

SAN MIGUEL MILPAS ALTAS:
AN ETHNOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS OF INTERPERSONAL
RELATIONS IN A PEASANT LADINO COMMUNITY
OF GUATEMALA

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ABSTRACT

SAN HIGUEL MILPAS ALTAS: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS OF INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS IN A PEASANT LADINO COMMUNITY OF GUATEMALA

by Joseph Spielberg

The primary objective of this Thesis is to provide a basic ethnography of a completely ladino (non-indian) peasant community. The community described is a small village, of approximately 400 persons, located a few miles east of Antigua, Guatemala. The ethnographic data was gathered primarily through the usual techniques of anthropological research, namely participant observation, informal surveys and intensive interviews with selected informants, during two periods of residence in the village and the nearby area in 1962 and 1964.

Secondly, on the basis of the ethnographic materials gathered in this community, an attempt is made in the concluding chapter of this Thesis to examine local modes of interpersonal relations in the context of selected social institutions. The problem

periodic interaction; 3) whether the institution is aimed at fulfilling a single class or multiple classes of functions; 4) whether the interaction required by the institutions is formally (legally or religiously) based or informally (consensually) based; and 5) whether the institutions are viewed as sacred (dealing with transcendental or religious values) or secular (dealing with the performance of practical tasks only).

The principle finding of this analysis is that social institutions that require long-term, continuous association and have a formal basis, the aims and goals of which fall into a multiple classes and connote sacredness, appear to be less favored by San Miguelenos as contexts or through which to relate and interact with their fellow-villagers. In other words, situations do occur in this peasant village which exhibit limited cooperation, a demonstration of corporateness and, at least, affectively neutral views of their fellows, but seldom or never do such situations occur in the context of institutions which, by their nature, are binding and require a greater degree of intensive association or affiliation. In this case, such institutions were formal marriage

embodied in this analysis grows out of an increasing body of anthropological literature which has focused on the seemingly atomistic (lack of corporateness) character of peasant communities in Latin America and Southern Europe, their lack of cooperative effort for the common good and the highly negative view peasants have of their fellow villagers. Particular critical attention is paid in the introductory and concluding chapters of this Thesis to George Foster's "dyadic contract model" as an explanation for the above mentioned characteristics of these communities. Unlike Foster's approach, the proposition entertained in this Thesis is that in certain types of social institutions, this atomistic character of peasant communities, their lack of cooperation and highly negative feelings towards others are absent; while these same features are highly evident when looked at in terms of other social institutions.

The social institutions examined in relation to modes of interpersonal relations are analyzed in terms of five dimensions conceived to be common to all institutions. These dimensions are: 1) whether the institution requires long-term or short-term association; 2) whether the institution requires continuous or

and that of ritual co-parenthood. (compadrazgo) On the basis of this general finding, a tentative paradigm is constructed for the conceptualization of peasant social organization. This paradigm attempts to explain both the seemingly atomistic character of communities such as San Miguel and the centripetal forces providing the necessary cohesion and integration necessary for their continuity as communities.

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By
Joseph Spielberg

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FRONT-MATTER

"Many years ago this village had another name. Then, one day, in the middle of the small Rio de las Canas, not far from here, a statue of San Miguel was found. Men from other villages came and took San Miguel to their own village church. But San Miguel did not like these places and so the next day he would be found back in the river. Many other villages in the vicinity took San Miguel and tried to give him a home in their church, but he disliked them all. Then one day men from this village went and brought him here. And he stayed. He liked it here.

Once, when the people of this village were fighting and being bad to each other, San Miguel tried to leave. One morning they found him off the altar and at the door. If the people of San Miguel continue being bad, he will leave us. And we shall die."

_____ a tale told by an old Gentleman
of San Miguel

DEDICATION

To the people of San Miguel Milpas Altas and all campesinos like them--people of incredible courage, stamina and patience--whose unjust and unnecessary poverty has brought them in its wake, scorn, neglect, inconsiderateness and, as in this case, cold, impersonal, analytical attention. When it is their turn--as it will be--may they demonstrate greater sympathy and understanding than was shown them. To them I respectfully dedicate this Thesis.

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The special and extensive debt of a student to his teacher is owed to Professor Richard N. Adams, of the University of Texas. This indebtedness extends to his wife Betty, and their children, who often shared their happy home life and their love with me; so needed during many, early periods of gnawing uncertainty, confusion and frustration.

In Guatemala, many individuals gave of their time and energy in order to make my work easier. Among them, I wish to thank Dr. Alfredo Mendez, of the Instituto de Nutricion de Centro-America y Panama (INCAP), and Lic. Flavio Rojas of the Seminario de Integracion Social at Guatemala City. I especially extend my thanks and gratitude to Sr. Joaquin Noval,

who, in better times perhaps, might have authored a much superior and insightful monograph on San Miguel. May his hopes for his country, and the abilities he could bring to its development, ultimately find their expression in a free and healthy society. The warmth and genuine friendliness of old and new Guatemaltecos for the fumbling "gringo" were well manifest in Don Alejandro Alvarenga, of Guatemala City, Mr. Mrs. Walter Hannstein and Dona Millie Schleser of Panajachel. To them, my wife and I, extend our thanks for many a restful and pleasant hour away from the frustrations of field work.

Perhaps the greatest debt of all is owed to my wife Maria, who willingly shared and endured many hours of discomfort and neglect through some of the field work and the writing of this Thesis. Her greatest gifts have been her love and a daughter, Tani, whose recent arrival has added significance to everything I have tried to do. With all my love, I thank them.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Front Matter.....	i
Dedication.....	ii
Acknowledgments.....	iii
List of Tables.....	vi
Chapter	
I. SAN MIGUEL MILPAS ATLAS: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS OF INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS IN A PEASANT, LADINO COMMUNITY OF GUATEMALA	1
Introduction	
Objectives of Thesis	
Special Theoretical Focus	
Field Work and Data Gathering	
Special Problems	
II. THE VILLAGE SETTING.....	45
Village Government	
Village School	
The People	
The Household	
Household Routine	
Kinship System	
Subsistence Agriculture and Land Tenure	
Cash Producing Activity	
Small Scale Entrepreneurs	
Some Important Aspects of the San Migueleno Point of View	
III. RESIDENCE INHERITANCE AND MARRIAGE.....	137
Introduction	
The Residential Sitio and Its Composition	
Residence Rules	
Patterns of Inheritance and Residence	
Marriage Versus Common Law Unions	
Common Law Unions and World View	
Summary	

Chapter

IV. COMPADRAZGO.....	133
Types of Compadre Bonds	
Criteria for Selection of Compadres	
The Pattern of Compadre Bonds	
World View and Compadrazgo	
Other Functional Correlate	
Summary and Conclusion	
V. COMMUNITY ADMINISTRATION AND THE POLITICAL SYSTEM.....	217
Introduction	
Community Administration	
Recent Guatemalan Political History	
Village Political Factions	
History of Political Factions in San Miguel	
Summary	
VI. RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATION.....	300
Short History of Religious Organization	
Comite de la Iglesia	
Duties of the Comite	
The Hermandades	
Components and Calendar of Community Religion	
Death	
Romerias and the "Wake for the Candle"	
Summary	
VIII. INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS IN THEIR INSTITUTIONAL CONTEXT.....	355
Introduction	
The Institutions	
Agricultural Wage Labor	
Marriage and Common Law Unions	
Compadrazgo	
Faenas and the Auxiliatura	
Political Factions	
Comite De La Iglesia and the Hermandades	
Religious Fiestas, Velacion de la Candela and Funeral Wakes	

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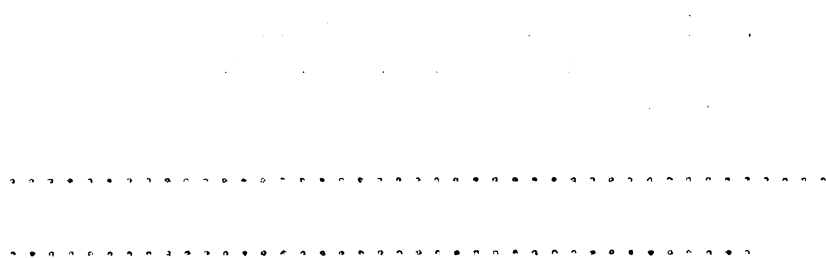
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Paradigm for the Conceptualization
of Peasant Social Organization
Conclusion

APPENDIX.....	409
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	433



LIST OF TABLES

TABLE	PAGE
1. A Diagram of the Structure of Levels of Government.....	45
2. Kinship Nomenclature.....	85
3. Frequency of Family Types.....	144
4. Number of Individuals per Household....	145
5. Frequency of Residence Types.....	147
6. Types of Conjugal Unions.....	165
7. Age Distributions of Males Married and Common Law Unions.....	173

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SAN MIGUEL MILPAS ALTAS: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS OF INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS IN A PEASANT, LADINO COMMUNITY OF GUATEMALA

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Objectives of Thesis

The primary over-all objective of this thesis is to provide a basic, ethnographic description of a non-Indian, Guatemalan Peasant community. The motivation behind this objective is related to the fact that only until very recently, the overwhelming ethnographic and ethnological concern with the cultures of Middle America had been focused on traditional Indian communities. Given that the hypothetico-deductive stage of investigation should always follow the descriptive, or natural history stage, it is worthwhile and significant, then, that an ethnographic grounding be provided for this type of community, heretofore neglected in favor Indian communities.

This nearly exclusive interest in traditional Indian communities was understandable. Given the

strong interest in culture contact and acculturation in American anthropological thinking prior to World War II, the emphasis appears to have been in the general area of diffusion of new culture traits (usually Hispanic) and survivals or retentions of pre-columbian ones. The several centuries of contact and interaction between the Spanish-American cultural tradition and the sedentary Indian villages of highland Guatemala and Mexico made this area ideal for such studies. Excellent examples of this type of orientation are found in the work of Elsie C. Parsons (1936) and Antonio Goubaud (1937). Also, the work of Maud Cakes (1951), William Madsen (1957) and Oliver LaFarge (1947) illustrates that this type of emphasis was not necessarily abandoned after World War II. While this type of interest and approach has produced some sound, significant and interesting pieces of work, it appears to have had a tendency to create a rather faulty impression or image of modern Latin America, or, at least, diverted anthropological attention from the more far-reaching and newer, social and cultural forces bringing about change in that part of the world. As Gillin (1946: 243-248) has stated it,

"Our tendency and that of most Europeans

has been to identify the modern way of life in Latin America either with some indigenous configuration or with European civilization in one or another of its national traditions. We have persisted in viewing the Latin American either as degenerate Indians struggling with the ruins of a conquest-wrecked native culture or as tainted Iberians fumbling with the traditions of Spain and Portugal...Latin American culture is not a servile copying of either foreign or indigenous models, but a new and vigorous expression of modern life...which enables it to be seen collectively as a cultural design distinctive from that of other varieties of Western Civilization."

With World War II, however, a related, but new, emphasis or interest appears to have arisen in the anthropological work on Latin America. Under the impetus of men like Gillin, this new emphasis or interest has centered itself squarely on the "emergent" creole or mestizo culture of modern Latin America.

The problems grappled with in many of the random community studies which bore this new interest in "emergent" mestizo culture appear to have been centered around the processes by which Indians were and are being culturally transformed into true nationals (often referred to as the process of "ladinoization") and the impingements of the larger society on the aspects of traditional Meso-American Indian culture which these communities continue to demonstrate.

Tax (1953), for example, was interested in the place of an Indian community's economic and productive system in the larger market system of Guatemala. Manning Nash (1958) on the other hand, was interested in the effects of a factory and unionization of factory workers in Cantel. The series of articles by anthropologists with research experience in Guatemala, compiled by Richard N. Adams (1957), had as their focus the effects of a national political revolution on the local political systems of Indian communities. And there were still other specific works by other anthropologists with this new interest, such as Gillin (1951), Ralph Beals (1953), Morris Siegel (1941, 1954) and Melvin Turnin (1952).

Curiously enough, however, inspite of this new interest in emergent creole or mestizo culture and the process of modern acculturation, the rural Ladino (non-Indian) peasant still did not, and as far as I know, has not become a primary object of field investigation and study. The work continued to be centered on the Indian, or "Modified or Ladinoized Indian" (R.N.Adams 1956: 893-897), in whom a transition and assimilation to the larger, national culture and society was evident. At most, the rural, completely

Ladino component of the population was taken into account in the these works only in terms of their relationship to the Indians (usually characterized as disparaging and exploitative) and limited comparisons of the differences between them (the Ladinos) and the numerically dominant Indians in the specific communities studied. Furthermore, in most of these cases the Ladinos of these communities were hardly what anyone would refer to as peasants, but rather they were "farmers" (producers for profit), entrepreneurs and government representatives.

In short, the non-Indian (or Ladino) peasant of Middle America is truly a "forgotten man". To my knowledge, there exists no basic ethnography which describes the nature of the culture of such a community. This is not to say that they are "unknown" or even unimportant as a distinctive segment of the populations of the Central American countries found in this area. Much of the systematic knowledge we have of these people is due to the efforts of Richard N. Adams and his cultural surveys of Guatemala and four other Central American countries (1957a). Fortunately, he chose as his special focus the culture of the Spanish-American countryman (rural Ladino), and his rationale

for doing so can well serve as the rationale for this ethnography. According to Adams (1957a: 7),

"The Spanish-American countrymen of Central America compose the largest single cultural population in the entire area. This population is larger in numbers than either the non-Spanish speaking group or the Spanish-speaking urban groups. The rationale of studying this group in particular was the reverse of that which has motivated many studies of refugees or survival groups. Our interest was focused on the Spanish-American countryman precisely because it is the largest and the fastest growing group in the region. The fact of rapid growth, and the consequence in the fields of both rural and urban growth, the depletion of natural resources, and the national and economic political development, make the countryman culture of tremendous importance; and as was already indicated, it is probably the group which we know systematically the least."

Special Theoretical Focus

As indicated initially, the primary objective of this thesis is to provide an ethnographic description of a type of community and culture which has rarely been covered in the basic anthropological literature on Middle America. However, much of the current theoretical literature on Middle America, and Latin America generally has dealt very seriously with the nature of peasant communities, such as the one described here. Many issues revolving around this type of society

have been raised. I have been particularly intrigued with one particular issue and the literature to which it has given rise. This problem has to do with the nature of interpersonal relations and social integration in peasant communities. The final conclusions chapter of this thesis, then, will have this problem as its central issue. What follows here is an attempt to conceptualize this problem in such a way as to examine it in the light of this basic ethnography.

A) Background of the Problem

One of the most significant events in the ethnological study of Latin American culture and society was the publication of Oscar Lewis' Life in a Mexican Village: Tepoztlan Restudied in 1951. This was a significant event in that it raised a number of serious questions concerning the reliability and validity of the anthropological approach to the study of human existence. More specifically, the community of Tepoztlan Morelos, Mexico, had been studied by Robert Redfield in 1926 and 1927. In the subsequent publication, Redfield summed up the community as "a relatively homogeneous, isolated, smoothly functioning and well-integrated society made up of contented and well-adjusted

people." (1930) The community described by Lewis in 1951 may as well have been of another time or another place.

There were a number of points at which the difference in these two descriptions of the same community were provocative of much discussion and stock-taking among anthropologists. The most important of these substantive differences appears to have been with regard to the degree of homogeneity, isolation and integration which is possible in peasant communities found within modern national entities. Lewis' description conflicted directly with Redfields on this major point. There was good reason for concentration by anthropologist on this difference. Anthropology, as Eric Wolf has pointed out (1964a: 22), was and is divesting itself of strict cultural relativism, manifest, in part, by a local, contextual focus, which had it in its grip prior to World War II. Local cultures and communities, it was now becoming evident, are part and parcel of larger socio-political entities which affected them in numerous ways. To many, it seemed that Lewis had aptly demonstrated how misleading previous approaches had been.

Another difference in the descriptions of Tepoztalan by Redfield and Lewis, respectively, had to

do with the nature of Tepozteicans and their interpersonal relationships. Unlike Redfield, who saw Tepoztecos as being "contented and well-adjusted people", Lewis found them to be highly individualistic, uncooperative with one another, full of fear, envy and distrust, frequently engaging in unrelenting and harsh gossip and malicious distortions and gruesome character assassination. (1951: 294) Whereas the picture of interpersonal relations painted by Redfield was Rousseauian, Lewis' was Machiavellian.

While these two areas of differences are interrelated, the former (i.e. homogeneity, isolation and integration) appears to have been much more productive of theoretical discourse in anthropological circles. Due to the post-World War II shift in viewpoint, noted above, much of this discourse was in tune with Lewis' description and rejecting the Redfieldian view, or at least suggesting serious modification. Furthermore, the search for causes underlying their (Redfield vs Lewis) difference with respect to this dimension of Tepoztecan life was not a difficult one. First of all, it could easily be seen that Redfield's techniques lacked the depth of Lewis'. Redfield worked along, primarily, with a few selected informants. Lewis, on the other hand, had a

fairly large staff of trained assistants that systematically, and in detail, investigated a wider range of phenomena among a larger group of villagers. Secondly, Redfields' grounding in the typological tradition of sociology predisposed him to more stereotypic description and sublimation, whereas Lewis' grounding in the quickly developing interest in national acculturation and development predisposed him to more intensive or in depth analysis of parts.

The difference between the views of these two men with regard to the nature of Tepoztecos themselves, and especially the nature of their interpersonal relationships, appears to have received a different sort of attention than the first difference noted above. Much of the discussion of causes for the two drastically different descriptions offered by these two men, respectively, revolved around questions of their subjectivity, motivation and personal character. For example, John Paddock (1961: 129), in a lengthy review of Lewis' works, evaluates him in the following manner:

"Lewis is a very unusual anthropologist, and his work deserves discussion not only because of its impact in Mexico and because it might affect some Latin American feelings toward North Americans, but equally because of its high quality and iconoclasm."

Then, he goes on to say that by omission Lewis tended "consistently to darken his portraits of people and communities". (1961: 133)

Other opinions, mostly directed at Lewis' characterizations of Mexican life, claim that Lewis' work suffers from an inability to eliminate his (Lewis') own personality from his work. Margaret Mead, on the other hand, taking issue with both Redfield and Lewis, claimed that their differing characterizations reflected their temperamental and cultural differences. (1956: 206)

Even Redfield suggested "subjectivity" as an explanation for his difference with Lewis by stating that he carried within him a "hidden question", as did Lewis. More specifically, Redfield claims to have been asking, "What do these people enjoy"?, while Lewis was asking "what do these people suffer from"? (1955: 134) Furthermore, Lewis, tacitly, at least, appears to have accepted this as a possible explanation by defending his own "hidden question" (1961: 179). He replied:

"It seems to me that concern with what people suffer from is more productive of insight about the human condition, about the dynamic of conflict and the forces for change. To stress the enjoyment in peasant life as Redfield agreed he did is to argue for its preservation and inadvertently to boost tourism."

Thus, implicit in much of the discussion concerning the nature and quality of interpersonal relations is the tendency to view this type of phenomenon as being outside the scope of anthropological research since it does not readily lend itself to objective description and analysis. Furthermore, such phenomenon, even if made amenable to objective analysis, appears to be viewed as relatively insignificant for the understanding of the socio-cultural organization of peasant communities since better and more directly related indices of this can be obtained through an analysis of other aspects of the community. A significant exception with respect to these two implicit conclusions (or assumptions) has been provided by the work of George Foster.

In an article titled "Interpersonal Relations in a Peasant Society," Foster states, initially, that it should be possible for ethnographers to agree upon and describe with some degree of objectivity the quality and nature of interpersonal relations found in a community. Thus, he dismisses the idea that this aspect of interpersonal relationships is simply a function of the "hidden questions" packed away in the ethnographer's luggage. There is a concrete reality, says Foster, and it can be discovered and analyzed. "Further", he suggests,

"the nature and quality of interpersonal relations should be recognized as an important diagnostic criterion in the definition of societal types, a functional reflection of certain structural characteristics of a community" (1960: 174).

These two points by Foster are the crucial points of departure for the theoretical focus encompassed within this ethnography. Therefore, I would like now to elaborate on them, somewhat, in order to arrive at as succinct a statement of the problem as possible.

Foster's goal in the article quoted above is not an attempt to reconcile the antithetical views of Redfield and Lewis, as might seem at first glance. In point of fact, Foster is predisposed to the Lewis characterization of Tepozteco personality and interpersonal relations since, it seems, it appears to be more in conformity with what he (Foster) had observed in peasant communities of Mexico. Thus Foster's goal, here, is to document what appears to him to be "the rather uniform character of interpersonal relations" characteristic of peasant societies in many parts of the world, and to indicate some of the structural characteristics functionally associated with it. Foster begins by gathering together an impressive collection of statements

concerning interpersonal relations by students of peasant communities in which the Lewis characterization is very closely approximated. The examples are taken from his own study of Tzintzuntzan (Mexico), Banfield's study of Montenegro (Italy), Gzzie Simons' study of Lunahuana (Peru), G. Morrison Carstairs study of a Rajasthan village in India and Octavio Romano's study of a Mexican-American village in South Texas. Even Redfield's conclusions concerning Dzitas, in his Folk Culture of Yucatan, is used to substantiate his thesis concerning the uniform quality or character of interpersonal relations in peasant communities.

In short, conflict is what characterizes peasant inter-personal relations outside the adult's nuclear family; often times this conflict characterizes relations within an extended kin group. Foster then goes on to ask what structural characteristics makes conflict endemic in peasant societies or communities. His attempt to answer this question is what appears to be his most worthwhile contribution. Here, Foster focuses on the economic competition for the means of subsistence as the answer to his question.

More specifically, the "economic pie" (resource base) of these communities is relatively small, and it is

the following: (i) the \mathbb{R}^n -valued function \mathbf{f} is continuous at \mathbf{x} if and only if $\mathbf{f}(\mathbf{x}) = \lim_{\mathbf{y} \rightarrow \mathbf{x}} \mathbf{f}(\mathbf{y})$; (ii) the \mathbb{R}^n -valued function \mathbf{f} is continuous at \mathbf{x} if and only if $\mathbf{f}(\mathbf{x}) = \lim_{\mathbf{y} \rightarrow \mathbf{x}} \mathbf{f}(\mathbf{y})$; (iii) the \mathbb{R}^n -valued function \mathbf{f} is continuous at \mathbf{x} if and only if $\mathbf{f}(\mathbf{x}) = \lim_{\mathbf{y} \rightarrow \mathbf{x}} \mathbf{f}(\mathbf{y})$; (iv) the \mathbb{R}^n -valued function \mathbf{f} is continuous at \mathbf{x} if and only if $\mathbf{f}(\mathbf{x}) = \lim_{\mathbf{y} \rightarrow \mathbf{x}} \mathbf{f}(\mathbf{y})$; (v) the \mathbb{R}^n -valued function \mathbf{f} is continuous at \mathbf{x} if and only if $\mathbf{f}(\mathbf{x}) = \lim_{\mathbf{y} \rightarrow \mathbf{x}} \mathbf{f}(\mathbf{y})$; (vi) the \mathbb{R}^n -valued function \mathbf{f} is continuous at \mathbf{x} if and only if $\mathbf{f}(\mathbf{x}) = \lim_{\mathbf{y} \rightarrow \mathbf{x}} \mathbf{f}(\mathbf{y})$; (vii) the \mathbb{R}^n -valued function \mathbf{f} is continuous at \mathbf{x} if and only if $\mathbf{f}(\mathbf{x}) = \lim_{\mathbf{y} \rightarrow \mathbf{x}} \mathbf{f}(\mathbf{y})$; (viii) the \mathbb{R}^n -valued function \mathbf{f} is continuous at \mathbf{x} if and only if $\mathbf{f}(\mathbf{x}) = \lim_{\mathbf{y} \rightarrow \mathbf{x}} \mathbf{f}(\mathbf{y})$; (ix) the \mathbb{R}^n -valued function \mathbf{f} is continuous at \mathbf{x} if and only if $\mathbf{f}(\mathbf{x}) = \lim_{\mathbf{y} \rightarrow \mathbf{x}} \mathbf{f}(\mathbf{y})$; (x) the \mathbb{R}^n -valued function \mathbf{f} is continuous at \mathbf{x} if and only if $\mathbf{f}(\mathbf{x}) = \lim_{\mathbf{y} \rightarrow \mathbf{x}} \mathbf{f}(\mathbf{y})$.

1. Let $\mathbf{f}: \mathbb{R}^n \rightarrow \mathbb{R}^m$ be a function. Then \mathbf{f} is continuous at $\mathbf{x} \in \mathbb{R}^n$ if and only if $\mathbf{f}(\mathbf{x}) = \lim_{\mathbf{y} \rightarrow \mathbf{x}} \mathbf{f}(\mathbf{y})$. This is a standard result in multivariable calculus. The proof of this result is straightforward and can be found in many textbooks. The key idea is to use the definition of a limit in \mathbb{R}^m and the definition of a continuous function. The definition of a limit in \mathbb{R}^m states that $\mathbf{f}(\mathbf{x}) = \lim_{\mathbf{y} \rightarrow \mathbf{x}} \mathbf{f}(\mathbf{y})$ if and only if for every $\epsilon > 0$, there exists a $\delta > 0$ such that $\|\mathbf{f}(\mathbf{y}) - \mathbf{f}(\mathbf{x})\| < \epsilon$ whenever $\|\mathbf{y} - \mathbf{x}\| < \delta$. The definition of a continuous function states that \mathbf{f} is continuous at \mathbf{x} if and only if $\mathbf{f}(\mathbf{x}) = \lim_{\mathbf{y} \rightarrow \mathbf{x}} \mathbf{f}(\mathbf{y})$. Therefore, the proof of the result is straightforward.

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constant in size, i.e. absolutely limited. Consequently, production is constant. Holding technology constant, he says, "there is no known way to increase it (production) however hard the individual works" (Foster 1960: 177). He adds, "Tradition, then, has determined what a family may expect as its share of this small productive pie. It can expect no more and zealously watches that it receives no less...(thus), if someone is seen to get ahead (within the village) it can only be at the expense of others in the village". The consequences of such an economic-ecological adjustment, and it's concomitant psychology, according to Foster, would be: 1) successful persons would invite suspicion; 2) families would attempt to conceal economic improvements whatever their source; 3) cooperative innovations (outside the traditional forms of economic exchange) would be very difficult; 4) "security" in life would mean eternal vigilance with respect to the activities and motives of one's fellow villagers; and 5) a community of this size could function with a minimum of leadership. Tradition and knowledge of one's fellow would make (much) leadership unnecessary and probably would be considered a threat to the group.

Finally, Foster does not fail to take into account an important demographic aspect. According to him, the

above strains and tensions inherent in the economic order of peasant life are aggravated, or appear in sharper relief (at least in the accounts of ethnographers), because these peasant communities are, in fact, large, and face to face relationships (with concomitant, intimate knowledge of the activities and tendencies of others) are rendered less possible. Thus, this larger population size, i.e. optimum size being 1000 to 1500 (1960: 178), tend to aggravate the suspicion and antagonism, make it more diffuse (as opposed to factions) and further strain the integrative mechanisms which maintain social order.

In Foster's thesis we have the beginning, at least, of a community typology quite obviously based on the idea of technological-environmental adjustment. Communities can be typed according to the degree of restrictiveness or ampleness of the resource base and the degree to which productivity is fixed or expanding. Associated with this dimension is community size. Thus in community types where the resource base, productivity and productive technology is restricted, and, in addition to this population is quite small, conflict would not necessarily be the characteristic quality of relationships obtaining between its members. A

suitable representation of such a society or community, it seems to me, would be the hunting and gathering bands. At the other extreme of these interrelated dimensions, one could legitimately place the relatively prosperous, small towns of western, industrialized nations. Here, also, conflict would not be the characteristic mode of interpersonal relations outside the nuclear family but rather extensive or multiple types of cooperation for the common good, as witnessed by the plurality of associations, such as P.T.A.'s, Chambers of Commerce, and so on, found in these communities. Truly peasant communities are to be found somewhere between these two extremes and, paradoxically enough, not cooperation but conflict and uncooperativeness characterize interpersonal relations within them.

But of course, Foster's model could not be complete without giving some consideration to the nature of the integrative mechanisms which maintain social order, at least in the case of peasant communities. In this publication, "Interpersonal Relations in a Peasant Society," Foster gives us a clue as to the nature of these mechanism. He states:

"Unfortunately, space does not permit

consideration of the centripetal forces which counter balance the centrifugal forces in peasant society. These, I suspect, are found in relations of a contractual nature, such as fictive kinship, formalized friendship, and some forms of labor exchange in which reciprocity, and especially individual reciprocity, is the key. Peasant society, however severe its internal strains, has stood the test of time as successful social device." (173)

In a subsequent article, titled "The Dyadic Contract: A Model for the Social Structure of a Mexican Peasant Village" (AA, Vol. 63, #6, 1961), Foster develops a model to "reconcile the institutional roles which can be recognized and described with the underlying principle which gives the social system coherence." (1961: 1173) While he derives this model from his empirical study of Tzintzuntzan, and uses these materials to illustrate its utility, Foster makes it quite evident that he recognizes the model--"The Dyadic Contract"--as applicable to all classic peasant communities (such as in Spain and Italy) and most, and possibly all, non-Indian Latin American peasant communities. According to Foster, (1961: 1174)

"...a thorough description and a profound understanding of the workings of institutions which are evident enough to be named do not add up, by themselves, to a structural analysis of the social organization of the community. We need to know more than the

totality of roles and attendant statuses that tradition recognizes in institutional frameworks. It is not sufficient to conceive of the community as formed by a conventional arrangement of sociological constructs. What is needed, at an intermediate level of analysis, is an integrative principle--here reciprocity--which leads, at a higher level of analysis to a social model--here the dyadic contract."

Thus, outside of the nuclear family, an adult person's relationships with others are based on a contractual relationship. Although Foster does not say this directly, he implies that a peasant may possess four types of contractual relationships:

- a) informal or implicit (lacking legal or ritual basis) and symmetrical (between equals); b) informal and asymmetrical (between non-equals); c) formal or explicit (legally or ritually validated) and symmetrical; and d) formal and asymmetrical.

Curiously enough, Fosters model of dyadic contract, does not, by his admission, include formal or explicit contractual relations, but is restricted only to informal or implicit relationships. He states that, (1961: 1175)

"These formal contracts may be but are not necessarily congruent with the dyadic contracts, since the latter cut across formal institutional boundaries and permeate all

aspects of society. For example, two compadres are bound by a formal contract validated in a religious ceremony. This tie may be reinforced and made functional by an implicit dyadic contract, making the two relationships congruent. More often than not, however, compadre bonds are not backed up by implicit contracts."

Thus, the individual villager sees that, (1961: 1176)

"...quite apart from conventional institutions, he is tied in another way to certain relatives, compadres, neighbors, and friends to the partial or complete exclusion of other occupying the same statuses vis-a-vis ego, who collectively make up his world. Though he might not put it in so many words, the TzinTuzTzeno recognizes that these contractual ties are the glue that holds his society together and the grease that smoothes its running."

It is important to emphasize, however, that these contractual ties that cross-cut conventional institutions, according to Foster, do not give rise to any immediate corporate entity. But rather, they give rise to sets of inter-locking dyadic like social systems that eventually, for all practical purposes, result in a corporate entity or reality--namely the community. Furthermore, these dyadic contracts can be identified and said to exist whenever informal reciprocity (or exchange) of goods or services are seen in the daily round of village activities.

To summarize, what Foster has offered us in these two very significant articles is an equilibrium type model of the structure and organization of peasant communities, at least those of Latin America. These communities usually exist on an extremely marginal level with respect to their resource basis and subsistence productivity. In such a situation, cooperative behavior, outside the nuclear family, and corporate action, as well, is not merely superfluous, but is viewed as dangerous by the peasants themselves. Therefore, all interpersonal relations outside the context of the household or nuclear family tend to be negative, e.g. distant, viewed with suspicion and conflict oriented.

Given such a situation, the institutions or institutional framework of the community does not necessarily and of itself provide the integrative mechanisms which maintain social order. But rather, the integration of the community is provided by interlocking sets (through the possession of a common member) of dyadic (person to person), informal, contractual relationships, marked by intensive complementary reciprocity of goods and services, within these more or less traditional institutions, such as

compadrazgo, extended kinship ties, neighborhoods and peer groups. Thus, the centrifugal forces centering around the suspiciousness and conflict in most interpersonal relations outside the nuclear family are counterbalanced by the centripetal forces of these dyadic contractual relations.

B) Critique

There can be no doubt that the general structural-functional analysis of peasant communities offered by George Foster is a brilliant exercise in attempting to make more understandable and consistent much of what we know about such communities in various parts of the world. Furthermore, it is productive of much insight into other aspects of the nature of these societies. For example, the much discussed but rarely explained Latin American phenomenon of personalismo (the cult of individualism or personality) is reduced to manageable terms and divested of its mystical and elusive nature. According to Foster, "The model of the dyadic contract makes more precise this loose term, for personalismo is nothing more than a contractual tie between two people who feel they can help each other by ignoring in large measure the institutional context in which they meet." (1961: 1191)

But this is not the issue that I wish to confront in this thesis. What concerns me here is the utility of Foster's propositions as a model of peasant society and, furthermore, the necessity of reducing a community, or a society, to the multiple sets of social systems (or relational principles), the locus of which is psychological predispositions of individuals. It should not be necessary to re-read, in depth, the work of Foster to come to the realization that the model he offers is based on basic tenets of Malinowskian functionalism. As was adequately demonstrated by Radcliffe-Brown, and followed up in the work of his students, Malinowskian functionalism may be useful for the construction of a model of behavior, but it is definitely inadequate for a model of societies.

Thus, it is my contention that while Foster's model helps explain much of the behavior of Latin American peasants, it fails to offer a useful explanation for the existence of the entity, *sui generis*, which we call a peasant community or society. Furthermore, I contend that its failure to do is because it merely pays lip service to the institutions and the framework they form--takes them as givens, so to speak--within the community and focuses directly an integrative

principle--complementary reciprocity between individuals--the locus of which is a negative psychological predisposition with respect to corporate action born out of a restrictive and relatively harsh margin of survival. It leaves no room for explaining the place of formal contractual ties in the over-all social structure and organization of these communities, other than to say that they may or may not be congruent with the informal or implicit contractual ones. Finally, this model offers no explanation for its most basic premise. Specifically, it claims that these informal contracts between equals cross-cut conventional institutional statuses and roles, yet there is no explanation of the rationale behind the differential intensification, through complementary reciprocity, of specific ones. In other words, what factors determine which compadre, cousin or neighbor a villager will cement and intensify these ties with are not derivable from Foster's propositions. I believe that by basing his model on the structural-functional analysis of informal social systems, and taking their institutional framework as a given, the explanation of differential intensification could only be determined by egocentric, idiosyncratic or personality factors.

Therefore, through an exercise of successive approximation, I would like here to suggest some modifications growing out of Foster's basic ideas that could lead to a broader and, perhaps, more fundamental analysis of the social organization of Latin American peasant communities.

To be sure, Foster's primary focus on such factors as the static economy, low productivity and numerical increase beyond optimum size (for intimate knowledge of others), as the major determining factors underlying the seemingly uniform peasant personality and interpersonal relations, are very significant and would probably hold for most communities in similar situations. As in the work of cultural ecologists, this primary focus represents, at least, an attempt to postulate some definite, concrete invariants for a theory of culture, and its interrelationship with personality tendencies and modes of interpersonal conduct. This focus or idea, however, had laid Foster open to the charge of postulating a "crude economic determinism" (Lewis 1960: 180), since no intervening variables are taken into consideration. But there are still two other examples of "stretching reality" evident in Foster's work.

1. The first step in the process of creating a new product is to identify a market need. This involves conducting market research to understand the preferences and behaviors of potential customers. Once a need is identified, the next step is to develop a concept that addresses this need. This concept should be innovative, feasible, and profitable. The concept is then refined through a series of iterations, involving feedback from potential customers and internal stakeholders. Once the concept is finalized, the next step is to develop a business plan. This plan outlines the financial aspects of the product, including the costs of production, distribution, and marketing, as well as the expected revenue and profit. The business plan is then used to secure funding from investors or lenders. Once funding is secured, the next step is to develop a prototype of the product. This prototype is used to test the concept and gather feedback from potential customers. The prototype is then refined based on this feedback. Once the prototype is finalized, the next step is to produce the product. This involves manufacturing the product in a cost-effective and efficient manner. The product is then distributed to potential customers through a sales channel. Finally, the product is marketed to potential customers through a variety of channels, including advertising, public relations, and direct sales. The marketing campaign is designed to create awareness of the product and generate interest among potential customers. Once the product is launched, the next step is to monitor its performance. This involves tracking sales, customer feedback, and market trends. The product is then refined based on this feedback. Finally, the product is discontinued if it is no longer profitable or if a better product is developed.

The first of these can be seen when one examines closely the line of development behind this argument of his. When he claims that "conflict" is the essence or the rather "uniform quality of interpersonal relations" in peasant communities, Foster is making an unwarranted leap from a generalization based on verbal behavior and/or personality tendencies to actual behavior or modes of interpersonal conduct. This is evident when one notes that his "examples" of "interpersonal relationships" are actually expressions of world view, or conceptions by the villager of the character and motivations of others--and often they are mere restatements by the ethnographer of what seems to him to be the mentality of the peasant with respect to others. These negative conceptions or viewpoints are, admittedly, universal in most peasant communities described by ethnographers. And in San Miguel, as I shall demonstrate, they are also present. But these phenomena are of a different order than is actual behavior or conduct vis-a-vis fellow villagers. In other words, while most peasants have a generalized and diffuse view of others which is pessimistic and suspicious, not all behavior or conduct demonstrated towards others can be characterized as conflict or uncooperativeness. Limited cooperation does

occur, and as does politeness or simple reserve and aloofness, when peasant deals with peasant. Even Foster recognizes this, later on, when he gives prime importance to complementary reciprocity and dyadic contracts as mechanisms of integration. Conflict, of course, does occur, and occurs frequently as manifested in land squabbles, claims of brujeria (bewitchment), calumny and actual physical violence. But the point I wish to make here is that whether or not the peasant view of others manifests itself in "uncooperative" and "conflict" behavior is dependent on other, modifying or intervening factors. To my mind, one of the most important of these other factors is the institutional context of the particular interaction or interpersonal relation in question.

Secondly, even if the evidence for the negative quality of interpersonal relations brought to bear by Foster were behavioral rather than expressions of world view, we still would have to face up to the question of just how "objective" the anthropologist's characterization of such behavior really is. As Julian Pitt-Rivers, in his critique of Foster, has pointed out (1960: 130-133), all the statements by other anthropologists used by Foster to "objectively" document the negative quality of interpersonal relations in peasant communities

are evaluatory. More specifically, he says,

"...they (statements) presuppose a standard in relation to which they measure the characteristics of behavior and without which they are meaningless, for they all refer to qualities which are universal, and each is significant in that it implies the presence of the quality in a 'high' (i.e. higher than the author regards as normal) degree."

But no such standards for such an evaluation are given by Foster or anyone else. "Moreover", continues Pitt-Rivers, "for each of the terms a contrary alternative may be found if one wishes to evaluate the same behaviour favorably instead of unfavorably." (181).

He concludes, then, that,

"One cannot evaluate a value, one can only concur or dissent, and for an author to state his attitude towards the standards of another society is of interest only insofar as it throws light on his personality and method of working. It cannot provide a basis for the classification of societies."

What is absolutely necessary, then, is some particular way of conceptualizing or operationalizing the observations of interpersonal relations in order to make evaluation of them, and comparison between them, meaningful. Furthermore, such a conceptualization or operational definition of qualitative modes of interpersonal relations should be ones which would allow for an evaluation of the degree

to which they serve to integrate or atomize the totality defined as the community. The conceptualization I find most fruitful is one which defines negative interpersonal relations as patterns of interaction which serve to reaffirm and strengthen the integrity of the smallest social unit of the community--the residential unit--and thereby reduce the potential for the creation of groups which cross-cut these atoms and, consequently, serve to weaken the integrity of the largest unit; in this case the community. "Positive" interpersonal relations, on the other hand, are herein defined as patterns of interaction which cross-cut the residential units and units representatives of these into larger groups within the community. Furthermore, such interaction may involve two (dyadic) residential units or more (polyadic) and may be "informal" (lacking legal or ritual bases) or formal (with legal or ritual bases), so long as they are referable to some identifiable institutional context.

C) Statement of the Problem

The particular nature of community institutions and the functions they perform or do not perform, it seems to me, should not be treated as givens in the

analysis of social structure and organization, as does Foster, but rather should be viewed as variable and problematical. When referring to "institutions", I am here following S. F. Nadel's usage of the term. (1951: 107) For Nadel, "The institution would thus appear to be once more an action pattern, though magnified and more abstract than any elementary action pattern, embodying a class of aims and a series of ways of behaving rather than a single aim and behavior cycle".

Institutions, like the personality and world view of persons, are subject to variation, in their particular manifestations and functions, from historical as well as ecological and demographic factors. For example, the patterning of Compadrazgo bonds (ritual co-parenthood) and the functions it performs are not necessarily uniform from time to time, place to place or ecological setting to ecological setting. And the same thing can be said for the well-known institutions of the civil-religious hierarchy, the *cofradia* (religious sodality) system, and even the structure of the supposedly nuclear family and related phenomenon, such as residence patterns and so on. Of course, many of these institutions have taken on the nature of ideal or abstract types, for the purpose

of ethnological comparison and generalization. But to confuse ethnological concepts with ethnographic reality can have some rather startling consequences, as Ward Goodenough has demonstrated in the case of residence rules (1956).

Thus, the approach generally encompassed within this thesis is that the particular nature of the social institution wherein interaction takes place, plays a strong role in determining whether the generalized, negative view of others, seemingly natural to the peasant personality or cognitive map, will be followed out and result in negative behavior towards others--uncooperative and conflict behavior. In other words, it seems to me that through an intensive description and analysis of the particular social institutions of a community, a better picture of the social structure and organization of the community is possible. In such an approach, also, we have the basis for a more accurate analysis of the relationship between environmental-ecological adjustment, the peasant view point and his characteristic modes of interpersonal conduct and behavior. But before such a relationship can be struck, the social institutions must be analyzed in a particular way. More specifically, in describing and analyzing

the social institutions of a community, we must isolate dimensions common to all of them and attempt to see how variation in these dimensions, but not necessarily variation in all, is reflected in the modes of interpersonal conduct. Such an analysis, it seems to me, could very well result in a paradigm useful in predicting when and where we may expect correspondence between the negative peasant view of his fellows and uncooperativeness and conflict in interpersonal conduct, and when and where we may expect other modes of interpersonal conduct and behavior (as defined above). I intend to explore the construction of such a paradigm, however tentative and preliminary, in the concluding chapter of this thesis.

The dimensions to be used in analyzing the social relationships of San Miguel are derived, in part, from the rather parsimonious definition of institutions provided by S. F. Nadel, above, as well as from attempts to order the raw data. The two most important aspects of the definition of institutions used here are action (or rather, patterned co-activity) and the goals or aims of such co-activity. Logically, interaction can be distinguished as being long-term (ideally, in effect throughout the life of the participants, such as marriage

vows or compadrazgo bonds) or short-term association (for a definite and limited period of time) such as the action of persons in public posts of authority or wage-labor arrangements.

Secondly, whether long-term or short-term association, an action pattern (or pattern of association) may have a fixed periodicity (i.e. taking place once a year, for example) or it may be continuous, occurring in day to day fashion. It would appear that long-term associations, by definition, could only demonstrate continuous interaction or co-activity, such as conjugal unions. However, even in this institution, particularly at lower economic levels of the population (especially in Latin America), many times action is periodic (O. Lewis 1962: 18; 1963: xxvi) due to economic demands upon the father, as well as the casualness of some consensual, conjugal unions.

Thirdly, as Foster has pointed out, relationships (patterns of interaction or co-activity) may be grounded on a legal and/or religious basis. That is to say, it may have formal sanction. On the other hand, an association may be grounded merely on consensus or agreement (i.e. informal) on the part of the participants. Once again, the significant differences in the stability of conjugal unions with this formal sanction and those only consensually based gives some indication of the

possible importance of this dimension.

Fourthly, the patterned co-activity demanded by social institutions may be viewed as being directed at a single class of aims or goals; or multiple classes of aims or goals. That is, the interactants may enter into co-activity for the purpose of achieving some pre-determined, specific class of aims (i.e. harvesting or funeral or political action); or they may enter into co-activity with no pre-determined, specified class of aims, but rather with the understanding that their relationship will serve as the means of accomplishing any number of aims or goals that might arise so long as their association is valid (i.e. harvesting and funerals and political activity).

Finally, the aims or goals of any association or patterned interaction may be characterized as being transcendental, involving primarily expression of a higher order of things, usually spiritual, such as friendship or after-life or communion with the spirits in their universe. On the other hand, the aims may be quite pragmatic or practical, involving only the accomplishment of certain necessary tasks. It is obvious that this dimension may not be as dichotomous as I may wish to make it, particularly if the institutionalized

interaction involves multiple classes of goals or aims; some could be of the transcendental sort (i.e. sacred) and others more practical or pragmatic (i.e. secular). For purposes of analysis, however, I would resort to classification on the basis of the more important goals found within the context of multiple goal or aims institutions.

These, then, are the basic dimensions which seem to me to cross-cut all social institutions, and are therefore useful in cross-classifying institutions for the purpose of seeking their correlation with modes of interpersonal relations, i.e. negative or positive, as defined above. No claim is made for the exhaustiveness of this list of dimensions; nor as to their objectivity, since they are primarily logical deductions from observation. I have tried merely to define them in such a way as to provide at least a tentative measure whereby evaluation (i.e. placing them at one or the other end of the respective dichotomies) would be possible. Finally, it may be that a more refined conceptualization may subsume some of these under others or yield a completely different set of dimensions at a higher or lower level of analysis, such as Talcott Parsons' 'pattern variables (1962: 47-109).

Since the substantive chapters which follow are written primarily with an ethnographic or descriptive, rather than theoretical or hypothesis testing, aim in mind, there will be no attempt to relate each one, in the context of the chapter itself, to the problem of analysis and paradigm construction stated above. This will all be reserved for the concluding chapter. Therefore, the reader is advised that the things to look for in reading the ethnographic, descriptive chapters are the following:

- 1) reflections of the negative peasant view, in the different substantive contexts.
- 2) the generalized modes of interpersonal conduct or behavior, e.g. conflict, limited cooperation, reserve and aloofness, etc.
- 3) and finally, variation within the basic dimensions of the social institutions related to economic production (found in the setting chapter), family or household organization, community administration and politics, compadrazgo and religious activity.

More specifically, here the reader should try to see whether the institutions require: a) long-term or short-term association; b) periodic or continuous association; c) a single class or various classes (concurrent) of aims or goals; d) an informal or ritual (or legal) basis of validity; e) and, finally, whether the aims of the institutions are, in substance, sacred or secular.

Field Work and Data-Gathering

The materials presented in this thesis are the result of two distinct sessions of daily field work in the village of San Miguel Milpas Altas. On each occasion, I was employed as the field investigator for specialized research projects, funded by Ford Foundation Grants through the Office of International Programs of Michigan State University. Since each of these research projects involved distinct goals, purposes and types of data, and since neither was primarily concerned with strict ethnographic reporting or the particular problem outlined above, a short description of each will be necessary.

The first field work session began in March of 1962 and ended the following August. During this period the research involved getting behavioral sequence data in a preliminary delination of ethnographically valid behavioral categories for the eventual measurement of energy flows and expenditures through and in the producing and consuming units in the village. This project was conceived and directed by Professor Richard N. Adams, now of the University of Texas. I maintained residence in the village for the entire five-month period, working primarily with a randomly selected sample of nine families

or residential units. The work itself involved observing and recording, in as much detail as possible, lexically distinct activities (as provided by the informants themselves), usually related to household maintenance and agricultural work activities. These streams of behavior, observed and recorded, would then be submitted to the informants for a more refined, lexical breakdown of component acts (and situational factors necessary to identify them) within the context of the over-all activity. In addition, community-oriented activity, centering around the local seat of authority, the local catholic church and church-related organizations was examined in pretty much the same fashion as the materials from the sample of families.

Fortunately, prior to my arrival, much of the basic ethnographic materials for the village, such as demographic data, inventories of material goods, food-consumption patterns, marketing and even household genealogies, had been gathered by Sr. Joaquin Noval, a competent Guatemalan anthropologist, at the time on loan to Professor Adams from the Seminario de Integracion Social at Guatemala City. Mr. Noval's field notes were made immediately available to me. Furthermore, Mr. Noval eventually put together a preliminary manuscript of the

basic ethnographic data of San Miguel which included many of my own observations during this period.

This document has proved invaluable both as background to this thesis, as well as in orienting me in the gathering of more intensive subtle kinds of data during the second session of field work.

I returned to San Miguel in December of 1963. On this trip I maintained residence in nearby Antigua, but visited the village almost every day. This period of field work lasted until May of 1964, and was under the direction of Professor William A. Faunce's of the Department of Sociology, Michigan State University. Professor Faunce's particular interest in San Miguel was a comparison with a northern Michigan community. More specifically, his project had as its focus an analysis of the differences in the function of work-related values for the status structures of these two communities, plus an analysis of variations in the function and meaning of work as associated with these differences. The general hypothesis orienting this project was that the place of work and work-related values will differ considerably in small communities with differing exposure to urban-industrial values and degree of industrial employment, and that a primary index of these differences will be evident in the criteria and processes used for

community status placement.

The primary vehicle for gathering the data necessary for Professor Faunce's interests was a somewhat elaborate and lengthy interview schedule. This interview schedule, reproduced in this thesis as Appendix A, was applied to fifty of the eighty one heads of household in San Miguel. Some of the interviews were conducted by myself and the remainder by a number of hired, experienced interviewers from Guatemala City. This interview schedule was also a rich source of ethnographic data, especially data relating to community status, values and the informants views of his community. Unfortunately, however, only limited and very general use was made of these materials here, due to the fact that the statistical computations of these materials, necessary for analysis, took considerably more time than expected for more specific and detailed inclusion here. Nevertheless, a review of the interviews as they came in, served, in some cases, as affirmations of community tendencies otherwise observed and gathered, and revision or correction of still other data and impressions.

During both periods of field work I also worked with the usual techniques of anthropological field research, such as participant observation, small-scale,

informal surveys on selected topics, as well as in-depth interviewing of appropriate, selected informants.

Whenever specific features of the community are noted in the text of this thesis, it is usually indicated how it was derived.

Special Problems

The difficulties of attempting to carve out for myself a significant problem or focus for research out of the two distinct research projects which enabled me to be in San Miguel, are too numerous and complicated to mention in any detail. The principal ones were those of time and personal, physical energy, since on both occasions the special interests of Professors Adams and Faunce, respectively, required considerable attention. These were problems inspite of the fact that both men generously sacrificed other aspects of their own interests in order to make available as much time, and data, as possible for my own concerns which were only being formulated during the two periods I was in the village. On the other hand, the opportunity of working closely with these two experienced social scientists proved immensely useful in arriving at an appropriate and, hopefully, worthy thesis subject.

In addition to the problem of time and personal energy, there were some other special problems encountered that I wish to mention here. I believe that it is safe to say that it is a rare anthropologist who gains the confidence and rapport of all the different, and differing, social segments of a community he is attempting to study. Some doors are always closed to him and usually never opened no matter how ingenious he might otherwise be. Such was my experience in San Miguel. These doors proved to be impenetrable since they were erected and locked with the chains of fear and uncertainty over the presence of an unknown quantity in their midst. Fortunately, they were not many, but sufficient to make me much more cautious in generalizing than would have been possible otherwise.

The principle source of resistance to my work in San Miguel came primarily from a small number of kin interrelated households referred to by the majority of villagers as los anti-comunistas (the anti-communists). This group and their characteristics (and tactics) are described in some detail in Chapter V. In many instances they sought to spread their fear of and resistance to me to others in the village. Among the techniques they used were spreading such stories as the "fact" that I

was a "communist working for a North American land company that wanted to take all the village lands away" from them. Of course, such things are not unknown to other anthropologists working in similar situations, and they rarely have much effect. This was for the most part true in this case also. At one point, however, the combination of their efforts and stories, and the sensitive nature of some items in the interview schedule used, led to an almost complete disruption of my working relations with a number of previously cooperative and reliable informants. The presence of interviewers from the city, as well as myself, openly recording their answers to questions about land, their community and their neighbors proved to some that the rumors being spread by the "anti-comunistas" may have had some basis in fact. Fortunately, this did not become a definite problem until near the end of my last stay in the village. However, whereas the original plan was to interview all the heads of household, it was possible to carry out interviews with only fifty of them.

Finally, and related to the above, another problem had to do with my role in the village. In short, I was never able to ascertain exactly how my presence and activities were being interpreted by most of the villagers

with whom I worked. This was primarily my fault. Given that the special interests of the two projects which brought me to San Miguel were somewhat esoteric, I was unable to formulate an explanation of my work which could be accepted on the basis of my activities and the sorts of questions I was asking. For the most part, I would answer their question about my work by saying that I was interested in the "history" of the community and their own costumbres (customs). That this "cover story" was deficient or unacceptable was made evident to me by the fact that my best informants and close friends in the village (to whom I gave this same story) believed otherwise. As far as I could determine, these persons had the impression was that my real function in San Miguel was to survey the community for problems, such as a need for a road or a better school house, and so on, and report these needs to the appropriate authorities who would, in turn, attempt to do something about it. Needless to say, having a clearer impression of the role assigned to me by these villagers would have greatly helped in evaluating and interpreting, in as refined manner as possible, the specific information received from them.

CHAPTER II

THE VILLAGE SETTING

San Miguel Milpas Altas is a small Ladino (non-indian) community in the central highlands of Guatemala. More specifically, it is situated on one of the high ridges overlooking the Departmental capital of Antigua, to the west. Despite the fact that it is located in the most heavily populated area of Guatemala, the outside world rarely comes to San Miguel. The only practical way of getting in or out of the community is on foot. The most a casual traveler motoring between Guatemala City and Antigua would see of San Miguel is a crudely made wooden sign, with the village name painted on, pointing up a steeply inclined dirt path that veers off and climbs away from the paved highway around the "40 Kilometer" (from Guatemala City) marker, about 4 kilometers from the entrance to Antigua. Approximately two kilometers up the insistently steep and dust-choked path the first sitios (house-sites) of the lower section of the community begin to appear.

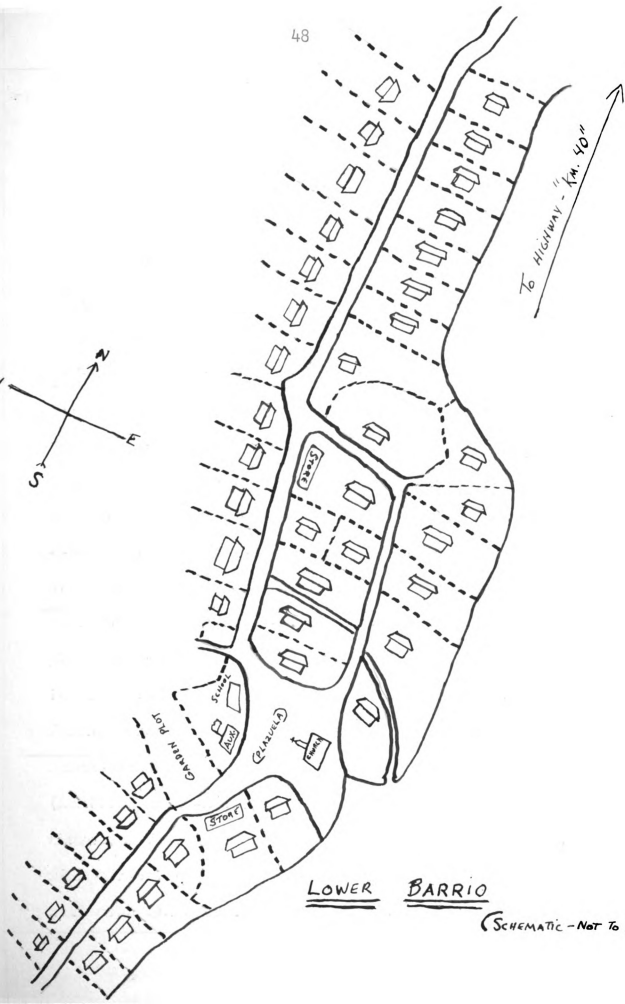
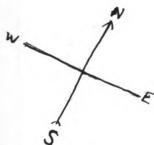
This long, arduous walk is not the shortest possible line between the center of the village and the busy

highway below. From the back-steps of the small, white-washed church in the middle of the small village plaza, one can actually see the highway winding around the edge of the foothills not more than 500 ft. away, almost straight down. Through the silence that constantly envelopes this small, community plaza, one can hear the mechanical groans and the backfiring of buses and trucks along the highway. Furthermore, there is a small, well-contoured path connecting the village and the highway at this shortest of points. But this somewhat more feasible path was not destined for the convenience of San Miguelenos. It was built and is maintained by the owner of the coffee plantation through which it runs and which borders the village throughout its entire eastern parameter. The absentee owner of this Finca (plantation), a well-to-do dentist from Guatemala City, consistently denies villagers the use of this path. And thus, the long, dusty climb is necessary.

As the accompanying diagram indicates, the community is divided into two physically distinct and socially recognized sections or barrios (neighborhoods). There is a lower barrio and an upper one. According to informants, the lower barrio is the oldest inhabited

section of the community. Villagers occasionally refer to both sections by terms indicating the relative ages of each---barrio viejo (old section) and barrio nuevo (new section).

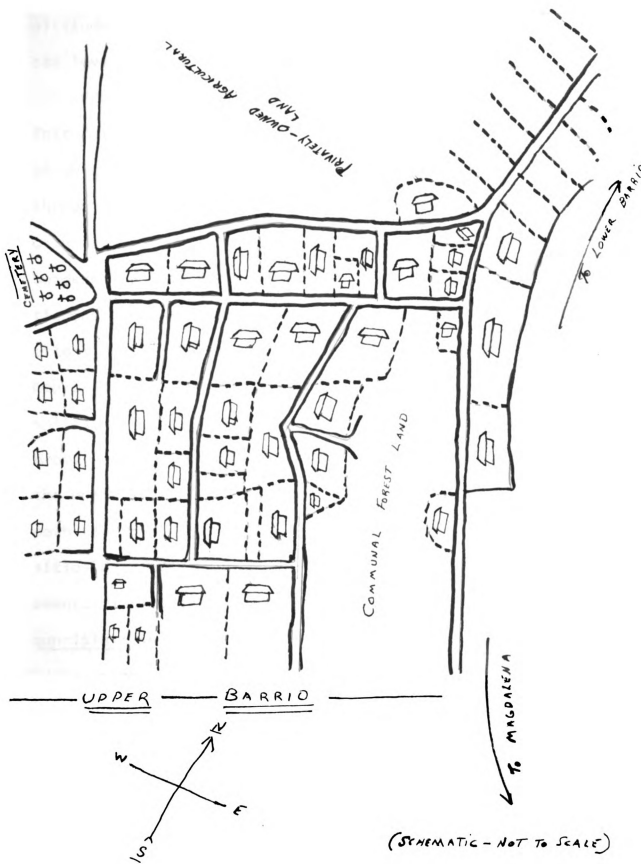
The small plaza is located in the center of the lower section. It is not a plaza in the usual sense of the word, for San Miguel is a poor community. There is no square with benches for the promenades traditional in Latin America. There is no kiosk for community gatherings or concerts. In San Miguel, the plaza is merely a grassy slope, approximately 50 square yards, bisected by the main path to the highway, and dominated by a crudely made monument of brick and mortar, ten feet tall, topped with a cement cross. The grassy slope also serves to separate the only public buildings to be found in the community. On the eastern side of this plaza is the small, white-washed Catholic church with its large, double-doors opening on to the plaza, and facing directly across to the small one room, adobe and stucco schoolhouse and the two-room auxiliatura (auxiliary city-hall) and jail. On one side of the church, a few yards away, is a sheltered, public tank, with three lavaderos (wash-stands) and two shower baths, with piped in water. At this point, the official



LOWER BARRIO

(SCHEMATIC - NOT TO SCALE)

COMMUNALLY-OWNED AGRICULTURAL
LAND



altitude of the community is given at 6500 feet above sea level.

From the plaza the path continues upwards again, faithfully following the spine of the razor back ridge on which most of the lower section is situated. Thus, throughout the lower section of the community, the path, originating at "Km. 40" on the highway, is closely bordered on both sides by a single row of sitios contiguous but demarcated by cane or barbed wire fences oftentimes overgrown with vines and other shrubry. Approximately 150 yards up from the plaza the path splits. At this point, a small mound with a wooden cross, euphemistically called "el calvario" (calvary), the upper section of the community begins. The lower path continues for another 50 yards whereupon no more sitios are found, and it narrows into the foot path that eventually leads to the Municipal capital (cabecera municipal) in the village of Magdalena Milpas Altas, approximately three kilometers away.

The upper path turns radically to the east and climbs directly to the cemetery, the uppermost point in the entire community. As such, this path serves as the northern boundary for the upper section of the community. The entire upper section lies to the south of this path;

to the north there is nothing but agricultural land and fields mostly on the steep incline of the canyon or barranco. The upper barrio, as the map indicates, is somewhat more ample than the lower one and is laid out in a more or less grid pattern, most of it also on an incline. In this upper section there is only one public structure; a small, four lavander, water tank that until only very recently was without a roof. The major difference between these two sections has to do with the fact that all the sitios in the lower section are privately owned by their inhabitants. With only two exceptions, the sitios in the upper section are owned by the community (theoretically, all native born members of the community) and merely distributed and held in perpetuity by the family residing in them. The only restriction placed upon the residents of these sitios is the prohibition against selling the property. Otherwise, the property may be subdivided and inherited among the descendants of the original grantee.

The origins of portions of the communal property existing today are not known. According to Mr. Noval (Ms: 18), public lands, or a common, he refers to as ejidos belonging to the village were already in existence by the latter half of the 18th century. This

information he obtained from one of the authentic documents kept in the village church coffers.

Three more additions of communal property were made to the village since that time. According to another of these documents, in 1851, as a result of some litigation over boundaries with an adjacent Finca, the village was granted a strip of land. The exact amount of land involved and its location was not specified and is not provided by Mr. Noval (Ms: 18).

In 1886, the National Government of Guatemala purchased from a citizen (presumably a non-villager) a considerable portion of property around the vicinity of the village. According to another authentic document kept in the village, the Government then granted five caballerias of this property to the village, corporately. A caballeria is equivalent to 45.05 hectares. This acquisition today constitutes most of the communal property used for agricultural purposes by the villagers.

Finally, in 1896 the community, corporately, acquired from another villager a portion of property equivalent to 900 square yards. According to Mr. Noval (Ms: 13), this property was purchased by funds gathered in the village. On the other hand, a direct descendant of the villager, a son to be exact, who allegedly sold this property, was

still living in San Miguel in 1964. According to him, his father did not sell this property to the village but actually gave it to them in return for their cooperation with labor in some community public project. The exact nature of this project he could not recall. But he did state that at the time his father was a principal or village leader. That a village leader may have used the promise of property in return for cooperation is unlikely, but not impossible. I would imagine that Mr. Noval's account comes closer to the actuality. The informant mentioned above is quite old and betrays occasional touches of senility. At any rate, this was the last acquisition of corporate land and today constitutes the newest, upper section (barrio) of the community where communal sitios are erected.

Theoretically, the only persons eligible for this type of property are native born villagers, although as we shall see there are some exceptions. Aside from form of ownership, one is hard put to find other socio-economic differences between the residents of the upper and lower barrio. There do occur some differences, however, in terms of certain personality and attitudinal characteristics attributed to the inhabitants of the

two barrios.¹ Informants from both barrios agreed that those living in upper barrio, where all the sitios are on communal land, tend to be more insecure and vulnerable in their dealings and conflicts with their neighbors since they could lose portions of their property because such disputes would be thrown open for consideration by the entire village. Disputes over land and sitios in the lower barrio would be strictly private affairs and one could more easily hold one's own.

Furthermore, informants residing in the lower barrio claim that those individuals living in the upper barrio have a tendency to be trouble makers, always seeking to disturb their neighbors in general. Some of my informants living in the upper barrio said that they agreed with this opinion with, of course, themselves as the exceptions to this rule. No particular traits or characteristics were generally attributed to the residents of the lower barrio by anyone during my stay in the village. A partial source for the contention that upper barrio residents are more "troublesome" could be the fact that a very hostile

¹ There is an apparent disagreement between the findings of J. Noval and myself on this point. Mr. Noval claims that "there are no characteristics, attitudes, nor sub-cultural distinctions attributed to one or the other of the residents of the two sections" (Ms: 65)

and conflict provoking faction is made up almost entirely of members of the upper barrio. No sectional loyalties, of any sort, were evident during my stay in the village. In addition to the public water installations mentioned above, there are four other faucets (llenacantaros) distributed throughout the community. The system of subterranean pipes supplying all these installations were introduced by the national government some years ago, utilizing local labor without remuneration but providing the materials. The source of the water is a spring located a good mile or so up the mountain and it is free to all residents. There are no domestic establishments with their own private water supply and the fetching of water with large earthen jars (cantaros) from the various faucets occupies a good portion of the time for the younger members of most households. The two shower baths adjacent to the water tank in the plaza are also free, but the key, and with it the permission to use them, must be requested from the official on duty at the auxiliatura. It is always granted. These showers are generally used by both men and women, although women usually prefer to carry bath water to their homes, or else merely wash off by the side of the water tank, fully clothed. As far as I could determine there are no domestic establishments

with their own private toilet. There are two cement, hole type, facilities in back of the church, but they are used rather infrequently. The villagers tend to prefer to relieve themselves in the fields or under the cover of shrubbery.

The larger entity, the nation, has at least two permanent representations in the community of San Miguel. These take the form of the auxiliatura and the school.

Village Government

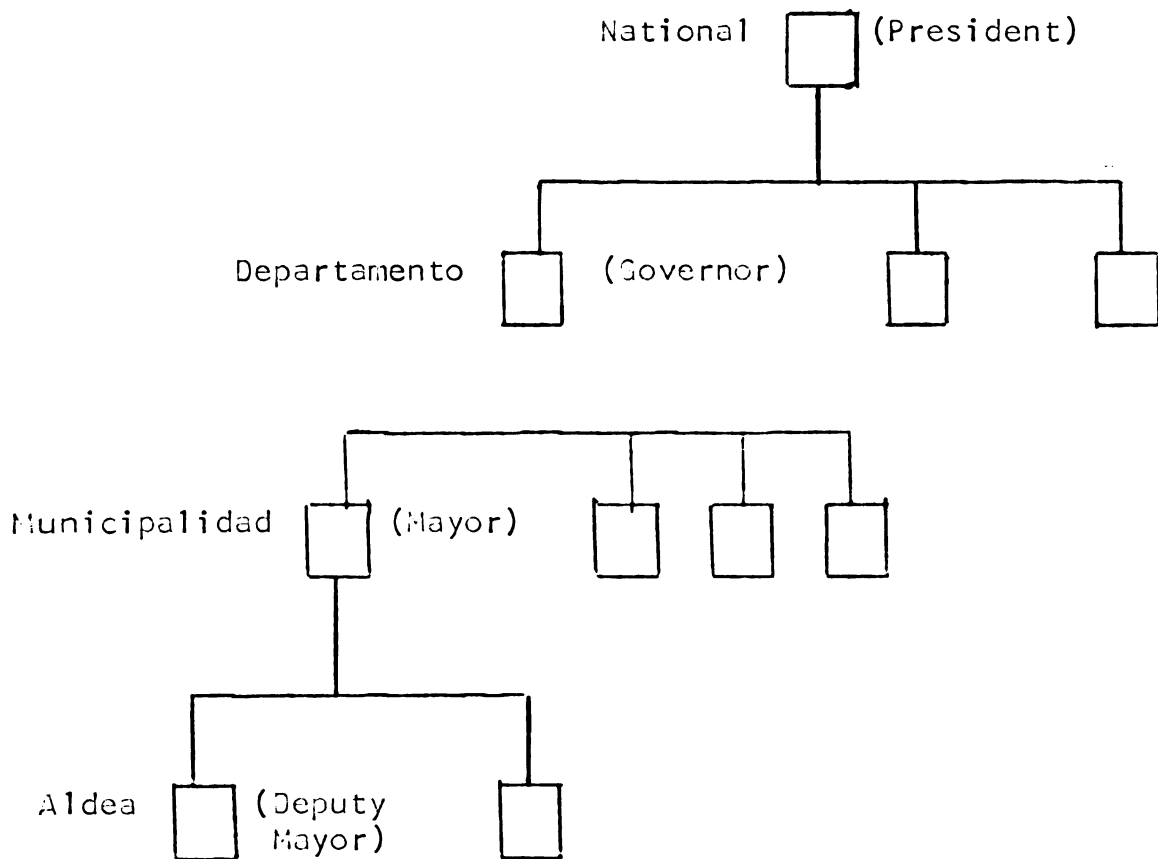
In Chapter V the specific structure and operation of the auxiliatura is described in more detail. Here, however, I will describe, very briefly, the position of the village (as a designated unit of government) in the total structure of Guatemalan Government. The national entity, of course, contains a series of hierarchically arranged levels of government. Thus, a number of units referred to as Departamentos (roughly equivalent to states) are found immediately under the jurisdiction of the presidency and national assembly, whose center is Guatemala City. It appears that the state or departamento consists of little more than an administrative or executive branch, headed by a governor,

since the judicial and legislative apparatus of the country is immediately subordinate to the seat of national government and, supposedly, independent of the departamento executive apparatus. In other words, there is no such thing as a state system of courts or a state legislature.

For purposes of administration, a departamento is immediately divisible into municipios (or municipalities). While the municipios have their seat in relatively well populated communities, their jurisdiction will include, in addition to that community, the countryside and smaller villages in its vicinity. Once again, the functions performed by the unit of government at this level (the municipality) revolve around the administration of relevant public laws, the keeping of civil order and funneling major infractions into the national system of criminal courts, and the collection of taxes (ornato). In the absence of any other administrative or governmental units, strictly local government functions are usually merged with this body, whose existence is primarily geared to the administration of national government at the local level.

The municipality, then, takes care of affairs within the community where it occupies its seat. While it has jurisdiction over other, scattered, smaller

settlements and villages in its area, it is oftentimes difficult to do so since communication with these other places is achieved only through walking. These problems are to some extent assuaged by the existence of still another, and the final, level of administration; the aldea and its auxiliatura. Once again the function of the auxiliatura and its personnel is strictly administrative---putting into effect laws and regulations transmitted from the municipalidad, seeing to the physical maintenance of the community and keeping the peace. As in the case of some municipalities, San Miguel, an aldea, also lacks a clear cut body of community fathers in whose hands strictly community issues and problems come to rest. Therefore, as we shall see in a later chapter, the auxiliatura of San Miguel is placed in the position of being the only official representatives of the village, yet derive their position, power and functions from the larger governmental structures. The following schematic diagram, then, demonstrates the auxiliatura's (and the aldea of San Miguel) position in the national structure of government.

TABLE: A Diagram of the Structure of Levels of GovernmentVillage School

The one room school house is a very modest affair. While it does have a cement floor, adobe and stucco walls and a tin roof, its furnishings consist of rough wooden benches and long tables. There are also two long and considerably chipped blackboards at both ends of the one room. This school is a "mixed" one, with both boys and girls in attendance, and consists only of two grades.

The training received by the children in this

school, as can be imagined, is quite limited. The walls of the school room are covered with charts of the alphabet, patriotic posters, a map of Guatemala and the Departamento de Sacatepequez, government printed posters on hygiene, and so on. There are no textbooks of any sort in use at this tiny school.

Since the primary concern is with instruction in reading and writing and very rudimentary arithmetic, the children will copy lessons written on the board by the teacher and supposedly commit these lessons to memory for recitation the next day. By the teacher's own admission, education or formal schooling, even in the face of such limited objectives, is a failure. Every school year finds an average of 30 children enrolled in school. Of these, according to the teacher, only 10 or so will learn to read and write at any appreciable level. And with time, these ten or so will be reduced to half by the lack of use of their school-acquired abilities. No children ever continue their schooling beyond this second grade level offered in the village.

The problems of the rural school teacher revolve around the inability to discipline and the general lack of enthusiasm on the part of their parents. At

• *Staphylococcus aureus* (Staph aureus) is a Gram positive cocci in clusters.

• *Staphylococcus aureus* is a facultative anaerobe, meaning it can grow with or without oxygen.

• *Staphylococcus aureus* is a common cause of skin infections, such as abscesses and impetigo.

• *Staphylococcus aureus* is also a common cause of food poisoning, often associated with consumption of contaminated food.

• *Staphylococcus aureus* is a highly adaptable bacterium, capable of surviving in a wide range of environments.

• *Staphylococcus aureus* is a common cause of hospital-acquired infections, particularly in patients with surgical wounds.

• *Staphylococcus aureus* is a highly resistant bacterium, capable of surviving in the presence of many antibiotics.

• *Staphylococcus aureus* is a common cause of respiratory infections, such as pneumonia.

• *Staphylococcus aureus* is a common cause of urinary tract infections, particularly in patients with catheters.

• *Staphylococcus aureus* is a common cause of bloodstream infections, particularly in patients with central venous catheters.

• *Staphylococcus aureus* is a common cause of bone and joint infections, particularly in patients with prosthetic joints.

• *Staphylococcus aureus* is a common cause of endocarditis, a serious infection of the heart.

• *Staphylococcus aureus* is a common cause of sepsis, a life-threatening condition caused by a severe infection.

• *Staphylococcus aureus* is a common cause of toxic shock syndrome, a rare but severe condition.

• *Staphylococcus aureus* is a common cause of food poisoning, often associated with consumption of contaminated food.

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any time during school hours the tiny school room will be a cauldron of noise and shouts. Furthermore, he finds himself unable to discipline the children since any attempt would surely bring complaints against him from the parents. Or the parents would retaliate by prohibiting the child to continue attending. On several occasions the teacher has attempted to get the local officials to coerce parents into sending their children to school but all such attempts, according to him, have failed. The teacher of this school is no less aware of the problem created by the absence of adequate facilities such as books. He frequently lamented that such a situation helps reduce the educational process in San Miguel to nothing more than a care-taking operation.

The rural school teacher in San Miguel, at the time of my last stay there, was a young man from Magdalena Milpas Altas. There are no villagers who would really be qualified to undertake the position. His appointment and salary come directly from the Rural Schools Supervisor, a Departamento official, who has under his jurisdiction the school system of Magdalena Milpas Altas, of which San Miguel is a part. The local authorities in San Miguel have little, if any, control over the school. They are responsible only for its

physical maintenance and assistance to the teacher when problems with the local citizenry arise. I was told that previous teachers assigned to San Miguel's two-grade school have tended to be secondary school graduates only. The present teacher is an exception since he is presently enrolled in a University curriculum at the University of San Carlos in Guatemala City. He appeared to me to be a sincere young man genuinely interested in imparting reading ability to the children of San Miguel. But toward the end of my stay there his enthusiasm was at a very low point and apparently he was actively looking for another rural school elsewhere. The reason he gave me was that San Miguel was unparalleled in its lack of interest in education and the most uncooperative community he had ever seen or heard of.

The People

The community of San Miguel is a relatively old one. The earliest date registered on documents kept in the village church coffers is 1753. As of that time, at least, the name San Miguel was already used in its designation. The somewhat mythical tale inscribed in the front matter however suggests that San Miguel is much older than the date given above and that prior to

that was known by a different name.

Unfortunately, the historical origins of San Miguel and its inhabitants are very obscure. A relatively exhaustive search of the national archives at Guatemala City, conducted by myself with the assistant of the curator in the summer of 1962, yielded nothing with reference to the village. Today, the inhabitants of the village are clearly classifiable as strictly Ladino, or non-indian. The only language spoken in the village today is Spanish. Furthermore, there is no recollection among the villagers of any families whose language was anything other than Spanish. However, as the previous ethnographer points out, it appears that in past epochs and Indian language was the predominant tongue. An official document, dated 1758, also kept in the coffers of the village church, notes that instructions issued by a colonial civil official for his district were made known to the people of San Miguel "through the voice of the interprete general", (general interpreter). Still another such document, dated 1886 speaks of the local population as the poblacion indigena (indigenous population). The previous ethnographer, Mr. Joaquin Noval, a native Guatemalan and thus better able to judge these things, also claimed to have been able to detect a slight Indian

accent, especially in the "pronunciation of some vowels in certain words by some persons in the village".

(Ms: 4)

On the basis on this and other, less conclusive bits of evidence, Mr. Noval concludes that it is quite possible that San Miguel was an Indian community even as late as the final decades of the last century.

I find it necessary to take up here, however briefly, this idea put forth by Mr. Noval since such rapid and complete culture change has innumerable consequences for my description and conclusions concerning interpersonal relations in the village. I find it terribly difficult to believe that such change could have taken place so completely and in such a relatively short period of time. What factors could possibly account for such change here and yet leave nearby Indian communities still distinctively Indian? Why is there no trace of such change left, not even in the memory of the oldest villagers of today?

It is my opinion that Mr. Noval's conclusion is really not merited by the evidence he presents. His strongest evidence rests, of course, in the two documents cited. On the surface, they appear very convincing. But closer inspection makes the, in my opinion, somewhat

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less than unequivocal evidence. To begin with, Mr. Novat interprets the term *interprete general* as a linguistic interpreter (from Spanish to an Indian language). Given that even today there is a high degree of illiteracy in the village, it is highly possible that the term refers to an official or quasi-official position, whose occupant was literate and who assumed the responsibility of reading and clarifying public documents or pronouncement to the largely illiterate population.

The document dated 1886 talks about the local population as being Indigena (Indian). This designation appearing on an official document is somewhat more difficult to hold up to question. One possible reinterpretation is based on the wide-spread tendency of middle and upper class nationals to use the term Indio or Indigena to designate not only racial or ethnic distinctions, but also a socioeconomic one. Poor, subsistence agriculturalists and even urban slum dwellers and ragged beggars are readily referred to by the term Indio (or Indigna) without regard to linguistic or other cultural distinction.²

2 A very common anecdote in most of Latin America has to do with the politician or nouveau riche businessman who is escorting a foreign visitor through the streets of the city. The former is one whose complexion and physical features are "typically Indian". At one point they are stopped by white complexioned, bearded beggar who asks for a handout. The well to do national brushes the beggar aside and, addressing his visitor, states that "it is Indians like him that are keeping our country in such a backward state".

Such a common misuse of the term could possibly explain its appearance on the document mentioned.

In seeking an alternative answer to the suggestion of rapid culture change made by Mr. Noval, I encountered another potential explanation for this possible inaccurate designation of Indigena mentioned. In the cognitive map of the informants I used, Guatemala is made up, generally, of two basic types of people or races; Indios and Gringos. Breaking down these general categories into their subsumed sub-types I found that under "Gringo" were classified all non-Spanish, non-Indian language speakers. The sub-types given under this term by my informants were such things as Alemanes (Germans), Norte-Americanos (English speakers, generally) Chinos (orientals), Judios (Jews) and so on. Under the general term Indios, my informants could only name two sub-types; Indios naturales and Indios ladinos. Under Indios naturales (or simply naturales) they are described as those persons speaking a lengua (Indian language) and sometimes wearing an Indian costume. Under Indios ladinos (or simply Ladino) they classified themselves as well as Spanish speaking inhabitants of the city. During the initial phases of

field work I found myself increasingly confused when the same informant would claim that the people of San Miguel were Indians and Ladinos simultaneously. In anthropological usage the terms Indio and Ladino are contrasting terms. This however is, apparently, not the case in the conceptual apparatus of the villagers. This peculiarity may well have been the case in past times and, thus, accounts for a possibly erroneous classification.

The villagers of today are largely ignorant of the origins of their community. Interestingly enough, however, my informants are positive that the origin of the community, whatever it may be, is certainly not in nearby Magdalena, the municipal center for San Miguel, which today is still obviously Indian (Kachiquel speakers). Mr. Noval, incidently, reports the same thing. Of course, there are points of similarity between the way of life in San Miguel and that of Indian communities. This similarity is expectable and not unlike that common throughout Guatemala. These similarities, however, should not be taken as evidence of Indian origins for most present-day non-Indian communities. It must be remembered that after the conquest acculturation was in many respects a two-way

proposition. There are some individuals with origins in Indian communities who have married into the village. However, many more come from non-Indian or Ladino communities.

In terms of physical traits, the inhabitants of San Miguel, in general, are Mestizo (combination of Iberian and Indigenous populations) although some individuals have greater traces of purely Indian origins than others. In general, the villagers tend to be short with relatively medium builds. In a sample of 15 adult males, Mr. Noval (Ms: 5) obtained an average weight of 112.5 pounds; the range begin from 97 to 125 lbs. A sample of eight adult women yielded an average of 103.5 pounds--ranging from 86 to 114 pounds.

In terms of dress and personal apparel, another diagnostic feature used in cultural or ethnic classification, San Miguelenos again are fairly typically non-Indian or Ladino. As in the case of Language, none of my informants (which included one of the oldest residents) could recall a time when anyone native to the village wore an Indian costume. Furthermore, they could not recall hearing about such people from San Miguel in the tales and conversations they heard at the parent's knee.

1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions and activities. It emphasizes that proper record-keeping is essential for transparency and accountability, particularly in financial matters.

2. The second part outlines the various methods and tools used to collect and analyze data. This includes the use of surveys, interviews, and statistical software to ensure that the information gathered is reliable and valid.

3. The third part focuses on the ethical considerations surrounding data collection and analysis. It stresses the need for informed consent, confidentiality, and the responsible use of data to avoid any potential harm or bias.

4. The fourth part describes the process of interpreting the results of the data analysis. This involves identifying patterns, trends, and anomalies, and then drawing meaningful conclusions based on the evidence.

5. The fifth part discusses the challenges and limitations of the research process. It acknowledges that there are always uncertainties and potential sources of error, and it provides strategies to minimize these risks.

6. The sixth part presents the final findings of the study. It summarizes the key results and discusses their implications for the field of research.

7. The seventh part provides a conclusion and offers recommendations for future research. It suggests areas where further investigation is needed and provides guidance on how to proceed.

8. The eighth part includes a list of references to the sources used in the study. This ensures that the work is properly cited and that credit is given to the original authors.

9. The ninth part contains a list of appendices, which include additional data, tables, and figures that support the main findings of the study.

10. The tenth part is a final section that provides a summary of the entire document and reiterates the main points.

Furthermore, with one exception (cucuj), all surnames native to the village are Spanish ones. All fabrics and materials used in their clothing are factory produced and purchased in the store or the market in Antigua or Guatemala City. Rarely is a fabric of obviously Indian origin purchased or worn as part of their clothing. Very few articles of clothing are produced in the community. The tendency, particularly in women's clothing, is to purchase items ready made. Men's dress trousers are usually made in one of the various tailer shops in Antigua from wool material purchased in a store or a market. The cold nights and mornings of San Miguel find men wearing coats, sweaters or jackets of standard, modern urban design or style. Women's clothing is always of this fashion. Everyday apparel is, of course, the same general style, differing only in the degree of patching and state of wear. Most villagers generally go barefoot. A few possess factory made shoes which they use only when going outside of the village, particularly when going to Antigua or the city. And still an even smaller number of individuals wear shoes regularly. Most villagers possess caites. Caites are crudely made sandle type footgear made of sections of automobile

tire and leather tongs for securing them at the ankles. Even these crudely made sandals are purchased at the market. They are used primarily where the terrain demands somewhat more protection than usual.

The Household

As mentioned earlier, the household sites or sitios are found arranged side by side, along the paths that ramify through the village. The structures to be found within these sitios are not unlike those found in most small, rural communities of the general region. In general, these houses are composed of earthen floors, with walls made of dried corn stalks (cana), tied together with twine or maguey fiber, and roofs of tightly packed bunches of thatch (paja). These structures tend to be relatively small, square shaped affairs; approximately 15 feet in length. All cane and thatch houses have only one door and no windows. There are only five private structures in the entire community made of materials other than cane and thatch. Four of these are made of adobe and stucco, with tin roofs and one made of lumber and shingles.

In almost all the sitios there are two structures.

One of these is almost exclusively utilized as a kitchen and dining room, while the other serves as a bedroom for the entire family. The cooking facility most common in the village is a ground-level, camp-fire type arrangement, surrounded by three or four large stones (or bricks), upon which is placed the pots, pans or the clay griddle used in cooking tortillas and roasting coffee beans. This fire place (called fogon) is usually found inside the kitchen hut, usually towards the back wall. This type of arrangement, according to Mr. Noval, is typically a Highland Maya style. Other, more Ladino, cooking arrangements are found with some frequency. These usually consist of a wooden table, about three or four feet high, made with three limbs and trunks and a surface which is packed down with successive layers of dried mud. These too are known as fogones.

Other table-like arrangements like the Ladino style fogon are usually found both inside and around the kitchen hut. These are utilized as working space in food preparation or as places for washing and stacking dishes. Small tables and chairs and an occasional bench, of obviously commercial origin, round out the furniture inventory in the usual San Miguel

kitchen. All kitchen ware and utensils utilized in cooking and eating by San Miguelenos are purchased in the Antigua market place or the nearby stores. One or two medium sized pots (ollas) utilized in the cooking of beans, the disc-shaped griddle (comal), and the small necked pots (cantaros) used for carrying water, are the only pieces of kitchen equipment made of earthenware. All other materials such as sauce pans, pots, frying pans, forks, knives, cups, plates, wash basins and so on are of the standard commercial variety, usually made of zinc, tin or glass.

The huts utilized as bedrooms are usually very cluttered affairs. The variety of types of bedroom furniture in San Miguel is quite extensive. In some cases old, upright dressers with drawers, as well as chests of drawers will be used as places for storing clothing, good dishes and other possessions. In other homes, a simple wooden box or chest, usually of the highly colorful type produced by the Indians of Totonicapan, known as cofres or cajones serve as a dresser and receptacle for family valuables.

Beds also show a relatively extensive variety. In most cases they are made of wood, with tree limbs for legs and frame and slats of wood laid across them.

In some cases the beds are old, factory made types with head and foot boards, but no springs. In still others, they are made of steel frames. Each house usually has two or more depending upon the size of the family. Springs and mattresses are almost non-existent in San Miguel. In all cases I observed, straw mats (petates) and blankets served as mattresses.

The nights are generally chilly in San Miguel and no one sleeps on the ground. Since fires are rarely built in the bedroom (usually only in the case of illness), warmth is provided by just about anything that is available, from blankets to pieces of dirty clothing. Rarely does a villager enjoy the luxury of having a bed all to himself. Since the entire family sleeps in the same bedroom, the beds will usually contain two or more individuals, huddling together to keep warm. In most cases reported, a father sleeps with the older male children. The mother usually shares a bed with the smaller children and grown daughters.

No home in San Miguel is ever without a small family altar. These altars usually consist of a small table bearing an array of holy pictures of saints, relics such as cakes of blessed earth from the

shrine at Esquipulas, and burning, votive candles.

These altars are usually very well and neatly arranged, and devoted exclusively to the above symbols of their religious piety. Small statues of saints, the pictures of the saints, the virgin and Christ (usually purchased at the market or at the shrines or even cut out of commercial calenders gotten in Antigua) are the kinds of things usually found on these family altars.

Occasionally bunches of wild flowers in a glass will be present.

Household Routine

The daily round of household activities for most women and mature girls in San Miguel literally revolves around the kitchen and food preparation. Some women, of course, are principally involved in marketing and market related commercial activity. These types of female occupations are described below. At this point I am primarily concerned with giving a description of household centered activities directly related to the maintenance of each family member's person and energy. Food preparation is the key activity in this respect. To be sure, there are other, specific family maintenance activities that must be done and are

considered important. But the particular pattern of performance of these other activities--their timing and personnel--appear to be centrally related to food preparation.

Generally speaking, the preparation of food for the three meals in the household is the responsibility of the oldest female (usually the wife and mother) of the household. Two universal tasks in this regard are making tortillas and the preparation of beans. These women, like their men, are very early risers; usually before daylight. The husband will usually occupy himself with small chores, such as chopping wood for the fire or gathering tazol (dried corn stalk and leaves) for the livestock, and then proceed to his personal care by washing.

The woman, upon rising, goes immediately into the kitchen hut and begins breakfast activity by placing wood on the fireplace and fanning the nearly dead coals to life. She will then prepare the breakfast by reheating the olla of boiled black beans and patting out and cooking enough tortillas for the family's breakfast. If the man of the house will be working sufficiently far away in the fields, she will make enough tortillas for his lunch and pack him a lunch which will also

include beans, chili sauce and a jug of water or coffee. Ordinarily, however, he will be taken his lunch at noontime by one of the children of the household. Usually, the man of the house has his breakfast alone and leaves before the rest of the family is awake. He is absent from the house until dusk. Gradually the rest of the family awakens and comes into the kitchen hut for their breakfast.

The women of the house eat their breakfast as they go about the house doing other things, since in the process of feeding the other members of the family and doing small bits of work around the kitchen they will pick up and eat tortillas and take spoonfuls of beans. While the rest of the family is having their breakfast, the woman of the household will, in most cases, be rinsing the nixtama (soaked and boiled corn grain) cooked overnight in preparation for it to be taken to the molino (mill) to be ground. If there is a daughter who is old enough she will be given the responsibility of taking the nixtamal to the molino as well as fetching the day's supply of water from one of the public llenacantaros. If not, it is her task and she performs it during the breakfast period.

After she has fed and dispatched her family, she

will then begin patting and cooking a sufficient amount of tortillas for the remaining two meals of the day. This, in an average size family, would constitute a considerable number. This process takes a period of hours and is interspersed with minor caretaking of infants if they are present and if there is no sufficiently grown child present. Usually the watching and minor care-taking of infants and small children is relegated to a sufficiently mature daughter (age 5 or 6). Breakfast dishes may be washed immediately after breakfast or they are done after the noon meal. If possible, this is a job relegated to one of the daughters.

Shortly before noon, the woman of the house begins whatever special preparations will be necessary for the noon meal. By about one o'clock she has finished feeding the family and the dishes are then washed.

Between the end of the noon meal and the beginning preparations of the evening meal, the woman of the house has considerably more latitude as to activities. During this period she may do some mending of clothes, wash or bathe herself, or gather fruit, herbs or aguacates growing in her sitio, and nearby, to take with her to Antigua on market day. Or, she may gather the

dirty clothes and take them to the nearest lavadero for the weekly wash. Another possible activity here is the seemingly relaxing job of sitting out in the patio and grooming the children's hair as she picks whatever insects--lice--she finds while she combs them.

Invariably, however, she must reserve time in the afternoon for shucking corn grain and picking out pebbles and dirt from beans that will be cooked for the next day's sustenance. This is especially true if she has no help. When she does have the necessary help she will usually spend her time in one or more of the maintenance activities mentioned above and relegate the corn shucking and bean cleaning to her daughters.

The family is joined by the father for the evening meal. After she has fed her family and washed the dishes, the woman of the house will spend the few hours before retiring boiling the beans and soaking and cooking the nixtamal, both of which will be consumed the following day.

Kinship System

As among all Ladinos of Guatemala, descent reckoning in San Miguel is bilateral. (R. N. Adams, 1957a:327)

Individuals will recognize consanguineal relatives (and the affines of father- and mother-in-law, as well as sister- and brother-in-law) on both the maternal and paternal side as being kinsmen, and will refer to them by the general term pariente (relatives). Within this general category, of course, are found those sets of relatives referred to by specific kin status terms. It is important here, however, to keep in mind that while all persons designated by specific kin status terms (i.e. uncles, cousins, etc.) are parientes, the specific kin terms are not logically extended to all parientes.

A case in point has to do with those relatives under the rubric primo (or roughly, cousins). Cousins (on both sides) beyond the "third degree" type are not referred to by the specific kin term primo (or primos).³ The fact that the specific kin term primo is not logically

3 Structurally speaking, a "first cousin" (a primo hermano or primo carnal) is defined as Fa(mo)Dr(si)So(da). "Second cousins" (primos segundos) are defined as the children of Ego's grandparent's brothers and sisters. Finally, "third cousin" (primo tercero) is defined as the children of Ego's grandparent's brothers and sisters; as well as those who under the "official" North American system would be "second cousins once removed".

extended beyond the "third degree" does not reflect an inability to do so. In most cases they could if asked to, for purposes of clarification. Before explaining the function of this cousin terminology or grading, another example of this reluctance to logically extend specific kin status terms should be cited.

San Miguelenos would not logically extend specific kin status terms to collateral relatives not personally "known" or "recognized" by Ego in the specific relation connoted by the appropriate term. In other words, collateral relatives not personally known to the informant would not be classified under the appropriate kin label, as other similarly related, but known, relatives. This seemingly "egocentric" rule came to light in diagramming the genealogies given by four informants. It was then checked out in form of a direct question with some other informants and found to be true with them also. The situation went something like the following. When I asked about Father's or Mother's siblings (and grandparent's sibling's as well) my informant would begin by naming them (first name) and then providing the appropriate kin terms of reference and address. When I asked if there were actually any others (living or dead) the informant would answer,

1. The first step in the process of creating a new product is to identify a market need. This involves conducting market research to understand the preferences and behaviors of potential customers. Once a need is identified, the next step is to develop a concept that addresses this need. This concept should be innovative and differentiated from existing products in the market.

2. After developing a concept, the next step is to create a prototype. This allows the development team to visualize the product and test its functionality. The prototype should be built using the most appropriate materials and manufacturing techniques to accurately represent the final product. This step is crucial for identifying any design flaws or technical challenges early in the process.

3. Once a prototype is created, the next step is to conduct a feasibility study. This study evaluates the technical, financial, and market viability of the product. It involves assessing the resources required for production, the potential costs, and the competitive landscape. This study helps the development team make informed decisions about whether to proceed with the product development.

4. The next step is to develop a detailed business plan. This plan outlines the marketing strategy, sales channels, and financial projections for the product. It also includes a timeline for development and production. The business plan is essential for securing funding and guiding the overall development process.

5. After the business plan is finalized, the next step is to secure funding. This can be done through various means, such as venture capital, angel investors, or crowdfunding. The funding should be used to cover the costs of development, production, and marketing. It is important to have a clear understanding of the funding requirements and the timeline for raising the capital.

6. Once funding is secured, the next step is to begin production. This involves setting up a manufacturing facility or partnering with a manufacturer. The production process should be carefully monitored to ensure quality control and timely delivery. It is also important to establish a distribution network to get the product into the hands of customers.

7. The final step in the process is to launch the product. This involves creating a marketing campaign to generate awareness and drive sales. The launch should be timed to coincide with the product's availability in the market. It is important to monitor the product's performance and gather feedback from customers to make any necessary adjustments.

8. After the product is launched, the next step is to continue to develop and improve the product. This involves staying up-to-date with market trends and customer feedback. It may be necessary to make updates to the product or develop new features to stay competitive. The development team should also consider the long-term sustainability of the product and the company.

9. The final step in the process is to evaluate the success of the product. This involves analyzing sales data, customer feedback, and market trends. It is important to determine if the product is meeting its goals and if the company is achieving its objectives. This evaluation can help the company make informed decisions about future product development and business strategy.

"I have been told that my father had an older brother who moved away when he (my father) was still a boy. I don't even know his name, where he went or what he looks like". The informants would then deny, with great consistency, the inclusion of this particular relative into the appropriate category, but merely give a descriptive label ("father's brother") or the generalized *pariente* to state the relationship existing between themselves and these unknown, long since absent, relatives.

One informant offered an interesting variation to this rule. It was his contention that exclusion of personally unknown collateral relatives from specific kin terms of reference was limited only to paternal cross-cousins and maternal cousins generally. This variation is perhaps best demonstrated by another example. If a person has two unknown "first cousins"--one *FaBrDa* and the other *FaSiDa*---the former would in any case be his *primo*, but the latter would not be so dignified. She would, at best, be classified under the general category of *pariente*. His rationale for this differential classification was that the paternal surnames would be different. I was unable to check out this specific variation with other informants. On

the basis of its strong patrilineal orientation, however, and its explicit cross-cousin, parallel-cousin distinction I suspect that it is not too prevalent a characteristic of San Migueleno kinship.

The data is insufficient enough to allow any significant conjecture as to the meaning or function behind the particular cousin grading system (and more importantly, the exclusion of other relatives from this kin status) and the exclusion of those collaterals not personally known to Ego. Generally, however, it seems to demonstrate the relative lack of traditionally recognized importance or utility of extended kin ties. In other words, San Miguel is characterized by a lack of larger, familistic social groups such as lineages, quasi-lineages or clans. Indeed, as I shall point out in detail in Chapter III, this lack of importance is highly evident in most kin relations outside the domestic unit which in most cases is composed of a nuclear family. Even the distinction between cousins (within the third degree) and those merely parientes seems to be devoid of any obvious functional importance, except for incest taboos prevalent in the village.

There exists in San Miguel a prohibition against cousin marriage or sexual cohabitation within and

including the "third cousins". Despite an exceptional violation, this incest prohibition looms large in the minds of villagers and is rarely violated. As the table of kin nomenclature, which follows, indicates, the kin category primo is the one containing the greatest number of possibly contemporary relatives any individual may possess. Given that there is a high tendency for communally endogamous unions and, furthermore, that extended kinship connections between households in San Miguel are rather frequent, the presence of a "grading" system, with the exclusion of those beyond the "third cousin" type, would aid in observing the cousin marriage restriction without severely curtailing the number of possible mates within the community.

Kinship Nomenclature (Affines Excluded)

Term (Kin Types)

Visabuelo - FaFaFa; FaMoFa; MoFaFa; MoMoFa.

Visabuela - FaFaMo; FaMoMo; MoFaMo; MoMoMo

Abuelo - FaFa; MoFa

Abuela - MoMo; FaMo.

Padre - Father

Madre - Mother

Tio(a) - FaBr(Si); MoBr(Si); FaFaBr(Si); FaMoBr(Si);
MoMoBr(Si); FaFaFaBr(Si); FaFaMoBr(Si);
FaMoMoBr(Si); MoFaFaBr(Si); MoFaMoBr(Si);
MoMoFaBr(Si); MoMoMoBr(Si).

Hermano - Brother

Hermana - Sister

Primo(a) - FaBrSo(Da); FaSiSo(Da); MoBrSo(Da); MoSiSo(Da)

FaFaBrSo(Da); FaFaSiSo(Da); FaMoBrSo(Da);
FaMoSiSo(Da); MoFaBrSo(Da); MoFaSiSo(Da);
MoMoBrSo(Da); MoMoSiSo(Da)

FaFaFaBrSo(Da); FaFaFaSiSo(Da); FaFaMoBrSo(Da);
FaFaMoSiSo(Da); FaMoMoBrSo(Da); FaMoMoSiSo(Da);
FaMoFaBrSo(Da); FaMoFaSiSo(Da); MoFaFaBrSo(Da);
MoFaFaSiSo(Da); MoFaMoBrSo(Da); MoFaMoSiSo(Da);
MoMoMoBrSo(Da); MoMoMoSiSo(Da); MoMoFaBrSo(Da);
MoMoFaSiSo(Da)

Sobrino(a) - BrSo(Da); SiSo(Da); FaBrSoSo(Da); FaBrDaSo(Da);
FaSiSoSo(Da); FaSiDaSo(Da); MoBrSoSo(Da);
MoBrDaSo(Da); MoSiSoSo(Da); MoSiDaSo(Da)

Hijo(a) - Son (Daughter)

Nieto(a) - SoSo(Da); DaSo(Da)

Visnieto(a) SoSoSo(Da); SoDaSo(Da); DaSoSo(Da); DaDaSo(Da)

The system of bilateral descent reckoning is too well known to require detailed description here. Suffice it to say that the San Miguel example fits neatly into this type of descent as traditionally defined in most literature. (G. Murdock, 1960; 56-58)

The system of kin nomenclature prevalent in Ladino Guatemala is very similar, generally speaking, to that of the United States. (T. Parsons, 1943; 26) There is one difference that is worth mentioning here. As the table illustrating the system of nomenclature demonstrates, San Miguelenos include under the category sobrino(a) (roughly "nephew and neice") those kin types usually classified in the North American system as "cousins" or "first cousins once removed". In other words, a sibling's offsprings are classified together with first cousin's (primo carnal) offspring.

This lumping together of sibling's offspring with the offspring of "first cousins" could very well be peculiar to San Miguel. I have not encountered this peculiarity described elsewhere. On the other hand, this kind of classification could very well have its basis in an indigenous past. Charles Wagley's study of Santiago Chimaltenango (Guatemala) indirectly offers what seems to me to be possible evidence for a

historical explanation. (C. Wagley, 1949; 13-14)

He mentions that in the bilateral system of the Mam speaking people of Chimaltenango, "Mother's Brothers are called Father as well as Father's Brothers, and cousins on both sides are called Brother and Sister." On the other hand, due to the strong influence of Spanish terminology, he says, "Many informants told (him) that they always referred to collateral relatives by the Spanish term tio (uncle), tia (aunt) and primo and prima (cousins)." Thus, it is quite possible that the lumping together of different types under the term sobrino(a) could be a survival, or at least a logical extension, of an Indigenous Highland Maya system that appears to continue today simultaneously with a Spanish system. This, however, is a rather stretched attempt at an explanation since in San Miguel I found no evidence of cases where "...cousins on both sides are called Brother and Sister." Furthermore, San Miguel is not an Mam-speaking country.⁴

⁴ Fred Eggan (1934), on the basis of an analysis of Mayan kin terminology collected in the early days of the Conquest, concludes that cross-cousin marriage may well have been the preferred type. Thus, it seems possible that among the various groups of Mayan people there must have existed some variation with respect to systems of descent reckoning and terminology.

Other aspects related to kinship are given much more detailed treatment in Chapter III.

Subsistence Agriculture and Land Tenure

Agricultural labor is the predominant form of economic activity to be found in San Miguel. The majority of adult males and almost all heads of household give this as their occupation. Furthermore, most agricultural activity revolves around the cultivation of corn and beans, major items in the diet, for subsistence on lands effectively controlled by members of the household. Other work and the cultivation of other crops with commercial value occurs frequently in San Miguel as the need for cash for other items indispensable to life is forever present. Aside from the basic corn and beans, few other items consumed in the village are produced there but must be purchased with cash in the market system. But it is evident that factors relating to the production of these two basic subsistence items are primary determinants of the extent to which households devote productive work hours to pursuing cash producing activities. The amount of land available, and the presence or absence of other members of the household able to cultivate corn and beans appear to be

such determinants. For example, a household will devote some land to cultivation of commercial crops for sale only where there is enough surplus land or, less frequently, where there is really too little land to grow a significant amount of corn and beans for household consumption. In cases like the latter, the land will either be rented out to other villagers and wage work will be sought, or the small portion of land will be devoted exclusively to commercial vegetables, along with wage work, within or outside of the village, or the land owner will endeavor to look for materials that could be sold for cash in the market, such as firewood, avocados, peaches or commercial crops and work for wages are discussed further along in this chapter.

The tools and equipment used by San Miguelenos in their fields are few. There are three all-purpose tools used in the cultivation of all crops--the hoe, machete and necapal (tump-line with net). There is only one plow in the village and only one pair of oxen. But these are used by the owner on his sections of land where the ground is hard. From time to time it is rented out to other villagers who have similar problems. But in almost all cases, all the planting and cultivation is done with the hoe. A few individuals in the village

possess digging sticks (referred to as coa, macana or estaca) which are used only in the planting of frijol de suelo, or the bush variety of bean. But most villagers, again, depend on the all-purpose hoe.

There is no irrigation of any sort to be found in San Miguel. Water is abundant during the rainy season (invierno), from June to November, when showers fall almost daily. At the height of the dry season (verano), which lasts from October till May, the lack of water is often a problem for villagers. During these critical periods there is barely enough water for domestic purposes, much less for irrigation. These are bad times in the village and the meagerness of the basic crops resulting from a severe lack of water can only be assuaged by more work for wages to enable them to buy their corn and beans in the market.

The system of land tenure in San Miguel is somewhat varied. To begin with, almost all households in the village have access to communal land. This land is owned by the community but is given to the use of households for their subsistence. Restrictions as to its use are few. However, under no circumstances can a villager sell his share of communal land. Furthermore, he cannot let it lie fallow or go unworked for very long.

1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions and activities. It emphasizes that proper record-keeping is essential for transparency and accountability, particularly in financial matters. The text outlines various methods for organizing and storing data, suggesting the use of both physical and digital systems to ensure redundancy and ease of access.

2. The second section focuses on the role of technology in modern record management. It highlights how digital tools can streamline processes, reduce errors, and facilitate collaboration among team members. Specific examples are provided, such as the use of cloud storage for secure document sharing and automated backup systems to prevent data loss.

3. The third part of the document addresses the challenges associated with data security and privacy. It stresses the need for robust security protocols, including regular updates, strong password policies, and employee training on potential threats. The text also touches upon legal considerations, such as data retention policies and compliance with relevant regulations like GDPR.

4. The fourth section explores the importance of regular audits and reviews. It explains that periodic checks help identify discrepancies, ensure data integrity, and provide opportunities for process improvement. The document suggests implementing a structured audit schedule and involving multiple stakeholders to enhance the thoroughness of the process.

5. The final part of the document offers concluding thoughts and recommendations. It reiterates the significance of a proactive approach to record management and encourages the adoption of best practices discussed throughout the text. The author concludes by expressing confidence that these strategies will lead to more efficient and secure operations.

While I was unable to find out whether there exists a formal prohibition against renting communal land to other villagers or to outsiders, I heard of no cases where this was done. Usufruct of a man's portion of communal land may be had by one or more of his offspring, even where they no longer reside in their father's household (but still live somewhere in the village). These are cases of anticipatory inheritance, although final transfer usually does not occur until the father (or the mother) has passed on. In these cases, payment for the use of this land is usually in the form of labor on other property still held and used by the parent. When the parent dies, his will concerning the distribution of his portion of communal land is made known to the officials at the auxiliatura. I was told that usually this distribution is acknowledged and recorded. However, oftentimes it happens that other newly established households of native villagers have been requesting communal land for themselves. In these cases, a village assembly is called to seek a new redistribution among the villagers. These redistributions, as might be expected, arouse controversy and antagonisms between the villagers. According to the villagers, the important factors weighed in seeking a new dis-

tribution of the communal land are amount of land held in relation to need, i.e. size of family. These redistributions of communal land oftentimes affect not only those newly inheriting but other village households as well.

Privately owned farm land in the village is strictly an individual affair. Almost all villagers owning land have this fact recorded in legal deeds. The owner, of course, may do whatever he wishes with this land without fear of community sanction or regard for community opinion. As in the case of communal land, temporary usufruct in anticipatory inheritance also occurs with privately owned land. Likewise, payment in these cases is in the form of labor on fields dedicated to the benefit of the partriarch's (or matriarch's) household. However, I was unable to determine whether other forms of payment occur in land so used. Privately owned land may be sold to other villagers, or to outsiders, although I was told the latter happens very rarely. Owners of private agricultural land most commonly rent their surplus land, or land which they are not able to work themselves. Renting of privately owned agricultural land happens with some frequency, according to my informants, but in all the cases reported the rental of the

land was on a fixed, cash-price basis, and paid in advance. Most cases of rented land reported were those in which the owner had, in fact, too little land to make the cultivation of the subsistence crops profitable enough. The price for an average cuerda (unit of land equivalent to 113 sq. ft.) was quoted at renting for one to two Quetzales per crop-growing season. I was unable to find out what limitations are imposed upon the tenant by the owner. The tenant, however, apparently bears the entire burden in cases of crop failure. Finally, there are two households in the village that have been given the use of some land on the adjoining Finca (coffee plantation) as part of the payment for their labor as year around peones.

It appears that in San Miguel there is no system of sharecropping or labor exchange between villagers. Tenancy and agricultural labor in the fields are transactions that always involve an exchange of money.

Since growing corn takes from seven and a half to ten months from time of planting to harvest, there are actually two corn crops a year planted in San Miguel. Most villagers arrange their planting in two phases-- both falling between the months of February and May. Harvesting of the respective planting takes place

• *Staphylococcus aureus* (Staph aureus) is a Gram positive cocci.

• *Staphylococcus aureus* is a facultative anaerobe.

• *Staphylococcus aureus* is a catalase positive organism.

• *Staphylococcus aureus* is a coagulase positive organism.

• *Staphylococcus aureus* is a DNAse positive organism.

• *Staphylococcus aureus* is a urease negative organism.

• *Staphylococcus aureus* is a gelatinase positive organism.

• *Staphylococcus aureus* is a lipase positive organism.

• *Staphylococcus aureus* is a caseinase positive organism.

• *Staphylococcus aureus* is a gelatinase positive organism.

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beginning about mid-October and lasting into February. Planting, cultivation and harvesting of corn is strictly a man's occupation in San Miguel--usually the head of the household, sometimes assisted by one of his sons. Two knowledgeable informants estimated that it usually takes a man about one day to plant a cuerda and a half. Harvesting is a faster task which requires about half a day per man per cuerda. The only tool used in planting corn is the azadon (hoe). Moving down the length of the field a man hoes a continuous row of soil. At intervals of a foot or so, he will gouge a hole about a half a foot deep in the middle of the row drop five grains of corn and two black beans in it, then close the hole and continue making the cancon (row). The black bean (frijo de enredo) is the type that grow in a vine and is planted together with the corn so that the corn stalk will provide the support necessary for its growth.

During the months of June and July, the corn fields are weeded by hand and with the use of the hoe. During this time, corn seeds that failed to take hold are replanted also. This process was also estimated to take a man about one days work per cuerda. Towards the end of July and continuing into September, village

men are to be found in the corn fields "calzando la milpa". Beginning with the crops planted earliest, this process involves banking more soil at the base of the corn plant (which is by this time a foot or more high) with the aid of the hoe. This process is designed to better anchor young plants against the winds which may uproot it or otherwise destroy them.

By the month of October, the young ears of corn are out and in danger of rotting from rain that may seep into them. Thus, men are involved in turning down the ears to allow drainage and prevent seepage of rain water. This process, done by hand, is known as "doblar la milpa" and is a relatively fast task. It was estimated that a man, working alone, could do about twelve cuerdas a day.

The black, vine bean (frijol de enredo) begins to mature during the month of October and it is picked by hand. Both men and women of the household are involved in this task, which can be done quite rapidly. A person can pick a field of about 100 sq. yards in one work day.

During the month of November the corn fields involve no work. However, quite a few men will pick the leaves at the base of the corn stalk (tazol) to

use it themselves or sell it for livestock feed. This tazol also takes about one day per cuerda to pick. The corn then begins to be harvested starting in December. Every harvest day, the men transport it to their homes in nets with tump-line (mecapal) where they store it, husk and all, in small granaries usually attached to the house.

Frijol de suelo takes less time to mature than the black vine bean and is usually planted on separate plots of land. During the month of May, as the rainy season is starting, men occupy themselves preparing the field which is to be planted with these beans. The first thing to be done is to "hacer un guntado". This involves hoeing up the plant growth present and leaving it in rows to dry up in the sun. This task takes about a day per cuerda. After a few days, the cameon (row of soil) is made with the hoe, burying the dried up grass and leaves in the process. This takes about one and a half days per cuerda. The different plots of beans are planted at different times throughout the months of June, July and August. According to my informants, staggering the planting in this way is done, in part, to assure a harvest of beans over a period of about two months, i.e. during November and December. Planting

frijol de suelo is normally done by two persons, usually a man and his mate or grown daughter. The man, usually with a hoe, but often a digging stick is also used, moves down the row making small holes at the desired intervals. Immediately behind him the woman will drop the beans into the hole and close them up by stepping on them with her bare feet. It was estimated that a couple can plant about two cuerdas a day. Weeding the bean plants usually takes place about a month after planting. This, once more, is purely a man's task.

As mentioned above, harvesting of frijol de suelo takes place during the months of November and December and it usually involves both male and female members of the household. This harvest usually takes about one work day per cuerda, according to my informants. Harvesting begins by pulling the entire, mature plant out of the ground and leaving it between rows to dry. It supposedly only takes about one day for uprooted plant to dry sufficiently. Towards the end of the same day, several of these uprooted plants are placed on a relatively large piece of cloth (manteado) and then beaten with sticks to loosen the pods. The leaves and stems are thrown back onto the field, where they will eventually be hoed back into the soil for fertilizer.

The majority of households possess more than one plot of agricultural land in different sections of the mountain and some of them have as many as five. Beans and corn are rotated between the different plots but there were no cases I heard of where soil conservation techniques of the villagers included leaving plots to lie fallow. All plots, then, are continually used. The latter is due to the fact that San Miguel, today, is faced with a serious land shortage. There was no case in the village where the amount of land controlled by the household yielded a sufficient amount of corn and beans. In two or three cases this insufficiency was by design. That is, these households theoretically possessed the sufficient, or nearly sufficient, amount of land to grow all the corn and beans they required. However, portions of their land were dedicated to other, commercial crops that would be sold for needed cash. In all other cases, however, insufficiency of corn and beans was due, primarily, to shortage of land and, secondarily, to crop failures from blight or soil fatigue. Thus, even families with relatively favorable land situations have to purchase corn on the market for cash. These families, in good crop years buy corn in the Antigua market from late September to December, when harvesting of

their crops begins. In bad crop years, the purchasing of corn begins as early as June and lasts until December. The families with the worst situation, with respect to amount of land, must purchase their corn from February to December.

The shortage of land apparently has been brought about primarily by soil conservation laws formulated by departamento (State) and national authorities. More specifically, a few years ago San Miguelenos, as well as other communities in the vicinity, were prohibited from using, for agricultural purposes, portions of their land found at a certain degree of inclination and higher. These regulations were supposedly created to alleviate the periodic flooding conditions of the Rio Pensativo, found immediately below San Miguel, which runs through parts of the city of Antigua, as well as to avoid damaging amounts of soil deposits into the river. Since the community and its farmlands are found on the mountain, this regulation effected a considerable portion of the land available and previously used by the villagers. This has aroused much resentment among the villagers, already hard-pressed for land, but they are apparently without appeal. This regulation is enforced by periodic visits to the Village by inspectors from

Antigua; although some villagers claim that other villagers are secret informants to these authorities and that their reports, in fact, prompt their inspection tours. Many villagers still plant very small portions of these prohibited lands, but they do so clandestinely and risk fines if caught. Successive violations have occurred and resulted in the imprisonment of at least one villager.

Cash Producing Activity

Like true "peasant" societies, San Miguel is integrated into a larger society in a variety of ways. Chief among these links is one which brings San Miguelenos into the orbit of the market system. San Miguel is not a self-sufficient community. It does not and cannot produce all the materials it consumes and has come to regard as necessary for the conduct of life. These items, which include literally everything except fuel, water and some materials for the construction of their homes, must be obtained in the national market system. To obtain them they must have money. Even with respect to the basic items of subsistence -- corn and beans -- they are not free of the necessity for money since they do not

grow enough to satisfy their needs. Bartering, as a form of obtaining these and other necessities, is non-existent. The sources of cash needed for subsistence purposes by San Miguelenos are varied. But generally they fall into three general types of activities. These types are A) commercial crops and materials; B) specialist, part-time activities; and C) unskilled, agricultural labor.

A) Commercial Crops and Materials

Most, if not all, families in the village have planted coffee trees usually within the confines of their sitios or house gardens. There is considerable variability in the number of such trees possessed by different families. In one, and possibly two, households there appears to be relatively considerable re-investment of cash into coffee production--although by no means anywhere near Finca (plantation) proportions. But these two families are the exceptions in that they are involved, generally, in commercial activity. I will take up these families later in this chapter. For the rest of the community, coffee production is a source of cash for consumption purposes entirely. Coffee berries begin to mature around the

10th of March and continue until the 20th of April. It is between these dates that the various pickings take place. Coffee grown in San Miguel is considered to be a very low grade and as a result always brings a very low price. I was told that the price of coffee fluctuates tremendously. However, during the periods of study in the village I observed that villagers were being paid Q7.50 per Quintal (hundred pounds) of ripe coffee berries. San Miguelenos have no facilities for processing the coffee berry into a bean, and it is always sold as a berry, en cereza. Most of the villagers usually transport the coffee to nearby Ciudad Vieja on their backs with a mecapal. There it is sold to various commercial coffee buyers from the wholesale warehouses in Antigua and Guatemala City. Thus, most villagers will usually only sell one or two quintales at a time--usually the day after they have harvested. On several occasions, however, I observed villagers selling their day's harvest to other villagers, usually members of the entrepreneur families. I found out that in these cases the villagers would get only Q5. per quintal. According to them they would endure the loss only because they lacked the time, and sometimes the strength, to transport it Ciudad Vieja.

Most households in the village have peach trees growing within the sitios and out in the milpas (corn fields). These peaches are harvested from about mid-April to about mid-September. There are two ways in which villagers dispose of these peaches. They are frequently sold in redes (nets) containing on the average about 100 peaches to members of the entrepreneurial families in the village who then resell it, in bulk, in the market at Antigua or Guatemala City. A red usually brings about 50 centavos at the height of the peach harvest season. Also, very frequently, the women of the household will gather a few basketfuls prior to going to market in Antigua and take them to sell there directly to consumers at the going price. The money from the direct sale of peaches is then used to supplement the cash they need to do their week's purchases.

The above also holds for aguacates (avacadoes). Aguacates, however, are available for a longer period of time, being harvested from about the 30th of December to about the 30th of June.

Flowers, both wild and domesticated, are still another source of cash for villagers. Many families cultivate some flower plants in their sitios which

are cut and sold in the Antigua market directly to consumers. I heard of no case where these flowers are sold to other villagers for resale by them. Often, wild flowers, as well as medicinal and cooking herbs, found growing in the milpa or the edges of the adjacent Finca, are also gathered and sold for cash in the Antigua market.

Some households in the village, especially those that are relatively better off in terms of amount of land controlled, also cultivate a series of vegetables of indigenous origin. A portion of these are consumed in the households, still another is sold to other village households for consumption there and the remaining portion (usually the largest) is taken weekly to the market in Antigua and sold directly to consumers. The vegetables include Guicoy (*Cucurbita Pepo*), a quick growing squash harvested three times a year in April, July and October; Guisquil⁵ harvested once a year, from September to November; also and Chilacayote (*Cucurbita Ficifolia*).

The cultivation of cabbage, lettuce, carrots and beets (referred to collectively as hortalizas) is the

⁵ I have been unable to find an English or scientific equivalent for the Guisquil. Nevertheless, it is a vegetable the size and texture of a turnip, but with a taste similar to squash.

only agricultural specialty to be found in the village. Only two of the few families involved in entrepreneurial activity cultivate these crops, which they dispose of in the Antigua market and the market in Guatemala City, by selling them directly to consumers. These crops, relatively speaking, require a greater expense of labor and money than any of those mentioned above. They can be planted practically any time of the year (although maturation is avoided during the rainy season months), most often are nourished with artificial, store-bought fertilizer and are hand irrigated during particularly bad dry spells. Although the activities of households involved in production for profit and reinvestment (entrepreneurs) are discussed in more detail below, it should be mentioned that hortalizas are among their most important items for the accumulation of capital. Furthermore, the abilities of the men producing these hortalizas is of great satisfaction to them and a source of some prestige.

Perhaps the most universal source of ready cash in San Miguel, particularly during bad crop years or years when there is little work for wages available, is the manufacture and sale of fire-wood. The local

history of this type of productive activity is a very interesting and complex one. I have taken the liberty of reproducing the portion of Mr. Joaquin Noval's manuscript that deals with this history since any attempt at paraphrasing or condensing it would certainly not do it justice. It appears as Appendix B in this thesis. Today this activity is carried on, for the most part, clandestinely since cutting most of the good lumber trees (pine, evergreen, oak and cypress trees) is prohibited by national forestry laws. Furthermore, agents of the Forestry Department are deployed throughout the area and there is one assigned specifically to the Municipio. He is referred to as a Guardabosques. The restriction of farm land by soil conserving regulations, coupled with the frequency of crop failures, have given much impetus to the extraction of wood on a regular basis. Indeed, there is a significant number of households in San Miguel the well-being of which is almost entirely dependent on this kind of activity. Usually these are households whose productive land was drastically diminished by soil conservation practices imposed upon them. It is also probably true that any unforeseen financial crisis in the households is initially assuaged

primarily by increasing the production and sale of fire-wood. The chances of escaping detection at this clandestine activity are enhanced by several factors. First, the behavior of the local guardabosques (forestry agent) is well known to most of the adult males of the village. Secondly, a man can usually produce a load of firewood, take it to Antigua, sell it and return to the village within a matter of about four or five hours. When confronted by the guardabosques the villager still recourse to one of two excuses. First he can say that the load was extracted from fallen trees. Or he may claim that the load was taken from non-prohibited types of trees and that it is destined primarily for his own households use. It is said that leniency in these matters is usually the case when the wood is destined for home consumption.

There are actually two general kinds of firewood utilized by villagers---lena de pallitos and lena contada. The former is of variable quality, usually small sticks gathered off the ground or cut with machete from the lower branches of trees. This type is gathered by the men, women or the children of the household and some of it is usually consumed in cooking and other fuel needs in the household.

All of the lena contada is sold. The production of this type of firewood is strictly a male occupation and requires the ability to wield an axe. It is usually made from good, thick logs which are cut up into quarters (referred to as lenos). Both types of wood, however, may be sold in tercios or cargas. Tercios of lena contada are bundles of about forty lenos each. A tercio of lena de pallitos is not counted by lenos, but rather by volume, each tercio measuring about one cubic yard. Cargas, on the other hand, are composed of two tercios, or eighty lenos of lena contada. According to Noval (Ms: 33) a good woodcutter can make a carga of firewood in two hours or less.

Generally, the producer of the firewood takes it to Antigua and sells it directly to consumers--usually private homes, bakeries or hotels. In most cases, also, this wood is carried down the steep path and along the highway into Antigua on human back with the aid of the mecapal. In Antigua (Noval, Ms; 32) a tercio "de pallitos" sells for twenty-five centavos and a tercio of lena contada sells for forty centavos. When the entire carga (two tercios) is sold to one customer the price doubles. Very often, however,

firewood is sold to other villagers, especially to those with better means of transporting it such as horses or the one family with an ox-cart, who buy it for purposes of reselling it themselves in Antigua. In these cases, the carga is sold for twenty centavos less.

B) Part-Time Specialists

San Miguelenos on the whole appear quite ready to exploit whatever talents they may possess for the acquisition of cash for subsistence purposes. In most cases the only "talent" a villager has is the ability to work long, hard hours at jobs which require only the expenditure of his energy and little, if any, specialized knowledge. Nevertheless, there do exist in the village a number of individuals who have acquired a reasonable level of skill in certain specialized occupations and who utilize it from time to time to supplement their agriculturally based livelihood.

In 1961, according to J. Noval (Ms; 12) there were two villagers who worked at carpentry jobs both in the village and outside, usually in Antigua. In addition there are three individuals who were

aserradores (makers of lumber for construction), one person with horticultural talents which included fruit tree grafting, and one bricklayer-mason. While these individuals sometimes perform their specialties in the village, most of the time they seek temporary employment in and around the city of Antigua. These occupations however are never on a full-time, year round basis, but are usually seasonal--when milpa work can be neglected temporarily--on a weekly basis and not infrequently on a daily basis. In any case, however, villagers merely commute to Antigua for this work and return home in the evenings.

The village also has a marimba musical band composed of seven to eight members. There is no definite periodicity to this type of work, although during the village Saint's Day Fiesta they will be hired to play. Occasionally the band will play for private family gatherings and, not infrequently, they walk to nearby communities for similar engagements.

There are four village household heads who cut hair and give shaves. The price for either of these services is around .15 to .20 centavos. Quite a few adult villagers frequent barber shops in Antigua which charge somewhat more. But occasionally, for either

financial reasons or lack of time, they will get a hair cut or a shave at one of the local part-time barbers, usually on Sunday. Most of the children get their relatively infrequent haircuts at one of the local barbers. As can be imagined, the equipment used by these men is unpretentious. A chair or bench set up in the middle of the patio inside the sitio serves as the barber's chair. The rest of the equipment consists of a comb, a pair of regular scissors, a mug and soap brush, a safety razor and small bottle of brillantine.

Three village men also have the ability to make coronas (large crowns) for decoration of graves during the Day of the Dead. They also make paper decorations for other households during days of fiesta. This type of work, however, is only done on commission and rarely is it done for sale on the open market.

In 1964, in San Miguel, there were four men that worked full-time in bakeries in Antigua as panaderos (bakers). Of these, however, only one is a head of a household. All of these men work the night shifts. They leave the village at approximately 5 p.m. and return home the next day around 6 A.M.

Part-time specialization for women in San Miguel

is less common. During my stay in 1964 I knew of only two cases. One woman would perform duties as a midwife in the village for a fixed fee. Another, younger woman had knowledge of tailoring and, from time to time, would contract to make trousers or dresses for other villagers.

Finally, there is one villager who learned the process of making ice cream. This ability he acquired while working in a candy store in Antigua and later a Pacific coast town. I was unable to watch the process, but he claimed to have all the necessary equipment to make ice cream within his home. Today, he makes it during days of fiesta or on an occasional Sunday and will peddle it throughout San Miguel and other nearby villages.

As far as I could determine, artistic craftsmanship is completely absent in San Miguel. However, there appears to be the beginnings of a handicraft specialty. During 1964 there were at least a half-dozen village households whose members collect tree limbs and trunks of peculiar shapes. In their patios I saw a variety of these, some resembling cranes and ducks, others resembled very modern pieces of furniture such as chairs and stools. While these objects were never

decorated with paint, they did appear to have been reworked with carving to some extent. These objects were not evident in 1962 and Mr. Noval makes no mention of it in his manuscript. Furthermore, my informants claimed that this type of activity is only a recent thing. Very few of these objects, however are sold and there was little obvious effort to sell them. They are never taken to Antigua during the market days. Indeed, these persons, for reasons unknown to me, often seemed embarrassed when I took notice of these objects in their yard and shrugged off compliments saying that it was really nothing but an idle hobby of theirs.

C) Unskilled Labor

Meeting the household's need for real income through employment in unskilled labor jobs is perhaps as prevalent as the production and sale of firewood and produce, if not more so. In any case, unskilled labor is more prevalent than any of the part-time specialization noted above. Most households will have at least one male member contributing real income derived in this way, either on a permanent or a seasonal basis.

Generally, the two dominant sources of real income from unskilled labor jobs for men are work in building-construction and agriculture.

In 1961, Mr. Noval noted there were at least ten village men with permanent jobs in building and construction. There were at least another ten that worked seasonally at these jobs, either because they could not find permanent employment or because their labor was needed during certain times of the year to cultivate their milpa. Most cases of permanent employment of this type are with public works departments of the city of Antigua or the Departamento. Seasonal work of this kind was done either under the auspices of the public works departments or in private construction and building. The specific duties performed by villagers in these jobs are varied, but always unskilled (no calificado). They include such things as ditch-digging, cement mixing, rock-busting, street cleaning, loading and unloading building materials, clearing land for roads and whatever other small jobs are required throughout the day. Since most of these jobs are performed in and around Antigua, most villagers so employed return home every evening. In 1964 there were at least three villagers with permanent construction

building jobs in Guatemala City. These three men remained in the city throughout the week and returned to the village on weekends. Only one of these men was a head of a household. The daily wage for these types of jobs in and around Antigua fluctuates between .80 to .90 centavos. In most cases they carry their lunch of tortillas, beans and chile to work.

Agricultural wage labor outside the village is primarily seasonal and it is usually coffee harvesting on the Fincas in and around the city of Antigua. During the harvest time of the coffee, members of most households, male and female, not productively occupied at the time, will engage themselves in this type of labor. Usually, coffee-harvesting is done on a daily basis, with daily commuting to these plantations. According to some of my informants, leaving the village for extended periods of work on coffee and other types of plantations on the Pacific coast was more common in previous years. This is rare now, however. It was claimed that villagers really did not like this practice since it kept them away from home and events there, and, secondly, the hot, humid climate affected them severely. It was claimed that some villagers actually died from the heat and paludismo (malaria). Only four

village men worked permanently on nearby Fincas as peones. In these four cases, the jobs are primarily caretaking and other small, agriculturally related tasks.

Most of the time harvest work in the Fincas is paid daily, according to number of units harvested during that period of time. In these cases, however, the average daily wage amounted pretty much to that earned in construction and building. Coffee harvesting however is desirable since it can have a cumulative effect, in financial terms, when more than one member of the household is thus employed in the course of one day.

The types of agriculture work for wages done within the village is much more varied than that done outside, but there is less of it done when determined on a per capita basis. According to Noval (Ms: 13), in 1961 there were approximately twenty village men that would undertake agricultural work for other villagers for a price. It should be noted that there is no stigma associated with working for a fellow-villager. While there are some individuals in the village who are known to prefer working for others for a wage than working their own milpa, quite a few villagers have at one time

or another worked for a fellow-villager. Among the twenty men mentioned above, it is not unusual for most of them to have hired others to help out with their agricultural tasks when they are pressed for time or find it more convenient to spend their time working on construction or other jobs outside the village. Within the village, this work may involve milpa and coffee harvesting, preparing fields for planting, cultivation, planting crops, gathering aguacates and peaches and most any of the other types of work usually done by them on their own fields.

Payment for this work, in the village, is always made in cash, agreed upon before the work is begun. Payment by unit of time (per day or half-day) is usually .50 centavos a day, with lunch provided by the employer. Or, a villager may insist on being paid by tarea (task) at a fixed rate. Under the latter type of agreement lunch is not provided, but even so, it appears to be relatively more lucrative for the employee. The scale of pay for different types of tasks are quite traditional and known to everyone. Share-cropping or exchange labor, as a means of contracting labor, are absent in the village. This is true because villagers prefer to utilize their work time away from their own fields in

ways which will bring real income. I was told by some villagers that another reason share-cropping and labor exchange does not occur is that these types of arrangements leave the employee more vulnerable to being cheated and provide less sure recourse for redress.

As far as I could determine, there are very few types of unspecialized labor for wages available to the women of the village. Some village daughters are to be found working in private homes in Guatemala City and Antigua as domestic servants. These women are usually adolescents and part of their earnings are contributed to the maintenance of the household in the village. Control over these girls and their earnings by the parents, however, is very precarious. In many cases, they return home for visits very infrequently. If they continue in this type of work for any period of time chances are very great that they will elope with men they meet in the city.

In addition to domestics, I knew of two elderly women that worked in Antigua during market days (three days a week) as canasteras. These women come early to the market place and work most of the daylight hours carrying the baskets of purchases made by customers to the market. This involves following the shopper throughout

the market, loading his or her purchases on a basket and carrying it to the shopper's home. One of these women would work part of the day in conjunction with her grown daughter who bought vegetables in large quantities for a local hotel restaurant. The daughter would purchase a relatively large quantity of produce and the mother would load it on to her basket and carry it back to the hotel's kitchen. She would then walk back to the market place and rejoin her daughter who was still going about her business.

Generally, for women, productive work for subsistence purposes outside the home centers around selling the small quantities of vegetables or other produce from the village in the market place at Antigua. Men rarely involve themselves in this type of exchange, but readily recognize it as being a woman's task. On market days most village women rarely go to the Antigua market empty-handed but carry with them the above items which they convert into cash by selling them directly to consumers. Some, or all, of this money is then used to purchase needed items for consumption in the home. There are a few women in the village, however, who carry on a relatively lucrative business in the buying and reselling for profit

the \mathbb{R}^n -valued function \mathbf{f} is a solution of the system (1.1) if and only if

$$\mathbf{f}(t) = \mathbf{f}(0) + \int_0^t \mathbf{f}'(s) ds, \quad t \in \mathbb{R}^+, \quad (1.2)$$

where \mathbf{f}' is the derivative of \mathbf{f} with respect to t . The function \mathbf{f} is called a

strong solution of (1.1) if \mathbf{f} is a solution of (1.2) and \mathbf{f} is continuous on \mathbb{R}^+ .

Let \mathbf{f} be a function from \mathbb{R}^+ to \mathbb{R}^n . We say that \mathbf{f} is a weak solution of (1.1) if

$$\int_0^t \mathbf{f}'(s) ds = \mathbf{f}(t) - \mathbf{f}(0), \quad t \in \mathbb{R}^+, \quad (1.3)$$

where \mathbf{f}' is the derivative of \mathbf{f} with respect to t . The function \mathbf{f} is called a

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$$\int_0^t \mathbf{f}'(s) ds = \mathbf{f}(t) - \mathbf{f}(0), \quad t \in \mathbb{R}^+, \quad (1.4)$$

where \mathbf{f}' is the derivative of \mathbf{f} with respect to t . The function \mathbf{f} is called a

strong solution of (1.1) if \mathbf{f} is a solution of (1.4) and \mathbf{f} is continuous on \mathbb{R}^+ .

Let \mathbf{f} be a function from \mathbb{R}^+ to \mathbb{R}^n . We say that \mathbf{f} is a weak solution of (1.1) if

$$\int_0^t \mathbf{f}'(s) ds = \mathbf{f}(t) - \mathbf{f}(0), \quad t \in \mathbb{R}^+, \quad (1.5)$$

where \mathbf{f}' is the derivative of \mathbf{f} with respect to t . The function \mathbf{f} is called a

strong solution of (1.1) if \mathbf{f} is a solution of (1.5) and \mathbf{f} is continuous on \mathbb{R}^+ .

Let \mathbf{f} be a function from \mathbb{R}^+ to \mathbb{R}^n . We say that \mathbf{f} is a weak solution of (1.1) if

$$\int_0^t \mathbf{f}'(s) ds = \mathbf{f}(t) - \mathbf{f}(0), \quad t \in \mathbb{R}^+, \quad (1.6)$$

where \mathbf{f}' is the derivative of \mathbf{f} with respect to t . The function \mathbf{f} is called a

strong solution of (1.1) if \mathbf{f} is a solution of (1.6) and \mathbf{f} is continuous on \mathbb{R}^+ .

Let \mathbf{f} be a function from \mathbb{R}^+ to \mathbb{R}^n . We say that \mathbf{f} is a weak solution of (1.1) if

$$\int_0^t \mathbf{f}'(s) ds = \mathbf{f}(t) - \mathbf{f}(0), \quad t \in \mathbb{R}^+, \quad (1.7)$$

where \mathbf{f}' is the derivative of \mathbf{f} with respect to t . The function \mathbf{f} is called a

strong solution of (1.1) if \mathbf{f} is a solution of (1.7) and \mathbf{f} is continuous on \mathbb{R}^+ .

of larger quantities of agricultural products. These women are referred to as regatonas, and their activities are described in more detail below.

To summarize, in the village of San Miguel the basic unit of production and consumption is the household. Its particular capabilities, energies and facilities, on the one hand, and its needs, on the other, determine the pattern of economic activities found within it. In general the community and its individual household are peasants in the three, current anthropological senses of the word. First, they fit Raymond Firth's emphasis on cultivation of the soil "with a simple technology and equipment, often relying primarily for their subsistence on what they themselves produce." (R. Firth 1956; 87) As pointed out above, most of the time, most San Miguelenos expend their energy cultivating the soil, with a hoe, for corn and beans which are the principal items in their diet.

Wolf emphasizes a man's relation to the soil he cultivates in his definition of peasant. "By peasant I mean an agricultural producer in effective control of land who carries on agriculture as a means of livelihood, not as a business for profit." (E. Wolf

1955: 453-454) Although most households in San Miguel cultivate land that is communally owned, effective control of the land is assured by the absence of restrictions as to techniques or types of crops cultivated on this land. Furthermore, this land can be and is transmitted to the next generation in the traditional modes of inheritance. Even where land is rented from other villagers, control during the period of tenancy is effectively in the hands of the cultivator as well as the consequences of his decisions as to the disposition of this rented land. In San Miguel there is no system of sharecropping or lineage ownership of lands which intervenes between a man and his use of the land he cultivates.

Finally, San Miguel manifests what is perhaps the most significant characteristic of peasantry--its particular relationship to the larger society. Slightly paraphrasing Kroeber's definition, we can say that San Miguelenos are definitely rural peoples living in relation to a market town and all that that implies. San Miguel is not a self-sufficient community. While a good portion of the basic items they consume at every meal--namely corn and beans--are produced by them on land they effectively control, it is never

sufficient to meet their year-around needs. Furthermore, they produce no portion of other items regarded as necessary for the conduct of life, such as salt, sugar, lard, candles, clothes, and so on. For these things, they are directly dependent on the market center at Antigua and in need of money with which to extract them from that market. In Antigua they can exchange for money the firewood clandestinely gathered in the forest around the village. In Antigua, the women of the household can also convert agricultural and horticultural products into money. But San Miguelenos have still another commodity they readily transform into money--their own physical energy, their labor. A small portion of such transformations takes place within the community when agricultural labor for wages is undertaken. The greater portion, however, takes place in and around the city of Antigua where for wages San Miguelenos work at building and construction, as well as harvesters of coffee in the large Fincas.

The city of Antigua, in its role as a market center, then, is the most readily apparent external element exerting a significant amount of influence on the lives of the villagers and their community. But this

interrelationship of town and village is not a balanced or a static one. There are forces operating gradually, but perceptibly, pulling the village more and more into the orbit of the market town and the larger society it represents. Internally, the forces abetting this gradual suction are the decreasing proportion of land in relation to its population, and its productivity. The dependency for livelihood on real wages increases over cultivation of crops for subsistence. Externally, the forces manifest themselves as basic modification in style of life introduced by the larger society and portrayed to the villagers as desirable necessities, such as the use of modern means of transportation and communication, medicines, and so on, that can only be had for money.

By degrees, then, the San Migueleno is becoming less a peasant and more a member of the Guatemalan proletariat. These "push-pull" factors, however, are having still another though less prevalent effect on the village. Namely, there has been a noticeable increase in entrepreneurial activity, i.e. buying and selling for profit and reinvestment, on the part of certain households.

Small Scale Entrepreneurs

Commercial activity is a female occupation in San Miguel. Most village women will sell small quantities of family grown agricultural products in Antigua. This activity, however, aims at the acquisition of money for purposes of subsistence. Out of this generalized female occupation there has arisen a group of women who have literally specialized themselves in trade for profit and reinvestment. By most standards, of course, the volume of this activity--profits and capital reinvested--is on a small scale. Nevertheless within the context of the village it represents a significant departure from the more common mode of existence and, in time, may provide the basis for a system of stratification, according to class, within the village.

In 1964 there were nine such female specialists in the trade of agricultural products; representing nine separate households. The volume of business within this group varied to some extent. Two of these women demonstrate a significantly greater volume of business than the others. But, in general, the pattern of economic activity carried on by these nine women is fairly uniform.

1. **Introduction**
 The purpose of this study is to investigate the effects of a new educational program on student performance. The study was conducted over a period of six months, during which time the program was implemented in a classroom setting. The results of the study are presented in the following sections.

2. **Methodology**
 The study was conducted using a quasi-experimental design. The participants were a group of 30 students, who were divided into two groups: a control group and an experimental group. The control group received the standard curriculum, while the experimental group received the new educational program. The data was collected through a series of tests and assignments, and the results were analyzed using statistical methods.

3. **Results**
 The results of the study show that the new educational program had a significant positive effect on student performance. The experimental group scored significantly higher than the control group on all measures of performance. This suggests that the new program is more effective than the standard curriculum in improving student learning.

4. **Conclusion**
 The study concludes that the new educational program is a promising approach to improving student performance. The results of the study suggest that the program is more effective than the standard curriculum in improving student learning. Further research is needed to confirm these findings and to explore the long-term effects of the program.

5. **References**
 The following references were used in the study:
 - Smith, J. (2010). *The Effects of Educational Programs on Student Performance*. New York: Academic Press.
 - Jones, M. (2012). *Improving Student Performance: A Guide for Educators*. London: Routledge.
 - Brown, A. (2015). *Assessing the Impact of Educational Programs*. Boston: Harvard University Press.

These nine women are referred to by either of two terms--regatonas or viajeras. Some of them have permanently rented stalls or stands in the central market in Guatemala City which they operate during the principal market days there, namely Tuesdays, Fridays and Saturdays. Everyday is really good for business in this market, and at least one of these women keeps her stall open and operating every day (except Sunday) since she has a daughter that can operate the stand during the off days. Others rent market stalls, by the day, in another of the city's markets. In these stalls, then, they sell agricultural products directly to city consumers doing their daily shopping.

These women never stay overnight in the city. They return to the village by bus late in the afternoon or the early evening of the same market day. In most cases they return home bearing only the day's cash proceeds. Occasionally, however, they will buy a significant amount of some item which they are fairly certain will bring a good price in the Antigua market the next day. In these cases, this produce will be unloaded at the junction where the village path meets the highway and will be hidden away in one of the

shallow caves or niches made into the canyon wall there.

The next day, usually very early in the morning, these women descend the path and make their way to the market in Antigua, with a villager hired to carry the produce stored at the junction the night before. This produce will be sold as soon as possible. They spend a good portion of the same day buying produce in bulk, which they know they will be able to sell at a profit in their stalls in Guatemala City the next day. These cargoes are either left with the commercial bus line office or one of the various persons who transport such things in their pick-up trucks. The women then return to the village. Other women have their purchases transported to the village path where they are hidden or put away in one of the caves or niches mentioned above. Very early the next morning, the viajera and her purchases, together, make the trip to the Guatemala City market where she will open her stall for another day's business. The above cycle, then, takes place three times a week and is the full-time occupation for these viajeras or regatonas.

On the days in which the viajera makes her purchases in Antigua, she may also spend a portion of her time buying up, in bulk, aguacates, peaches and other produce

from villagers who have these things to sell. These things too she will take to her place in the city market and sell directly to consumers.

The activity of these women, the *viajeras*, is of great importance to the well-being of the particular households they represent. On the other hand, it is hardly a necessary community service, one which greatly benefits the community as a whole. To be sure, the activity of these *viajeras* does provide an outlet for the commercial crops and products of the community. But its importance in this respect is minimal since by far the most common pattern is for these products to be sold on the market directly by the women of the household. Indeed, in most cases the village products taken by the *viajeras* to the Guatemala City market are those cultivated on their own household property by the male members of this same household.

Finally, there are two small stores, or tiendas, in San Miguel. They are owned by two relatively prosperous families in the community. As can be imagined, the stock carried in these stores is never really great. For the most part their stock consists of food items, such as bread, salt, sugar, rice, corn grain, beans, longanizas (sausages), bananas, candy, as well as

aguas caseosas (soda pop), beer, wine and aguardiente (during special holidays). These two stores are small, unpretentious affairs, usually casually attended to by whatever member of the household happens to be within earshot. In most cases, however, it happens to be a women or girl member of the household. Both stores are merely small, wooden additions attached to the main house and both measure only several square yards.

The daily proceeds in these two village stores appears to be about equal. It is usually small, rarely exceeding two or three Quetzales a day. Every two weeks or so, some adult member of these two households makes purchases in and around the Antigua market to replenish the limited stock. The low volume of business is due to the fact that most villagers usually get their household supplies (encomienda) once or, sometimes, twice, a week in the Antigua market where prices for the same things are considerably cheaper than the village stores.

One of these two store owning households also runs a molino de nixtamal; a mill where prepared corn is ground into masa (tortilla dough). The molino is operated by a gasoline motor--the only source of power

other than animal or human in the entire village. The molino owner-operator claimed that he took in, on the average, from seventy to eighty cents during the three or four hours in the morning that he operates the mill. Despite this seemingly low intake the molino is used by most village households. Very few women now grind their own nixtamal on the traditional stone metate, but prefer to save themselves this relatively arduous task by spending the few pennies it costs. They (household women) claimed that it was more economical this way since it liberated them for other household and productive work. A few other households send their nixtamal with one of their children to a molino in Magdalena (about a three mile round trip) where they claimed prices for grinding are cheaper.

The two stores and the molino are part of the entrepreneurial complex described above. The two leading viajeras mentioned before are members of these two store owning households, respectively. Cash intake in these two stores often helps furnish the capital for their (viajeras) buying and reselling operations. Likewise, in difficult times, their profits help subsidize the operations of these stores.

It is certain that the two storeowning-viajera

households mentioned above are by far in an economically superior position to any of the other families or households in the village. Beyond this, however, differences in wealth are difficult to ascertain and not clear-cut realities evident to everyone in the village. If they exist, they would have to be based on differentials in a variety of factors--primarily in the number of cash producing sources exploited by the household and the amount of land present for cultivation of the subsistence crops. At any rate, these differences appear to matter little in economic interrelations between the villagers and are only subtly, if at all, reflected in the style of life. Perhaps their clearest reflection is in the amount of economic security felt by the responsible members of the household.

The two households that own stores do usually hire other villagers to work their lands. This, however, has not led to a "proletariatization" (Noval Ms: 53) since the number hired is small and usually the same ones. Secondly, while they do represent an outlet of commercial crops for some households, some of the time, the amounts purchased are small and very irregular. The male heads of these household do have relatively high status in the community but it is due less to their wealth than to

1. The first step is to identify the problem.

2. The second step is to define the problem.

3. The third step is to analyze the problem.

4. The fourth step is to develop a solution.

5. The fifth step is to implement the solution.

6. The sixth step is to evaluate the solution.

7. The seventh step is to monitor the solution.

8. The eighth step is to maintain the solution.

9. The ninth step is to improve the solution.

10. The tenth step is to document the solution.

11. The eleventh step is to communicate the solution.

12. The twelfth step is to review the solution.

13. The thirteenth step is to update the solution.

14. The fourteenth step is to close the solution.

15. The fifteenth step is to archive the solution.

16. The sixteenth step is to delete the solution.

17. The seventeenth step is to restore the solution.

18. The eighteenth step is to backup the solution.

19. The nineteenth step is to recover the solution.

20. The twentieth step is to migrate the solution.

21. The twenty-first step is to clone the solution.

22. The twenty-second step is to split the solution.

23. The twenty-third step is to merge the solution.

24. The twenty-fourth step is to fork the solution.

other personal attributes such as cooperativeness and helpfulness to the community as a whole and to individual villagers. Furthermore, while the ability of these two families to be cooperative and helpful, in part, seems to be related to their greater economic margin, villagers seem to view these characteristics as being direct consequences of their personalities rather than mere economic ability. Others in a position to help, somewhat, but who refuse to are compared unfavorably to these two families. In large measure, their prestige is also due to strictly non-economic factors such as their successful avoidance of open conflict with others.

Some Important Aspects of the San Migueleno Point of View

In the mind of most villagers, life in San Miguel has both virtues and disadvantages. Significant among the positive and negative views are those that revolve around the economic conditions that obtain in his village.

To begin with, most persons in the village readily volunteer that the best way to characterize their community is that it is a poor community, both in its opportunities to make a living as well as in certain general conveniences that they come to regard as

essential, such as a road, motorized transportation, a better school and medical facilities. While they have never had these facilities, they have witnessed them elsewhere and they have not been blind to their utility.

Furthermore, villagers possess strong opinions as to the causes of both types of poverty. Economic poverty has its basis, according to most villagers, in at least one internal, impersonal factor--the absence of sufficiently good land to provide them with their basic food. That the amount of land is insufficient and fatigued is no secret to any of them.

But there are also personal, external and internal factors behind their general poverty, in their view. They know they are campesinos (peasants). They also know that the outside world, in the form of governmental agencies or the city person, cares little about the campesino and his hardships. The municipal authorities in Magdalena, they feel, do nothing, even in a small way, which would benefit them. The larger governmental structures not only fail to do anything positive, but are forever restricting his arable land with its soil conservation laws. It has made it illegal for him to exploit the forest as a source of income. The

• $\frac{1}{2} \times 100 = 50\%$ of the population is in the 100-150 range.

• $\frac{1}{4} \times 100 = 25\%$ of the population is in the 150-200 range.

• $\frac{1}{4} \times 100 = 25\%$ of the population is in the 200-250 range.

• $\frac{1}{4} \times 100 = 25\%$ of the population is in the 250-300 range.

• $\frac{1}{4} \times 100 = 25\%$ of the population is in the 300-350 range.

• $\frac{1}{4} \times 100 = 25\%$

• $\frac{1}{4} \times 100 = 25\%$ of the population is in the 350-400 range.

• $\frac{1}{4} \times 100 = 25\%$ of the population is in the 400-450 range.

• $\frac{1}{4} \times 100 = 25\%$ of the population is in the 450-500 range.

• $\frac{1}{4} \times 100 = 25\%$ of the population is in the 500-550 range.

• $\frac{1}{4} \times 100 = 25\%$ of the population is in the 550-600 range.

• $\frac{1}{4} \times 100 = 25\%$ of the population is in the 600-650 range.

• $\frac{1}{4} \times 100 = 25\%$ of the population is in the 650-700 range.

• $\frac{1}{4} \times 100 = 25\%$ of the population is in the 700-750 range.

• $\frac{1}{4} \times 100 = 25\%$ of the population is in the 750-800 range.

• $\frac{1}{4} \times 100 = 25\%$ of the population is in the 800-850 range.

• $\frac{1}{4} \times 100 = 25\%$ of the population is in the 850-900 range.

• $\frac{1}{4} \times 100 = 25\%$ of the population is in the 900-950 range.

• $\frac{1}{4} \times 100 = 25\%$ of the population is in the 950-1000 range.

• $\frac{1}{4} \times 100 = 25\%$ of the population is in the 1000-1050 range.

• $\frac{1}{4} \times 100 = 25\%$ of the population is in the 1050-1100 range.

• $\frac{1}{4} \times 100 = 25\%$ of the population is in the 1100-1150 range.

• $\frac{1}{4} \times 100 = 25\%$ of the population is in the 1150-1200 range.

• $\frac{1}{4} \times 100 = 25\%$ of the population is in the 1200-1250 range.

• $\frac{1}{4} \times 100 = 25\%$ of the population is in the 1250-1300 range.

• $\frac{1}{4} \times 100 = 25\%$ of the population is in the 1300-1350 range.

• $\frac{1}{4} \times 100 = 25\%$ of the population is in the 1350-1400 range.

• $\frac{1}{4} \times 100 = 25\%$ of the population is in the 1400-1450 range.

• $\frac{1}{4} \times 100 = 25\%$ of the population is in the 1450-1500 range.

city person takes the campesino and his labor for granted. He pays him as little as possible for his products and in the process treats him less than equal.

But the villager knows that the causes of his own and his village's impoverishment is not entirely due to the outside world's indifference and deprecation. When there is latitude for constructive action it fails to materialize, in his opinion, because his fellows in the village will not cooperate, at best, and will actively discourage action and create discord and suspicion of such cooperation. In short, the community cannot even help itself when it is possible because its people see only their own interests and would rather operate on an "each man for himself basis", or its correlate, "all against all". In such a situation, then, a just man, a sincere man, must follow suit and retreat from all unnecessary contact with his fellow citizens or suffer loss of property and respect at their hands. As was often put by them, a major purpose in life for most of his neighbors is bringing about your failure or, at least, your discomfort and unrest. They will attempt to frustrate your attempts to help yourself economically, says the villager, and so a man is a fool to let others know too much about his own affairs.

These, then, are the major disadvantages of living in San Miguel and their causes. But there are some things to be grateful for. Living elsewhere, in a city, they feel, would be almost impossible for them. While San Miguel lacks many facilities, it does provide some which they would otherwise have to buy. They can grow a significant portion of their food; they can provide themselves with fuel, water and shelter without money. In short, while they presently have the earning capacity to purchase a portion of their basic requirements, they would never achieve the earning capacity to provide themselves with all of these needs. In San Miguel, they feel, they can survive with a modicum of comfort. Elsewhere, survival would be most difficult. This is, perhaps, one of the major factors which underpins the positive values which peasants commonly attach to the soil and its cultivation.

Another facet of their point of view is reflected in forms of etiquette and criteria for being a respected person. Public open expressions of hostility or intimate friendship are rare in San Miguel and apparently would be frowned upon. The ideal posture when encountering another villager is one of reserve, and a touch of aloofness, but always involving much courtesy. Persons who are open in their emotions and sentiments, who

demonstrate much animation or joking in encounters with others are considered to be lacking in appropriate respect (an manliness, in the case of males) as well as not deserving any. The lack of public courtesy, or appropriate public reserve in manner quickly earns a villager the criticism of his neighbors. This is particularly true if they happen to be relatively older persons, for age is a prime characteristic of respected persons in the village and a frequently enunciated reason for bestowing respect and admiration.

The reasons behind these modes of public conduct are significant. Generally, they seem to revolve around the fact that when a person is not given the appropriate respect by his fellows, he becomes, in fact, a prime target for chicanery, exploitation and other misdeeds by his fellows. Reserve, on the other hand, is associated with a lack of tolerance for such actions. In other words, in being reserved a villager literally announces to those around him that he is not a man to trifle with; that he would take an intrusion into his life very seriously. Giving such an impression to others is a vital concern of most villagers, especially the male heads of household, and is a source of much anxiety, and frequently physical illness, when one's mask has obviously slipped.

But while there is much anxiety, hardship and inconvenience attached to life in the village, there is at least one source of hope and satisfaction recognized by villagers. This rests with their God, their church and their Patron Saint. The value attached to individual and community practice of religion, in San Miguel, cannot be over-emphasized. No hope for the future, or even casual mention of something to be undertaken, escapes the lips of these people without this amendment-- "con el favor de Dios" (with God's help and consent).

Often, with some sacrifice, they undertake their visits or romerias (pilgrimage) to Catholic shrines. The Good Friday pageant in Antigua is something no villager would think of missing. In the village itself they share what little they have for the performance of public religious ceremonies. And a threat to their church and its relics is a threat to them all. During these religious occasions hostilities and old wounds suffered at the hands of a fellow-villager are temporarily forgotten while they join each other in the veneration of their patron San Miguel and the other personifications of their faith. In short, if there is any common set of values and sentiments which can be taken as symbols of their integrity as a community, it rests here: in

the form of a wooden statue in classic Roman military uniform wielding a sword and the scales of justice. It stands in the center altar of their church. This is the statue of San Miguel.

CHAPTER III

RESIDENCE, INHERITANCE, AND MARRIAGE

INTRODUCTION

Most students of peasant society appear to agree that of all the groups to be found in such societies or communities, the family is unparalleled in the degree of corporateness, and long term cohesion. Edward Banfield, for example, emphasizes the family and familism as the group and the attitude which is central to understanding the social organization and "moral basis" of peasants in a southern Italian community. (Edward Banfield, 1958) He and others point out that it is within the family that individuals demonstrate and exercise the worthiest human sentiments they possess; warmth, compassion, understanding, and openness. In the interpersonal relations outside the family, a peasant's personality takes on its characteristic suspiciousness, reticence and studied aloofness. The inability of distinct families to link up in meaningful, long term associations and

therefore form larger, functional groups, is the principal fact behind the labeling of peasant communities as atomistic. The family, then, is the basic unit, the atom, if you will, underlying whatever larger units or groups may appear.

This atomistic character is absent in certain peasant type communities because of the presence of larger corporate kin-based structures such as lineages or clans. In these communities, notably in South and East Asia, these larger kin groups perform vital functions for its individual members and effectively organize and unite larger numbers of persons.

As pointed out in the setting chapter, however, San Miguel is a community without lineages or clans. Here, the family is not integrated into larger kin groups, but literally stands alone as the basic unit from which larger non-kin structures can be formed. In the setting chapter I have described the major socio economic functions performed by the family group as well as the kinship system. In this chapter I will be concerned with a description of the general structure of the family unit and the effect of residence, inheritance, and marriage patterns on it. These aspects of the family were chosen for special

attention here since they appear to be crucial elements in determining stability and positiveness of social relations within the context of the family.

The Residential Sitio and Its Composition

Perhaps the simplest approach to the basic units of San Migueleno social structure is via the composition and distribution of the domestic units or households as mentioned in the introductory chapter. The whole of San Miguel's land is divided into two major and objectively distinct sections--the milpas (agricultural fields) and the sitios (domestic sites). Each of these, in turn, can be further broken down into two categories according to their "legal" status--that communally owned and that privately owned. The nature and function of communally owned land for social relations within the community will be described in more detail in a later chapter.

San Miguel proper, that is, where all living quarters are located, is composed of eighty one sitios and forms a "closed" community, in that its physical boundaries are visible and agreed upon by all. Although small and more crudely made huts are located in various portions of milpa land, these are barren

of all living comforts and are used primarily for shelter while working in the fields, for temporary storage of harvests and, occasionally, for hideouts during critical and dangerous times. A thorough check of San Miguel's land reveal no residential structures located directly on soil under cultivation. This fact was unanimously verified by knowledgeable informants.

Sitios then encompass the basic units of community structure--the domestic establishments. The sitios are arranged side by side along the various paths that ramify through the village. One of the first things that strikes a visitor to San Miguel, however, is the universal and strict insistence on definite physical boundaries between sitios. This conscious and deliberate effort to shut out the outside, no matter how familiar it may be, is to be seen everywhere in the village proper. Nowhere is the definition of where one man's "castle" ends and another's begins left to natural boundaries or traditional verbal agreement between the respective inhabitants. To be sure, the nature of these boundaries varies. The most common is a flimsy wall of cane or wooden poles, but strings of barbed wire are found as well as

deliberately cultivated rows of bothersome, stinging ortigilla (nettle) or maguey plants. It could be argued that the function of such boundaries is the protection of garden plots from the small domestic animals which habitually stray along the village paths. While the function of the boundaries may be so interpreted and used by some villagers, such a function is really a secondary or associated one. After all, no attempts are made to circumscribe the peregrinations of small animals within each sitio. And, in many cases, there never have been any garden plots to protect. Nevertheless, in every case, the fence between neighbors and even close kinsmen exists. It is practically the first structure to appear in the founding of a new domestic establishment or the first thing to be repaired when repairs are generally needed. There can be no doubt that these humble and flimsy barriers are primarily social--primarily intended to declare to the village and the world that what is encompassed within is the sole possession of a person and his (or her) "family," and all intrusions are allowed only at their discretion. This psychological reality receives validations on the lips of villagers. Many of them emphatically affirm that this discretion

and power of exclusion is one of their most sacred rights. Many villagers, especially the male heads of households, on several occasions, stated that in their respective sitios, "yo mando" (I rule) and, in so many words, added that all unwelcomed intrusions would not be taken lightly nor would the health of the intruder not guaranteed by them.

This attitude is strongly reflected in at least one aspect of formal etiquette. In San Miguel, merely walking into another person's sitio without being asked by someone of authority in that household, is considered a grievous offense (and the basis for a legal demanda or suit) and extremely bad manners as well. The form usually followed, requires that the visitor (and this includes close kinsmen who live in other households) stand at the gate of the fence and, in a loud voice, summon the head of the household. The latter, depending on the status of the caller, will either walk to the gate to inquire as to the nature of the visit, or immediately give the familiar "pase adelante" (come in). The caller on the other hand, depending on the nature of the business, may stand and wait for whatever action the head of the household (or another adult sitio member) may choose

to take, or he may directly, but politely, ask for permission to enter. But under very few circumstances may he enter without explicit permission. Furthermore, leave to enter on numerous previous occasions is rarely a franchise for unsolicited leave to come in.

The general method of community administration emanating from the village auxiliatura (auxiliary town hall) also reaffirms the principle of household independence and corporateness. In the selection of officials, in recruiting volunteers for community work and the settling of disputes, each household sitio (and its respective members) is dealt with as a separate and independent unit. This aspect of community life is discussed in more detail in a later chapter. Suffice it here to say that when dealing with the auxiliatura and its officials, an individual represents either just himself or an individual household unit, but not an extended family or any other larger kin group.

If the sitios, then, are the basic physical units in the general configuration that is San Miguel, what types of families exist within these sitios? The biological unit consisting of parents and their unmarried children (i.e., nuclear family) is, by far, the most prevalent type of family and the basic

social and economic unit. In a formal survey of household genealogies in the village, this type of family-- a nuclear family--and slight variations of it accounted for approximately 66% of all the households. As the table below shows, the extended type family¹ ran a poor second in frequency of occurrence.

TABLE: Frequency of Family Types

Type of Family:	# of Households	%
Nuclear Family	57	70
Extended Family	16	20
Sets of Unmarried Siblings	1	1
Single Individuals	7	9
Total Number	81	100

It should be mentioned that in the above table "nuclear family" includes cases where in addition to parents and children there are present other collateral relatives. Of the fifty-seven cases, thirty-five were purely nuclear families, i.e. parents and children only. Under this category, also, I have included six cases consisting

¹ Extended family is herein defined as basically two nuclear families linked through at least one extension of the "parent-offspring" bond.

of couples without children and couples plus collateral relatives and grandchildren. Extended families also include cases where collateral relatives are present.

The table below showing the distribution of number of individuals per household also reflects what appears to be a strong tendency for small, compact groups, such as nuclear families, that function as socio economic units. In spite of the fact that many children and large families are valued by San Miguelenos, 46% of the household had only 4 or less members living and working within them. An average of only a fraction over five persons per household was obtained for the village.

TABLE: Number of Individuals per Household

# of individuals	# of households
16	1
14	1
11	1
9	3
8	6
7	8
6	12
5	11
4	16
3	6
2	9
1	7
406	81
<u>Total # of individuals</u>	<u>Total # of households</u>

Residence Rules

Determining, exactly, what the prevalent forms or "rules" of residence for newly united couples are in San Miguel is a very difficult task. Unfortunately, I was unable to carry out a systematic survey of all the married or common-law couples residing in the village on their experience in selecting a place to live after uniting. Secondly, very little information was available on villagers who had married, or entered into common-law unions, with outsiders and then left the village. Whether these persons had moved to their mate's family home or community, or whether they had set up completely independent households still elsewhere was impossible to determine.

The statements that follow concerning residence patterns, then, reflect what transpires when one or both of the persons uniting are native to the village of San Miguel and where they have settled within the perimeter of the village. Unfortunately, of the sixty five couples actually living together in the village, in 1964, I was only able to obtain information of this sort on fifty four of them. The information was obtained, primarily, from household genealogies given in a preliminary census conducted in 1961, and the

distributions obtained confirmed by two knowledgeable informants.

TABLE: Frequency of Residence Types²

Neolocal residence	27
Patrilocal residence	17
Matrilocal residence	10
<u>Total</u>	<u>54</u>

As the above table indicates, neolocal residence appears to predominate in San Miguel. That is, 27 of the 54 couples presently live in households and sitios that neither person occupied before uniting. In some cases these sitios may be adjacent to either partner's pre-marital residence (with the family of orientation), but nevertheless, their present sitio and home are considered separate and independent from that of their parent's. In most cases, however, the new residence is located at a respectable distance and not contiguous with either partner's former home. Patrilocal residence, that is, residence within the household and sitio of the husband's family of

² "matrilocal" is defined here as residence in the woman's family of orientation. "patrilocal" is defined here as residence in the man's family of orientation. "neolocal" are those cases where residence is with neither his or her family of orientation.

orientation accounts for 17 cases, while matrilocal residence accounts for only 10 of the 54. Furthermore, from accounts given by several informants, there appears to be a strong tendency towards temporary patrilocal residence, particularly during the first months or years of marriage or common-law union. Unfortunately, the particular frequency of this variation in residence was impossible to determine or document satisfactorily.

Tentatively, then, we can state that a neolocal residence rule or pattern predominates in San Miguel, and that, along with the occurrence of patrilocal and matrilocal residence, there is also a strong tendency towards temporary patrilocal residence preceeding neolocal residence establishment. In this respect San Miguel appears to be typical of Ladino communities in Guatemala. Adams, in a survey of Ladino communities in Guatemala, found this to be the general pattern. (Richard Adams, 1957; 327)

However general this pattern may be, such a statement is herein deemed in need of more detailed description. Otherwise, one runs the risk of reifying-- or worse, over-simplifying--what is primarily only a deducible or observable reality. To put it more plainly,

there is, in fact, no explicit residence rule or set of rules in San Miguel; no explicit cultural perscription agreed upon by villagers as being the custom or, to use a favorite anthropological translation, "their way". A discussion of this matter with villagers revealed a variety of opinions, all hinging on rather pragmatic and even idiosyncratic considerations. Even answers to the time honored approach of asking "what is the custom here" were invariably prefaced with the phrase, "it depends...". According to them, it depended upon whether the newly acquired woman got along with her spouse's family; it depended upon whether or not there was an available sitio elsewhere; it depended upon whether or not the patriarch wanted the newly united couple in his household; on whether or not the mate's parents were able to perform domestic tasks for themselves; on whether or not there were other clearly favored heirs apparent to the patriarchs sitio and household; on whether it might be economically more profitable, in the long run, to settle with the woman's own family; and so on. In the absence of a clearly established cultural norm, what factors help explain the particular distributions given above and, especially, the predominance of neolocal residence over

the other types?

If it can be assumed that implicit or ideal norms are in some way related to action, the distributions obtained raise still another interesting question. More specifically, male dominance and strong patriarchal influence in family matters are by now well known characteristics of rural Latin American culture. Generally speaking, San Miguel appears to be representative of these central values. When one examines carefully the explicit, somewhat idiosyncratic, factors given by San Higuclenos as determining residence patterns, most of them reflect these central features in that they appear to imply that all other things being equal, a man and a woman should establish themselves within the web of his (the male's) family of orientation. Nevertheless, most will settle in new and independent sitios and the implicit ideal of patrilocal residence occurs, but not as frequently.

Patterns of Inheritance and Residence

The predominance of neolocal residence appears to be rooted in two interrelated factors: 1) a sizeable population expansion in the face of a fixed land base; and 2) prevalent patterns of inheritance.

From accounts given by four of the more well to do and elderly village household heads, it became apparent that there was a clear tendency, on their part, to want an equitable distribution of their worldly goods among all their offspring. Nevertheless, they considered the matter of "who gets what (if anything)" as entirely dependent on their discretion and not a foregone conclusion. Still other informants substantiated the fact that there is no necessary injunction favoring primogeniture or a fixed sexual dichotomy in the distribution of the previous generation's worldly possessions, including land. In a word, except in cases of personal antagonism between parents and particular offspring or other personal factors, parents desire a bilateral distribution of inheritance, wherever possible.

This ideal norm of inheritance has numerous effects on village social organization and the regulation of family life. Some of these will be discussed later in this chapter. What concerns us immediately is its effects on residence establishment.

Actually, there are two major ways in which parents dispose of their household sitios through inheritance. The parent's sitio may be subdivided into

three or however many subdivisions are necessary to accomodate those inheriting a part of the family sitio. Or, one of the offspring may be the sole inheritor of the family residential plot (the others, usually, being compensated with other possessions), thus forcing the others to seek homes elsewhere in the village or outside. The first of these alternatives, does occur. However, since residential plots are of rather limited proportions, it has a stopping point. That is, subdivision of the original plots cannot be carried beyond two generations in families with more than one offspring. This fact, in part, explains why the second of the above alternatives (i.e., one offspring displacing others for the family homesite) appears to be the most common. This pattern, then, would call forth many more neolocal residences for every patrilocal residence resulting from inheritance. Also, in many cases new sitios for those not inheriting part of the family homestead may not be readily available. This often necessitates temporary patrilocal residence until their own sitio can be secured, since in many cases this inheritance of the family plot is tentatively, at least, decided even before the death of the father or the mother.

The situation described above can also be taken as a way in which a land pressure problem affects or determines residence patterns. But there is still another, perhaps more important, way that increased population on a fixed land base makes itself felt. Agricultural land in San Miguel is by all accounts insufficient to meet the needs of the community's inhabitants. Furthermore, it is also insufficient in its productivity. Both the quantity and the quality of land of most households in the village really makes extended family units unnecessary in fulfilling the economic needs. In fact, all that is usually required in working an average size family holding is the labor of one male adult with, perhaps, the occasional assistance of one of his sons or his mate. Conversely, the yields of indispensable maize and beans would certainly not be enough to sustain, on a permanent basis, more than two average size families at the most. In such a situation then, neolocal, and on occasion, matrilocal residence will in most cases be more feasible than existence within a patrilineal extended family residing together.

Let us briefly return to temporary patrilocal residence. As was mentioned earlier, there is a

tendency towards this type in San Miguel. Unfortunately, the evidence here is somewhat unsystematic and based on vague recollections, on the part of some informants, about their own and other family histories. Adequate proof of this tendency would require a more extended period of observation in the village. Such an operation was not possible. Nevertheless, a significant number of cases were reported where the couples had at one time or another, but usually during the first months or years of being united, lived with the man's family. Not one case of these temporary residences reported, however, occurred after the death of both parents. In other words, temporary residence by a son (or daughter) and his (or her) mate in the father's sitio apparently occurs only when the parents are alive and effectively control the family fortunes. The latter is significant since it is only after the death of the parents that a complete and thorough division of a family's benefits is effected. After this, in most cases, any remains or corporate semblance of a man's family of orientation ceases to exist. A variety of reasons were given for the occurrences of temporary patrilocal residence. Some cases were

directly related to caring for elders in the absence of other family members. The most frequently mentioned, however, was the lack of another sitio for the couple to occupy and, commensurate with this, the lack of his own land to cultivate milpa. Nevertheless, it is not improbable that this type is a fairly general pattern in San Miguel. It appears to be so for much of Ladino Guatemala and can be accounted for by the same factors effecting neolocal residence. During my stays in San Miguel, I witnessed the establishment of only four new domestic unions in the village. Of these, one followed matrilocal residence, one neolocal, one began in patrilocal residence and within a year changed to neolocal, and the latest was tentatively patrilocal.

Another important characteristic with respect to inheritance is that a man's possessions are rarely merged with those of his spouse or mate in the process of distributing them among the inheritors. Each explicitly retains the right to adjudicate whatever land or other valuables each brought into the union, or accumulated through individual effort throughout their lives together, among their offspring. Furthermore, clear possession or ownership (legal), especially of land, is never relinquished until death. The most

that is done before the death of the parents (the legal owners, in this case) is the granting of qualified permission to make use of the land, especially when the man of the household is too old and feeble to work the land himself. It is not uncommon that a man, who has been working a piece of his fathers property for a number of years, upon the death of his parents, winds up renting, borrowing, having to buy, and even relinquishing the use of the land to the true and ultimate inheritor, usually his sibling. In most cases, however, a son (or daughter) eventually falls heir to property or animals temporarily granted by the parents during their lifetime. This seems to hold true for both privately owned as well as privately used communally owned land.

The practice of withholding outright ownership (not an unusual one to those familiar with American inheritance practices) is explicitly viewed by older San Miguelenos as practically the only and best way of exercising parental control over adult offspring and assuring themselves of their labor when they are no longer able to work their land themselves. This notion was expressed: "If I don't keep ownership of the land and other things, my children could someday tell me to get out and leave me in the street".

Unfortunately, it was not possible to obtain good data on the actual process of transmission. It was not ascertained whether there is a family council to repartition property; or whether this matter was settled by administration of a legal will or some legal executor. From accounts given by these elderly and relatively wealthy informants, it appears that a legally notarized will is considered by them to be the best way of leaving their affairs in order. All these informants already had their wills drawn up by abogados (lawyers) in Antigua and showed them to me. These documents were referred to by them as "escritos de testimonio" written on ubiquitous papel sellado (officially stamped paper) and included a detailed account of what items and amounts were to be distributed among his children upon his death. I neglected to ask who would be in charge of making known the contents of this document to the heirs. In one case, the informant stated he had revealed the contents to his children some years ago to quell an argument between them concerning their respective rights to their father's property. All three informants maintained that such a clearly specified document was necessary so as not to leave the children fighting each other

over who had rights to what. They felt that an informal word of mouth arrangement would only create trouble, ill feelings and dissention among the offspring at the time that the distribution of the property becomes necessary. In all these cases, also, their mates supposedly had wills or "escritos de testimonio" drawn up for the property and goods that belonged to them.

Inheritance is a very delicate subject in San Miguel and one which at some point threatens, or the potential to threaten, all family accord. This is understandable given the restricted nature of land-- unquestionably the dearest and most indispensable possession of nearly all villagers. Land or livestock are the main objects of interest in the transference to the succeeding generation. But it was apparent from the "testimonios" shown and the discussions that this intersibling strife is possible over any object of value. It was also clear, from discussions with a number of informants that the frequency of social and economic interaction between siblings decreases with the death of the parents and settlements of the property distribution. There were numerous accounts of brothers, or brothers and sisters, who actually had

stopped speaking to one another due to dissatisfaction over these matters. While these incidents were lamented by the informants, they spoke of them as being almost unavoidable.

An incident that occurred during my second visit to the village is perhaps a good illustration of the latent hostility and active suspicion between siblings and the potential disruption of future social relations, arising directly out of concern with inheritance.

Don Aniceto, an elderly man and probably the wealthiest man in San Miguel, had an obstruction of the urinary tract which sent him to the national hospital (Hospital Roosevelt) in Guatemala City for a series of very delicate and serious operations. Every visiting day a number of his offspring (and other collateral relatives) would visit him; all coming separately to the hospital. Reports filtered back to the village, on several occasions, that he was gravely ill, almost dying. Two of his sons, persons with whom I had very good rapport, continually expressed concern with their father's condition and with the fact that he stubbornly refused to declare his will or his plans for distributing his goods among his children. Meanwhile, the old man would

be innundated with reports by his sons and daughters that the others were beginning to make direct claims on his land and livestock which they insisted would be theirs upon his death. Apparently all were urging him to settle the matter by declaring his intentions. Still the old man refused. (Actually, he told me later that he had his will made out even before he became ill but refused to say so and admitted that he derived immense pleasure out of watching how far they would go, as he put it, "to screw each other").

During one of the visiting days he suddenly announced to his kinsmen-visitors that he was being released that afternoon. I was present on this occasion with his eldest son, Francisco. What ensued, literally was a scramble between two groups of his children (Francisco and another younger brother against the three oldest sisters) to secure transportation for their father back to the village. Francisco won, but not without a brief tug-of-war and exchange of curses with his sisters even to the hospital driveway. (Despite obvious pain, Don Aniceto could not suppress a devilish grin everytime Francisco apologized to me for the situation he accused his sisters of creating.) Don Aniceto steadily recovered and the matter of

inheritance had once more receded below the surface, though not without creating still another latent inter-sibling hostility that was before absent.

Francisco and Jorge are both sons of Don Aniceto, but each has a different mother. Don Aniceto's concubines, however, are sisters and Francisco and Jorge have never considered themselves less than brothers even though Don Aniceto himself considers Francisco's mother as his actual mate. He speaks of Jorge's mother as an "affair of the street" even though the relationship produced five children concurrent with those of his "true mate". During the above incident, and shortly thereafter, Francisco began stating publicly that only the children of his mother had any right to Don Aniceto's property since it had been she and not her sister (Jorge's mother) who had helped him accumulate his wealth. The statements apparently wounded Jorge deeply, especially since he claimed none of his father's property for himself, but only for his deaf mute brother who is totally dependent. He told me that though he and Francisco may have settled things easily before (since they had always been very close), he vowed that when the time came he would fight him for his brother's share. During my last days in the village, the relations

between these two were considerably more cool and cautious than before.

Still another, slightly different case will serve to illustrate the disruptive force of inheritance within families. The father of the Chacon family had died some years ago. Before his death, however, two of his sons had migrated to Guatemala City and held relatively good jobs there, leaving only his sons Enrique and Tulis (a mentally retarded adult) on the family plot. An agreement was reached among the four brothers whereby the family agricultural land (actually communally owned), the homestead, several milk cows, and other goods were to remain intact under Enrique's supervision and directly for his use, so long as he (Enrique) was unencumbered with a mate and children. He was also responsible for the care of his brother Tulis. It was understood that a settlement of some sort would be made whenever Enrique decided to unite with some woman and thus have his own home for his own family. The repartition of the agricultural land was not an issue, since neither of the brothers who had moved to Guatemala City could claim it unless they returned to reside in the village and work the land. Since Moises and Carlos apparently had no intentions, at that time, of returning to San

Miguel, these arrangements were agreeable with everyone.

About two years ago, however, Enrique ran off with another villager's wife and eventually settled with her and a newborn child (supposedly her husband's) on the family residence. For some reason, Enrique made no attempt to formalize his union or effect a definite split of the family property with his brothers in the city. During my second visit to the village, Enrique died suddenly of a heart attack. Moises immediately took temporary leave from his job in the city and, with his family, took up residence on the family property in San Miguel. His first act was to drive out his deceased brother's woman, claiming she had no right to any family property, either owned or held, and that she really had never been acceptable to himself or to his brother Carlos. His move, according to him, was motivated by concern with retaining his family's share or communal land for the support of his brother Tulis and himself (since he would take over the role of guardian), as well as making sure that the woman got no part of his family sitio. The woman naturally contested this action and claimed some of the communal land for herself saying that Enrique had promised her his share. Since this involved communal property, its

settlement went before the Auxiliatura, where it was still being held at the time of my departure.

In the meantime, Moises' brother Carlos began accusing Moises of wanting the property and, particularly, some milk cows for himself. Moises retaliated by accusing his brother of the same thing and claimed that he himself was merely controlling these things for the sake and comfort of his mentally retarded brother. At the time of my departure, Carlos was coming to San Miguel every Friday (for a few hours only) to see whether or not Moises had sold the cattle. He and his brother Tulis take him to the fields where he could see them for himself. As a result of these mutual accusations and suspicions, the brothers have severed all social relations. Carlos' seeming disinterest in the land itself is probably related to the fact that the greater portion of it is communal. Thus, since he has not resided in San Miguel for many years and is apparently reluctant to return as a resident, he really would have little basis for disputing it. The milk cows, however, are owned outright by the family and, as such, are actually convertible into fluid capital.

Marriage Versus Common-Law Unions

This sub-section could perhaps more properly be

titled "conjugal unions", if by marriage we mean a union entered into by a man and woman immediately following the receipt of formal, legal, and/or religious sanction to do so. From data gathered during the last census (1964), it is clearly evident that common-law unions are the most prevalent in San Miguel. The six cell table presented below indicates that 62% of the sixty five conjugal unions existing in the village were common-law; it is also apparent that most conjugal unions in San Miguel are communally endogamous, i.e. both parties are residents of the village at the time the unions are made.

Table

	communal exogamy		communal endogamy	combined total
	outsider			
	male	female		
married	3	5	17	25 (38%)
common- law	4 (7)	10 (15)	26	40 (62%)
combined total	22 (34%)		43 (66%)	65 (100%)

Of the sixty five sexual unions, 66% were of the endogamous type. With respect to communal exogamy, there is a tendency towards patrilocal residence. Here, we can see that in cases where one or the other party has origins elsewhere (is a resident of another community prior to marriage) it is usually the female. The evidence for communal patrilocal residence, however, is faulty, since it does not report the extent to which village males have moved to other communities after marriage. I was unable to gather systematic data on its frequency, but reliable informants claimed that such a thing was rare. According to them, when male villagers married and moved away, it was usually to another locality other than those of their spouses.

The prevalence of common-law unions over marriage is a subject that deserves some attention here. As in most places, formal marriage in Guatemala usually entails two ceremonies--a civil and a religious one. As might be expected, in San Miguel the religious sanction is the most valued. The civil ceremony appears to be thought of as a mere legal formality or requisite to a church marriage--in the case of San Miguel, primarily the Catholic church. The importance which religion and religious sacraments have in the thinking of villagers

in San Miguel is great. Furthermore, the visiting priests in San Miguel, as I witnessed on several occasions, are not unconcerned with the prevalence of common-law unions, to say the least. At all the services I attended in the village church, the sermons were heavily laced with pleas, exhortations, and threats of hell and agony to all those who began, or continued, their sexual unions "like cattle", as the good priest put it. (Indeed, throughout the sermons the priest continually cautioned his bare-footed and patch-clothed parishioners against the three major evils of the modern world--communism, protestantism, and common-law unions). Still most unions in San Miguel are, and continue to be of the common-law type. Of the four unions that took place during my stay, only one had the prescribed legal and religious sanction.

Unfortunately I never had the opportunity to observe a formal wedding in San Miguel. On the basis of photographs and random accounts of previous weddings gotten through casual conversations, some information concerning these ceremonies can be given here.

A civil marriage ceremony for these Catholic people, then, is of little importance except as a legal sanction and commonly precedes a church sanctioned

ceremony. Correspondingly, it entails the least difficulty for them. Most of the civil marriages undertaken are performed in the village of Magdalena, San Miguel's municipal center, in the office of the municipal secretary, which is only a mile and a half up the mountain path from the village. This ceremony, I was told, is performed by the municipal secretary for only a minimal fee and can be performed almost any day of the week during the Juzgado's (municipal court) office hours.

Religious ceremonies apparently always take place in the village church and always in the context of a Mass. Since there is no resident priest in San Miguel, I was told it is customary to schedule a wedding for one of the six or so calendar religious occasions when a priest from Antigua is imported for the celebration of Mass. Ordinarily, the cost of bringing a priest for Mass includes a basic fee of Q14 (\$14.), paid to the Antigua parish by the village's church committee. In addition, the cost of transporting the priest and his assistants (including an organist with a small portable box-like organ) by taxi to the path leading to the village is also paid by the committee. Finally, a sumptuous lunch for the priest and his assistants is customary. Again, this is provided by one or more

members of the committee, although on occasion, other families will request that they be given this honor.

When a wedding is to be held, the necessary preliminary arrangements are made beforehand in the office of the parish in Antigua. For these occasions the parish fee increases to Q.24. The difference of Q.10 is made up by the principal parties to the wedding though I was unable to learn just who carries this financial burden. However, in previous years it was customary for the entire parish fee to be paid by one or the other, or both, of the parties involved, but such a thing is rare now since personal wealth and money earning capacity have been drastically declining.

However, it is still customary for the wedding party (or parties) to provide the almuerzo (lunch) for the priest and his assistants as part of the day long fiesta given to celebrate the marriage. I was unable to discover whether or not there is any particular pattern as to where the fiesta is celebrated. This fiesta obviously involves heavy expenditures of money and goods. At least two meals are provided the guests-lunch and supper. In addition a marimba band is hired to play the entire time--from the end of the wedding ceremony until the early hours of the next morning. The musicians,

incidentally, are also provided with food and drink as well as their fee. Much aguardiente, beer and wine, is served by those giving the fiesta, although it is not unusual for a guest to wish to sponsor a round of drinks for those present. Small boys are kept busy running back and forth between the fiesta and the village store for bottles of alcoholic beverages that the guests wish to buy. Finally firecrackers and other diversions are used to enliven the proceedings.

From pictures I was shown, the apparel worn by the bride and groom is similar the standard apparel worn by urban middle classes on such occasions. The groom is pictured attired in a dark suit, with a white shirt and necktie. The bride always had on the standard floor length wedding dress with veil and flowers.

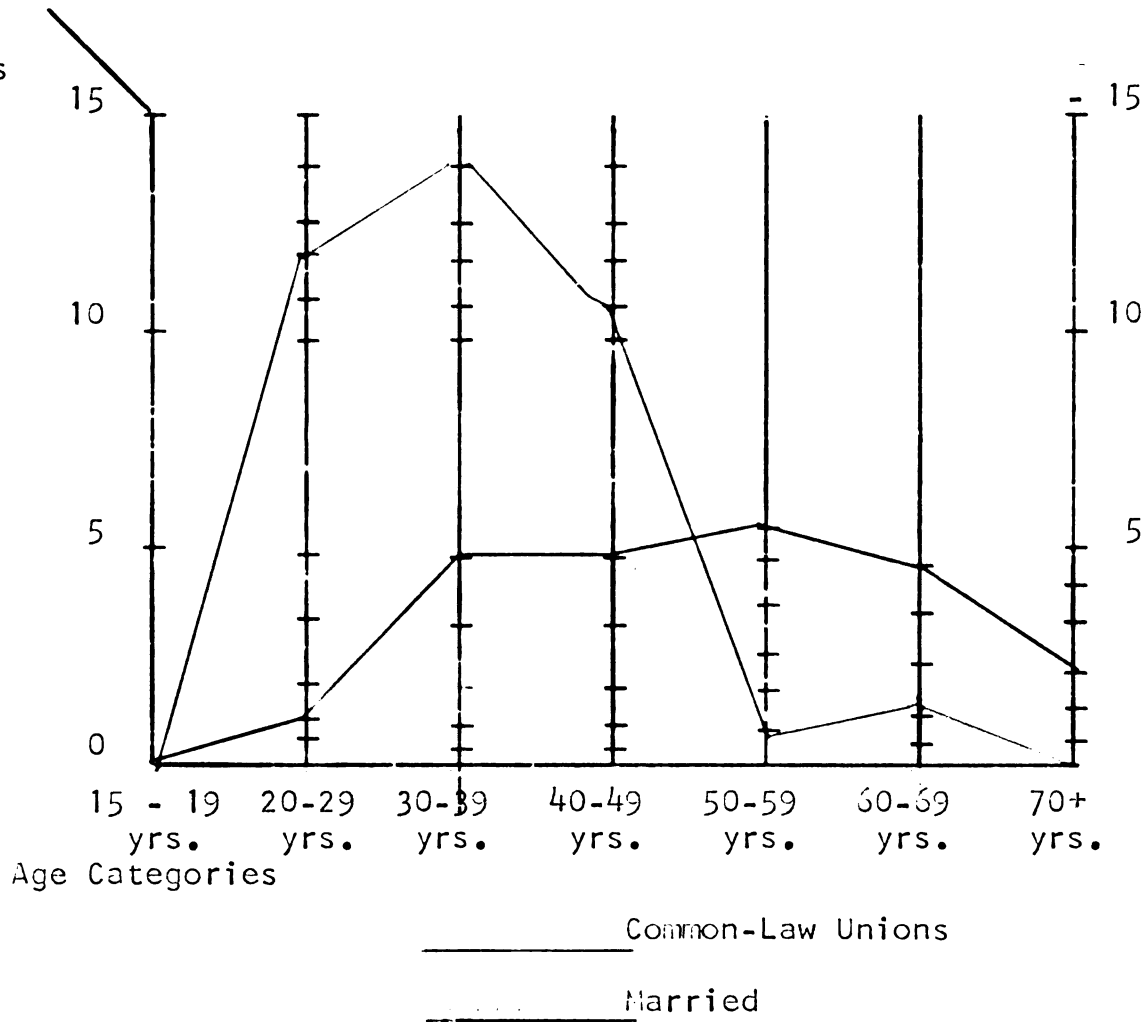
Common-law unions apparently involve no ritual or ceremony and their circumstances vary. When a common-law union involves a woman who was previously unmarried, seemingly chaste, or young, the courtship patterns preceding the union are not too different from those which ultimately end in a religious or formal wedding. A man, once having assured himself of the woman's interest and affection, will simply approach her parents, alone or accompanied by his parents, and request her hand.

Once having secured her parents' permission, if the suitor is willing, the planning for a wedding begins. Usually, however, permission is not given immediately, but only after several days and subsequent visits by the suitor. It frequently happens, however, that the suitor, for reasons which will be given below, is unwilling to agree to be legally and religiously bound in marriage. In these cases he will plead with the girl's parents that while he wishes to be married legally and by the church, he is unable to because of his lack of funds. According to my informants, the parents of the girl will invariably demand that they be so married. After successive visits the parents will usually relent and agree to a common-law union, but only after extracting a vague, verbal promise from the suitor that he will marry in the church when he is sufficiently solvent to do so. This promise is usually given directly, and the girl unceremoniously will pack her personal belongings and move to her new home. If the girl's parents refuse to allow a common-law union, elopement is resorted to by the couple. They will usually leave the village for a number of days and then return. After they return the girl will seek and usually get her parent's forgiveness and their

blessing.

According to some of my older informants, the high incidence of common-law unions is recent in San Miguel. They claimed that common-law unions were rare in past times. As most elderly people everywhere, these informants viewed the trend as a reflection on the morals and character of the "younger generation". As Don Higinio, a man over 70 years of age, put it, "Esta gente de hoy ya no respetan a nadie. No se respetan ni uno al otro. Tampoco respetan a Dios nuestro Senor o a sus sagradas leyes. Prefieren vivir amancebados como un par de bueyes." ("The people of today have no respect for anybody. They don't respect each other. And they don't respect God or his sacred laws. They prefer to live common-law like a pair of oxen.") As the graph on the following page shows, the greater part of men living in common-law unions are under 50 years of age, while those claiming to be legally married are fairly evenly distributed between the ages of 30 and 70.

TABLE: Age Distributions of Males Married and
Common-Law Unions



However, the above information is not conclusive with respect to possible change in marriage practices since it is based on their present marital status. Many of those persons claiming to be married now may not have started out their conjugal lives under the sanction of holy matrimony. Legal and religious marriage taking

place after a period of common law union is not unheard of in San Miguel. I was unable to ascertain just how many of these cases are involved in the above tabulations.

The high incidence of common-law unions, the situation in San Miguel is apparently not at all unique in Guatemala. According to Adams, (1957; 329-330)

"Common-law alliances are generally found, as might be expected, among poorer and lower class Ladinos; the common-law relationship, however, is fairly well recognized among all classes, and illegitimacy in Guatemala, as elsewhere in Central America, carries relatively little stigma".

Adams, furthermore, attributes the prevalence of common-law unions to at least three factors: 1) scarcity of funds; 2) the scarcity of priests; 3) and the lack of importance of family lineage among the poorer, lower class Ladinos. I have already noted how being married by the church entails a relatively heavy financial burden. It is likely that scarcity of funds is one of the major factors which discourages formal marriage in San Miguel. It is impossible here to demonstrate how relative wealth correlates with type of marriage. A ranking on the basis of wealth within such a seemingly undifferentiated community would have to be based on a variety of factors, such as real income, amount of land,

livestock, fruit trees, etc. This information was gathered through the National Census in 1964, but is only now being computed on a scale by Professor William A. Faunce. Such a correlation would have to have been based on relative wealth at the time the marriage or the common-law union. This was not possible.

Although there is no resident priest in San Miguel, the scarcity of priests, at first glance, would not seem to be such an insurmountable obstacle to a religious wedding or marriage. For example, in nearby Antigua (referred to as "the most Catholic city in Central America") there are several churches and a corresponding number of priestly orders which, theoretically at least, could perform this service for San Miguelenos. Furthermore, Antigua is the religious and economic center for the villagers of San Miguel, most of whom come there at least once a week.

On closer inspection, however, the absence of a priest in San Miguel does appear to be a factor which imposes limits on the ease with which villagers could obtain the sacrament of matrimony. Through custom and administrative arrangement, the religious needs of the villagers can be ministered only by the priests of Cathedral San Jose in Antigua. The parish priest there,

a rather gruff man little liked by the villagers, appears to be rather jealous of his prerogatives and gives permission to seek a priest from another parish only when it is impossible for him or his assistant to attend to the needs of the villagers. Furthermore, while it is technically possible for a small ceremony to be performed by the priest in the sacristy, for Q10., it is customary that a marriage be celebrated during the course of a mass. A Cathedral mass for a mere peasant's wedding is not only unheard of, but would be economically prohibitive. Thus, even if the parties involved have the willingness to be married by a priest, and the sufficient funds for it, it would only be possible for them to marry during one of the few times a year that the priest is brought to San Miguel for a mass.

The lack of emphasis on family lineage, as a factor related to the preponderance of common-law unions, as mentioned by Adams, is somewhat difficult to determine. To begin with, Adams is not clear as to what he means by "family lineage," or what factors would be used to measure its importance or lack of importance within a particular community. To be sure, there do exist in San Miguel certain indirect indices

of the lack of importance of extended kin ties, in general. The proportionately low frequency of extended kin groups existing as households; the preponderance of neolocal residence with strong, clear cut boundaries separating them from related families; and, finally, the potentially disruptive nature of inheritance matters within the family groups, can be taken as just such indices. But perhaps by rephrasing Adams' terminology, and then recasting it in light of the work done by Raymond T. Smith (1956) we may more clearly see the possible relationship involved.

To begin with, I believe that Professor Adams' use of the term "family lineage" could be defined simply as identification with surnames (paternal or maternal). Furthermore, I believe we could assume that ascribed systems of status comprises at least one of the major arenas within which surnames may or may not count for something. In other words, what Adams seems to be saying is that familistic identification is of little consequence in the relatively undifferentiated lowest status groups, therefore, there will be little impetus to legitimize such identification through legally sanctioned marriage. If this reinterpretation is essentially correct, then San Miguel appears to be

a case in point. San Miguel is not unlike what Smith describes for the village Negro families in British Guiana. To put his argument in the context of San Miguel, due to bilateral inheritance patterns neither the male nor the female partner really has a priority or exclusive control over the property, and the means of production of the household. That is, a person may inherit or have usufruct of land or other goods from either or both parents. Furthermore, in matters of inheritance, as well as most other social relationships, being born to legally united or common-law unions makes little or no difference so long as the father recognizes social paternity. Nor does the status (in terms of prestige or privileges) of the household and its members in the community depend on male's (or female's) position in a hierarchically arranged occupational structure, since there is little such differentiation or structuring within the village. With respect to the larger society, familistic identification would be meaningless also since agricultural and other rural laborers are categorically low ranked and low status. Common-law marriage, then, as Smith puts it, (1956; 224)

"....is a cultural characteristic of the lower class and can be regarded as a

permissive deviation from the norms of the total social system. The nonlegal nature of the tie reflects the reluctance to establish a conclusive bond and is in accordance with the primary emphasis upon the mother-child relationship rather than conjugal relationship."

Perhaps the explanation I have reconstructed above can best be summed up by saying that in San Miguel society, the husband-wife set of relationships is a dimension that is frequently non-essential or marginal to the structure and functioning of the household group. Structurally speaking, then, the high frequency of common-law unions is consistent with the greater importance of the parent-child bond in San Miguel, as well as other areas of Latin America. (R.N. Adams, 1960)

Common-Law Unions and World View

Economic factors, the scarcity of priests and the marginal nature of the husband-wife set of relationships are forces related to such types of marriage and they are seemingly present in San Miguel. In the minds of informants, however, there appears to be a much more simple explanation for the prevalence of common-law unions over marriage. (The informants in this case were all males. I was unable to get any sort of information or impression as to the feelings of the women

in this matter.)

According to my informants common-law unions are preferred because it is a lesser of evils. Or, to sum it up another way, it is the most practical of the alternatives. There can be no doubt that men, at least, highly value having appropriate religious sanction upon their unions. Indeed, one informant went so far as to claim, that being married properly is one of the major criteria used in deciding what persons to refer to with the honorific Senor (or the feminine Senora). But, initially, at least, being united in common-law is the most practical situation. As for most relations with other human beings (especially other villagers), the informants viewed sexual alliances as something to be approached with caution, reservation, and as something admittedly tenuous and tentative until proven that the particular case merits finality and wholehearted commitment. They genuinely felt that the probability of conjugal unions existing throughout the lives of the spouses--its stability is highly problematical.

Such a skepticism is not at all unwarranted by the facts. On the genealogies obtained for all the households in the village (1964), there were thirty-three disrupted conjugal unions. This number does not include those

persons whose marital status was restored through the acquisition of a new mate. If these were taken into account the above number would most probably be doubled. Of the thirty-three, eleven separations were caused by death of one or the other partner; in three the causes were unknown. Nineteen disruptions resulted from separation and divorce.

The two reconstructed statements below can perhaps best illustrate the skepticism felt by my informants. The first statement was made by a man who decided to marry after sixteen years of sexual and economic unity with his mate which produced nine surviving children. This statement was made in answer to the question of what motivated him to marry after all these years of common-law union.

"I decided to marry her because now I can be sure of her. In all these years we have been together she has been a good woman. She has been a respectable woman, and a good mother to the children. She hasn't been like other women here who like to run around by themselves, looking at other men con ojos cantineros (literally, "barroom eyes"). No one here (in San Miguel) can say that she is loose or bad. I couldn't marry her before I was sure of this because when one marries before God it is something serious and one cannot just leave when one wants to or when the woman is bad."

It is interesting that the person who made this statement is the President of the Church Committee in San Miguel. In short he is the highest religious or semi-religious official in the community, and he has held this position for a number of years.

The next statement was made by a man thirty-two years old. Until recently he was single and the oldest male offspring still residing in his mother's sitio. About two years ago he began living with his present mate on a common-law basis and moved into her home with her two children. She had been legally married before but an accident left her a widow. I asked him why he had not married her instead of just living common-law. In reply he stated,

"And how can I be sure that in a few months either of us won't find someone who appeals more to us? If I were married to her (by the Church) and I left her for someone else I would be committing an offense against God and violating the respect that should exist between a man and a woman who are married. I will marry her, but not until I am sure she is a good woman and won't betray me with someone else."

Statements like the above were expressed frequently, although not as frankly, by most of my informants.

An obvious assumption underlying these statements has to do with a common Latin American notion concerning

human nature. Sex is considered a very powerful force which only the strongest of persons can resist. Therefore the possibility that neither partner would violate the sacredness of religious marriage vows is considered quite slim. Furthermore, my informants were quick to point out that besides the moral stigma of disrupted marriage, there is the very practical consideration that it requires an expense to contract formal marriage, as well as to dissolve it. On the other hand, the break up or violation of common-law arrangements implies far less, if any, economic liability and no moral stigma.

The expressed apprehension concerning marriage due to sexual infidelity is apparently born out in daily experience. In recent years San Miguel has witnessed at least six disruptions of conjugal unions as a result of female infidelity. Cases of male sexual infidelity undoubtedly occur. However, possibly due to the well-known Latin American double standard of sexual morality they are not as notable and are commented upon less frequently.

To be sure, sexual infidelity is not the only force disruptive of conjugal unions to be found in San Miguel. Other incidents such as wife-beating, economic neglect, neglect of household duties and even laziness were often

mentioned as being factors behind separation. It is clear, however, that none of these are as prominent in the minds of villagers as is the threat of sexual perfidy.

SUMMARY

That every society possesses some form of family group which performs necessary functions related to economic well being, socialization, and reproduction, is a well known and generally accepted thesis in anthropology. Furthermore, very few would question the fact that of all the groups an individual might belong to, the family (whatever its form) is the one to which he owes the greatest loyalty and whose interests are foremost in his mind. In general, these generalizations hold for San Miguel as well. However, the degree to which an individual achieves security within the web of familistic relations is not necessarily the same everywhere. In San Miguel there appears to be insecurity within the context of family relations. This insecurity derives from the latent and frequently manifest instability evident in the primary family groups of orientation and procreation. By instability I am here referring to situations where close, cooperative and amicable relations

between members of the household are disrupted or discontinued. By insecurity I mean verbal recognition of such potential instability.

The latent instability, it seems to me, is initially conditioned by the nature of the household units in San Miguel. The great majority of households in the village contain nuclear families consisting of one or both parents and their children. While a person may have a number of relatives living elsewhere in the village, functional dependence on extended kin ties is minimized and there is a strong emphasis on the separation and independence of the households. Thus, the basic supporting structure, for most individuals, is a small one.

Inheritance patterns in San Miguel appear to be bilateral and equalitarian. The offspring may inherit from either parent and there is a tendency to want to distribute possessions equally among the offspring regardless of sex or age. It would be argued that such a pattern would minimize inter-sibling conflict, tension and competition over inheritance. However, such conflict and competition occurs apparently because land, the most important possession involved in any transfer of inheritance, is limited and must be differentially

distributed. Furthermore, there is a reluctance on the part of the parents to effect a complete and final transfer before their death for fear that once made, economic support by the offspring would be withdrawn on the slightest provocation.

Within the context of a man's family of procreation there are three factors related to the prevalence of common-law unions found in the village. These factors are: scarcity of funds for a religious wedding; the scarcity of priests to perform it; and the lack of importance of legitimized familistic identification. The last factor reflects the marginal character of the husband-wife dyad with regard to the composition and functioning of the household. In other words, ties between a man and his mate appear to be somewhat tenuous. Of the thirty three disrupted conjugal unions found in the village, nineteen were due to separation. This conclusion is strengthened by the fact that a number of male informants attested to their personal reluctance to establish conclusive conjugal bonds through legal and religious marriage. I was unable to establish the extent of representativeness of this attitude in San Miguel. My guess would be that it is prevalent, at least among men, and is present in most of the common-

law unions. Many factors can be cited as causes for disruption of conjugal unions, but the one foremost in the minds of my informants was sexual infidelity.

In summary, it appears that although interpersonal relations between members of a household may be multiple and intensive, the instability and concomitant pessimism and suspiciousness characteristic of interpersonal associations in general, also finds its expression within this context.

CHAPTER IV

COMPADRAZGO

Almost any ethnography or general work on Latin American communities, culture or social structure invariably includes some discussion on the mechanism of compadrazgo. The reason for this lies in the importance and prevalence of this phenomenon in the general pattern of Latin American life. It's concrete appearance is restricted only by religious differentiation, which, in predominantly Catholic Latin America, would exclude a relatively small minority. Otherwise compadrazgo cross-cuts ethnic differentiation (Indian vs. Ladino), urban-rural dichotomies, and appears throughout the range of socio-economic classes and national entities. In short, it is an indispensable element in any attempt to characterize, macro- or micro-scopically, Latin American culture. It is for this and other reasons that a description of it's character and function in the life of San Miguel is deemed necessary.

Careful and detailed description of the origin and general structure of compadrazgo are found elsewhere (see S. Mintz and E. Wolf, 1950; and George Foster, 1953) and need not detain us excessively here. A brief description will suffice. The term compadrazgo, or the system of co-fathers, designates a fairly ritualized set of relationships between adults (of both sexes) initiated via the performance of certain Roman Catholic rites. These rites have as their primary objective the bestowal of church sacraments on still another person. Thus, in terms of the formal structure it can be seen that the system of compadres is, in a sense, a secondary or resultant set of relationships. The term, of course, also implies a real biological or kin tie (parents-child) and its ritual extension to another person not normally considered as kin. Thus, in its overall structure, the application of these rites involves three individuals or sets of individuals -- the initiate, his parents, and the ceremonial sponsor or sponsors of the initiate. Of the three dyads involved in the structure, the relationship between parents and sponsors is the one that in fact has been the primary focus of Anthropologists and, I would say,

accounts for the name given to the whole complex.

Indeed, the labeling betrays, primarily, a differential in the functional importance of the three dyads involved for social integration. The first of these dyads (parents-child), of course, is subsumed under descriptions of the kinship structure and family organization. It would be conceptually neater, however, to differentiate the other two into *compadrazgo* and padrinazgo, instead of the latter being subsumed under the former. Little of the literature, beyond a cursory statement of the explicit reciprocal rights and obligations involved, undertakes a detailed look at the padrino-ahijado (padrinazgo) dimension of this institution.

In the eyes of the Roman Catholic Church, the relationship between padrino and ahijado is the most important. It is the dimension which has received the most formalization as to the rights and duties involved. According to the church, a padrino is primarily responsible for the spiritual upbringing and indoctrination of the child within the church should the biological parents fail in this function. The material help or welfare aspects appear to receive recognition as well, but on a somewhat more implicit

level and as an adjunct or, in some cases, necessary prerequisite enabling religious and moral training. The initiate, on the other hand, is compelled to obedience and deep respect to his god-parent. However, according to Mintz and Wolf, there is little in Catholic dogma that refers to the reciprocal rights and duties involved between compadres. Nevertheless, as mentioned above, the compadrazgo aspect of the complex, in Latin America at least, far outstrips the padrinezgo in its functional importance for social integration. (Mintz & Wolf, 1950:355) This unilateral development is further demonstrated by the fact that "...godparenthood has been elaborated in various Latin American communities into the ceremonial sponsorship of houses, altars, carnivals, ceremonies, future crops and so on." (Mintz & Wolf, 1950: 354) The peruvian community of Moche (Gillin, John. 1945;) is a notorious case having, according to Gillin, fourteen types of compadres within its confines. The concern with cementing or creating ties between contemporaries is still further demonstrated by the fact that compadrazgo can be intensified as well as extended. More specifically, a given set of adults can cement and formally reassert their relationship through more than one act of padrinezgo. Thus, one person can ask the other to be

the baptismal god-father of all his children, or to be god-father of one of his children for baptism, confirmation, holy communion, and marriage.

Mintz and Wolf, as well as Foster, are convinced that compadrazgo has achieved its prominence in Latin America primarily because of its flexibility and adaptiveness as a mechanism of social integration. Its particular functional role in this matter varies under different conditions and these authors are clearly aware of it. Some of its variability will be discussed in later segments of this chapter, but first it will be desirable to see what the analysis of compadrazgo in San Miguel has to offer to the patterns outlined by these men.

Types of Compadre Bonds

Let us begin with a brief description of the forms of padrinozgo found in San Miguel. The resultant forms of compadrazgo will then be taken up. As mentioned above, all padrinozgo involves ritual performed by a priest. The primary occasions of sponsorship recognized by the villagers involve the ceremonies of baptism, confirmation, and marriage. The first holy communion of a child is also known and recognized as requiring padrinos but it seldom ever

occurs according to the villagers and was conspicuously absent in their discussions.

Another form of sponsorship that occurs in San Miguel (as well as surrounding communities as far as I was able to observe) is that of bautizo de evangelios. The latter is a brief ritual which takes place after Mass (when performed in the village) or after the mass baptisms performed in the Cathedral San Jose in Antigua. It involves a short series of prayers said over the children and sponsors by the priest and concluded by a ritual blessing with holy water. The entire affair takes less than two or three minutes. No fee is asked and no certificate of birth (or baptism) or boletos are needed. According to my informants, this bautizo can be received by the child as many times as is needed or desired and is not considered to be on a par with the sacraments mentioned above. Its importance is based primarily on its use in curing. The techniques for alleviating susto (fright) and mal de ojo (non-intentional evil eye) and bilis (excessive bile in the system) often involves a bautizo de evangelios along with the more standard procedures.

Extension of the concept of sponsorship to other areas or objects also occurs in San Miguel. The only

one I became acquainted with during the period of study was the sponsorship of buildings, especially homes. These acts usually follow a village Mass and involve a small fee. I was told that no one in San Miguel had ever undertaken the expense of importing a priest for just this reason. Unfortunately, I was unable to go into the entire range of situations where ritual sponsorship is used. However, it appears that villagers, with little difficulty can conceptually extend this use to almost any type of situation.¹

In discussing the relative seriousness and importance of the various instances of *padrinazgo* with a considerable number of informants the consensus was that ritual sponsorship for baptism and confirmation were primary,² marriage somewhat less so, and *bautizo de evangelios* and *benedicion de hogar* (blessing of the home) were, in general, of minimal importance. This

¹ This was partially demonstrated by the fact that villagers had little trouble understanding (or at least no objection to) a hypothetical case, i.e., the blessing of the public *pila*, dreamed up to illicit names for padrinos of an honorific sort on a formal interview schedule.

² Between the relative importance of baptism and confirmation some disagreement was discovered. Some informants maintained that confirmation was more important and serious than baptism since the pledge was taken before the Bishop and the ritual performed by him rather than a mere priest. Others knew of this but claimed to consider baptism as more important anyway since it removed the stigma of original sin. I could discern no objective difference between the informants expressing these variant views.

importance and seriousness was defined, primarily, by the indispensable nature of the sacraments involved and, concomitantly, the consideration given the selection and quality of sponsors. Almost all persons above six years of age in San Miguel have been baptized and confirmed in the church. Formal marriage in the church, as pointed out earlier, accounts for considerably less than half of the domestic unions in existence there. It was literally impossible to ascertain the extent or frequency of bautizo de evangelios and bendicion de hogar in San Miguel. In general, however, they occur only when "need" and "opportunity" coincide. That is, if a structure is relatively new or in the process of construction and mass is being celebrated and furthermore, if the owner of the structure has the necessary fee, the blessing and seeking of sponsors may take place. Likewise, when a child is sick from the quasi-supernatural illnesses mentioned above when mass is being held in the village, a bautizo of this type, with a padrino (God-Father) or madrina (God-Mother) takes place. It should be mentioned, however, that on such occasions a considerable number of children do receive this type of baptism. The several occasions I witnessed in San Miguel, included upwards of forty

children at one time. Furthermore, the priest was detained for succeeding waves of late-comers. The frequency of occurrence of bautizo de evangelios is easily explained by the ready diagnosis at some point, of most infant or children's illness as susto, ojo, or bilis. This frequency, however, fails to give this ritual any more than the "secondary or minimal" significance ascribed to it by informants. This lack of correlation is perhaps explained by the fact that it can be bestowed as many times as necessary or desirable and is not a formal occasion considered indispensable by the villagers. The common and repetitious are rarely valued anywhere.

Criteria For Selection of Compadres

In the selection of padrinos by the parents, the care and consideration given this matter also varies roughly according to the difference in importance mentioned above. Here I am referring to criteria used by parents of the prospective initiate which are somewhat different from what is called for by the church. The criteria, as universally enunciated by informants, were two: 1) "una persona de voluntad" (a willing person) and 2) "una persona que saben respetar" or

"que sea de respeto" (a respectable and respectful person). Since the concepts used in these criteria, i.e. voluntad and respeto, are commonly translated into willingness and respect, it is necessary to discuss their meaning in context since they do not denote the same things as their English counterparts.

In San Miguel, as I was told, voluntad means something more than willingness. The motivation behind this willingness or acceptance is what is crucial in determining whether a person has voluntad or not. It strongly implies a disinterest, in terms of personal gain, enhancement, or advantage, when accepting a charge and when volunteering something or themselves for a particular act or service. Furthermore, it implies a disinterested willingness to assume a multiple number of responsibilities that could arise from a given act. "Una persona de voluntad" then is a person who would never deny another person with whom he had a particular type of relationship, such as compadre or even boss or patron, a favor whenever it was at all possible for him to handle it. A persona de respeto (one who knows how to respect and is respected) on the other hand, implies the negative concomitants of voluntad. Such a person is one who would never,

either publicly or privately, offend another. The range of offenses not committed by such a person is extensive. It ranges from the absence of politeness in greeting (or merely failing to greet another) to absconding with another's wife or goods. He is, in fact, the ideally moral and well behaved man -- a person from whom one can expect courtesy, consideration, and more importantly, nothing detrimental to oneself.

Thus, according to my informants, it is extremely important that padrinos for baptism, confirmation and marriage be persons of voluntad and respeto, though these characteristics are not necessary in persons asked to take children to bautizo de evangelios³ or to be padrinos in the blessing of a structure. For the latter, anyone handy enough and willing to do the favor will be asked.

The Pattern of Compadre Bonds

What is immediately striking about compadrazgo in

³ It should be mentioned, however, that certain people are consciously sought for padrinos de evangelios. As was explained to me, this is because they seem to be "strong" people and that this strength tends to rub off on the child during the ceremony thus helping him to recover from the malady. These persons, however, are not necessarily considered to be outstanding in voluntad and respeto. Their "strength" is verified by the success of the bautizo to effect the cure.

San Miguel is it's almost complete absence in an intra-village context. In a survey which included twenty village household heads selected from the different geographical sections of the community, the upper and lower barrios, only two persons reported having another villager as compadre; in both cases the informant's children were the initiates in baptism. These two exceptions conform to the more traditional pattern of structuring compadre bonds vertically within the community. In both cases, the villagers asked to be their compadres were in the eldest village age bracket, older than the two fathers, respectively, in relatively better economic positions, and among the most prestigious members of the community--ranking considerably above the respective fathers. These relationships, however, were not reinforced by subsequent additional sponsorship such as confirmation.

For the remaining eighteen members of this sample, the situation was entirely different. These persons (and most others polled randomly and informally) had all their compadres (in baptism and confirmation) outside the village, mainly among their acquaintances in Antigua or nearby villages and, to a lesser extent Guatemala City. In general, the compadres of members

of the sample (i.e., those persons having baptised, confirmed, or married off the sample member's offspring) were independent artisans, market vendors, bakers, butchers, small shop owners, shop clerks, and not surprisingly, Mr. Joaquin Noval, the Guatemalan Anthropologist who had worked in the village before my arrival. Generally speaking, these choices for compadres were definitely choices upwards on an economic and occupational scale. None of the persons asked by the sample members to be compadres through these sacraments were related to them through kinship. Most of the sample, however, had utilized other villagers as padrinos for bautizo de evangelios and only one had occasion to use a padrino for the blessing of his home. In the latter case, the person chosen had also been a villager.

Ideally, the compadre relationship should lend itself to a pattern of reciprocal, or at least unilateral, help or favors whenever needed. In terms of the empirical data, however, apparently this is not what has resulted from these relationships.

From descriptions provided by the informants themselves, all, with perhaps one or two exceptions described their relationships with the compadres in

ways which could be termed relatively non-utilitarian. To begin with, most of the sample reported that their compadres had never come to the village for visits or emergencies. Also, with only a few exceptions, sample members reported that they rarely undertake trips for the explicit purpose of visiting their compadres. They do occasionally run into their compadres or see them while going about other business in and around Antigua, but explicit visits for any purpose take place very infrequently--perhaps once every two or three years. Furthermore, none ever reported being approached by their compadres for a favor. The villager's requests, on the other hand, while occurring very infrequently, always had a direct relationship to the welfare of the *ahi jado*. Most of these were cases of informing the compadre that the child had died or was not expected to live. As is customary in Guatemala, contributions of money to defray funeral expenses or cost of medicine were given these informants by their compadres.

In the discussions I held with these informants I was told that the only persons referred to as compadres were those of baptism, confirmation, and marriage. The two deviant cases of intra-village compadrazgo in baptism cited before, were exceptions in this matter

also. They claimed that they never refer to these other villagers as compadres. On the other hand, these villagers are of such an age and status position that the informants used the respectful and honorific forms, i.e., Senor or Don, in addressing or referring to them. Thus, they resolved the dilemma of not wanting to address a fellow villager as compadre and yet maintaining the relationship on the formal respect level which such bonds demand.

Padrinos for "bautizo de evangelios" and "bendicion del hogar," according to the entire sample, are not referred to or addressed as compadre. During the period of study, I was unable to determine which factor, conceptually speaking, plays the determining role. That is, I was unable to discover whether these bonds do not require the use of the term compadre by tradition, or whether its absence is determined by the general intra-village context of these bonds. On the basis of my personal experience in the village, I would tentatively state that the type of patterning, i.e. whether inter- or intra-village, determines the use or non-use, respectively, of this term in these particular types of ritualistic sponsorship. Persons whose children I had taken to "bautizo de evangelios" began

• The first step in the process of creating a new product is to identify a market need. This involves conducting market research to determine what consumers want and what problems they are trying to solve.

• Once a market need has been identified, the next step is to develop a concept for a product that meets that need. This involves brainstorming ideas and selecting the most promising one.

• The third step is to create a prototype of the product. This allows the designer to test the product and make any necessary adjustments before moving forward with production.

• After the prototype has been created, the next step is to conduct a feasibility study. This involves evaluating the product's potential for success in the market, taking into account factors such as cost, competition, and distribution.

• Once the feasibility study has been completed, the next step is to develop a business plan. This document outlines the company's goals, strategies, and financial projections, and is used to secure funding from investors or lenders.

• The final step in the process is to launch the product into the market. This involves creating a marketing plan, establishing a distribution network, and promoting the product to potential customers.

• After the product has been launched, the company must continue to monitor its performance in the market. This involves tracking sales, customer feedback, and market trends, and making adjustments as needed to ensure the product's long-term success.

• The process of creating a new product is a complex and iterative one, requiring a combination of creativity, research, and business acumen. By following these steps, companies can increase their chances of developing a successful new product.

• In addition to the steps outlined above, there are several other factors that can influence the success of a new product. These include the quality of the product, the timing of the launch, and the effectiveness of the marketing campaign.

• Finally, it is important to note that the process of creating a new product is not always linear. Often, companies will iterate on their product and business plan as they learn more about the market and their customers.

• Overall, the process of creating a new product is a challenging but rewarding one. By following these steps and staying focused on the customer's needs, companies can develop products that truly make a difference in the world.

• The process of creating a new product is a complex and iterative one, requiring a combination of creativity, research, and business acumen. By following these steps, companies can increase their chances of developing a successful new product.

• In addition to the steps outlined above, there are several other factors that can influence the success of a new product. These include the quality of the product, the timing of the launch, and the effectiveness of the marketing campaign.

and continued to refer to me as compadre both publicly and privately.

Thus, in San Miguel the use of the term compadre (either in reference or address) is conspicuous by its absence. Furthermore, this appears to have been the case for sometime since all twenty informants reported that their padrinos (thus their parent's compadres) had also been non-villagers or outsiders.

World View and Compadrazgo

The dislike for the use of the term compadre in address or reference, in an intra-village context, was one of the most important and frequent responses to my question "why have you not asked a fellow villager to be the padrino of your child?" The entire sample agreed that publicly addressing or referring to other villagers as "compadre" would not be a good thing. The reason for this undesirability revolved around the notion that the use would be taken as making invidious distinctions within the universe of villagers; "playing favorites" so to speak. As they commonly put it, "No es bueno tener preferencias entre los vecinos" (it is not good to have preferences within the village), or "Hay que tratar a todos los vecinos iguales" (one must treat everyone in the village alike). On the

other hand, the use of the term compadre is almost mandatory when persons are so related, and is used continually with non-villager compadres. I was unable to find out whether the children in the two cases noted as exceptions above were also enjoined from using the term padrino when referring to or addressing their godfathers of the village.

In pursuing this acknowledged custom of not asking other villagers to be one's compadre, an even more frequent and unequivocal reason given had to do with how well villagers in general met the twin criteria of voluntad and respeto. In general, the informants conceived of their fellow villagers as morally bankrupt; as having neither the necessary voluntad or respeto. In most of the cases this was the major reason given for their reluctance to ask others in the village to be their compadres. However, when they articulated their reasons, there was a surprising amount of emphasis placed on the possibility that as a compadre a fellow villager could do one more harm than otherwise would be possible. The unwillingness to perform the positive aspects of the relationship, the degree of voluntad, was also a frequent response but seemed to lack the emphasis and emotion given the negative aspects, i.e., the absence of appropriate respeto. Statements such

as "one can expect more from outsiders;" "vecinos can't be trusted;" "they (villagers) are always looking for ways to harm you;" "they would come to your home, call you compadre and then try to take your land or your woman;" or "they would be your compadre only to see what they could get," were frequent responses spoken with much sincerity and feeling.

Other Functional Correlates

The economic dimension, that is, the ability of villagers to spend the necessary money for these acts of sponsorship is still another possible reason for its absence among villagers. For example, in San Miguel it is customary for the padrino to provide the fancy dress for the baptism (or, in some cases, confirmation), to pay the necessary fee (Q1.00 for baptism; Q0.50 for confirmation), and to provide the almuerzo (lunch) for the child and his family, or at least provide some refreshments such as aguardiente, (liquor) aguas gaseosas, (soft drinks) and panes, (sweet bread and cakes). Related to this, of course, would be the ability to provide material help or aid to the child and his parents in the traditional conception of a padrino's obligations. What is interesting here

1. Die Bedeutung der Sprache
Die Sprache ist ein zentrales Element der menschlichen Kultur und dient der Kommunikation zwischen den Menschen. Sie ermöglicht es, Gedanken und Emotionen auszudrücken und zu teilen. Die Sprache ist auch ein Werkzeug zur Organisation von Gesellschaften und zur Übermittlung von Wissen von Generation zu Generation. In der Literatur wird die Sprache oft als Spiegel der menschlichen Seele betrachtet, die tiefere Wahrheiten offenbart. Die Kunst der Sprache, die Rhetorik, ist ein zentraler Bestandteil der menschlichen Zivilisation und hat sich im Laufe der Jahrhunderte entwickelt. Die Sprache ist ein mächtiges Werkzeug, das die menschliche Existenz prägt und die Welt um uns herum gestaltet.

2. Die Rolle der Literatur
Die Literatur ist eine Kunstform, die die menschliche Erfahrung in einer fiktionalen Form darstellt. Sie dient dazu, die Welt aus einer anderen Perspektive zu sehen und die menschliche Natur zu erforschen. Die Literatur ist ein Spiegel der Gesellschaft und reflektiert die Werte, Normen und Probleme einer bestimmten Zeit. Sie ist ein Mittel zur Selbstreflexion und zur Auseinandersetzung mit existenziellen Fragen. Die Literatur ist auch ein Werkzeug zur Kritik an der Gesellschaft und zur Förderung von sozialen Veränderungen. Sie ist ein zentraler Bestandteil der menschlichen Kultur und hat sich im Laufe der Jahrhunderte entwickelt. Die Literatur ist ein mächtiges Werkzeug, das die menschliche Existenz prägt und die Welt um uns herum gestaltet.

however, is that while economic circumstance appears to be definitely related to preference of outsiders for padrinos (and, consequently, compadres) it receives no acknowledgement in the words of the villagers as a criterion for selection.

Another possible, unstated reason for this reluctance to establish compadrazgo bonds with other villagers has to do with certain marriage prohibitions extant in San Miguel. There, as in other areas of Latin America, we find a prohibition against domestic unions (with or without legal and religious sanction) between the offspring of a set of compadres. According to my informants, such alliances would constitute a violation of the incest taboo usually governing brother-sister and cousin marriage. Thus, if a significant portion of the village household heads were linked to one another via compadrazgo, the number of possible mates for the succeeding generation would be severely curtailed since, as demonstrated elsewhere, the domestic unions in San Miguel have a greater tendency to be communally endogamous than exogamous.

Finally, there is a possible historical reason for this extra-communal character of compadrazgo in San Miguel. Until about 1945, one of the most prevalent

occupations, along with subsistence agriculture, firewood cutting, and small garden farming, engaged in by household heads and eldest sons was that of arriero, (oxcart drivers and muleteers) according to my informants. These arrieros were predominantly involved in the transportation of vegetables and other market farm products between the Antigua tri-weekly market and those in Guatemala City or points along the way. The products transported by them were those of market regatonas, (commercial buyers and middlemen) or other, more firmly established entrepreneurs. Ox carts and horses were supposedly more prevalent in those days and villagers would contract their fletes (cargoes) during the first hours of the market in Antigua (held on Mondays, Thursdays, and Saturdays), load the produce and begin the approximately 25 mile overnight trek to Guatemala City. These goods would be delivered (usually at the market) and fletes for the return trip contracted. From the loads of produce I casually observed being transported by present modern means, and accounts provided by older villagers, I gather that the work of the arrieros must have been lucrative. At any rate, it is not improbable that compadrazgo for these men became a most efficient and

acceptable way of cementing commercial ties with regatonas from Antigua and other places, commercial dealers, other arrieros, or with individuals who provided shelter, food, help, or an occasional watchful eye at spots along the way.

With the coming of the excellent paved road between Antigua and Guatemala City and the increased use of motorized vehicles, the work of the arriero, as a primary occupation for village men, all but disappeared. Today, there is only one carreta (cart) with oxen in the village and no more than fifteen or sixteen horses. Fletes are still done by the cart or by horses, but very infrequently and hardly ever for jaunts as extensive as those of earlier years. The pattern of establishing compadre ties outside the village may have been given impetus by these men and remains, in spite of the fact that they are no longer working as arrieros, a survival. Unfortunately, I was unable to uncover just who and how many villagers established compadre relationships as a result of this type of work. This would have required much more detailed investigation into the characteristics and past histories of those in compadre relationships with villagers (as well as the villagers themselves) and a

larger sample of villagers. Nevertheless, an impetus to external-oriented compadrazgo remains in that Antigua continues to be the religious and commercial center for San Miguelenos.

Summary and Conclusions

It is readily apparent that the types of compadrazgo bonds having the greatest potential for promoting cohesiveness and stability in interpersonal relations are almost universally struck with persons outside the community.

There appear to be three objective factors that could possibly explain this type of compadrazgo. First, there is a strong tendency towards community endogamy in the selection of sexual partners. Marriage or common law unions between the offspring of a set of compadres falls within the definition of incestuous relationships. Thus if a significant portion of village household heads were linked to one another via compadrazgo bonds, the number of possible or acceptable mates for the succeeding generation would be severely curtailed. In any case, such a patterning would create potentially disruptive conditions in terms of the incest taboos extant in the village.

The low-level economic position of most villagers

is another possible explanatory factor. The ability to provide for the necessary expenditures involved in the rituals of baptism, confirmation, or marriage, not to mention the ability to provide material help in future crises, is really very limited for most villagers.

Finally, the past and present commercial dependence of the villagers on Antigua and its denizens it seems would provide more incentive to cement relationships with these people, via *compadrazgo* than with fellow villagers.

What was particularly surprising, however, was that none of these factors were given verbal recognition by members of the sample. There were only two agreed upon reason for structuring *compadre* relationships outside the community: 1) publicly referring to or addressing other villagers as *compadre* is undesirable since it would be taken as making invidious distinctions between villagers. Thus, establishing *compadre* bonds with another villager would be violating the generally expressed norm that "one should treat all villagers alike"; "one should not have preferences between fellow villagers." 2) Few, if any, villagers have the proper *voluntad* and, more importantly, the *respeto* necessary for *compadres*. Here they referred explicitly to

widely held notions that fellow villagers, as a rule, are not to be trusted; that they are constantly looking for ways of getting close to a person for the purpose of doing harm. In the minds of villagers, then, these then are the "real" reasons underlining the absence of compadre bonds between villagers.

In both reasons, the implication was that intra-village compadrazgo would mean a decrease in the safe and appropriate social distance that should be maintained between a man and all his neighbors. Such a decrease would be dysfunctional in two corresponding ways. First, a unilateral decrease in distance would cross-cut the numerous short-lived conflicts engendered by everyday face-to-face contact in such a restricted and competitive environment. It would mean an increase in social distance and hostility with other third parties with whom the person was on reasonably compatible and civil terms previously. Secondly, and perhaps more obviously, compadrazgo decreases social distance by committing persons to a variety of reciprocal, non-explicit, long term obligations to one another. It opens up an individual and his family to an unknown number of dangers **should** the compadre choose to exploit the relationship for selfish purposes.

Given the economic and social stresses inherent in a limited resource pie and daily contact, such a "change of heart" is not at all far-fetched.

Mintz and Wolf approach compadrazgo in part as a function of the relative degree of homogeneity (and/or heterogeneity) present in the particular setting. After a brief survey of compadrazgo in five modern communities of Latin American culture (via secondary sources, primarily) they conclude the following:

In cases where the community is a self-contained class, or tribally homogeneous, compadrazgo is prevailingly horizontal (intra-class) in character. In cases where the community contains several interacting classes, compadrazgo will structure such relationships vertically (inter-class). Last, in a situation of rapid social change compadre mechanisms may multiply to meet the accelerated rate of change. (Mintz and Wolf, 1950; 364)

Furthermore, they state that the type of compadrazgo patterning that occurs is not merely or solely determined along continuums of homogeneity-to-heterogeneity, but rather "they will depend on the amount of socio-cultural and economic mobility, real and apparent, available to an individual in a given situation." (Mintz and Wolf, 1950; 364)

In a similar vein, Foster also recognizes the

existence of both kinds of patterning in Latin America, i.e., intra and inter-class or socio-cultural group. Furthermore, he attributes the same functional role to compadrazgo as do Wolf and Mintz when he states that "The compadrazgo in much of Spanish America acts as a cohesive and integrative force within the community, and between classes and ethnic groups, by formalizing certain interpersonal relationships and channelizing reciprocal behavior modes into customary patterns so that the individual achieves a maximum degree of social, spiritual, and economic security." (Foster G., 1953; 10)

Thus, the overriding conclusion drawn by these students of compadrazgo is that the particular patterning is determined by the individual's attempts to maximize his social, political, and economic security via this formalization of interpersonal relationships. Given such motivation, an individual merely weighs the relative advantages. That is, his choice of either a fellow villager or an outsider for a compadre will be dependent on which one has more to offer. Cases of intra-village compadrazgo do occur and according to Foster, (1960; p. 178, 3 paragraph), function to provide one of the major centripetal forces

counteracting the negative interpersonal relationships so common to peasant communities. What these men present, then, is a view of Latin American peasant communities as being in a state of relative equilibrium, or at least working toward this state through the institution of compadrazgo.

The case of San Miguel cannot be explained by the above view. Clearly, the motivation behind choice of compadres is not of a positive nature, but rather what I am here calling "negative motivation"; that is, based on a consideration of disadvantages. In the view expressed by the villagers themselves, structuring compadre relationships outside the community is not primarily an attempt to maximize security but rather to minimize insecurity.

It may well be asked, then, is San Miguel a special and unique case? Why has this type of situation not been reported in other peasant communities with similar interpersonal relationships? Unfortunately, I am unable to state with any degree of certainty how typical or atypical San Miguel's case is. But, if in fact San Miguel is not a unique or special case, there appear to me two possible explanations as to why this type of situation has been overlooked or not reported in other peasant communities.

First of all, it is possible that anthropologists working in these other communities have failed to distinguish between the various types of compadrazgo as to their significance in cementing and formalizing interpersonal relationships within the village. In San Miguel's case it was noted that while performance of sacramentals ("bautizo de evangelios" and "bendicion de hogar") does require padrinos, these do not necessarily result in bonds comparable to those arising from sponsorship for sacraments.

Another and perhaps more plausible explanation may rest with the very size of the communities involved. In communities the size of Foster's TzinTzumTzan or Gillin's Moche (both above 1000 population) for example, unilateral voluntary associations on the basis of common interests and perceived advantages may be possible. It is not unlikely that such associations would be cemented or even initiated via compadrazgo, since there would be a greater degree of anonymity possible. Given the size and soci-economic homogeneity of San Miguel, such unilateral voluntary association in a system of reciprocal, non-specific, long term obligations would appear to be more difficult, if not impossible, within the confines of the village. What I am suggesting here is that larger and relatively more diversified

• **Stress** is a response to a stimulus that is perceived as a threat or challenge to the individual's well-being.

• **Stressors** are the external factors that trigger the stress response, such as work pressure, financial problems, or family conflicts.

• **Stressors** can be categorized into acute stressors (short-term) and chronic stressors (long-term).

• **Stressors** can be categorized into physical stressors (e.g., noise, pollution) and psychological stressors (e.g., anxiety, depression).

• **Stressors** can be categorized into social stressors (e.g., isolation, loneliness) and environmental stressors (e.g., natural disasters, climate change).

• **Stressors** can be categorized into occupational stressors (e.g., job pressure, work-life balance) and personal stressors (e.g., family issues, health problems).

• **Stressors** can be categorized into physical stressors (e.g., noise, pollution) and psychological stressors (e.g., anxiety, depression).

• **Stressors** can be categorized into social stressors (e.g., isolation, loneliness) and environmental stressors (e.g., natural disasters, climate change).

• **Stressors** can be categorized into occupational stressors (e.g., job pressure, work-life balance) and personal stressors (e.g., family issues, health problems).

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• **Stressors** can be categorized into physical stressors (e.g., noise, pollution) and psychological stressors (e.g., anxiety, depression).

communities could well afford unilateral voluntary associations and unilateral social distance simultaneously. Communities such as San Miguel apparently cannot afford this luxury and will seemingly choose social distance as the norm to be following in all interpersonal relationships.

CHAPTER V

COMMUNITY ADMINISTRATION AND THE POLITICAL SYSTEM

INTRODUCTION

From what has gone on before, the reader might easily assume that the entire network of social relations within the village can readily be summed up as "a war of all against all." Indeed, this characteristic, prevalent in many peasant communities has been one of the most intriguing aspects for some anthropologists. Such an assumption, however, would be erroneous. There exist within the village certain centripetal forces which prevent the community from disintegrating into its eighty some-odd household units. These forces express themselves through the political and formal religious institutions of the community. In this chapter we will deal with the former.

Taking our framework from the work of (M.G. Smith, 1956), we need to isolate two important facets of political institutions. If we view institutions of any sort, as cultural patterns for the regulation of interpersonal or group relations, we can identify two types

QUESTION

1. The following table shows the number of people who attended the 2010 World Cup in South Africa.

Table 1: World Cup Attendance

Match	Home Team	Away Team	Attendance
1	South Africa	France	94,000
2	Spain	Germany	70,000
3	Italy	England	65,000
4	Brazil	Argentina	75,000
5	USA	Mexico	72,000
6	Japan	Korea	68,000
7	Sweden	Norway	60,000
8	Denmark	Belgium	62,000
9	Ukraine	Greece	64,000
10	Poland	Slovakia	58,000
11	Costa Rica	United States	71,000
12	Chile	Paraguay	66,000
13	Colombia	Ecuador	63,000
14	Venezuela	Trinidad and Tobago	59,000
15	Guatemala	Honduras	57,000
16	El Salvador	Nicaragua	56,000
17	Paraguay	Uruguay	67,000
18	Peru	Ecuador	61,000
19	Bolivia	Paraguay	60,000
20	Argentina	Chile	73,000
21	Spain	France	71,000
22	Germany	Italy	69,000
23	England	Sweden	66,000
24	France	Spain	95,000
25	Germany	France	70,000
26	Italy	Germany	65,000
27	England	Italy	64,000
28	Spain	England	70,000
29	France	Spain	94,000
30	Germany	France	69,000
31	Italy	Germany	64,000
32	England	Italy	63,000
33	Spain	England	69,000
34	France	Spain	93,000
35	Germany	France	68,000
36	Italy	Germany	63,000
37	England	Italy	62,000
38	Spain	England	68,000
39	France	Spain	92,000
40	Germany	France	67,000
41	Italy	Germany	62,000
42	England	Italy	61,000
43	Spain	England	67,000
44	France	Spain	91,000
45	Germany	France	66,000
46	Italy	Germany	61,000
47	England	Italy	60,000
48	Spain	England	66,000
49	France	Spain	90,000
50	Germany	France	65,000
51	Italy	Germany	60,000
52	England	Italy	59,000
53	Spain	England	65,000
54	France	Spain	89,000
55	Germany	France	64,000
56	Italy	Germany	59,000
57	England	Italy	58,000
58	Spain	England	64,000
59	France	Spain	88,000
60	Germany	France	63,000
61	Italy	Germany	58,000
62	England	Italy	57,000
63	Spain	England	63,000
64	France	Spain	87,000
65	Germany	France	62,000
66	Italy	Germany	57,000
67	England	Italy	56,000
68	Spain	England	62,000
69	France	Spain	86,000
70	Germany	France	61,000
71	Italy	Germany	56,000
72	England	Italy	55,000
73	Spain	England	61,000
74	France	Spain	85,000
75	Germany	France	60,000
76	Italy	Germany	55,000
77	England	Italy	54,000
78	Spain	England	60,000
79	France	Spain	84,000
80	Germany	France	59,000
81	Italy	Germany	54,000
82	England	Italy	53,000
83	Spain	England	59,000
84	France	Spain	83,000
85	Germany	France	58,000
86	Italy	Germany	53,000
87	England	Italy	52,000
88	Spain	England	58,000
89	France	Spain	82,000
90	Germany	France	57,000
91	Italy	Germany	52,000
92	England	Italy	51,000
93	Spain	England	57,000
94	France	Spain	81,000
95	Germany	France	56,000
96	Italy	Germany	51,000
97	England	Italy	50,000
98	Spain	England	56,000
99	France	Spain	80,000
100	Germany	France	55,000
101	Italy	Germany	50,000
102	England	Italy	49,000
103	Spain	England	55,000
104	France	Spain	79,000
105	Germany	France	54,000
106	Italy	Germany	49,000
107	England	Italy	48,000
108	Spain	England	54,000
109	France	Spain	78,000
110	Germany	France	53,000
111	Italy	Germany	48,000
112	England	Italy	47,000
113	Spain	England	53,000
114	France	Spain	77,000
115	Germany	France	52,000
116	Italy	Germany	47,000
117	England	Italy	46,000
118	Spain	England	52,000
119	France	Spain	76,000
120	Germany	France	51,000
121	Italy	Germany	46,000
122	England	Italy	45,000
123	Spain	England	51,000
124	France	Spain	75,000
125	Germany	France	50,000
126	Italy	Germany	45,000
127	England	Italy	44,000
128	Spain	England	50,000
129	France	Spain	74,000
130	Germany	France	49,000
131	Italy	Germany	44,000
132	England	Italy	43,000
133	Spain	England	49,000
134	France	Spain	73,000
135	Germany	France	48,000
136	Italy	Germany	43,000
137	England	Italy	42,000
138	Spain	England	48,000
139	France	Spain	72,000
140	Germany	France	47,000
141	Italy	Germany	42,000
142	England	Italy	41,000
143	Spain	England	47,000
144	France	Spain	71,000
145	Germany	France	46,000
146	Italy	Germany	41,000
147	England	Italy	40,000
148	Spain	England	46,000
149	France	Spain	70,000
150	Germany	France	45,000
151	Italy	Germany	40,000
152	England	Italy	39,000
153	Spain	England	45,000
154	France	Spain	69,000
155	Germany	France	44,000
156	Italy	Germany	39,000
157	England	Italy	38,000
158	Spain	England	44,000
159	France	Spain	68,000
160	Germany	France	43,000
161	Italy	Germany	38,000
162	England	Italy	37,000
163	Spain	England	43,000
164	France	Spain	67,000
165	Germany	France	42,000
166	Italy	Germany	37,000
167	England	Italy	36,000
168	Spain	England	42,000
169	France	Spain	66,000
170	Germany	France	41,000
171	Italy	Germany	36,000
172	England	Italy	35,000
173	Spain	England	41,000
174	France	Spain	65,000
175	Germany	France	40,000
176	Italy	Germany	35,000
177	England	Italy	34,000
178	Spain	England	40,000
179	France	Spain	64,000
180	Germany	France	39,000
181	Italy	Germany	34,000
182	England	Italy	33,000
183	Spain	England	39,000
184	France	Spain	63,000
185	Germany	France	38,000
186	Italy	Germany	33,000
187	England	Italy	32,000
188	Spain	England	38,000
189	France	Spain	62,000
190	Germany	France	37,000
191	Italy	Germany	32,000
192	England	Italy	31,000
193	Spain	England	37,000
194	France	Spain	61,000
195	Germany	France	36,000
196	Italy	Germany	31,000
197	England	Italy	30,000
198	Spain	England	36,000
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203	Spain	England	35,000
204	France	Spain	59,000
205	Germany	France	34,000
206	Italy	Germany	29,000
207	England	Italy	28,000
208	Spain	England	34,000
209	France	Spain	58,000
210	Germany	France	33,000
211	Italy	Germany	28,000
212	England	Italy	27,000
213	Spain	England	33,000
214	France	Spain	57,000
215	Germany	France	32,000
216	Italy	Germany	27,000
217	England	Italy	26,000
218	Spain	England	32,000
219	France	Spain	56,000
220	Germany	France	31,000
221	Italy	Germany	26,000
222	England	Italy	25,000
223	Spain	England	31,000
224	France	Spain	55,000
225	Germany	France	30,000
226	Italy	Germany	25,000
227	England	Italy	24,000
228	Spain	England	30,000
229	France	Spain	54,000
230	Germany	France	29,000
231	Italy	Germany	24,000
232	England	Italy	23,000
233	Spain	England	29,000
234	France	Spain	53,000
235	Germany	France	28,000
236	Italy	Germany	23,000
237	England	Italy	22,000
238	Spain	England	28,000
239	France	Spain	52,000
240	Germany	France	27,000
241	Italy	Germany	22,000
242	England	Italy	21,000
243	Spain	England	27,000
244	France	Spain	51,000
245	Germany	France	26,000
246	Italy	Germany	21,000
247	England	Italy	20,000
248	Spain	England	26,000
249	France	Spain	50,000
250	Germany	France	25,000
251	Italy	Germany	20,000
252	England	Italy	19,000
253	Spain	England	25,000
254	France	Spain	49,000
255	Germany	France	24,000
256	Italy	Germany	19,000
257	England	Italy	18,000
258	Spain	England	24,000
259	France	Spain	48,000
260	Germany	France	23,000
261	Italy	Germany	18,000
262	England	Italy	17,000
263	Spain	England	23,000
264	France	Spain	47,000
265	Germany	France	22,000
266	Italy	Germany	17,000
267	England	Italy	16,000
268	Spain	England	22,000
269	France	Spain	46,000
270	Germany	France	21,000
271	Italy	Germany	16,000
272	England	Italy	15,000
273	Spain	England	21,000
274	France	Spain	45,000
275	Germany	France	20,000
276	Italy	Germany	15,000
277	England	Italy	14,000
278	Spain	England	20,000
279	France	Spain	44,000
280	Germany	France	19,000
281	Italy	Germany	14,000
282	England	Italy	13,000
283	Spain	England	19,000
284	France	Spain	43,000
285	Germany	France	18,000
286	Italy	Germany	13,000
287	England	Italy	12,000
288	Spain	England	18,000
289	France	Spain	42,000
290	Germany	France	17,000
291	Italy	Germany	12,000
292	England	Italy	11,000
293	Spain	England	17,000
294	France	Spain	41,000
295	Germany	France	16,000
296	Italy	Germany	11,000
297	England	Italy	10,000
298	Spain	England	16,000
299	France	Spain	40,000
300	Germany	France	15,000
301	Italy	Germany	10,000
302	England	Italy	9,000
303	Spain	England	15,000
304	France	Spain	39,000
305	Germany	France	14,000
306	Italy	Germany	9,000
307	England	Italy	8,000
308	Spain	England	14,000
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311	Italy	Germany	8,000
312	England	Italy	7,000
313	Spain	England	13,000
314	France	Spain	37,000
315	Germany	France	12,000
316	Italy	Germany	7,000
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318	Spain	England	12,000
319	France	Spain	36,000
320	Germany	France	11,000
321	Italy	Germany	6,000
322	England	Italy	5,000
323	Spain	England	11,000
324	France	Spain	35,000
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326	Italy	Germany	5,000
327	England	Italy	4,000
328	Spain	England	10,000
329	France	Spain	34,000
330	Germany	France	9,000
331	Italy	Germany	4,000
332	England	Italy	3,000
333	Spain	England	9,000
334	France	Spain	33,000
335	Germany	France	8,000
336	Italy	Germany	3,000
337	England	Italy	2,000
338	Spain	England	8,000
339	France	Spain	32,000
340	Germany	France	7,000
341	Italy	Germany	2,000
342	England	Italy	1,000
343	Spain	England	7,000
344	France	Spain	31,000
345	Germany	France	6,000
346	Italy	Germany	1,000
347	England	Italy	0
348	Spain	England	6,000
349	France	Spain	30,000
350	Germany	France	5,000
351	Italy	Germany	0
352	England	Italy	

of relationships between groups. Those relations involve: 1) formal authority with sanctioned powers of coercion; and 2) the ability to persuade or influence without prior sanction to use coercion. Perhaps another way of putting it is that in a peasant community (in contrast to stateless, segmentary societies where this separation can be only analytical) political groups or factions are divisible into those possessing formalized power (i.e. authority) and those possessing informal power (i.e. influence).

This dichotomy I find useful for the classification of the actual political factions or cliques to be found within the community. Under formalized power we can identify only one group or entity--the administrative center of the community--personified by those individuals performing civil service in the auxiliatura. Under informal power we may categorize the three important factions of the community. All four are described in more detail later on in the chapter. This classification should not lead us to assume that these two major types of groups are equivalent. Theoretically, at least, the formal power vested in the auxiliatura provides the umbrella under which the factions contest each other (and, on some occasions, contest the very umbrella itself) in attempts to increase their respective

influence. In a sense, they want their influence to be synonymous with authority. Or, to put it another way, they view authority as the chief mechanism through which they can make their influence felt. The *auxiliatura*, then, is the surface which the three factions play upon. This is unavoidable since it is a "part-society" we are dealing with; a community with certain of its vital functions taken away and vested elsewhere. It is part of a national entity which has usurped for itself the community's right to legislate, to judge and to coerce for the good of the social order. The *auxiliatura* is merely the national entity's local representative. The larger entity itself, however, is not merely an unchanging and unresponsive monolith. Its character and personality, its goals and mechanisms, are subject to pressure and changes. These modulations eventually make themselves felt in the community either directly or through its representative, i.e., the *auxiliatura*.

In this chapter, then, I will attempt to give a description of the political system, i.e., the substructures and the cultural patterns which regulate the interrelations of groups to some extent concerned with exercising formal authority and influence in the affairs of the village. This will require, initially, a description of the community's apparatus for administration

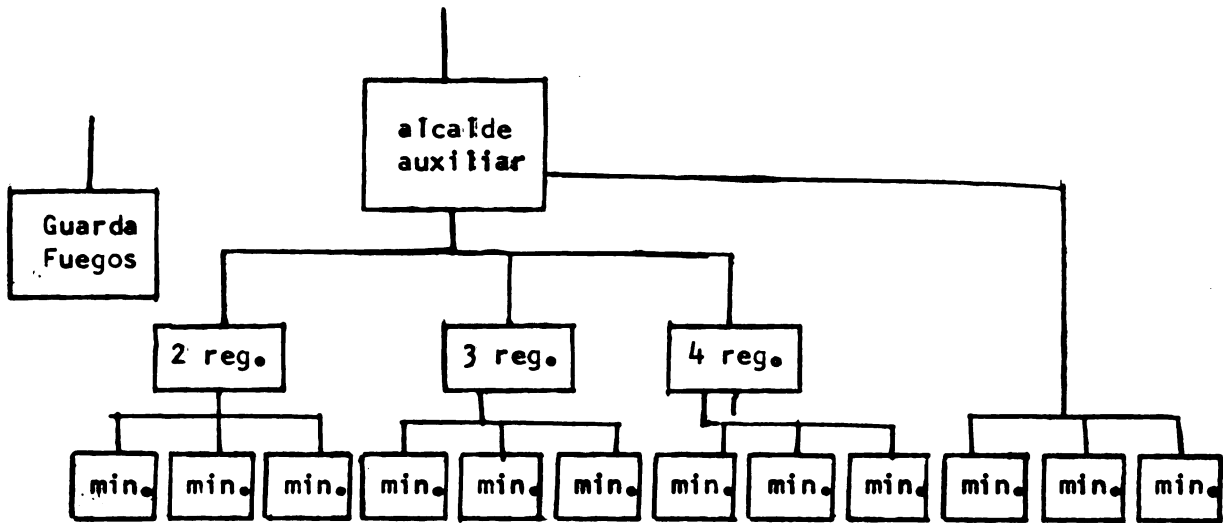
of day to day affairs and its major functions--a description of the local seat of authority. From this I will proceed to a brief sketch of some of the more pertinent changes in the character of national government in Guatemala. The latter will serve as the significant back-drop against which we can trace the development and the present-day character of the three major factions in the community involved in the pursuit of power.

COMMUNITY ADMINISTRATION

In the hierarchical structuring of national administrative bodies, San Miguel's auxiliatura occupies the lowest rung. Officially, the community is classified as an aldea--a village-like clustering of homes, arranged along defined foot-paths which serve as public streets--and considered a rural extension (though not contiguous with) the cabecera municipal (municipal center) of Magdalena Milpas Altas. The term auxiliatura, then, may be translated as auxiliary municipal hall. The organization housed by the auxiliatura in San Miguel is composed of three levels of command. The uppermost level has only one position, known as the alcalde auxiliar (auxiliary or deputy mayor). The next lowest level is made up of three positions, known locally as

regidores. These regidores, who can be thought of as assistants to the alcalde auxiliar, have in turn, three assistants each known collectively as ministriles. These ministriles, then, make up the lowest of the three, local, administrative levels. The alcalde auxiliar also has under him three ministriles. These ministriles, however, are not regarded as constituting another level, but are consigned, like those under the regidores, to the lowest level. The regidores themselves are further designated by numerical prefixes, such as the "first," the "second" and the "third" regidor. As far as I could determine, this hierarchical structuring of regidores is primarily designed to designate order of succession in the event that the alcalde auxiliar dies in office or is otherwise removed from his duties. A common synonym for alcalde auxiliar in San Miguel is el primer regidor or, simply, el primero. Nominally, this would put him in the same general class as the other regidores. Practically, however, it is recognized by all that this position represents the ultimate political position within the confines of the community. No other formal function is apparently served by this differentiation between regidores. But there does appear to be a correlation between this grading system and the relative ages of its incumbents (from older to younger), as well as an informal recognition

of differentials in the prerogative of deliberation, discussion, or suggestion-making. Otherwise, all the regidores are equally subordinate to the *alcalde auxiliar*. Graphically, then, the administrative set-up would look something like this:



As the above diagram indicates, there is still one other official administrative position to be found within the confines of the community and filled by a villager. He is known as the guardafuegos (forest ranger, more or less) whose duties are solely the looking for and reporting of forest fires, marshalling the other officials and volunteers of the community to put out the fires, and making the official report of damages incurred to the alcalde municipal, at Magdalena, who in turn passes on this report to the national authorities in Guatemala City. This position is filled by appointment by the *alcalde municipal* and, insofar as the performance

of his duties are concerned, is totally independent of the village's *alcalde auxiliar* or his *regidores*. The above, then, constitutes the entire officialdom of the community and its legal, political and administrative center, which is the only local structure invested with authority. Tenure of office for all the incumbents of these positions is for one year, without pay. Among the compensations for serving, however, is exemption from paying the official tax (known as boleto de ornato) of Q1.

The major duties of the administrative body (known collectively as the *auxiliares*) housed in the *auxiliatura* revolve around the physical upkeep of public facilities and maintaining the peace. Beginning with the first day of the first week of the year, the *alcalde auxiliar* and his three *ministriles* assume their turn or semana (actually their "weekly turn of duty"). Every Sunday, henceforth, this weekly turn of duty is transferred to the next *regidor* and his *ministriles* in order of their position--the second week, the 2nd *regidor*; the third week, the 3rd *regidor*, etc. At the end of four weeks the cycle begins anew, with the *alcalde auxiliar* again taking his turn. Thus each set of *regidores* and *ministriles* serves one week out of four in the *auxiliatura*.

The alcalde auxiliar, however, is the supreme authority in the village and as such supervises the entire organization. Beginning on Sunday morning, with the changing of regidor and ministriles for the week, he witnesses and presides over the transfer. Throughout the week he customarily arrives at the auxiliatura every day to oversee whatever problems may have arisen or special instructions received from Magdalena. Also, he may be, and usually is, summoned at any time to give his opinion, advice, or authority in the expedition of urgent matters.

The transfer of weekly duties is a simple, unceremonious affair. Sometime during the morning those individuals to receive the charge arrive at the auxiliatura where those terminating their weekly duty are already gathered along with the alcalde auxiliar. The first order of business is to send out four ministriles (two representing the outgoing group and two the incoming group) to inspect all the public water facilities (wash stands, faucets, showers, and the small earthen aquaduct,) and the main paths and roads, to see that they are clean and in reasonably good shape. These men then report to the others at the auxiliatura and should one of these facilities be in disrepair or dirty, the alcalde auxiliar will usually have the outgoing regidor send one or more of his ministriles to repair it if possible.

If all is in order the condition of the installations is noted in a formal acta (witnessed written account) and filed. The entire party of auxiliares then proceeds with a verification of an inventory list (from shovels to chairs and candles) of materials belonging to the auxiliatura. This action takes but a few minutes since the paraphernalia of public office is quite limited here. Once this is finished, pending official business from the concluding week is related to the incoming officers and discussed with the alcalde auxiliar as to how it should be handled during the coming week. The turning over of duty is then formally terminated by the alcalde auxiliar's announcement to the assembly of auxiliares that the personnel of the previous turno are now relieved of their duty.

It very frequently happens that one or more of the officials (regidores or ministriles) named for the year feels that he cannot abandon his labors for a week at a time. Informal arrangements are possible in such cases. However, the person seeking a substitute has to pay (to that individual) about Q2.50 for his services for every week served. The person substituting, according to regulations, must be another one of the officials named for the year. However, I was told of

exceptions. The arrangement is totally informal and involves only the two persons.

Throughout the week, the three ministriles are required to sleep in the auxiliatura in order to serve any emergency that may arise at night. During national emergencies calling for a declaration of curfew, the ministriles on duty will sometimes patrol the paths and surrounding fields for a couple of hours, supposedly to discourage loitering. Those individuals found in the street are usually asked to retire to their homes. On occasion they have been brought into the auxiliatura for "questioning" or detention if found unruly and drunk. Some villagers told me also that at such times, the ministriles take advantage of these patrols to harass individuals with whom they happen to be quarreling at the time. Most of the time, however, the patrol returns to the auxiliatura to report that all is well and quiet. The regidor on duty usually mans the auxiliatura while the ministriles are on patrol.

As the service rendered throughout the week has with it no financial compensation, it is viewed by most of the individuals involved, especially the ministriles, as a hardship and severe restriction on their need to earn a livelihood. Consequently, it is

customary to allow each ministril a day or a day and a half off during "his" week to attend to his personal affairs. The regidor on duty is at more liberty to attend to his affairs since it is customary for them to take off short periods during each day, particularly when there is little to do.

The personnel of the auxiliatura also perform the duty of mail dispatchers. Three days each week, one of the ministriles on duty will walk to Magdalena to pick up that community's outgoing mail. By noon he returns to San Miguel where another ministril takes it to Antigua where the mail is posted. By about four or five o'clock he returns with the incoming mail. The mail pouch is then taken by the first ministril to Magdalena where the municipal secretario opens the pouch and sorts out the mail going to people there and that going to San Miguel. The ministril then returns to San Miguel with whatever correspondence, if any, is destined for the village.

The maintenance of the two major entrances and exits from the village, and of the source and crude aqueduct of the community's water supply, constitutes two of the major tasks of the auxiliares which requires their interaction with an aggregate of community members. More specifically, keeping these facilities in good

order is accomplished through communal work parties under the direction of the auxiliares. The tasks done by these communal work parties are customarily referred to as faenas. Traditionally, all residents of the community--with the exception of those physically handicapped, those over 60 years of age, and the members of the church committee--were obligated to contribute their labor to one of these work parties, free of charge, once every fifteen days. These faenas were usually jobs that could be accomplished by a group of individuals in a matter of a couple of hours. Also, by tradition, these jobs were done in concert or in groups, every Sunday morning. According to my older informants, this institution has seen many changes. Now, for example, the requirement of one job every fifteen days is not made of every able-bodied male person in the village, but of household units. In other words, each domestic establishment (not each individual) is required to give labor once every fifteen days. Also, an individual (representing his domestic establishment) can put in his time whenever he wishes, working alone or by rendering some aid during a fire or other grave emergency. Another change reported has to do with the frequency with which these faenas are performed. According to my informants, these faenas were literally done every

Sunday. Now, as I could well observe, they are done as infrequently as once every two or three months. This latter change has been gradual--beginning about 1954 according to one informant--and reached its lowest point in 1962 when a group of villagers successfully contested the auxiliatura's authority to require this labor. Since that time, these faenas are done on a voluntary basis.

For these faenas the auxiliares (more specifically, the regidor de turno) will make a list of all those persons who contributed their labor. When a faena is deemed necessary again, the ministriles are sent out the day before to contact all households not represented by names on the list and asked that one of their members report for a faena the next day at the auxiliatura. The following morning (usually Sunday), those volunteers would gather at the auxiliatura with their machetes and hoes. They would then be escorted to the site of the job, their task outlined by one of the auxiliares, and the work would commence.

One of the major functions of the auxiliatura can be called the resolution of interpersonal conflict. I was hard put to find cases of interpersonal conflict that were resolved by some means other than a vague complaining at the auxiliatura to the officials or,

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2. The second section focuses on the role of communication in project management. It argues that clear and frequent communication is key to ensuring that all team members are aligned with the project's goals and objectives. The author provides examples of effective communication strategies, such as regular team meetings and the use of collaborative software platforms.

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4. The fourth section explores the importance of risk management. It explains that identifying potential risks early on allows organizations to develop contingency plans and mitigate negative impacts. The author discusses various risk assessment techniques and provides guidance on how to implement a robust risk management framework.

5. The fifth part of the document discusses the significance of data analysis in decision-making. It highlights that data-driven insights can provide valuable information about trends, patterns, and opportunities. The text describes different types of data analysis tools and techniques, emphasizing the need for accurate data collection and interpretation.

6. The sixth section focuses on the importance of innovation and creativity. It argues that organizations must foster a culture of innovation to stay competitive in a rapidly changing market. The author provides strategies for encouraging creative thinking, such as brainstorming sessions and cross-functional collaboration.

7. The seventh part of the document addresses the challenges of remote work. It acknowledges that remote work has become a common practice, but it also presents unique challenges related to communication, collaboration, and productivity. The text offers suggestions for managing remote teams effectively, including the use of virtual collaboration tools and clear communication protocols.

8. The eighth section discusses the importance of continuous learning and development. It explains that ongoing education and skill-building are essential for staying current in a dynamic industry. The author provides recommendations for creating a learning culture, such as offering training opportunities and encouraging employees to pursue professional development.

9. The ninth part of the document focuses on the importance of sustainability. It explains that sustainable practices are not only good for the environment but also for the long-term success of an organization. The text discusses various sustainability initiatives, such as reducing carbon footprints and promoting ethical sourcing.

10. The final section of the document provides a summary of the key points discussed throughout the text. It reiterates the importance of maintaining accurate records, effective communication, time management, risk management, data analysis, innovation, remote work management, continuous learning, and sustainability. The author concludes by encouraging readers to apply these principles in their own organizations to achieve better results.

more frequently, the placing of a demanda (or legal suit). This activity undoubtedly consumes the greatest portion of the auxiliares time when on duty. Technically, the only person with powers of decision to resolve legal cases, suits, or infractions of the law is the alcalde municipal in Magdalena who is also the juez de paz (justice of the peace) for the entire Municipio. The alcalde auxiliar in San Miguel (or the regidor de turno, in his absence) has no formal judicial power whatever. Nevertheless, through custom, the auxiliatura and its officials have been given the duty of acting as a "first hearing" for all cases originating in the village. Technically, it is merely supposed to take down testimony of the disputants and the particulars relevant to the case. This is then to be sent to Magdalena, along with the disputants, for judgement by the alcalde municipal in his capacity as juez de paz. In actual practice, however, there is usually a serious desire and attempt on the part of the officials and the disputants to have the situation resolved within the community. The principal reason given for this desire is that no one benefits from a judgement reached in Magdalena. It is frequently stated (and not untruthfully) that the alcalde municipal knows of only three ways by which to

resolve situations of this kind; he fines one, the other, or both of the disputants. This feeling, coupled with magdalena's neglect of the village's material needs, makes involvement with the Justice of the Peace there most disagreeable. Really serious crimes are rare in San Miguel. More often, the cases brought before the auxiliatura involve relatively minor conflict between persons or disorderly public conduct. The following are selected examples of the range of conflict for which resolution is sought in the auxiliatura at San Miguel.

Don Gertrudis (plaintiff vs. Don Eduvigis (defendant):

Don Gertrudis appeared at the auxiliatura one morning and asked for the regidor de turno. He was told by the ministriles that the regidor was at home having his breakfast and would return to the auxiliatura in a short while. Don Gertrudis said he would wait for the regidor and sat on a bench outside. The regidor failed to appear within the hour and Don Gertrudis left saying he would return sometime in the afternoon after he finished with his work in the fields.

That afternoon Don Gertrudis returned and, after a short wait, was able to see the regidor. He told the regidor that he wanted to place a demanda against

Don Eduviges. The charge was calumnia (calumny).

Don Gertrudis claimed that Don Eduviges (a next door neighbor) was going around claiming that the former was ill advising his son (Eduviges') and turning him against his father. More specifically, Eduviges was telling people that Gertrudis told Eduviges' son that he didn't have to contribute his meager wages to his father for the purchase of a new hoe. Gertrudis complained to the regidor that he never said such a thing to Eduviges' son, but Eduviges was going around telling people that he had.

Gertrudis asked the regidor that Eduviges be summoned to the auxiliatura and prove that the former had said such things. If Eduviges could not prove it, Gertrudis was demanding a public retraction. If this was turned down by Eduviges, then he should be taken before the alcalde at Magdalena and fined for spreading "lies" about him.

The regidor then immediately dispatched a ministril to summon Eduviges to the auxiliatura. In a few minutes the ministril returned and informed the regidor that Eduviges was not home, but that his wife would advise him when he returned to appear at the auxiliatura the next morning before he left for antigua to pick coffee.

The regidor then asked Gertrudis to present himself the next day.

The next morning Don Gertrudis dutifully appeared at the auxiliatura and waited outside for Eduviges to arrive. After an hour or so, the latter failed to show up. The regidor again sent a ministril to summon him. The ministril reported that Eduviges had already left for work, asking his wife to tell the regidor that he would report that evening at the auxiliatura.

That evening, Eduviges again failed to show and attempts to summon him proved fruitless. Don Gertrudis was furious and demanded that Eduviges be arrested and forced to come. The regidor claimed that he could not do this, but that Don Gertrudis would have to await justice until such time as Eduviges decided to show up to either retract his statements or defend himself. Don Gertrudis, in disgust, left the auxiliatura claiming he was through playing around and that he would personally take the matter before the alcalde in Magdalena. After a few days he calmed down and decided to drop the matter. The only thing he did was not to speak to Eduviges at all (referred to as a quitarle el hable). Don Gertrudis seemed to feel that he had aptly demonstrated to Eduviges that he could

- *Journal of the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry* 35:103-110, 1996

not easily get away with talking about him.

Conchita (plaintiff) vs. Armando (defendant).

This case involved an incident that occurred during the school milk and recess break. Conchita (a girl of about 18) had been hired by the school teacher to cook the powdered milk contributed to the school children by CARE and INCAP (a nutrition research group from Guatemala city). This particular day Conchita became involved in a spontaneous game of tag that developed among the older boys and girls attending the school. One of the boys, Armando, without any serious intentions, picked up a kitchen knife and began waving it in a mock menacing gesture. At one point in the game he and Conchita confronted each other accidentally and Armando raised the knife. As he did so, Conchita raised her hand and the knife nicked her finger. At the sight of the blood Armando became frightened and ran off. Conchita, also frightened, ran the few yards down the path to her home. In a few moments Conchita and her mother came directly to my hut where I was asked by Dona Balbina (Conchita's mother) to apply some iodine and bandage the wound. While it bled somewhat, it did not appear to be too deep or serious. After the treatment, Dona Balbina

confronted the regidor de turno and then stated that she wanted a demanda placed against Armando and his mother for the harm he had caused her daughter. The regidor immediately dispatched a ministril to summon Armando (presumed to be at home) and his mother. Only the mother appeared since Armando was afraid to come home. There, seated on opposite sides of the room, Armando's mother faced Dona Balbina, Conchita, and the school-teacher (called in as a witness). The regidor de turno, seated at the center table, then asked Conchita to relate what happened. Conchita related, somewhat faithfully, what I have described above. After she had finished, the regidor de turno, asked the teacher if Conchita's story was true. The school-teacher stated that it was, but hastened to add that she did not think Armando meant to harm Conchita, but was merely carried away with the playing. Throughout this, the two parents sat quietly and said nothing. After the school-teacher's testimony, the regidor de turno asked Dona Balbina what she was demanding. Dona Balbina, somewhat obliquely, began a lengthy diatribe against the boy Armando, claiming that it was a well known fact that he was unruly and mischevious and implying that perhaps it wasn't just an accident, but

intended. Throughout her discourse, Armando's mother, obviously nervous, said nothing. Finally Donda Balbina concluded by saying she wanted two things. First, she wanted this complaint noted down with the understanding that should Conchita need more medical attention or medicines for her cut, these would be provided by Armando's mother. The latter agreed. Secondly, Dona Balbina demanded that Armando's mother be ordered to punish and restrain the boy through severe discipline. In making this second demand, Dona Balbina lapsed into what appeared to me to be a very condescending tone of voice. She prefaced this second demand by stating that she understood how difficult it was for some people to bring up children these days, how lax some parents were, but that nevertheless they should be made to do so. She also added that she was not asking that the demanda be forwarded to Magdalena because she did not want to appear to be too severe with Armando's mother and that she (Balbina) was after-all an understanding and compassionate woman.

It was at this point that Armando's mother appeared to be angered out of her nervousness. When the regidor de turno asked her if she had anything to add, she began to say that she knew perfectly well how to discipline and bring up her children and did not need anyone like

Dona Balbina to tell her. She concluded that she would comply with the regidor's request that Armando be more strictly reprimanded and controlled.

Jacinto (plaintiff) vs. Gertrudis (defendant):

In this case, Don Jacinto brought a demanda against Don Gertrudis his neighbor. Unfortunately, I was unable to witness this case or get very much detail. Nevertheless, the gist of the demanda here revolved around Don Gertrudis' four or five year old child striking Jacinto's dog. Jacinto led his dog to the auxiliatura where he demonstrated to the alcalde auxiliar that Gertrudis' child had harmed the dog when striking him. There supposedly was a bump on the dog's head. Gertrudis was summoned to answer this charge. The dog was then put in the one-cell jail as evidence. Gertrudis supposedly claimed that the dog had wandered into his yard and the child merely wanted to "shoo" him out. Jacinto, on the other hand, claimed the dog was in the street; his own son was a witness to this. Jacinto demanded that Gertrudis reprimand the child and that should this happen again, he be fined for his child's act. Gertrudis supposedly agreed to this, adding, however, that he would not be responsible for the child's

actions if the dog violates his property. In fact (it was reported to me), Gertrudis gave Jacinto fair warning that he himself would strike the dog in such a case. The alcalde then concluded the hearing by requesting of Gertrudis that he restrain the child from beating the dog and asking Jacinto that he make sure his dog does not wander around other people's sitios.

It should be noted, briefly, that inspite of this general dislike for judgements passed down by the alcalde municipal in Magdalena, an unexpectedly large number of cases are, in fact, passed on up by the auxiliatura, and most informants agree that the number is increasing every year. In most instances this is done on the insistence of one of the disputants because he disagrees with the action taken by the local officials or because they are deliberately slow in beginning proceedings to hear the demanda or complaint. Another way in which cases end up in Magdalena, according to my informants, is the local official has hostile feelings for either one of the disputants. Here he will immediately try to send the case to Magdalena and thereby increase the possibility of punishment for the person he dislikes. In still other cases, villagers will deliberately bypass the auxiliatura and go straight to Magdalena in

order to embarrass or harass the local officials. Several of my more knowledgeable informants claim that such was not always the case. According to them, in the past only the really serious crimes or disturbances were taken for judgement to Magdalena--such as serious beatings, deliberate destruction by fire, or burglary. It appears, then, that the auxiliatura's ability to resolve conflict between villagers has been decreasing, since at this time many relatively insignificant complaints do get past the local auxiliatura. Unfortunately I was unable to verify this through a survey of the records in Magdalena. It would have been interesting to see just what type of cases show a greater frequency of referral to Magdalena and whether there have been changes in these frequencies throughout a suitable period of time.

I was frequently told, however, that the only kind of case that is exclusively settled within the community is the kind involving communal land. The relationship of communal land, and its distribution, to the power arrangements within the community has some peculiarities worth mentioning briefly here.

There can be no doubt that the unit of land corporately owned is the most important basis for community

boundary maintenance. The use of communal land is, for the most part, restricted to native-born villagers. Also, decisions concerning its use and distribution are considered to be the sole privilege of native born adults in the community. In this, they feel, they cannot, legally, be overruled by any other authority--local or extra-local. These decisions, traditionally, are reached in public sessions called for open discussion of community-land problems. Interestingly enough, however, the community of today finds itself barren of any strictly local-based authority to implement these decisions. As a result, the function of implementing these decisions appears to have fallen into the hands of the group with the only legally constituted authority to coerce in the community--the auxiliatura. But this, of course, has created a serious dilemma since the authority of the auxiliatura derives from the outside and is restricted to keeping the peace. It does not possess authority to settle land disputes. Thus, we have the situation where the community makes a decision concerning this land but cannot implement it. It is technically thrown into the hands of the auxiliatura. The authority of this group, however, is restricted to official statutes and it can do little more than

communicate the decision to persons involved and ask for compliance. Fortunately, however, villagers will abide by decisions rendered in these sesiones publicas for fear of public opinion or clandestine physical harm to himself and his possessions. But the potentially disruptive nature of this situation is made an actuality, or at least painfully apparent, when a person or group ignores public opinion and demonstrates fearlessness in the face of possible threats. Later on in this chapter we will discuss an incident that clearly demonstrates this.

There can be no doubt that one of the major functions of San Miguel's auxiliatura and officials is the resolution of interpersonal conflict. This is true primarily because almost all villagers are apt to turn almost any dispute or conflict of interest into a quasi-legal battle. The only exceptions to this are conflicts between sibs, which are usually resolved by the patriarch. Here, of course, the patriarch's power to resolve this conflict privately rests on his sole command in the matter of inheritance of family goods. Once the patriarch is dead and the family fortunes divided, demandas and complaints between brothers occur with regularity. Many villagers deplore this state of

affairs, saying in effect that most villagers are not happy unless they are fighting via the auxiliatura or "bugging" (jodiendo) each other. However, when asked about the demandas they themselves have brought against others they rationalized their actions by stating that no action at all would have been a sure invitation for more problems with others. In other words, bringing a demanda against another, even for the slightest thing, is deemed necessary in order to have it known that he "is not one for others to trifle with" (conmigo no se juega). This attitude appears to be universal in San Miguel and it helps explain why even in really hopeless situations where nothing material or even a favorable official opinion could really be gained the villager will dutifully place his demanda or complaint with the officials in the auxiliatura.

x As far as I could determine, since at least 1957 the prerogative of competitive elections for the positions of alcalde auxiliar and regidores has been absent. Mr. Noval, an ethnographer who spent some time in the village reports that the alcalde for the year of 1960 was elected by a quorum of villagers in session. I could find no villager who would verify this. It could well be that this other ethnographer was misled, and

reasonably so, by a confusion in terms. It could well be that a session of selected people was called together for the purpose of suggesting possible incumbents for these positions. Such a session may have been termed an "election" by one or more of his informants. It is not, however, an election in the usual sense of the word since there are no opposing candidates nor is this open to all the "electorate" of the community. Such consultatory sessions, as I shall mention in the succeeding pages, are not unheard of in San Miguel. In that year, an article prohibiting competitive, public elections for positions lower than the level of the municipalidad (that is to say, aldeas or caserios) was written into the "codigo de municipalidades." This information was provided by the secretario of the municipality of Magdalena who, incidently, confirmed the fact that elections in San Miguel had not taken place since 1957, and the power to appoint administrative officials for these lower units given to the alcalde municipal. The present process, as explained to me by the secretario and corroborated by informants in the village, was as follows:

During the last few months of an administrative year, the alcalde auxiliar and regidores are instructed by the office of the alcalde municipal to draw up a list

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2. The second section focuses on the role of communication in project management. It argues that clear and consistent communication is the foundation of any successful team effort. The author provides several practical tips for improving communication, such as holding regular meetings and using collaborative platforms to share information.

3. In the third part, the document explores the challenges of time management. It acknowledges that time is a limited resource and that effective time management is crucial for meeting deadlines and achieving goals. The text offers strategies for prioritizing tasks and minimizing distractions to maximize productivity.

4. The fourth section addresses the issue of risk management. It explains that identifying potential risks early on allows for proactive planning and mitigation. The author discusses various risk assessment techniques and provides examples of how to develop contingency plans to handle unforeseen circumstances.

5. The fifth part of the document discusses the importance of flexibility and adaptability. It notes that in a rapidly changing environment, the ability to pivot and adjust plans is a key skill. The text encourages readers to embrace change and view it as an opportunity for growth and innovation.

6. The sixth section covers the topic of team building and collaboration. It highlights that a strong, cohesive team is more likely to succeed than a group of individuals working in isolation. The author suggests several ways to foster team spirit, including encouraging open communication and recognizing individual contributions.

7. The seventh part of the document discusses the importance of continuous learning and development. It argues that staying up-to-date with the latest trends and technologies is essential for long-term success. The text encourages readers to invest in their own growth and to encourage their team members to do the same.

8. The eighth section focuses on the importance of documentation. It explains that having a clear and concise record of all decisions and actions is vital for ensuring consistency and avoiding misunderstandings. The author provides guidelines for creating effective documentation and suggests using templates to streamline the process.

9. The ninth part of the document discusses the importance of regular reporting and feedback. It argues that providing timely updates on progress and receiving constructive feedback are essential for staying on track and making improvements. The text offers advice on how to structure reports and how to handle feedback in a positive and productive manner.

10. The final section of the document provides a summary of the key points discussed throughout the text. It reiterates the importance of maintaining accurate records, communicating effectively, managing time, assessing risks, being flexible, building a strong team, pursuing continuous learning, documenting everything, and providing regular feedback. The author concludes by expressing confidence in the reader's ability to apply these principles to their own work and achieve their goals.

of all villagers eligible for the position alcalde auxiliar and three regidores. Ministriles are hand picked from the younger elements of the population by those incoming officials who will have to work with them. The administrative year begins January 1, and ends December 30. The formal requisites for inclusion on this list are not many, but they are not necessarily adhered to with all the rigor possible. These requisites are 1) that the person be over 18 years of age, but not over 60; 2) that he not have served in any of the above named positions for at least two years prior; 3) that the person be literate; and 4) that he not be physically handicapped in any way. In practice it does occur, however, that individuals under 18 years of age are convinced to make themselves available for the position of ministril. Also, certain individuals over 60 years have been asked to fill the position of alcalde auxiliar or regidor. These persons, as I was told, more often than not turn down these requests, although some have relented and served in the past. The alcalde auxiliar for 1962 was illiterate. By long-standing convention, the president of the church committee is often exempted from duty at the auxiliatura as are the other members. This list then is submitted to the alcalde municipal in Magdalena, who then chooses the persons for each of the positions.

There appears to be a general ambivalence in the village concerning this lack of clear-cut autonomy in filling the positions of alcalde auxiliar and regidores. On the positive side, villagers appear to feel that such a situation is good since it takes the matter out of their hands and, to some extent, diminishes the potential disruptive clashes between persons or groups who would

aspire to these positions. On the other hand, open competitive elections for alcalde auxiliar and regidores seem to have a relatively long-standing history in the village. It appears to have been in existence as early as 1898, beginning with the Estrada Cabrera administration. As in all the country, however, the autonomy in selecting community officials was suppressed during the highly centralized dictatorship of Jorge Ubico, but reinstated and encouraged during the Arevalo and Arbenz governments. It apparently continued on this basis until 1957 when the above mentioned article prohibiting elections in Aldeas and Caserios was written into the statutes. It is clear also that the present process is viewed negatively because there is also little felt loyalty or feeling of identity with Magdalena.

Magdalena has a high concentration of Indians. (Amir, Raymond, 1957) The last two alcaldes municipales have been persons whose mother tongue is Kachiquel. San Miguelenos, while not necessarily harboring strong resentment against Indians, are very old Ladinos and make clear-cut cultural and social distinctions between themselves and Indians, whom they refer to as naturales. Furthermore, it is claimed that the authority at Magdalena,

while receiving financial benefits from its aldeas, is really little concerned with their problems. It is a well known fact for San Miguelenos (and, from my experience, not unfounded) that pleas for material aid for the upkeep of the community are rarely, and then only reluctantly, heeded by the municipal authorities.

Despite this seemingly complete absence of local autonomy in deciding who will occupy the administrative positions, it should not be supposed that San Miguelenos are totally passive in the process. Representatives from at least two of the three major power sectors do frequently make direct, personal appeals to the alcalde municipal on behalf of certain individuals whose names appear on the list submitted to him by the alcalde auxiliar. Unfortunately, I was unable to determine to what extent these appeals are important in the decision reached. According to the municipal secretario, the alcalde municipal rarely pays heed to any of these appeals. He apparently reserves the decision for himself alone or, more usually than not, in counsel with his secretario. The secretario did tell me, however, that he and the alcalde will occasionally attempt to establish the consensus in the village with respect to individuals favored by each of the factions. This "opinion polling"

is a simple matter. During the last month or so the secretario and the alcalde informally interview villagers (present at the municipalidad on other matters) concerning which one or the other of the persons appealed for would be "most objectionable" to the majority of the villagers. These informal opinions affect the decision probably only to the extent that the person deemed "most objectionable" would be eliminated from the ranks of the "potentials". According to the secretario, these informal opinions are always ascertained at random ("whoever happens to appear at the municipalidad") and there is nobody or group of persons whose opinion is actively sought by the municipal authorities.

RECENT GUATEMALAN POLITICAL HISTORY

Before proceeding to a description of the development and character of the three discernible factions in the community, a brief sketch of recent Guatemalan political history will be necessary, since Guatemalan peasantry appears to be unusually sensitive to the changes and discontinuities undergone by the national structure, especially during the last 30 years or so. Indeed, as I shall try to demonstrate, it was these national governmental discontinuities that, in part,

gave rise to the three factions that vie with each other for power in the village.

Recent Guatemalan political history can be subdivided for our purpose into three major phases. These are; 1) Pre-1944 Dictatorships; 2) Arevalo and Arbenz period -- 1945 to 1954; and 3) Castillo Armas through Peralta period -- 1954 to present. The formal government hierarchy in Guatemala did not undergo drastic structural alterations during the above mentioned periods.

"For purposes of administration Guatemala is divided into departments, in turn subdivided into municipalities. The municipality (municipio) is the principal local administrative territorial unit, and may itself be divided into rural units known variously as cantones, aldeas, or caserios. The term aldea is usually reserved for a cluster of homes; the other two terms refer to a rural area in which homes are scattered. (Adams, 1957:4)

What did undergo drastic change, however, was the relationship between these administrative units: the forms of control exercised from top to bottom. As in most Latin American countries, the history of Guatemala is replete with dictatorships. As Stokes Newbold puts it, "Until 1945 Guatemala had been controlled by a series of dictatorships, more or less strict, but inevitably dependent upon strong central authority". (Newbold, 1957:339)

1) Pre-1944 Dictatorships

From the turn of the century, at least, to 1935 the strong central authority of "el senor presidente" manifested itself at the lowest level (departamento) in the person of a Jefe Politico (political head)-- a hand picked man "appointed by the president and who was responsible for all municipios in his department". (Adams, 1957:4) While each municipio was headed by an alcalde and regidores, theoretically elected by "popular vote", the Jefe Politico, extended his (and by virtue of this, the President's) control by reducing this "popular vote" to a mere vote of approval for a "single slate" of candidates drawn up by the previous incumbents and given his (Jefe Politicos) approval. This strongly centralized situation was heightened even further by the introduction of the "intendente" system by the last of the old line dictators, Jorge Ubico, in 1935. As Adams describes it, this intendente system was:

"basically similar to the previous one except that the elected alcalde was replaced by the appointed intendente. The intendente was named by the chief executive on the recommendation of the Jefe Politico. The town continued to be elected on a single slate. Ubico required that the intendentes be literate and preferred that they be ladinos from some other area and thus unable to show favoritism for their friends". (Adams, 1957:4)

Ubico's regime, undoubtedly, was consciously concerned with increasing the centralization of government and strict, unilateral control over the countryside. In addition to the intendente system, he instituted a forced labor law (requiring persons to give their labor to public works, usually national, every year), annual military service in reserve militias and a vagrancy law. The latter had a series of complex socio-economic effects within San Miguel. These are discussed in an earlier chapter. This law, generally, required the people, rural ladinos and Indians alike, to carry proof of **substantial** employment or means of support for a significant part of the year. Absence of such proof (in the form of a "work book") usually meant incarceration or pressing into the ranks of forced government labor crews. Needless to say, whatever opposition to his dictatorship and his practices may have appeared, they were, by one means or another crushed.

2) Arevald-Arbenz period

In 1944 the downfall of Ubico and the ascendancy of Juan Jose Arevalo "brought about one of the very few really popular social revolutions in the history of the country". (Newbold, 1957:339) Indeed, we could safely amend Mr. Newbold's words to read, "In the history of Latin America".

"Arce resigned, and Guatemalan exiles poured back into the country to participate in the establishment of a democratic regime. During the period which followed numerous social reforms were initiated, a new constitution introduced, competitive elections for local and national political offices, and immediately following this, political parties sprang up like weeds. (Newbold, 1957:339)

It appears that one of the main aims of the revolutionary government of Arevalo was to:

"make the rural, largely illiterate, population composed of laborers and small scale agriculturalists into an effective but controlled political force.... .

The government began to subject the rural dweller to various forms of organization, agitation and propaganda with the general goal of forging him into a pro-governmental political force." (Adams, 1957:4)

It is clear that with the policies of Arevalo, and their continuance under Arbenz, the old dictatorial centralization of government came to an end. Throughout the countryside, in one form or another, peasants were being encouraged to participate in government, principally through an organized demonstration of approval for its admittedly leftist policies. Open to them now was membership in rural chapters of political parties (pro-governmental), the government sponsored peasant union (Union Campesina), and in some

cases labor unions and agrarian committees. The only government sponsored program of organization really to find favor with the people of San Miguel was the Union Campesina. This organization appeared to have the active support, or at least the sympathy, of most villagers except a small nucleus of previously politically active families.

In one way or another, these government sponsored and nurtured organizations represented a form of trade between the national government and the rural communities. On the one hand, participation in them by the rural peoples represented approval of the government and its policies, as well as instruments of control and change simultaneously. On the other hand, communities and participation members appeared disposed to utilize them as mechanisms to direct appeal for aid in solutions of local economic and other problems. For some individuals, I imagine, it also represented an avenue of mobility in a local system of prestige and power. This give and take, along with the removal of the intendente system and reinstatement of local competitive elections, represented a significant change from the previously one-sided relationship between the community and national government to some local autonomy and decentralization.

3) Castillo-Armas to the present

The year 1954, however, saw the fall of leftist Arbenz government and, through the means of a "revolution", the installation of the Castillo Armas government--somewhere to the right of center. As is true of most things, the coming to power of this diminutive Colonel, however conservative or reactionary he might have been, did not mean a complete reversal to the pre-Arevalo state of things. Some of the reforms of the two previous administrations appear to have been kept; there was no return to the older intendente system or the infamous forced labor and vagrancy laws. Nevertheless, Castillo Armas' administration was a military dictatorship, and jealous enough of its power to be suspicious of all political ideologies and parties advocating more local autonomy and participation in the shaping or implementation of its policy. It clearly chose to institute a tighter grip on the populace--tighter than the previous administrations of Arevalo and Arbenz, but apparently not to the tyrannical extremes of the Ubico dictatorship. This was accomplished by means of two processes which characterize Guatemala today. To illustrate these two processes it is necessary here to quote at length the words of two newspaper reporters knowledgeable of the sequence of events that

took place with the emergence of Castillo-Armas.

"If the CIA's coup had routed communism in Guatemala, democracy is not what followed in its wake. As its first act, the ruling (military) junta concealed the right of illiterates to vote, thereby disenfranchising in one stroke about 70 percent of Guatemala's population.... .

The junta elected Castillo-Armas as its President on July 8 (1954). In August the liberator suspended all constitutional guarantees...The free election Castillo-Armas had promised when Arbenz fell turned out to be a "si" or "no" vote on whether to continue Castillo-Armas as President. Castillo-Armas won.

In rapid succession, the new regime set up a Robespierre-like Committee for Defense against Communism with sweeping police state powers. The government took back 800,000 acres of land from the peasants, returned to United Fruit the land Arbenz had seized, and repealed amendments to a 1947 law that had guaranteed rights to workers and labor unions.

Within a week of Castillo-Armas' election as head of the junta, the new government announced it had arrested 4,000 persons on suspicion of Communist activity. By August it had passed the Preventive Penal Law against Communism. This (law) set up the Defense Committee, which met in secret and could declare anyone a communist--with no right of appeal. ...Those registered by the committee could be arbitrarily arrested for periods up to six months; they could not own radios or hold public office. Within four months the new government registered 72,000 persons as Communist or sympathizers. A committee official said it was aiming for 2,000,000." (Wise and Ross, 1965: 194-195)

In short, the coming of Castillo-Armas resulted in: 1) returning the game of national politics to the

small literate population concentrated in the larger communities and cities, and, conversely, consciously discouraging the political participation of the countryside; and 2) the adoption of "Birch-like" hysterical anti-communism philosophy as a major instrument of coercion against all "trouble-makers," regardless of political taint.

Since the assassination of Castillo-Armas, Guatemala saw the free election of a president (Ydigoras-Fuentes), who gradually attempted to bring some moderation into the swing of the political pendulum. His moderation, however, was repaid by a swift military coup which sent him packing into exile. While the exact facts behind this coup may never really be known, it has been strongly suggested to me by knowledgeable Guatemalans that it was due primarily to Ydigoras' "softness" on "communists" within the country. (Herring, 1964:458-459) Still another more specific reason given was that the military (among other elements) feared the Ydigoras would be amenable to a free election in which the previous progressive President, Arevalo, would be allowed to run for his old office. At the present, a military junta headed by General Peralta runs the country, and elections and a return to civil government remain but a vague promise.

In summary, then, the relationship between the national vis-a-vis local government, since the turn of the century at least, has had a rather dialectical profile. Throughout the periods outlined above, government in Guatemala has of course, been centralized to a greater extent than, say, the United States, especially in the areas of legislative and judicial functions. The marked changes, however, have occurred in the character of the executive and lesser administrative bodies, and the extent to which participation by the rural elements of the population was sought or encouraged. Prior to the Revolution of 1944, government in Guatemala could be characterized as a dictatorship, strongly centralized and opposed to organized political participation by the masses. From 1944 to 1954, competitive elections, at the national and local levels, were introduced and pro-governmental organization among rural elements was fostered. Since 1954, an uneasy balance between competitive elections and military junta government has come into play. While there is still an over commitment to competitive elections and constitutional government, there appears to be a genuine "gentleman's agreement" among governmental luminaries and military chiefs that suspension of

both elections and constitutional rights, enforced by martial law, is legitimate to protect the nation and its people against a "Communist takeover". Political activity and organization among rural elements (or their self-appointed reformist spokesmen) is strongly discouraged, principally through the indiscriminate application of the scapegoat label, "comunista".

These changes in Guatemalan political history have had their effect on village political and social life. Perhaps their profoundest effect, as I shall now attempt to demonstrate later on, was in bringing about a decline of a system of village elders and the creation of a power vacuum which gradually led to the creation of the three power factions or sectors noted in the community.

VILLAGE POLITICAL FACTIONS

1) First Faction

The most vociferous and easily identifiable faction (or group) in the community is known by various names. Some San Miguelenos refer to them as "los de Arriba" (those living in the upper section of the community) or "el grupito" (the little group); and, not infrequently, "los anti-comunistas" (the anti-communists). This group is composed primarily of 8 household heads. Occasionally, two or more other individuals will be

group is composed primarily of 8 household heads. Occasionally, two or more other individuals will be identified as "being with them". These additions, however, hardly ever appear to be permanent and may, in some cases, be only conjecture by the larger community on the basis of very circumstantial evidence. During my first field session in San Miguel two persons were frequently mentioned as having recently joined the camp of this group. The evidence here was having been seen accompanying some members of this group to Antigua as well as expressions of hostility (a trade Mark of this group) against this researcher. Upon my return, these individuals were mentioned as being enemies of the group and few could recall their ever having been allied with them. Nevertheless, the eight persons are universally mentioned by other villagers as making up the core of the group. The unity of this group is enhanced through sibling ties (one set of four brothers and another, unrelated, set of two) leaving only two members who are not related to anyone else in the group. Furthermore, three of the set of four brothers are bound even closer by having taken as mates a set of three sisters. So strong is the unity exhibited here that the group will frequently be referred to by the surname of these brothers, even

though the entire faction is composed of four distinct surnames. All the members of this faction live in the upper section of the community and as a consequence their domestic establishments, as well as some of their agricultural land, are located on communally owned property. Economically, they appear in the intermediate range, as superficially calculated on the basis of land holding, coffee production and other observable possessions. None are found at the uppermost level, but neither do they appear on the bottom rung of this type of ladder.

One of the most important features of this group, however, is the presence of "good" public speakers among them--including the mate of one of its leading figures. They are widely recognized in the village as capable of long winded and elaborate speeches and harangues, as well as very verbose, although somewhat archaic, public etiquette. It is interesting that there is little in the literature on Latin American peasantry with regard to the importance of verbal skill. While an extended analysis of its functional importance in San Miguel is impossible here, a comment appears to me to be in order. The possession of this recognized skill appears to be among the primary pieces of social

currency of this group. In view of the fact that for other reasons this group is highly resented, why should they be acclaimed for their possession of this skill? It seems to me that the answer lies in a particular view that Latin American peasants, at least those of San Miguel, seem to have of the larger society and their place in it. It appears that in their minds, oratory skill is one of the chief mechanisms by which persons in the larger society achieve their aims and accumulate rewards. It is, after all, one of the relatively few features of public figures (especially political ones) with which they are acquainted.

x Skill another important feature of this group is the unprecedented degree of unity they have presented to the community. Unlike other factions and formal groupings in the community, they persist intact in the face of hostility; they rarely quarrel among themselves, at least never within earshot of other villagers.

Finally, this group can be distinguished from the rest of the population in the degree to which they openly profess active interest in politics and government, at all levels, and claim to be the only persons of the village knowledgeable with respect to laws and judicial processes. The latter is never challenged by

others and appears to be widely accepted. This claim is indirectly supported to the satisfaction of other villagers by the fact that one of the major figures of this group has as compadre a former cabinet member of the early Ydigoras-Fuentes government. This relationship was established while the villager in question worked as a peon on the cabinet member's coffee finca. The group widely boasts to other villagers that their political and judicial sophistication is due to the latter's guidance and continued support of them.

The members of the community do not appear to like or support this group. In fact there appears to be a sufficient amount of fear of them to neutralize any opposition to them for actions that may appear unfavorable to the rest of the community. This general fear is based on the group's above mentioned abilities--unity, verbal skill, and political and judicial sophistication--and their success in manipulating these in areas of life that are important to individual villagers, especially confrontations involving authorities and access to communal land. A few examples of how they have manipulated these abilities (or qualities) in the past will suffice to establish the basis of the general fear with which they are regarded.

The unity (or solidarity) of this group was aptly demonstrated during the period of the Arbenz regime when the Union Campesina (peasant's union) chapter was organized in the village. This government sponsored organization involved the active participation of a majority of the villagers. One reliable informant told me that at its peak it had 80 active members representing over half of the village households, and, at least, the sympathy of a large number of other villagers. The faction under consideration here stubbornly refused appeals to join the Union and successfully repelled attempts to undermine the loyalty of its individual members. Not only did they retain intact, but would, as a group, make public denouncements of the Union and, likewise, attempt to sway members away from it. Their arguments at the time, according to informants, were heavily anti-government and against local leaders of the organization. They would hold their own public meetings for such denouncements and these were faithfully attended by the persons in the group. While their attempts to alienate others from the Peasant's Union or gather people sympathetic to their opposition were fruitless, they continued their activity until the overthrow of the Arbenz government which, naturally, brought

about the demise of the Union. Thus, they survived this relatively long period intact, in open defiance of village sentiment and national government policy, and were left as the only quasi-political group free to operate after 1954, since they espoused rabid anti-communism and were steadfast in their denouncement of the previous leftist government. The absence of any sort of reprisal, by national authorities, against their own open anti-government activity during the Arbanz government, undoubtedly impressed villagers, especially since some members of the Peasant's Union were not so fortunate after the government changed hands in 1954.

Their unity is also amply demonstrated by lesser, everyday clashes with other individual villagers. Any action against a member of this group is literally regarded as an attack on all of them. Also, they never lack for "witnesses" or moral support among themselves for any of the almost daily demandas which they create or are implicated in. Such steadfast allies in a community where almost all reject involvement in the affairs of another person is an evidence of strength that is not lost among the villagers.

Their verbal skill has more than once impressed the

other villagers, and in a variety of situations. Most important among these have been situations wherein they have used their oratorical gifts to defend publicly the sovereignty of San Miguel's land and other resources against attempts by the alcalde municipal of Magdalena to preside and rule over their disposition. On one such occasion, when a public meeting called by and presided over by the alcalde municipal for the purpose of distributing some land to non-native residents (foraneos), the leader of this group arose and supposedly delivered an effective argument against such action. He was so effective, in fact, that the alcalde municipal was forced to drop the matter. According to my informants, while most of the villagers were in favor of helping these individuals (which the group opposed), they felt that the man's polemic very eloquently stated their feelings concerning the villages relationship to Magdalena. Another consequence of this particular encounter, however, was the man's ability to make a higher official back down by the use of language.

A good deal of the "power" attributed to this group has its basis on a self-proclaimed political and legal sophistication which, as far as the other villagers are concerned, has been demonstrated in several dramatic

- Einmalige oder regelmäßige Belastung

→ Einmalige Belastung = Belastung, die nur einmalig auftritt

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instances. Earlier I spoke of the institution of faenas (communal work projects) and its gradual decline as a mechanism for getting general village maintenance work performed. The bottom was reached during the summer of 1962 when the spokesmen for this group, after continually refusing to answer calls for this work, were summoned to the alcalde municipal's office to answer charges of civil disobedience brought against them by the alcalde auxiliar. What actually transpired at the alcalde's office is not clear. Present were three regidores from San Miguel (including the alcalde auxiliar), two ministriles and two leading spokesmen of this small group (el grupito), the alcalde municipal and, of course, the municipal secretary. My informants (the alcalde auxiliar, one of the ministriles and the secretary) gave somewhat different accounts as to who said what and how. All, however, agreed that both men eloquently defended themselves against the charge by arguing that with the removal of the forced labor laws (instituted under Ubico's dictatorship and repealed after 1944) neither the alcalde auxiliar nor the alcalde municipal had the right to demand their labor for communal or other public work. As a result, the two men were summarily dismissed and the alcalde auxiliar was sternly

instructed that he could not "demand" free labor for these faenas but merely recruit workers from among those willing to volunteer. When other villagers heard about this they began denying their services openly, stating they would continue to do so until members of this group donated theirs. Thus, not a single faena was performed for three months. The village paths, of course, fell into a deplorable state, since this was the rainy season. The same group then seized upon the condition of paths to convey directly a request to the municipal authorities that the alcalde auxiliar be removed from office. They claimed he was neglecting his duty by not calling for faenas to work on the paths. This time they were not successful merely because the alcalde auxiliar had only a short time remaining in office and, secondly, because the municipal authorities interpreted this last tactic as harassment directed against them, they chose to do nothing about this appeal.

Another impressive demonstration of their legalistic skill involved the partitioning of communal land. A long standing tradition in San Miguel provides that only village born individuals (nativos) are entitled to the use of communal property (both agricultural and household sitios). All others (referred to as foraneos) are

not so privileged. However, there exist in the village several families whose heads are not *nativos* and who were given communal land to use indefinitely in return for community services they had performed. This was possible because at that time the pressure on the land was not as great as it appears today. For at least two of these *foraneos*, these were informal, word of mouth landholding arrangements. Recently, however, the *grupito* was able to have their portion of communal agricultural land taken away. They accomplished this by circulating a petition (in itself something new for San Miguel) that ostensibly asked for a session to consider the re-adjustment of the previous partitioning (as a whole) to make agricultural land available to some of the younger, native-born men now with families. All but a couple of families signed this petition. In a matter of days they presented this petition to the *alcalde auxiliar* (whom villagers claim was friendly and under the influence of this group) as a demand by the members of the community that these two individuals be prohibited the use of this land. This was done and the land was divided among the grown sons of the members of this small group. It is interesting that my informants, most of whom had signed the petition, openly admitted

to me that the petition had been presented to them, individually, under false pretenses. They further stated that had its real purpose been disclosed they never would have signed it since these two individuals had genuinely earned their right of use by service to the community. When I asked them why they did nothing about it, two major reasons were given. First, it would mean entering into public dispute with this group and this of course would almost certainly expose them to the group's belittling, verbal harangues. Secondly, they stated that this group had openly threatened to bring charges of "fraud" against anyone wishing to withdraw or invalidate his signature on the petition. My informants seemed to believe, quite seriously, that the members of this group had the knowledge and ability to make the charge of "fraud" stick. My oldest informant, a man highly respected and esteemed in the village provided another reason for not taking action against this group's injustice. Being the oldest member of the community, he claimed to be able to recall the arrangements the village authorities made with these two non-natives. According to him, it had all been legal and agreeable to nearly everyone. He added that he seriously contemplated giving testimony on the behalf of

these two individuals. Nevertheless, what prevented him from doing this was not fear or reluctance to incur the animosity of this group, although he admitted that this factor loomed large in the minds of most other villagers. What stopped him was the fact that one of the two individuals affected resorted to the municipal, and later, the departmental authorities. Nothing was done, of course, since only San Miguel has legal jurisdiction over this land. Nevertheless, given that communal land is viewed as strictly a community affair, resorting to outside authority in this case was a violation of the norm which requires that communal land matters be kept within the bounds of the village.

2) Second Faction

Unlike the first faction mentioned, this second faction is somewhat more difficult to identify due to its more loose and fluid structure. Indeed, it often appears to have no structure whatsoever. Nevertheless, there does appear to be a small group of individuals who serve as the nucleus of this amorphous faction, when occasions of importance to the general community arise. This group, or nucleus, is composed of the heads of five households.

One of the most important features of this group or faction is, in contrast to the other two, it has the greatest amount of sympathy among the politically indifferent members of the community. The small number of persons serving as the nucleus of this faction are persons with a small amount of political and administrative know-how and most, if not all, of them have served in positions of importance in the auxiliatura in the past. Their unity, today, is due primarily to the fear and discordance inspired by the first faction, "los anti-comunistas". Indeed, most of the time their actions occur only in response to action initiated by the first faction. These actions usually consist of offering alternatives or compromises for the sake of community harmony. An example of this type of politically oriented activity (perhaps conflict resolving activity is the better term) is the following.

During the summer months of 1962, (my first field session in San Miguel) it happened that one of the more prominent members of the (belligerent first faction put up a fence of poles and brush along the edge of his portion of communal agricultural property that borders one of the village paths to the fields. Such a structure was not at all in keeping with the thinking

of other villagers, in that it signified ownership of the property, when actually the property belongs to the village in general. Since no direct offense against any particular person was involved and since few villagers are ever willing to initiate any "demandas" against this group, no communal action was taken against the man directly. However, physical damage would be done to the fence from time to time by persons unknown. The man would dutifully repair the fence and proceed to the auxiliatura to complain about these actions and demand that they attempt to capture the culprit or culprits. The first time he brought this matter to the attention of the officials he was told, according to my informant, the alcalde auxiliar, that since that particular path was a very busy one, such sleuthing would be impossible. Furthermore, he was told that it was really he who was in error for putting up a fence. No other fences are to be found around any part of the comunal agricultural property. He was adamant and said he would keep the fence. In spite of this initial counsel, he returned with the same complaint a number of times. He eventually took the matter to the alcalde municipal in Magdalena who, after a round of communications with the alcalde auxiliar, decided that a public session in

San Miguel to discuss the particular case and the principal involved would be the most desirable action to take. He himself would preside over the session.

The day of the session, which was held in front of the auxiliatura, the alcalde municipal and his secretario arrived, and, with only about one or two dozen people present, the proceedings got under way. Conspicuously absent were the complainant and members of his faction, though members of the second faction were present. Attempts to summon the man to the session failed. He supposedly told the auxiliatura's messenger that he would not come since the matter of whether or not to have fences around community property was not a question for the alcalde municipal to deliberate upon. Furthermore he supposedly said that no matter what transpired at the session he would not remove the fence. The session went on without him. The opinion of most of the participants seemed to be that the fence should be removed. The most favorable solution was offered by a prominent member of this second faction, Don Silverio. In the cause of harmony he suggested that the man be asked, not to take down the fence altogether, but to merely put it further back from the path. This, he felt, would remove the temptation for other villagers

to take slashes at it with their machetes. Don Higinio, an elderly and highly respected member of the community, then openly endorsed Don Silverio's suggestion. The congregation appeared satisfied with the suggestion. It should be mentioned that Don Higinios' position in the community, (he is undoubtedly considered a "principal") aided gaining approval for the suggestion.

Cases where this second faction has taken the initiative and proposed community action for reasons other than community harmony or compromise are few. The only one I am aware of occurred during my second session in San Miguel. Three members of this second faction were attempting to persuade the military governor of Sacatepequez to have San Miguel placed under the authority of the departamento of Antigua, instead of the present situation, since, they claimed, the departamento of Magdalena continually ignored the needs of the aldea. This idea, according to my informants, had, at least, the passive support of most of the villagers although there were conscious attempts to keep this notion from the ears of the authority at Magdalena and the village officials. At the time of my departure, the principal persons involved in this scheme were admitting defeat since they had failed even to lure the military governor

to San Miguel to see for himself. All blamed the lack of concern on the part of the government to do anything for the "poor people" as the reason for their failure.

The ability to gain sympathy and relatively greater unity among the politically indifferent members of the community is this second faction's chief demonstration of power. There appear to be three major sources of this ability or power. First, there appears to be a vague feeling among the rest of the population that this group or nucleus consciously tries to achieve the greatest good for the largest number. This derives, perhaps, from the fact that their manner is less belligerent and the resolutions emanating from this group have a more "humanitarian" quality. Secondly, other personages in the village, that is, persons important because of their relatively better economic position, personal prestige, age, or public posts they occupy (such as the President of the Church Committee) will almost always back up this faction against the propositions or actions of the first, hostile group. Indeed, one of the most important members of this second faction has most of these honor bestowing attributes. This backing, however, always appears in rather subdued form and

devoid of heightened emotion or belligerence. The final source of power of this second faction may rest on a historical factor. The nucleus of this group is, apparently, still somewhat identified as having been among the most active in the formation and subsequent activity of the popular "Union Campesina" during the Arbenz period. There can be no doubt that this organization, then, was viewed very positively by most villagers since its goals were primarily the resolution of economic and other material problems in the village.

But this power, ability to command the sympathy of the rest of the community, and the relative degree of control of opinion within the community, should not be exaggerated. It is limited power and probably not equal to that enjoyed by the first group, with their fear and discordance producing tactics. This limitation of power of persuasion derives from various sources. First there is a combination of political indifference and inactivity in non-obligatory public affairs, on the one hand, and a common brand of individualism which demands that participation or accession be determined according to the specifics and to a balance of advantages and disadvantages of each case. Secondly, this limitation derives from the fact that the members of this small

nucleus wish to minimize the extent to which they are identified with active politicking. They appear to favor the image, not of a group or faction, but rather of a collectivity that occasionally will join together to promote the interests of the community. Their approach seems to be one of compromise or the seeking of a resolution rather than actively originating and pushing issues. Such an approach obviously reduces their ability to organize effectively among themselves and the rest of the community.

3) The Third Faction

The third faction in the village is somewhere between the first and the second with respect to corporateness, ease of identification, and open political activity as a body of persons with specific interests in common. In a word, it appears to lack the degree of unity of the first militant, "anti-communist" group, on the one hand, but is not as loosely organized, ambiguous and passive as the second. On the basis of changes during the four-year span between Jaquin Noval's study of the village and my own field work, this third faction, as I shall point out later, definitely appears to be in the

process of becoming more similar to the first than to the second faction. During Mr. Noval's period of study in the village he was able to identify at least the nucleus of this group but was forced to conclude that it fell short of being an actual faction. Instead, he referred to it as being a group in the "formative stages" of development.

Just what factors are associated with the beginning of this group or faction were difficult to ascertain. By 1961, according to Noval, the nucleus of this group was heterogeneous: that is, it was composed of about 10 people from the upper and lower barrio, with varying degrees of wealth and agricultural ability, and included at least two females. One of the major unifying interests of this small group of persons at the time, says Noval, was the relatively intense exploitation of all kinds of wood (but especially encino) both for the making of charcoal and for sale as firewood in the city of Antigua. This is not to say that such cutting was done corporately, but rather that it was done more intensively by members of this group, probably independently, than by members of any other recognizable group in the village. I am less inclined than Mr. Noval to refer to this activity as a "unifying

interest." At the most, I would say that such activity led to a categorization of these persons as a group by the rest of the villagers, at least in an abstract sense. Whether or not such an activity unified them into a group with acknowledged common interests I could not say. It should be mentioned that this economic activity is actually clandestine, since forestry and conservation laws prohibit the random cutting of growing trees for commercial purposes. In fact, even when lumber or wood is needed for communal purposes, such as construction, a formal request through established governmental channels is necessary. According to Noval, this clandestine practice was only in the beginning stages during his stay in the village and he reports that it was viewed with antipathy and perhaps a bit of jealousy by the rest of the villagers. The jealousy apparently was due to the fact that prior to governmental forestry and conservation restrictions, such a practice was a large source of revenue for villagers as a whole. Now, apparently, the only persons willing to risk it and continue the practice are persons identified by Noval as members of the third faction. The community's feelings apparently did not deter them in this practice. In

all probability, should restrictions be removed or eased, the cutting of trees for sale as firewood or charcoal making would again become prevalent. Indeed, this practice was reported as becoming more prevalent, however clandestine, during my final period of study in 1964 and as far as I could determine was spreading beyond the bounds of the group identified by Noval as "the third faction."

Still another characteristic attributed to some of the members of this group by a large number of villagers, as reported by J. Noval, was that they often stole into other people's fields of milpas and helped themselves to small portions of the crop. Again, this was not done corporately, but by individuals. But, as in the case of tree cutting, it only contributed to their classification by others as a group in the abstract sense.

In the area of political activity, however, we find more solid evidence of the fact that this group of people was something more than an abstraction, but a real faction in group interaction sense.

As a political faction, Noval describes this body of individuals as also being in the "formative" stages and depending primarily on the activity of a few males.

In December of 1961 one of the members of this group was named as the alcalde auxiliar of the village by the authority of the municipal head. This was possible primarily because of the indifference of the majority of the community and, secondarily, through some active appeal by members of the second faction and certain prestigious members of the community. According to Noval, such backing can be accounted for by two factors. First, the militant "anti-communist" faction, as usual, was attempting to capture that position for someone within their camp or favorable to them. Naturally enough this was disturbing to a great number of villagers, but especially to members of the loose and usually passive second faction. Secondly, the person named was not immediately seen as a member of any organized or semi-organized group. Noval implies that it was through this person that this third faction began to take on a real form in the eyes of other villagers and they began manifesting their political ambitions with clarity.

It is significant to note that towards the end of 1963, the two preceding alcalde auxiliares, as well as the incumbent named in December of 1961,

were definitely seen as belonging to or associated with this "third faction". It would perhaps not be too far-fetched to assume that their political ambitions pre-date 1961. One good reason to assume this rests in the personality of the person named as *alcalde* at the end of that year. He was the youngest of the three, the least capable of handling interpersonal relations, illiterate and, by 1964, voluntarily dissociated himself from all aspects of community life in the village. In a word, he was the least likely to have awakened or encouraged political interest in the others. In all probability, the two *alcaldes auxiliares* figure more prominently in the political activity of this third faction.

The villager named by the authority in Magdalena as *alcalde auxiliar* for 1963 immediately was associated with this third faction and, according to the most prominent member of this group, was actively pushed for this position by them. This time, however, their choice nearly proved disastrous to them as a group. According to my informants, it was not too long after he assumed his position that his loyalties became suspect. This suspicion grew out of the fact that he was frequently entertained in the homes of the leading

members of the first faction and was often seen in their company. His ties with the third faction were definitely severed when he aided the first group in circulating the petition which led to the taking away of communal land from two non-native residents of the village. One of these two men and his family were active in this third faction. Finally, he absconded with the mate of his predecessor, another member of the third faction who claimed chief responsibility for his installation as alcalde auxiliar for that year. According to my informants, the man had been having illicit sexual relations with the woman but was forced to run away with her only after they were caught. He was removed from office and jailed for a month for having abandoned his position as alcalde auxiliar without permission. His term of office was finished by the second regidor. The reaction of both parties injured by this man's actions proved, at least temporarily, damaging to the unity of this faction. Both parties actively dissociated themselves from the faction, claiming that it was useless to trust other villagers, either individually or as a group. According to them, less danger or injury would be forthcoming if they minded their own business and kept to themselves. The ex-alcalde, whose wife ran off,

reacted very strongly. He now avoids all contact with other villagers, including members of his former faction.

This damage to the unity and activity of the third faction demonstrated itself, I believe, in the fact that the person named as alcalde auxiliar for 1964 is acknowledged to be clearly independent of the third and first factions. According to my informants, members of the third faction had little to do with backing this man, or anyone else, for alcalde auxiliar during the last months of 1963.

It was mentioned at the beginning that this third faction was in the process of becoming more like the first than the second faction. This is largely due to the fact that like the first group, one of their manifest goals was active participation in attempting to determine who will occupy the alcalde auxiliar position. There are two other characteristics of the first faction which this third faction is now beginning to take on. First, the first faction clearly demonstrates an interest in national politics and parades under the current governmental, anti-communist theme. Secondly, the first faction's primary source of unity is kinship. By the end of my period of study in San Miguel, both of these characteristics could be attributed

to the third faction as well. During the last shattering months of 1963, the nucleus of this faction appears to have been reduced to four persons, all males. Of these, three had been alcalde auxiliares in the past. But more significantly, all were related by relatively close kinship ties. Two of them were half-brothers and the remaining two persons were related to them and to each other by first cousin bonds.

By the end of the first month of 1964, one of these half-brothers dies. A younger brother who had been living in Guatemala City permanently for about five years returned to San Miguel to live and take care of the family property. Despite his relatively younger age, he appears to be very able person. Another significant attribute was his personal etiquette, which other villagers did not deny. He is an extremely patient and well-mannered individual. Also, while living in the city, he acquired an interest in formal political party work. In the city, he was a member of the Partido Revolucionario and, as I understood, some type of precinct worker. By the time I left he had obviously taken over leadership of this faction and infused it with official ties to the objectives of the above mentioned political party. His home was head-

quarters of the "village chapter of the party" and at the crude gate there stood a carefully painted sign announcing this fact to the public.

At the time of my departure this faction remained little more than a group of about four relatively close kinsmen. To what extent they may be able to enlarge and incorporate other village personnel or even continue on its present basis is hard to determine. The possibility of enlarging its membership or its influence is primarily limited by the tremendous amount of community indifference to political matters. Another important limiting factor is a fear of involvement in strictly political affairs, especially national parties, on the part of the villagers. Such involvement in the past has resulted only in trouble and, in a significant number of cases, actual arrest. Also, since the Partido Revolucionario was one of the parties favorable to the leftist governments of Arevalo and Arbenz, the first faction has not lost any opportunity to openly label its representatives in the village as "communists".

On the other hand, the personality of the head of this faction is such as to arouse greater sympathy and respect than any member of the first, more tightly organized faction. Furthermore, the persons associated

with the loosely organized second faction show a greater tendency to favor this third faction an ally against the first. Indeed, even during Mr. Noval's period of study in the village, it was apparent that this third faction was growing at the expense of the second. Finally, it appears that this group, like the second faction, is oriented towards community improvement, but in a more active manner.

Deriving a fairly accurate natural history of the three factions just described is a most difficult task. Much of what follows will be conjecture based upon bits and pieces of information provided by a variety of informants, and whatever clues are afforded by the sketchy outline of recent Guatemalan political history. Furthermore, it should not be assumed that these three factions or sectors are exhaustive of all groups or politically active segments of the community. There could very well be others, but identifying their component members and characteristics would require more information than I was able to gather. In short, I do not know whether these factions are exhaustive of political association in the community. They are, however, the most obvious and active ones. Furthermore their respective histories are quite closely bound with the national political changes described above.

HISTORY OF POLITICAL FACTIONS IN SAN MIGUEL

As mentioned in the initial chapter, the earliest document relating to San Miguel found is dated 1753. Specifically, this document has to do with the granting of a portion of land by the government to the entire community to be parceled out and used by them as they saw fit. Mention is made within this document of persons referred to as principales. Just what the term means, however, is not very clear. Whether these principales were members of some autoridad (political administrative unit), community or whether they were merely the community's most respected and influential citizens is not known. The term, however, is still recognized in San Miguel and with some degree of consistency. A principal is a term applied to a person possessing one or more of the three following characteristics: 1) elderly, but physically capable; 2) a family man, i.e. usually the head of an extended family; 3) a person who appears to have met his moral, social and economic obligations to others, to his community and, more importantly, to his family. It is quite probable that the principales referred to in the document were really a group of very influential and respected men. While it may be that some also

assumed the role of autoridades at the time, I suspect that their positions were probably due primarily to the amount of prestige they carried in the community.

Whatever other groups or factions may have existed in San Miguel at that time who were desirous of power and influence is not known. The first such rival group to arise on which I have any information appears to be the forerunner of the first group described -- "el grupito: or "los anti-communistas". According to two elderly informants, this group began to seek power for itself (and, of course, in competition with the principales) sometime in the early thirties-- during the Ubico regime.

According to them, only two of the present (the eldest) members were active then. The others mentioned as belonging to this early faction were the father and uncle of one of these two presently active. It is significant, however, that the latter's two brothers became increasingly active in this group as they grew to maturity. (In fact, most San Miguelenos, when asked what motivates the members of this group-- particularly the four brothers whose surname is often used as a synonym for this group-- answer that they

got it from their parents. "That family has always been that way," is the manner in which they phrase it).

Just what factors motivated them to begin, as a recognizable faction, their quest for influence and power in the community is unknown. Furthermore, to what extent they were successful in competing with the principales for a share of this influence is also unknown. My attempts to secure this information resulted in very vague and often conflicting statements. However, their apparent notoriety, then as now, suggest that they were at least capable of attracting considerable attention.

The fact that this group first gains prominence during the Ubico regime suggests one possible explanation for their origin. As was mentioned earlier, the Ubico regime was unparalleled in its attempts to strip communities of whatever autonomy was present and make them completely dependent (as to leadership, at any rate) on the centralized government via the appointed municipal intendente. The system of principales, already of considerable age by the time of Ubico's regime, was of course based on the prestige these men had within the community. It is not difficult to imagine that the strict centralization of administration

may to some extent have diminished their local prestige and influence. On the other hand, as described above, the "anti-communista" faction of today places strong emphasis on it's abilities to manipulate "politics" and boasts of a greater awareness of political processes outside the community. We can, then, conjecture that during the Ubico regime the influence of a group of principales began diminishing in the community and that of the anti-communista group (or its forerunner, at least) increased to a corresponding degree by virtue of their cultivation of external sources of political power.

At any rate, by 1944 and the downfall of Ubico, there definitely appear to be at least these two groups involved, to some degree, in a struggle for power and influence within the community.

With the coming of the Arevalo and, later, the Arbenz governments, there was of course a big push to awaken political interest among the majority of Guatemalans. Their active participation, however controlled, was sought and encouraged. This was accomplished through the organization of labor unions, political party chapters, agrarian committees and the Union Campesina (peasants union) throughout the

countryside. Of these organizations, the only one that made an appearance in San Miguel was the Union Campesina. As mentioned earlier, this organization involved the active participation of a relatively large number of household heads and, at the very least, had the sympathy of most of the community. According to two very good and reliable informants, the union also engaged the sympathy and activity of persons in the principales category. The other group, the anti-communistas, of course, did not have this sympathy. They in fact appeared to have launched a campaign to lure community members away from participation in the union. It was this activity, in fact, which earned the label "anti-communists." According to my informants, their attempts to compete with the union for the loyalty of the community failed. However, in contrast to the principales who did identify with the union, this group maintained its identity and unity. The principales (both as persons and as a traditionally defined group) did not, but rather seemed to have merged, or at least shared their prestige and influence, with persons active in the government sponsored union.

The downfall of the Arbenz government in 1954 naturally brought about the obliteration of the

union campesina as an organized community group. Some of its members were jailed, others had to go into hiding, and so on. A member of the first faction (anti-communistas) was instrumental in helping military authorities carry out the purge in the village. It was out of the debris of this destroyed organization that the second faction, described earlier, arose. But the character of this faction, or at least its identifiable nucleus, was in some ways little changed. It carried on the posture of being concerned with the community's economic and social welfare, which, apparently, most other villagers had no trouble accepting. Furthermore, like the defunct union, they could still claim the support and sympathy of most of the decreasingly active individual village elders, i.e. principales.

But there were changes of character as well. They had learned, apparently, that open political affiliation with national parties or movements was a dangerous thing. They apparently also learned that coporate and open activity to move the community to action, of any sort, was an equally dangerous thing, regardless of how localized, for persons bearing the taint of comunista. Although the assassination of Col. Castillo Armas and the eventual election of Miguel Ydigoras-Fuentes eased

the situation to some extent throughout the country, the members of this faction prefer to continue in their new found ways. That is, they preferred to act as a passive, loosely organized collectivity of persons whose primary purpose would be to look out for the community's interests, when threatened by the more hostile faction or others, and to offer suitable compromises to restore community harmony as quickly and as smoothly as possible.

What resulted than was a vacuum which, for the most part, still exists today. More specifically, one group existed which was aggressive and wielded some influence, but which is unpopular primarily because they inspire fear and use tactics which result in openly upsetting social relations in the community. The only other group or faction in the community, on the other hand, could at least command the sympathy of the majority of the community and the principales, but lacks the desire to push aggressively forth ideas or measures for communal wellbeing or in any way take the initiative in channeling community action. Instead, the latter group chooses merely to act as buffer between the first aggressive group and the remainder of the community.

With respect to one of the major goals of politiking, control of the auxiliatura, this "vacuum" became particularly evident during the years 1958, 1959 and 1960. During these years, the persons named to the post of alcalde auxiliar achieved this position through "default," in the sense that they appear to have had the backing of the second faction and the majority of the community primarily because they were less objectionable than persons affiliated with the first group and, secondarily, because they appeared to be independent of any other factions or special interests in the community.

It seems fairly certain that this power vacuum was an important factor in the appearance of the third and last faction described above. Indeed, the individuals accelerated to the position of alcalde auxiliar during the end of the 50's and the beginning of the 60's appear to have been instrumental in the formation of this, the third faction, at least in its political tone. Just what factors, exactly, account for their apparent banding together (visibly achieved by 1964) are not clear. However, I would attribute their apparent unity first, to their common experience as alcaldes auxiliares, by default; secondly, to kinship bonds that

exist between them; and last, perhaps to possible common interests in facilitating the clandestine cutting of trees for production and sale as fire-wood and charcoal.

Until the beginning of 1964, however, this clique remained a purely local group with no overt affiliations or sympathies to national political parties or movements. Such overt affiliation was not impossible, especially since political tensions, at least in the rural areas, had been somewhat eased during the Ydigoras-Fuentes government. By the middle of 1964, however, overt affiliation to the national Partido Revolucionario was established.

SUMMARY

In this chapter I have tried to show that alignments of people or households--in this case political alignments--are present in San Miguel. These alignments, or factions, are represented by three distinct groups of men involved in the manipulation of influence (or power) over the vast majority of seemingly politically indifferent members of the community. Another of the goals evident in village factionalism is the exertion of influence (if not direct control) of the

offices of the auxiliatura; the only formal structure vested with any sort of authority (i.e. sanctioned power to coerce) in the Village.

Admittedly, the nature of the factionalism present in the village is weak. Indeed, a superficial acquaintance with the village might lead one to conclude that there is really only one faction in the community, in the sense of a distinct, organized group exerting deliberate power. Here, I am specifically referring to the first faction described above-- "los anti-comunistas." Much of the power of this faction rests on the fear it inspires in individuals.

But a closer look reveals at least two other groups, however faint, which, at least, act in concert to oppose the power of the first faction. One of these two (the second faction) is less readily visible because it disdains presenting a picture of an organized group. It prefers to act, as a group, only when the actions of the first faction demands opposition. It identifies with no special cause and has no explicit, political connection with outside groups. Its power rests, primarily, in that it present a more humane, civic-minded posture. Another source of power is the fact that this group contains some of the more prestigious

members of the community, some of whom have played important community leadership roles in the past. It is apparent that this second faction commands more sympathy from the majority of the villagers than the first faction. But, it is not organized. It does not act, but merely reacts to whatever moves the first faction makes.

The relationship between the first and the second faction just described obtained for a period of time and, in a sense, created a sort of political vacuum in the village. As was pointed out, this vacuum appears to be in part responsible for the appearance of the third faction in the village. This third faction is also not as readily visible as the first one, but this in large measure due to the fact that it has only recently come into existence. In the short period that it has existed, however, it has taken on some of the structural features of the first faction. That is, this third faction also initiates action; it is organized; and claims affiliation with an outside group or party that espouses a "liberal" cause.

Perhaps the factionalism in the village would be more strongly outlined if there were present in the

village a formal body that carried community sanction to coerce, enforce and rule on matters pertaining to the village. But, in fact, there is no such group. The auxiliatura's authority derives from the municipal officials at Magdalena. Its function is primarily enforcement of statutes, physical maintenance of the village and peace keeping. It has no authority to settle community-wide issues, especially those involving the use and distribution of community-owned land.

Community wide issues must be settled by all native-born heads of household (or at least a majority of them) in public sessions. Here, however, the only ways in which compliance can be gotten are through public criticism or fear of physical reprisal of some sort. The auxiliatur officials, as demonstrated in this chapter, have no sanction to enforce their authority in such matters. Furthermore, majority participation (or a quorum) in public sessions is difficult to get since villagers feel that participation of this sort can be dangerous for their own, personal well-being. On several occasions I witnessed that public sessions concerning conflicts of interest were called but not held since few eligible persons made an appearance.

Nevertheless, despite its weak appearance, factionalism is present in the village. San Miguel then, is not a completely atomized community. Furthermore, it can be seen that factions represent a centripetal force which, in its own way, acts to tie together a sufficient number of the disparate elements in the community. In the inter-factional struggles an elementary or partial definition of what is the community at least, is reinforced.

CHAPTER VI

RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATION

Basic to the identification of a community, as a real entity, is uncovering those values, beliefs and sentiments held in common by its members and given or manifested in certain conventionalized, collective representations. Such aspects of culture and their manifestations serve as bonds between the individuals of a community, as much, and in some cases more than, as the mutual technical usefulness necessary for survival. (R. Redfield 1953: 18) In Redfield's terms these transcendental features of culture make the "moral order", of a community or society, and include (1953: 21)

"...the binding sentiments of rightness that attend religion, the social solidarity that accompanies religious ritual, the sense of religious seriousness and obligations that strengthens men, and the effects of a belief in invisible beings that embody goodness."

It is obvious that one can view religious beliefs, sentiments, values and ritual, and the social bonds

they give rise to, from the standpoint of the individual and/or the community, corporately. The former is essential to an understanding of aspects of personality integration and its relation to culture. But in viewing religious life from the standpoint of the community, it seems to me, we approach head-on some of the more important mechanisms for community integration and maintenance of social order. Furthermore, this focus demands the identification of the social arrangements necessary to bring about the collective manifestations and representations of these religious bonds, participation in which is open to, and sought by, all members of the community. In this chapter, the focus will be the latter. Given this, much of the attention herein will be centered on the formal and informal religious organization that structurally and processually serves to crosscut and bring together the various elementary units--the households--of the community.

With only two exceptions, all the households in the village contain only Roman Catholics. Of necessity, the two Protestant families in San Miguel will be ignored. Both of these are closely related through kinship. Both are recent converts to the Evangelical Church. In general, the Protestant affiliation of these

two families seems to be of little concern to others, and fails to affect their relationships to others in the village. These families do not attempt to proselytize within the community, and cooperate in terms of contributions to the local Catholic church.

Short History of Religious Organization

There is little in the form of reliable materials, i.e., documents, that could shed light on the history of formal religious activity and organization in San Miguel. Almost all of what follows here is highly conjectural, based primarily on recollections by older informants plus general knowledge of the nature of village religion in rural Middle America. Therefore, the reader is advised to treat this brief, historical passage as highly tentative and speculative.

It is fairly safe to assume that a Catholic church (a building or templo used as such) has been in existence in San Miguel probably since the founding of the community. As in most small, rural communities of Middle America, this church or templo was formally dedicated to the veneration of a village patron saint primarily, although never exclusively, from which the village also took its name. It appears, however, that

the village patron saint has not always been San Miguel. The myth as to how San Miguel (the image) came to the village and gave his name to it, which appears on the front-matter of this Thesis, is fairly widely known among the villagers. No one in the village, however, has any memory of anything which might reveal who the Patrono (patron saint) might have been prior to San Miguel's arrival. Nevertheless, by 1753, the earliest recorded date found pertaining to the community, the patron saint was San Miguel and the village was already known by that name.

It is highly probable, then, that, if indeed a church existed within which an image of the patron saint was contained, some sort of formal or informal organization or group must have existed whose primary function must have been, at least, the religious celebration of the saint's day (fiesta titular) and the upkeep of his image and sanctuary.

The exact nature and characteristics of such an organization or group, of course, are unknown. On the basis of what we know of the culture history of Middle America there is good reason to believe, that it must have been a formally constituted group, limited in membership and publicly recognized and privileged to

perform the two, above mentioned functions. Such groups are common in most villages. Another reason arguing for the existence of such a group in the past is the fact that as long as anyone can remember there has never been a resident priest in San Miguel. Since all communities are under the jurisdiction of one parish or another, there must have existed some group which constituted the link between the faithful members of the village (the parishoners) and the parish itself, in the person of priests who ministered to the religious needs of the community's parishoners. This group, then, would have been responsible for making arrangements with parish priest for the performance of Mass in the village, and other rites (some undoubtedly in connection with the worship of the patron saint).

There are two possible types of organizations or groups that may have performed the functions of celebrating the Saints Day, provided the link between parishoners and parish, and physical maintenance of the church and its contents, in past years. One type may have been a committee of citizens named or elected by the community, at large, or by the civil authorities of the village. Such an organization, in fact, exists today as the body primarily responsible for the

performance of the above named duties. This present day group, commonly referred to as the *Comite de la Iglesia* is described in more detail below. Or, similar to this type, these church-related functions may have been relegated to the body of civil authorities of the village directly.

The other, possible type may have been an actual cofradia (religious sodality or confraternity) dedicated to the special worship of San Miguel. A religious *cofradia*, which has its origin in both Iberian and pre-Hispanic roots, is a voluntary association, usually composed of persons of one sex or the other, formed for religious purposes. (Wolf, E., 1964; 116) Among these, such an association has a special attachment and interest in the worship of a particular saint, although never exclusively. Such a sodality, of course, was more religious in character (as opposed to an elected or appointed civic group) and would have required far more such qualifications, as well as personal financial sacrifice, from villagers who sought and gained membership. A *Cofradia de San Miguel*, then, may possibly have been the earliest type of religious group or structure in the village. Or, a number of *cofradias* (dedicated to San Miguel and other Saints,

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respectively) may have existed side-by-side with a civic "comite" of the kind mentioned above.

Nevertheless, by about the beginning of this century, or the first two decades thereafter, both a "comite de la Iglesia" and a number of cofradias existed in the village, according to older informants. With respect to cofradias, however, very little reliable information on their composition and activities was available. For example, I was unable to determine whether or not there was a cofradia specifically dedicated to San Miguel which might have shared the burden of the village fiesta titular and upkeep of the church with the other cofradias and with the "Comite de la Iglesia" that supposedly also existed. Noval's manuscript and notes on San Miguel, previously cited, fail to shed light on this specific question. Despite the lack of materials on the matter of village cofradias, Mr. Noval feels quite certain that they were essentially the same as those commonly found in Middle America indigenous communities. (Noval, Ms; p.79) Good, detailed descriptions of such cofradias are found elsewhere (Foster, 1953) and need not detain us here.

According to Mr. Noval (Ms; 80-81), however, there existed on peculiar difference between what obtained in

the village and the usual structure and operation of *cofradías* generally described. The *cofradías* that existed in San Miguel were apparently composed of both men and women. Furthermore, while men usually occupied the principal offices and were usually the most prominent in the organization of the *cofradía*, the women seem to have been most active in the actual work and conduct of religious affairs and activities. Noval attributes this, in part, to the fact that prior to the middle thirties or middle forties, the earning capacity, in terms of real capital, and general economic conditions were much better for most villagers. This earning capacity was enjoyed by women also. This relative economic equality--equality in ability to contribute money, materials and time to community religious affairs--appears, at least, to have eliminated a major obstacle to female participation; and the women of San Miguel, at that time, appear to have taken advantage of it.

By about the middle thirties or middle forties (informants varied greatly on this point) the *cofradías* declined and disappeared as a result of a drastic decrease in money earning capacity and increasing restrictions on their subsistence activities. As

noted in Chapter II, this economic tailspin appears to have been directly related to imposed restrictions on the cutting of trees for the manufacture and sale of firewood and charcoal; restrictions on amount of arable land due to soil practices imposed by the national government; the decrease in work as arrieros (horse and ox-cart transport); and the enforcement of anti-vagrancy, forced-labor laws. What appears to have happened, then, is that the economic underpinnings of formal religious organizations and activities were removed causing the readjustment noted above. This readjustment also had a curious effect. The women's role in the religious activity of the community was reduced by far greater proportion than among men, and even today women take considerably less part in these roles. Noval notes that this is peculiar in itself, since in most cases of decline in community religious activity (principally *cofradías*) actually is accompanied by an increase in female participation and importance, relative to men. At this point, however, I am not able to offer an explanation for this difference between San Miguel and the general pattern.

But while the facilities with which these organizations were maintained was removed, apparently the

motivation or values behind them were not. The cofradias disappeared, but the Comite de la Iglesia remained and today continues to look after the church and its contents, and to see to it that San Miguel's day is dutifully celebrated, with the village's general support, in both religious and secular fashion. Furthermore, the void caused by the disappearance of the cofradias did not remain for very long. About the late forties to early fifties, two groups, similar to and yet different from cofradias, and not as cohesive or extensive, were founded and continue to function. These two new groups, or, more properly, hermandades (sodalities), together with the Comite de la Iglesia make up the present day system of formal religious organization and activity which I will now proceed to describe.

Comite de la Iglesia

Undoubtedly, the most important religious organization or group in San Miguel today is the body of men commonly referred to as the Comite de la Iglesia (church committee). Actually, the official title of this group is La Directiva Eclesiastica del Arcangel San Miguel (Eclesiastical Board of Directors of Saint Michael the Archangel), or more simply, La Directiva.

1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions and activities. It emphasizes that proper record-keeping is essential for transparency and accountability, particularly in financial matters. The text suggests that organizations should implement robust systems to track every detail, from small expenses to major investments.

2. The second section focuses on the role of leadership in setting the tone for ethical behavior. It argues that leaders must not only model the behavior they expect from others but also clearly communicate the organization's values and standards. This includes establishing a code of conduct and ensuring that it is understood and followed by all employees.

3. The third part of the document addresses the challenges of maintaining integrity in a complex and fast-paced environment. It acknowledges that there will be times when difficult choices must be made, and it provides guidance on how to navigate these situations. The text stresses the importance of staying true to the organization's core values, even when it is inconvenient or costly.

4. The fourth section discusses the importance of regular communication and reporting. It suggests that organizations should have a system in place for regular updates on their progress, both internally and externally. This helps to build trust and ensures that all stakeholders are kept informed of the organization's activities and achievements.

5. The fifth part of the document covers the importance of continuous improvement. It encourages organizations to regularly evaluate their processes and procedures, looking for areas where they can become more efficient and effective. This involves seeking feedback from employees and other stakeholders, and being open to making changes when necessary.

6. The sixth section discusses the importance of maintaining a strong relationship with the community. It suggests that organizations should actively engage with the community, supporting local initiatives and addressing any concerns that may arise. This helps to build a positive reputation and ensures that the organization is seen as a responsible and contributing member of the community.

7. The seventh part of the document covers the importance of maintaining a strong financial position. It suggests that organizations should carefully manage their resources, ensuring that they are not overextended and that they have a solid plan for the future. This involves regular financial reviews and a clear understanding of the organization's financial goals and objectives.

8. The eighth section discusses the importance of maintaining a strong legal and regulatory framework. It suggests that organizations should ensure that they are fully compliant with all applicable laws and regulations, and that they have a system in place to monitor and update their compliance as needed. This helps to avoid legal issues and ensures that the organization is operating within the bounds of the law.

9. The ninth part of the document covers the importance of maintaining a strong human resources management system. It suggests that organizations should invest in their employees, providing them with the training and support they need to succeed. This includes regular performance reviews, professional development opportunities, and a supportive work environment.

10. The tenth and final section of the document discusses the importance of maintaining a strong overall organizational culture. It suggests that organizations should foster a culture of integrity, transparency, and accountability, where everyone is committed to doing the right thing. This involves leading by example, encouraging open communication, and holding everyone accountable for their actions.

As mentioned before, the exact origins of this body is not known. Nevertheless, it seems fairly safe to assume that it has been functioning in the village for some time--at least four or five decades. Noval reports that his informants claim that prior to the economic decline which brought an end to the cofradas, this group had a female auxiliary. This arm of the comite, however, disappeared with the decline in female, community, religious activity. Today, the Comite is composed solely of men and no such auxiliary exists.

This group does not possess any official position in the structure of authority within the community. In reality, however, its members do seem to enjoy some kind of quasi-official privileges and/or status. To begin with, all members of the Comite are exempt from the performance of community maintenance tasks in faenas (communal work parties). Furthermore, certain non-native members of the village who took up residence there were granted use of communal agricultural land, normally reserved only for those persons born in the village, by virtue of their service to the church in the Comite. It may well be that prior to the decline and eclipse of the cofradas there may have existed an integrated system of civil and religious authority,

such as was common in many rural communities. In most cases this was a system whereby religious service qualified persons for civil service. This civil service, in turn, qualified the person for religious service in a higher position or *cofradia*, and so on up a series of hierarchically arranged religious and civil positions. If such a system existed, however, it was only an implicit one. The accounts given by informants on the previous *cofradia* system strongly suggests at least explicit separation of civil and religious functions.

Perhaps a good indication of the quasi-official nature of this group in present day San Miguel is the fact that its head--the *Presidente*--is named or, loosely speaking, "elected" by the community as a whole. There are at least two other officers in this body of men; a secretary (secretario) and a treasurer (tesorero). All the other members of the *Comite* are referred to as vocales (voices or voters) who, theoretically at least have a voice in the decisions reached by the group. I was unable to find out what the exact duties of the *secretario* are. The *tesorero*, however, function in the usual capacity of such an office--namely, keeping an account of funds collected

and spent on materials for the church.

The Presidente is normally named for a two year period. I was unable to find out whether it has been the custom, in the past, for the community to name, also, the other two positions within the group as well as the vocales. Nevertheless, there has been no community "election" for any official or member of the Comite since 1953. The Comite as a whole, and specifically the Presidente, then, has community sanctioned authority and responsibility to care for the church and its contents (which include important village documents) and to see to it that the Saint's day is celebrated in traditional fashion. However, it has no authority to command the labor and the materials of individual villagers in order to discharge these duties. Both the group and the Presidente are strictly dependent on the good will of the villagers and the officials at the auxiliatura.

This lack of authority to command labor and other resources, in part, appears to account for the fact that the position of "Presidente del Comite" is not one actively sought by persons in the village. It appears to place much of the burden, especially in the expenditure of time and labor, on the incumbent.

while no mean measure of status and respect is accrued by holding this office, primarily because it is viewed as performing an indispensable service to the community, it has its point of diminished returns in this respect. Few appear willing to undergo the continuing, relative deprivation of their energy and time for personal needs in return for the fixed amount of prestige this office can bring. Furthermore, it was quite evident that the failure to elect or name a new president of the Comite in the past six or seven years was in large measure due to the reluctance of responsible and able village men to want to assume the position. The President in office during the periods of field work would from time to time, request that officials of the auxiliatura and other respected members of the community call a public session to name a new President, since he had already served much more than the term of office required. The response, according to him, was always the same. Namely, he was told that there was no one acceptable enough who wanted to take his place. No doubt, the implication that his services were indispensable to the community must have been a source of satisfaction for him. Nevertheless, his desire to be relieved was genuine.

Another, equally important, reason for the overly extended term of office served by this man has been his seemingly strong sense of duty and responsibility in carrying out his duties, and at least one rather remarkable accomplishment. For example, several of his requests to be relieved of his position have been in the form of ultimatums; he would quit irrespective of whether or not a replacement could be found. He, of course, could not bring himself to carry out his threat when no new President could be found. His most significant accomplishment as President has been collecting the necessary funds and materials and directing the reconstruction of the present Church which, at the time he took office, was in ruins as a result of a previous earthquake. The job of rebuilding was completed in 1951.

During the past six years, at least, there has been no fixed number of members of the Comite. At times there have been as many as fourteen active members, and as few as six. Most of these have been villagers who have agreed to serve on the Comite at the President's request and, not infrequently, his prodding. At times, also, the President also has had to act as the Comite's treasurer. The tendency has been for these

members to be relatively young, mature men, most of them with families of their own.

It should not be assumed that the Comité is a completely smoothly functioning group, or that relations between its members are always harmonious. For example, some of the reasons given by the Presidente for wanting to retire from the Comité had to do with accusations of his over-bearingness or authoritarianism by members of the Comité. Also, during my stay in San Miguel, one tesorero quit the Comité because he claimed that some of the other members were spreading rumors that he was misusing funds, or collecting funds and not turning them in. It is my impression that such negative undercurrents and tensions are always present in this group. But it is important to remember that in the case of this church-related institution, such tension and conflict does not lead to a complete disruption of its structure and its general functions, but rather are smoothed over sufficiently to allow for its continuity.

Duties of the Comité

The duties of the Comité de la Iglesia are, primarily, two. These are: making and carrying out the

arrangements necessary for the celebration of the Fiesta Titular (the village Saints day) and other relatively minor Catholic holidays celebrated in the village; secondly, it is their responsibility to see to the physical maintenance of the church and all its contents.

The religious activities and holidays are described in some detail below. The arrangements necessary for the celebration of the Fiesta Titular and the other two holidays involve primarily arranging with the Parish priest to have mass celebrated in the village church, and the collection of money and materials necessary for these celebrations from among the community members. The purchasing of these necessary materials, such as candels, incense, crepe paper, fruits for decoration and fireworks, takes place mainly in Antigua and is done by members of the Comite--usually the President and at least two other members. The decoration of the church prior to the celebration and many other last minute preparations is also the responsibility of the members of the Comite, although in this respect they are helped to some extent by members of the two hermandades and the ministriles (assistants) of the auxiliatura.

The ordinary year around care of the church and its contents is done through a system of turnos semanales, or weekly turns of duty. The entire Comité is subdivided into four groups for this purpose; one for each week of the month. Most of the caretaking work is done on Sundays. Every Sunday morning, the weekly turn of duty is transferred between two of these groups. Early in the morning, the group to be relieved of duty undertakes the cleaning and sweeping of the grounds around the church. Inside, the altar, statues and other objects are dusted and the floor is thoroughly swept. If needed, candles are replaced and fresh flowers are placed in the various holders. Shortly before noon, the President and the group which is to take over the turno arrive at the church. After inspecting the grounds and the inside of the church, the President relieves the group and places the responsibility for the rest of the week on the incoming group. If something is not quite in order, the President usually points this out and, if possible, it is taken care of immediately by members of the outgoing group. The transfer of weekly responsibility involves no explicit ceremony. The President merely takes the keys to the two doors of the church and the

large case containing the chalice, robes and other more valuable objects pertaining to the performance of the mass, including funds and village documents, and hands it to the responsible member of the incoming group.

If major repairs or upkeep is required, it is usually undertaken by the entire Comité. These and other problems are the major topics of discussion at the meetings of the Comité, usually called as the necessity arises. These meetings are held in the church sacristy and usually in the evenings.

The above then are the functions of the Comité. Furthermore, these appear to be the only goals to which the group, as such, is dedicated and which accounts for its existence. From all that I could observe, this group fails to provide a basis for any other sort of association between these men.

The Hermandades

Unlike the Comité de la Iglesia, these groups are private formal associations whose primary focus of unity, respectively, is the yearly veneration of their particular religious manifestations.

The exact origins of these groups are unknown.

However, according to informants, it appears that the origin and the impetus behind their appearance had its locus outside the village, and in a process which was fairly common throughout the country. With the Revolution of 1944 came many attempts at reform and change by the new government. Among these was a relatively explicit attempt to encourage more political and less religious activity and participation. In many communities the decline and disruption of the civil-religious hierarchies, which maintained order and religious service was the result of these forces of change and reform (M. Nash 1958: 97-106). During this period, however, the Guatemalan Catholic Church (in the form of priests and city based religious lay orders) did not remain passive. It apparently attempted to curb this secularization of life by encouraging cofradia systems and promoting local religious associations where cofradas had declined and/or been eclipsed. Many villagers today interpret their motivation as commercial. That is, these groups encouraged these associations in various communities primarily to sell them the religious relics (statues and medals) and other paraphernalia, such as embroidered banners, that went along as symbols of these associations.

Be that as it may, at least two such associations were fostered in San Miguel and continue to function there today. More than just these two may have been attempted. This has been suggested by vague comments on the part of some informants. If so, these others disappeared and left no trace in the village. The only ones that survived were the Hermanidad del Sagrado Corazon (Sodality of the Sacred Heart of Jesus) and the Hermanidad de la Virgen de la Medalla Milagrosa (Sodality of the Virgin of the Miraculous Medal). While associations with the same name, and similar origins, may exist in other communities, these two are localized and have no ties with the outside say the parish priest in Antigua whose advice and counsel they supposedly seek from time to time.

A. Sagrado Corazon

The dates ascribed to the origin of this Hermanidad are variable. According to Noval, this Hermanidad was started in San Miguel in 1945. On the other hand, several of my very good informants date its origin between 1950 and 1952. Regardless, this Hermanidad was the first to appear after the decline of the cofradia system. Furthermore, it has always been exclusively a man's association.

This Hermandad, at its beginning, appears to have attracted quite a few village men as members (socios). A partial explanation for its relatively broad support at its beginning may be that it was headed and encouraged by a very respected member of the community--a vecino principal or prestigious person. Through the years, however, membership in this organization has diminished. Even its founder, who lives in San Miguel and is still today an energetic person, has divorced himself completely from the organization. The specific reasons for its decline are unknown to me. However, some villagers claim that there has been a general decline in interest and support given to religious organization due to economic factors as well as a lessening concern with religious matters generally.

During the periods of field work, this group, or Hermandad, was reported to have eleven persons as members. But this figure is misleading. Of these eleven, only four are mature members of the community. The rest are young boys whose presence is due, primarily, to the fact that they are among those village children (about a dozen or so) taking doctrina (instruction in the Catholic doctrine or catechism) with the nominal

head of this Hermandad. Furthermore, the composition of this group is perhaps just as much a function of kinship as it is religious interest since the four mature men, while representing distinct households, are connected through first cousin kin ties.

The nominal head of this group is a relatively young bachelor who lives with his sister and her two children, both products of temporary unions. Unfortunately, this person was extremely hostile to me and, earlier, to Noval. He refused any and all contact with us and continually hampered direct observation of his and his group's activities. Therefore, most of what follows was derived through the use of other informants.

The primary function of this Hermandad, as such, is the celebration of the feast of the Sacred Heart of Jesus. This is described in some detail below. It is not a wealthy group, relatively speaking, and therefore its activities during this celebration are few and hardly elaborate. It possesses only two major objects of religious devotion; the statue of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, which is kept in the main part of the Church, and the group's banner, which is kept in the house of its nominal head. Also, no mass is celebrated

- *Chlorophyll a* is the primary photosynthetic pigment in all photosynthetic organisms.
- *Chlorophyll b* is a secondary photosynthetic pigment found in green algae and higher plants.
- *Carotenoids* are accessory pigments that absorb light energy and transfer it to chlorophyll a.
- *Xanthophylls* are a group of carotenoids that are involved in photoprotection.
- *Lutein* is a xanthophyll that is found in green algae and higher plants.
- *Violaxanthin* is a xanthophyll that is involved in the xanthophyll cycle.
- *Zeaxanthin* is a xanthophyll that is formed from violaxanthin during the xanthophyll cycle.
- *Peridinin* is a carotenoid that is found in dinoflagellates.
- *Alloxanthin* is a carotenoid that is found in some algae.
- *Phaeophytin* is a pigment that is formed from chlorophyll a during senescence.
- *Phaeoerythrin* is a pigment that is found in some algae.
- *Phaeo-*a** is a pigment that is found in some algae.
- *Phaeo-*b** is a pigment that is found in some algae.
- *Phaeo-*c** is a pigment that is found in some algae.
- *Phaeo-*d** is a pigment that is found in some algae.
- *Phaeo-*e** is a pigment that is found in some algae.
- *Phaeo-*f** is a pigment that is found in some algae.
- *Phaeo-*g** is a pigment that is found in some algae.
- *Phaeo-*h** is a pigment that is found in some algae.
- *Phaeo-*i** is a pigment that is found in some algae.
- *Phaeo-*j** is a pigment that is found in some algae.
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- *Phaeo-*x** is a pigment that is found in some algae.
- *Phaeo-*y** is a pigment that is found in some algae.
- *Phaeo-*z** is a pigment that is found in some algae.

in the village on this feast day and no marimba is hired to play in front of the Church on the eve of the celebration. The reason for these two omissions, as given by other informants, is that this Hermandad is too poor to afford a Mass, which requires the importation of the Priest, or to hire the local marimba band. Whatever expenses this group has is provided, primarily, by the four mature members. It does, however, receive some support from the rest of the community in the form of participation in its celebration and some of the money and materials needed for it.

Part of the reason why this private religious association receives some support from the rest of the community may have to do with the fact that the members of this group do perform some services for the rest of the community. The four mature members of this group, for example, form the core of the Church choir when needed in the celebration of Mass. It appears that they are among the few persons in San Miguel that have the knowledge of these religious hymns. Furthermore, at funeral wakes they come and lead the congregation in the appropriate prayers. In this last capacity they are referred to as the resadores (those who say prayers). For both services

they receive, at the most, a meal. Finally, as was mentioned above, the nominal head of this Hermandad gives instruction in Catholic doctrine to village children, free of charge. Although many villagers consider this man a religious fanatic, something of a hypocrite and a generally cold, unfriendly sort, his abilities are recognized and this and the other services mentioned above, are appreciated.

While there are no permanent formal ties between the dominant *Comite de la Iglesia* and this Hermandad, the former extends the use of the church's facilities to the Hermandad whenever requested. This is seen by the President as one of the functions of his *Comite*. In return the President of the *Comite* may request the assistance of the Hermandad in making the necessary preparations for religious occasions. This assistance is usually given as individuals, but on at least one occasion the Hermandad was temporarily made or incorporated into the *Comite* to assist it in the preparations for the *Fiesta Titular*.

Finally, as in the case of the *Comite*, this Hermandad, while cemented by the close kin ties between its members, does not seem to provide the structure for any other than the religious activities to which it is formally dedicated.

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B. La Virgen de la Medalla Milagrosa

Noval states that this Women's Hermandad was founded in 1949. Other informants claimed that it began in 1952 or 1954; approximately two years after the founding of the men's Hermandad described above. Nevertheless, this Hermandad de la Virgen was the last private religious association to be founded in the Community. Up until 1963, it was still headed by its founder. Upon her death, active leadership of this group was taken over by the younger sister of this woman.

At its peak, this group or association is reputed to have had as many as twenty-five or thirty devotees (socias). However, as in the case of the men's Hermandad, the membership declined sharply, so that by 1962 only five village women were active members. Here again informants give the same reasons for its decline, as in the case of the men's Hermandad; namely, lack of interest in active religious organization and decreasing economic ability to participate in such associations.

But while membership in this group declined sharply, it appears to have retained the ability to carry out the religious functions common to Hermandades. This

appears to have been due to the relatively superior economic position of its founder and long-time leader. This woman, a person in her sixties at the time of her death, was the head of the molino and store-owning household of the village. Aside from these sources of revenue, she carried on the most intensive commercial buying and reselling, in the Antigua and Guatemala City markets, of all the regatonas in San Miguel. It is certain that the financial and material burden required for the functioning of this Hermandad was primarily her responsibility. Her successor, in this case her sister, appears to have replaced her as the most affluent regatona in the village. It would seem then that the financial and material status of this group, as reflected in their activities, will decline but little with the loss of its founder.

This Hermandad, like the previous one, appears to provide no basis for any other sort of corporate action or activity on the part of its members. However, there appear to be other aspects which serve to unite these persons, other than the explicit religious function. The five members of the group (as of 1962) are united by seemingly strong bonds of friendship and, to some extent, economic interdependence. From what could be

observed these women visited each other very frequently. Secondly, all but one of these five members had some sort of economic interest focused on the former head and founder of this group. One, the sister, was in partnership with her in the marketing of vegetables. The other two periodically worked for her doing domestic work in the household, which is a fairly large one. Unfortunately, I am unable to state whether these friendships and economic bonds account for their association in the Hermandad or vice-versa. Both the secular and the sacred dimensions of their association seem to be highly interwoven.

The sole religious activity of this group, which will be described in more detail below, is the celebration of the feast of the Virgin of the Miraculous Medal, which is held in May. Thus, while this Hermandad is a private voluntary association, its only discernible religious activity is public and requires the facilities of the church, which the Comite always grants. As in the case of men's Hermandad, the icon of this groups devotion is kept in the church, while the rest of the paraphernalia remains in the hands of the head of the group.

In summary, the formal religious organization of

• The first step in the process of creating a new product is to identify a market need.

• This can be done through market research, which involves gathering information about potential customers and their needs.

• Once a market need has been identified, the next step is to develop a concept for the new product.

• This involves creating a detailed description of the product, including its features, benefits, and target market.

• The third step is to conduct a feasibility study, which assesses the viability of the product idea.

• This involves evaluating the market potential, the competitive landscape, and the financial requirements of the project.

• Once the feasibility study has been completed, the next step is to develop a business plan for the new product.

• This involves creating a detailed financial model, including a budget, a sales forecast, and a break-even analysis.

• The final step is to launch the new product into the market.

• This involves creating a marketing plan, which outlines the strategies and tactics for promoting the product.

• Once the product has been launched, the next step is to monitor its performance and make any necessary adjustments.

• This involves tracking sales, customer feedback, and market trends to ensure the product remains competitive.

• The final step in the process is to evaluate the overall success of the new product launch.

• This involves comparing the actual results against the goals and objectives set out in the business plan.

• Once the evaluation has been completed, the next step is to identify any lessons learned and apply them to future product launches.

• This involves reflecting on the strengths and weaknesses of the launch process and making any necessary improvements.

• The final step in the process is to celebrate the success of the new product launch.

• This involves recognizing the contributions of all team members and celebrating the achievement of the launch goals.

• The final step in the process is to continue to monitor the product's performance and make any necessary adjustments.

• This involves tracking sales, customer feedback, and market trends to ensure the product remains competitive.

• The final step in the process is to evaluate the overall success of the new product launch.

• This involves comparing the actual results against the goals and objectives set out in the business plan.

• Once the evaluation has been completed, the next step is to identify any lessons learned and apply them to future product launches.

• This involves reflecting on the strengths and weaknesses of the launch process and making any necessary improvements.

San Miguel is composed of three associations or groups of villagers. First, the *Comite de la Iglesia* is the principal group since it appears to have community sanction (and a quasi-official position) to retain and care for the dominant, collective religious representations of the community--the church and the celebration of the Patron Saint's day. In addition, there are two private, voluntary religious associations (*Hermandades*) dedicated to the devotion of particular Catholic figures. These are secondary in that they are not groups formally required by the community or necessary to its functioning in any direct sense. They require neither the approval nor the sanction of the community in order to exist, but rather are dependent on the voluntary participation (membership) of individual villagers. Together, however, these three groups are vital to the religious life of the community since between them they organize and sponsor most of the corporate religious activity to be found in the village.

To be sure, not all religious life of the community revolves or is dependent on this complex of formal organizations. At least two other corporate religious acts have their locus in individual households. These are funerals and preparations for a pilgrimage to

Esquipulas (the site of the famous shrine to the Black Christ), both of which are described below. Furthermore, individual religious acts, such as prayers at home altars, visits to churches and shrines, appear to be universal in the village. But the latter is strictly between the individuals and their God, and explicitly bypasses the community as an intermediate level of its manifestation. Indeed, some individuals in the community are reputed to have bultos (fetish-like bundles) of relics pertaining to a particular Saint to whom they, as individuals, are personally dedicated. However, these "individualized" manifestations of religion are not as significant, for my purposes, as are those which are manifestations and revalidations of the community's corporateness. The latter do, almost entirely, depend on the complex of formal religious organizations described and they have a fixed periodicity known to all villagers.

Components and Calendar of Community Religion.

The pattern of the religious calendar in San Miguel is of a fairly standardized sort, common to most rural communities of Guatemala and is based on the official Catholic system of religious holidays or feasts.

Furthermore, each feast, in San Miguel, at least, is made up pretty much of the same major component acts or units that are neither esoteric or occult but observable elsewhere in the country. The particular religious fiestas differ primarily in the number of these components used and, of course the explicit religious figure or event to which they are dedicated. Before proceeding to a description of the particular religious fiestas, I will briefly outline and define these major components.

Any particular fiesta may contain within it a procesion, or procession. Here, a religious image, or icon, is placed on an anda (platform) and is paraded through every village street on men's shoulders. As it moves through the streets, persons walking along beside the anda, referred to as acompanantes, sing fairly standardized religious hymns referred to as alavados. During the procession, brief pauses are taken in front of sitios that have strewn flower petals and pine needles in the path of the anda. While many households do this, a significant number do not. I was unable to determine why some households will sprinkle these flowers and needles and others do not.

A village fiesta may or may not contain a Mass,

held in the church and for which a priest is brought from Antigua. In some fiestas, also, a rosary is prayed. Oftentimes, the rosary is referred to as a novena. In these cases, however, these services are not true novenas in that they are not restricted to nine, consecutive days, but may be of shorter or longer duration. A true, nine-consecutive day novena is distinguished from the above by the term novenario, but whether rosary, novena or novenario, all these services are conducted by villagers themselves, without a priest, and usually in the evening.

A religious fiesta may contain services referred to as one or more stations of the cross, or estaciones. These estaciones involve praying in unison at the symbolic representations of the fourteen successive incidents from the passion of Christ, and usually take place inside the church.

Tamboreros are a trio of men who play a large drum, a small drum or caja, and a small flute or chirimia, respectively, on the church steps, all day long in half-hour intervals, during fiestas. This component seems to be universal; present in all the religious fiestas. Furthermore it is an indigenous element, possibly of pre-Columbian origin. It is, however,

quite common throughout Guatemala. These tamboreros are imported from nearby Indian communities, since there are no tamboreros native to San Miguel.

Finally, some of the religious fiestas may contain Logas. Logas are relatively short, theatrical skits put on by groups of villagers at several points along the route of the procession. These skits are often of a religious nature, but not necessarily. Some are clearly intended to be humorous and the incidents they portray are some times secular and mundane. Any group of villagers may put on a loga; always, of course, with some prior planning and coordination with the procession. According to villagers, these logas are not local creations, but rather the result of what some villagers have seen in fiestas of other communities and committed to memory for their performance in San Miguel. They usually require several rehearsals (usually in someone's home) prior to their public performance.

A) La Fiesta de la Candelaria (February 2)

On the afternoon of the eve of this fiesta, the tamboreros arrive in San Miguel and play their instruments for a better part of the evening on the church steps.

The members of the *Comite de la Iglesia*, and an occasional volunteer, work most of the evening decorating the church with fresh flowers and candles. The inside of the church is swept clean and a layer of pine needles (usually gathered and donated by private individuals) is strewn on the floor. Simultaneously, the two *andas* are prepared for the procession the following day. One of these platforms will carry the doll-like image of the infant Jesus, and the other the statue of the Virgin Mary. Outside, villagers gather to chat or just sit to watch the activity. Once the decorations and the *anda* are completed, the church doors are closed and everyone goes home. No religious service or serenata is held that evening.

The following day, the church doors are opened early in the morning, and the *tamboreros* assume their position once more. One or more of the members of the *Comite* is usually around the church throughout the morning, as individuals and small clusters of families of villagers go into the church for short period of prayer and meditation.

Shortly after noon, the church bells are sounded announcing the beginning of activities. Relatively large numbers of villagers come to the church and to

its vicinity. Inside the activity begins with a rosary led by members of the Comite and/or the Hermandad del Sagrado Corazon. As the rosary ends, the air is punctured by rockets and mortar type fireworks, and the procession begins its long trek through the village, led by the tamboreros. The acompanantes, carrying lighted candles, fall in behind the andas and sing the alavados as they move slowly through the streets. It is customary for villagers (those who can afford it) to make an offering (limosna) of small amounts of money during the procession. Out of the sitios, persons will quickly emerge, walk to the anda of the infant Jesus, deposit their offering in the receptacle and return to their sitios making the sign of the cross as they walk.

As the procession approaches the church, on its return, it is once more greeted with fireworks. Everyone goes inside, except the tamboreros. These remain outside, playing every half-hour as before. Inside, the congregation kneels and is led in the recitation of one of the stations of the cross. Alavados for the infant Jesus and the Virgin concludes the religious activity of the day. The doors to the church, however, remain open until dark, at which time they are closed until the following Sunday.

Inside the church, the Comité de la Iglesia adjourns to the sacristy where the offerings collected are counted and recorded. At dark, the tamboreros are paid by the President of the Comité and taken to his home for the evening. Dismantling the Andas is left until the following Sunday, when the duty is transferred to another set of Comité members.

B) Semana Santa (Holy Week)

Like the Fiesta de la Candelaria, the religious activity which takes place during Holy Week is under the direction and supervision of the Comité de la Iglesia.

Preparations for Semana Santa begin a week before, on Sábado de Ramos, the Saturday prior to the start of Holy Week. On this day, two members of the Comité walk to Antigua where palms are purchased in the market place. Pausing at the plaza, the palm leaves are wrapped in a clean piece of linen, and to the bundle is attached a small framed picture of San Miguel (the Saint) and a piece of paper on which is printed the name of the community. After the bundle is made, it is deposited with those of other communities at the Cathedral of San Jose, the parish center for the rural communities around

Antigua. These bundles are left at the Cathedral to be blessed the next day, during Palm Sunday mass. Once deposited there, the two members of the Comite either return to the village or go about their personal business in Antigua.

Early the next day, another member of the Comite walks to Antigua to pick up the bundle of blessed palms and return to the village, where it is deposited and left until Wednesday when they will be used in decorating the huerto (death bed of the crucified Christ). On Wednesday, most of the members of the Comite are busy the entire day in making the church ready for the remainder of Holy Week. Early that morning, two or three of these men walk to Antigua where the entire morning is spent purchasing the necessary materials. Shopping primarily in the market place, they buy various fruits, flowers, candles, and incense; always keeping a running account of the expenditures. By noon, or shortly thereafter, they return to the village church where the rest of the day is spent decorating the main altar. No ceremony of any sort accompanies these preparations.

On Thursday, the members of the Comite, with a few volunteers to help, spend the morning making the cofron, a small, ornate, rectangular box, which is used to hold the cofron of the cofron.

death bed, or huerto, which is an elaborate affair consisting of a flower and leaf decorated archway and surrounded by symmetrically arranged flowers and fruits. The entire huerto is placed on the floor, in the center of the church. When completed, the entire Comite then "acuestan al Senor" (Lay the Lord on his death bed) on the huerto. This involves a short series of prayers and is usually attended only by the members of the Comite, although others would not be excluded. After this brief ceremony, the church doors are closed and remain so until Saturday. On Good Friday the village is literally deserted, as San Miguelenos are to be found following the magnificent pageant at Antigua.

The following day (Saturday) is known as Sabado de Gloria. The church is kept open the entire day as villagers come, individually or in families, to pay homage to the crucified Christ. Sometime in the afternoon, the church bells are sounded summoning villagers to a rosary. Tamboreros are usually hired to play, but only during the rosary, which is led by a member of the Comite or the men's Hermandad. The rosary is well attended by other villagers.

On Easter Sunday, the village seems to take on a very festive air. Villagers, dressed in their best

clothes, are seen throughout the day walking or talking, or merely standing watching the goings on. Much drinking also goes on this day. Beginning early in the morning, the tamboreros begin their playing on the church steps and fireworks are exploded. Sometime during the morning villagers gather at the church as members of the Comite begin dismantling the archway and other decorations around the Huerto. As the Christ image is put in its proper place in front of the Altar (symbolic of the resurrection), a Rosary is prayed and concluded with alavados. Those in attendance begin to file past the icon, each reverently planting a kiss on his feet.

The Comite members and those whose help was volunteered the distribute the fruit that decorated the huerto among themselves. In the afternoon, the church bells sound once more announcing the beginning of the procession. Immediately prior to its start, those in attendance are led in the recitation of a station of the cross. In this procession, the small anda of the infant Jesus is paraded around the village, led by the tamboreros, with the acompanantes singing alavados as it moves through the village. As it re-enters, the tamboreros resume their place and fireworks

are set off once more. The anda is put back in its place and the assembly recites another station of the cross, and concludes with more alavados. This officially terminates the religious activities of Holy Week.

C) La Aparicion de San Miguel (May 8)

Officially, this fiesta commemorates the apparition of Saint Michael in the forest of Gargano, Italy, in the 13th Century. It is interesting, however, that according to villagers, this fiesta is to commemorate the apparition of Saint Michael somewhere in Guatemala, sometime during the recent past. No such event is recognized by the Catholic Church.

Every night, for the nine nights preceding the 8th of May, a rosary (novenario) is prayed in the church. On the 6th of May, usually, some members of the Comite walk to Antigua to purchase the materials commonly used in decorating, and to rent decorative curtains and small cloth, angel dolls, which are also used to decorate the church; the latter is usually done the following day. The next evening (the 7th of May), the last rosary of the novenario is held. It is after this that the work of decorating the church begins.

As this is going on, the local marimba band plays outside on the church steps. Their playing is referred to as a serenata (serenade). This serenade is arranged and paid for by the Comite. Quite a few men, women and children are attracted to the vicinity of the church by the marimba playing. It should be pointed out, however, that while villagers gather to enjoy this music, and while the tunes played are not religious ones, the serenade is formally considered to be in honor of the Saint on the eve of his apparition.

The following morning, the priest arrives in the village and mass is celebrated. A collection is taken up during the mass, as is customary in most churches, but the proceeds are for the local church and not the parish. As usual, the mass is accompanied by tamoreros and fireworks. In the afternoon, a procession is held. This procession carries the anda of one of the two icons of San Miguel (the Saint) found in the church. This particular manifestation is referred to as "San Miguel el mandadero" (Saint Michael the messenger) and is usually accompanied by a significant number of villagers, as are most processions in the village. The exit and re-entry of the procession is marked by fireworks, a station of the cross, and alavados. This

procession ends the celebration. The next day, the adornments are disassembled and the rented props are returned to Antigua.

D) Fiesta de La Virgen de la Medalla Milagross (month of May)

Unlike those described above, this fiesta is the responsibility of the Hermandad which bears this name. All expenses and most of the arrangements necessary are taken care of by members of this Hermandad, although with respect to the latter they are helped out by the Comite de la Iglesia.

Every night during the month of May (referred to as Mary's month) a rosary is held at the church and concluded with alavados. These rosaries are attended mainly by women; among them, of course, the members of the Hermandad.

The last day of May is spent decorating the church for the June 1st festivities. A serenade is also played at the church steps as the decoration is being finished. In this case, the serenade is for the Virgin, and is paid for by the Hermandad.

On June 1st, beginning early in the morning, the tamboreros arrive and begin their playing. They will play their instruments the entire day. Mass is held in

the morning with a procession of the Virgin in the afternoon. The *acompanante*¹ in this procession have a greater tendency to be women and small children, rather than men, since the Virgin is considered to be their patron.

The *Comite de la Iglesia* acts in close harmony with the *Hermandad* for most activities pertaining to this celebration. For example, the rosary of both this celebration and that of the apparition of Saint Michael is held jointly during the first week of May. The arrangements for the priest to come and hold Mass on June 1st, as well as the arrangements with the *tamboreros*, are made by the *Comite*. Finally, much of the physical labor in preparing the church and the *Anda* of the Virgin is provided by members of the *Comite*.

E) *Celebracion del Sagrado Corazon* (June 30 or July 1)

The month of July is referred to as the month of Jesus, and commemorating this month is the function of the men's *Hermandad*; the *Hermandad del Sagrado Corazon*. This celebration is pretty much the same as that of the other *Hermandad*, with the difference being, mainly, that this group cannot afford a Mass or a serenade by *marimba*. I was told that oftentimes, this *Hermandad*

could not even afford to pay tamboreros. Thus, this celebration consists primarily of a month long rosary and a procession on June 30.

F) Fiesta Titular de San Miguel (September 27, 28, 29 and 30)

This, the fiesta in honor of the village's patron Saint, is undoubtedly the most important occasion of collective activity, sacred as well as secular, in the village and it involves the greatest expenditure of funds for any celebration is the responsibility of the Comité de la Iglesia.

A novenario¹ is begun on the evening of the 20th and is held every night for the required nine, consecutive nights, until the 28th. These occasions are supposedly well attended and are led by members of the Comité and/or the Hermandad del Sagrado Corazón.

The purchasing of all the necessary materials, and the arrangements with the priest and tamboreros are all made prior to the 25th of September. The decoration of the church and other last minute arrangements are taken care of on the 26th, again by members of the Comité and a few villagers who volunteer their help.

The actual celebration begins on the 27th. The

tamboreros play the entire day, every day until the end of the fiesta. In the evening of the 27th, a rosary is held, after which a procession bearing the images of the infant Jesus and Saint Michael, begins its trek through the village. According to informants, many villagers follow this procession as *acompanantes*. During its movement through the village, *logas* are performed at strategic points along the route. When the procession returns to the church, the marimba and fireworks resound at the church doors.

Mass is celebrated in the village every morning for three days--the 28th, 29th and 30th. On the morning of the 29th, after Mass, a procession is led by the priest carrying the Holy Eucharist. This is referred to as the procession of the Santisimo. After the procession, there are continuous rosaries prayed in the church by groups of *Hermandades* and Church Committees from nearby villages that have been invited by the local *Comite* to do an hour of guardia (vigil) each. The latter is common and is done for most village fiestas. In the evening, the marimba band plays a serenade on the church steps, after which the *Comite* and many villagers hold a velacion (wake) inside the church until dawn.

On the afternoon of the 30th, a procession bearing St. Michael takes place. In the evening, a rosary, again led by members of the Comite, is prayed. This rosary marks the end of the religious activities for the fiesta titular.

But not all activity during the fiesta is religious. Two commercial salones (dance-halls) are set up in the village, usually at the two stores, with music provided by other marimba bands brought to the village from other communities. One of these is sponsored by the Comite for the purpose of raising funds for the local church. In addition, cantinas (saloons) selling aguardiente, beer and wine are set up by some of the more enterprising families. Peddlers of things from clothes to candy are to be found hawking their goods in the village during the fiesta. Both the saloons and cantinas are well attended and they operate for the last three nights of the fiesta. Furthermore, many visitors come to San Miguel on these days, and usually most native sons that now reside elsewhere return to visit their families and their native village.

It is said by many villagers that all of San Miguel's sadness and strife is temporarily forgotten during their Saint's fiesta; and literally everyone

1. The first step in the process is to identify the problem.

2. The second step is to define the problem.

3. The third step is to analyze the problem.

4. The fourth step is to develop a solution.

5. The fifth step is to implement the solution.

6. The sixth step is to evaluate the solution.

7. The seventh step is to monitor the solution.

8. The eighth step is to report the results.

9. The ninth step is to document the process.

10. The tenth step is to review the process.

11. The eleventh step is to improve the process.

12. The twelfth step is to maintain the process.

13. The thirteenth step is to communicate the results.

14. The fourteenth step is to conclude the process.

15. The fifteenth step is to end the process.

16. The sixteenth step is to start the process.

17. The seventeenth step is to continue the process.

18. The eighteenth step is to repeat the process.

19. The nineteenth step is to restart the process.

20. The twentieth step is to finish the process.

21. The twenty-first step is to complete the process.

22. The twenty-second step is to close the process.

23. The twenty-third step is to exit the process.

24. The twenty-fourth step is to leave the process.

looks forward to it.

G) Fiesta de los Santos (November 1)

This celebration is actually the fiesta of the day of the dead, commonly celebrated in much of Middle America. It is also an undertaking of the Comité. Beginning on the 23rd of October, this group holds a novenario in the church, every night, until the 31st. As usual, it is open to everyone.

Throughout the day, on the 1st of November, many families are found in the village cemetery, decorating, in some cases praying, by the graves of dead relatives. In many cases the dead relatives whose graves are decorated and where prayers are said are those of parents and grandparents. Thus, in some cases, this activity serves to bring together related, but separate households, that ordinarily do not carry out any sort of joint activity. It is my impression, however, that in the majority of cases, the decoration of the grave is, usually, traditionally left to one particular household. Praying at the graveside on this day, less common than mere decoration, appears to be in many instances a rather informal, casual activity done individually.

In the evening, however, a rather festive procession

is held in which a crucifix, kept in the church, is taken throughout the community accompanied by a marimba of a guitar player. This is referred to as the procession of the Cruz de Animas (crucifix of departed souls). During the procession, a stop is made at every sitio, where the acompañantes request and receive cabecera. The latter is actually a gift of atole (sweet, corn gruel), elotes (steamed corn on the cob) and a fruit referred to as jocotes. There are no tamboreros, nor is Mass held during this fiesta.

H) Navidad (December 24, 25 and January 1st)

On the afternoon of the 24th, the nativity scene is constructed by members of the Comité, in front of the altar in the church. It is made from locally gathered and/or donated flowers and decorative leaves. The image of the infant Jesus is then placed in it.

In the early evening, after the nativity scene has been completed, the tamboreros begin playing on the church steps as villagers gather to kneel and pray before the new-born Christ. At approximately eleven o'clock, a rosary with alavados is begun. It ends at midnight, at which time fireworks are set off announcing the beginning of the procession of the Christ child.

Here the small image is carried on a tray-like affair by a woman. It only goes around the church and the common, then back to its place in the church. In the meantime, the local marimba plays a serenade which ends at two o'clock in the morning. This ends the festivities for this day. It is customary then for the President of the Comite to invite the other members, the marimba players and the tamboreros to his home for a traditional meal of tamales and, of course, drinks of aguardiente.

The next day, the 25th, is referred to as pascua. In the afternoon another procession of the Christ child is held. This time, however, it moves through the entire village. At each household it stops and some members of the Comite request and collect an offering from the head of household. After the procession returns to the church, and a station of the cross is prayed, the Comite counts the amount of money collected and announces it to those who have gathered. After the image of the Christ child is returned to the nativity scene, the celebration of pascua ends.

Essentially the same process is repeated on New Years eve and New Years day. After the rosary on the eve of the New Year, however, all the women present in

64.

the church will embrace all the men, perhaps as a symbolic gesture of their essential unity on this the last day of the year. This last is a scene seldom seen in the village at other times.

The formal religious bodies in the village, then, function to form the framework of activities within which corporate religious behavior is exhibited in San Miguel. But there are at least two other occasions for such behavior. These, it seems to me, are just as significant, both in terms of the amount of participation and the degree of corporateness exhibited within them. Furthermore, the locus of these latter type occasions is not a formal religious organization, but rather they revolve around individual households. These two occasions are death and the pilgrimage (romeria) to the shrine of the Black Christ of Esquipulas.

Death

The circumstances surrounding a death and the funeral of a villager are very much a focal point of corporate action in the community. When death occurs in the household, one of the first acts that is performed is to have the knell (referred to as "el doble") sounded on the church bells. By word of mouth, the

particulars of the death spreads very rapidly throughout the community.

In San Miguel it is considered an unshirkable obligation to appear as soon as possible and give condolences ("dar el peseme", as they put it) and offer assistance with preparations for the wake and the funeral. The head of the household sustaining the death will usually avail himself of some of these offers of assistance. Some villagers will be asked to be *acompanantes* to the member of the household (usually the head) who will go to Antigua to purchase a casket (caja) and other things for the wake and funeral such as cigarettes, sweet bread and candles. Other villagers are asked to be *acompanantes* of another member of the household who goes to Magdalena, where the death, the vital statistics of the decedent and the attributed cause is officially recorded by the Secretario at the municipal offices. This is referred to as "asentar la difuncion". Women will be utilized by the female head of the household for help in the preparation of food and coffee for the wake.

No special preparation of the body for burial takes place. It is merely completely wrapped in the coffin and placed on a bench or table in the center of

the largest hut in the sitio--usually in front of the household altar. From that point on the household is not alone. Other villagers, as acompanantes del velorio (companions of the wake) are present that day and night until the interment. At the height of the wake, usually late evening, literally every household is represented among those persons sitting around the body or keeping warm by a fire outside in the patio. And as they arrive, each acompañante deposits a few coins on the plate laid at the body's feet. These are offerings to help the household defray the expenses of the funeral. There is no crying during the wake; only quiet conversations going all around. As each new acompañante enters the wake, he speaks his condolences to the head of the household so that all can hear. In response, he and all present are told by the head that, thanks to them, the grief is lessened. They are told that it is good to have friends and neighbors whose interest helps lessen the pain of loss through death. Everyone seems to nod in agreement everytime these words are spoken.

But the obligations to the acompañantes, by the household where in death has struck, does not end with the above acknowledgement. Throughout the long night,

coffee, bread and cigarettes are passed around to the *acompanantes*. There is much concern among the members of the household to see that these people are well attended to.

Sometime during the evening the quiet conversations going around the wake are interrupted for a rosary. The four members of the *Hermanidad del Sagrado Corazon* lead the wake in the recitation of the rosary and the singing of *alavados*. In this capacity, these men are referred to as resadores (men of prayer). They do this free of any charge.

The wake is not necessarily a solemn affair. In fact, after the rosary, the focus appears to shift noticeably, from the dead person to the business of distracting each other during the long night to come. Conversation inside and outside becomes more animated. Card and dice games may be held; sometimes next to the coffin. Jokes and humorous accounts of events are told and appreciated. If *aguardiente* is available, it finds its way into the hands of the men present. This seemingly indiscreet (under the circumstances) behavior is not resented by the afflicted family, but rather, in fact, encouraged.

By mid-morning, the funeral gets underway. The

coffin is carried by volunteers to the church. It is carried in slow, solemn fashion. As the coffin leaves the sitio, the restraint of the females breaks down and they weep, aloud and unrestrained. Behind the coffin, all the acompañantes follow reciting the rosary. Most every household is represented in the procession. It moves slowly to the church, goes in for a few minutes, then exits making its way to the cemetery, continually praying. Candles are passed out to the acompañantes and lighted immediately.

At the cemetery the coffin is quickly put into the grave while the rosary continues. When it is finished, a close relative of the decedent takes or is given a carnation and cup of holy water. Dipping the carnation, he (or she) then sprinkles the sign of the cross over the coffin. This is the last benediction. The head of the deceased person's household then steps forward and addresses the assembly around the grave. With one sentence, he asks that they cover the grave. Everyone, in no particular order, throws handfuls of dirt into the grave, and with this they depart. Only the ministriles of the auxiliatura remain, with hoes and shovels, to complete the interment.

It is customary to hold a novenario in the household

of the decedent. Thus, for the following eight nights after the wake a rosary and alavados are prayed. I was told by several informants that the number of acompañantes decreases with each night, so that by the last night, only members of the household and a few relatives are present. Everyone else has now retreated to his own, individual place in San Miguel--his household.

Romerias and the "Wake for the Candle"

As in most of Latin America, one of the more important aspects of religious behavior in San Miguel is the romeria or pilgrimage to some well-known religious shrine, usually a church. One such important shrine for San Miguelenos is the church at San Felipe de Jesus, a suburb of Antigua.

As in most shrines I have visited, the center of attraction in San Felipe is the central image, in this case, the crucified Christ, housed in the main altar, to whom miracles and fulfillment of requests by the faithful are attributed. Lining the walls of the main section of the church are a variety of plaques--some modest, others elaborate; some tasteful, others gaudy--all attesting, in words and pictures, to the miraculous powers of "Our Lord of San Felipe". All these plaques

1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions and activities. It emphasizes that proper record-keeping is essential for transparency and accountability, particularly in financial matters. The text suggests that organizations should implement robust systems to track and document every aspect of their operations, from procurement to sales.

2. The second part of the document addresses the challenges of data management in a rapidly changing environment. It highlights the need for flexible and scalable solutions that can adapt to evolving requirements. The author argues that investing in modern data infrastructure is crucial for ensuring that organizations can effectively manage and analyze their data, leading to better decision-making and operational efficiency.

3. The third part of the document focuses on the importance of collaboration and communication within an organization. It stresses that successful outcomes often depend on the ability of different teams and departments to work together seamlessly. The text encourages the adoption of collaborative tools and processes that facilitate information sharing and foster a culture of open communication.

4. The fourth part of the document discusses the role of technology in enhancing organizational performance. It explores various technological advancements, such as artificial intelligence and automation, and how they can be leveraged to streamline processes and reduce costs. The author notes that while technology offers significant benefits, it must be implemented thoughtfully to avoid potential pitfalls and ensure that it aligns with the organization's overall strategy.

5. The fifth part of the document touches upon the importance of continuous learning and development. It suggests that organizations should invest in training and development programs to keep their workforce up-to-date with the latest industry trends and skills. The text argues that a commitment to learning is essential for long-term success and innovation.

6. The sixth part of the document discusses the importance of risk management. It outlines various strategies for identifying, assessing, and mitigating risks, emphasizing that a proactive approach is key to minimizing potential losses. The author notes that effective risk management is not just about avoiding negative outcomes but also about seizing opportunities that may arise from a well-managed risk environment.

7. The seventh part of the document addresses the importance of sustainability and social responsibility. It suggests that organizations should consider the environmental and social impacts of their operations and strive to minimize their footprint. The text argues that sustainable practices can lead to long-term benefits for both the organization and the community.

8. The eighth part of the document discusses the importance of customer satisfaction and loyalty. It outlines strategies for understanding customer needs and preferences, and for delivering high-quality products and services. The author notes that satisfied customers are more likely to remain loyal and provide valuable feedback, which can help organizations improve their offerings.

9. The ninth part of the document touches upon the importance of innovation and creativity. It suggests that organizations should foster a culture of innovation by encouraging employees to think outside the box and experiment with new ideas. The text argues that innovation is a key driver of growth and competitive advantage in today's market.

10. The tenth part of the document discusses the importance of leadership and vision. It outlines the qualities and skills that effective leaders should possess, and how they can inspire and guide their teams towards a common goal. The author notes that strong leadership is essential for driving organizational success and achieving long-term vision.

bear the names, sites and dates of his positive intervention in mishaps or illnesses. Any day of the week, at any hour, the main door of the church is guarded by the blind and the crippled whose outstretched hands challenge the visitor.

San Felipe is a favorite of most San Miguelenos. Of all churches and ruins in and around Antigua, that of San Felipe is the one of which villagers speak with more warmth and familiarity, and the one they frequent the most. Some individual villagers with urgent circumstances will go immediately to San Felipe. Others will usually wait until Sundays to take their pleas to him. Others go on Sundays (and especially during Holy Week) for simple visits to the Senor (the Lord). On Sundays the main plaza of San Felipe (in front of the church) has a definite festive air to it. Many villagers readily admit that they go because of this. "It is a very happy (alegre) place", the villager will say; others claim one feels "very good and comfortable in San Felipe". And all agree that "Nuestro Senor de San Felipe" favors the poor--like themselves--and that is why they like him.

It should be noted, however, that romerias or simple Sunday visits to San Felipe are individual matters

(either personal or household) and are undertaken by many villagers independent of each other. There is no communal or corporate aspect to this activity. With respect to romerias to the shrine of the "Black Christ of Esquipulas", however, the situation is entirely different.

Romerias to Esquipulas are almost always limited to two times a year. Once during the middle of January (the official day of homage to the Black Christ) and during the first part of Holy Week. According to informants, romerias to Esquipulas at other times have occurred, but very rarely. The reasons for the fixed periodicity of these romerias appear to be two interrelated ones. First of all, these are the official times wherein most Guatemalans go there; and, secondly, to go at other times would be economically prohibitive. For the two periods mentioned, chartered buses make the round trip from Antigua to Esquipulas, and booking passage on these reduces the cost of travel from approximately \$12. to about \$3.50.

In actuality, only a small group of villagers make the romerias to Esquipulas. It is usually composed of four or five individuals at a time, and never the same ones each time. The romeria is a three or four day

1. The first step in the process of the scientific method is to ask a question.

2. The second step is to do background research on the topic.

3. The third step is to form a hypothesis, which is a prediction about the outcome.

4. The fourth step is to design an experiment to test the hypothesis.

5. The fifth step is to conduct the experiment and collect data.

6. The sixth step is to analyze the data.

7. The seventh step is to draw a conclusion based on the analysis.

8. The eighth step is to communicate the results of the experiment.

9. The ninth step is to repeat the experiment to verify the results.

10. The tenth step is to publish the results in a scientific journal.

11. The eleventh step is to have other scientists replicate the experiment.

12. The twelfth step is to accept the results as a scientific fact.

13. The thirteenth step is to use the results to develop new theories.

14. The fourteenth step is to use the results to solve real-world problems.

15. The fifteenth step is to use the results to improve the quality of life.

16. The sixteenth step is to use the results to advance the field of science.

17. The seventeenth step is to use the results to create new technologies.

18. The eighteenth step is to use the results to improve the environment.

19. The nineteenth step is to use the results to improve the economy.

20. The twentieth step is to use the results to improve the world.

21. The twenty-first step is to use the results to improve the future.

22. The twenty-second step is to use the results to improve the past.

23. The twenty-third step is to use the results to improve the present.

24. The twenty-fourth step is to use the results to improve the world.

affair and a relatively expensive venture. Thus, the decisions as to who will go to Esquipulas is an individual matter dependent upon such things as financial capacity to make the trip, whether or not an individual has made the trip before, and so on. But once these individual decisions have been made, and just who the individuals who are going is made known, these persons take on the semblance of a group. Furthermore, through the ritual known as the velacion de la candela (wake for the candle) this group becomes the entire community's representative in the homage to be paid the Black Christ.

This ceremony is held the night before the departure of the group for Esquipulas. These individuals, among themselves and quite informally, decide whose home will serve as the place for the ceremony. I was unable to discover what various factors are taken into consideration in reaching this decision. One of these factors, however, is the size of the residence, in order to accomodate those who will attend. The ceremony is opened to everyone, and most villagers at least make an appearance at this velacion. Furthermore, the ceremony, in many respects, is very similar to an actual wake for the dead. Those who attend are referred to as *acompanantes*. The *acompanantes* begin arriving around

1. The first step is to identify the problem or issue that needs to be addressed.

2. The second step is to gather information and data related to the problem.

3. The third step is to analyze the information and data to identify the root cause of the problem.

4. The fourth step is to develop a plan of action to address the problem.

5. The fifth step is to implement the plan of action.

6. The sixth step is to monitor and evaluate the results of the plan.

7. The seventh step is to make adjustments to the plan as needed.

8. The eighth step is to document the results of the process.

9. The ninth step is to share the results with others.

10. The tenth step is to reflect on the process and learn from the experience.

11. The eleventh step is to apply the lessons learned to future problems.

12. The twelfth step is to continue to improve the process.

13. The thirteenth step is to maintain the results of the process.

14. The fourteenth step is to communicate the results of the process.

15. The fifteenth step is to celebrate the success of the process.

16. The sixteenth step is to review the process and make improvements.

17. The seventeenth step is to implement the improvements.

18. The eighteenth step is to monitor and evaluate the results of the improvements.

19. The nineteenth step is to make adjustments to the improvements as needed.

20. The twentieth step is to document the results of the improvements.

21. The twenty-first step is to share the results of the improvements.

22. The twenty-second step is to reflect on the process and learn from the experience.

23. The twenty-third step is to apply the lessons learned to future problems.

24. The twenty-fourth step is to continue to improve the process.

eight or nine o'clock in the evening. Some remain in the sitio and the house where the velacion takes place until after the resado (prayers in unison) and the alavados are held; others remain until dawn. As in the case of an actual wake, acompanantes are seated around the room, facing the center and altar. The altar itself is decorated with fresh flowers, an array of holy pictures and lit candles. A small saucer is placed in the center of the altar. In it, the acompanantes place their limosnas or contribuciones (offerings or contributions), usually small change. This money will be used to defray some of the expense of the velacion (shared equally by the set of pilgrims who will make the trip) and the trip itself. Some of the acompanantes also bring candles that are laid on the altar. These will be taken by the pilgrims and lit at the shrine for the respective acompanantes that have brought them to the velacion.

Throughout the wake, coffee, sweet bread and cigarettes are periodically served to the acompanantes. These materials have been purchased, beforehand, by the group of pilgrims or their households.

About ten or eleven o'clock in the evening the resadores arrive at the velacion. This is usually the

same group of men that participate at actual wakes. The entire assembly then kneels in front of the lit candles on the altar and are led in prayers and alavados by these resadores. These men are not paid for this service. After the resado, the assembly of acompañantes begins to thin out, leaving those that will remain all night, until dawn. Slowly, card and dice games begin and continue until morning. Only the men participate in this. These games are primarily designed to while away the time and appear to be a source of entertainment for those who participate. Very small amounts of money are actually involved.

In the morning, the ranks of acompañantes swell once more. The resadores return once again to lead the assembly in resos and alavados. The praying begins at the altar. But suddenly, the resadores and the group making the pilgrimage to Esquipulas rise and begin the procession down the path to the highway. They are followed by those assembled. These acompañantes then see the group going to Esquipulas aboard the bus. This ends the velacion.

However, shortly before their scheduled return, villagers, gradually and individually, begin gathering at the juncture of the village path and the highway to

await the bus returning the group to their village and homes. When the group disembarks, those gathered at the highway fall in behind them and, to the tune of alavados, escort them up the path to the village and their respective homes.

Summary

In the search for the sources of community integration and unity in San Miguel, one is inevitably led to the realm of religious behavior. The adherence of almost all villagers to common sentiments concerning their Roman Catholic faith and its multiple aspects and manifestations is an obvious source of such unity-- of mechanical solidarity in the Durkheimian sense. But in the outward expressions of their common sentiments there appears to be something more than just sheer unity through sameness. In other words, religious life in San Miguel is not merely one kind of thing, duplicated in each individual or household, until it can be said that all do the same thing. As I have tried to demonstrate, religious life in San Miguel entails interdependence, organization and structure before it can be given its characteristic expression. In a word, religious life in San Miguel requires at least some level of organic

1. The first step is to identify the problem or question.

2. The second step is to gather information and resources.

3. The third step is to analyze the information and resources.

4. The fourth step is to develop a plan or solution.

5. The fifth step is to implement the plan or solution.

6. The sixth step is to evaluate the results.

7. The seventh step is to reflect on the process.

8. The eighth step is to communicate the findings.

9. The ninth step is to document the process.

10. The tenth step is to share the results.

11. The eleventh step is to conclude the project.

12. The twelfth step is to reflect on the overall experience.

13. The thirteenth step is to evaluate the impact.

14. The fourteenth step is to share the lessons learned.

15. The fifteenth step is to conclude the project.

16. The sixteenth step is to reflect on the overall experience.

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18. The eighteenth step is to share the lessons learned.

19. The nineteenth step is to conclude the project.

20. The twentieth step is to reflect on the overall experience.

21. The twenty-first step is to evaluate the impact.

22. The twenty-second step is to share the lessons learned.

23. The twenty-third step is to conclude the project.

24. The twenty-fourth step is to reflect on the overall experience.

solidarity and unity.

The collective representation or manifestations of this level of organic unity are primarily its church and its fiestas, followed by funerals and the velacion de la candela which precedes the pilgrimage to Esquipulas.

The upkeep of the church and the organization of the calendar of religious fiestas requires the existence and functioning of groups of individuals who perform these functions for the entire community. In San Miguel these groups are the Comité de la Iglesia, primarily, and the two religious sodalities or Hermandades. On the other hand, the most important of these, the Comité, is highly dependent upon the cooperation of the entire community in order to carry out these functions. Indeed, this particular group could not exist without, at least, tacit community approval and sanction. The type of cooperation given this group, and to a lesser extent to the other two, is the contribution of materials and money necessary for the celebration of fiestas. Cooperation in terms of direct labor and services by individuals is considerably less.

It was pointed out that participation in formal, organized religious service and activity was more extensive in the past than it is today. In previous years

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the existence of Cofradias provided a broader base for such participation. Furthermore, informants claim that these Cofradias were well supported and their activities (or fiestas) much more elaborate. Today, only the above three organization exist, and only one of these (the Comite de la Iglesia) is really a vigorous and viable one.¹ As in the case of political activity, noted in Chapter V, there appears to be a tendency for the more respected and elderly members of the community (principales) to dissociate themselves from active participation in this type of formal, organized religious service. They of course seem to retain a general interest in these things, especially the Comite de la Iglesia. I am unable to state why these individuals seemingly refuse active participation. The specific reasons for dissociation from political activity, in a semi-organized way, are not applicable here.

¹ As a matter of fact, during my last days in San Miguel a joint meeting of the Comite and the Hermandad del Sagrado Corazon was called at the request of the head of the latter. There he requested that the Comite assume responsibility for the artifacts of the Hermandad and the religious fiesta it carried out every year. He stated that this would be necessary since the members of the Hermandad had now decided to disband. He claimed that it was impossible for them (about four, in all) to carry this burden alone any longer and that he could not get other villagers to become active members of this group. No decision was reached since the responsibility was rejected by the Presidente of the Comite. He claimed to be already over-burdened with responsibilities.

Undoubtedly their dissociation from organized, active religious activity and service in the community is part of general decline in such activity in the community. But in the case of these principales, their lack of participation is disproportionately high. The causes to which this general decline is attributed are increasing economic hardship for the villagers in general, and the loss of interest in active participation and service on the part of most individuals.

However, it should be recognized that the "loss of interest" is in all probability an effect of increasing economic hardship, and not a direct cause in itself. Furthermore, it should be emphasized that whatever the causes for the decline, such organizations have not disappeared or eclipsed completely, nor is there any sign that the Comite, at least, will disappear. Also, while the religious activities under the responsibility of these groups may have declined in elaborateness, they are nevertheless not at all negligible in their frequency.

Finally, it should be emphasized that the support given to, and participation in, these religious activities (fiestas, funerals and the velacion) is of a corporate nature. These activities (and the membership of the

Conite, as well) cross-cut households, personal hostilities and even political factions. Too often in recent anthropological literature, the atomistic aspects of peasant social organization are emphasized to the neglect of evidence of corporateness, such as described in this chapter. This is not to say, however, that peasant communities (San Miguel included) are not at all atomistic, or that such corporateness serves to end the hostilities or bind the various households into larger, permanent long-term groups dedicated to action for the common good. With respect to the latter, they do not for such is not their function. The corporate nature of these groups and activities is temporary, short-term and their goal is explicitly religious behavior, affirmation of faith and even recreation and distraction. But in their periodic occurrence, these activities, at least, function as centripetal forces which counter the centrifugal and atomizing tendencies born out of an economically marginal existence. Corporate religious activity, then, is a partial, though not insignificant, explanation of the integration and continuity of the community.

CHAPTER VII

INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS IN THEIR INSTITUTIONAL CONTEXT: CONCLUSIONS

INTRODUCTION

The point of departure for the theoretical focus of this Thesis is the composite model offered by George Foster for the structure and organization of peasant communities.

According to Foster, these communities, at least those of Latin America, usually exist on an extremely marginal level with respect to their resource base and subsistence productivity. In such a situation, cooperative, corporate behavior, outside the household, is not merely superfluous but is viewed as dangerous by the peasants themselves. All interpersonal relations outside the context of the household or nuclear family, then, tend to be negative, e.g. distant, viewed with suspicion and conflict oriented. Given this situation, according to Foster's model, the institutions of the community do not, in themselves, provide the necessary integrative mechanisms which maintain social order between

the various and different households in the community. But rather, the integration of the community is provided by interlocking sets (through the possession of a common member) of dyadic (one to one), informal, contractual relationships marked by intensive complementary reciprocity of goods and services. These dyadic contracts, of course, occur in the context of institutions (as with a particular compadre or particular kinsman or a particular neighbor), says Foster, but the particular nature of the institution (i.e. compadrazgo, extended family, neighborhood, etc.) is irrelevant, since it is the complementary reciprocity that is important and presumably indistinguishable from institutional context to institutional context. Thus, concludes Foster's model, the centrifugal forces centering around the suspiciousness and conflict in interpersonal relations outside the household are counter-balanced by the centripetal forces of these specific, particularistic, dyadic contractual relations.

It is my contention that Foster's model is both deficient and inapplicable as an explanation for the structure and organization of a community. It is deficient because it fails to provide the rationale behind the differential intensification through

"complementary reciprocity" of certain specific social relationships and not others.

It is inapplicable, first of all, because of its implicit assumption that a community is not a real entity with its own over-all principles of structure and organization but merely the sum total of dyadic social systems. Secondly, and related to the preceding, it is inapplicable because it fails to take into account the particular nature or context provided by community institutions, but merely treats them as givens.

Quite to the contrary, I believe that the particular nature of a community's institutions, and the functions they do or do not perform, must not be treated as givens in the analysis of a community but rather should be viewed as socio-cultural elements strongly influencing the pattern of social relationships which, on another level of analysis, give rise to a community's structure and organization.

On the basis of the ethnographic materials provided in the preceding chapters, here I intend to briefly examine selected social institutions (i.e. action patterns embodying, at least, a class of aims) found in San Miguel, and classify them according to each of the five dimensions outlined in Chapter I. This will be done

in an effort to see whether or not there exists a pattern with respect to the types of institutions that are conducive to positive modes of interpersonal relationships (i.e. interaction which cross-cuts and binds different households) and types that are not.

The following analysis of the institutions and their particular place on each of the five dimensions will of necessity be brief and abstracted. Secondly, not all the institutions evident in San Miguel will be examined, but only those with which I have relatively greater familiarity. Hopefully, this analysis will lend itself to the constructing of a paradigm for the conceptualization of peasant social organization; one which would account for their seemingly atomistic character as well as their sources of cohesion and integration as communities.

The Institutions

Agricultural Wage Labor

In this patterned co-activity or institution, we find two well established statuses--that of agricultor (farmer or agriculturalist) and mozo or peon (laborer for wages). As stated in Chapter II, there are only two or three household heads in San Miguel that regularly

hire local people for agricultural tasks, thereby occupying the status of agricultor. On the other hand, quite a few other villagers do, from time to time, but not with any regularity, hire local people as well. Approximately twenty or so village men, with a fair degree of consistency hire their labor to these others. The latter would be the village personnel that function as peones in this pattern of co-activity.

The association of these two statuses has a very specific length or period of duration. An agricultor usually hires the local peon by the day or for the length of time necessary to complete some particular agricultural task, such as weeding, planting and harvesting. At the end of the day, or the task, the peon is paid his wage and this literally ends his obligations to the agricultor and vice-versa. Therefore, with respect to our first dimension, e.g. long-term versus short-term, agricultural wage labor in an intra-village context can be categorized as short-term.

While there appears to be a tendency for the same persons to occupy the status of peon in relation to the two or three frequent employers, this is not necessarily always the case. Often times, different villagers will assume the status of peon vis-a-vis a particular

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agricultor. Furthermore, this relationship is apparently not one determined or based upon previous, similar relationships, but is renegotiated and, in a very real sense, is a new relationship every time it occurs, even though the actual person may have had the same relationship before. In other words, with respect to the continuous versus periodic dimension, this relationship is definitely periodic, occurring between particular individuals only on fairly regular intervals and not on a day-to-day basis.

Thirdly, this institution or patterned co-activity has only one explicit class of aims; namely the accomplishment of the agricultural task contracted. No other class of aims, at the level of the institution itself, such as political alliance or religious celebration is sought after by persons interreacting in an agricultor-peon relationship. Persons interacting in the context of these statuses have only a fixed set of obligations to each other, and these are directly related to the performance of a fixed agricultural task and related services--getting the work done and being paid for it. Thus, with respect to another dimension, the goal is obviously secular.

Finally, in this relationship the reciprocal obligations

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and their fulfillment are formal in that they are based on tradition and in the case of violation or or infraction of these traditionally defined obligations, legal redress is quite possible. As was pointed out in Chapter II, a fixed cash price for work done is the only process by which one villager will work the agricultural land of another or perform a related service for another. Share-cropping or exchange labor does not occur, partly because these types of arrangements leave the persons occupying the mozo or peon status, according to my informants, quite vulnerable to being cheated and provide a less secure recourse for legal redress.

Thus, the institution of agricultural wage labor in an intra-village context involves the socially recognized statuses of agricultor and peon, filled by persons from distinct households; therefore, cross-cutting some of the residential units of the village. By our definition, then, this type of interaction is a "positive" mode of interpersonal relations and, on the basis of the relevant dimensions, this institution can be characterized as a short-term, periodic, single-goal, secular and formal relationship.

Marriage and Common Law Unions

By definition, communally endogamous conjugal unions are positive modes of interpersonal relations, since, at their inception, at least, they bring together previously unrelated house holds and relate them in affinal kin ties. In San Miguel, however, there are two conceptually and empirically different types of conjugal unions--those embodying religious sanction (marriages) and consensual common law ulliances. There are, however, certain similarities between these two types, with respect to some of the dimensions outlined. I shall start with these similarities and then move to the differences.

It is obvious that conjugal unions, regardless of whether they are established through marriage or common law, perform a variety of both manifest and latent functions. Among the manifest functions, totally or in part, performed by the co-activity of a man and his woman (or spouse), are sexual reproduction, socialization of offspring and economic cooperation. It seems to me, that these three types of functions are referable to three distinct categories of aims or goals. Marriage and common-law arrangements, then, are similar

in that they are systems of patterned co-activity for the accomplishment of multiple classes of aims or goals. Indeed, in San Miguel, the few couples actually married were indistinguishable from the common-law unions on the basis of the number and types of functions performed.

It is equally obvious that married and common-law unions involve continuous (day to day) association or co-activity directed at the accomplishment of one or more of the classes of aims or goals manifested in the functions they perform. Every day interaction takes place between the man and the woman which fulfills economic and maintenance goals and the care and education of the very young among other needs. Thus, marriage and common-law unions, as institutionalized patterns of co-activity, are indistinguishable on the basis of at least two dimensions. They both involve continuous interaction (as opposed to periodic) and this interaction is directed at the accomplishment of a multiple set of goals, as opposed a specific single set or class of aims or goals.

But here the obvious similarity of these two types of conjugal unions seems to end. Common-law unions are explicitly informal associations of a man and a woman and, as far as I could determine, do not require any sort of religious or legal process for their establish-

ment; whereas to be married is to acquire both legal and religious sanction (formal) for the union. Also, dissolving a common-law union apparently carries little or no stigma and incurs no spiritual or legal liability. Dissolving a marriage in San Miguel, as in most places, is something more difficult since it necessitates the legal process of divorce and, in the eyes of the villagers, the infraction of a sacred law of God. As was pointed out in Chapter III, one of the major causes for the disruption of conjugal unions in San Miguel is sexual infidelity. What was particularly interesting about this fact is that there seemed to be considerably less moral stigma attached by villagers to infidelity in marriage.

The latter is related to another difference between the institution of marriage and common-law unions in San Miguel. Marriage, in San Miguel, seems to add a sacred dimension to the co-activity of sexual partners. In other words, the mundane, day-to-day activities carried on by a couple seemingly becomes something more than that when sanctified by the sacrament of marriage. This is particularly evident when cases of disloyalty or infidelity occur between a married couple. Such acts seem to villagers to involve a desecration of the

implicit sacredness of the couple's every day existence. Such is not the case in common-law unions. Therefore, it seems to me to be justifiable to categorize the multiple classes of goals or aims sought after in marriage as sacred; whereas similar classes of goals and aims in common-law unions are not imbued with the same sacredness, but remain as secular or practical kinds of tasks to be done by a man and his woman for the expedient conduct of life.

The most difficult of the five dimensions for the categorization of marriage and common-law unions is the one which distinguishes between the long-term versus short-term nature of the interaction and association of conjugal partners. Marriage, by the nature of the vows taken, is an institution which explicitly commends two people to union (or association) for the remainder of their lives. Therefore, marriage can be viewed as long-term association and interaction. Common-law unions, on the other hand, are neither a short-term arrangement for a fixed period of time, nor do they necessarily imply or commend individuals to remain united for the rest of their lives. At most, it is a tentative arrangement that may endure throughout the lives of the contractants or may be disrupted and ended

within a short period of time. In fact, according to my informants, it is the tentative, casual aspect of common-law unions which makes them desirable for a great majority of villagers. On the other hand, despite a number of cases where common-law unions have ended only after a few years, quite a few have lasted for the remainder of the couple's lives. Furthermore, a few common-law unions have lasted long enough for the couple to make it "permanent" through marriage after a number of children and adequate proof of each other's loyalty. It seems to me, then, that despite the explicitly tentative nature of common-law unions, they must be considered as long-term associations since many of them (the majority, in fact) appear to last throughout the lives of the couples.

In summary, then, conjugal unions in San Miguel sanctified through marriage may be characterized as long-term, continuous and formally based associations of interacting couples, the function of which involves multiple classes of aims or goals ultimately sacred through the possession of religious sanction. Common-law unions, on the other hand, are conjugal unions that may be characterized as long-term and continuous associations of interacting couples only informally or con-

sensually based, the function of which involves multiple classes of goals or aims, primarily if not entirely, secular.

Before moving on to the other institutions, it should be noted that while both married and common-law unions exist in San Miguel, most of them are common-law. Furthermore, as was pointed out, common-law unions appear to be preferable to villagers particularly among the present generation of adults. This is important because it strongly suggests that while common-law unions serve to cross-cut households (therefore, positive interperrelations), marriage does not, but is seen as somewhat dangerous and therefore avoided to a great extent by the villagers. Marriage, then, is absent for the most part and therefore fails to provide an adequate medium for positive interpersonal relations between individual household units of the community.

Compadrazgo

The institution of compadrazgo, a traditional one in Latin America, is conspicuous by its absence in San Miguel as an institution which brings together representatives from distinct households in the village. Villagers, of course, have compadre bonds with others.

But these others, with very few exceptions, are persons who reside elsewhere, usually in nearby Antigua. As pointed out in Chapter IV, the absence of compadre bonds between villagers was somewhat startling in that in most communities of Latin America this institution is one of the chief means, if not the principal one, by which social relationships are cemented, thus providing a principal source of community integration and cohesion. It will be recalled that in San Miguel compadre bonds with other villagers are purposely avoided for an exactly opposite reason. More specifically, villagers claimed that structuring compadre bonds with other villagers would disrupt the equalitarian, universal balance of social relationships with others and; furthermore, they would lead to conflict between compadres, since in all probability other villagers would use this relationship for selfish purposes and the sexual, economic and social exploitation or denigration of others. Thus, while ordinarily this institution serves as the context or medium for positive interpersonal relationships in a community, it fails to do so in San Miguel since it is explicitly avoided by villagers vis-a-vis other villagers.

That, then, are the characteristics of this

institution as per our five dimensions? In terms of the way compadrazgo is conceptualized this institution is represented in a fairly traditional way by the villagers. To begin with, the association of persons struck through compadrazgo is a long-term one. Once established it cannot legitimately be abolished by anything short of death. Ideally, the associations and relationships created by compadrazgo are continuous ones in that there is no acknowledge periodicity as to when a compadre may prevail upon another and when he may not. It is not viewed as the sort of relationship which brings about inter-action once a month, or once a year, for example, although this may actually happen, especially when compadres live in different place. A compadre is a compadre at all times, and continually subject to the reciprocal rights and obligations demanded by this institution.

Compadrazgo is an institution with a formal basis; in this case resting on religious ritual. More specifically, compadre bonds are established through the ritual bestowal of a sacrament (either baptism, confirmation or marriage) by a Roman Catholic priest on the offspring of one of the prospective compadres.

As pointed out in Chapter IV, this institution involves an unspecified number of reciprocal obligations

which cross-cut an extensive number of functionally important aspects of life, at least as it is conceived by villagers. To begin with, a compadre (the ritual sponsor or co-father) undertakes the responsibility of seeing to the child's economic, physical and spiritual well-being should his compadre (the actual parent) fail for whatever reason. Compadres are under traditionally defined obligation to help each other economically. Compadres are also under obligation to attempt to help out each other in domestic troubles and help reintegrate the family when it is threatened by marital difficulties, (although this is usually a one way function performed by the more prestigious or respected of the two compadres). In political and social problems with others, a compadre should be a ready and willing source of support. In short, a compadre is under moral obligation to provide help to each other under numerous kinds of situations; political, economic, domestic and religious. Therefore, the aims and goals inherent in this institution involve multiple classes or types. Finally, regardless of the class of aims or goals being accomplished by the interaction of compadres, it is deemed to be sacred. That is, it implies the reaffirmation of religious, spiritual bonds originated

in sacrament.

Faenas and the Auxiliatura

As pointed out in Chapter V, the physical maintenance of the two major entrances to and exits from the village, and the source and crude aqueduct of the community's water supply is accomplished through communal work parties (faenas) under the direction of the auxiliares (persons occupying positions of legitimate authority in the village auxiliatura). The specific statuses involved in the institution of the faena are the regidores and ministriles (collectively referred to as auxiliares) and individuals (faeneros) representing distinct households in the village. The decision as to which households should be represented on a particular work party (faena) and the task to be accomplished by the group of faeneros is made by the regidor de turno (the particular regidor on duty) on the basis of those households which did not contribute labor in the previous faens, and the particular maintenance needs that are pressing.

The faenero, on the other hand, contributes a number of hours of his time, his labor and the use of his tools for the accomplishment of the faena outlined by the regidor. Of course, not all the households are

represented in any one faena; but over a sufficiently long period of time, all households will have contributed their share to the maintenance of the two vital physical aspects of the community mentioned above. Most of the time, these faenas are done in a group, at a particular time, usually Sunday morning. However, recently some individuals have preferred to put in their faena time at other periods, when it is most convenient for them, either alone or with others who also find that time particularly convenient. Once the particular faena outlined is finished, usually accomplished within one or two hours, the faenero is no longer subject to the command of the auxiliares but resumes his place as a private citizen. If anything else needs be done he cannot be asked to do it by the auxiliares, but these other needs must await another faena when, in all probability, different villagers will occupy the status of faenero. Furthermore, while acting out the role of faenero the villager is under no obligation, formal or otherwise, to cooperate with the others in the performance of any other set of tasks except those relating to the physical maintenance of these public utilities, i.e. paths and water source.

The institution of the faena, then, involves a long-term obligation and association in that any adult villager (with a few formalized exceptions) is subject to being pressed into the status of faenero so long as he is a resident of the village. However, this patterned co-activity is periodic, occurring only at specific periods of time, and not a day-to-day association. Furthermore, the occurrence of this periodic, patterned co-activity, can be accounted for by only one, single class of aims or goals that need be accomplished; namely physical maintenance of certain public facilities in the village. By our definition such a set or class of aims can be classified as secular, since they are definitely practical task-oriented ones.

Attempting to categorize this institution (faena) on the dimension of formal-informal association is perhaps more difficult. This difficulty arises from the fact that only until recently, work on faenas was obligatory for members of the community, which was backed by both traditional and legal sanction (the imposition of a fine or imprisonment for refusing to work). Recently, however, the legal basis upon which this institution rested and the sanction backing up the obligation to contribute to faenas was dropped and, legally speaking, it became a voluntary matter .

However, the traditional basis for this institution continues and although many individuals find faena work an inconvenience, it is seen as an obligation. Furthermore, through other than legal means attempts at coercion are obvious, such as indirect harassment by the authorities or, as in the case of the anti-comunistas, by complete stoppage of faenas by the majority of the villagers to bring attention to those who obstinately fail in this obligation. Thus, on the basis of the traditional community-based sanction for the faena, I would tentatively categorize this institution as having a formal basis.

The local seat of authority and community administration (the auxiliatura) can be viewed as a constellation of formally (legally) sanctioned positions or statuses derived from the higher level of authority at Magdalena. These statuses interact with each other and, collectively, with the population of San Miguel in order to accomplish a specified single class of aims or goals, which can be called community administration. Empirically, this class of goals (i.e. community administration) can be defined as an interrelated set of actions and activities aimed at the physical maintenance of the public village facilities and keeping the peace among the residents.

Religious or economic goals, for example, are not inherent to this structure and institution, and as far as I could determine such activities or actions are never undertaken by the auxiliatura and its personnel. True enough, in many instances of village life involving the auxiliatura, religious and economic issues are involved. But these are the primary concerns of other structures (such as the comite de la iglesia or individual residential units) and for the auxiliatura are only tangential to their primary concerns mentioned above. Therefore, the place of this institution on at least three of the dimensions outlined is fairly obvious. This structure has its basis on legal or formal grounds; its particular actions and activities are referable to a single class of aims; and these aims can be classified as secular, in that they seek only to maintain certain needed physical aspects or facilities of the village, as well as to facilitate the continuation of daily affairs and life in the village with a minimum of disruption.

It seems to me that in spite of the fact that the statuses in the structure of the auxiliatura are held, full-time by the individuals for a period of a year, the particular way in which the interaction between these statuses is organized quite properly allows me to

categorize the interaction or co-activity as periodic. It will be recalled that while a person may be named alcalde auxiliar, regidor or ministril for the period of a year, he nevertheless assumes the role and all its obligations and privileges (as well as interacts with the concomitant roles in the structure and private members of the community) only one week out of every month (or a turno semanal). For the remaining three weeks he is usually under no obligation to this group or structure in his official capacity or status and conducts his affairs without reference to it and his nominal place in it. Tentatively, then, I will categorize the institution of auxiliatura, or the pattern of co-activity within it as being periodic.

Finally, the patterns of co-activity within this structure and between it and the community at large, seem to me to involve long-term obligation and association in one very important sense. To begin with, all adult villagers by their very status as residents of San Miguel have an obligation to serve in one or another of the statuses within the structure of the auxiliatura if called upon to do so by the appropriate authorities. Of course, many villagers consider it an inconvenience to take time out from economic pursuits for a week out of every month. Some will pay others to perform the duty

for them. But inspite of substitutions and feelings of inconvenience, the obligation to serve, if called upon, is carried by every adult male so long as his is a resident of the village, and this obligation clear to everyone. Secondly, the limited jurisdiction and power of this institution (auxiliatura) over private individuals and daily village affairs is also recognized and, however grudgingly at times is accepted so long as they reside within the village.

The auxiliatura, then, both in terms of its structure and organization is a community institution that can be characterized as long-term, periodic, with a single set of specific goals, formally based and secular. Since it serves to cross-cut the individual residential units, both in terms of its structure and its functions, it implies positive modes of interpersonal relations.

Political Factions

In Chapter V, three politically oriented groups or factions were described in some detail. Classifying these factions as institutions, according to the five dimensions outlined, is a difficult process. The three factions seem to fall into two general kinds. First, the anti-comunistas and the newly formed nucleus of men which claim affiliation to the national Partido Revolucionario

(Revolutionary Party) appear to be associations which have grown out of other bonds to a great extent; namely, close kin ties, although the membership of both groups, respectively, represents different household or domestic units. The remaining faction, on the other hand, appears to be a very informal association of men that has arisen both from common experiences in positions of community responsibility and the common experience of reacting to and negative feelings about the more belligerent and ambitious group, the anti-communistas.

These three factions are also dividible into another set of types. Once again, the core group of men referred to as the anti-communistas and those of the Partido Revolucionario are distinguishable from the other remaining faction in their degree of corporateness and identification. The latter faction rarely acts in any obviously organized fashion and disdains being identified as a group or association of persons. Just the opposite is true of the first two factions. Therefore, I will restrict my remarks here to the patterned co-activity of the factions identified as anti-communistas and those affiliated with the Partido Revolucionario.

To begin with, it seems to me that both groups, respectively, involve short-term association. The rationale for this categorization rests on the fact that, even though their political affiliation appears, in part, related to their kinship relations, they are nevertheless associations of a voluntary nature. That is, neither kin relations nor any other temporally absolute criterion is apparently held for defining what adult persons are eligible for participation in each of these political alliances or associations. Simple kinship relationship is certainly not an absolutely necessary requirement for such participation since, over a period of time, persons not related to the core members of these respective groups are often allied with them. Furthermore, there are others in the village related to the core members of these groups, respectively, who have no political affiliation with them. Indeed, in some cases relatives to these persons are diametrically opposed to them, politically speaking. Secondly, association with these factions is not interpreted as life-long obligation, but rather one that continues at the disposition of the individuals and these political bonds can be repudiated at any time. Thus, unlike the requirements and obligations for participation in the institutions of the faena and the

auxiliatura, which are temporally absolute so long as a villager remains a villager, the requirements and obligations for participation in these two political associations are strictly tentative. They last only for as long as the individual wishes, and therefore can legitimately be described as short-term association.

Determining whether the patterned co-activity of these two political groups or factions is continuous or periodic is somewhat hazardous since I was unable to get any kind of reliable data on their private activity as political groups. It was reported by some informants that the persons concerned often gather for purposes of talking over political matters. However, reports of gatherings could not be verified by any sort of observation--particularly in the case of the anti-comunistas--much less the content of their discussions during these alleged meetings. It is fairly certain, however that their politically-related interaction increases during crisis periods such as those described in Chapter V. Therefore, I can only guess that their interaction in the context of political activity is primarily periodic. That is to say, that they band closely together for the purposes of accomplishing some political purposes only periodically and not on a day

to day basis. Similarly, in the absende of reliable data, I can only opine that their association has only one class of aims or goals that it serves, namely the acquisition and demonstration of power and influence. There was very little reason to suspect that their association served other acknowledged ends, whether economic or reaffirmation of kin ties.

Furthermore, this political class of aims or goals is reducible to a series of practical concerns and actions, all revolving around somewhat different plans or ideas respectively, as to how life in the village should be conducted. It seems to me, therefore, that the single class of aims can be catergorized as primarily secular.

Finally, although many of the particular* actions of both groups could be interpreted as attempts to make their power (informal ability to direct and persuade) synonymous with authority (formal, sanctioned, coercisve powers) via control of the auxiliatura, their political associatíon and activity still lacks any formal or legal sanction. Indeed, even traditional sanction is míssing since the activities of these groups--particularly the anti-comunistas--causes considerable consternation among the majority of villagers and is viewed very negatively by them.

The membership of Comite cross-cuts several village households and as such involves positive interpersonal relations.

The two Hermandades, on the other hand, are private associations of two small groups of villagers, respectively. The membership of the Hermandad del Sagrado Corazon is composed of four kin-related men representing four different households. The other Hermandad is composed of five women, in a cart tied together by kinship as well as economic and friendship bonds. With respect to these two Hermandades, it is difficult to determine which type of bonds (kinship, economic, friendship or those of their formal Hermandad association) supercedes the other. However, as a formal association of persons, their explicit function is the veneration of the particular Catholic Saints to which they are dedicated. This, it will be recalled, is accomplished through the celebration of the Saint's day with a religious procession and a month-long novena. While these two Hermandades are not public organizations in the sense that they have no mandate from the community to perform this their ostensive function, they do receive moral support in the form of public participation and some economic support for their fiesta.

Therefore, the association of these individual villagers into their two respective factions has an informal basis. That is, it is based only on their individual willingness and consensus to associate and act together for political purposes. There is no other basis for their existence provided by the society of San Miguel as a whole.

Comite de la Iglesia and the Hermandades

The Comite de la Iglesia, the Hermandad del Sagrado Corazon and the Hermandad de la Virgen (all of which are described in Chapter VI) are formal organizations or associations of adult San Miguelenos. The most important of these, the Comite, is a public organization in that it requires official public approval or sanction for its principal activities. The principal functions of this group is the physical upkeep of the church, meeting its financial necessities through collections, and the organization of most of the celebrations noted in religious calendar of the village. However, membership and participation in this organization is voluntary. That is, while duty at the auxiliatura is obligatory for all adult villagers, for example, participation in the Comite is not but rather is strictly a matter of individual willingness.

Taken collectively, these three groups are, from the standpoint of the interactants, short-term associations. That is, their association in these groups is not a life-long obligation once entered into, but rather an association for variable, though limited, periods of time. Apparently no individuals occupy the respective statuses within these groups for more than a few years. Secondly, the interaction of persons in these groups is periodic, taking place only at specified periods of time rather than on a day-to-day basis. The periodicity of interaction in the *Comite* appears to be fixed; occurring with regularity, usually on Sundays when maintenance work on the church is performed, and on days preceding and during the fiestas. The interaction of the membership of the two *Hermandades* also appears to be periodic, although I was unable to determine just when and with what regularity it takes place.

The patterned co-activity of the *Comite* appears to involve only one class of aims or goals, namely, providing the organization and performing the necessary duties for religious celebrations. Unfortunately, the *Hermandades* are not so easily categorized along this dimension. The difficulty here stems from lack of data. The presence of other types of bonds (other than those created in the specific context of the *Hermandad*) between the members of these two groups,

respectively, makes a "single class of aims" classification somewhat suspect. However, on the basis of what was observable, mainly interaction preceding and during their respective religious celebrations, I would tentatively classify them as such, i.e. associations with a single class of goals. This set of goals (their manifest functions) needless to say, are sacred, both in the case of the *Comite* and the *Hermandades*.

In summary, then, it seems to me that the patterned co-activity making up the institutions of the *Comite de la Iglesia* and the *Hermandades*, can be classified as short-term, periodic, single goal associations, highly formalized and sacred with respect to their functions.

Religious Fiestas, *Velacion* de la Candelaria and Funeral Wakes

In chapter VI the calendar of religious feasts and their activities were described in some detail. It was pointed out that these fiestas comprise the major part of the religious life of San Miguel. More over, no other type of activity that takes place in the village has greater power in bringing together in patterned co-activity (i.e. institutionalized behavior) the majority of village households. Village participation in these

fiestas is nearly universal. More importantly, religious life in San Miguel as manifest in these fiestas, entails interdependence, organization and structure before it can be given its characteristic expression. Thus, it can be readily seen that the patterned co-activity which transpires on these religious occasions is a positive mode of interpersonal relations and perhaps the community's greatest source of unity and integration.

The highly similar rituals revolving around the pilgrimage to Esquipulas and funeral wakes, on a smaller scale, also demonstrate some of the social organizational characteristics noted above for religious fiestas. Although participation in these two activities is apparently not as universal as that in fiestas, it does, nevertheless cross-cut a significant number of households. Furthermore, they possess definite structure and organization involving a constellation of statuses with fairly well-defined roles. One of the more interesting features of a "velacion" and a funeral wake is the occurrence of monetary contributions. This is particularly interesting because these contributions to defray travel expenses for the pilgrims and the funeral are made to private individuals by other private individuals. It will be remembered that sharing of labor or economically

valuable objects is a very rare thing in San Miguel, therefore, this act here is highly exceptional and worthy of note.

The religious fiestas, the velacion de la candela and funeral wakes, it seems to me, can be classified as involving short-term association. This categorization is based on the fact that participation in these activities is voluntary and not obligatory or inherent in any universal community status. Participation in these activities and economic contributions to them, for example, is not even obligatory or inherent in the status of villager or San Migueleno. That is, one does not have to attend these occasions or contribute to their performance simply because one resides in San Miguel, but rather such participation is dependent on the voluntad (willingness) of the person. A good example of this is provided by the two Evangelista (Protestant) families of the village who do not participate. Although they occasionally contribute money for the physical maintenance of the church, they do so only to demonstrate their voluntad. Therefore, these institutions are short-term in that activity or participation in them is only for as long as the individual wishes and not an affiliation or an obligation for an indefinite period of time or the rest of his life.

By their very nature these institutions involve only periodic association and interaction. In other words, these activities have a periodicity, fixed in the case of the fiestas and the "velaciones" and a random periodicity in the case of funeral wakes. Only on these periodic occasions do villagers from different households interact in the statuses inherent to these three institutions (principally that of *acompanante*). However, once participation is agreed upon, the obligations, rights and reciprocity which takes place is well defined by tradition and consummated in the on-going ritual aspects of the activity. Furthermore, while participation by the individual is voluntary and the association is short-term, it seems to have been strongly established by tradition that these activities are appropriate and necessary and must be performed in the prescribed ways if they are to be valid. Therefore, the basis of the particular interaction or co-activity in these three institutions is formal and not based on consensus among the individuals involved.

In the abstract, the various actions and activities taking place in the context of these institutions, it seems to me, are referable to a single class of aims and goals. In other words, there appears to be only one type or major over-all function served by these

activities, and this, of course, is of a spiritual or religious (i.e. sacred) nature. While it is true, as was pointed out in Chapter VI, that the activities which take place in fiestas, "velaciones" and wakes are a source of relaxation, entertainment or emotional comfort for the participants. These kinds of functions, I believe, are peripheral or latent ones and hardly the central aim or goal of these occasions. Neither are these activities directed at the accomplishment of other goals, such as economic betterment or reconciliation of strife.

Thus, the institutions of religious fiestas, the "velacion" and funeral wakes are short-term, periodic and formal associations of villagers, with interaction within them directed at the accomplishment of a single class of aims (i.e. worship) which is explicitly sacred.

Summary

Before summarizing the characterization of each of the selected institutions examined, it will be useful to introduce here a system of notation for the five dimensions used. Thus, the letter A represents the dimension of long-term (noted by the value sub-one or A_1) or short-term (noted by the value sub-two or A_2)

association; the letter B represents the dimension of continuous (noted by the value B_1) or periodic (noted as B_2) interaction; the letter C represents the dimension of multiple classes of Aims or Goals (noted as C_1) or a single class of aims or goals (noted as C_2); the letter D represents the formal (noted as D_1) or informal (noted as D_2) basis of association; and, finally, the letter E represents the dimension of sacred (noted as E_1) or secular (noted as E_2) nature of the aims or goals of the association and interaction.

Using this notation, then, I can summarize the selected institutions examined in this Chapter as follows:

Agricultural Wage Work.....	$A_2-B_2-C_2-D_1-E_2$
Faenas.....	$A_1-B_2-C_2-D_1-E_2$
Auxiliatura.....	$A_1-B_2-C_2-D_1-E_2$
Political Factions.....	$A_2-B_2-C_2-D_2-E_2$
Marriage.....	$A_1-B_1-C_1-D_1-E_1$
Common-Law Unions.....	$A_1-B_1-C_1-D_2-E_2$
Compadrazgo.....	$A_1-B_1-C_1-D_1-E_1$
"Velacion de la Candela".....	$A_2-B_2-C_2-D_1-E_1$

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Religious Fiestas.....	$A_2-B_2-C_2-D_1-E_1$
Funeral Wakes.....	$A_2-B_2-C_2-D_1-E_1$
Comite del Iglesia.....	$A_2-B_2-C_2-D_1-E_1$
Hermandades.....	$A_2-B_2-C_2-D_1-E_1$

Thus:

- 1) we find that marriage and compadrazgo are identical in all the dimensions (i.e. $A_1-B_1-C_1-D_1-E_1$);
- 2) The institutions of the faena and the auxiliatura are both described by the same values on each of the five dimensions (i.e. $A_2-B_2-C_2-D_1-E_1$);
- 3) the institutions of the velacion de la candela, religious fiestas, funeral wakes, the Comite de la Iglesia and the Hermandades are identical in that all can be described as $A_2-B_2-C_2-D_1-E_1$; and,
- 4) the three remaining institutions (agricultural wage labor, political factions and common-law unions) are not comparable in that they differ from each other and from the above three classes (respectively) in at least one or more of the five dimensions.

Unfortunately, I lack sufficiently refined data to enable a detailed analysis of other behavioral characteristics associated with these general classes of institutions. Furthermore, perhaps other correlations would have been possible if more institutions had been examined along the five dimensions. But this also was not possible. However, the general type of correlation that interests

me here is evident from an examination of the above general classes of institutions. The institutions of marriage and compadrazgo, identical along the five dimensions and different from all the rest, can be distinguished from the others in that these institutions do not structure interpersonal relations between villagers (as in the case of compadrazgo) or occur with little frequency (as in the case of marriage) and furthermore are not desirable according to villagers. Thus, one generalization is possible. Namely, institutions that have a formal basis for association and require long-term, continuous interaction, the aims and goals of which fall into a variety of classes of aims or goals and connote sacredness appear to be less favored by San Miguelenos as contexts in which positive modes of interpersonal relations with fellow villagers may be structured.

In other words, positive modes of interpersonal relations between villagers can and do occur in San Miguel, but they occur less frequently (and in some cases, not at all) in the context of institutions which, by their nature, are binding and require a greater degree of closeness or intensive association or affiliation between the interactants. This is evident

when it is noted that the institutions of marriage and compadrazgo, both of which demand a greater intensity of relationship, appear to be undesirable or unacceptable to villagers as mediums through they may relate to and interact with other villagers outside of their own households. In the other institutions, for example, it is possible to relate to others outside of the household to carry out culturally and socially prescribed community functions, and still maintain a degree of social distance which is considered appropriate by the villagers. Moreover, the reasons given by villagers as to why they avoid such intensive or intimate relations with other villagers, as would be necessary in marriage and compadrazgo are of the type noted by Foster, Lewis and others. Namely these reasons are suspicion, distrust and fear of others, generally, and that in such relationships personal, sexual and economic exploitation of one's self by others is more possible.

Paradigm for the Conceptualization of Peasant Social Organization

On the basis of the above, admittedly limited analysis and tentative generalization, I would propose the following paradigm for the social organization of a peasant community such as San Miguel Milpas Altas:

1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions and activities. It emphasizes that proper record-keeping is essential for transparency and accountability, particularly in financial matters. The text notes that without reliable records, it is difficult to track progress, identify issues, and make informed decisions.

2. The second part of the document outlines the various methods and tools used to collect and analyze data. It mentions the use of surveys, interviews, and focus groups to gather qualitative information, as well as statistical analysis and data visualization techniques to process quantitative data. The importance of ensuring the reliability and validity of the data sources is also highlighted.

3. The third part of the document describes the process of interpreting the results and drawing conclusions. It stresses the need for a systematic approach to data analysis, including identifying patterns, trends, and anomalies. The text also discusses the importance of considering the context and limitations of the data when making interpretations.

4. The fourth part of the document discusses the application of the findings to inform decision-making and policy development. It notes that the results of the research should be used to identify areas for improvement, develop strategies to address identified issues, and inform the formulation of policies and programs. The text emphasizes the importance of ongoing monitoring and evaluation to ensure the effectiveness of the interventions.

5. The fifth part of the document discusses the challenges and limitations of the research process. It mentions the potential for bias, the difficulty of obtaining representative samples, and the limitations of certain data collection methods. The text also discusses the importance of acknowledging these limitations and taking steps to minimize their impact on the results.

6. The sixth part of the document discusses the ethical considerations of the research. It mentions the need to obtain informed consent from participants, ensure the confidentiality of the data, and follow established ethical guidelines. The text also discusses the importance of transparency in the research process and the reporting of results.

7. The seventh part of the document discusses the future directions of the research. It mentions the need for further studies to explore the identified issues in more depth, the importance of interdisciplinary collaboration, and the potential for new technologies to enhance data collection and analysis.

8. The eighth part of the document discusses the conclusions and recommendations. It summarizes the key findings of the research and provides recommendations for future action. The text emphasizes the importance of continued research and monitoring to ensure the long-term success of the interventions.

9. The ninth part of the document discusses the acknowledgments. It mentions the individuals and organizations that provided support and assistance throughout the research process. The text also mentions the funding sources for the research.

10. The tenth part of the document discusses the references. It lists the sources of information used in the research, including books, articles, and reports. The text also mentions the importance of citing sources properly to give credit to the original authors.

1. In communities like San Miguel, the degree of social organization required above the level of family or household is minimal. This is due to its small size and relatively little degree of social differentiation which, in turn, is related to its relatively small and fixed resource base and an equally fixed subsistence productivity.
2. In such a community the comparatively fewer structures and forms of organization above the level of the residential group (household) is rationalized or supported by the presence of a negative view of associations and interaction with other persons in the community outside of the household. This negative view, in essence, states that such associations are dangerous to one's own economic and social well-being.
3. However, since a community (particularly ones like San Miguel, with bilateral kinship systems as opposed to segmentary lineage systems) is something more than the sum total households, some interaction and association with members of other households is necessary for its continuity. This is so because not all the functions necessary for the conduct of organized life, as a community, can be performed by the household units independent of one and other.
4. The functions necessary for the conduct of organized life, as a totality, among relatively poor, small and undifferentiated communities like San Miguel are not many and tend to be pretty well defined and specific. This is true since most of the more basic and necessary functions (those necessary for survival, subsistence and socialization) are already being met by the household.
5. Regardless of how few in number and how limited and focused these community cross-cutting functions might be, their performance at any given point in time is manifest in the context of social institutions (patterned co-activity directed at the fulfillment of at least one, but perhaps more, abstracted class of aims or goals).

6. The fulfillment or performance of any of these functions is not necessarily restricted to institutions with particular types of structure but, theoretically, at least, may be filled or performed by any one or more of a variety of institutionalized structures.
7. Given that in relatively poor, small and socially less differentiated communities there is relatively little need for a high degree of social organization (above the level of the household) and that such a situation gives rise to a negative view of such organization, the social institutions through which the minimal functions and inter-personal relations necessary for the conduct of organized community life will be manifest in those institutions that do not require long-term, continuous and formal association, with commitments to a variety of different types of aims or goals and involving sacred principles.
8. Such institutions as these will be unacceptable or undesirable to villagers as mediums through which they can associate or interact with one and other to insure the continuity of community life, since they go beyond the minimal amount organization and intensity of interaction necessary.

Conclusion

One of the principle elements of Foster's model is that of population size and its relation to the negative view of others. According to Foster (1960: 178), when a community existing on a marginal economic level increases beyond the "optimum size" (1000 to 1500) for face-to-face relationships and intimate knowledge of others, the suspiciousness and antagonisms brought about by a precarious economic existence are further

• The first of these is the fact that the
• The second is the fact that the
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• The twenty-second is the fact that the
• The twenty-third is the fact that the
• The twenty-fourth is the fact that the

• The twenty-fifth is the fact that the
• The twenty-sixth is the fact that the
• The twenty-seventh is the fact that the

• The twenty-eighth is the fact that the
• The twenty-ninth is the fact that the
• The thirtieth is the fact that the

aggravated and extended to all others generally. This generalized suspiciousness and antagonism, however, is counter-balanced by specific, dyadic contracts which are validated by complementary reciprocity.

The final point I wish to make here is that these dyadic contracts are nothing more than differential informal voluntary associations worked out within the context of general, institutionalized statuses and not a phenomenon peculiar to peasant communities. It seems to me, then, that the generalized antagonism and suspiciousness, as used by Foster, is an unnecessary intervening variable for explaining what are essentially voluntary associations in that these occur in the context of other types of communities, with relatively better economic conditions or different institutions, provided the population base is large enough and differentiated enough to make voluntary association socially meaningful and possible. Lipset (1962: 178-179), for example, in his study of the internal politics of the International Typographical Union, found that

"...on-the-job social relations may vary considerably in the degree to which they approximate the close friendships of the primary group.

"The degree to which on-the-job social

1. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 1997; 277: 1033-1036.

1. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 1997; 278: 1039-1044.

• • • • •

relations among printers are involuntary will vary with the size of the shop. They are on the average less involuntary in large shops than in small."

Thus, the larger and more diversified a social entity is, the more likely one is to find voluntary associations (i.e. dyadic contracts) regardless of the cultural context or the type of society one is examining. This possibly universal relationship between population size, social differentiation and voluntary association has implications for the analysis of institutions vis-a-vis social relationships in San Miguel and my findings. More specifically, certain institutions, by definition, imply that the associations of persons within them must be dyadic, voluntary ones (i.e. close, intimate and intensive). Such institutions are marriage and compadrazgo. Given that the population of San Miguel is small and relatively homogeneous, the relative absence of compadre bonds and conjugal unions with legal and religious sanction between villagers would be expected. This was, indeed, the case.

On the other hand, I believe that Foster's dyadic contract model would not enable such prediction primarily because it seeks explanations for behavior outside the context of institutions. The utility of

the institutional approach and its possibly greater predictive ability, of course, needs to be tested further in different cultural context. Should it prove useful in these other context a great step forward will have been taken towards the eventual development of sound techniques for the implementation of technological and social change necessary for keeping in step with the modern world. Too often, perhaps, the underdeveloped community has rejected the new and the beneficial simply because it required a type of social organization incompatible with the community's own principles of how men relate to men.

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE
USED IN
SAN MIGUEL MILPAS ALTAS

Entrevistado _____ Fecha _____

No. de Sitio _____ Entrevistador _____

- (1) Edad _____ años
- (2) Sexo: M _____ F _____
- (3) Estado Civil: A soltero
- B casado (legal)
- C junto
- D separado
- E divorciado
- F viudo
- G _____
- H no informacion

(4) Lugar de nacimiento: _____
Pueblo Depto.

(5) Anos de vivir en San Miguel _____

(6) Lugar (es) de residencia antes de San Miguel:

(lugar) _____; _____

(7) Anos de escuela cumplidos _____

(8) Sabe leer: si _____ no _____ sabe escribir: si _____ no _____

(9) Ocupacion principal: (en lo que se ocupa el informante la
mayoria del tiempo. Solo una ocupacion se requiere)

A. Agricultor (cultivando terreno para consumo propio y/o vender)

B. Ama de casa

C. No especializado:

a) peon b) mozo de casa c) canastera d) obrero en
construccion e) asistente en camiones f) otro _____

- D. Especializado:
 a) panadero b) albanil c) carpintero d) hace coronas
 e) sastre f) cocinero g) chofer h) barbero i) otro_____
- E. Propietario de tienda en aldea
- F. Algun otro negocio
- G. Vendedora de mercado
- H. Lugar donde desempeña su ocupacion principal_____

(10) Ocupacion Secundaria

- A. Agricultor (cultivando terreno para consumo propio y/o vender)
- B. Ama de casa
- C. No especializado:
 a) peon b) mezo de casa c) canastera d) obrero en construccion e) asistente en camiones 5) otro_____
- D. Especializado:
 a) panadero b) albanil c) carpintero d) hace coronas
 e) sastre f) cocinero g) chofer h) barbero i) otro_____
- E. Vendedora en Mercado
- F. Propietario de tienda en aldea
- G. Algun otro negocio
- H. Lugar donde desempeña su ocupacion secundaria_____

(11) Digame don_____, que otras clases de trabajo ha tenido Ud. antes?

NOTA AL ENTREVISTADOR: PARA ESTA RESPUESTA, USE LAS CATEGORIAS DADAS ARRIBA, O TAMBIEN PARA REFRESCARLE LA MEMORIA. INCLUYA SERVICIO MILITAR.

Clase de trabajo	Lugar	Tiempo
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

- (12) Cuantas personas viven en este sitio? _____
- (13) De estas, cuantas son personas menores de edad? (de 15 anos de edad o menos) _____
- (14) Cuantas son personas mayores de edad? _____
- (15) Cuales son las ocupaciones principales de estas personas adultas?
- _____
- _____
- _____
- _____
- _____
- (16) Cuales son las ocupaciones secundarias de estas personas adultas?
- _____
- _____
- _____
- _____
- _____
- (17) Digame don_____, que clase de aldea es San Miguel?
Como es la vida aqui, como es la aldea en general)
- PROBE: Que otras características?
Porque dice Ud. esto?
- (18) Que cosas en la vida que se lleva en esta aldea son las que mas le gustan (o satisfacen, o agradan) a Ud?
- PROBE: Que otras cosas
Porque dice usted esto?
- (19) Que cosas en la vida de esta aldea son las que menos le gustan (o le satisfacen) a usted?
- PROBE: Que otras cosas?
Porque dice usted esto?

- (2) Digame don_____, en que manera es mejor la vida de aqui que la vida de una gran ciudad como Guatemala?
- (21) En que es peor la vida en San Miguel que la vida en Guatemala?
- (22) Cuales son las diferentes categorias o clases de gente que hay en San Miguel?

PROBE: Que otras?

NOTA AL ENTREVISTADOR: ENTREGUE AL INFORMANTE, LA TARJETA QUE MUESTRA UNA ESCALERA. SENALE EL EXTREMO SUPERIOR DE LA ESCALERA CADA VEZ QUE LO MENCIONE (EL EXTREMO SUPERIOR ES EL PELDANO No. 10). SENALE EL EXTREMO INFERIOR CADA VEZ QUE LO MENCIONE. AL HACER UNA PREGUNTA, MUEVA EL DEDO RAPIDAMENTE DE ARRIBA ARAJO DE LA TARJETA.

- (23) Aqui tiene un cuadro que representa una escalera. Supongamos que en el peldano mas alto estan representadas las mejores condiciones posibles de vida y que en peldano mas bajo estan las peores condiciones posibles de vida.
- a. Encual peldano de la escalera diria Ud. que se encuentra actualmente? # del peldano_____
- b. En cual peldano de la escalera diria Ud. que estaba hace cinco anos? # del peldano_____
- c. En cual peldano de la escalera piensa que estara Ud. dentro de cinco anos? # del peldano_____
- (24) Porque dice usted que ha cambiado de peldano?
- (25) Porque piensa usted que cambiara de peldano dentro de cinco anos?
- (26) Como tiene que ser una persona (cualquier persona adulta) para ser una de las personas mas respetadas de esta aldea?

PROBE: De que otra manera tiene que ser la persona?

NOTA AL ENTREVISTADOR: SI ESTA PREGUNTA NO DE RESULTADO EN REPUESTA DE CRITERIO NECESARIO PARA SER "RESPETADO" O EL INFORMANTE INSISTE QUE TODA PERSONA DEBE SER RESPETADA, APUNTE ESTO Y PREGUNTE LO SIGUIENTE: "COMO TIENE QUE SER UNA PERSONA PARA QUE LA MAYORIA DE LA GENTE DE SAN MIGUEL LA APRECIE MUCHO?"

- (27) De estas razones (o características) que usted acaba de mencionar, cual es la mas importante aun para que un individuo (cualquier individuo) se (o llegue a ser) una persona de respeto? o una persona apreciada?

NOTA AL ENTREVISTADOR: MARQUE LA REPUESTA MENCIONADA EN LA PREGUNTA ANTERIOR.

- (28) Que clase de persona no seria respetada por la mayoria?

PROBE: De que otra manera tiene que ser la persona?

NOTA AL ENTREVISTADOR: SI ESTA PREGUNTA NO RESULTA EN CRITERIO O CARACTERISTICAS, O EL INFORMANTE INSISTE EN QUE TODA CLASE DE PERSONA ES RESPETADA, ENTONCES ANOTE ESTO Y PREGUNTE LO SIGUIENTE: "QUE CLASE DE PERSONA ES MENOS APRECIADA EN LA ALDEA?"

- (29) De todas estas cosas males (o clases de personas) cual seria la peor?

- (30) Ahora don_____, vamos a hablar de las cosas que le interesan a usted. Sabemos que no todos los individuos del mundo estan de acuerdo en lo que es mas importante en la vida. Cuando piensa usted en las cosas que le interesan a usted, cuales cosas diria usted que son las mas importantes en su vida?

Que otras cosas son de mucha importancia para usted?

De las cosas que usted acaba de mencionar, cual es la mas importante de todas?

NOTA AL ENTREVISTADOR: AQUI REPITA LAS COSAS MENCIONADAS AL INFORMANTE Y MARQUE LA MENCIONADA COMO MAS IMPORTANTE.

- (31) Las frases "hay que mejorar," "hay que progresar," "hay que avanzar" significan para diferente gente, diferentes cosas. Podría Ud. decirme que tendría Ud. que hacer para sentir que ha progresado?

- (32) Cree usted que la mayoría de los vecinos piensan lo mismo?

Si _____ No _____

(Si la respuesta es "no")

En que manera es diferente lo que la demás gente entiende por "progresar"?

- (33) Cuando la gente de aquí habla a algunas personas, siempre o casi siempre se les dice "senor tal y tal." A que clase de gente se le dice así: Yo quisiera saber cual es la costumbre de la aldea.

- (34) A que clase de persona nunca, o casi nunca, se le dice "senor" cuando se le habla?

- (35) Dígame don _____, que importancia tiene la clase de trabajo que un individuo hace, para que sea reconocido como vecino principal (o persona de prominencia, importancia, prestigio) aquí en San Miguel?

Cree Usted que es:

MI _____ I _____ SAI _____ DPONI _____?

- (36) Que importancia tiene trabajar duro para que sea reconocido como vecino principal (persona de prominencia, importancia, prestigio) aquí en San Miguel?

Cree Usted que es:

MI _____ I _____ DAI _____ DPONI _____?

- (37) Que importancia tiene el alcance de (o lo listo que es) un individuo (cualquier individuo) como trabajador en su trabajo particular, para que sea reconocido como uno de los vecinos principales (o persona de prominencia, importancia, prestigio) por los demás vecinos de esta aldea?

Cree usted que es:

MI _____ I _____ DAI _____ DPONI _____?

- (38) Que importancia tiene ser rico (o la riqueza) para que un individuo sea reconocido como vecino principal (o persona de prominencia, prestigio, importancia) por los demas vecinos de esta aldea?

Cree Usted que es:

MI _____ I _____ DAI _____ DPONI _____?

- (39) Que importancia tiene saber leer y escribir para que un individuo sea reconocido como uno de los vecinos principales (o persona de prominencia, prestigio, importancia) por los demas vecinos de esta aldea?

Cree Usted que es:

MI _____ I _____ DAI _____ DPONI _____?

- (40) Bueno don _____, hemos hablado de la importancia de cada una de estas cosas para el reconocimiento del individuo. Estas cosas fueron, para repetir: la clase o tipo de trabajo, lo duro que trabaja, la calidad del trabajo, la cantidad de dinero y la habilidad de leer y escribir del individuo. Ahora digame, de estas cinco cosas,

Cual es todavia mas importante que las demas? _____

Cual es menos importante que las demas? _____

- (41) Digame don _____, cuales tres vecinos de la aldea son sus tres mejores amigos?

NOTA AL ENTREVISTADOR: SI EL INFORMANTE TIENE DIFICULTADES EN NOMBRAR PERSONAS, ANOTE ESTO, CON SUS EXPLICACIONES.

- (42) Digame don _____, cuales tres vecinos de la aldea son sus amigos de confianza?

- (43) Digame don _____, a cuales familias de la aldea visita usted y su propia familia mas seguido?

- (44) Digame don _____, en caso de una muerte en su familia, a que tres vecinos invitaria usted como acompañantes?
-

- (45) Ahora don_____, vamos a suponer que para el día del árbol el maestro de la escuela va a tener un programa de actos presentado por los niños escolares de San Miguel. También habrá una cena que será atendida por el Alcalde de Magdalena, el Director de Escuelas Rurales y el Profesor mismo. Al mismo tiempo el profesor está preocupado porque él desea que tres vecinos de la aldea acompañen a los invitados de honor en la cena y como jueces de actos, pero no sabe a qué tres vecinos o vecinas, invitar. Si él viniera a pedirle consejo a usted, a cuáles tres vecinos sugeriría usted (o a cuáles tres vecinos le diría usted que sería lo mejor invitar)?

NOTA AL ENTREVISTADOR: SI EL INFORMANTE TIENE DIFICULTAD EN NOMBRAR PERSONAS, ANOTE ESTO CON SUS EXPLICACIONES.

Porque sugeriría a estos tres vecinos?

- (46) Ahora don_____, vamos a suponer que la municipalidad acaba de construir otra pila de cemento en la plazuela de San Miguel. También vamos a suponer que al terminarse de construir la pila, iba a haber una ceremonia en la cual el Padre de Antigua llegaría a San Miguel a bendecir la pila nueva. Para la bendición el padre desea que los vecinos de San Miguel nombren tres personas como "padrinos" (o madrinas) de la pila. A cuáles tres personas nombraría usted para este acto?

NOTA AL ENTREVISTADOR: SI EL INFORMANTE TIENE DIFICULTAD EN NOMBRAR PERSONAS, ANOTE ESTO CON SUS EXPLICACIONES.

Porque nombraría usted a estos tres vecinos?

- (47) Ahora don_____, le voy a leer una serie de "declaraciones." Estas "declaraciones" son de opiniones nada más. Me interesa saber si usted está de acuerdo o en desacuerdo con cada uno de estas.

NOTA AL ENTREVISTADOR: PARA LAS PRIMERAS CINCO SIGUIENTES DECLARACIONES, PREGUNTE: ESTA DECIDIDAMENTE DE ACUERDO, O SOLO LIGERAMENTE DE ACUERDO: O ESTA DECIDIDAMENTE EN DESACUERDO? ANOTE LAS RESPUESTAS COMO SIGUE:

DECIDIDAMENTE DE ACUERDO.....SI
 LIGERAMENTE DE ACUERDO.....si
 NO SABE O NO PUEDE DECIDIR..... ?
 LIGERAMENTE EN DESACUERDO.....no
 DECIDIDAMENTE EN DESACUERDO.....NO

PARA LAS DEMÁS SI EL INFORMANTE CONTESTA "SI", PREGUNTAR SI ESTA DECIDIDAMENTE DE ACUERDO. SI EL INFORMANTE CONTESTA "NO", PREGUNTAR SI ESTA DECIDIDAMENTE EN DESACUERDO.

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

- (47) Para mi, es mas interesante lo que sucede en la aldea, que las cosas que pasan en la capital (en Guatemala).

Diria usted que esta

SI si ? no NO

- (48) Ser reconocido y bien tratado en la aldea es mas importante para mi que ser conocido y bien tratado por gente de la capital de Guatemala.

Diria usted que esta

SI si ? no NO

- (49) A mi me gustan mas los modos y la manera de vivir de la gente de la capital, que la de los vecinos de San Miguel.

Diria usted que esta

SI si ? no NO

- (50) A mi me gusta mas observar las fiestas religiosas de la capital (de Guatemala) que la fiesta titular de San Miguel.

Diria usted que esta

SI si ? no NO

- (51) Lo que ocurre en la Capital y en otras partes del mundo me interesa solamente si tiene efectos y consecuencias en la aldea. De otra manera no son interesantes para mi.

Diria usted que esta

SI si ? no NO

- (52) Yo prefiero contribuir con dinero o trabajo para el beneficio de de la Iglesia de San Miguel, que para el beneficio de la parroquia de San Jose en general

SI si ? no NO

- (53) El unico gusto de trabajar es ganar dinero y otras cosas materiales necesarias para vivir mejor.

SI si ? no NO

- (54) Si manana yo ganara el primer premio de la loteria -- una cantidad bastante para retirarme del trabajo -- yo de cualquier manera seguiria mis labores como lo he hecho dia a dia.

SI si ? no NO

1. The first part of the report is a general introduction to the project.

2. The second part of the report is a detailed description of the methodology used.

3. The third part of the report is a detailed description of the results obtained.

4. The fourth part of the report is a detailed description of the conclusions drawn.

5. The fifth part of the report is a detailed description of the recommendations made.

6. The sixth part of the report is a detailed description of the references used.

7. The seventh part of the report is a detailed description of the appendixes.

8. The eighth part of the report is a detailed description of the summary.

9. The ninth part of the report is a detailed description of the acknowledgments.

10. The tenth part of the report is a detailed description of the index.

11. The eleventh part of the report is a detailed description of the bibliography.

12. The twelfth part of the report is a detailed description of the glossary.

13. The thirteenth part of the report is a detailed description of the list of figures.

14. The fourteenth part of the report is a detailed description of the list of tables.

15. The fifteenth part of the report is a detailed description of the list of abbreviations.

16. The sixteenth part of the report is a detailed description of the list of symbols.

17. The seventeenth part of the report is a detailed description of the list of units.

18. The eighteenth part of the report is a detailed description of the list of acronyms.

19. The nineteenth part of the report is a detailed description of the list of initialisms.

20. The twentieth part of the report is a detailed description of the list of terms.

21. The twenty-first part of the report is a detailed description of the list of definitions.

22. The twenty-second part of the report is a detailed description of the list of examples.

23. The twenty-third part of the report is a detailed description of the list of exercises.

24. The twenty-fourth part of the report is a detailed description of the list of projects.

- (55) Una persona que no trabaja de ninguna manera -- aunque tenga dinero -- no es una persona completa.

SI si ? no NO

- (56) Una persona que no necesita trabajar nunca es feliz.

SI si ? no NO

- (57) Para mi las cosas que hago despues de mi trabajo, o cuando no estoy trabajando, son mas importantes que el trabajo mismo.

SI si ? no NO

- (58) Cuando tengo tiempo libre, prefiero pasarlo haciendo otras cosas y no avanzar mi trabajo o buscando mas trabajo que hacer.

SI si ? no NO

- (59) Como el trabajo nunca se termina, no es necesario hacerlo lo mejor posible.

SI si ? no NO

- (60) Yo he tenido exito en todas las cosas que he tratado de hacer.

SI si ? no NO

- (61) Yo estoy satisfecho con el lugar que me dan los demas vecinos de San Miguel.

SI si ? no NO

- (62) Los demas vecinos de San Miguel generalmente me dan un lugar algo menor (o mas bajo) de lo que yo merezco.

SI si ? no NO

- (63) Es importante para mi saber que piensan de mi los demas vecinos de la aldea.

SI si ? no NO

- (64) Si yo llegara a saber que los vecinos de San Miguel no me consideran con suficiente respeto, esto me preocuparia.

SI si ? no NO

- (65) Los vecinos de San Miguel nunca me daran un alto lugar de respeto, no importa lo que yo llegue a hacer en la vida.

SI si ? no NO

NOTA AL ENTREVISTADOR: AQUI SE USA LA TARJETA CON LA ESCALERA EN GRANDE. NO ENSENE LAS FOTOS ANTES DE LLEGAR A LA PREGUNTA. PIDA AL INFORMANTE QUE AL COLOCAR LA FOTO EN SU RESPECTIVO PELDANO, LA PONGA BOCA ABAJO Y USTED SOLO APUNTE EL NUMERO EN SU LUGAR APROPIADO.

- (66) Ahora vamos a usar la escalera de otro modo. Vamos a suponer que en el peldano mas alto (peldano #10) estan las personas de San Miguel a quien la mayoria de los demas vecinos le tienen mas respeto, es decir las personas mas importantes, las personas de mas prestigio en la aldea. En el peldano mas bajo estan las personas que no son importantes, a las que nunca se les hace caso.

NOTA AL ENTREVISTADOR: AQUI SE INTRODUCEN LAS FOTOS. PIDE AL INFORMANTE QUE EXAMINE TODAS LAS FOTOS Y QUE ESCOJA LA QUE MAS REPRESENTA EL PELDANO # 10 Y OTRA QUE REPRESENTA EN MEJOR FORMA EL PELDANO # 1. DIGALE QUE ESTAS FOTOS DEBEN SER COLOCADAS EN SU RESPECTIVO PELDANO COMO GUIAS PARA QUE EL COLOQUE LAS DEMAS. EXPLIQUELE QUE PUEDE COLOCAR MAS DE UNA FOTO EN CADA PELDANO.

Estas son fotos de Jefes de Domicilio en San Miguel. Hagame el favor de colocar cada foto en el peldano mas apropiado, segun lo que crea usted que seria la opinion de la mayoria.

NOTA AL ENTREVISTADOR: DIGA AL INFORMANTE QUE A USTED NO LE INTERESA LA OPINION PERSONAL DE EL, SINO LO QUE EL CREE QUE ES LA OPINION DE LA MAYORIA DE LOS VECINOS. DIGA AL INFORMANTE QUE USTED NO ESTA INTERESADO EN LOS INDIVIDUOS, PERSONALMENTE, SINO EN LAS CARACTERISTICAS GENERALES DE LAS PERSONAS QUE OCUPAN DIFERENTES NIVELES DE IMPORTANCIA.

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Peldano # 10

Peldano # 9

Peldano # 8

Peldano # 7

Peldano # 6

Peldano # 5

Peldano # 4

Peldano # 3

Peldano # 2

Peldano # 1

No puede colocar

- (67) Ahora don_____, quiero que me diga cual peldano es el nivel medio. Es decir, el lugar donde se encuentran las personas de respeto o importancia media.

Peldano #_____

A. Porque razones estan estas personas en el peldano mas alto?

NOTA AL ENTREVISTADOR: AQUI SE LE ENSENA AL INFORMANTE LAS FOTOS EN EL PELDANO ALTO.

PROBE: Cuales otras razones?

B. Porque razones estan estas personas en el peldano mas bajo?

NOTA AL ENTREVISTADOR: AQUI ENSENA AL INFORMANTE LAS FOTOS EN EL PELDANO MAS BAJO.

PROBE: Cuales otras razones?

C. Porque razones estan estas personas en el peldano intermedio?

NOTA AL ENTREVISTADOR: AQUI ENSENA LAS FOTOS EN EL PELDANO ESCOGIDO COMO MEDIO.

PROBE: Cuales otras razones?

- (68) Ahora digame, en cual peldano cree usted que los demas vecinos de la aldea colocarian su foto:

Peldano #_____

- (69) Posicion economica.

No. de cuerdas cultivables disponibles para su sitio_____

(de este total) No. de cuerdas en tierra comunal de aldea_____

No. de cuerdas en tierra propia_____

No. de cuerdas en tierra arrendada_____

No. total de cuerdas con cultivo de maiz, o frijol unicamente (u otros productos para consumo propio)_____

No. total de cuerdas cultivadas con veduras (productos para la venta)_____

No. de animales que pertenecen al sitio:

vacas _____	caballos _____	gallinas _____
bueyes _____	mulas _____	pollos _____
terneros _____	abejas _____	gallos _____
toros _____	conejos _____	otros _____

No. de arboles que producen en el sitio:

Arbol _____	No. _____	Arbol _____	No. _____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

**NOTA AL ENTREVISTADOR: ESTE CALCULO DEBE INCLUIR
INGRESOS PROCEDENTES DE TODO MIEMBRO DEL SITIO.**

Ingreso total de ventas en el mes anterior Q. _____ calculo

Ingreso total de sueldo en el mes anterior Q. _____ aproximado

(70)

**NOTA AL ENTREVISTADOR: AQUI PREGUNTE AL INFORMANTE LA
FRECUENCIA Y MOTIVOS CON LOS CUALES EL VISITA MAGDALENA,
ANTIGUA, GUATAMALA O CUALQUIER OTRO LUGAR QUE EL MENCIONE.**

Lugar	Motivos (o que va a hacer)	Frecuencia
_____	_____	_____

_____	_____	_____

_____	_____	_____

_____	_____	_____

(71) Pertenece usted a algunas organizaciones?

Si _____ No _____

Cuales? (Nombres)

(72) Tiene radio en su casa?

Si _____ No _____

Que tan seguido escucha usted el radio? _____

Si _____ No _____

Cuales y con que frecuencia? _____

Appendix B

La lena y las vicisitudes de la economia

Una fuente de ingreso que cualquier familia puede utilizar en cualquier momento y que es la principal para un grupo de individuos es la manufactura y venta de lena. No hay base para estimar cuando empezó la poblacion de San Miguel a depender considerablemente del bosque para obtener dinero efectivo. Sin embargo, es propietaria de tierras comunales desde hace bastante tiempo. Algunos documentos autenticos conservados en la aldea desde el siglo XVIII mencionan la existencia de ejidos del poblado. Las tierras y los bosques han aumentado de entonces para aca. En 1851, como punto final de una disputa por limites de propiedad, una finca vecina cedio a la aldea una cuchilla de terreno de extension no especificada. En 1886 el gobierno de la republica compro a un ciudadano un terreno que poseia en las inmediaciones de San Miguel y del mismo cedio cinco caballerias a la aldea (una caballeria es igual a 45.05.1008 hectareas). Estas cinco caballerias proveen hoy la mayor parte de las tierras comunales de cultivo y todavia tienen una considerable reserva de bosque. En 1896 la poblacion compro a un vecino un terreno de nueve manzanas. (Una manzana es igual a .7 de hectarea aproximadamente.) Esta pequena area tiene arboles, pero se utiliza poco para extraer madera porque esta muy a la vista. En ella esta construida la parte mas nueva del poblado.

Ademas de madera abundante en los bosques comunales, San Miguel ha contado siempre con el mercado urbano de la cercana ciudad de Antigua, que se ha estado ampliando progresivamente durante muchas decadas. A este mercado y al de Guatemala, al cual se llevaban productos de la aldea en carretas de bueyes hasta hace unos 15 o 20 anos, podia enviarse todo el carbon y la lena que pudiera ser producida. Desde la fecha mas remota que logran recordar algunos ancianos, hasta 1935 mas o menos, la poblacion

tendio a depender de la venta de carbon y lena mas que del cultivo de la tierra. En 1934 ocurrio un hecho nacional que afecto la economia de la aldea. El 8 de mayo de 1934 la asamblea legislativa de la nacion emitio la "Ley contra la vagancia" (decreto number 1996), que fue firmada dos dias mas tarde por el presidente de la republica, General Jorge Ubico. El 24 de septiembre de 1935 el gobierno emitio el "Reglamento relativo a los jornaleros para trabajos agricolas", derivado de la ley. Entonces ya esta se estaba haciendo cumplir en gran escala. El 23 de junio de 1936 el gobierno reforzo aun mas la ley, con la emision del "Reglamento para el manejo y control de los libretos de mozos". La pena minima prevista por la ley para sus infractores era de treinta dias de prision, con trabajo obligatorio no remunerado en obras y servicios del gobierno.

La ley declaro punible la vagancia y definio a los vagos. Ademias definio a los jornaleros. Los varones de San Miguel como todos los campesinos pobres del pais que hubiesen cumplido 18 anos de edad, fueron clasificados automaticamente como jornaleros. Para no ser juzados como vagos debian comprobar que efectuaban determinada cantidad de trabajo propio o asalariado, o bien de ambos tipos. Para eximirse de trabajar por salario en las fincas, un individuo debia cultivar con su trabajo personal un minimo de 25 cuerdas de 40 varas de maiz. Los que no llenaran la base de 25 cuerdas estaban obligados a trabajar por salario cierto numero de dias anuales, en la siguiente proporcion: 100 dias los que tuvieran por lo menos 10 cuerdas de cultivos propios y 150 dias los que no tuvieran cultivos propios. Tanto los cultivos propios como los dias trabajados por jornal debian ser comprobados por el individuo. Los cultivos propios se comprobaban con constancia extendida por las autoridades municipales. Los dias trabajados por salario se comprobaban con anotaciones hechas por los propietarios o administradores de las fincas en las cuales hubiese trabajado

el individuo. Habia una cedula especial impresa por el gobierno para hacer tales anotaciones, llamada "Libreto de mozos".

Pocos individuos de San Miguel podian comprobar que cultivaran un minimo de 25 cuerdas de maiz. (En realidad, entonces como hoy, muchas familias tenian que comprar una parte del maiz que consumian domesticamente). En las familias que cultivaban tal extension habia ordinariamente dos o mas varones adultos, de manera que uno o mas de ellos no podian eximirse de trabajar por salario. Asi fue como empezaron a trabajar en gran escala por salario y a ampliar considerablemente sus relaciones de trabajo con las fincas vecinas. Pero los varones de San Miguel no estaban interesados en trabajar en las fincas. Tradicionalmente habian dependido del maiz para obtener el articulo basico de su alimentacion y de carbon vegetal, lena y algunos productos agricolas para obtener dinero efectivo. Este sistema ya no podia sostenerse mas tiempo porque la nueva ley exigia que la mayor parte del tiempo disponible se invirtiera en atender cultivos propios, en trabajar por salario o en ambas cosas. La "Mayor parte del tiempo disponible" no estaba constituida por un numero muy alto de dias, porque previamente habia que descontar los domingos, los dias empleados en el servicio civil, en los trabajos voluntarios para el mantenimiento de los servicios publicos locales, en devengar con trabajo personal los impuestos de vialidad y ornato, en entrenamiento militar de reservistas y en descanso forzoso por enfermedad o mal tiempo. Aunque los datos no permiten hacer calculos exactos en este momento, es muy importante tener esto en mente. Quedaba muy poco tiempo para dedicarse a la manufactura y venta de carbon y lena. Los varones, pues, se vieron forzados a ampliar sus relaciones de trabajo con las fincas. Empero, debido a su escaso interes en este tipo de trabajo, tambien trataron de cultivar un poco mas de maiz.

Algunos lograron eludir las exigencias de la nueva situacion obteniendo credenciales como trabajadores en ciertos empleos y oficios no agricolas (carreteras, por ejemplo). Pero no fueron muchos. Por otra parte, la industria de la construccion, fuente de empleo no agricola preferida actualmente por un numero considerable de hombres, no podia entonces ofrecer nada a la poblacion. La fuerza de trabajo necesaria para la construccion y el mantenimiento de caminos por parte del gobierno nacional se reclutaba a la sazón (al tenor de la "Ley de vialidad" del regimen del presidente Ubico, derogada en 1944) entre la masa campesina, que ordinariamente optaba por trabajar dos semanas anuales en los caminos sin ningun salario, a cambio de no pagar impuestos por transitarlos a pie. Cierta familiaridad adquirida por los hombres en las tareas mas rudimentarias de la construccion de caminos (y de obras publicas municipales cuando se devengaba con trabajo personal el impuesto municipal de ornato) posiblemente influiria mas tarde en una medida apreciable en la decision de buscar trabajo en la construccion, pero en aquel tiempo no llego tal trabajo a representar una fuente de empleo remunerado.

Los efectos de la ley contra la vagancia fueron: 1) disminucion de la manufactura y venta de carbon y lena, 2) aumento de las relaciones de trabajo del individuo local con las fincas vecinas, y 3) aumento del cultivo del maiz. El resultado fue el eclipse temporal de una economia pasada en la comercializacion de productos del bosque y el surgimiento de una economia basada en el salario. Actualmente la poblacion busca trabajo asalariado con el salario como motivacion principal. En aquel tiempo debia buscar tal trabajo con la necesidad de cumplir la ley como motivo principal. El maiz era basico en ambas economias como producto para el consumo domestico. En la primera tenia que completarse en muchos hogares con un poco de maiz com-

prado, cosa que el ingreso obtenido por la venta de carbon y lena permitia facilmente. En la segunda fue un producto del cual se obtenian ciertos excedentes para la venta. Pero en esto los datos recolectados se contradicen nitidamente, en una forma que sugiere diferencias individuales que permiten agrupar a las personas en dos grupos: uno, muy reducido, que cultivaba maiz suficiente para vender algunos excedentes y trabajaba poco por salario; y otro, bastante numeroso, que no obtenia excedentes de maiz y tendio a depender crecientemente del trabajo asalariado en las fincas. La situacion parece haber sido esta: todos cultivaban maiz (y algunos productos mas) para su propio consumo; todos obtenian algun dinero por la venta de otros productos agricolas, exceptuando el maiz; algunos llegaron a vender excedentes, generalmente limitados de maiz, eludiendo asi en parte y por el mismo hecho de cultivar una mayor extension de maiz la obligacion de trabajar por salario en las fincas; y otros trabajaron en las fincas por salario para cumplir la ley y obtuvieron por este mismo hecho algun dinero efectivo. De los efectos de la ley, la disminucion de la manufactura y venta de carbon y lena fue general y afecto a toda la poblacion, limitando su ingreso en efectivo. La mayoria de las familias aumento sus siembras de maiz en grado suficiente para depender solo de sus propias cosechas para el consumo domestico. Algunas familias lograron producir excedentes de maiz para la venta. La mayoria no logro estos excedentes, aunque aumento un tanto sus siembras, y empezo a depender del salario percibido en las fincas para satisfacer una parte de sus necesidades monetarias.

Para poder admitir como un hecho los rapidos efectos de la ley contra la vagancia el observador debe comprender previamente sus mecanismos. Es muy importante esta comprension. El del presidente Ubico era un regimen centralizado, fuerte, apoyado en un aparato coercitivo extraordinariamente

eficiente. Varias veces al año, particularmente cuando las fincas necesitaban bastante fuerza de trabajo, los agentes de la autoridad verificaban si el individuo llevaba consigo su Libreto de mozo y si este tenía las anotaciones correspondientes. Al término del año agrícola se efectuaba un control general en forma burocrática y reglamentaria. Todo individuo que se atreviera a salir de su poblado sin su libreto corría el riesgo de ir a la cárcel. Tradicionalmente los habitantes de San Miguel han visitado con fines comerciales y de recreo otros poblados y algunas ciudades. Difícilmente habrían podido evitar sus frecuentes viajes. Pero aunque no hubiesen salido con frecuencia de su poblado, el riesgo de ser denunciados habría sido inminente todo el tiempo. La delación era parte muy importante del sistema de control nacional del Presidente Ubico.

Debido a la proverbial capacidad del régimen del Presidente Ubico para hacer cumplir la mayoría de las leyes promulgadas para controlar al pueblo, los efectos de la nueva ley se hicieron sentir rápidamente. Pero no todos fueron perdurables. Actualmente el cultivo del maíz se ha restringido hasta un nivel inferior al anterior a 1,934, fecha en que se promulgó la ley. La manufactura de carbón ha desaparecido como actividad de importancia. Todavía predomina la técnica carbonífera pero ya no se usa en la práctica. La lana en cambio, ha recuperado su importancia generalizada como producto comercial. La tendencia a buscar trabajo fuera de la aldea se ha mantenido pero actualmente se prefiere el trabajo en la construcción al trabajo agrícola. Otras situaciones y otras disposiciones nacionales han concurrido para producir estos fenómenos.

En 1,935 estaba vigente una "Ley Forestal" (Decreto Número 1,364) promulgada por la Asamblea Legislativa de la República el 24 de marzo de 1,925. El Presidente Ubico conservó esta Ley la reforzó un tanto con un

nuevo decreto (el numero 1,538, emitido el 18 de febrero de 1,935). Estas dos leyes prohibian utilizar agricolamente cimbras cuyo uso pudieran ocasionar determinados danos por erosion de los suelos. Aunque los terrenos de San Miguel son fragosos, con muchas colinas y cerros, estas leyes no produjeron efectos sensibles. Las tierras agricolas disponibles todavia permitian la ampliacion de la agricultura de azada del maiz. Y la tala de arboles no fue restringida por ninguna disposicion forestal, si no, indirectamente pero mucho mas efectivamente, por la introduccion del libretto de mozos, que dio al Gobierno Nacional un medio de controlar muy facilmente que la poblacion campesina trabajara realmente por salario en las fincas, restandole asi tiempo para dedicarse a otras actividades posibles que no fueran el trabajo asalariado y la agricultura propia. Las leyes mencionadas empezaron a introducir en San Miguel otro elemento nacional que posteriormente cobraria importancia, pero no influyeron inmediatamente en la nueva distribucion de su tiempo util por la poblacion.

El gobierno del presidente Ubico fue derribado a mediados de 1944. En octubre del mismo ano fue derrocado el presidente provisorio Ponce, su fugaz sucesor. En su lugar se instalo en el poder una "Junta revolucionaria de gobierno" que empezo a imprimir una nueva orientacion a la politica nacional. Esta orientacion, de libertades y derechos para el pueblo, habria de mantenerse hasta mediados de 1954. El 24 de mayo de 1945, cuando ya habia asumido el poder el presidente Arevalo, se promulgo una nueva "Ley de vagancia" (decreto numero 118 del congreso de la republica que se instalo despues de haber sido disuelta la asamblea legislativa del regimen de Ubico). La nueva ley derogo la anterior y los acuerdos gubernativos de 1935 y 1936 relativos al Libretto de mozos y a su manejo. Era mas benigna que la otra y ademas prescindio de sus eficaces mecanismos de control. Asi quedo la poblacion campesina pobre en libertad

de invertir su tiempo en lo que quisiera. En San Miguel inmediatamente se empezó a manufacturar carbon y lena en cantidades apreciables. El cultivo del maiz sufrio poco, porque el tiempo que se invertia en la explotacion maderera se sustraia principalmente del que se habia dedicado forci-
voluntariamente durante algunos lustros al trabajo asalariado en las fincas.

A finales de 1945 se promulgo una nueva "Ley Forestal" (decreto numero 170 del congreso de la republica de fecha 6 de octubre de 1945) que derogo la anterior y dio al nuevo gobierno la posibilidad de controlar mas estrechamente la explotacion de la madera y el uso de las tierras agricolas en declive. Al principio el control no se hizo sentir en San Miguel. Posteriormente se hizo sentir en alguna medida, pero la poblacion local hallo la manera de seguir dividiendo su tiempo entre el cultivo del maiz y la explotacion de la madera, aunque ahora esta se hacia con reservas y con frecuencia en forma francamente clandestina. La ley proveia mecanismos para que los campesinos pudieran seguir extrayendo madera para satisfacer sus necesidades domesticas y atender sus pequenas industrias, conforme a sus tradiciones. Pero la poblacion de San Miguel no hizo tramites ni gestiones legales de ninguna clase. Prefirio ignorar la ley y ocasionalmente sufrio las consecuencias de sus actos. La extraccion de lena es rapida, de manera que puede hacerse en la clandestinidad. No asi la del carbon, porque el proceso de combustion de la madera al abrigo del viento requiere tiempo y es facil que sea descubierta por los agentes forestales del gobierno. En estas circunstancias, la explotacion de la lena se volvio un tanto engorrosa y la del carbon tendio de nuevo a desaparecer.

Cuando se promulgo la "Ley de Reforma Agraria" (decreto 900 del Congreso de la republica de fecha 17 de junio de 1952) bajo el regimen revolucionario del presidente Arbenz, la agitacion de los campesinos del pais y su compactacion en una organizacion de masas llamada "Confederacion

nacional campesina" diseñada para apoyar la ley se estaba extendiendo rapidamente. Los organizadores agaristas llegaron a San Miguel con su oferta de tierras para los campesinos pobres. Las tierras comunales de San Miguel eran suficientes para la poblacion local y su uso agricola no estaba sujeto a restricciones efectivas. La oferta de tierras no despertó interes. Sin embargo, los organizadores agraristas gestionaron y obtuvieron autorizacion del gobierno para que cada familia de San Miguel talara y aprovechara un arbol mensual. Así lograron la simpatia de los varones locales hacia el movimiento campesino nacional. El gobierno exigio que, para cumplir la ley, en la practica por lo menos, solo se derribaran aquellos arboles cuya tala era prudente o necesaria por determinadas razones (porque habian madurado totalmente, perjudicaban o amenazaban caminos o viviendas, por ejemplo). Pero este requisito no se hacia cumplir muy estrictamente, de manera que las familias podian aprovechar uno o mas arboles mensuales indiscriminadamente, segun su capacidad y sus deseos. Con esta autorizacion, que no estaba sujeta a tramites burocraticos cada vez se deseaba derribar un arbol, se hizo mas comoda la venta de lena y volvio a manufacturarse carbon. Así se mantuvo el equilibrio entre el cultivo del maiz y la explotacion maderera que habia empezado a lograrse al suprimirse el Libreto de mozos, con la adiccion de que ahora el carbon y la lena se manufacturaban y vendian sin necesidad de recurrir a la clandestinidad ni de correr riesgos. Esta economia era satisfactoria para la poblacion y actualmente se recuerda con nostalgia. Mientras tanto, las "viajeras" continuaban su comercio regular de viveres y muchas mujeres vendian en los mercados los productos de sus arboles frutales y las hierbas que podian cosechar o recolectar. Los varones habian dejado de trabajar forzosamente en las fincas, pero la tendencia a buscar trabajo asalariado fuera de la aldea fue

mantenida por algunos. Además fue reforzado por dos fenómenos que empezaron a manifestarse en 1944: ampliación de las fuentes de empleo no calificado, principalmente en la apertura de caminos y en la construcción en general; y alzas eventuales en el salario, relativas (porque también aumentaba el costo de la vida), pero satisfactorias para una población como la de San Miguel, que poseía árboles frutales y tierras comunales para sembrar un poco, extraer lena y aumentar su ingreso derivado del salario.

Finalmente, el último reajuste ocurrió alrededor de 1956. Aquí también desempeñó un papel importante una disposición del gobierno nacional. El 21 de junio de 1956 el Presidente Castillo Armas emitió un acuerdo presidencial imponiendo veda temporal a los bosques municipales, ejidales, comunales y cantonales de varios departamentos, entre ellos Sacatepequez con todos sus municipios. San Miguel forma parte de uno de los municipios de tal departamento. Esta disposición también contiene una cláusula para que los campesinos puedan aprovechar en pequeña escala sus bosques, de acuerdo con sus costumbres. Pero los campesinos de San Miguel desdenaron otra vez los trámites burocráticos necesarios para tal aprovechamiento legal.

La veda temporal a los bosques limitó severamente el uso de los recursos madereros de los mismos. La disposición sigue en vigor actualmente. Al mismo tiempo que se restringió la tala de árboles se limitó el uso de las tierras agrícolas. La legislación sugiere que ambas medidas no podían ser puestas en vigor antes de 1956. Sin embargo, la población de San Miguel insiste en que todo sucedió poco tiempo después de la caída del régimen del presidente Arbenz, ocurrida en junio de 1954. Aunque dicha población se equivoca con mucha frecuencia en todo lo relativo a la estimación de lapsos de más de dos o tres años, en este caso es posible que tenga razón. Los gobiernos "revolucionarios" que sustituyeron a los gobiernos "liberales" en 1944 cedieron a su vez el turno a los

gobiernos "Liberacionistas," al ser derribado el presidente Arbenz por una contrarrevolucion sangrienta en junio de 1954. Asi llego al poder el presidente Castillo Armas. La disposicion del gobierno de este que afecto el uso de las tierras y la explotacion de los bosques en San Miguel fue dictada a mediados de 1956. No obstante, el mismo gobierno se habia mostrado muy activo en legislar desde sus comienzos y para entonces ya habia dictado varias disposiciones relativas a tierras y bosques. El caso de San Miguel parecia exigir accion inmediata de parte del gobierno. Una de las vertientes de las montanas de la region donde esta San Miguel cae hacia el lecho del rio Pensativo, que pasa por la ciudad de Antigua. Las crecientes del rio ocasionan danos a la ciudad y a los campos aledanos. Para prevenir las crecientes el gobierno nacional decidio controlar la erosion progresiva de las vertientes del rio, limitando y prohibiendo el uso de las tierras agricolas en declive y mandando a reforestar las cimas. Es posible que esta decision haya sido puesta en practica con base en la disposicion gubernamental de junio de 1956, pero tambien es posible que haya ^{sido} aplicada de uno a dos anos antes de ser emitida la disposicion legal. Ya en 1954 durante el regimen del presidente Arbenz, se hacia gestiones desde Antigua para que el gobierno hiciera algo en este sentido. En cualquier caso, durante el regimen del presidente Castillo Armas llegaron a San Miguel los agentes del gobierno a determinar las tierras que debian quedar en desuso y a poner en practica medidas de reforestacion. Todas las familias de la aldea fueron afectadas severamente por la limitacion del uso de sus tierras, por la sencilla razon de que todas sus tierras comunales estan en declive y una gran parte de ellas tiene una pronunciada inclinacion. La region es particularmente fragosa. De la noche a la manana una poblacion que poseia tierras en exceso para sus necesidades agricolas, hubo de afrontar una grave escasez de tierras de cultivo. Su

respuesta a este hecho fue inmediata: revirtio a su antigua tradicion de depender fuertemente de la lena. Siguio sembrando maiz, pero rompio el equilibrio entre maiz y lena en favor de esta como ya lo habia hecho en el pasado. Por supuesto, la lena volvio a hacerse clandestinamente.

No era posible manufacturarse carbon ni sembrar en tierras prohibidas en forma clandestina. La capacidad del gobierno para vigilar el cumplimiento de sus disposiciones forestales se habia estado desarrollando rapidamente desde el regimen del presidente Arevalo, que habia tomado el poder en 1945, con una fuerte orientacion hacia la modernizacion y la reforma, despues de haber sido repudiados algunos de los medios de control que utilizaba el presidente Ubico. Hacia 1956 la poblacion de San Miguel ya no podia pensar en cultivar tierras prohibidas. Una cosecha de maiz, por ejemplo, tarda un minimo de siete meses y medio en madurar totalmente en las tierras locales y es punto menos que imposible que no sea descubierta. Tampoco podia seguir manufacturando carbon, a menos que fuera con autorizacion legal especifica para usar cada arbol, procedimiento que fue ignorado de plano por la aldea, salvo en unos cuantos casos excepcionales en los cuales el deseo de ganancia economica no era el primario. La manufactura de carbon es facilmente visible y puede ser controlada rapidamente en la clandestinidad. En cambio, dada la rapidez con que se puede hacer y transportar lena, este producto (de muy larga tradicion, por otra parte, en la economia local) quedo como recurso inmediato para afrontar la nueva crisis. Durante varios anos ha habido un agente forestal del gobierno que recorre diariamente los bosques de San Miguel y de dos poblados vecinos. Se supone que este agente debe impedir que se extraiga madera en cualquier forma de los bosques bajo su control. Pero en realidad no puede hacerlo y los campesinos extraen lena constantemente y ocasionalmente extraen alguna madera de construccion para sus propias viviendas.

La extraccion de lena se facilita por el hecho de que la restriccion impuesta a la tala no afecta a todas las especies en la misma medida. Los pinos, encinos y cipreses y los pocos arboles de maderas preciosas que hay en los bosques de la region no deben ser derribados sin autorizacion administrativa especifica del gobierno. Si se secan en pie o son abatidos naturalmente pueden ser utilizados. Tambien se permite o tolera que se corten algunas de sus ramas. Las ramas de seis o siete especies mas pueden ser cortadas sin mayores cortapisas. En la practica la gente va mucho mas alla de este arreglo, pues con frecuencia tala ejemplares de estas ultimas especies y corta abundantes ramas de las primeras. Ocasionalmente tambien derriba algunos de estas. Por otra parte cuando el guardabosque sorprende a un campesino transportando lena en el bosque, este afirma que no la lleva para la venta sino para su consumo domestico, porque la necesita. Si el guardabosque alega que sus necesidades de consumo no le dan derecho para talar arboles prohibidos, el campesino insiste en que no derribo ningun arbol sino que lo hallo en el suelo. Es dificil que el guardabosque sorprenda a un hombre en el acto de cortar ramas o arboles prohibidos, porque la gente suele controlar muy bien los horarios y las andanzas del propio agente que trata de controlarla.

La lena se vende por "tercios" y "cargas". Hay dos tipos de lena: "de palitos" y "contada". La lena "contada" es rajada con hacha, gruesa, de la mejor calidad. Un tercio tiene 40 lenos de estos. La carga tiene dos tercios o 80 lenos. La lena "de palitos" es de calidad variable, cortada con machete o rajada con hacha pero menos gruesa que la "contada". La "de palitos" no se cuenta sino que se vende por volumen. Un tercio de cualquier clase mide de un poco mas de media a un poco menos de una vara cubica. Por lo general la lena se vende en Antigua. No hay ninguna dificultad para vender lena en

las casas, panaderías, tortillerías y en los hoteles de la ciudad. También se vende un poco en los alrededores del mercado. Un tercio "de palitos" se vende en 25 centavos. Uno de lena "contada" se vende en 40, a un centavo cada leno. La carga de cualquier clase se vende al doble que el tercio. También se vende un poco en la propia aldea, a habitantes de la misma. En estos casos el precio por carga es 20 centavos mas bajo que en Antigua. La diferencia de precio representa la ganancia del que la transporta hasta la ciudad, pues esta lena no se compra para el consumo sino para revenderla. Unas pocas personas que poseen bestias de carga compran lena en la aldea para venderla en Antigua. El propietario de una carreta de bueyes hace lo mismo. Cada bestia puede llevar una carga y ocasionalmente un poco mas. La carreta puede transportar de 10 a 15 cargas en un viaje. Por lo general los propios lenadores llevan su lena al mercado, unos en sus propias bestias y la mayoría a la espalda, con ayuda del mecaval. Los hombres transportan una carga (dos tercios) a la espalda, aunque algunos prefieren transportar menos. La carga de lena "contada" puede llegar a pesar alrededor de 125 libras. Un buen lenador puede hacer una carga de lena en dos horas o menos, y puede llevarla a Antigua, venderla y regresar a su casa en otras dos o tres horas. En general, se extrae mucha lena "de palitos" y poca "contada", al tenor de la prohibición de talar buenos arboles, de los cuales se hace la última. Los agentes forestales vigilan ocasionalmente los caminos y las entradas a la ciudad de Antigua y suelen ponerse intransigentes cuando sorprenden a un campesino transportando lena "contada". La excusa de la gente de que la lena es para su propio consumo puede ^{ser} funcional en los bosques porque la aldea esta situada entre estos y el mercado. De la aldea en adelante la misma excusa carece de sentido.

por Joaquin Noval

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Figure 1. The effect of the number of trials on the number of correct responses. The number of correct responses was significantly higher than the number of incorrect responses in all cases. Error bars represent the standard error of the mean.

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1. *Chlorophyll a* (Chl *a*)

2000