (whose daughter is married to the cacique's youngest son), selected the candidates, advised their kinsmen on voting, and the elections were carried with ease.

Most of the "insiders" (kinsmen of the cattlemen and descendants of the founding fathers) that I spoke with on the topic of ejido organization in 1970 and 1971, generally approved of how ejido lands were being administered. Younger men generally held that their elder kinsmen who control ejido lands have every right to do so. Many non-ejido members are also satisfied with the situation. In one conversation with three friends and compadres of Paco Moreno, I was informed that they were happy with the new comisariado because Moreno had given them permission to cultivate a small corn crop that coming year.

However, many local residents, including some ejiditarios, native-born "outsiders", and more recent arrivals to the village are not pleased with the situation. To date, however, these individuals have not organized themselves into any concerted effort to change things. Nonetheless, there are several complaints about the ejido organization that are commonly stated in private conversations.

One of the most frequent complaints from ejiditarios who are not cattlemen has to do with ejido meetings or, rather, the lack of them. According to federal law, the ejido comisariado should call regular monthly meetings of the general membership for purposes of



openly discussing ejido affairs. There should also be a yearly meeting in which all ejido members are given the opportunity to examine ejido accounts and other documents. During the entire period of fieldwork not one ejido meeting was called. According to informants, Moreno has not held a meeting since coming into office.

This situation disturbs some ejiditarios because, of course, they have no idea of what is going on. They see, for example, that certain individuals are being allowed to use ejido lands for various purposes, but do not know what the arrangements are. One individual hinted to me that he suspected ejido lands were being sold by the cattlemen. In any event, the fact that there have been no meetings held recently has caused a good deal of suspicion in the minds of some ejiditarios.

Many local residents, especially non-ejido members, complain about the treatment they receive from the cattlemen with regard to agricultural activities. There are several local residents that would like to plant small pieces of land in corn, rice, or beans, to supplement income from fishing or for household consumption. Many residents have stated that it is becoming increasingly difficult, if not impossible, to obtain permission from the comisariado to cultivate a piece of ground.

They argue that cultivation would actually benefit the cattlemen. Before one can plant a crop, the land must first be cleared. Since a piece of land could normally be cultivated for only one year, and since cleared land is quickly invaded by grasses, after one year of cultivation the cattlemen would be left with a piece of land that

could be used as pasture. This appears to be a logical argument.

According to certain cattlemen, however, this arrangement is not satisfactory. There is a federal regulation that states that if a person wishes to cultivate ejido lands in an area where cattle are grazed, the owner of the cattle must, at his own personal expense, construct a strong fence around the cultivated area. The purpose of the fence is to insure that cattle will not trample or eat the growing crop. Local cattlemen claim that it is cheaper for them to hire a man to clear land for pasture than it is to purchase the fencing that would be necessary if a person were cultivating the same land. Therefore, it is not to the economic advantage of the cattlemen to give permission to cultivate.

Cattlemen in recent years have devised a very effective way to discourage the desire to cultivate ejido lands. According to certain local informants who have been involved, it works in the following manner. A man asks permission to cultivate a certain piece of land. The comisariado grants him permission provided the land in question is uncleared. The man then clears the land, cultivates, and plants his crop. The cattleman properly constructs a fence around the cultivated land; the crop grows and all appears to be going well. However, just before the crop is ready for harvest an "accident" occurs. The fence is "accidentally" broken, and cattle enter the cultivated area and trample and eat the ripening crop. The farmer's work and investment are lost. The cattleman is usually very "apologetic" but does not offer any compensation. Incidents such as the above have occurred on at least three separate occasions that I know of. The word rapidly gets around the village, and would-be cultivators





quickly learn the lesson.

Another common complaint of ejiditarios and non-ejiditarios alike concerns the question of the parcelization of ejido lands. As stated earlier, most Cayalanos realize that parcelization of ejido lands for agricultural purposes would be impractical. However, some residents are for parcelization. If ejido lands were parcelled and assigned to individual ejiditarios, they argue, then cattlemen could be forced by the government to pay rent for grazing cattle on an individual parcel. Thus, even if the ejiditario would not work the land himself, he would be assured of an additional source of cash income in the form of rent payments. Informants were not clear on how the government would "force" cattlemen to pay rent. In my opinion, this is perhaps wishful thinking. According to one informant, however, this set-up would be ideal. A man could pursue his regular occupation, but, if an emergency arose and he needed cash instantly, he could perhaps get a cash advance on next year's rent from a cattleman. Needless to say, the cattlemen are not fond of the idea of parcelization.

With regard to parcelization, however, toward the end of the period of fieldwork I had an interesting conversation with the youngest son of the cacique, who is not an officially titled ejiditario. Nevertheless, according to him, he, his father, and members of the ejido comisariado are devising a plan to petition the Department of Agriculture to allow them to change the present status of about 250 hectares of ejido land near the village. The general plan is as follows. Two hundred fifty hectares of ejido land would be divided into individual lots of 120 square meters. He claims that under a

certain provision of federal ejido law, the government can sell one of these lots to an ejido member for a price of thirty centavos per square meter. Thus, the cost of a lot would be forty pesos, plus a small tax. As he explained it, these lots would then become the private property of the purchaser, and could be bought and sold. What he and his kinsmen would then do, he said, is purchase as many adjoining lots from other ejiditarios as they could. Many people would sell, he said, because they would pay up to 400 pesos per lot, giving the original purchaser a profit of ten times his investment.

The land that he is particularly interested in is a piece of land near the shore of the small lagoon. Here, he says, he would like to build a tourist hotel. He would not, however, presently be able to build the hotel on this land, as the government would probably not permit it, i.e., presently, according to law, that part of the ejido can only be used for agricultural purposes.

I am not aware of the specific laws that he was referring to, but he assured me that he had researched the matter and had decided that he could accomplish his objective in the manner described above. I asked him how he hoped to convince federal authorities to partition the ejido into lots. He simply answered, "No hay problema" (there's no problem), but did not elaborate on his answer. However, it would appear that he had taken up the plan with the authorities, since he was convinced he could accomplish it.

He then asked me if I would be interested in purchasing a lot. I could, he said, buy a lot next to his and he would willingly buy it from me or "administer" it for me. I reminded him that I was neither a Mexican citizen or an ejiditario, and therefore, it would

be impossible for me to qualify. He said this presented no problem. Since I was "un amigo del pueblo" (a friend of the people of the village), he thought that the comisariado would be willing to allow me to become an ejiditario. I do not know if anything has resulted from this scheme, since I left the field about two weeks after this conversation. Letters received from villagers since that time have made no mention of partitioning ejido lands into lots, so I assume that it has not occurred as yet.

#### Cacique - Junta Relationships

In a previous section of this chapter it was mentioned that the functions of the Cayala Junta de Mejores Materiales had been taken over by two newer cacique dominated ad hoc groups, the junta pro-agua (water promotion group) and the junta pro-electricidad (electricity promotion group). The leadership (presidency) of both of these juntas is in the hands of Luis, the youngest son of the cacique.

How is it that Luis has managed to gain control of these groups? There are, I think, two reasons why this has been possible. One reason has to do with the cacique and his son's expertise in taking advantage of local attitudes to further their own ends. The other has to do with the wealth of the cacique and how he uses it to further personal objectives. However, before we discuss specific activities it is necessary to briefly discuss certain local attitudes about participation in formal organizations and activities.

Generally speaking, the "typical" resident of Cayala, excepting certain cattlemen and businessmen, is very hesitant to actively participate in formal organizations and activities. Most villagers

tend to react negatively to any public situation where it might be necessary for them to speak or give an opinion in front of their peers. The lack of attendance at events such as fishing cooperative meetings, town meetings, ejido meetings (when they are held) and Padres de Familia meetings is a chronic organizational problem. The few people who attend meetings are very hesitant to speak up or make their opinions known.

I am not prepared to deal with the psychological reasons for this attitude, but several local informants have suggested various practical reasons for why this attitude prevails. They have suggested that local people tend to stay away from meetings for fear of being asked or elected to serve in a cargo (office, official position). Holding office is undesirable for three reasons. First, officers, no matter how well they do their job, are subjected to criticism and malicious gossip. This is especially the case if the officer must handle money. No matter how well financial accounts are kept, the officers of an organization are invariably accused of stealing funds. Second, holding an office usually means that the office holder will have to devote some of his personal time to the office. At several different meetings I have observed people decline offices because they were "too busy". Third, holding an office usually implies that a person will be giving orders to his peers. The person who gives orders to his peers in Cayala is invariably accused of thinking he is "better" than other people.

Several informants have stated that local people stay away from meetings for fear of having a monetary quota (tax, assessment, donation) levied against them. That is, meetings are often called to promote some project or another, and people fear they will be asked to help



pay for the project. Some informants have stated that if a person does not attend a meeting and does not therefore vote for a quota, he is under no moral obligation to pay.

Some local people have frankly stated that they do not go to meetings because the cacique and his associates will do what they want to do regardless of what other villagers think and say. This is, in my opinion, a very realistic attitude.

Bearing these points in mind, we will now return to the ways in which the cacique and Luis have been able to take over the functions of the Junta de Mejores Materiales. The examples which best illustrate this have to do with the local potable water project and the formation of the electricity promotion junta.

The original request for a potable water system was made by the Junta de Mejores Materiales about two years before fieldwork began. For three years local people received no word from the government about the project, so Luis decided he would go to Jalapa and make inquiries.

It should be mentioned that in the municipio of Los Barcos there is a village called Cayala y Tamarindo, and that sometimes Cayala y Boscaje is confused with this community. The people of Cayala y Tamarindo had also filed a petition with the government requesting a water system.

According to Luis, he arrived in Jalapa and went to the office of the official in charge of accepting or rejecting water system petitions. By chance, he had brought his checkbook with him. Luis asked the official if the Cayala petition had been approved, and the official pulled a petition out of a large stack he had on his desk.

The official said yes, the Cayala petition had been approved; all that was lacking for work to begin was a \$10,000 peso "good-faith" down payment from the community. Luis was elated, until he noticed that the name of the village on the petition was actually Cayala y Tamarindo, the "other" Cayala. Just then the official was called out of his office and Luis, being left alone momentarily, made a quick decision. He simply took his pen and crossed out the word "Tamarindo" on the approved petition and in its place substituted the word "Boscaje."

When the official returned, Luis quickly wrote a personal check for the down payment and asked that the civil engineers who would make a survey for the project be sent to his home in Playa Cenagosa before beginning. He would, he said, personally bring the engineers to the proper village, since "it would be easy for them to get lost." A few weeks later the engineers arrived at Luis's home, and were shortly in Cayala surveying. The project was under way.

Luis got his money back from the Junta, which knowing that a down payment would be required, had previously collected the money from local residents by assessing a quota on each household. However, the contract with the government stipulated that the village make the down payment, provide all necessary manual labor, and also pay about twenty percent of the total cost of the project, roughly \$20,000 pesos more. This sum was to be paid to the government in three monthly installments of just under \$7,000 pesos each, and each household was assessed another quota that would go toward the monthly payment. The quota amounted to about sixty pesos per month



per household.

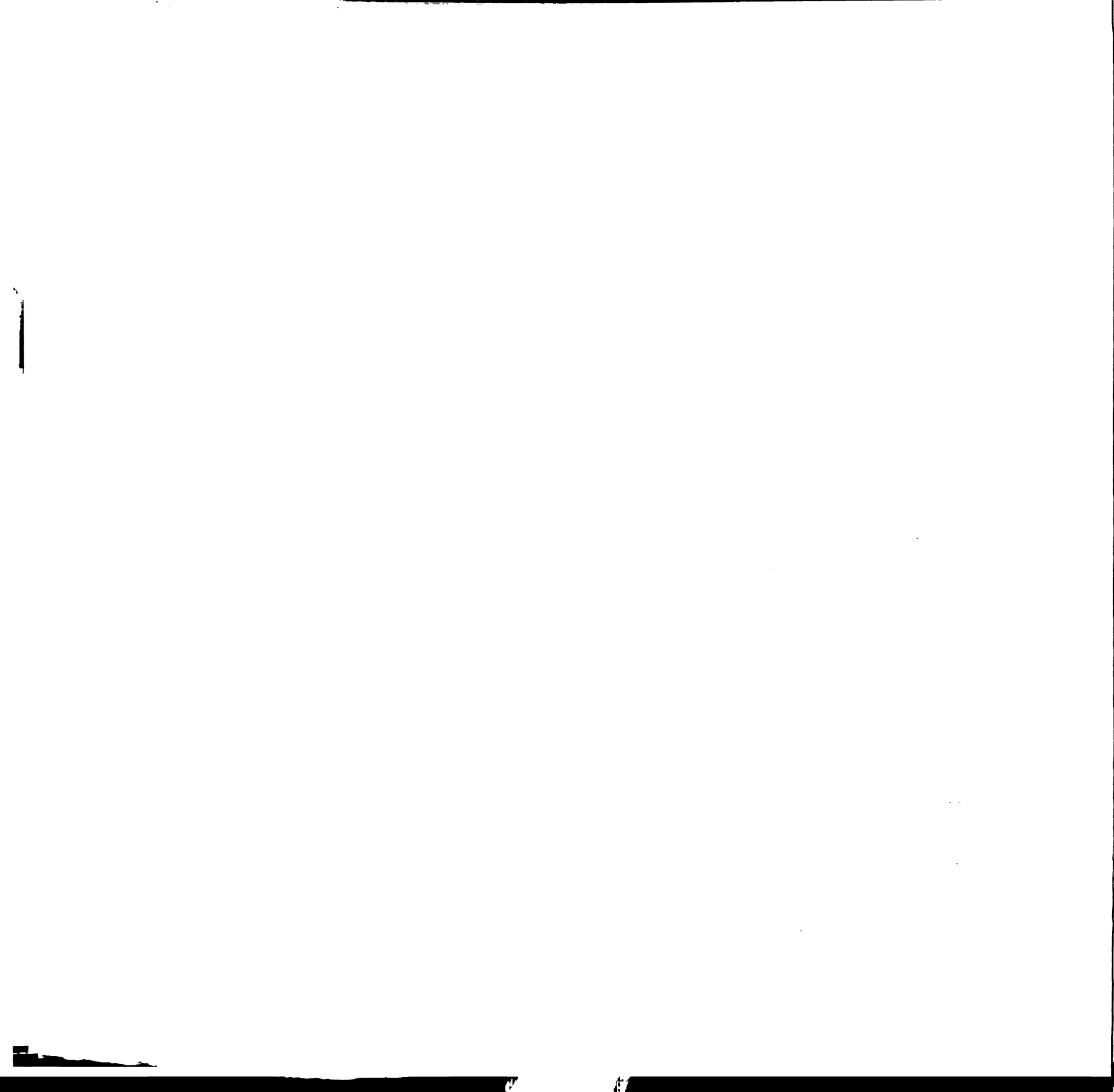
The first month, with some difficulty the officers of the Junta de Mejores Materiales managed to collect most of the quotas, although some local residents either could not or refused to pay from the start. In any event, the first payment was made to the government, and work on the water project went on. The second month, however, several households refused to pay the quota, claiming that they did not want a water system, and therefore, would not help pay for one. The time for the next payment to the government came up, but the Junta treasury was almost \$3,000 pesos short. The government extended the due date two weeks, but threatened to stop the project if the full payment was not made at that time. It looked as if Cayala might not get the water system after all. Then, Luis again stepped in.

He, his father, and a few other local businessmen and restaurant owners had a vital interest in the success of both the water and electricity projects. Their reasons, as they have stated, were not altruistic, but personal. In the first place, having clean water and lights in the village would be a boom to the tourist business. They were well aware of the fact that many would-be restaurant customers did not come to Cayala because of the lack of adequate sanitary facilities, and because the village, after sundown, was a dark and forboding place to outsiders. Clean water and electric lights in the village would, they thought, greatly increase the number of tourists that would visit Cayala. The second reason for their interest was that, because the village is now located on ejido lands, the government would pay most of the costs of the projects. However,

once the water and electrical systems were installed, the value of local land and house sites would be greatly increased. The reader will recall that the cacique controls the largest single amount of land within the village area, and will also recall Luis's tentative plan to partition a portion of ejido land near the village and convert it into private property.

Thus, when it seemed that work on the water project might stop for failure to make the second payment, Luis went into action. First, he contacted the now past municipal president of Los Barcos and informed him of the situation. According to Luis, he and the municipal president quickly came to an agreement. Luis and his father would pay, out of their own personal funds, the balance of the payment that was due to the government, so that the water project would continue. For his part, the municipal president would hold a special meeting in Cayala in which he would strongly suggest that a new junta pro-agua be formed with Luis as president. Furthermore, the municipal president would publicly grant Luis the authority to fine, arrest, and bring to Los Barcos for trial and imprisonment, any resident who refused to work on the project or who refused to pay the monthly quota. This meeting was held in Cayala, as has been mentioned earlier in this chapter. Luis was elected president of the new junta pro-agua, he and his father made the payment to the government, and the project was eventually completed without further difficulty.

One day, when the water system was almost finished, I was chatting informally with Luis. He turned to me and said with a proud grin: "I imagine the people from Cayala y Tamarindo still



can't figure out why they don't have water." I asked him what would happen if the government ever found out that the petition had been altered. With an even bigger grin on his face he replied in effect: "Now that the pipes are laid and the water tank installed, do you think they will take them out? Think of how foolish they (the government) would look!"

The formation of the pro-electricidad junta, which occurred when the water project was all but finished, illustrates how the cacique and Luis took advantage of local attitudes toward participation in formal organizations to take over the functions of the Junta de Mejores Materiales.

In the state of Veracruz, rural electrification projects come under the co-administration of two government agencies, the national level Comision Federal de Electricidad and the state level Junta Estatal de Electricidad; both have offices in Jalapa. Shortly after the new municipal president of Los Barcos took office, he, at the request of Luis and his father, contacted those agencies and requested that electricity be brought to Cayala. The general arrangements were to be similar to those of the water project, i.e., the government would pay for most of the project, and the people of Cayala would pay the balance and supply all the required manual labor. Preliminary arrangements with the electricity agencies were made by the municipal president of Los Barcos. He informed Luis and the cacique that in early August a town meeting would be held in Cayala.

The purpose of this meeting was twofold. First, the people of Cayala were to be presented with a preliminary plan for electrification, and would be asked to vote whether or not a formal contract



for electrification should be drawn up. In effect, this was a popular vote for or against electrification of the village. Second, if people voted for electrification, the local administrative structure for the project would be established, again by popular vote. In both cases the voting was to be done by public voice vote, i.e., secret ballots were not used. The meeting was to be conducted by two government officials, one representative from each of the above-mentioned electricity agencies.

The town meeting was officially set for 8:30 P.M., August 5, 1971, to be held at the cacique's restaurant. The president of Los Barcos informed Luis and his father of the meeting. They in turn were to notify all local villagers. The cacique and Luis, however, were very selective in whom they notified. They notified only a few interested local businessmen, several loyal employees, and a few other selected persons. Luis invited his compadre from Playa Cenagosa, the man who owns the land north of the Cayala ejido. No public notices or announcements were made. A few curious citizens came to the meeting at the last minute, when they found out it was being held. In effect, however, the cacique and his son had "stacked the deck", i.e., they had hand picked most of the persons that would attend the meeting.

The meeting was called to order by the representative of the state electrification agency. He and the other government representative explained the proposed project and asked if there were any questions. After a moment of silence, Luis' compadre said that everyone understood the proposal and thought it was a good one. He then made a motion that a vote be taken on whether to accept or reject the

electrification project, and urged that all present vote in favor of going ahead with it. No one objected, and a voice vote on the proposal was taken. The project was approved; there were no "nay" votes. However, I observed that several people did not vote at all.

Then the representative of the state electrification agency asked the meeting if the project should be locally administered by the regular Junta de Mejores Materiales, or whether a new junta should be formed. The president of Los Barcos immediately said that a new junta should be formed, and called for a voice vote on the matter. No one objected; there was no discussion, and the proposal was approved. Again, there were no "nay" votes.

The municipal president then suggested that elections be held to decide on the officers of the new junta. These would be the usual, a president, secretary, treasurer, and three vocales. Luis's compadre was recognized by the chair. He argued at length that Luis was the man for the office of president. Primo Torres, the cacique's chauffeur/bodyguard agreed publicly. There was no further discussion, and the chair called for nominations. A bartender in the cacique's restaurant immediately nominated Luis. There were no other nominations and Luis won the election. Again, I noticed that several local people did not vote at all.

Primo Torres nominated a nephew of the cacique, a waiter in the cacique's restaurant, for the office of junta secretary. No other nominations; the cacique's nephew won unanimously. Primo then nominated Paco Moreno for treasurer. No opposition; Paco was elected by acclamation. This same person, Primo Torres, went on to nominate both the first and second vocales. Again there were no other nominations

and both nominees were elected. Luis then asked the chair if women could serve on the junta. The chair said yes. Luis nominated Natividad Moreno, Paco's sister, for the office of third vocal. She was unopposed, elected, and the new junta was complete. After a few minutes of general discussion, the meeting was adjourned.

During the next few days I talked to several local residents about the meeting. Several of them, while in favor of the electricity project, complained that they had been "railroaded" into it, and some expressed displeasure at the fact that Luis had been elected president of the new junta, saying in effect that he and his father "wanted to run everything". I asked them why, instead of complaining after the fact, they had not voted against Luis or nominated other people for offices. Several simply shrugged their shoulders and replied in effect, "it's our own fault, we always let them get away with it."

#### Cacique - Employee Relationships

The Cayala cacique directly employs more workers than any other person in the community. In all, he employs about fifty individuals in his various enterprises, thirty-seven in his main restaurant, about a half-dozen more on his ranch, and several others at various jobs such as housekeeper, chauffeur, and ejido land clearer. The majority of his employees are the heads of households with wives and children. Including these, I would estimate that at least two hundred villagers, or roughly one-third of the total population of Cayala, are directly dependent on the cacique for their livelihood. This estimate does not include the employees of the sons of the





Table 6. CACIQUE - RESTAURANT EMPLOYEE KINSHIP TIES

Dining Area

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1. Antonio Salga Moreno<br>Owner  | 12. Alfredo Moreno G.<br>Waiter<br>Son of No. 11                     |
| 2. Ana Paredes de Salga<br>Supervisor, Kitchen and<br>Cashiers<br>Wife of No. 1 | 13. Santiago Salga P.<br>Waiter<br>Nephew of No. 1,<br>Son of No. 23 |
| 3. Luis Salga P.<br>General Manager<br>Son of No. 1                             | 14. Isidro Salga G.<br>Bartender<br>Nephew of No. 1                  |
| 4. Miguel Salga P.<br>Headwaiter<br>Son of No. 1                                | 15. Juan Ruiz Moreno<br>Bartender<br>Nephew of No. 1                 |
| 5. Julio Salga R.<br>Assistant Manager<br>Nephew of No. 1,<br>Son of No. 24     | 16. José Paredes<br>Handyman<br>Nephew of No. 2                      |
| 6. Jacobo Salga P.<br>Waiter<br>Nephew of No. 1,<br>Son of No. 26               | 17. Carlos Salga R.<br>Janitor<br>Nephew of No. 1,<br>Son of No. 24  |
| 7. Roberto Salga P.<br>Waiter<br>Nephew of No. 1,<br>Son of No. 26              | 18. Lázaro Salga R.<br>Waiter<br>Nephew of No. 1,<br>Son of No. 26   |
| 8. Bruno Martínez Salga<br>Waiter<br>Nephew of No. 1                            | 19. Micaela Salga H.<br>Cashier<br>GrDa of No. 1                     |
| 9. Fco. Velasco Sanchez<br>Waiter<br>Nephew of No. 1                            | 20. Manuela Salga S.<br>Waitress<br>Niece of No. 1                   |
| 10. Juan Torres E.<br>Waiter<br>In-law of No. 1                                 | 21. Rafael Salga T.<br>Cashier<br>GrSo of No. 1                      |
| 11. Ignacio Moreno M.<br>Waiter<br>Cousin of No. 1                              | 22. Mario Castro<br>Waiter<br>No relation to No. 1                   |

Table 6 (cont'd.).

Fish Cleaning Area

- 23. Victor Salga M.  
Head of Crew  
Brother of No. 1
- 24. Emilio Salga M.  
Fish Cleaner  
Brother of No. 1
- 25. José Salga M.  
Fish Cleaner (part-time)  
Brother of No. 1
- 26. Carlos Salga M.  
Fish Cleaner  
Brother of No. 1
- 27. Alonso Salga P.  
Fish Cleaner  
Cousin of No. 1
- 28. Benito Salga R.  
Fish Cleaner  
Nephew of No. 1,  
Son of No. 24
- 29. Federico Lafragua  
Fish Cleaner (part-time)  
No relation to No. 1
- 30. Carlos Montes  
Fish Cleaner (part-time)  
No relation to No. 1

Kitchen Area

- 31. Juana Crespo Paredes  
Head Cook  
Niece of No. 2
- 32. Elena Salga R.  
Cook  
Niece of No. 1
- 33. Alicia Moreno B.  
Cook  
Niece of No. 1
- 34. Dolores Molina H.  
Cook  
Ahijada of Nos. 1  
and 2
- 35. Loreta Martinez P.  
Dishwasher  
Sister-in-law of  
No. 3
- 36. Marta Morales Salga  
Dishwasher  
Distant Niece of  
No. 1
- 37. Teresa Paredes V.  
Cook  
Distant Niece of  
No. 2

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SOURCE: Census data, interviews, and observations.

cacique or several other individuals, e.g., musicians, policeman, boatdrivers, taxi drivers, etc., who, while not directly employed by the cacique are nevertheless dependent on his businesses for their source of income. If we include these individuals and their families in the estimate, well over fifty percent of the inhabitants of Cayala are dependent on the cacique for their livelihood. This figure does not include the at least two dozen non-residents who commute to the village and work in one aspect or another of the local tourist trade. The individuals who employ the next largest number of workers are the three Moreno brothers, who together employ about twenty persons in restaurant or ranching related jobs.

There are also many other persons who would like to work for the cacique. Hardly a day passes without someone, local resident or non-resident, coming to the cacique or one of his sons seeking work.

What kind of person does the cacique employ? Considering the workers in the cacique's main restaurant, a general profile of the "typical" worker emerges. The "typical" worker in the restaurant is a resident of Cayala, a close relative of the cacique, and member of a kinship group started by one of the founding fathers (especially Salga). Table 6 shows, for example, that of thirty-seven employees in the main restaurant only three have no kinship ties with the cacique, and only two employees are "distant" relatives. The remainder are "immediate" lineal or affinal kinsmen. Except for two sons of the cacique (nos. 3 and 4), who now live in nearby Playa Cenagosa, all restaurant employees are residents of the village, and only four or five are not native-born Cayalanos. Interestingly, in only one

case (no. 34, the daughter of the fishing cooperative president), is an employee connected to the cacique through a compadrinazgo relationship; none of the other employees in the restaurant have compadrazgo ties with the cacique.

Thus, in a sense, the workers in the cacique's main restaurant form a large "family" with the cacique as the head. I might add that the cacique's ranch is organized along similar lines, i.e., nearly all his ranch employees fit the same general profile that applies to restaurant workers.

It should be noted, however, that simply being a close kinsman of the cacique does not necessarily mean one will be given a job. According to the cacique, while close relatives are given preference in hiring, other considerations are taken into account. Chief among these are whether an individual is a hard worker, whether the person is listo (clever), and whether he will be responsable (responsible). Being responsible, according to the cacique, means several things: a willingness to obey orders without complaining, honesty, i.e., not cheating the restaurant out of money, and dependability, i.e., showing up for work when you are supposed to. If a kinsman of the cacique has all of these qualities, the cacique will generally try to find a place for the person. However, I know of several close kinsmen of the cacique who have wanted to work for him but have not been hired because they did not fit the above criteria. Likewise, in a few cases, kinsmen have been fired for failure to live up to the cacique's expectations.

While the cacique gives preference to close kinsmen in hiring employees, personal qualities, rather than the nearness of the particular kinship tie, determines the particular job that a person

holds. Thus, for example, three brothers of the cacique work as ordinary fish cleaners, probably the least desirable job in the restaurant. But the head of the fish cleaning crew is also a brother of the cacique - his youngest brother. In addition to giving orders to his older brothers, this individual earns a considerable amount more than his older brothers, as he is the buyer for the restaurant of local seafood products, an activity which provides him with extra personal profits. In another case a young man in his early twenties (no. 5), a nephew of the cacique, has been made assistant manager of the restaurant. In effect, this young man has the authority to give orders to his own father and several lineal uncles, who are fish cleaners. According to the cacique, this young man was given the job as assistant manager mainly because the cacique considered him to be extremely clever. In another case, a grandson of the cacique (no. 21), a young man approximately fifteen years of age, was given the job as restaurant cashier over many other older workers. The job of cashier is considered to be one of the best in the restaurant. According to the cacique, the young man got the job over others because in effect, since he was young he could be trusted with money. Also, the young man was an elementary school graduate, and "knew his numbers" better than older but less-educated workers.

Thus, the cacique in hiring workers generally chooses from among those job seekers who are also members of the large bilateral kinship group that he informally heads. At least in theory, this means that at any given point in time he would have at least one hundred working-age, local, near kinsmen to choose from. Not all of

these, of course, want to work for him, but in my opinion, the majority do. From this pool of potential workers the cacique selects those individuals that he thinks will serve him best. With regard to which employees will work at particular jobs, he makes every attempt to "find the right man (or woman) for the job". In making this determination job performance rather than ascribed status, i.e., age, nearness of kinship ties, etc., is the major consideration. Sex is perhaps the only ascribed status that is taken into account in that women employees are generally limited to kitchen work. However, a few women have been given non-kitchen jobs such as cashier and waitress.

Nearly all restaurant employees receive a fixed daily salary, as has been mentioned in an earlier chapter. Depending on the job and length of service, this salary varies from about fifteen to twenty-five pesos per day plus at least one and often two meals. Certain restaurant jobs, especially waiter (waitress) and fish cleaning crew leader provide an individual with the opportunity to make more money than the daily fixed salary.

Waiters and waitress are able to earn additional money in three separate ways. Extra money comes from "regular" tips given by restaurant clients, special bonuses from clients for arranging special parties, and from cheating clients on their restaurant bills.

Regular tips are those given by a customer to a waiter for performing normal expected good service. The usual tip amounts to about ten percent of the client's total bill, but in some cases may run as high as twenty-five percent. Sometimes, however, no tip or a very small one is left even though good service has been provided.

On a busy weekend day a waiter could earn from fifty to one hundred pesos in regular tips.

Special bonuses are sometimes provided by a client for performing more than normal service. Several waiters have relatively long-lasting friendship ties, and in some cases compadrazgo ties, with well-to-do individuals from Veracruz and other regional cities. Periodically these friends or compadres come to Cayala to celebrate special occasions such as a saint's day, birthday, or a celebration given to honor a friend or a business associate. The waiter is informed of the celebration in advance, usually about a week before it is to occur. The waiter then personally makes special arrangements for the event including obtaining special food and drink, arranging for a favorite location in the restaurant, seeing to it that certain musicians and dancers are on hand, and so on. On the day of the celebration, the waiter does not serve other customers, but devotes his full time to satisfying the needs of his special guests. For providing this extra personal service, a waiter can generally expect to receive up to two hundred pesos. He is also often invited to join in the festivities to a limited extent.

Cheating a customer on his restaurant bill, while not a regular practice, is not uncommon in Cayala. When it is done, usually the waiter makes up two different checks, one that the customer pays (the money is given to the waiter) and the other that the waiter gives to the restaurant cashier along with the customer's payment. The customer's check lists a few "extra" items that were not ordered. It should be noted, however, that it is the customer, and not the restaurant that is taken. To my knowledge the restaurant itself is





rarely, if ever, cheated by its employees.

The head of the fish cleaning crew, the cacique's youngest brother, is also able to make extra money. He is the buyer for the restaurant of locally-caught seafood products, especially those products caught by local fishermen who are not members of the fishing cooperative (libres). The restaurant gives the fish cleaning crew leaders a set price for the various kinds of products. This price is generally slightly higher than the price paid by the fishing cooperative, so libres (and some cooperative members as well) are quite willing to sell to the restaurant. The cacique's brother negotiates with individual fishermen and settles on a price for their products that is below the fixed price the restaurant pays, but still above the price that the fishing cooperative pays. The difference in these prices goes to the cacique's brother, and is considered a "commission" for services rendered as fish buyer.

I might add that this same brother and one son of the cacique (the restaurant head-waiter) employ several individuals themselves as pleasure boat and taxi drivers. These drivers, whose jobs have been described in an earlier chapter, are not directly employed by the cacique, but operate out of his main restaurant. Thus, some restaurant employees are given the opportunity to engage in limited entrepreneurial activities of their own while on the job.

The cacique is something more than simply an employer to his workers. Reflecting the kinship relations that hold between the cacique and most of his workers, the restaurant is operated in some respects as is a household or "family", i.e., cacique-employee on-the-job relations are very paternalistic and personalistic.

Restaurant employees freely discuss a variety of non-work related matters with the cacique much as they might with their own parents. For example, I have heard conversations on topics such as selecting a name for a newborn child, marital and courtship problems, health matters, and so forth. It is quite common for the cacique to make approving or critical comments on an employees' dress, hair length, or hair-do, thinness or corpulence, and other features of personal appearance. His advice on such matters is almost always followed. For example, one day the cacique mentioned to a young waiter that a button was missing from his shirt. The young man immediately went home and had his mother sew on a new one.

The cacique takes a lively interest in the personal affairs of his employees and is, in my opinion, genuinely interested in their welfare if for perhaps somewhat selfish reasons. Nearly all of his employees not only owe their jobs to him, but are in one way or another obligated to him. As the cacique once expressed to me in effect, "An employee who is well taken care of (bien cuidado), is a loyal employee. I take care of them and they are loyal to me." The following are a few examples of the ways in which the cacique "takes care of" his employees.

In at least five cases that I know of the cacique has provided fairly large sums of money to certain waiter/nephews to construct new houses. In one of these cases, the cacique gave a nephew (the assistant manager of the restaurant) seven thousand pesos to build a house. He has provided all of his four living sons and one daughter with large amounts of cash to build houses and to start businesses. He has allowed certain employees to graze a few head of cattle along

with his own herd. He readily loans money to employees when an emergency such as a sudden illness strikes, and the employee is given more than adequate time to repay the loan. In at least two instances that I am aware of the cacique has provided funds for the funerals of members of employee's families.

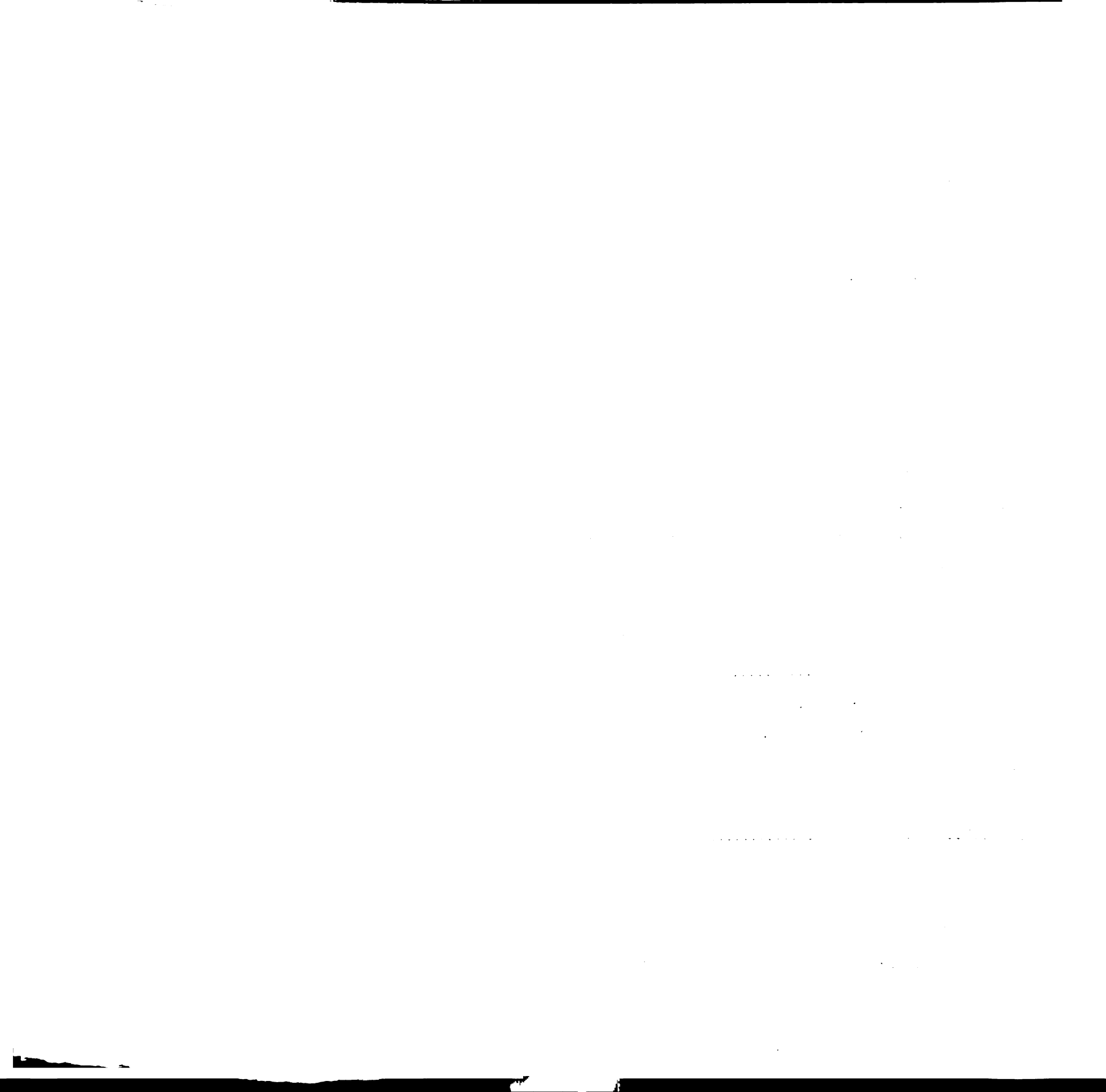
The cacique, when displeased or angry with an employee, is likely to act very much as a father would in the same situation. Generally an employee who displeases him is given a verbal tongue-lashing, but I have never heard of the cacique striking an employee or withholding wages. The tongue-lashings seem to be much more effective. In these verbal admonitions the cacique generally emphasizes the employee's alleged lack of respect for him, the lack of gratitude being shown towards one who has helped him in the past, and the shame that the individual's parents or grandparents would feel if they were alive and could see how their "good name" has been disgraced. The effect of these outbursts on employees is psychologically devastating. They are generally filled with guilt, followed by remorse and contrition. So dominating is the personality of the cacique in these instances, that on two separate occasions grown men in their forties have told me that they would much prefer to be struck or beaten than be verbally castigated by the cacique. The cacique's oldest son, who manages the cacique's ranch, once told me that after he had been regañado ("bawled out") by his father for some misdeed, he became so ill that he vomited, and could not eat for two days. Indeed, in the opinion of the cacique's only daughter, her brother Tomás, who committed suicide (he allegedly drank himself to death), did so because he could no longer face his father's criticism.

Yet despite this, I think it is safe to say that nearly all restaurant employees are content with their jobs and their employer. This statement represents a somewhat subjective judgement on my part, but it is based on numerous interviews and informal conversations that I have had with several restaurant employees holding various jobs. Above all, restaurant employees have job security and a relatively stable income, which are two big advantages that restaurant work has over fishing. Restaurant employees also enjoy a form of emergency "insurance". If an emergency comes up requiring an immediate cash outlay, they can count on the cacique to provide the cash to help them out.

A further indication of restaurant employees' feelings toward the cacique was given to me one day when I was discussing the future of the restaurant business in Cayala with a small group of employees. They all agreed that after the death of the cacique, his youngest son would take over the enterprise. To a man they lamented this thought; Luis, they agreed, would be very hard to work for. "He (Luis) does not care about us; he is puro negocios ("strictly business"); all he cares about is money. El patrón (the cacique) is different, he knows us and cares what happens to us. It will be a sad day when he is gone."

#### The Cacique and the Fishing Cooperative

The reader will recall that in an earlier chapter I described the policy that local restaurants, especially the cacique's, have with regard to buying fish from the local fishermen, both cooperative socios and libres. It was stated that the practice of buying fish



directly from fishermen instead of the fishing cooperative took much business and income away from the cooperative, and has created bad feelings between cooperative members and non-members. Today, this is the extent of the cacique's involvement with the cooperative. But it seems that this was not always the case.

In years past the cacique, a brother who now lives in Playa Cenagosa, and Luis, held tight control over cooperative activities, according to local informants. The reason was almejas, the small white clam considered such a delicacy in many parts of Mexico. According to Luis, at one time he bought as much as twenty tons of almejas per month from the cooperative, an amount worth about \$40,000 pesos. While he did not elaborate on the details, Luis said that through contacts in state government, perhaps in the police force which regulates interstate trucking, he was able to secure exclusive rights (permits) to buy local almejas and truck them over state lines to Mexico City. In Mexico City, he said, he gained exclusive rights to sell almejas to one of the large wholesale seafood markets. Thus, he held a virtual monopoly with regard to Cayala almejas, and also could count on a buyer for them in Mexico City. This arrangement, he said, netted him well over \$100,000 pesos per year in profits. However, the bonanza did not last forever. As has been mentioned, a few years ago the almejas died out and have not yet returned. With the dying out of the almeja the interest of the cacique and Luis in the cooperative waned greatly.

Another factor that also contributed to the cacique's present lack of interest in the cooperative is the magnitude of the cacique's restaurant business. He presently sells seafood on such a large scale

that local supply, which is often erratic, can no longer meet demand. The cacique prefers to buy most of his seafood from the new processing plant where he can be assured of a stable supply.

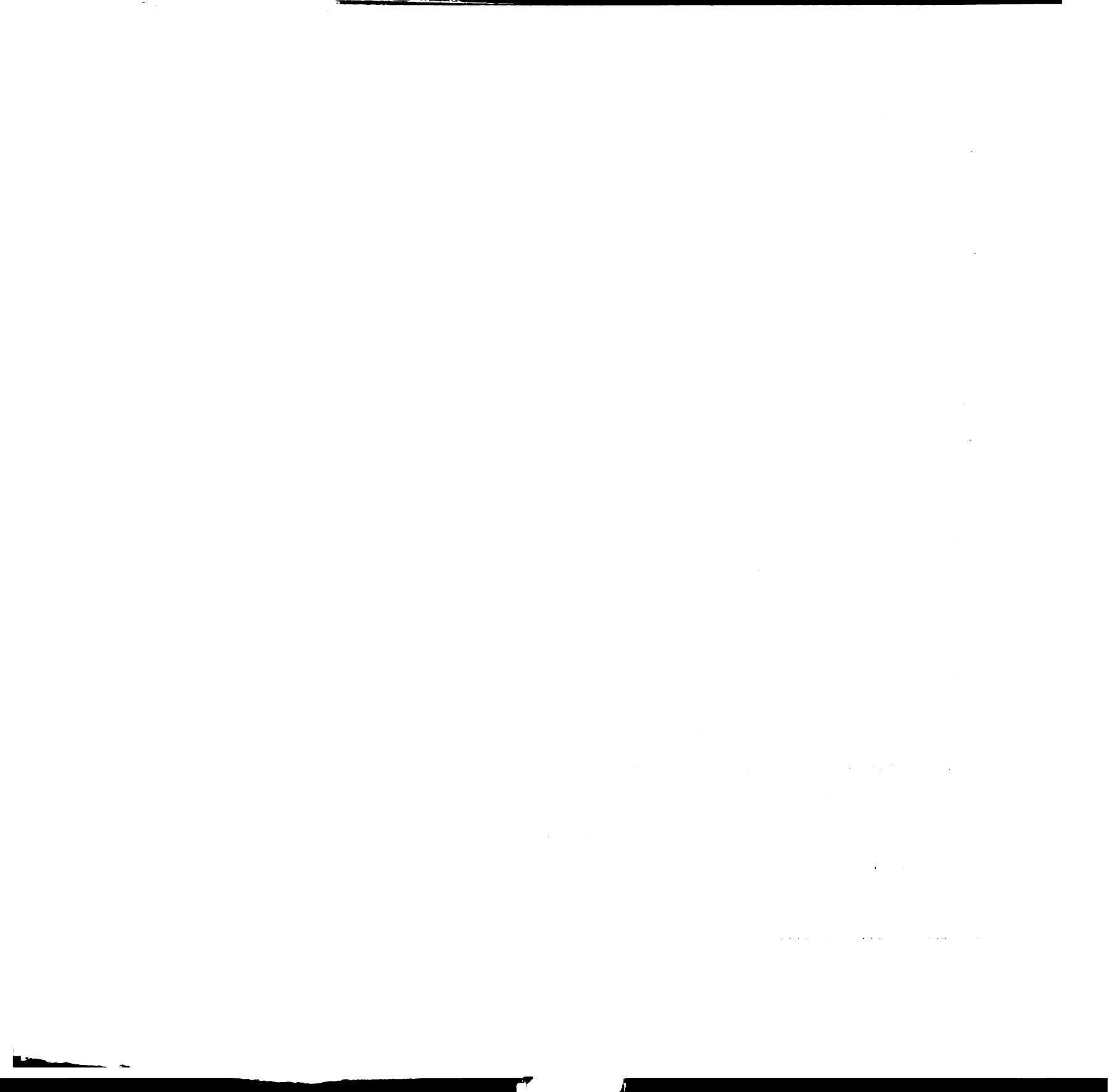
How was Luis able to gain the exclusive rights to buy local almejas? In part it was the result of having the proper "connections" in government, as has been mentioned. However, control at the local level was also necessary. If I might be allowed to speculate, it seems likely that Luis and his father managed to control the local cooperative in much the same manner as the ejido organization, i.e., for various reasons he could count on a majority of cooperative members to vote his way on crucial issues.

The reader will recall that the long-time president of the cooperative considers the cacique his "mero" (most important) compadre. I think it is no accident that the cooperative president's daughter is one of the few employees in the cacique's restaurant that has no kinship tie with the cacique. The cooperative general membership is also stacked in favor of the cacique. The police commander and four past municipal agents are socios, as are one son, three brothers, numerous cousins, nephews, and in-laws of the cacique, not to mention several of his restaurant employees and a few cattlemen, few of whom ever fish. The socios who do not fit into any of the above categories are in the minority and are among the last influential local residents. Their opinions are seldom heeded, even on those rare occasions when they are expressed.

#### Cacical Relationships: A Summary

In concluding this chapter it is worthwhile to summarize the





important features of certain cacique-focused relationships that have emerged in the preceding pages. We will begin with a review of the characteristics of the relationships the Cayala cacique holds with representatives of supra-community operating units that function primarily at what Adams (1970) has called the regional level of articulation. Specifically we will be speaking of the Cayala cacique's relationships with other regional caciques, the municipal presidents of Playa Cenagosa and Los Barcos, and the high official in the Veracruz stevedores union. We will then turn to the salient features of the Cayala cacique's relationships with local operating units, particularly his ties with local government, tourist trade employees, the local ejido organization, the fishing cooperative, and the ad hoc juntas.

There are several notable features of the cacique's relationships with individuals at the regional level. In the first place his ties at this level are with individuals who in their local communities hold a status similar to the one the cacique holds in Cayala. In terms of wealth and/or power at the regional level, these individuals are roughly equal to the Cayala cacique. Several of the individuals to which the Cayala cacique is connected at this level are indeed local caciques in their own right, for instance, the Soledad, El Bayo, and Playa Cenagosa caciques. Two other significant regional ties are those between the Cayala cacique and the municipal presidents of Playa Cenagosa and Los Barcos. While these men are not caciques they are both in positions of authority and are very influential in the affairs of their communities. The official in the Veracruz stevedores union can, I think, also be considered a "social equal" of the Cayala

cacique.

The relationships the Cayala cacique holds at the regional level have in nearly all cases been formalized. For example, the cacique's relationships with the Playa Cenagosa municipal president, the stevedores union officer, and the Soledad cacique have been formalized by compadrazgo. The cacique's youngest son, it will be recalled, is a compadre of the son of the aging Playa Cenagosa cacique, who controls the land north of the Cayala ejido. In the case of the El Bayo cacique formal marriage ties are involved. Two of the Cayala cacique's sons have married close relatives of the El Bayo cacique.

At the regional level the one relationship that is not formalized by either compadrazgo or marriage is the one with the municipal president of Los Barcos. Since this relationship was just beginning to develop as fieldwork ended, it is too early to tell what will come of it. Nevertheless, we have seen that the Cayala cacique in dealing with the new president has followed his customary procedure for "getting in" with local politicians. He contributed a substantial sum of cash to the president's election campaign, which he has done in previous campaigns of other presidents in the past. While a cash contribution to a political campaign is not necessarily a formal contractual arrangement such as compadrazgo or marriage, in the Veracruz area it at least implies that a more or less binding agreement has been reached. Thus the relationship is, at least, quasi-formal and contractual.

Furthermore, once the cacique's youngest son was duly elected president of the water and electricity juntas, the relationship between Luis and the municipal president became highly formalized. The

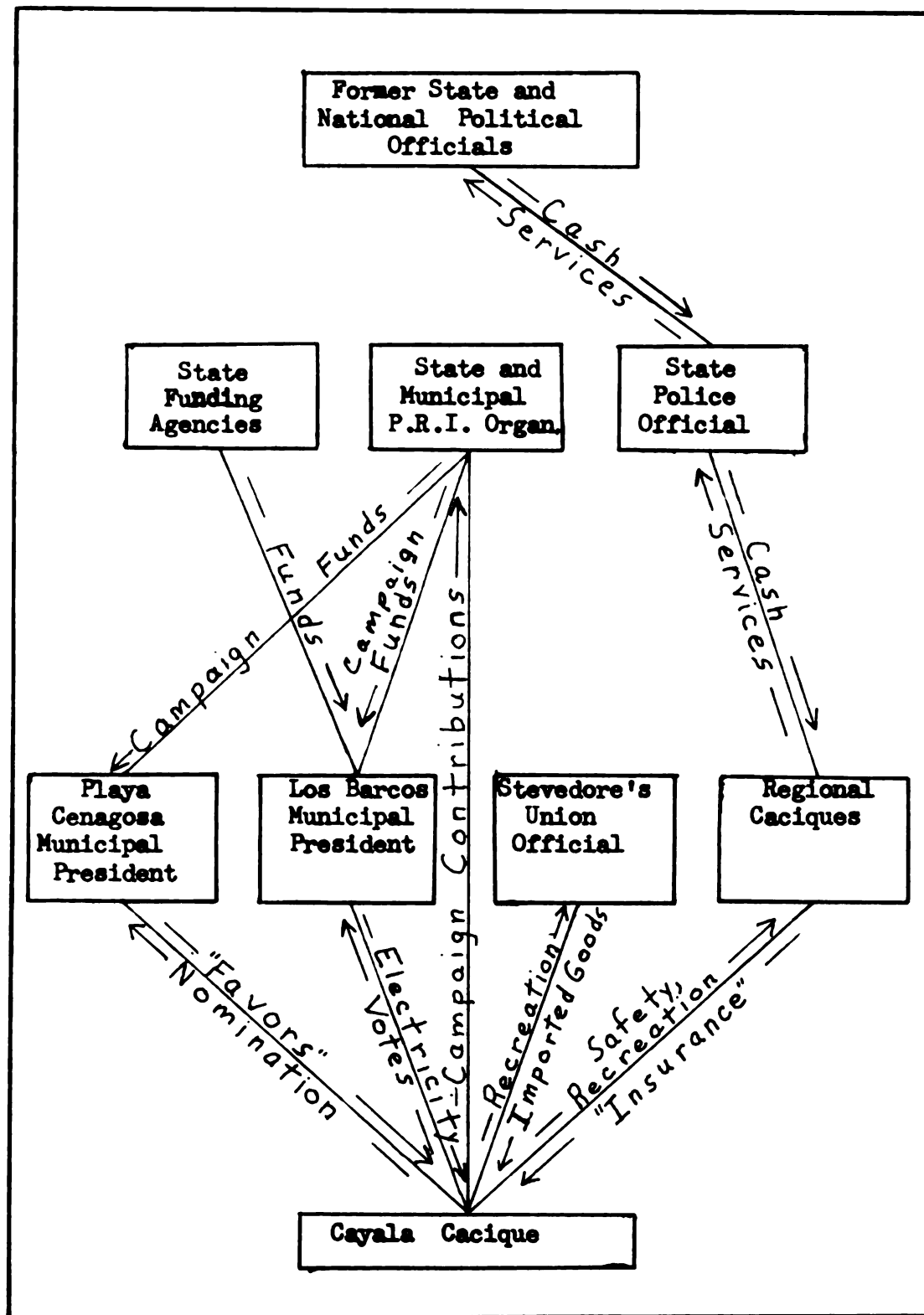


Figure 5 . Supra-Community Resource Exchange

municipal president even went so far as to delegate some of his own constitutional authority (the right to apprehend and bring to trial people who refused to pay quotas) to Luis.

It should also be stressed that at the regional level many of the cacique's relationships are not "dyadic" in the sense that Foster (1967) uses the term. While he has established ties with several individuals, many of these individuals can be considered as belonging to a particular close-knit group - the smuggling organization headed by the former Veracruz police official. It will be recalled that the present Playa Cenagosa municipal president and several regional caciques were until recently part of this organization. In many of their activities these men acted not as individuals, but as members of a corporate group in which the Cayala cacique held at least peripheral membership.

Last, as is indicated in Figure 5, it is clear that all of the relationships the Cayala cacique has with supra-community operating units are based on reciprocity. As Figure 5 shows, in all cases the exchange of some type of valuable resource is at the heart of the Cayala cacique's regional and state level relationships i.e., it is clear that as a result of his supra-community relationships the Cayala cacique has managed to gain resources that are not obtainable locally.

What has he gained? In all instances he has gained what can only be called business advantages: "favors" that will help him to expand his business operations to Playa Cenagosa, electricity for Cayala, a reliable and inexpensive source of imported goods, a form of "insurance" from the regional caciques, increased local land

values, and certain rights, such as the right to direct the actions of local government, and the right to break certain laws in some cases. Having these advantages ideally will result in ever increasing profits for the cacique.

But the Cayala cacique must also give in return. His "contributions" have included cash for political candidates (given to former state officials and several municipal presidents), nomination to public office (handed to the Playa Cenagosa municipal president), votes (handed to the Los Barcos municipal president), a place of "refuge" (provided to members of the smuggling organization), and so on.

Let us now turn to an examination of the significant relationships the Cayala cacique has with community level operating units. On the basis of the descriptive material presented earlier in this chapter it is clear that a very extensive system of patronage is operating in Cayala, focusing in large part on the cacique.

Institutionalized patronage is a social structural feature common to many "peasant" communities. Foster (1967), Silverman (1967), Kenny (1960; 1961), Pitt-Rivers (1961), Banfield (1958), Friedl (1959; 1962) have dealt with the topic in various "latin" communities around the world. Silverman (1967: 283) defines patronage as follows:

"Patronage as a cross-cultural pattern may be defined as an informal contractual relationship between persons of unequal status and power, which imposes reciprocal obligations of a different kind on each of the parties...The relationship is on a personal, face-to-face basis, and is a continuing one."

Patronage relationships, of course, always involve at least two distinct statuses - a patron and a client, the patron being the person of higher social status. In Cayala the cacique is a patron to many

individuals, and it is worthwhile here to point out the key features of cacique-focused patronage.

First, in Cayala the percentage of the local population linked to the cacique through patronage is many times greater than reported for individual patrons elsewhere. Silverman (1967) reports that in the community she studied in Central Italy there was a "local upper class" of landowner/patrons, each with a small number of local peasant clients who worked their patron's lands. Peasants, it seems, had the opportunity to select their patrons according to which might prove to be most beneficial to them. As Silverman states (1967: 285): "A peasant whose own landlord was unavailable or who was unable or unwilling to dispense favors occasionally turned to other landlords." Similar situations have been reported by Pitt-Rivers (1961) and Kenny (1961) in Spain, and Friedl (1959; 1962) in Greece.

While in Cayala there are a few individuals other than the cacique who could be considered patrons (some of the cattlemen), at most they might have four or five clients. The cacique, however, is patron to at least fifty individuals directly employed by him. Also, among his clients we can count numerous persons who, while not in his direct employ, nonetheless owe their present jobs to him. In this context we can mention the municipal agent, the police commander and policemen, several local musicians, and boat and taxi drivers, all of whom must be in the "good graces" of the cacique to earn a living in Cayala. Indeed, in many respects Cayala can be considered a "company town", the various enterprises of the cacique being the "company".

However, patronage ties are somewhat more complex than described above. In fact we have seen that in several instances there are

"patrons of patrons" in Cayala, i.e., an individual can be a client of the cacique and also act as a patron to other individuals. For example, the cacique is the patron of both the agente municipal and the local police commander. Both owe their jobs directly to him. In return for their positions the commander and agente municipal give the cacique loyalty, obedience, and above all, they maintain "law and order". The cacique, however, has granted these men more than just a job. He has granted them the right to operate a small scale business of their own. In effect, they are the economic patrons of local policemen and outside vendors and musicians. Neither of these groups could "do business" in Cayala without the consent of local government officials. They pay small amounts of cash to the officials who in turn grant them the right to sell their wares and services to visiting tourists. Local policemen and especially outside vendors and musicians do not, however, deal directly with the cacique but always through their local patron, i.e., the commander or the agente municipal.

Another set of patronage ties involves the cacique, his son the headwaiter and his youngest brother the fish cleaning crew leader, and taxi and pleasure boat drivers. The cacique can be considered the patron of both his son and brother. Both perform specific jobs in the restaurant, for which they receive a regular salary. However, both have used their restaurant positions and some of their salary to "go into business" for themselves. Both have, with the cacique's financial help, purchased taxis and pleasure boats. They have under them a small group of clients, the taxi and pleasure boat drivers. As will be recalled, the profits from boat and taxi rides are divided



between driver and owner.

Another distinct relationship involves the cacique, the fish cleaning crew leader, and local non-cooperative member fishermen. It will be recalled that one of the crew leader's functions is to buy local seafood products for the restaurant. He buys primarily from libres, who receive a better price from him than from the cooperative. The fish cleaning crew leader thus acts as a patron to the unassociated fishermen. He represents an alternative and more profitable local market for their products than the cooperative. On the other hand the libre fishermen represent an additional source of income to the crew leader.

It should be noted that in most cases the cacique does not personally involve himself in the relationships in which his direct clients act as patrons to others. However, his restaurant provides the setting in which these relationships are carried out, and, in a sense, the cacique's activities were the initial "catalyst" that caused the arrangements to be made in the first place.

A further characteristic of cacique-client relationships is that they are essentially secular in nature. That is to say, patron-client relationships lack any sort of ritual or religious overtones.

Compadrazgo, a common feature of patron-client relationships in other Catholic peasant societies ( Kenny (1960; 1961), Pitt-Rivers (1961), Foster (1963; 1967), Silverman (1967) ), is a notably absent feature of patronage relations in Cayala. Unlike the situation Kenny (1961: 17) has described in Spain - "God is the final patron and the ultimate source of all patronage;" in Cayala, the cacique is the ultimate source of all patronage.

Another significant feature of cacique-client relationships is that they are what Foster (1963) has termed "dyadic contracts" in that (Ibid.: 1281):

"Each person is the center of his private and unique network of contractual ties, a network whose overlap with other networks has no functional significance. That is, A's tie to B in no way necessarily binds him to C, who also is tied to B. A may have a contractual relationship with C as well as B, but this does not give rise to a feeling of association or group. Ego conceptualizes his obligations and expectations as a two-way street, he at one end and a single partner at the other."

Applying the above to Cayala, we see that the cacique has entered into patronage relationships with individual persons, and not with corporate groups such as workers organizations or households. While the reciprocal obligations between the cacique and many clients might be similar in many instances, they are never exactly the same, and each arrangement has been worked out separately.

Finally, two points should be made. First, in all cases cacique-client relationships can be described as personalistic. That is, the cacique has personal contact with his clients almost daily, on an individualistic, generally informal, and "face-to-face" basis. Second, it should be stressed that in all cases both the cacique and the client participate in the relationship because they want to, i.e., the cacique has no unwilling clients, and he is a willing patron. Either party is free to terminate the arrangement if they so desire. This concludes our summary of patronage in Cayala. Let us now summarize certain other significant cacique-community relationships.

One of the most significant relationships is that between the cacique and the other cattlemen who jointly control the ejido organization. Though the cacique has more wealth than any other local cattleman, I consider the cattlemen to be a group of relative

equals. All cattlemen share certain characteristics. All are the heads of major local families and direct descendents of the founding fathers of the village. Perhaps even more significantly the cattlemen share certain general personality characteristics. In my estimation all have very forceful personalities, are rather clever, and would not hesitate to use violence to protect their economic interests. The cattlemen as a group and individually are not only respected by other local people but are feared as well. This group is, I think, the only local operating unit that maintains its favored position through the threat of the use of physical violence.

The cattlemen share another common characteristic. Nearly all are patrons to a few landless local residents, who are very often kinsmen. Some of the landless residents work for cattlemen for wages, and some are allowed to graze a few head of cattle along with the patron's herd. In exchange for this privilege the client is expected to perform a variety of tasks such as helping to build fences, clearing monte land, making charcoal, and so forth.

With regard to the internal relations between members of this group, I would say that no single individual dominates the group as a whole. Each individual has, I think, recognized the potential violence that probably would result if any given member would attempt to dominate the others. A sort of "balance of power" has been reached between them and they have decided to cooperate with each other rather than risk probable conflict.

Interpersonal relationships among cattlemen are not particularly friendly, so that it could not be said that this group is unified by ties of friendship. The factor which gives unity and cohesiveness to

this group is, of course, the common interest they have in ejido land. On the issue of who should control ejido lands they form a powerful and united group which, as we have seen, has no opposition.

The cacique's relationship with members of the local fishing cooperative is not as clear as are the relationships discussed above. While the cacique is a compadre of the cooperative president, no concrete pattern of patronage emerged during the period of fieldwork. In the one case in which the cacique's youngest son attempted to get local fishermen to accept new fishing technology from the government we saw that the plan failed to materialize.

In the past cacique-cooperative relationships were evidently more institutionalized. The cooperative was the major source of the seafood sold in the cacique's restaurant, and was a major supplier of almejas (clams), that were bought in Cayala by certain close relatives of the cacique and sold in Mexico City. As we have seen, however, the local almeja catch has been reduced to nothing, and is no longer a valuable local resource. The cooperative can no longer supply the cacique's restaurant with locally caught seafood. As his restaurant business has expanded, he has found it necessary to locate a more dependable source, the new fish processing plant. Thus, as the cacique presently has little to gain from the local fishing cooperative, he has in effect terminated whatever relationships he may have had with it in the past.

The relationship between the cacique and Luis and the water and electricity juntas is somewhat different from the relationships mentioned above. First, this relationship can be considered ad hoc rather than permanent in nature. Second, this relationship is formal, i.e., Luis

is the formally-elected leader of the juntas. Relationships between Luis, other members of the junta, and the local residents who participated in the projects could hardly be called personalistic, or "face-to-face" in nature. Neither is the relationship based on the willing consensus of all parties involved. It will be recalled that in fact the Los Barcos municipal president ordered local people to obey Luis or risk fines or imprisonment.

With regard to the juntas I think we have a simple case of political domination of one local interest group over the entire community. Luis's authority with respect to the juntas is based on two things: his and his father's personal wealth, and the legal backing he received from the Los Barcos president as a result of his political "pull" with him.

Thus, as we see in Figure 6, the Cayala cacique obtains resources for the operation of his enterprise (cash income, land, labor, personal loyalty, "law and order", political support, seafood), through his relationships with several local operating units. However, not all local operating units are equally important to him in providing the resources he needs. Clearly his most significant relationships are those focused around his restaurant operations. It is from tourism that he derives his major source of income, and for this he requires the support, loyalty and labor of his numerous client-employees. Along these lines local government and the "law and order" it provides is important, for if Cayala were not a peaceful place tourists would no doubt cease to come.

Perhaps next most important to the cacique are his relationships with the local ejido organization. From the ejido he derives the

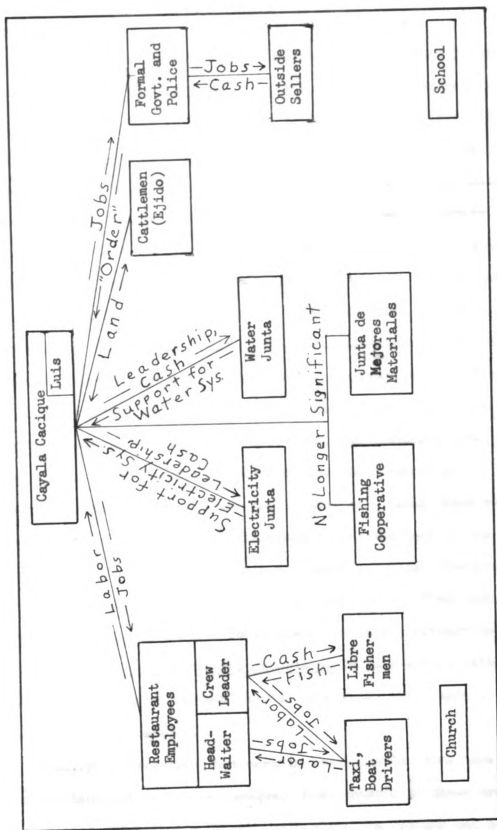


Figure 6. Community Level Resource Exchange

right to use ejido lands for his cattle raising operation and also the rights to house and business sites in the village.

His relationships with the new electricity and water juntas controlled by his son Luis will, I think, prove to be extremely important in the near future. It is clear that the cacique realizes that the future growth of tourism in Cayala is at least in part dependent upon being able to utilize clean water and electricity to enhance Cayala in the eyes of prospective restaurant customers.

On the other hand, we have seen that certain local operating units at one time represented important resources to the cacique but have ceased to be significant or have diminished in their importance. Here we can speak of the local fishing cooperative, which a few years ago was of importance to the cacique as a source of clams very profitably sold in Mexico City. The cooperative also supplied seafood for his restaurant. But, the clams are gone, the cacique has a new supplier of seafood, and the cooperative no longer represents a significant local resource. Along these same lines the production of libre fishermen, once important to the cacique's restaurant operations is no longer a crucial resource. While his restaurant still purchases limited quantities of fish from libre fishermen, the cacique could easily get along without them.

The local junta de mejores materiales is in a similar situation. With the formation of the new juntas, this group has ceased to be important to the cacique.

Finally we have seen that certain local institutions have never been of significance to the cacique. Most notable of these are the local school and Catholic Church, with which the cacique has never





maintained or sought to establish a structured relationship. I should add that to my knowledge the cacique has never held a relationship with educational or religious institutions at any level at which these operate. The absence of relationships in these cases is due, I think, to the fact that these institutions at this time do not control any resource that might be of use to the cacique in his business operations.

## CHAPTER VII

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

#### Dimensions of Caciquismo in Cayala

Do we have a concrete case of caciquismo in Cayala? There can be little doubt that the individual that this thesis is focused upon can be considered as an example of the general category of local Mexican leaders known as caciques. But how do we identify an individual as being a cacique? In this case the best evidence is the fact that Cayala residents call Don Antonio a cacique. It will also be recalled that several "outsiders," persons from the Veracruz region refer to Don Antonio as a cacique as well. There are also certain general criteria that have been used by writers on the topic. A cacique is a locally powerful individual who controls and dominates the affairs of a given area and/or community for his own personal advantage. For example, Simpson (1937: 331) writing on certain Mexican ejido communities that were formed shortly after the Mexican Revolution states: "It cannot be denied that at the time... that in a number of cases the ejido communities were dominated by self-seeking caciques..." In a similar vein Goldkind identifies the Chan Kom cacique thusly (1966: 333): "A cacique is understood to have the economic and political power to dominate his local community...The cacique uses political power to obtain economic wealth and vice versa..."

The Cayala cacique exhibits the characteristics mentioned above. He is the most powerful individual in the community. His decisions, above those of all other men, are those that are carried out. We have seen several examples of this--the formation of the water and electricity juntas, the selection of ejido officials, the selection of local government officials, the timing of the pre-Lent carnival fiesta, the hiring of restaurant employees, arranging for the Cayala vote to be given to the Los Barcos P.R.I. municipal president candidate in the last election, and so on.

In all of these instances I think we can safely say that the cacique's activities and decisions were designed to in one way or another increase his personal wealth. That is, these decisions were not prompted by any altruistic notions of community well being, but were calculated to satisfy the cacique's personal desire for economic gain. With regard to most of the incidents mentioned above, the best evidence that we have as to the cacique's motives comes directly from him, or from his youngest son. With regard to the selection of local government officials he has said in effect "I put into office whoever will best serve me." With regard to the water and electricity projects both he and his son have stated that these will bring more tourists (and therefore more profits) to Cayala. Because of these projects, the local land that the cacique controls will increase in value, a fact that has been clearly stated to me by the cacique's youngest son.

Thus, it is quite obvious that Cayala is dominated by a true cacique. The question is, however, what kind of a cacique is it that operates in Cayala? In the introductory chapter of this thesis it

was suggested that nearly all writers on Mexican caciques have chosen to establish that caciques are primarily politicians. Now this may be the case in the few cacique dominated communities that have been analyzed, but in Cayala the situation is different.

I suggest that our understanding of Cayala will be clearer if we view the Cayala cacique not as a political leader but rather as a particular type of economic leader--an economic entrepreneur. But, how do we know that the Cayala cacique is an entrepreneur? Belshaw (1954) has laid down five general criteria for the identification of an entrepreneur. An economic entrepreneur (Ibid.: 147): (1) is the manager of a commercial undertaking, (2) is an innovator, (3) seeks personal profit, (4) assumes uncertainty and risk, and (5) is involved in "expansive management" i.e., his activities are calculated to achieve the expansion and growth of his enterprise. Let us see to what extent the Cayala cacique exhibits these characteristics.

The Cayala cacique is clearly the manager of a commercial undertaking. In fact, he manages several businesses. He owns and directs the largest and most profitable local restaurant, he is engaged in the business of cattle-raising and dairying, he owns real estate in Playa Cenagosa and several buildings in Cayala. Directly or indirectly more than fifty percent of the population of the village depends upon cacique operated businesses for their living.

The Cayala cacique is an innovator. To again list all of the innovations that can be attributed to the Cayala cacique would be repetitious. Suffice it to say that he is the individual in Cayala

community who first realized the economic potential in cattle-raising and tourism, and was the first individual to enter into the restaurant business. His activities in the latter economic area have been widely imitated by other local residents who, following the lead of the cacique, have also gone into the restaurant business and other tourism related activities.

The Cayala cacique has been innovative in yet another way. Here I speak of his innovations in the area of social relationships. By using "traditional" means such as compadrazgo, kinship, and marriage relationships, and by using new means such as cash contributions and providing personal safety and recreation, the Cayala cacique has established himself as the focal point of a wide network of social relationships involving both local and supra-community individuals, organizations, and institutions. The Cayala cacique is not only the first native son of the village to establish such a network of social relations, he is also the only local person that is involved in a network that is so large and far-reaching.

The Cayala cacique seeks personal profit. This fact has, I think, been sufficiently established previously. I might add, however, that in seeking profit the cacique invests previously earned capital and therefore subjects himself to risk in pursuing profit. We have seen several examples of the type of investments that the cacique has made in the pursuit of profit. He has, to be sure, invested in various kinds of material and technological items, buildings, etc., that are necessary to his restaurant operations. He has also invested heavily in non-material areas to gain economic advantage. For instance, he has contributed to several election campaigns --the

recent campaigns for Veracruz state governor, Los Barcos municipal president, and Playa Cenagosa municipal president. He has invested cash in the Cayala water project. Each time he lends an employee some money, he is, in a sense, making an investment designed to secure the employee's loyalty and obedience. Regardless of the specific "pay-off" he expects to gain, the point is that the Cayala cacique is willing to repeatedly invest, and therefore incur risks, to gain economic advantage and profit.

Finally, the Cayala cacique is involved in "expansive management" practices designed to make his businesses grow even larger. In this regard we need only mention the growth of his business from a tiny puesto and cantina to what it is today. Furthermore, he and his son Luis are making plans for expansion in the future. The reader will recall their plans for a tourist hotel in Playa Cenagosa, and their plans to buy up local ejido lands in Cayala and build a hotel there.

Now it would be erroneous to infer that the Cayala cacique never engages in political activities. If we follow the definition of politics given by Swartz (1968: 1) that "Politics...refers to the events which are involved in the determination of and implementation of public goals and/or the differential distribution and use of power within the group or groups concerned with the goals being considered," then I would say that in some cases the cacique has been engaged in political events and activities. When, for example, the cacique and his youngest son used their wealth and influence to "save" the failing water project they were, in effect determining public policy. Likewise, the cacique's delivering the Cayala vote to the P.R.I. Los Barcos municipal president candidate can clearly

be considered a political act according to Swartz' definition of politics.

The question of whether or not the Cayala cacique is involved in politics is not, however, of central concern here. What is important is his mode of operation in political events. First, I would argue that in many of his political activities the Cayala cacique operates as an economic entrepreneur in the sense described above. Let us take one political event, the election of the Los Barcos municipal president, to illustrate what we mean.

In this election the Cayala cacique acted as an innovator. Knowing that the P.R.I. candidate was going to be in Piraguas the day before the election, the cacique arranged for an elaborate party to be given in that community. Now giving a party is not particularly innovative. But, giving a party in a town other than Cayala with the calculation that the candidate could be "lured" into attending is, I think, innovative.

Was the Cayala cacique seeking profits? Yes he was, the "profits" being future favored treatment by the municipal president. To gain this profit the cacique was willing to both invest capital and take risks. The capital invested was in this case the money to pay for the large quantities of food and drink and the money paid to the musicians and singers that provided the entertainment.

With regard to risk, the cacique had absolutely no assurance that the candidate would come to the party if invited, and no assurance that the candidate would give him or Cayala special treatment in the future.

The cacique also played a managerial role in this event. He made





all arrangements for the party, saw to it that the candidate came, and organized the activities that took place during the party. He arranged for the candidate to give the Cayala municipal agent the election ballots and ballot box, and saw to it that the ballots were properly filled in and returned to the election committee in Los Barcos.

Did the scheme work? In this case it did, as evidenced by the fact that Cayala was the first village in the municipio to receive electricity after the candidate became municipal president.

A further point should be made here. In all cases where the cacique or Luis engage in political activities, their actions are means to economic, not political ends. That is, neither of them is interested in gaining political power for its own sake, but rather view political power as something that can be used to expand business or increase profits. To illustrate this attitude the reader will recall that the cacique has shunned public office for over twenty years, even though it is obvious that he could "put himself in" anytime he wanted. It will also be recalled that Luis refused the municipal presidency of Playa Cenagosa when it was offered to him by the local P.R.I. nominating committee. In Luis's place he and his father substituted the cacique's compadre. In so doing they gained the advantages of political power through the cacique's compadre, but did not incur any of the obligations or responsibilities that accompany holding public office.

In the one case in which Luis undertook public office- his presidency of the water and electricity juntas-this action was clearly taken as a last resort. The water project was failing, the cacique's

plan for the expansion of tourism were in danger of being thwarted, and Luis's assumption of public office was the most expedient and perhaps the only way to salvage the project.

Having established the Cayala cacique as being primarily an economic entrepreneur rather than some other type of leader we can now hopefully better understand the nature of his relationships with both local and supra-community individuals and institutions. Let us now consider a further dimension of caciquismo in Cayala - the cacique as a cultural broker.

Cultural brokers of many and distinct types have been identified and described in several world areas. The brokers that have been described have been different in many respects: social class position, occupation, personality type, degree of politicization, degree of acculturation, level of formal education, and so forth. Yet despite the diversity among particular cultural brokers they have one fundamental similarity. They are the individuals through which, to use Richard Adams' terminology, the various "operating units" of a complex society relate to one another. Now exactly which operating units a cultural broker is instrumental in relating and the nature of the relationships that are established are, of course, questions that only the empirical analysis of specific cases can answer. Before we take up the Cayala case, however, let us briefly review certain points and questions that were raised in the introductory chapter of this thesis.

First, it was suggested that anthropologists have generally dealt with two basic types of cultural brokers. The first type consists of cultural brokers who are also the incumbents of formal

and/or "official" positions in formal institutions such as government bureaucracy, a formal educational system, a church, and so on. The second type consists of those brokers that can be considered "ad hoc" brokers since their existence as a cultural broker is only temporary and their leadership and/or mediating functions are generally seen only when specific social or political issues arise. When the issue has been resolved the "middleman" function of the cultural broker ceases.

In which of these two categories does the Cayala cacique belong? I would argue that he belongs in neither of these two categories but rather is an example of a third general type of broker--the informal but permanent cultural broker.

As we have seen, the Cayala cacique holds no formal position inside or outside of the community. It has been several years since he has held any public office in the village and is not formally connected to the school, fishing cooperative, church, or the juntas. He is an ejiditario, but his status in this organization is technically the same as that of any other ejiditario. He is the owner of a local business, but then so are several other local residents.

There might understandably be some difference of opinion as to what the term "permanent" means, and to distinguish permanent from ad hoc or temporary is perhaps to make an arbitrary distinction. The evidence from Cayala, however, indicates that the cacique has been functioning as a cultural broker for at least fifteen years and probably longer. He has maintained his broker position during several national, state, and municipal government regimes. That is to say, changes in the personnel of major "outside" institutions have not

greatly affected his broker status. I would speculate that, barring unforeseen factors, he or Luis will continue to function as a cultural broker for many years to come. Thus, in my opinion, we can say that the Cayala cacique is a permanent cultural broker.

What significance is there in the fact that the Cayala cacique is an informal but permanent cultural broker? The primary significance of this fact is that unlike other types of brokers the cacique does not derive formal support, power, or legitimacy for his activities from any local, municipal, state, or national institution. He holds no official status and role in the community. He is not a part of any corporate group except perhaps his immediate family, the ejido organization, and his restaurant. He is, in effect, a self-made and institutionally autonomous cultural broker. Yet, while remaining autonomous the Cayala cacique has managed to "survive" on a permanent basis.

This fact is more meaningful when the informal but permanent nature of the Cayala cacique is contrasted with other types of cultural brokers. Examples from the anthropological literature on cultural brokers point out that holding a formal institutionalized status may be in some cases an advantage, but in other cases a disadvantage, to the cultural broker. Let us first consider a few cases in which holding a formal status works against the cultural broker.

Fallers (1955) provides an excellent example in the case of the "modern" Soga chiefs under British rule. In governing Uganda the British have in many cases utilized "native" chiefs in a system of "indirect rule." Chiefs generally hold a formal position in a

"traditional" patrilineal kinship group in which social relationships are conducted on the basis of what Parsons (1951) has called "particularistic" norms with regard to rights and duties. In this traditional system patrilineal kinsmen, as opposed to nonkinsmen, should receive preferential treatment by the chief in a variety of matters. At the same time, however, the modern chief holds a formal position in the British dominated government bureaucracy. In this system rights and obligations are ideally based on "universalistic" norms. In matters such as legal disputes, taxation, and the like, all men should be treated equally by the chief regardless of kinship status. The difficulty of the chief who operates in both the traditional kinship system and the British government system is often seen when the chief is presiding over local court cases involving kinsmen and non-kinsmen. According to the traditional system a chief should render a decision favoring his kinsmen. According to British law, the chief should treat both parties equally. Whichever way a chief decides a case he is subject to criticism. If he decides a case in favor of a kinsman he is accused of nepotism. If he decides a case in favor of a non-kinsmen, the members of his patrilineage accuse him of disloyalty.

The Soga chief, according to Fallers, finds himself in a predicament. As Fallers (1955: 302) states:

"Both his internalized values and the sanctions impinging upon him from society pull him in opposite directions. Whichever way he jumps, he will be punished, both by his own remorse at having contravened values which are part of his personality, and by sanctions applied by others.

One of the consequences of these conflicts and discontinuities is a high casualty rate among chiefs."

Dennis (1973), in discussing the precarious position of a

Oaxacan village president, a cultural broker in a formal position, sees some similarities with the position of the Soga chief. State and federal government officials expect the village president to act as a strong leader in local affairs, especially in the matter of dealing with inter-village disputes over land. The government holds the village president responsible for any conflict or violence that might result from land disputes. On the other hand, the president's local peers are unwilling to grant him the power and authority to act as their representative in disputes. As Dennis states (Ibid.: 423):

"The president's dilemma is similar to that of the contemporary African chief as described by Fallers (1955). In occupying his political status the president or chief must answer to two different and contradictory sets of expectations. This is a difficult task, and one which takes its toll of presidents as it does of chiefs."

In some cases, however, cultural brokers who occupy a formal position can use this to their own advantage. Löffler (1971) for instance, has noted in the case of Madmud, an informal cultural broker, that Mahmud realizes he would be a more effective local leader if he held a more formal position. Mahmud, an Iranian peasant villager, has taken it upon himself to act as his village's representative to the Iranian government, to settle local disputes, and to promote and supervise local "improvement" projects. In speaking of Madmud's situation Löffler notes (Ibid.: 1082):

"In his efforts to generate authority Mahmud quite significantly does not resort to scapegoating, hateful denunciation, aggressive slogans, or incitations to violence and destruction. He wishes desperately, however, that he might be delegated governmental power, which is the last instance means to him the possibility of using physical coercion. He believes that this would allow him to mobilize the people much more efficiently than through

his personal efforts."

Irwin Press, in a recent article (1969) provides a further example of how a cultural broker might capitalize on being the incumbent of a formal position. Press tells us of Enrique Cetina, a young Mayan Indian born in a small, isolated, Maya speaking peasant village in Yucatan. Due to a variety of circumstances Cetina received, outside of his village, the formal education that qualified him as a school teacher. After receiving his formal training young Cetina petitioned the federal government for a teaching job in his native village. Press stresses that in the beginning other villagers were uncertain as to Cetina's role in community affairs. On the one hand Cetina was a native son of the village whom other villagers had known since his infancy. As a native son his role in village affairs should have been similar to that of any other "ordinary" villager. On the other hand, however, Cetina was not ordinary. How did his fellow villagers view his new status? Press states that (1969: 209):

"What villagers initially saw in Cetina was an unprecedented combination of qualities. He was a teacher, and thus learned, the first "professional" in the town's history. It was with pride that Hach Pech addressed him as "Prof." He represented the federal government...Cetina was worldly; he knew foreign customs and the names of many foreign places...For a wage-earning villager he earned an unprecedented income. He talked of betterment and change and could rattle off the many heroes and goals of the Revolution."

Cetina's unique position as an educated teacher and representative of the federal government worked greatly to his advantage. Within a few months after his return to the village Cetina was recognized as being the most influential person in local affairs. Capitalizing on his position Cetina was able to promote and organize several

"community development" projects and bring to his native village many of the modern ideas he had internalized during his teacher training experience.

Thus, the status of a cultural broker--informal versus formal -- can be either an advantage or a disadvantage to the survival and effectiveness of the cultural broker. On the positive side holding a formal position might give the broker a certain degree of power, authority, and legitimacy in his local community. On the other hand holding a formal position might result in the sort of conflict of interest that was illustrated by the Soga chief and the Oaxacan village president.

The Cayala cacique is unquestionably an informal "unofficial" leader in his local community. In the previous chapter we saw that most of his relationships with local operating units, especially those with his employees and local government, are ties of informal and dyadic patronage. However, we also saw that his relationships with supra-community operating units, the regional caciques, the Veracruz union president, and the municipal presidents of Playa Cenagosa and Los Barcos, have been formalized through compadrazgo and marriage ties, or, in the case of the Los Barcos municipal president, through the election of Luis to public office. Furthermore, in the case of the regional caciques the ties are not, strictly speaking, dyadic, and in all cases the ties are between persons of roughly equal regional power, wealth, and influence.

How can this situation be explained? I would argue that the key to understanding these relationships lies in considering the Cayala cacique's goals of entrepreneurship-effective and efficient



business management, and the expansion and growth of his enterprise.

Let us first consider his relationships with local operating units. Local people represent one primary resource to the cacique-labor. He needs workers in his restaurant to serve and entertain customers, he needs workers on his ranch, and he needs workers to "keep the peace" in the village. For effective management of his local operations as much flexibility as possible is desirable in his relationships with workers so that he can hire and fire as necessary, and assign particular jobs to the best qualified individuals. Informal, dyadic, patron-client relationships are easily changed, terminated, or manipulated by the cacique and provide him with the flexibility he needs in management. At the same time this type of relationship promotes employee loyalty and willingness to work.

If the cacique's relationships with workers were more formalized, much of this flexibility would be lost. For instance, it will be recalled that compadrazgo, which involves reciprocal binding obligations sanctioned by Catholic Church ritual, is a notably absent feature of cacique-worker relationships. I think the reason for this is obvious. It would be much more difficult for the cacique to get rid of an employee who was a compadre than one who is not.

Thus, the Cayala cacique can manage his local operations pretty much as he sees fit because he is not accountable for his actions to any local corporate group, organization, or individual other than himself. But, it might be suggested that the cacique, as the nominal head of a major local kindred, would be subject to social pressure or criticism by his kinsmen if his activities were

contrary to their interests. However, as we have seen, the bilateral kindred group in Cayala is not a corporate kinship group as are some lineages or extended families. While the cacique is sometimes criticized by his kinsmen, he is in no way answerable to any of them, not even to blood relatives as near as brother or sister.

This being the case, the cacique is his "own man", answerable, except in a general way, to no one but himself. He is free to enter into the types of social and economic relationships with local residents that best suit his management needs, and personal goals.

Let us now turn to the Cayala cacique's relationships with supra-community operating units, which are in many respects opposite in nature from those at the local level. I think these can be explained in terms of two of the cacique's entrepreneurial goals - a goal of expansion and growth of his business enterprise both locally and regionally, and the goal of protecting his enterprise from competition and/or take-over by "outsiders." Let us first consider the goal of expansion and growth of the enterprise.

To expand his enterprise both locally and outside of Cayala the cacique must control or have access to certain resources obtainable only outside of his local sphere of influence. These resources are diverse and would include things such as government funds, building permits, government technical expertise, and favorable tax and zoning laws. These resources are generally controlled by "outside" power holders - municipal and state public office holders, or representatives of government agencies. At the regional level there is a good deal of competition between communities and/or individuals for these resources which are often

in short supply. This is particularly true of things such as government funds and technical expertise.

I would argue that the Cayala cacique has consistently been able to stay one step ahead of other regional interest groups in tapping outside resources, and that he has done so by entering into formal and binding contractual relationships with the individuals who control the resources he needs or might need for business expansion. Along these same lines, certainly his extensive political contributions have greatly helped him gain an edge. Let us briefly review a few examples.

I think it is hardly accidental that the cacique's plans to build a hotel in Playa Cenagosa began to develop immediately after his compadre entered the municipal presidency. To develop the hotel would require displacing several Playa Cenagosa residents from their homes, obtaining permits of all kinds, perhaps building some new streets, and a host of other operations, all of which would require the sanction of municipal government.

Certainly it would be difficult for the new president to refuse the Cayala cacique whatever favors he might need. Not only had Luis handed the presidency to him, but he is obligated to help the cacique in any way he can because they are bound by the Church sanctioned institution of compadrazgo.

While the particular circumstances are somewhat different, I think that the Cayala cacique's "courtship" of the Los Barcos municipal president, culminating in the election of Luis as president of the water and electricity juntas, illustrates the same point. In this case the outside resources sought by the cacique

were the government funds, materials, and technical expertise needed to bring clean water and lights to Cayala. From the cacique's point of view, clean water and electricity are not merely conveniences, but are crucial to the expansion and growth of tourism in Cayala.

But why has the Cayala cacique entered into formal relationships (compadrazgo and/or marriage ties) with the regional caciques, especially when these men, while powerful in their local communities, do not control the type of resources or governmental machinery that could enable the Cayala cacique's business to grow?

I think that the formal relationships the Cayala cacique has established with the regional caciques serve him as a sort of "insurance policy" designed to prevent or deter individual or several regional caciques from moving in on the Cayala cacique's economic operations in Cayala. That is, in my estimation, the regional caciques presently represent the greatest potential threat to the Cayala cacique's business. Each is powerful in his own right, each has a large group of loyal followers, each has certain "connections" with persons in formal government, all have personalities that make them aggressive and even violent men. Finally, each is quite aware that the Cayala tourist trade is a "gold mine."

But, the Cayala cacique is also fully aware of his potentially vulnerable situation and has, over the years, taken steps to see to it that his "back door" was covered. He has bound himself to the regional caciques through relationships that demand respect, friendship, cooperation, and loyalty on the part of both participants. Let me give an example.

It will be recalled that the land bordering the Cayala ejido to the north is controlled by the Playa Cenagosa cacique who uses this land for cattle grazing. There is no natural barrier between this land and Cayala ejido lands which are also used for cattle grazing. Despite the fact that fencing has been put up to keep the cattle of Cayala cattlemen separate from those of the Playa Cenagosa cacique, cattle often break through fences and to some extent intermingle on both sides of the boundary. This is a situation that could potentially lead to conflict, land disputes and take-overs, cattle rustling, and so on. However, conflict does not exist. Due in large part to the fact that Luis and the Playa Cenagosa cacique's son are bound by ties of compadrazgo, Cayala cattlemen and the Playa Cenagosa cacique have worked out a cooperative arrangement; they return each others cattle, in some cases share the costs of fence repair, lend bulls for stud service, and so forth.

To mention another example, I think the marriage ties between two of the Cayala cacique's son and two nieces of Pascual Torres, the El Bayo cacique, serve a similar function. The fact that Don Pascual has two near female relatives and their children living in Cayala where they are dependent upon the Cayala cacique's operations for their livelihood might act as a check against any designs he or other Torres might have for "moving in" on Cayala, perhaps, for instance, to open a restaurant there or to gain control of the distribution of Cayala seafood products. Any such activities would in all likelihood directly or indirectly adversely effect the financial position of his own near kinsmen.

In summary, let us assess the Cayala cacique's role as a cultural broker. He is an informal and permanent cultural broker. More significantly, he is a cultural broker in only a limited sense. We have described several situations in which the cacique has been instrumental in articulating different levels of society. For instance, the cacique mediates the relations between local formal government and municipal formal government. In the case of the juntas we have seen that the cacique and his son mediate the transactions between the local community and state development agencies.

On the other hand, we have seen that many of the cacique's relationships with both local and supra-community operating units are of significance (economic) only to himself, and do not in any way serve to articulate distinct units or levels of society. There are several examples of such non-articulating relationships. His relationships with Mexican Army officers, the Playa Cenagosa municipal president, and the Veracruz stevedore's union official belong in this category. Likewise, his multiple relationships with other regional caciques, while serving to relate him to several regional leaders, do not relate him other operating units within the communities represented by the caciques.

Those situations in which the cacique functions as a cultural broker are best understood by viewing the cacique as an economic entrepreneur, whose primary goals are effective business management and the expansion and growth of his enterprise. In all cases he derives some kind of business advantage from his participation. Where he functions to articulate different levels of society, the

articulation and its ramifications are incidental to the cacique's economic motives.

#### Caciquismo in Mexico: Conclusions

For the past twenty years or so the image of caciquismo in Mexico has been primarily based on the various accounts provided by Paul Friedrich, who has dealt with the topic extensively as it is manifested in the Tarascan Indian area of the state of Michoacán. To a lesser extent our thinking has been influenced by Victor Goldkind (1966), who is convinced that the Mayan Indian community of Chan Kom, Yucatan, originally described by Robert Redfield and Alfonso Villa Rojas (1934) and Redfield (1950), probably has been dominated by a local cacique almost since its formation as a municipio in 1935. Thus, the anthropological literature on caciquismo in contemporary Mexico is relatively scarce, which is unfortunate considering that Padgett (1966: 83) has noted about caciques: "There are thousands of these persons throughout the country."

It is my contention that Friedrich and Goldkind have presented a view of caciquismo and the social structure of cacique dominated communities that, while perhaps accurate for the areas in which they have conducted research, is inadequate for understanding caciquismo in Cayala, and probably other cacique dominated communities as well. Many of the features they have used to characterize caciquismo are not found in Cayala, and certain important characteristics of Cayala are not present in the communities analyzed by Friedrich and Goldkind. Let me briefly mention the key issues

that emerge from a comparison of Cayala and the communities studied by Friedrich and Goldkind, and then turn to an elaboration of these issues, each in its turn.

First, Friedrich and Goldkind characterize the social structure of cacique dominated communities as factionalistic i.e., above the household level of organization, the most significant unit of social organization is the political faction. Political factions, of which there are always at least two or more, are headed by local caciques. Faction members relate to the cacique through ties of kinship, compadrazgo, and friendship. In comparing this situation with Cayala, a series of questions comes up. Must a cacique dominated community be factionalistic? If not, what alternative forms of community structure are possible? Finally, what are the conditions under which alternative forms of community organization arise, if indeed this is the case?

Second, Friedrich and Goldkind characterize cacique dominated communities as being permeated with conflict, violence, and "institutionalized" murder. Violence in these communities is not just occasional, nor is it simply the "passionate" outbursts of wronged individuals. Rather, conflict, violence, and even murder are permanent features of these communities. Violence is organized and coldly calculated, and has, in a sense, become a way of life. This raises the following questions: Is organized permanent violence a universal characteristic of cacique dominated communities? Is violence a necessary variable that must be included in any definition or description of caciquismo? If not, then what are possible alternatives to violent caciquismo, and under what



general conditions will alternatives emerge?

Third, Goldkind and especially Friedrich state outright or imply that local caciques are rarely, if ever, legitimate leaders in the communities they dominate i.e., they imply that it is next to impossible for caciques to achieve freely given pan-community support for their leadership and activities. Instead, most caciques must rely on force of arms, physical coercion, and deceit to maintain their leadership positions, which are generally precarious. The basic questions here are : Can a cacique be a legitimate leader and achieve support from community residents for his leadership role? If so, what are the principles upon which such legitimate cacical leadership rests?

Finally, Goldkind and Friedrich, in a somewhat subjective manner, imply that caciquismo is an unfortunate and "negative" feature of contemporary rural Mexico. That is to say, caciquismo is viewed by them to be a form of community administration that is tyrannical, "undemocratic" exploitative, and, one that generally works to retard political, economic, and social "progress" in rural Mexican communities. It is implied that caciquismo generally works to the disadvantage of peasants, who must "suffer" under this form of community administration, and, that generally peasants would be "better off" if caciquismo were eliminated from the Mexican cultural scene. This, of course, raises the question: Is caciquismo an inherently counter-productive, exploitative, or otherwise "bad" form of community organization? If not, can caciquismo under certain conditions be considered a "positive" form of local administration, that at the local level is helping to



accomplish national goals of economic development and modernization? Let us now examine these issues in light of the ethnographic materials from Cayala that have been presented earlier in this thesis.

#### Factionalism in Cacique Dominated Communities

A notable feature of the communities that Goldkind and Friedrich have examined is permanent factionalism in which a local cacique or caciques are intimately involved. For example, Redfield, in discussing "the great schism" that occurred in Chan Kom over religious issues (1950: 88-112) points out that Don Eustacio Ceme, whom Goldkind (1966) refers to as the Chan Kom cacique, was the head of the "Catholic" faction that eventually came to dominate local affairs in Chan Kom. Redfield has described factionalism in Chan Kom thusly (1950: 92)

"Since the very founding of the village, the population of Chan Kom has always contained two principal family groups: The Ceme family and the Pat family. On each of these lesser families have been dependent...Intermarried though they were, the two factions were in competition and rivalry. The rivalry was for prestige as expressed in wealth, education, and religious leadership and for political control of the community."

Among the several descriptions of factionalism that Paul Friedrich has given with regard to the cacique dominated Tarascan community of Durazno, the following is perhaps most illustrative of the permanence of factionalism in Durazno, and of the fact that factions are always headed by local caciques:

"The faction is the political group par excellence within the pueblo,... Only two factions are generally active at any one time, but as a rule there are at least two. At some times, such as 1927 and 1937, the two factions have been about equal in strength, and at all times, the opposing faction has constituted a serious threat. This was true even in 1956, when it contained only the aging cacique, a slim nucleus of a half

dozen relatives and fighters, and some twenty followers... Within the population of about 1,500, there appear always to be some mature leaders who cannot tolerate the single cacique, whereas two caciques apparently provide enough focus and choice for the 50 to 70 politically active men...The informal structure and behavior of the dominant faction has always been paralleled by that of the one or more contending factions, with their caciques, kinship nucleus, secret meetings, and so forth." (1965: 198-199).

The situation in Cayala is quite different from that in the communities described above. If we apply the criteria for the identification of political factions that has been suggested by Nicholas (1965), I think it is safe to say that there are no political factions in Cayala. Nicholas has generally defined political factions (pp. 27-29) as non-corporate political groups headed by a recognized leader. A faction is in state of competition for political power with at least one other faction i.e., factions are always in conflict with an opposing group, and there must be at least two recognizable organized groups in opposition to each other before we can speak of a situation of political factionalism.

Thus, in Cayala, we cannot properly speak of factionalism and factions since there are not two recognizable opposing conflict groups within the village. This is not to say, of course, that there are no distinguishable groups in Cayala--those are there. However, these groups, such as the ejido organization, the various juntas, and so on, might more properly be called formal special interest organizations than political factions. Furthermore, these special interest organizations are generally headed by the same leader--the Cayala cacique and/or his youngest son. These groups, while organized for different purposes, are not in conflict with one another; nor is there effective opposition within the group.

Considering the ejido organization, for example, we have seen that although not all ejidatarios are in agreement with the leadership i.e., the cattlemen, the few dissenters are not organized in their opposition, have no recognized leadership, generally do not voice their opposition publicly, and, in fact, do not pose a serious threat to the leadership or the cattlemen. At least for the present, the potential opposition is inactive, unorganized, and quiet.

The same could be said of the situation with regard to the juntas. When Luis assumed control of the water and electricity juntas, there was no organized, active, or overt opposition to this move. There were a few mumbled complaints by a few residents of the village, but no public opposition.

In a related vein, I think that generally speaking there is little difference of opinion among Cayalanos with respect to ideological issues of politics or religion. In the hundreds of conversations that I observed or was a part of in Cayala, the topics of national, state, and even municipal politics, and religion, were notably absent. When asked for an opinion on politics or religion villagers generally indicate a lack of both knowledge and interest in these matters.

This is not to say, of course, that local people agree on everything; this is definitely not the case. However, the topics that invoke the most discussion and debate in local conversations are things such as athletic events, family relationships, fishing, current romances, movies, and the like. In short, the national political and religious systems of which local people are a part, are generally taken for granted, and neither politics or religion

has resulted in factionalism in the village.

I might add that certain other features of Cayala, while they cannot necessarily explain the lack of factionalism in the village, at least would logically seem to reduce the probability that factionalism will occur. First, generally speaking, the residents of Cayala are a rather homogeneous population linguistically, racially, and culturally. Furthermore, most (but certainly not all) villagers share a common identification as descendents of the founding fathers of the village. As we have seen, many villagers are quick to point out that in Cayala "we are all one big family." The relative homogeneity of Cayala villagers is in sharp contrast with the situation that Friedrich (1970) has reported for the Tarascan area. For nearly a full century the Tarascan region has been the arena of often bitter and violent struggles between groups of diverse and distinct backgrounds: Tarascan Indians, mestizos, Spaniards, and even North Americans and other "foreigners."

However, while the relative homogeneity of the population of Cayala might reduce the probability of local factionalism, I think the key to understanding why Cayala has a cacique, and yet is faction-free, is to be found in the mode of operation of the cacique. But let us first take a closer look at the basis of factionalism in Chan Kom and the Tarascan area.

While in both of these cases differences of opinion over religious and national political issues were important in dividing men into factions, at the heart of factionalism was the question of who would control land for agricultural and other purposes. That is to say, in both cases the majority of peasants are farmers, land is

in short supply, and factionalism, whether purely local or tied in with state or national issues, is centered around land use and control issues. As Friedrich (1955: 192) states for the Tarascan town of Durazno:

"Land has always been the material cause for Durazno politics; struggles for land underlie most factional antagonism and for these dirt peasants land is the meaningful means of production. All men, including "fighters" and caciques, have grown up learning to use the plow and the sickle, and, except for a few unusual personalities, they continue to work the soil with their own hands."

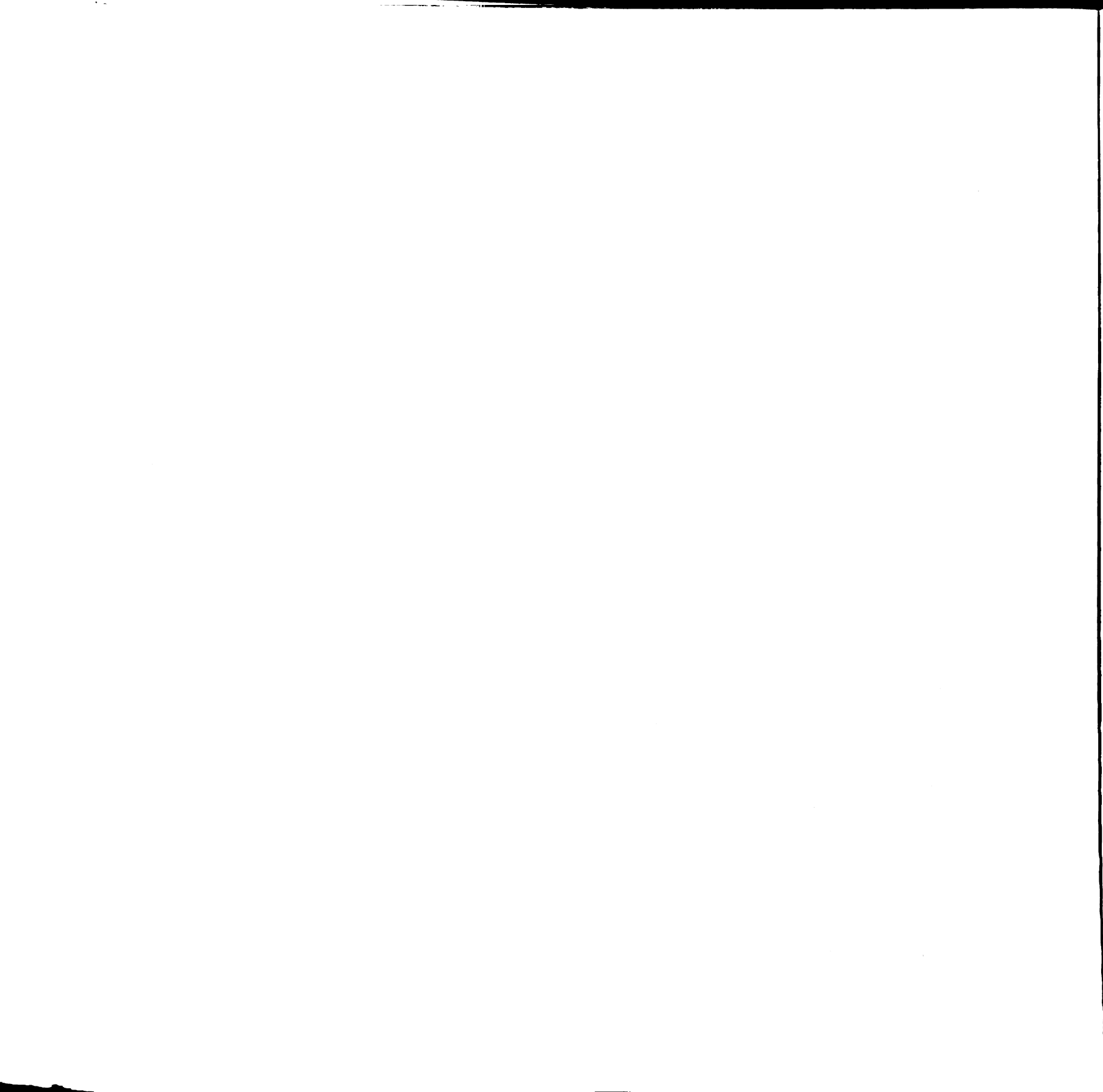
In a related vein, with regard to caciquismo, Friedrich says (Ibid.):

"Caciquismo, in its various forms, has arisen in the region as a direct, political consequence of a polemic struggle over the principal means of production, land."

In Chan Kom factionalism was overtly based on religious issues, a Catholic-Protestant split. However, underlying the religious schism was the fact that the "Catholic" faction headed by the cacique Don Eus Cime (Goldkind 1966), repeatedly and with some success, was involved in activities designed to usurp communal ejido lands from protestant cultivators and convert these lands into private property to be used to raise cattle and hogs. As Goldkind (1965: 866) states:

"The rapidly growing population had produced a "disappearance of the open frontier." In this situation it is not surprising that a number of men would begin to assert what amounted to effective private ownership rights over substantial parts of the communal holdings, and that others would protest."

Indeed, in many factionalistic agricultural peasant villages throughout the world (Romanucci-Ross 1970; Lewis 1958; Izmirlian 1969; Nicholas 1965), issues of land use and control are the issues that prompt and perpetuate community factions.





How does this general situation compare with Cayala? First, we have seen that since the "traditional" economy of the village was based on fishing, the control and use of the surrounding lands has been of little, if any, concern to most villagers. When the now Cayala cacique and a few other villagers pushed for the formation of the ejido, and later divided ejido lands among themselves to raise cattle, few, if any, villagers saw their means of production threatened, since for all practical purposes, these lands were not being utilized anyway. The cacique and other cattlemen, in entrepreneurial fashion, came up with an innovation: Use these "wasted" lands to raise cattle. The main point is that this innovation did not involve taking anything of value from other villagers; no one was "displaced", no one was denied the right to make a living. Other villagers, being fishermen, simply continued to fish as usual. This being the case, and since no significant ideological issues divided the community, the formation of a faction to oppose the cattlemen would have served no one any useful purpose. As Nicholas (1965: 57) has said, people align themselves into factions "primarily out of self-interest"; in this case factionalism would not have furthered anyone's self-interest.

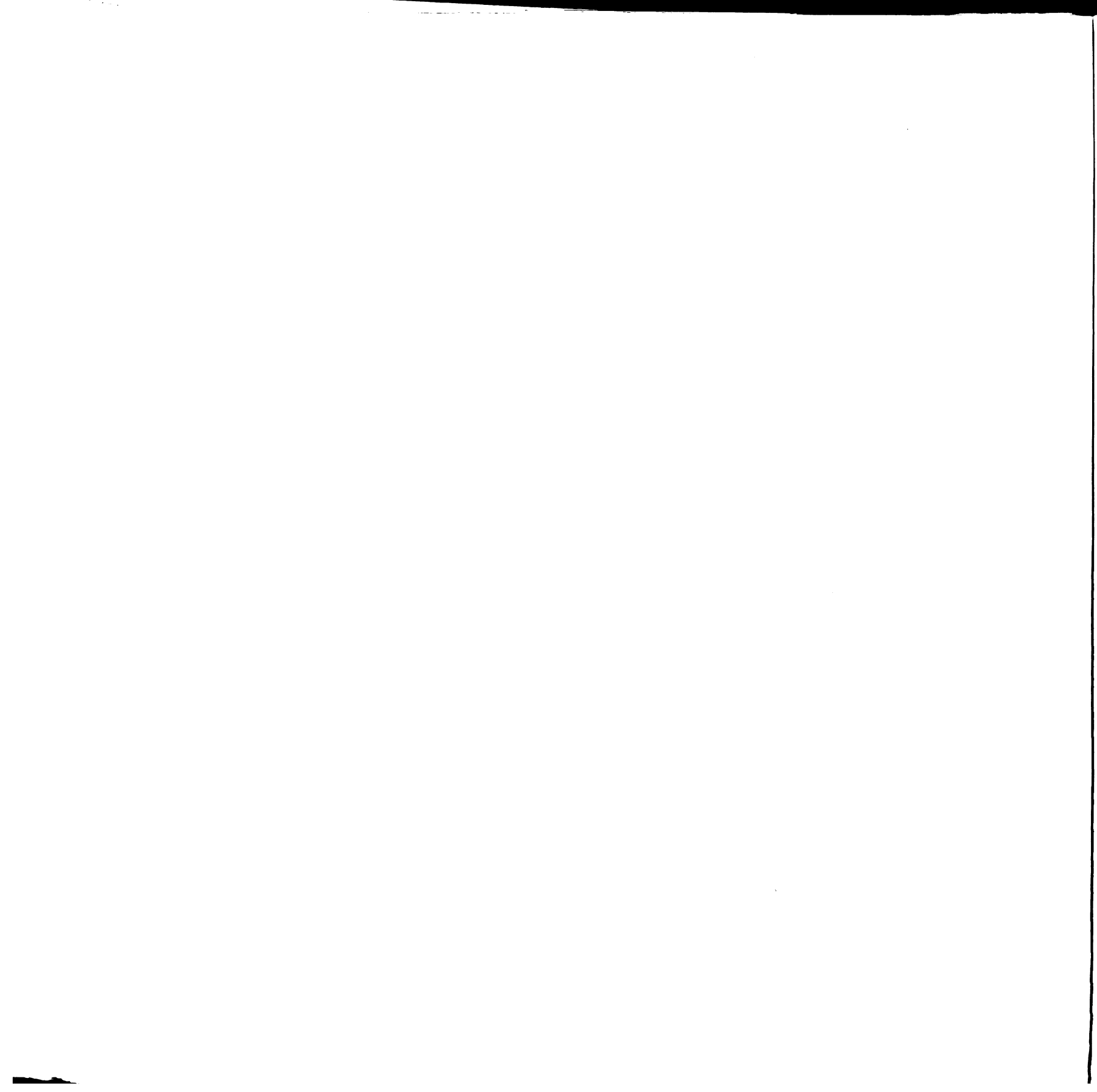
I would add that I do not mean to imply that all Cayala residents agree that the cattlemen should now dominate the use of ejido lands. As we have seen, this is not the case. However, the "complainers" are generally "Johnnies come lately" i.e., recent immigrants to the village, or long time residents who now realize, after the fact, the value of ejido lands. Cacical and cattleman control over ejido lands is now so firmly entrenched that dissidents can do little but "stew"

in their envy.

However, if I might speculate a bit, I think that if factionalism were to develop in Cayala, it would most likely develop between the cattlemen themselves, perhaps two or three of the wealthier ones against the cacique. Since they are all utilizing the same resource (land) for identical purposes (cattle-raising), the desire to gain more land could very well occur to some cattlemen. Since the ejido is a "fixed" quantity of land, a gain on the part of one party means that another will lose, and such a move would provide the proper conditions for factionalism, or, at least, land disputes.

Let us now turn to another case in which factionalism might have developed in Cayala - the tourist trade and restaurant business - to see how the cacique operated here. In typical entrepreneurial fashion, the cacique, single-handedly at first, began the restaurant business from "scratch." Restaurants in Cayala were an innovation never before seen in the village. This business was designed to tap a "resource" and market - tourist - that heretofore had not been tapped by any other local person.

As with the formation of the ejido, the caciques going into the restaurant business did not threaten or deprive any local residents of their means of production. In fact, in the earlier days of the restaurant business, the cacique's operation did exactly the opposite. By buying fish from local producers, he provided them with a local market for surplus production. As we have seen, many local libre fishermen depend on selling their products to local restaurants even today. Thus since its inception to the present, the growth of tourism in Cayala, rather than creating factionalism, has served the self



interests of many local residents. Now I do not wish to imply that competition for the tourist trade does not exist in Cayala. As we have seen, many people have followed the cacique's lead and have gone into the restaurant business themselves. The cacique has never attempted to stop any local resident from going into business. However, business competition has never lead to serious conflict or factionalism in Cayala. I think this is because most restaurant operators realize that tourism still has great potential for growth in the village; there are virtually thousands of would-be clients in Veracruz alone. Restaurant operators share a common problem: How to get the prospective tourist to Cayala in the first place. So, rather than to fight among themselves, most restaurant operators have chosen to pool their efforts and back activities such as the water and electricity projects that hopefully will "lure" ever increasing numbers of tourists to the village.

Thus, because of the factors, discussed above, caciquismo has not led to factionalism in Cayala. Let us now turn to the alternative form of community administration represented by the Cayala cacique. The structure of the Cayala cacicigzo, as we have seen, consists of an extensive system of informal dyadic patron-client relationships, based on economic reciprocity, the cacique being the "ultimate" patron. We have seen that this structure provides both effective business, as well as general community, management. Furthermore, because patronage ties in Cayala are voluntary, they are also "flexible," i.e., a party can enter into or terminate such a relationship more or less at will, and no one is "forced" to participate.

Two significant points should be made concerning the patronage-based Cayala cacicazgo. First, being a voluntary association, not all local residents are obligated to participate directly. If they so desire, people can more or less operate outside of the cacicazgo. For instance, rather than joining the cacique, many local people have chosen to imitate him and open independent restaurants of their own. Other villagers, particularly "traditional" fishermen, have chosen not to join the cacique but rather continue the time-honored way of life that focuses around el río. The majority of villagers, however, have chosen to associate themselves in one way or another with the cacique.

Second, patronage as a form of association is well suited to the entrepreneurial goals and needs of the cacique. His network of relationships can expand and grow as his manpower needs also grow. If he needs more workers, all he has to do is offer the proper economic incentive and he has them. Likewise, if in the future his fortunes should decline, he can shed "excess" workers as becomes necessary.

These two features of caciquismo in Cayala are, I think, significant in that they function to reduce any tendencies toward local factionalism. If a man is not happy being associated with the cacique, he can disassociate himself and go his own way. He can even compete with the cacique if he can find the means to open his own restaurant. On the other hand, persons associated with the cacique are willing associates; they have made the choice.

Let us now briefly return to the questions posed at the beginning of this section. There it was asked: Must a cacique

dominated community be factionalistic? Clearly, the answer is no.

What are the alternatives? In the case of Cayala we have seen that an extensive network of voluntary, dyadic, patron-client relationships headed by the cacique is an effective form of community administration. This system fulfills the cacique's labor requirements and, because of its voluntary nature, functions to reduce tendencies toward factionalism.

However, patronage and factionalism are not the only conceivable forms of cacical administration. I can envision, for instance, that if the cacique's son Luis, who is "strictly business," takes over his father's operations in the future, he might attempt to convert at least some current patron-client relationships into formal and contractual ones. It will be recalled that this is a fear expressed by some restaurant employees. Whether this would result in more effective management is, of course, doubtful, and remains to be seen.

Finally, what are the general conditions under which the Cayala form of cacical administration has emerged? Certainly the fact that Cayalanos are relatively homogeneous racially, linguistically, and culturally has tended to reduce the possibility of factionalism emerging. More importantly, however, I think that cacique-focused patronage in Cayala, and his utilization of this system for community administration, emerged as a response to a situation wherein the cacique recognized, exploited and developed new and previously unexploited resources - land and "outside" tourists. His network of associations expanded as he expanded his new businesses. In the process of expanding his business we have seen that the Cayala

cacique did not deprive other villagers of their right to earn a living or of their means of production. This is just the opposite of the situations described by Friedrich and Goldkind, where caciques were generally in the business of attempting to usurp the means of production (land) and the right to earn a living from other villagers.

#### Violence in Cacique Dominated Communities

In one place Friedrich (1968: 247) defines a cacique as:

..."a strong and autocratic leader in local and regional politics whose characteristically informal, personalistic, and often arbitrary rule is buttressed by a core of relatives, "fighters," and dependents, and is marked by the diagnostic threat and practice of violence." (emphasis mine).

In another place Friedrich (1965: 204-205) tells us that caciques in the Tarascan village of Durazno employed three basic community administration techniques: (1), "Verbal persuasion" i.e., the practice of oratory and argument designed to convince villagers to follow their lead (2), "human organization," which "mainly concerns the ability of leaders to recruit collateral relatives and other followers, and to manage them as an internally differentiated group," and (3),

"Violence is the third method. At times during the agrarian revolt violence approximated civil war. The twenty subsequent years of factional strife saw Durazno and its neighbors attain a unique notoriety as "the slaughterhouse" (el rastro) of the state; a total of 77 political homicides have interrupted the life of the pueblo during the past 36 years, and the three "bad years" from 1937 to 1939 witnessed 21 politically motivated homicides and several times more armed encounters and exchanges of gunfire."

In writing of the Tarascan village of Acan, Friedrich states (1962: 315):

"At five-thirty on a Sunday morning in June, 1955, a peasant

named Manuel was shot dead while walking along a road outside his village in the Tarascan area of Mexico. Subsequent investigations revealed that he had been a member of the opposition party. He himself had taken part in such ambushes. Seventy-seven homicides, over a hundred woundings, and hundreds of small-arms exchanges without issue had taken place during the last 35 years even though the village, here called Acan, has at no time contained more than fifteen hundred persons. Acan has been one of the local end-points in an informal system of caciques - leaders - and political factionalism with much attendant homicide that is today regarded as one of Mexico's serious problems."

In discussing the career of cacical hired gun "Bones" Gonzalez in yet another place, Friedrich states that: (1965: 129): "Bones tenure in the major office of ejidal president symbolized the full institutionalization of violence during these stressful years" (emphasis mine).

While violence in Chan Kom was not as rampant as in the Tarascan area, it was an administrative tactic freely utilized by village leaders, and a continuing characteristic of the village. Redfield in speaking of the struggle over religion that occurred in Chan Kom states (1950: 103): "Once out in the open, the conflict between Protestants and those who had now learned to call themselves "Catholics" was attended with bitterness and occasional violence." He then goes on to describe certain incidents in which individuals associated with the two different factions came to blows with one another. In Chan Kom conflict and violence was reduced (but not ended) only when certain members of the faction that opposed the local cacique left the village. As Redfield puts it (Ibid.: 102):

"Exasperated beyond endurance, having failed to enlist the aid of the outside government, two of the three principal Pat families withdrew from Chan Kom in 1938, to settle in hamlets not far away. And at this time, or a little later, other Protestant families left too."



The withdrawal of certain families did not end the violence in Chan Kom, it simply spread the conflict to neighboring communities. Says Redfield (Ibid.: 105): "Thus it was, as the unity of the village of Chan Kom was once more approximated, the conflict between Protestant and Catholic was pushed outside of the village to become a fresh factor in the endless struggle for power between villages." Victor Goldkind, who re-studied Chan Kom in 1964, reports that the general situation in Chan Kom at that time had not changed much. Goldkind (1966) found that if anything, there had been an increase in local violence since Redfield had studied Chan Kom. Goldkind reports repeated incidents of violence including fist-fights and several shootings. The particular issues that divided the village in 1964 were not the same as in 1938, but the outcome was the same-- factionalism, conflict, and violence.

Such violence, gunplay, and homicide is not a characteristic of Cayala. On the contrary, as we have seen, Cayala can be characterized as a peaceful, quiet, and generally "happy" community. The village enjoys a regional reputation as being a safe and tranquil place, a reputation that local residents are quick to boast about. Even regional caciques look to Cayala as a peaceful place of refuge from the potential violence and harm that they might meet elsewhere in the region.

This is not to say, of course, that Cayala is conflict-free. Husbands sometimes beat their wives, "friends" and relatives fight or quarrel over various matters, and visiting tourists and local residents alike must sometimes be reprimanded or punished for their misdeeds. This type of conflict, however, is not organized i.e., it is of a

private and personal nature and is rarely considered to be a serious threat to the community.

Throughout this thesis we have seen that the Cayala cacique uses persuasion and "human organization" as administrative techniques. However, we have also seen that local violence of any sort is completely contrary to the business interests of the cacique, especially with regard to tourism. By extension, local violence is also against the self interest of other villagers who depend on tourism for a living. A simple fact, realized by most villagers is this: If Cayala gets a reputation as a violent community, tourists will stay away. If tourists stay away, we all suffer financially.

Thus, I contend that Friedrich's definition of caciquismo and his characterization of cacical administration which emphasizes "the diagnostic threat and practice of violence" suffers from a narrowness that severely limits its usefulness for the analysis of cases of caciquismo, such as that found in Cayala, where "institutionalized" violence is neither an administrative technique or a general village characteristic. Violence is an unnecessary variable in a general characterization of caciquismo but, of course, must be considered where it is found to exist.

I think common sense tells us that any entrepreneur, whether cacique or not, will make every effort to minimize violence within his organization, and in his relationships with other social groups. This will be especially true if the entrepreneur's enterprise deals with or serves the "public" directly, as is the case in Cayala.

The Legitimacy of the Cayala Cacique

In the introductory chapter of this thesis we defined legitimate leaders as leaders who have been given the "right" or authority to lead by those persons over whom they exercise power. Legitimate leaders are those whose direction is willingly followed because they hold a mandate to lead given them by their followers. It was suggested that most writers on the topic of legitimacy have generally confined their analysis to a particular type of leader, political leaders who are in most cases the formal heads of states.

Recognizing this tendency, Paul Friedrich (1968) has analyzed the legitimacy of Pedro Caso, a local cacique from the Tarascan Indian area of Mexico. Friedrich analyzed Pedro's legitimacy by applying to him "traditional" criteria for legitimacy that have been found to be operable in a variety of social contexts. Friedrich has concluded that (1968: 264): "The legitimacy of an agrarian cacique is precarious, is subject to questions, and arises from a dialectic between forces and arguments that hang in near balance." According to certain traditional criteria Pedro is considered to be a legitimate leader by those over whom he exercises power. However, according to other criteria Pedro is considered to be non-legitimate i.e., he has no right to exercise power.

In brief, Friedrich (Ibid.: 264-267) found Pedro Caso to have the following non-legitimate characteristics: (1) The status of cacique is not elective, and is not representative of the will of the local public or of the Mexican government. (2) Pedro's leadership is characterized by "the diagnostic trait" of small-arms violence and political homicide. (3) Pedro's rule lacks religious or supernatural

support. (4) Pedro himself is not "charismatic" in the Weberian sense i.e., he has few, if any, personality characteristics that qualify him for leadership.

On the other hand, Friedrich (Ibid.) found Pedro to be a legitimate leader based on the following: (1) Pedro was the "next in line" to assume the position of local cacique; the area has had several generations of cacical leadership, and the status has become quasi-hereditary in nature. (2) Pedro, somewhat like his predecessors, acts as a "political middleman" i.e., a cultural broker who functions as a more or less necessary intermediary between his village and other levels of Mexican society. (3) Finally, previous local caciques, especially after the Mexican Revolution, have been instrumental in enacting various social reforms in the area. They have also served to "protect" local peasants from exploitation by more powerful outside persons. Friedrich views these caciques as legitimate since "... some of their actions were logically related to accepted values and goals" (Ibid.: 244). It seems that to some extent the legitimacy of earlier caciques has "carried over" to Pedro Caso.

While Goldkind (1966) does not directly deal with the problem of the legitimacy of Don Eus, the Chan Kom cacique, the impression he leaves us with regard to him is that Don Eus is not legitimate. The best evidence we have as to the illegitimate nature of Don Eus is the fact that at various times under his rule several Chan Kom families, finding life in the village intolerable, have been "forced" to leave (Goldkind 1966: 336-340). Thus, both Friedrich and Goldkind state or imply that contemporary caciques find it extremely

difficult to achieve legitimacy.

The sort of analysis that Friedrich has applied to the cacique Pedro Caso if applied to the Cayala cacique would yield conclusions about the legitimacy of the Cayala cacique that would be at best misleading and at worst completely false. Let us, solely for the sake of argument, apply the criteria Friedrich has used for Pedro Caso to the case of the Cayala cacique, to see what might be considered negative features of his legitimacy.

First, the Cayala cacique is similar to Pedro Caso in lacking many bases of legitimate support. He is not an elected official and holds no elected or appointed office. He is not a "charismatic" leader and is disliked personally by many local people. Oratory skills are completely lacking. Even local villagers and kinsmen find his ordinary conversation at times difficult to understand. While he is not particularly anti-religion, he claims no authority based on religious or moral values. Unlike Pedro Caso he does not claim to be actively fulfilling any particular political or social philosophy. His knowledge of political ideology is minimal. For example, when I once asked him his opinion of Emiliano Zapata he was not sure who he was. He claims no authority based on specialized knowledge or education or ability to interpret national law. In fact, he is illiterate, has never attended school, and has rarely left his native village in over seventy years, except for brief vacations that lasted a few days.

Unlike Pedro Caso, the Cayala cacique is not the present incumbent of a "traditional" cacical slot. He is the first cacique Cayala has known, although I suspect he will not be the last. In

addition, he does not serve as a Hobbesian "protector" of the local population. While he has connections with representatives of municipal, state, and national level institutions, it would be stretching things to say that local people view him as a "cog" in a bureaucratic political machine. We have seen that the Cayala cacique does, in some instances, function as a cultural broker. However, we have also seen that this role is only incidental to this role as an economic entrepreneur. He is hardly a "necessary" link between the local population and outside operating units. He has in fact prevented the local population from rightfully participating in certain national and state institutions, such as free elections.

Thus if the criteria that Friedrich has applied to test the legitimacy of Pedro Caso were applied to the Cayala cacique, the Cayala cacique would not appear to be legitimate in any way.

Yet, the behavior of the majority of the population of the community indicates that just the opposite is the case. The Cayala cacique is recognized to be the rightful leader of the community. Local people and outsiders as well come to him freely and ask to join the various enterprises. They seek him out for advice on a variety of matters. The advice is given and generally followed. His commands are followed by nearly everyone without question. Any decision of any importance that is made in the community is made by the cacique. We have seen that he has no effective local opposition; factionalism and violence are not a characteristic of Cayala. We have seen that the use of coercive power i.e., force, is also not a feature of the cacique's mode of administration except in a limited sense with regard to the ejido

organization.

Thus, we are faced with a problem: How can we explain the fact that the Cayala cacique enjoys freely given pan-community support when at the same time he appears to lack legitimacy based on the criteria Friedrich has outlined? I think in large part the problem centers on the definition of a cacique.

Nearly all writers on contemporary Mexican caciques have chosen to emphasize the political activities of caciques, and we are led to believe that caciques are a special type of local politician or political leader. For instance, Padgett (1966: 83) has written:

"The political boss (cacique) is a man who has been able to form a small group of henchmen willing to stop at nothing so that the cacique's will is law in the area. The rule of this political entrepreneur is always despotic and often approaches a genuine tyranny." (emphasis mine).

Friedrich, in his various works on Tarascan caciquismo consistently labels caciques as primarily political leaders, as illustrated by the following statement (1968: 247):

"With particular reference to Mexico, this article defines a cacique as a strong and autocratic leader in local and regional politics whose characteristically informal, personalistic, and often arbitrary rule is buttressed by a core of religions, "fighters," and dependents, and is marked by the diagnostic threat and practice of violence. These caciques bridge, however, imperfectly, the gap between peasant villagers and the law, politics, and government of the state and nation, and are therefore varieties of the so-called "political middleman."

It may very well be that in many cases Mexican caciques are political leaders. However, the view that all caciques are political leaders is, I think, misleading. We have seen, for instance, that on certain occasions the Cayala cacique has involved himself in politics and political activities. However, we have also seen that his involvement in politics has never been motivated by a desire

to gain political power for its own sake. Rather, his involvement has always been related to achieving clearly defined and specific economic objectives. He is first and foremost a businessman.

I contend that since the Cayala cacique is not primarily a political leader, the criteria that Friedrich has used to test the legitimacy of caciques who are political leaders are inappropriate in this case.

What then are the principles underlying the legitimacy of the Cayala cacique? It has been established that the Cayala cacique is the incumbent of two significant statuses in the community; he is a business owner and is also the chief patron of many local residents. I recognize, of course, that these two statuses and their roles often overlap. For instance, many of the cacique's business activities involve patronage relationships as well. However, viewing the cacique as a business owner and also as a patron allows us to search for principles of legitimacy applicable to these statuses even though they are held simultaneously by one person.

If we are searching for the bases of legitimacy for the statuses of business owner and patron, I think our task is a relatively simple one. Both of these statuses are familiar in Mexico and throughout the world. Let us first consider the status of the business owner.

A business owner has what Barnard (1968: 171) has called the "authority of position." The authority of business owners is based upon almost universally accepted attitudes toward private property and its management. These attitudes are for the most part incorporated into the formal system of Mexican statutes and laws which are also





almost universally accepted as legitimate due to their emanation out of democratic electoral processes.

But the Cayala cacique is more than a business owner; he is also a patron who has used patronage as an organizational principle in his businesses. The status of patron is not, of course, formalized in constitutional law as is that of business owner, but it is also legitimized by accepted attitudes toward private property and "free enterprise." Patron-client relationships can be viewed as working business arrangements even though at times they might take on other types of functions. Such relationships are essentially a form of exchange of different types of "private property," whether the "property" exchanged is in the form of material goods, labor, loyalty, or some other form. At the basis of patron-client relationships is the principle that every individual has the right to utilize his own private property in whatever manner he sees fit for his own situation. The objective of patron-client relationships for both parties is, of course, to achieve some sort of economic advantage. As long as both parties achieve this result to their satisfaction, the patron-client relationship will have the support of the participants. As we have seen, the Cayala cacique has very effectively arranged scores of such patron-client relationships to his own satisfaction and, more importantly for considerations of legitimacy, to the satisfaction of his client followers. Thus we can conclude that the legitimacy of the Cayala cacique is best considered a function of the formal status of business owner on the one hand, and the informal status of patron on the other. However, a further point should be made.

The reader might reasonably ask: What about the cacique's status as entrepreneur? Is it not this status that must be shown to be legitimate in the eyes of the community if we are to call the cacique a legitimate leader? A problem arises here because, in my opinion, the status of entrepreneur is not a concrete, distinguishable, or familiar one to most Cayalanos. The cacique is not a "full-time" entrepreneur as he is business owner and patron. He acts as an entrepreneur only on certain occasions, often widely separated in time. Furthermore, many of his entrepreneurial activities are conducted privately; the "average" Cayalano often has little knowledge, and even less understanding of his entrepreneurial activities. Barth has pointed out the rather "vague" nature of the status of entrepreneur and at the same time focuses our attention on an attribute of entrepreneurship that can be related to the question of legitimacy. Barth has written (1963: 6):

"Nor does it seem appropriate to treat entrepreneurship as a status or even a role, implying as it would a discreteness and routination which may be lacking in the materials we wish to analyse. Rather, its strict use should be for an aspect of role: it relates to actions and activities, and not to rights and duties, furthermore it characterizes a certain quality of orientation in this activity which may be present to a greater or less extent in the different institutionalized roles found in the community."

In other words, Barth would have us focus on certain "actions and activities" of the entrepreneur, especially those that show a "certain quality of orientation."

With respect to the Cayala cacique/entrepreneur, which actions and activities should we be concerned with? I think it is those actions and activities in which men, their labor, and other resources have been manipulated by the cacique (1) to gain personal

profit, and (2) to achieve the expansion and growth of his enterprise, resulting in even more personal profit. Activities with these ends, of course, have involved the exercise of power on the part of the cacique. This brings us to the question: Is the cacique's manipulation of men, their labor, and other resources to gain profit and achieve the expansion and growth of business accepted as "right" (legitimate) by the persons being manipulated? At first glance one might think that those being manipulated would answer "no," and might even feel that they were being exploited.

I contend that this is not the case in Cayala. First, it will be recalled that in Cayala people have the opportunity to choose between different alternatives. They can fish for a living, go into business for themselves, leave the village to seek a job elsewhere, or join the cacique's organization in one capacity or another. I emphasize the word "join;" the cacique does not force anybody to work for him. As we have seen, the majority of local residents and several outsiders have joined the cacique, and many more wish they had the opportunity to do so. This willingness to join the cacique is, I think, evidence that in the eyes of the community "the manipulation of men, their labor, and other resources to gain personal profit and achieve business expansion and growth" is an acceptable activity i.e., such activities are considered to be proper and legitimate. But, what is the cultural norm underlying the acceptance of this principle. I think it is the following: The community as a whole will benefit and prosper to the extent that the cacique gains profit. In other words, what is good for the cacique is good for Cayala. The performance of the cacique has shown this

reasoning to be basically sound. While not every Cayalano has benefited from the cacique's financial success, most have in one or several ways which have been mentioned: new jobs, higher incomes, economic security, better homes, potable water, local electricity, and so on.

One further point should be made before we leave the question of legitimacy--some "negative evidence" if you will. We have seen throughout this thesis that there are two local institutions that the cacique has consistently not attempted to manipulate or interfere with in any way. These are the local school and church. One can, I think, assume from his "hands-off" policy that the cacique sees no need to legitimize his activities by associating himself with religious or moral concepts or by using the church or school as favorable propaganda tools. The morals, ethics, and other teachings of the church and school are not in conflict with his activities, and he has nothing to gain in the way of legitimacy by manipulating ideology.

In summary, we have seen that the legitimacy of the Cayala cacique is best viewed as being based on his effective performance not as a political leader, but as a business owner and patron. Entrepreneurial activities and actions taken to gain profit and expand the enterprise are also considered legitimate by the local community since most residents realize that as the cacique's profits and business grow, they as individuals, and as a community, will also benefit.

The Image of Mexican Caciquismo

It was stated earlier that nearly all writers on modern caciquismo in Mexico have tended to take a rather negative view towards this significant type of local leadership. Let me present a few typical statements. Padgett (1966: 83) has stated about caciques: "The rule of this political entrepreneur is always despotic and often approaches a genuine tyranny." Goldkind has written (1966: 333):

"Typically, the cacique engages in illegal dealing with allies of similar ethics and profits from corruption in the public offices which he occupies or controls...The cacique often is completely ruthless in his treatment of all who oppose him in any undertaking, and in his exploitation of the economically poor and the politically weak. The cacique achieves and maintains his position through political intrigue, alliances, and bribery within the local community, and with politicians in larger urban centers, and through the use or threat of armed violence."

Friedrich in one place (1968: 247), calls caciques "autocratic" leaders who engage in "arbitrary rule" over the communities they dominate. In another place Friedrich (1958: 23) states that in Mexico caciquismo... "has long been dubbed a national social problem." We have previously seen the role that armed violence has played in cacical community administration. Thus, the overall impression of caciquismo we are left with is very negative; caciques are oppressive, evil, greedy, bloodthirsty, and the like. Furthermore, Adams (1967: 168-170) and Padgett (1966: 82-85) generally imply that, at least in part, caciquismo accounts for the economic and political "stagnation" that characterizes so many rural Mexican communities. They characterize caciquismo as an institution that must be eliminated from the countryside if economic and political "progress" and peaceful socio-cultural

change is to take place. As Padgett states (1966: 85):

"The prospect of change by peaceful means is connected with the growing urban character of the country, the diminishing number of old style caciques, and the expanding communications and transportation nets as they link more and more out-of-the-way rural places with modern centers of urban development."

The question is: Should the data on the Cayala cacique cause us to alter the negative image of caciquismo that has been described above? I think that to some extent it should. What have we seen taking place in Cayala? First, we have seen that for the past several years the village has been undergoing both rapid and extensive social, economic, and cultural change. For the most part, we have seen that the changes that have occurred have greatly benefited the local population. The movement towards an economy based on tourism has resulted in new jobs, increased local services, and a higher general standard of living for most Cayalanos.

Second, we have seen that rather than retarding cultural change, the Cayala cacique has been at the vanguard of change in Cayala, the "prime-mover" if you will. In this respect, however, the Cayala cacique is not unique.

In the three examples of caciquismo that have been mentioned here-- Cayala, Friedrich's work on the Tarascan area, and Goldkind's work on Chan Kom, we see that certain similar general processes are at work. All of these communities began as more or less egalitarian peasant communities, relatively isolated from the outside world. Then, in all cases, initial "contact" was made with certain state or national level institutions. It seems that after this initial contact, which was usually not intensive or constant in nature, a local cacique or caciques emerged from out of the egalitarian peasant

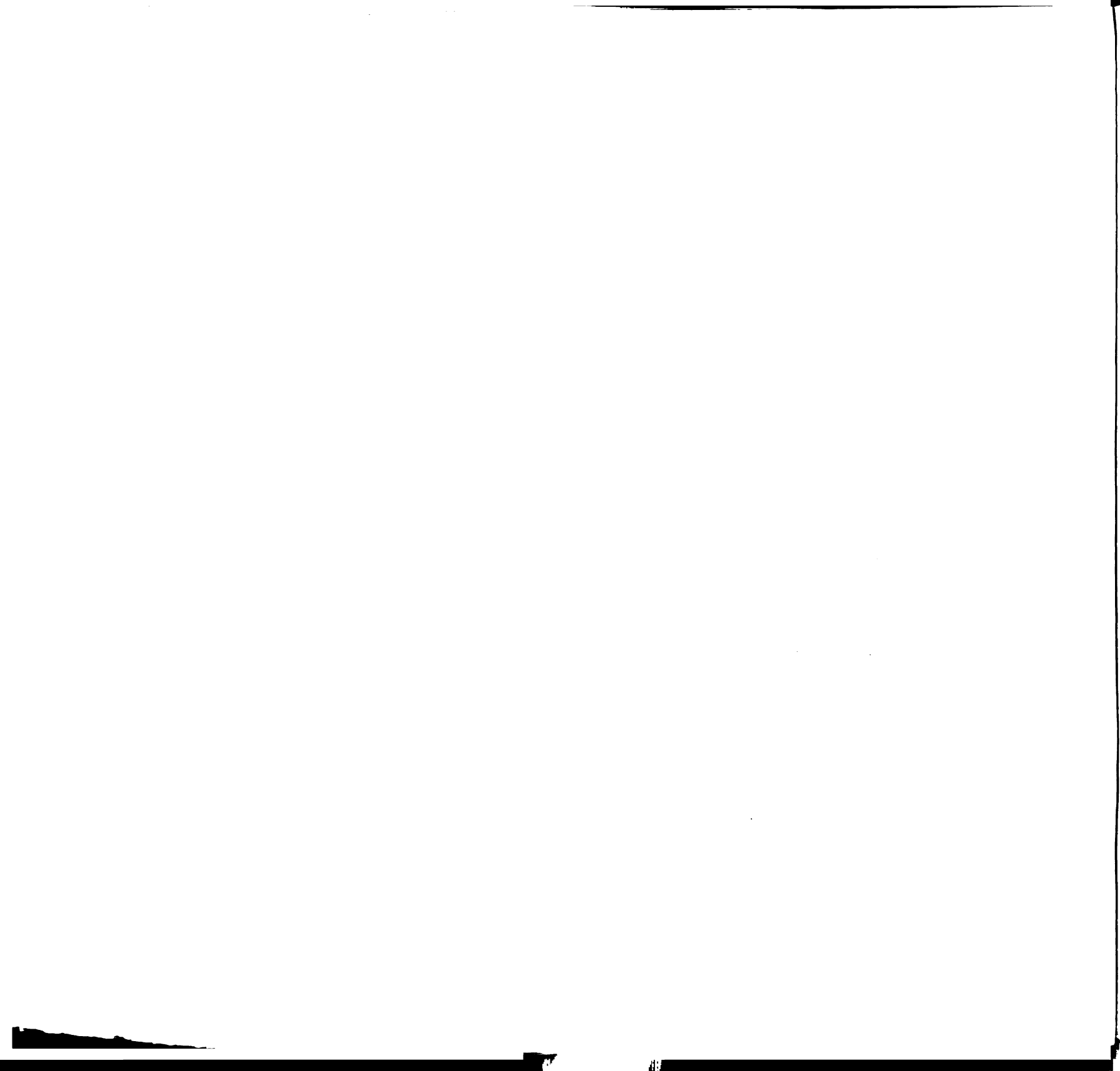
ranks. Once caciquismo became established, the communities in all cases began to change rather rapidly. This is due to the fact that caciques, at least those that we have data on, are essentially innovators, especially concerned with changing local forms of social and economic organization and forming various types of relationships with supra-community institutions.

What distinguishes Cayala from these other communities, however, is the fact that neither caciquismo or rapid cultural change have been accompanied by conflict, violence, or social upheaval. To the contrary, cultural change has been orderly, smooth, and peaceful. Why is this the case?

I think the answer is to be found in the nature of the "prime-mover" of cultural change, the cacique. Unlike the other caciques that we have discussed, the Cayala cacique is a legitimate leader with legitimate authority to exercise power. His entrepreneurial and innovative activities, which have resulted in cultural change, are considered "right" by most members of the community. The fact that these activities are legitimate accounts for the fact that cultural change in Cayala has not resulted in conflict or violence.

Conversely, I think it can be said that conflict and violence often stem from non-legitimate leadership regardless of the level of society at which we find non-legitimate leaders. Now this is certainly not an original observation. Ferrero (1942) for example, has attributed much of the civil war and social upheaval that took place throughout most of Europe between 1789 and 1917 to the fact that leaders at the national level were received as non-legitimate by the masses of the people. Certainly the non-legitimate nature





of the presidency of Porfirio Díaz in Mexico before 1910 was a major factor giving impetus to revolutionary thoughts and actions. Friedrich's analysis of Pedro Caso the Tarascan cacique at least implies that much of the violence in the Tarascan region can be attributed to the non-legitimate nature of local leaders.

This is not to say, of course, that all is "perfect" in Cayala. We have seen that caciquismo has had what some would call negative effects. Certain principles of Mexican democracy, particularly those relating to free elections and universal suffrage, have been thwarted by the actions of the local cacique. Similarly, we have seen that the cacique and a few local allies are guilty of having broken if not the letter, at least the spirit, of national agrarian reform laws. We have seen instances in which elected government officials have been bribed or otherwise enticed to show the cacique political favoritism, and so on.

Yet despite these "imperfections," in my opinion, caciquismo is a positive form of community administration for Cayala. One can only wonder how long it would have taken Cayala to achieve its present standard of living if local people had had to wait for the government to act on their behalf.

#### Mexican Caciquismo: Future Trends, Future Research

What will be the future of caciquismo in Mexico? Of course, we do not know the answer to this question, but perhaps we can speculate somewhat. Richard N. Adams is of the opinion that caciquismo is on the way out in Mexico and in other Latin American countries as well. Adam's (1967: 170) has noted that as central governments gain the

strength to bring national institutions into rural communities, caciques will probably be replaced by the agents of national institutions who will deal directly with the local population. Padgett (1966: 83) attributes the persistence of caciquismo in Mexico to two factors, the "remoteness" i.e., the relative isolation of many rural cacique dominated communities, and the strong "village culture" of many rural communities, which stresses "suspicion of the outsider" and hence dependence on local caciques. As he puts it (Ibid.):

"The farther from the effects of modernization including education and transportation the more dependent the people are upon their caciques."

Adams and Padgett seem to imply that cacique dominated communities are "transitional" types of communities, and that in due time, and with increasing centralization of government, caciques might all but disappear from the Mexican countryside. This indeed might well be the fate of what Padgett earlier called the "old style" caciques - caciques like Pedro Caso from Durazno and Don Eus Cime from Chan Kom, caciques whose position rests on the use of non-legitimate force.

Yet caciquismo in one form or another has been a cultural feature of Mexico for almost four hundred and fifty years now, and the institution has proven itself to be remarkably adaptable as a form of community administration and as a "bridge" between the rural and other sectors of society. Could it be that the Cayala cacique/entrepreneur is representative of "new style" Mexican cacique that might be emerging throughout Mexico today - a new type of cacique whose leadership position rests not on his ability to coerce men, but on his ability to satisfy their desires for economic betterment

and a higher standard of living?

Of course, we do not yet know if this will be the case and much future research is required before we will be able to predict the trends. I certainly agree with Friedrich when he states (1958: 23): "Caciquismo is a largely unstudied and partially covert feature of Mexican culture." We might start with a typology of modern caciques and cacique administered communities, based on case studies yet to be done. We can presently isolate two major types - the cacique/entrepreneur, who is essentially a business owner and a patron, and the "old style" type such as those in Chan Kom and Durazno who are essentially political "bosses" whose rule rests on the use of force and is reinforced by local ties of kinship, friendship, and compadrazgo. I strongly suspect that there are other types that might be isolated, leaders whose power might, for example, rest on their control of religious ideology, educational institutions, or some sort of "charisma" in the loose sense of the word.

The caciques that have heretofore been studied share a common feature. All operated in the social context of a small village. What about caciquismo in the hundreds of medium and large sized towns and cities? I know that the phenomenon exists (in Playa Cenagosa, for instance), but surely the larger population size and more heterogeneous society and economy of these places will require different cacical modes of operation and administrative techniques than those we have described here.

Once such a typology is developed, we can turn our attention to the host of other questions modern caciquismo presents. Questions such as : How will increased levels of education effect caciquismo?

Will improved transportation in the countryside and more contact on the part of peasants with cities effect caciquismo? Will these services decrease the peasant's dependence on cacical leadership? It will be recalled that caciquismo in Cayala began to develop after the road connected the village to Veracruz and the rest of the country; formal education continued to expand in the village with no interference from the cacique, and vice versa. What will happen to local caciques if and when the central government extends its authority down to the smallest rural village? Will caciques resist such moves, or will they become co-opted into the larger administrative system? These are but a small fraction of the important questions that remain to be answered. I hope that caciquismo will not too long remain a "largely unstudied" feature of the Mexican cultural panorama.

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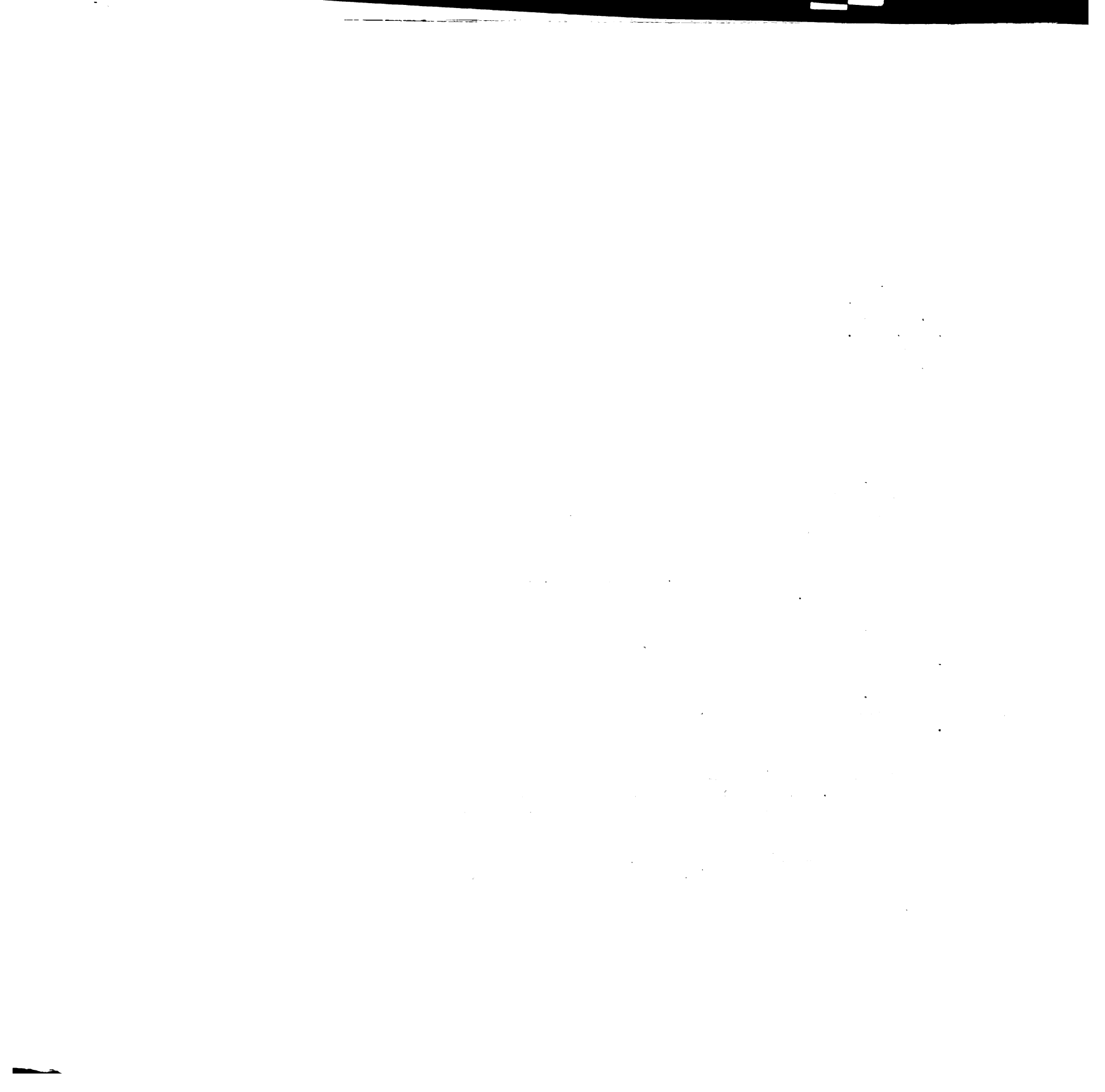
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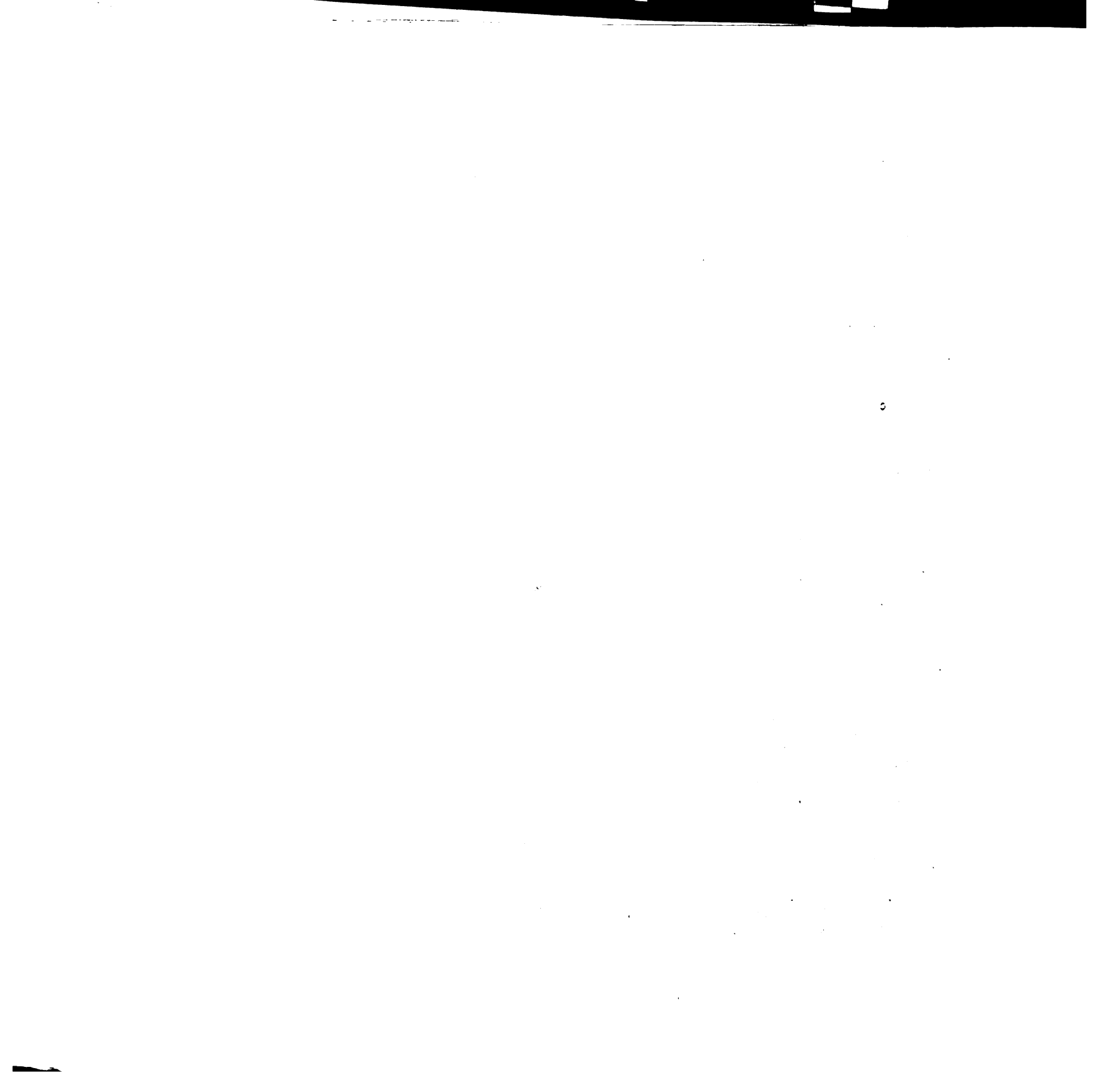
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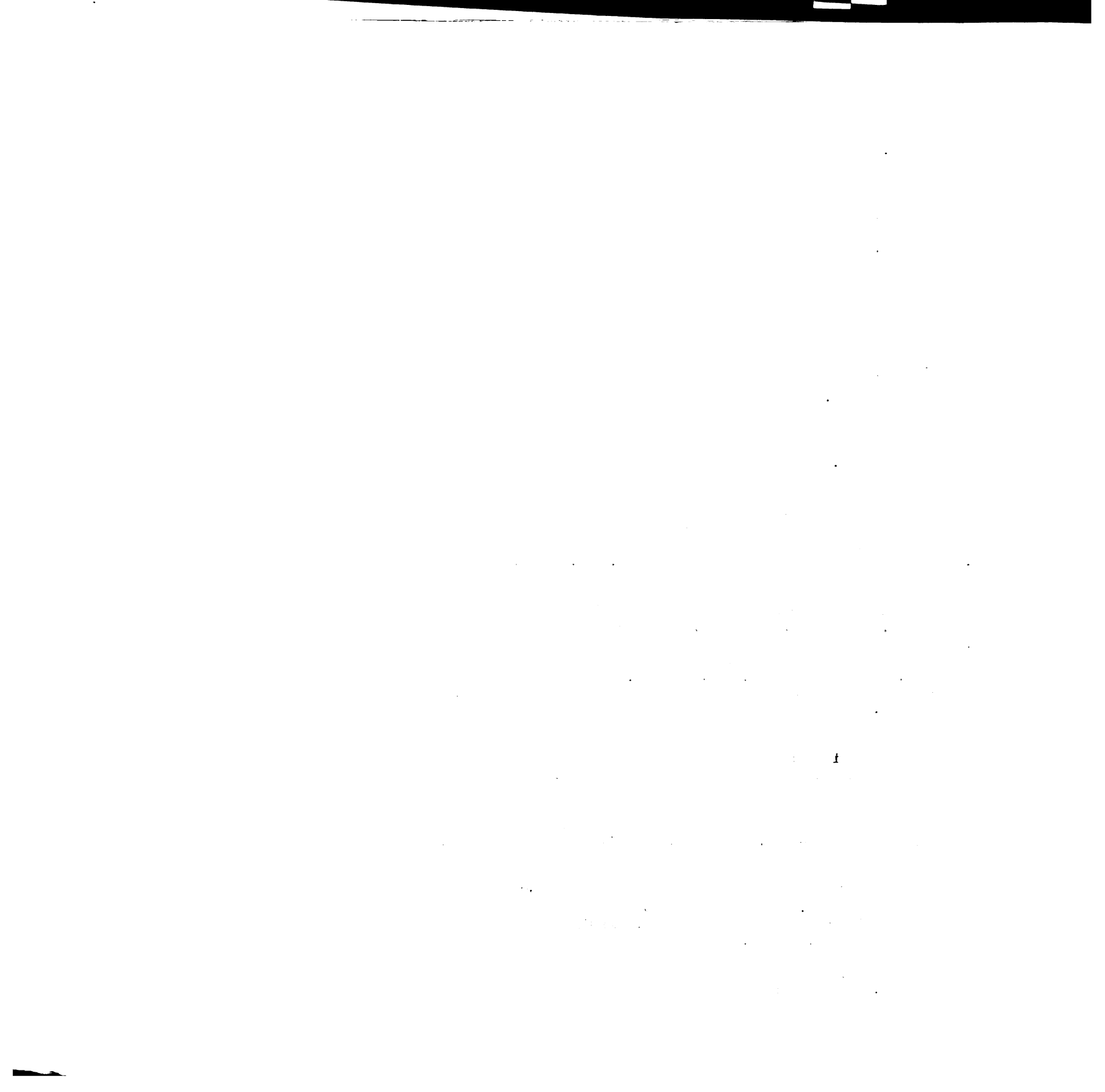
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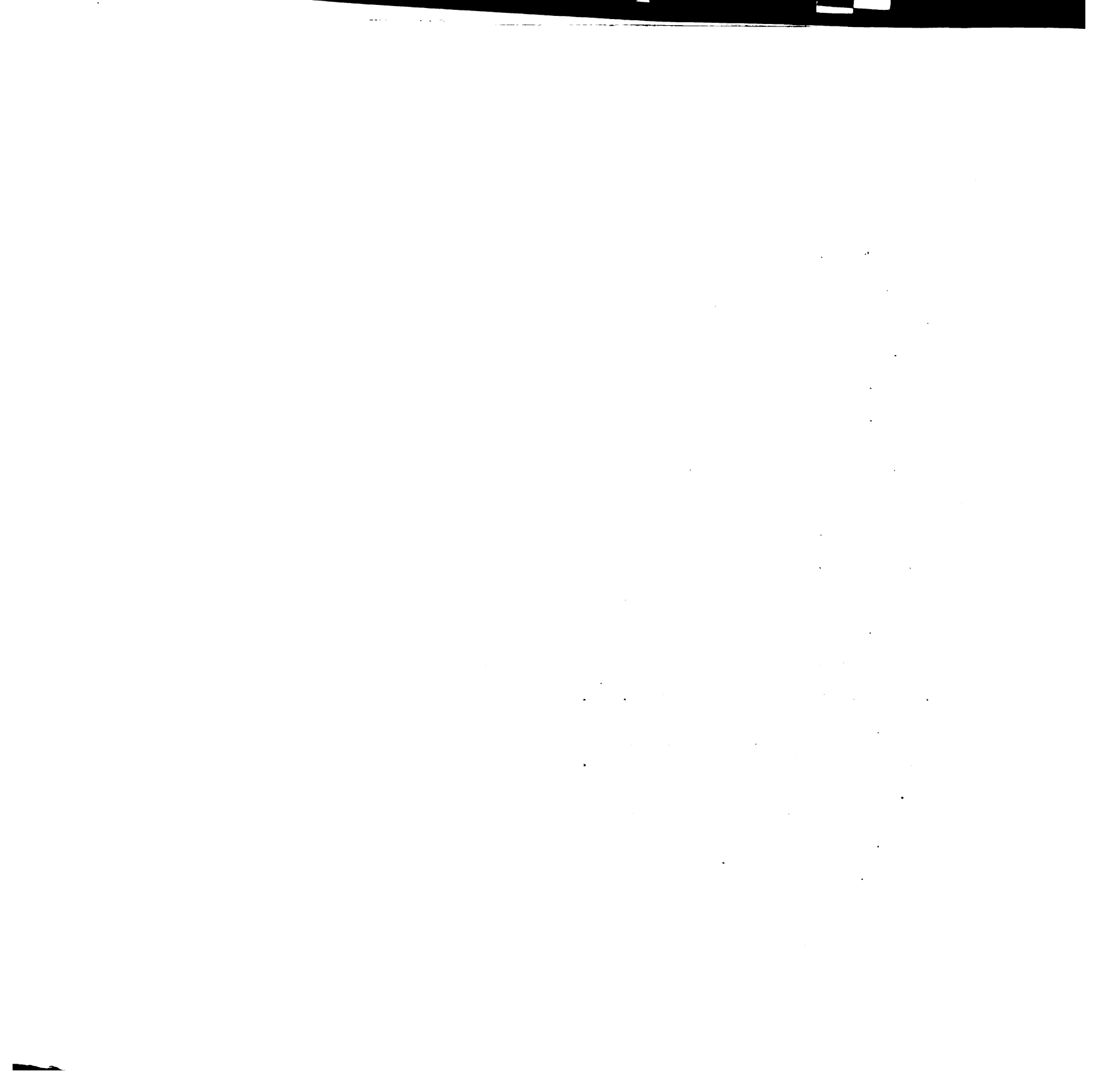
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