POLITICAL LEADERSHIP IN A MAYAN VILLAGE IN
IN SOUTHERN BRITISH HONDURAS

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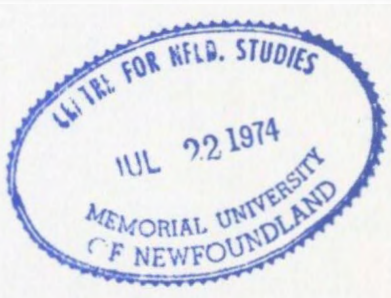
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POLITICAL LEADERSHIP IN A MAYAN VILLAGE IN SOUTHERN BRITISH HONDURAS

by

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Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts, Memorial University of Newfoundland.

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Abstract

This thesis analyzes local-level political leadership in a Kekchi and Mopan Mayan speaking community in southern British Honduras. The analysis of political leadership is based upon a model centered around the premise that a political leader necessarily makes choices in relation to different strategies. These choices, in turn, are based upon the leader's perception of personal resources and the sociocultural environment.

The beginning of the thesis, after a theoretical discussion of political leadership, examines the villagers' social, cultural, historical and economic environment. The remainder of the thesis deals with the political and administrative structure of Pueblo Viejo (the village studied) and with village leaders. There is a fair amount of descriptive material presented. This is to provide a fuller understanding of the dynamics of the political leader's actions and of his environment. It is also hoped that some of the information will add to the relatively meagre ethnological and ethnohistorical data for this area.

The social structure of Pueblo Viejo is encapsulated within a larger national structure. And, although a good deal of social and cultural isolation and autonomy remain, there have been changes in recent years in terms of increasing integration into national society. This has especially

been true in the economic sector. However, in the realm of basic cultural norms there has been considerable continuity.

Political leaders in Pueblo Viejo have had to deal with problems inherent in the more "conservative" areas of their society and culture as well as adapting to changes in others. To date, the traditional leaders have been able to maintain their statuses, due largely to the continuity of certain norms relating to authority and legitimacy, and to adapt successfully to changes. In fact, they have often been in the forefront in encouraging certain kinds of change.

Preface

The fieldwork upon which this thesis is based was conducted in a Kekchi and Mopan Maya speaking village in the Toledo District of British Honduras. Approximately five months were spent in the village, between June and November, 1972. During this time an attempt was made to maintain rapport with most of the villagers, in part to try and overcome certain biases in the data resulting from dependence upon a few informants under conditions of social and cultural change and migration. Physically the village is quite spread out (see Map 2), however, an attempt was made to keep abreast of activities in most parts of the village. Visits were also made to several other villages in the area and some information was collected from these as well.

The format of the thesis is long and it contains a fair amount of descriptive material. There are three main reasons for this. First, there is presently little ethnographic or ethnohistorical data available on the Kekchi, Mopan or on southern British Honduras in general, and it is hoped that this study will add to the existing data. Second, this form of presentation is intended to add to the relatively meagre amount of detailed information on politics and leadership among the Indians of southern Mesoamerica. Third, it is felt that an adequate understanding of politics and political leadership in the case of Pueblo Viejo, and in general, is

possible only through a careful and thorough analysis and description of the sociocultural environment and actions of tha various "actors." Such a form of presentation is akin to van Velsen's "situational analysis" (see J. van Velsen, 1964, p.xxiii-xxix) and is derived from the need to see how ideal norms of behavious are related to actual behaviour. Such norms are in part visualized as being manipulated by the various "actors" and, thus, cannot be considered adequate in themselves to understand people's behaviour without also taking into consideration personal strategies and their perception of their sociocultural environment.

I owe a debt of gratitude to numerous individuals who helped to make this study possible. First, I wish to thank the many people in Pueblo Viejo and the Toledo District who assisted me in so many ways. In Pueblo Viejo I wish particularly to thank Ricardo and Leocardio Shal; Apolonio and Herminio Sho; Miguel, Gregorio and Prudencio Coc; Rafael Villanueva; Manuel Ak; Eusebio, Sebastian and Gonzalo Choc; Secundino Coc; and Monico and Silvino Pop. In Santa Elena I wish to thank Indelesio Chiak. In San Antonio I owe thanks to Mr. E.C. Cayetano and his family, Fr. Jack Ruoff, Antonio Chun and his brothers, and Nicasio and Rafael Coc. I also wish to thank Mr. William Fonseca and Leslie Vernon for their assistance and encouragement. At Memorial University I wish to thank my advisor, Tom Nemec, for his assistance and criticism. Also, I wish to thank Prof. George Park and Prof. Jean Briggs for their helpful suggestions and criticism. I owe special thanks to my wife Barbara, who accompanied me to

Pueblo Viejo. Of course, responsibility for the contents of this thesis is my own.

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Part I

Introduction

Chapter I

The Setting

Introduction

This thesis attempts to analyze local-level political leadership in a mayan community in southern British Honduras. It begins with a discussion of a model for analyzing political leadership centered around the premise that a political leader necessarily must make choices in relation to different strategies. These choices, in turn, are based upon the leader's perception of personal resources and the sociocultural environment.

In Chapter I a model for analysing political leadership is presented followed by an examination of the village's general setting. A brief historical review of the area in general and of the village, Pueblo Viejo, itself is also presented in Chapter II. The second part of the thesis deals with the village economy and changes which have occured over the past few decades. Following that, social groups and personal networks within the village are discussed. The final part of the thesis examines the village's political and administrative structure, factionalism and leadership, and their development. In Chapter IX an attempt is made to apply the concepts of leadership set forth in Chapter I in view of the discussion of village leaders in Chapter IX and of their environment as

discussed in the other chapters.

Political Leadership

A political leader is one who has the power to make decisions within and for a group.(1) The scope of this power, how it is attained, supported and maintained varies considerably in different social settings. In many societies potential power may be to some degree ascribed by birth or office. In others it lacks such institutionalization. In all cases the key to understanding a political leader's power, or for that matter any form of social or cultural power, is its inherent "ambiguity." Due to this ambiguity power is never a constant. It depends upon and guarantees social inequality, while also being subject to contestation-- "it is accepted (as a guarantee of order and security), revered (by virtue of its sacred implications), and contested (because it maintains inequality)."(2) It is this ambiguity of power that allows the political leader to manoeuvre; to attain, expand, entrench, maintain, or even to lose political power. In a sense the political power of all leaders may be seen as ultimately personal in nature. Office or birth may give a person various potential resources (they may also set certain limits to his behaviour), but the actual dimension or parameters of power achieved by the leader and its maintenance is a personal matter.

Many writers have identified office with political power, or vice versa.(3) However, if we examine the definitions of

political power then it is plain that the dimensions of a political leader's power are indeed personal. Parsons defines political power as the "generalized capacity to secure the performance of binding obligations."(4) Weber defines it as "the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance."(5) More recently, M.G. Smith has defined it as "the ability to act effectively on persons or things, to take or secure favourable decisions which are not of right allocated to the individuals or their roles."(6) A leader attains power through the manipulation of those resources that he perceives available to him.(7) Office is one of a number of possible resources for attaining power and within any office there are usually a variety of other resources which may be used.(8)

Political Power, however, is not dependent upon office, nor is political leadership. In many situations political leaders exist outside of the administrative sphere.(9) Such is the case with the Melanesian "big-man" and often with the Latin American "cacique."(10) In some instances office is a "stepping-stone" to attaining power, but once in power the office may become secondary or unnecessary, giving way to new resources. It may also become a liability to further aspirations of a leader by setting too strictly the bounds of his behaviour. Wealth is another potential source of political power in many societies.(11) Kinship obligations and personal charisma are other potential resources. In any case there are often many potential sources of political power

available which may be possessed or used singlely or in concert by a leader.

Within any culture or political setting it would appear that there are many potential resources which a leader may possess and decide to utilize. There are also numerous "niches" available to be used by potential or existant leaders in relation to their resources.(12) This is related to the fact that all political structures and their environments are in a constant state of either cyclic or directional change or a combination of both to varying degrees. To the potential leader these changes create opportunities for grasping leadership and political power. For an existing leader they present opportunities for expanding or entrenching power, but they also entail potential pitfalls. Thus the leader must continually adapt to his changing environment, or run the risk of losing prominence.(13)

In relation to the leader's use and adaptation to his resources and environment there is the need for support. The Tonga of Nyasaland say that "a chief without people is no chief."(14) Thus, the political leader must secure some form of support or domination. This may be through coercion. However, this is rarely a permanent means of gaining support. A leader usually requires some form of support through consensus of at least some of the population based upon legitimacy.(15) There are intermediate positions between support through coercion and dependency for support through consensus, such as among the Kababish Arabs of the Sudan described by Asad.(16)

In such cases the leaders maintain their dominance through control of vital resources and through consensus. Probably a degree of consent and the threat of sanction are involved in all forms of political leadership.

As M.G. Smith pointed out, "Legitimacy refers to a wider order of norms and principles, and ultimately to the traditional moral system."(17) To attain and maintain legitimacy, and the support by consensus that it entails, a political leader must take into account what Barth calls "social costs."(18) Thus, a leader may use norms as a resource for his power, but norms also set limits to his manoeuvres (though these are often quite vague).(19) In this way power is confined: it is, as Firth pointed out, never autocratic.(20) It is confined within bounds by institutions or "informal mechanisms."(21) A leader rarely has such absolute power that he does not have to heed the "social costs" of his actions. Thus, his leadership usually requires gaining or possessing some form of legitimacy.

Such legitimacy is to a degree related to authority, but the relationship is not always necessary and the two terms should be kept analytically distinct. Authority is "the right to make a particular decision and to command obedience."(22) However, this right may exist at a lower normative level than that of legitimacy and these two may in fact come into conflict. In some instances a leader may possess authority by virtue of holding office. However, he may have attained that office in contradiction to "higher" norms, causing people to

feel that he lacks the legitimacy to issue commands. Also, the right to make a decision does not always imply obedience: this may depend upon power.

The problem of adjustment to a changing environment is especially acute for local-level leaders in what Bailey refers to as "encapsulated" political structures.(23) In these situations the leader is often able to exploit the gap between the local and state or national level structures, but he is also subject to changes in the "internal" and "external" environment, including an external environment over which he usually has little or no control. The amount of control that a political leader has in regard to the external environment and political structure varies considerably. This is partially related to the size of the population which he represents and the degree of his dominance. It is also partially related to the personal strategies of the leader.

In a culturally plural, post-colonial state there are often relatively disenfranchised cultural segments of the population.(24) There are also segments (which may also be disenfranchised) which choose to take no part in the national level government, due to noninterest or to feelings of separateness. The leaders of such segments face the difficult task of having to adapt to changes or directives over which they have no control. Within his own group the traditional leader's status is often directly related to the degree of autonomy or isolation of his group. As national integration becomes more important to the national political leaders and the isolation

and autonomy of the leader's group is threatened, the traditional leader often finds his position increasingly precarious. Such situations of change create "niches" for new forms of leadership, which may become a threat to traditional leaders. In some instances the traditional leaders are able to adapt and to maintain their power, in others they are replaced by new leaders with different resources. Such transitions are rarely smooth and often the two forms of leadership may coexist for a time. In some instances permanent coexistence has been achieved by restricting the roles of the two kinds of leadership in such a way that they do not come into conflict. (25)

It is important to realize that within any society there are, or can be, different spheres or levels of leadership. These may operate within spheres in which there is little or no overlap, or they may be in competition due to changes in the political structure as well as the socioeconomic field from which leaders draw their resources. Within most administrative systems there exists an ideal of an integrated, noncompeting system. However, this generally does not occur in reality, especially when boundaries are not clearly defined and leaders within the different positions seek to expand their power. Thus, although administrative and political spheres are anaytically distinct there may be a good deal of interaction between the two, which effect changes within both spheres. (26) Also, it would seem that any form of leadership may potentially come into competition with another through

the manoeuvering of the incumbent leaders for power.

Political Status of the Indians in Southern British Honduras

The Maya Indians of southern British Honduras are one segment of a culturally plural society.(27) Until recently they have been quite isolated and have maintained a large degree of autonomy. Their contacts with the national and colonial administrative structures have been limited, but this is changing. Over the past two decades they have been brought at an ever increasing rate into the "mainstream" of the national society and economy. However, much of their autonomy and isolation (especially cultural isolation) remain. It is the change and continuity in the Indian's relation to the rest of British Honduras and the relationship of this to local-level leadership that is a central concern of this thesis.

Although the Maya Indians of the Toledo District of British Honduras have become more integrated into the "mainstream" of national affairs in some ways, there has not been a corresponding increase in their political activities in relation to the national political structure. They presently have only a limited interest in party politics, at least in terms of actual involvement in political party affairs. They have not yet sought to mobilize those resources available to them to seek political power within the national political structure. For the most part, they remain the recipients of national political and administrative directives and programs and their

reactions to these tend to remain at the local, village level.

For years, due to their relative isolation, the Indians were able to modify the aims of the national government to suit their own needs within the village. However, governmental supervision is increasing and such passive forms of resistance may no longer be possible within the next few years. Whether new forms of political leadership will emerge to deal more effectively with the national government is as yet uncertain. This has been the case among the Indians in the north of the country due to their increasing proletarianization.(28) At present there appear to be a few nascent Indian leaders evolving to act as "brokers" between the Maya Indians and the non-Indian government. It should be noted that at present there is very little social interaction between the Indians in the north and those in the south of the country.

Current political leadership among the Indians of the Toledo District remains mostly at the village level. In Pueblo Viejo, the village studied, the traditional political leaders have been able to maintain their status by adapting to the changing environment. The form of leadership, in such cases, has changed somewhat, as has its form of support. However, there is much continuity both in terms of personnel and resources. There have been changes in the economic, social, and in the political and administrative spheres, and also in the overall population and structure of the village since the 1940's. The villages' leaders have had continually to adapt to these changes. But there has also been some continuity.

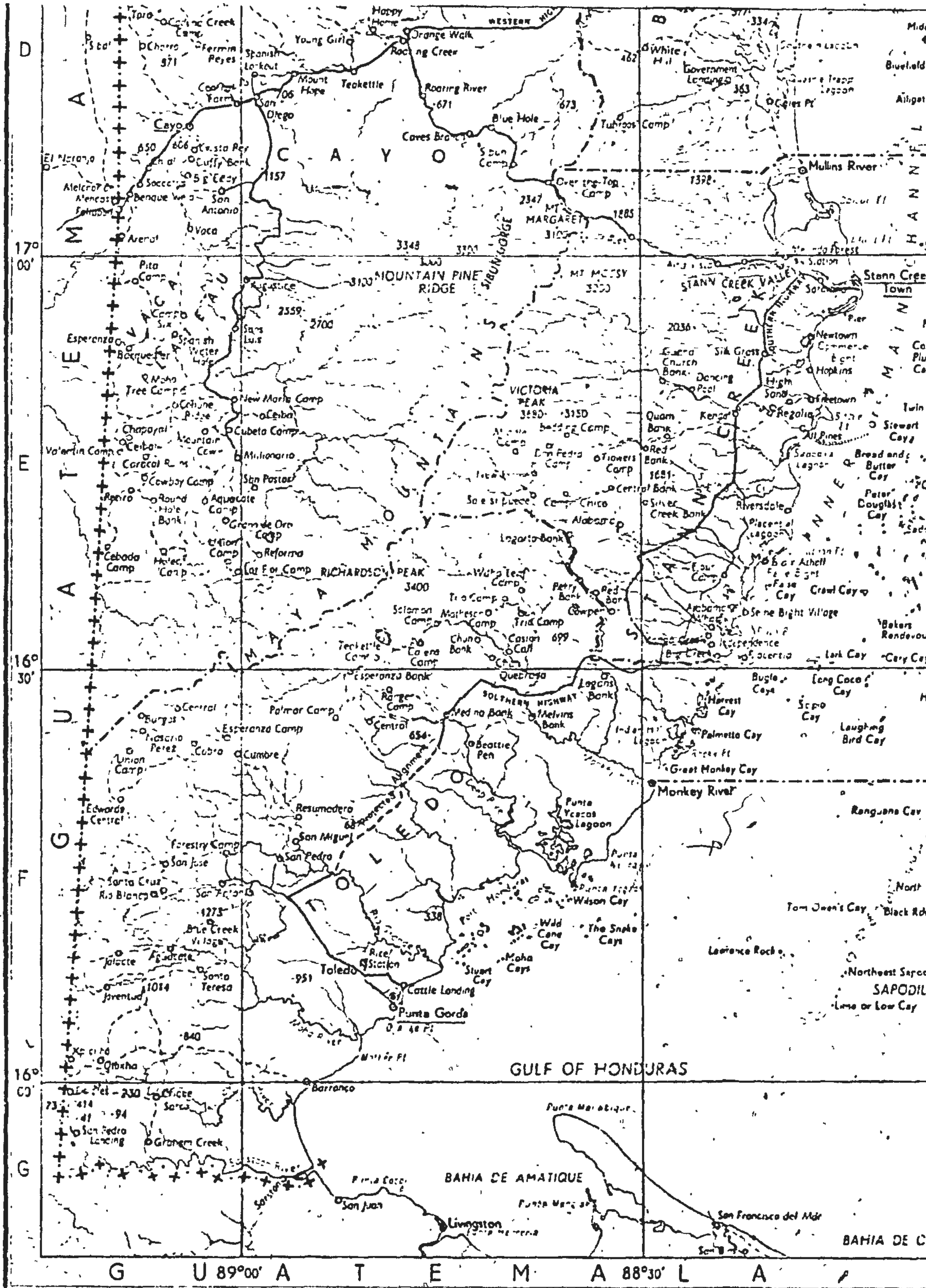
This tends to be at the level of basic normative and moral values. Both the continuity of these aspects of Indian culture and the changing socioeconomic environment are important to understand the process of village leadership in Pueblo Viejo, as well as to differing degrees the nature of leadership in other Indian villages in the Toledo District.

General Setting

The village of Pueblo Viejo is located in the Toledo District of British Honduras. It is approximately thirty-two miles west of Punta Gorda, the district's largest town and administrative centre. Along the coast of the district the land is flat and at times swampy. Inland a few miles the land begins to rise slightly along a soil belt known as 'cohune ridge' (this is because the cohune palm thrive in this soil, Attalea cohune).(29) Further inland there is another soil belt of 'pine ridge' (Pinus carboea). Beyond this is another 'cohune ridge' and some low-lying land, partially occupied by the Mafredi Swamp.

About twenty miles from the coast the land begins to rise rapidly. This area is quite hilly, with some reaching an altitude of fifteen-hundred to two-thousand feet near the Guatemalan border. It is within this hilly zone that Pueblo Viejo and many of the Indian villages are located.

Much of the Toledo District is traversed by creeks and rivers, which become quite swollen during the rainy season. The rainy season usually begins in June or July and tapers off



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Map 1: Southern British Honduras

by November and December. The annual rainfall is quite variable for the district. Generally it is between one hundred and sixty and one hundred and seventy inches a year.(30) Hurricanes usually cause little damage in the district. However, extensive damage was done in 1942 and in 1962 by Hurricane "Hattie." The heavy rainfall hampers transportation within as well as out of the district and often makes the marketing of crops difficult.(31)

Roads have been extended and improved greatly in the district during the past few years, although flooding still makes transportation difficult during the rainy season. The oldest road in the district runs from Punta Gorda to San Antonio. It was built during the early part of the century and improved after World War Two. The Southern Highway, connecting the Toledo District with the north of the country was completed in the mid-1960's.(32) In 1966 a road was opened from San Antonio to Pueblo Viejo. However, this road was quite difficult to pass during the rainy season. In 1972 this road was resurfaced with crushed rock, which somewhat improved this condition. A road has also been opened from Mafredi almost to Aguacate. This road is intended to open up more of the Mafredi Swamp for rice cultivation. There is also a road from San Antonio to San Jose, but it becomes quite bad during the rainy season and marketing from San Jose is difficult. The district's only other road runs from the Punta Gorda-San Antonio road to San Pedro Columbia and San Miguel. In addition to road transporation, there is also twice weekly air service

between Punta Gorda and Belize City and a coastal ferry. There are no roads to the Guatemalan frontier.

The 1960 census gave the Toledo District a population of 7,686 out of a total population of 90,343 for all of British Honduras.(33) The accuracy of the figure for the Toledo District is questionable and a slightly higher population is likely.(34) There are several ethnic groups living in the district. In general they occupy distinct communities.

Punta Gorda is the district's largest community (approximately 2,000) and the majority of its inhabitants are Caribs. Caribs also live in Barranco, to the south, and in Monkey River, to the north (which also contains some mestizos and Creoles). There are numerous East Indian families settled along the Punta Gorda-San Antonio highway. There are also a few Chinese living in Punta Gorda and a few mestizos living near Big Falls and in San Pedro Columbia. Virtually all of the rest of the district is occupied by Kekchi and Mopan Mayas.

San Antonio is the largest Indian community in the district (over 1,000 people). Most of its inhabitants are Mopan speaking. It has a large stone school and church and a resident Catholic priest and policeman. It is becomong a secondary marketing centre, with a growing agricultural cooperative and thirteen Indian operated stores. Not far from San Antonio is the relatively new village of Crique Jute. It has between twenty and thirty households and was settled by Indians from San Antonio.

Closer to Punta Gorda is the village of Mafredi. Its

population is composed of East Indians, Mopans and Kekchi, and a few mestizos. It also has a small Methodist school and mission. To the northeast is San Pedro Columbia. It was apparently settled by Kekchi, but now also contains a large number of Mopans, plus a few mestizos. North of San Pedro Columbia is San Miguel. It was colonized in 1953 and 1954 by Kekchi from Santa Teresa.(35) Presently San Miguel is almost abandoned due to factional conflicts.

Further to the east of Mafredi is Big Falls. It is located near the junction of the Southern Highway and the Punta Gorda-San Antonio road. It has only been settled for a few years and contains mostly Kekchi and a few mestizos. Above Big Falls, on the Southern Highway, is Silver Creek. It was recently settled by Indians from San Miguel. Presently the Indians are expanding north along the Southern Highway in search of new land, easier access to markets, and escape from factional disputes.

Between Big Falls and Punta Gorda there is the Indian village of Laguna (mixed Kekchi and Mopan) and the recently settled village of San Felipe (mixed Kekchi and Mopan). San Felipe was settled mostly by Indians from Santa Elena and presently consists of twenty-two houses. South of the Punta Gorda-San Antonio road and closer to San Antonio, are the villages of Blue Creek (Mopan and some Kekchi), Santa Teresa (Kekchi), and Aguacate (Mopan). Santa Teresa (formerly called Hinchinsones) was abandoned in 1953 and 1954 when most of its population moved to San Miguel, but it has subsequently been

resettled. Aguacate was at one time one of the largest Indian communities in the district.(36) Disputes, changing economic conditions and subsequent migrations caused its population to dwindle to only twelve families. At present its population is again increasing due to the opening of the nearby Mafredi Swamp to rice production.

The interior of the southern part of the district is occupied entirely by Kekchi. Crique Sarco is the largest community in this area (almost 1,000 people). There is monthly boat service between Crique Sarco and Punta Gorda. Dolores, further to the west, is the only Indian community not located on Reserve Land (it is on a private estate) and presently its population is moving to nearby Otaxha, which is on Reserve Land.(37) Otaxha was founded several years ago by a family from Dolores. In 1968 it had nearly one hundred people. Since then its population has nearly doubled due to migration from Dolores, plus a few families from Guatemala. A little further north is the relatively new village of San Benito Poitey. It was originally the site of a village known as Jalacte, which was abandoned several years ago. It is near the archaeological ruins of Pushila and the now ababdoned settlement of Joventud (apparently abandoned in the 1940's).

West of San Antonio there are four other Indian villages. San Jose (Mopan with a few Kekchi) is a fairly large settlement. Santa Cruz (Kekchi and Mopan) is a village of about sixty-five houses. It is in the process of moving. The San Antonio-Pueblo Viejo road was built to the south of the village

and gradually the people are moving nearer to the road. A few miles further west is the small village (forty-seven houses) of Santa Elena (Kekchi and Mopan). Until recently it was known as Rio Blanco. The last village before the Guatemalan border is Pueblo Viejo (the village studied). It is slightly larger than Santa Elena and also has a mixed Mopan and Kekchi population.

From this description of the Indian villages in the Toledo District it can be seen that they tend to be ethnically isolated and that their populations are quite mobile. Most of the Indians came originally from Guatemala within the past three to four generations and some migration from there still occurs. Many factors are involved in this mobility (e.g. disputes, land pressure, availability of choice lands, availability of markets, etc.) and these will be discussed in the following chapters.(38)

Footnotes

1. Van Velsen (1964,p.3) defines politics as "those activities which on the part of an individual or individuals, result in leadership within and control over particular groups, or in the case of competition between groups, bring control of one group over others."

2. G. Balandier (1972,p.38-40).

3. See especially E. Leach (1967).

4. T. Parsons (1963,p.237).

5. M. Weber (1947, p.152).

6. M.G. Smith (1960,p.18-19).

7. Resources are assets (see F.Barth, 1963,p.9) which can be used as a source of power or support. They are something to which one has recourse to in difficulty.

8. See J. Boissevian (1969) and T. Nemec (forthcoming).

9. For an analysis of the distinction between political and administrative activities see M.G. Smith (1960). This is discussed further in Chapter VI of this thesis.

10. See M. Sahlins (1963,esp.p.289) and on "caciques" see Chapter IX of this thesis.

11. See L. Mair (1969,p.127).

12. "The point at which an entrepreneur seeks to exploit the environment may be described as his niche: the position which he occupies in relation to resources, competitors and clients," (F.Barth, 1963,p.9). This definition of niche seems to fit equally well the activities of political leaders, see H. Eidheim (1963).

13. See V. Turner (1957), H. Eidheim (1963), H. Siverts (1971), etc..

14. J. van Velsen (1964,p.xix).

15. Consensus is used in a broad sense which includes all forms of voluntary submission to the decisions of leaders.

16. T. Asad (1970,p.237).

17. M.G. Smith (1960,p.20). Also see P. Friedrich (1972).

18. See F. Barth (1963,p.8).

19. See S.F. Moore (1970).

20. See R. Firth (1964,p.123-144).

21. R. Firth (1964,p.143-144).

22. M.G. Smith (1960,p.18).

23. See F.G. Bailey (1969,p.148).

24. See M.G. Smith (1960,p.33).

25. See F. Cancian (1967,p.295-296) and Chapter IX of this thesis.

26. See footnote 8.

27. There are two linguistic groups of Mayas in the Toledo District: the Mopan and the Kekchi. These Indians have

few relations with the Yucatec speaking Mayas in the north of British Honduras. The largest ethnic group in British Honduras is the Creole (who mostly live around Belize City), there are also large groups of Caribs and mestizos, as well as several other smaller ethnic groups. See D.A.G. Waddell (1960).

28. See G.D. Jones (1971).

29. A 'ridge' refers to a soil belt and not to a rise in altitude. Throughout the thesis single quotation marks will be used to denote terms of local usage.

30. Rainfall statistics are listed in D. Romney (1960).

31. For more detailed information on soil and climate see D. Romney (1960).

32. There are no paved roads in the district, except for a few paved streets in Punta Gorda.

33. Census statistics are from P. Sherlock (1969). In 1967 British Honduras had an estimated 118,000 people.

34. The District Officer's Reports for 1954 give the district's population as 8,082. The 1953 Report gave the population as 7,858.

35. See District Officer's Report for 1953, Toledo District.

36. Aguacate apparently had the first school in any of the Indian villages in the 1890's. It still has a very large church, which is difficult to maintain for the small population.

37. During the early part of the twentieth century the government set aside Indian Reserves for the various villages in the district. There were also Reserves for the Carib villages.

38. All monetary figures are in British Honduras dollars, which are pegged at four to the English pound sterling.

Chapter II

Historical Background

Introduction

Until very recent times the Toledo District of British Honduras and the adjacent region of Guatemala have been physically very isolated. Most communication and transportation was by jungle trail or river and outside travelers were few. Written material dealing with the early history of the area is scant. For the period shortly after the Spanish conquest some data is available from the writings of missionaries who worked in the area. After this period there was a lengthy hiatus during which virtually no records were kept. The few loggers, for example, who entered the region during the early nineteenth century were mostly illiterate and tended to remain near the coast. In 1887, Dr. Maudslay and his wife visited San Luis, Guatemala, and various archaeological sites. (1) Then in 1891, Karl Sapper passed through the region on a trip from Punta Gorda to San Luis and gathered some linguistic and ethnological information. (2)

In the 1920's the situation changed somewhat. Two Englishmen, Thomas Gann and F.A. Mitchell-Hedges, in 1924 led a small expedition into the area in search of ancient ruins. This expedition led to the "discovery" of the ruins at Lubantuum and to the publication of a few travel adventure books

by the two men.(3) Exploration was continued around Lubantuum for a few years, and beginning in 1926 the British Museum sent an archaeological expedition to explore the region for several seasons.(4) This research team was joined by J. Eric Thompson, who in 1928 carried out ethnographic research in nearby San Antonio.(5) This research forms the basis of what is known about the Mopan Mayas in British Honduras. Relatively little, on the other hand, is presently known about the Kekchi.(6)

After the Second World War a Land Use Survey Team was sent into British Honduras and some of its members spent time in the Toledo District.(7) From their report a fair amount of data is available concerning the Indians of the Toledo District. The British Honduras government has taken a more active role in the area in recent years and within the past few years a few anthropologists have conducted field-work in some of the district's villages.(8)

Data on the adjacent regions in Guatemala, mainly the southern El Peten and northern Alta Vera Paz Departments, is also rather scarce.(9) Beside the few nineteenth century travel accounts already mentioned little else is readily available.(10) Since the Second World War there have been a few publications, due mostly to Guatemala's renewed interest in its claim to British Honduras. However, there is little that is helpful in these, outside of geographical descriptions of the area.(11) Anthropological research in this part of Guatemala has been sparse. Research on the Kekchi has recently been done near Lake Izabel.(12)

History of the General Area

This chapter will attempt to place the people of Pueblo Viejo in their historical perspective by drawing on available written sources and local informants. I will briefly examine the history of the Toledo District and the adjacent regions of Guatemala and then examine in some detail the history of Pueblo Viejo itself.

The village of Pueblo Viejo is presently occupied by a mixture of Kekchi and Mopan Maya Indians who have migrated throughout the past century from Guatemala. At present 67% of the adult males of the village are predominantly Kekchi speaking and the remaining 33% are predominantly Mopan speaking. As stated in the first chapter, the villages of San Antonio and Aguacate are the only wholly Mopan speaking villages in the district and the inhabitants of most of the other villages tend to speak Kekchi.

The original inhabitants of the region appear to have long since dissappeared, or to have been assimilated. Many were forced to move to the Guatemalan Highlands and others intermarried with other groups of Indians. These pre-conquest inhabitants of the area around Pueblo Viejo and the rest of the Toledo District were apparently the Manche Chols. It also seems probable that these Manche Chols occupied the area in Classical times, and in far greater numbers than the present population.(13)

The chief archaeological sites of the Toledo District

appear to have been occupied at various times throughout the Classical Period.(14) The sites include: Lubantuum near the village of San Pedro Columbia; Pushila near the village of San Benito Poitey; and a third unnamed site near San Jose.(15) There are also numerous hill-top temples throughout much of the area. One group of these appears to have been built in a line between Lubantuum and the site near San Jose. The archaeological work in the district is as yet quite limited and there may well be other large sites present.

Following the Classical Period, which ended around 900 A.D., there was a period of decentralization and possibly depopulation. The Indians in this region at the time of the Spanish conquest lived in small independent villages, rarely exceeding one hundred houses. Each of these villages apparently had its own chief who performed both secular and religious functions. There were no regular priests, but shamans were quite common.(16)

During the early sixteenth century a few Spanish explorers passed along the coast of southern British Honduras. Hernan Cortes appears to have passed through the area on his way to Honduras in 1525.(17) The first Spaniards to spend much time in the area were priests from Guatemala. The first two priests were Dominicans, Fathers Esquerra and Cipriano, who arrived in the area in 1603. The isolation of the area during much of the early period of Spanish conquest appears to be due to a number of factors: geographically the area was difficult to travel through, the population was not very wealthy, and the

Kekchi were extremely warlike and difficult to subdue. Father Bartolome de las Casas managed to keep the Alta Vera Paz relatively free of Spaniards by having the area closed to all but a few priests on the promise to pacify the Kekchi by peaceful means. The work of pacification was begun in 1538 and the Alta Vera Paz was said to be pacified by 1545. Shortly afterwords other Spaniards began entering the region as they had the rest of Guatemala and made slaves of many of the Indians and demanded heavy tribute from the remainder.(18)

When the first Spanish priests arrived in the area north of Alta Vera Paz they found no large settlements. Most Indians lived in small isolated settlements consisting of only a few families, living in extended-family dwellings.(19) At this time the Manche Chol occupied a region north and northeast of Cajabon (occupied by Kekchi), as far east as the Caribbean, and north to the region occupied by the Mopan Mayas in northern El Peten.(20) The Spanish Fathers then began moving converted Manche Chol into larger settlements, the principal one being San Lucas Tzalac, located apparently near Gracia á Dios Falls on the Sarstoon River.(21)

With the arrival of the Spaniards numerous European diseases also arrived: measles, smallpox, plagues, yellow fever, and possibly malaria. Thomas Gann, writing in the early twentieth century, states that the majority of the Indians in British Honduras suffered from hookworm and malaria.(22) In 1678 there was a pestilence that killed almost all children between the ages of six and ten in the Christianized settlement

of San Lucas Tzalac.(23) Such larger settlements by their very size probably aided the spread of diseases. Thompson estimated a population decrease of almost 90% for many of the low-lying areas of Mesoamerica, due largely to disease following the Spanish conquest.(24)

In 1628 there were approximately six thousand Indians under the Fathers' care in the Manche Chol region.(25) A few years later, in 1633, the first of several uprisings occured among the "Christianized" Indians. The church was burned at San Lucas Tzalac and the priests were forced to flee. The area was not reoccupied by the Spaniards until 1671, when Father Geronimo Naranjo entered the region. A series of missions were begun the following year.

In 1677 Father Delgado and a companion traveled down the Mojo River and along the coast of British Honduras, where he was set upon by Englishmen and robbed. In 1678 the "Christianized" Manche Chols, tired of town life and restrictions placed on them by the Fathers, fled into the forests. The priests were again forced to leave the area. In 1689 the Indians were again pacified and later in the same year they revolted again. A military expedition from Guatemala rounded up many of the Manche Chols and resettled them in a distant part of Guatemala, the Urran Valley. By 1695 most of the Manche Chols had been forceably moved out of the region and resettled in the Guatemalan Highlands.(25)

From 1695 until the early nineteenth century the area comprising the present Toledo District and adjacent Guatemala was

apparently very lightly settled. A Guatemalan census of 1778 gave El Peten a population of only 2,555, though it is likely that there were remote Indian settlements not covered by it.(26) By 1802, Caribs from other parts of Central America had begun settling along the southern coast of British Honduras.(27) Mahogany cutters from the English settlement around Belize were cutting trees along the banks of the Rio Grande in 1806, along the Mojo River by 1814, and on the Sarstoon River a few years later.(28) Logging operations were generally carried out along the coast and river mouths. Mention of Indians in the region by loggers is scant, but this is not surprising since few of them ventured into the interior.

During the nineteenth century the former Manche Chol area was slowly reoccupied by Mopan Mayas from the north and Kekchis and mestizos from the south. German-run coffee plantations, which had been established earlier in Alta Vera Paz, began expanding into the region during the last few decades of the nineteenth century, bringing Kekchi labourers with them. One coffee plantation, the Kramer Estate, was established in the southern Toledo District in the late nineteenth century and was abandoned in 1914. Kekchi Indians from Guatemala had worked on it and they remained after it ceased operations.(29)

Some time around 1866 a group of Indians from San Luis, Guatemala, settled on the site of the present Pueblo Viejo (referred to at times as San Antonio Viejo).(30) These Indians, mostly Mopan Mayas, apparently moved to this site thinking that it was inside British Honduras territory. Discovering that the

area was considered to be part of Guatemala, most of the inhabitants moved further east. They eventually settled at the site of the present village of San Antonio some time around 1883 (this date is open to question and some sources cite 1885 and 1891).(31) The Indians' reasons for leaving Guatemala were apparently related to constant taxation, military service (once in the army, troops were rarely paid), and a few oppressive laws (e.g. the Law of Cajabon which limited the maximum size of the Indians' fields).(32)

During much of the Colonial Period (until the 1820's) and the early National Period (under Carrera) El Peten and Alta Vera Paz, in Guatemala, remained quite isolated, the Indians living there being left pretty much to themselves. During the mid-nineteenth century, however, this began to change. Carrera had run the country until 1865 and he had been little interested in "developing" it, being more interested in acquiring glory by going to war with other Central American nations. In 1873 Justo Rufino Barrios became the new dictator. He was quite eager to modernize Guatemala and was influenced by liberal positivist thought (the Latin American variety).(33) Under the "liberals," who greatly influenced Guatemala throughout most of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, conditions became quite bad for the Indians: peonage became more systematic and intolerable and many laws were passed which further oppressed the Indians. Such conditions caused some Indians to move into the more isolated parts of the country and a few chose to move to British Honduras (e.g. to San Antonio).

In 1898 Manuel Estrada Cabrera "initiated a rule that proved to be the longest and worst the Republic has yet endured."(34) His principal victims were the Indians. Peonage and the use of forced labour became more widespread and systematic in application. It was government policy to use cheap Indian labour to "develop" the country by forcing them to work on banana plantations and coffee estates, as well as to build roads. Such political developments, in addition to population growth and increasing land scarcity for the Indians (due in part to increasingly large land-holdings by non-Indians), were largely responsible for the migration of the Kekchi into the lowlands from Alta Vera Paz.(35) The migration continues to this day, though now the population pressures have become greater and wealthier non-Indians are taking a greater interest in the region.(36) Some of these Indians decided to migrate into British Honduras, especially into the Toledo District, which was relatively isolated and where land was available in more than adequate quantities.

The Indians moving into British Honduras during this period appear to have rarely settled in stable villages (there being a few exceptions such as San Antonio and Aguacate). Most preferred living in isolation in small hamlets consisting of a few close relatives, and moving as the nearby soil became exhausted or as quarrels erupted. River valleys, such as Maijon, Pushila, and Poitey were settled and abandoned many times and the membership of a hamlet might vary considerably over the space of only a few years.

There were only a few large Indian settlements, such as San Antonio and Aguacate, in the area. The border between Guatemala and British Honduras was not well-defined and movement back and forth was common. Kekchi traders from Coban traversed much of the area carrying various spices, herbs, handicrafts, medicines, and other trade goods. Occasionally the Indians would go to Punta Gorda or San Luis to trade for salt, machetes and other dry goods. Most of the Indian settlements were virtually self-sufficient, growing a wide variety of crops and making their own cloth, home utensils and furniture. Disease was widespread and conditions were often quite difficult, but the Indians preferred life in this area to living in Guatemala. At least in the Toledo District they were relatively free.

Throughout Cabrera's dictatorship the flow of Indians into British Honduras continued, though never on a very large scale. Finally, in 1920 Cabrera's rule came to an end. From 1920 to 1931 there were no dictators in Guatemala and economically the period was not too bad for some of the wealthier non-Indians. However, the Indians' lot was little improved.

In 1931, General Jorge Ubico became Guatemala's new dictator (which he remained until 1944). Conditions under Ubico were a little better for the Indians in some ways. Colby and van den Berghe described the laws passed by Ubico thusly:

> In an attempt to abolish the system of debt peonage to which the Indians had been reduced by the habilitadores, Ubico cancelled the outstanding debts and limited liability for future debts to two dollars and a half. But in order to retain control over the Indian labor force two unpopular laws were passed,

> the ley de vagancia and the ley de vialidad, which obliged non-gainfully employed people (in effect mostly Indians) to work on roads or for private employers for 150 days a year at low wages. (37)

These laws were especially hard on the Indians in the Alta Vera Paz and El Peten where the government began building several roads. This caused more Indians to cross into British Honduras and many of the older Indians still talk about the terrible work on the roads and about many Indians who became ill or died as a result of the work. It was during this period, the late 1930's, that Pueblo Viejo became a fair-sized village, many of the families crossing the border to escape the laws. (38)

Prior to the Second World War, British influence in the Toledo District was quite limited and there was very little contact between Indians and non-Indians. There were black and mestizo Mahogany cutters and 'chicle bleeders' in the interior and a few 'Spaniards,' East Indians and Creoles who settled along the road from Punta Gorda to San Antonio and near San Pedro Columbia. The Superintendent for the Toledo District reported in 1858 (it could have just as well have been in 1938) that the Indians took their crops and pigs to sell once a year and bought what they needed-- "principally salt" and then "dissappeared again." (39) The Kekchi who came to work on the Kramer Estate in the Sarstoon and Temax valleys remained in isolated settlements in the area after 1914. These Indians rarely carried produce to market in Punta Gorda and dealt mostly with the traders from Coban, remaining for the most part self-sufficient. (40)

There was some outside interest in the area in the late

1930's due to banana raising by the Indians for market, which lasted only a few years, and the dispute over the boundary with Guatemala. The boundary dispute remains unsettled and has been the topic of considerable literature on British Honduras.(41) In 1929 the boundary problem gained some attention when some loggers from British Honduras were siezed about one mile east of Pueblo Viejo by Guatemalan authorities for operating on what was presumed to be Guatemalan territory without a license. The Guatemalans at this time considered the Rio Blanco to be the boundary, and Pueblo Viejo was considered part of Guatemala. Upon investigation, it was discovered that Pueblo Viejo was in fact within the boundary claimed by British Honduras, and the incarcerated loggers were subsequently released.(42) The boundary between Guatemala and British Honduras was again surveyed, and in the mid-1930's Pueblo Viejo officially became part of British Honduras.

During the summer of 1942 strong winds from the east spread destruction throughout much of the district, as well as parts of Guatemala. Many houses were destroyed, crops were extensively damaged, and much of the 'high bush' was downed causing many of the trails to be blocked. After the winds, communication and transportation between the various villages was disrupted and many trails have never been reopened. This led to increasing isolation on the part of the Indians, many resuming the old pattern of only coming to Punta Gorda on rare occasions to buy a little salt or kerosene and to sell corn, beans, and pigs in limited quantities.

During the 1950's there were efforts made to lessen the isolation of the Indian communities. A Liaison Officer was appointed to live among the Kekchi (Owen Lewis) in hope of assisting the Indians in becoming more integrated members of the colony. An attempt was also made at assisting the economic development of the Indians: the Land Use Survey Team sent some of its members to study the area and to make suggestions and the Catholic Church encouraged the development of a co-operative in San Antonio. One of the members of the Land Use Survey Team, Charles Wright, spent a number of years among the Kekchi and was influential in initiating a few development programs in the southern part of the district.(43)

From the post-World War II period on, there has been a steady increase in the amount of interaction between the Indians and the rest of the country. However, this has been slow and outside knowledge of and by the Indians is still limited. The isolation of the Indians varies individually and from village to village. The Kekchi villages in the southern parts of the district are considerably more isolated and conservative than those in the north. Even among the northern villages the degree of isolation and conservatism varies quite a bit.

The History of Pueblo Viejo

In 1866 a group of Indians from San Luis, Guatemala (they were apparently originally from Dolores), settled on the site of the present Pueblo Viejo, thinking that it was within the

boundary of British Honduras.(44) Upon discovery that the boundary lay further to the east, the Rio Blanco, they again moved around 1883, and settled at what is now San Antonio.(45) Whether or not the site of Pueblo Viejo had been previously occupied by other Indians is unclear. It is also not certain that all of the migrants from San Luis left the village to move to San Antonio. It seems possible that the site was occupied earlier by small groups of Indians who tended to settle near rivers for a few years, moving as the soil was exhausted. It is certain that around the turn of the century the site was being occupied on occasion by small groups of Indians and chicle bleeders.

In 1921 Diego Villanueva moved to the site of Pueblo Viejo. Now he is considered to be the village founder. Diego Villanueva had come from Veracruz State in Mexico, where his father had been a milpero (slash-and-burn agriculturalist). In 1917 Diego's father was killed by bandits while taking tobacco to market and Diego fled across northern Guatemala and finally settled in southern British Honduras. He settled near San Antonio, at Crique Lagarto which at the time was occupied by a few Kekchi families (it is about one mile west of San Antonio). There he married a Kekchi woman, Natividad Pop, who was originally from Cajabon and had been married previously to a chiclero (chicle bleeder) who had died a few years earlier. With her former husband, Natividad had lived for a short time at Pueblo Viejo and had had two sons there by him (they both died while quite young).

Diego's first son, Roberto, was born at Crique Lagarto. Around 1921 Diego decided to move over to Guatemala, since he apparently did not want his son to go to school in San Antonio. He decided to move to Pueblo Viejo, where his wife had lived earlier. At this time there were no families living exactly at Pueblo Viejo. The population of Pueblo Viejo varied considerably throughout the 1920's and early 1930's. Families would come for a year or so and then move on. Diego's family was the only one to remain there throughout this period. Apparently most of the Indians living in the village at this time were Kekchi.

Shortly before the boundary of British Honduras was moved to the west of Pueblo Viejo in the mid-1930's (1935 or 1937), a group of Kekchi moved to Pueblo Viejo from a place called Jush (near Jalacte). When they arrived, the only family living at Pueblo Viejo was the Villanueva. This new group included Sebastian Choc, his son Eusebio, Jose Tush, and Abelino Choc (who had lived near Santa Cruz for a number of years). These people were to form one of the main family groups now occupying Pueblo Viejo.

When Pueblo Viejo became part of British Honduras, the District Commissioner came and raised the "Union Jack" near the site now occupied by the school. He had encouraged a few Indians, who were originally from British Honduras and then living in Guatemala, to move to Pueblo Viejo. This group was an extended family of Kekchis whom had been living at Maijon. Some of the family was originally from Aguacate and they now

decided to return to British Honduras due to conditions in Guatemala. This group included Miguel Coc (born in Aguacate in 1911), his brother Torraibio, and their brother-in-law Juan Bol. The Coc's had lived in Pueblo Viejo for a few years with their father in the early 1920's after leaving Aguacate. Also with this group came Teodoro Shal, who had been living at Jush with his wife's parents. He had been born at Crique Lagarto and had moved to Pushila, Guatemala, as a small boy. Shortly after the arrival of this group, Teodoro's in-laws also moved from Jush to Pueblo Viejo. This included Domingo Coc and his sons, Ramon and Secundino. Teodoro Shal and his sons and the two groups of Cocs now constitute three more of the leading families of the village.

In 1942, before the hurricane, another group came over from Guatemala. They were originally from around San Luis and had been living for a short period at Pushila. These included Nevis Cal, Concepcion Teul, Pedro Ba, and two brothers, Martin and Gregorio Choc. After two years, all but Martin and Gregorio Choc had returned to Guatemala. The 1942 hurricane did extensive damage to Pueblo Viejo and destroyed most of the peoples' crops; many had to go to San Luis in search of corn. This apparently had something to do with the above people returning to Guatemala.

During much of the 1920's and 1930's the men in the region would augment their income by working as 'chicle bleeders' or by cutting mahogany during the summers. They worked on both sides of the border and would occasionally go into the northern

part of El Peten for work. People would also travel about to visit relatives on both sides of the border. Such traveling over the past several years has become much more restricted, due largely to the state of the boundary dispute between the two nations and to the existence of guerrilla warfare in the adjacent areas of Guatemala. Indians in Pueblo Viejo would occasionally visit San Luis or Punta Gorda to carry out a little trade, but not very often.

Throughout the 1940's other families continued to come to Pueblo Viejo from Guatemala and other parts of the Toledo District. This included a few Mopan Mayas from San Antonio (several Cals and a Sho), the first Mopans to move into the village since the nineteenth century. The population has in general continued to increase up to the present. Though some years it would decrease due to families moving away. One family in particular has moved to and away from Pueblo Viejo on several occasions. Some of the population still moves around quite a bit, but in general the people have become much more stationary.

The latest group to come from Guatemala is an extended family of Kekchis who have a distant relative who had settled in Pueblo Viejo in the 1940's, after traveling as an Indian trader (*Cobanero*) in the region for several years. This family arrived in 1968. The group included: the father (Juan Ixim), two of his sons, two daughters, a son-in-law, several younger children, and a son of Juan's wife that she had by another man before her present marriage. As of 1972, the population of

Pueblo Viejo is 249. This is a decrease since 1969, when there was a murder that led to a number of families moving away.

Contact with the rest of British Honduras has been steadily increasing over the past twenty years. In 1952 Pueblo Viejo got its first primary school. During this period, schools were also built at several other sites. Most of the area between San Antonio and Pueblo Viejo had been occupied by Indians living in very small scattered settlements (often nothing more than an extended family or two). Schools and Catholic churches were built at some of the larger hamlets, and villages began to grow around them as people moved close to be near the new schools and churches. It was in this manner that the nearby villages of Santa Cruz, Santa Elena (Rio Blanco) and San Jose grew. This meant that priests began coming about once a month, or so, to say Mass and that teachers, mostly Caribs, moved into the villages to teach.

Communication with the rest of the country has increased in a number of ways. Roads have been slowly improved (see Chapter I). Until the early 1960's there was nothing but a trail into Pueblo Viejo. Then the government began building a dirt road from San Antonio and constructed culverts over the larger rivers and creeks. This road became nearly impassible much of the rainy season. In June of 1972, an improved road, with a surface of crushed rock, was completed as far as Pueblo Viejo; ~~greatly improving~~ communication. There was a telephone line in operation for a few years, but it has fallen

into decay and much of the line is now used for clothes lines by the Indian women. Radios have become fairly common, due largely to an increase in the amount of cash earned by the Indians. Education has also enabled the Indians to read newspapers (from Belize City), which they do on occasion, though most wish that there was a little more substance to the papers.

The village economy has become increasingly involved with that of the nation as a whole, and this will be treated in the next chapter. Health care has also improved, though the nurse in San Antonio or hospital in Punta Gorda is still too far away to be of any help at times, and dependence is still great on local 'bush-doctors' (curers and shamans) and midwives. Malaria has virtually been eradicated due to constant spraying by the government and most are inoculated for smallpox. Political involvement and awareness has also increased, though as yet the Indians possess relatively little political power.

Footnotes

1. A.C. and P.C. Maudslay (1899). Their travels cover much of Central America.

2. For a list of K. Sapper's works (all in German) see the bibliography in J.E.S. Thompson (1930).

3. F.A. Mitchell-Hedges was hoping to find traces of the lost continent of Atlantis. See R. Garvin (1973). For works by the men themselves, see F.A. Mitchell-Hedges (1931) and (1955) and T.W.F. Gann (1925) and (1926).

4. See T.A. Joyce (1926) and (1929); Joyce, Cooper, and Thompson (1927); Joyce, Gann, Gruning, and Long (1928).

5. J.E.S. Thompson (1930). This work also includes notes on Soccotz.

6. Some of Thompson's material on shamans and folk-tales collected at San Antonio may have been from Kekchis.

7. D.H. Romney (1960).

8. Fieldwork has also been done by American anthropologists in San Antonio, Santa Cruz, and San Pedro Columbia. So far nothing has been published from this research.

9. More information is probably available in Guatemala, but I was unable to visit that country.

10. There are several more travel books, but they add virtually nothing to the data in those already discussed.

11. See V. Rodriguez B. (1951) for an example.

12. W.E. Carter (1969). For earlier, brief, research on the Kekchi see A.R. King (1952), King and Silvert (1957), R.N. Adams (1965), and F. Eachus and R. Carlson (1966). Research in the area has possibly been discouraged due to the existence of guerrilla activities throughout the Kekchi area.

13. See J.E.S. Thompson (1938) and O. Stoll (1958).

14. For general information on the Classical Period see S. Morely (1956), and M.D. Coe (1966). There is also a new publication from University of New Mexico Press.

15. See Footnote 4 for work by the British Museum at Lubantuum and Pushila. Hammond has done work at Lubantuum and carried out a brief survey of the site near San Jose recently (no publications to date).

16. J.E.S. Thompson (1970,p.73-76). See T.W.F. Gann (1918) for information on chiefs among the Mayas to the north.

17. V. Rodriguez B. (1951,p.45-47).

18. H.H. Bancroft (1883,p.348-355).

19. J.E.S. Thompson (1970,p.62).

20. See linguistic map Appendix C.

21. J.E.S. Thompson (1938). The exact location of the village is debatable.

22. See T.W.F. Gann (1918) and (1925).

23. J.E.S. Thompson (1970,p.63).

24. J.E.S. Thompson (1970,p.62).

25. J.E.S. Thompson (1938,p.590-593).

26. J.E.S. Thompson (1970,p.65).

27. See D.M. Taylor (1951) for data on the Caribs.

28. D.A.G. Waddell (1961,p.20-21).

29. D.H. Romney (1960,p.126).

30. A.R. Gregg (1968,p.82).

31. For details of San Antonio's founding see J.E.S. Thompson (1930,p.38).

32. J.E.S. Thompson (1930,p.38).

33. Nineteenth century "liberal" thought in Latin America tended to be quite racist and anti-Indian. See M.S. Stabb (1959).

34. J.E. Fagg (1968,p.785).

35. See H.H. Bancroft (1883) and R.N. Adams (1970).

36. See R.N. Adams (1965), W.E. Carter (1969), and T. and M. Melville (1971).

37. B.N. Colby and P.L. van den Berghe (1969,p.76).

38. For more detailed information on Guatemala during this period see R.N. Adams (1970), J.E. Fagg (1968), B.N. Colby and P.L. van den Berghe (1969), and T. and M. Melville (1971).

39. P. Sherlock (1969,p.66).

40. D.H. Romney (1960,p.126-127).

41. For a well-balanced history of the boundary dispute to 1901 see R.A. Humphreys (1961).

42. See J.L. Mendoza (1959,p.247) for the Guatemalan version and S.L. Caiger (1951,p.205-206) for a rather biased British viewpoint.

43. See D.H. Romney (1960).

44. Data from informants indicates that the date is approximately correct. Most of the information in this section is from local informants (the oldest being around eighty-five).

45. See Footnote 31.

Part II

Economy and Social Organization

Chapter III

The Village Economy

Introduction

The type of agriculture practiced by the Indians of the Toledo District is the familiar slash-and-burn, or milpa type (sometimes referred to as shifting cultivation), common to many tropical areas of the world.(1) All of the men in Pueblo Viejo farm in this way. However, there is a great deal of variety in the strategies employed by individual farmers in terms of the variety and amount of crops planted and the timing and techniques of marketing produce. Pestilence and weather also lead to a wide variation in the amount harvested by the farmers.

Many of the men in the village also supplement their income from non-agricultural sources and a few operate small stores in the village. In every case, these are secondary forms of income. Most people also raise animals for market and consumption, especially pigs.(2) Again, the strategies for raising and marketing animals vary considerably. In assessing wealth differences in the community it is also important to take into account family consumption patterns as well as production. The former vary considerably, depending in particular on rum consumption and the buying of modern household items. Some of these items may add a small degree of prestige

to the owner, but generally not. Relative family size is yet another variable which affects consumption, and is functionally interrelated with wealth.

All of the above factors lend themselves to a wide range of wealth among individuals in the village. The people themselves are aware of these differences and of how other villagers accumulate and dispose of wealth. There exists a normative ideology of the proper means by which wealth should be handled, as well as standardized notions of deviancy.(3) Among the villagers there exists a stigma associated with being excessively poor (in part because wealth is associated with hard work, which is valued), and this is often illustrated in terms of how people dress: "Those people wear pants covered with patches."

This chapter will examine the changes that have occured in the village's economy over the past few decades and to look at differences in wealth and the ways in which it is acquired and handled. It is possible, though not necessary, that such differences are important in understanding the political and social fabric of the community. It is also possible that social position in the community may have a good deal to do with a person's wealth and consumption.

Agriculture has changed a great deal since Pueblo Viejo was established in the mid-1930's. Before then, as was indicated in the last chapter, most families were quite self-sufficient and there was very little marketing activity. In 1937 Reserve Land was set aside for Pueblo Viejo. Reservations

had been previously established for San Antonio and San Pedro Columbia (around 1915). Prior to this, Indians technically paid rent for the use of Crown Land, though the enforcement of this was quite limited.(4)

In the 1930's there was adequate usable land set aside for Pueblo Viejo on its Reserve. However, as the population grew throughout the area the availability of land on the Reserves began to become more of a problem. Many Reserves were kept small due to the logging companies' influence with the government.

The problem of land shortage began to appear in Pueblo Viejo during the late 1940's, due principally to an increase in the village's population. Eventually, the alcalde, Diego Villanueva, petitioned for more land and the village was given a little more. However, this was exhausted in two years. A few years later, the government was again petitioned for more land and likewise, another small parcel was granted. In 1964 the Premier visited the village and was told that the villagers badly needed more land. The village was given the right to use all land to the south and as far west as the Guatemalan border. To the north the boundary was San Jose's Reserve and to the east that of Santa Elena (Rio Blanco). Since this time land has not been scarce for the villagers, though there is little virgin land within easy distance of the village. This does not appear to be the case in several of the nearby villages, where land is becoming scarce again.

Some land around the village was taken out of production by a government program to plant mahogany trees on former milpa sites. This program lasted from 1946 until 1954 (Indians were paid 75¢ per day for planting trees) and resulted in land near the village being occupied by stands of mahogany. These trees now stand on what many Indians consider good farming land. Recently the villagers cut down some of the trees in preparing a plantation for the first time (a practice that is more widespread in some of the other villages) and before long many more mahogany trees may be cut down.

There has been some difficulty with the neighbouring villages of Santa Elena and San Jose over the use of land near the Reserve boundaries. Both of the villages have grown considerably in recent years and they are under pressure from Santa Cruz and San Antonio to the east for more land. Santa Elena recently had its boundary with Pueblo Viejo moved a little to the west.

Generally, it is not too difficult to find enough land to make 'plantation' (the local term for milpas) on in Pueblo Viejo. It is somewhat harder than some would prefer, but the problem is minor when compared to milpas in other parts of Mesoamerica. In Pueblo Viejo the furthest plantation is about three miles. The only restriction on choosing a site for the year is that one cannot use land that has been used by someone else in the past and that is now lying fallow (the ideal fallow period is five to seven years). After five years an individual generally has enough land in fallow to provide

for his future land needs. The amount of land used each year varies, but in general the same site area will be used.(5)

The Agricultural Cycle

The agricultural cycle, in general, is not too dissimilar from that of most Mesoamerican Indians.(6) After choosing a site in December or January the field is cleared some time between late January and early March. Generally, the higher the 'bush' (growth) the earlier one begins clearing. The hieght of the 'bush' is usually chosen according to individual taste, as many prefer to avoid the extra labour involved in felling the higher growth.

Burning of the fields begins in late March in Pueblo Viejo (the time varies among villages in the area) and most of the fields are burned in April. Corn is then planted in April and May. Several varieties of maize (Zea mays) are planted: red, black, yellow, and large and small white.(7) Planting begins shortly after an insect, the 'choi·yoi',is heard.(8)

The amount of land cleared, burned, and planted varies considerably among individuals. Some of the relevant variables are: 1) more land must be cleared and planted if a wedding, baptism, or fiesta sponsorship is anticipated; 2) the size of the family; 3) the amount of surplus corn left from the year before. Though a large amount of land may be cleared, should the burning not go well, the farmer may decide to plant only a small amount. This happened to five farmers in 1972.

Upon finishing corn planting, rice planting begins. (9) Rice (Oryza sativa) is usually, though not always, planted adjacent, or near, to the corn field. Rice has been planted in Pueblo Viejo since the early 1960's. The amount planted has increased considerably due to improved marketing conditions resulting from improved roads. Rice planting usually lasts from May until the end of June. It is now common for young men living at home and not yet married to plant a seperate rice field while sharing the cornfield with their father. This provides them with supplementary cash and eventually much of the money goes to pay for their wedding.

July and August are the slack work periods and people usually occupy themselves by getting married, having baptisms, building houses and pig sheds, and doing various chores. At different times throughout the year the farmer also plants numerous other crops on his plantation, but on a small scale. Such crops are occasionally sold or given away, but more often they are consumed by the family. Sugar cane (Saccharum officinarum) and plantains (Musa paradisiaca) are the only of such crops that are ever grown on a fairly large scale.

Most villagers plant two crops of beans each year. The first crop (the wet season crop) is planted in September on land that had earlier been used for corn. The second crop (the dry season crop) is planted between late December and early February. Red kidney beans (Phaseolus vulgaris) are planted on a relatively large scale due to their marketability. Some prefer planting them to rice for a cash crop

since they sell for more per bag. Very few red kidney beans are consumed locally. Black beans (Phaseolus luatus) are grown on a much smaller scale. Usually only four to five quarts of black beans are planted, while it is common to plant sixty to one hundred quarts of fed kidney beans. Most of the black beans are for home consumption, although some are marketed. A few individuals also grow black-eyed beans and white beans on a very small scale.

Two plants are grown around the village itself: tobacco and coffee. A few of the older men have large numbers of coffee trees (e.g. one man has well over one hundred trees). Tobacco is grown close to the house and only a little of it is marketed. Coffee is sold to other villagers as well as to other villages, though many now prefer to buy ground coffee. Cacao (Theobroma cacao) is also grown, but on a very small scale. There are a few fruit trees in the village, mostly orange and grapefruit. Most fruits are purchased from other villages.

The first corn is harvested while still green. This is done in early August. It is considered a time of celebration and it is traditional to make large quantities of tamales and a drink, lab, which is made from green corn. The food is distributed to relatives and compadres, and a few may be invited to eat at one's house. The extent to which this is done varies considerably. Those people who are trying to build or maintain wide personal social networks tend to give many people tamales and lab, while others give out very little.

During the early part of September a camp is constructed in the 'plantation' to store the corn that will soon be harvested. Then, during late September and early October, the dry corn is harvested. At this time tamales and lab are again made and distributed. Shortly after corn harvesting is finished, rice harvesting begins (sometimes they overlap). The planting of wet season beans begins shortly after corn harvest as well. Samateo, on the 22nd of September, is the traditional day to plant wet season beans, but this is not now adhered to by many of the younger men. Beans are harvested for the wet season in December and from the dry season planting in March. Most of the intercropped species are harvested at different times throughout the year.

Agricultural Labour

The Indians of Pueblo Viejo and Indians of all of the Toledo District have a practice of labour assistance based upon reciprocity for many agricultural activities and for house construction.(10) Generally, assistance is requested for clearing fields, planting, harvesting, and building plantation camps. Fifteen to twenty-five men are generally required for work involving corn and five to ten for beans.

Rice holds a special place in the Indians' culture and economy. Rice has only recently been grown and it is usually just a cash crop. Agricultural rituals applied to beans and corn have not been applied to rice and times of planting and harvesting rice are not treated as times of great celebration

as with corn. Labour related to rice is also somewhat different. For example, people are often paid to help in clearing rice fields and for helping to harvest it. Also, much of the labour is done by the farmer himself and close relatives. Thus, the networks involved in rice-related labour are much more restricted in terms of personnel and content.

From the 1930's to the early 1950's the whole village tended to work together in planting, harvesting, and clearing. Thus, during corn planting all of the men in the village would turn out to help each person in turn to plant his corn. Such activity was seen as symbolizing the unity of the village. However, in the early 1950's this practice was altered due to the larger population, which began to make the practice increasingly impractical, and to the advent of factionalism within the community (see Chapter 8 on factions).

During the 1950's and the early 1960's there were two; later three, principal factions within the community. Members of each of these factions tended to help each other in agricultural activities. The boundaries of the factions and the labour groups did not entirely coincide. Factional membership was often larger than the number required for the job. This was also due to the means by which help was recruited. As the village population grew and as economic activities and factions proliferated, it became more of the individual's responsibility to recruit people to help him since all men no longer worked together. It was considered the duty of compadres and relatives to help a person if they could. Thus,

even though a particular relative or compadre may be estranged at the time and a member of a different faction, a person may still ask such people to help, if he needs them badly enough.

As a general rule, people attempt to recruit harmonious work groups and, therefore, they take into account how well people work together. This also involves attempting to recruit people with reputations as good workers. If, for example, someone did perform sloppily or slowly when called upon, this would be reciprocated in turn. To avoid unnecessary disharmony, people with reputations for such work are not popularly asked to help and they, in turn, have difficulty recruiting help for themselves.

When a person helps someone else for a full day or half day, that person is expected to return a similar amount of work at some future date. The return labour may not be of the same kind of activity, though it often is. Sometimes a person will pay people to help if he does not want to spend the time, and if he has the money, to repay their services in labour. On occasion, people who have little to occupy themselves may hire out to help those who need a little assistance.(11)

In carrying out most agricultural activities, the individual and possibly his older, unmarried sons will begin the work alone. When he feels that it is time to ask for help he will call on as many men as he feels are needed, or just those he can afford to repay in kind. Having gathered together sufficient manpower, an attempt is made to finish the job in one

day. Sometimes the work is not finished and the person must finish the job by himself. In recruiting labour, one must try and find a day when not too many others are in need of assistance. At times a person may be asked by more than one to help on the same day: the deciding factor here is often the nature of social relations of those involved at the time.

For planting corn the problems of recruitment are not as great, as it is not entirely left up to the individual. In this case, a few groups of men usually agree in advance that they will help each other and in what order it is to be done. The membership of these groups is determined by factionalism, social ties, and the time at which the individuals' fields will be ready for planting (as this varies over a few weeks).

To operate a reciprocal system of labour of this sort requires that each individual have a fairly extensive network of kin and compadres, as well as friends, within the community. Having to depend upon friendship is not considered sufficient, as friendships disintegrate. Accordingly, the stronger the ties one has with various individuals the better, to ensure being able to call on the required labour. Given a system of this sort, recent entrants into the village must spend considerable time and energy cultivating effective social relations. When someone first arrives it is easy to find people willing to help get him started. However, over time, should the person alienate people or fail to build up the necessary links, it becomes increasingly difficult to remain in the village.

The persistence of this system of labour seems to be one of the keys to the maintenance of village solidarity (to the degree that it does exist) by keeping individual families from being able to withdraw into themselves socially. It means that any agriculturalist must have about twenty men that he can call on for help. This sysyem seems to be aided by the form of land management, that is, the Indian Reserves, under which the land is seen as belonging ultimately to the village and not to individuals. Free-hold land would probably be detrimental to the Indians by undermining this sense of commonality, in addition to making them more vulnerable to usurpation of their land by non-Indians.(12)

As mentioned earlier, such labour assistance is also used in putting up a house. The sticks for the frame and boards for the walls are gathered over a long period with the help of a few individuals. The next step involves getting approximately twenty to twenty-five men to help put up the house. This usually requires about three days. On the first day about ten men help put up the frame of the house. On the next day a similar number of men will cut and haul cohune leaves (Attalea cohune) for the roof. Finally, on the third day as many as twenty-five men may be called on to help thatch the roof (twenty-two for an average size house).

A few Indians in San Antonio have begun building zinc-roofed houses, but as yet they are not found in the other villages. Such houses are built by paid labourers. There appears to be a great deal of symbolism attached to the kind of

house one lives in. A zinc-roofed house symbolizes a status difference with others in the community, while living in a thatched house symbolizes one's Indian identity and commonality with the other members of the community. Also, such a house does not require widespread assistance in its construction and maintenance. Thus, one man tried to build a zinc-roofed house in Santa Elena, but was forced to leave the village due to ill-feelings before completeing it. In Pueblo Viejo, Leocardio Shal is planning to build one next year.

Marketing

Among the Indians of the Toledo District, there was little marketing of produce in the 1930's and 1940's, due largely to poor communications and limited marketability of goods.(13) About once a year Indians would go into Punta Gorda to sell a bag or two of corn or beans to get enough money to purchase a few items. For the people of Pueblo Viejo, it was a long trip to market and, if one did not own a pack animal, a very expensive undertaking as a mule rented for as much as $3 and could carry only two bags of corn. Corn then often sold for only $1.50 per bag and beans for a few dollars more. Only those with horses and mules were able to make much money.

During the 1940's, a Marketing Board was established by the government in Punta Gorda. When the Board began buying red kidney beans a few people in Pueblo Viejo decided to grow them for market. The first to do so were Diego Villanueva,

his son Roberto, and Eusebio Choc. The Board at that time paid $8.50 per bag, and all three of these men had pack animals. Under these conditions, these men were able to make a fair amount of money by selling beans. Some of the cash was eventually converted by Roberto Villanueva and Eusebio Choc into cattle, which the two men employed to increase their wealth still further.

In 1948 the resident Jesuit priest in San Antonio (first Fr. Nap and then Fr. Orich) started a co-operative in that village. This had an important effect on Pueblo Viejo primarily because it was influential in causing the price of red kidney beans to greatly increase in the Toledo District. The Marketing Board followed the co-operative's price increase. Transportation between San Antonio and Punta Gorda was greatly improved during this time and the co-operative in San Antonio bought a truck. The increased price paid for beans caused many more people in Pueblo Viejo to start growing red kidney beans.

During the early 1950's hogs began to become more popular throughout the district as a source of supplementary income. (14) Hogs provided an easily transportable and marketable form of wealth (though they required as much as two years to mature) and a way to dispose of bad corn (although the hogs also tend to eat good corn for feed at times). Prices of hogs were originally quite low ($3 to $4 per hog) and the hog buyers frequently cheated the Indians. The co-operative in San Antonio caused this to change by introducing the use of scales

to weigh the hogs. The price of hogs has gone as high as 25¢ per pound in Pueblo Viejo (a marketable hog weighs between fifty and one hundred and fifty pounds). The price has since dropped as an Indian in San Antonio now has a monopoly on selling hogs to Belize City (where most of the hogs are sold). The drop in price is also a result of the increasing availability of better grade hogs in other parts of the country and the resulting difficulty in selling the local hogs.

In 1965 the first road was opened to Pueblo Viejo. The bringing of a road as far as the village produced considerable economic change in the community. The same year people began growing rice for the first time, now that they could get it to market. Rice had been grown in other villages, such as San Antonio, since the late 1940's. Road improvements have since allowed several communities to market rice for the first time. Unfortunately, the time of year that was chosen to plant rice meant that it would be harvested late in the rainy season. This meant that transportation of rice would (and still is) be difficult due to the flooded roads. This also means that it is difficult to harvest and dry the rice because of the rain.

Today rice production is one of the main sources of income in Pueblo Viejo. It sells for $5 to $6 per bag. In 1972, 73% of the farmers in Pueblo Viejo planted rice in some quantity. Those who did not plant any, or who planted very little, tended to plant large quantities of red kidney beans (eighty to one hundred and sixty quarts of seed). Most of

those who did plant rice planted around fifteen to twenty-five quarts of seed. A few, such as Secundino Coc, Leocardio Shal, and Apolonio Sho, planted considerably more-- over forty quarts each. One extreme case, Rafael Villanueva, harvested about sixty bags of rice from sixty-five quarts of seed.

The original San Antonio co-operative failed in the mid-1950's, but another has been formed recently. Beginning in 1972, the new co-operative will be buying rice. This will cut the cost of marketing, since now the rice need only be transported as far as San Antonio rather than to Punta Gorda to the Marketing Board. Many of the villagers prefer to sell to the government, however, due to their distrust of co-operatives.

There is a fair amount of marketing activity between the Indian villages. Pueblo Viejo has a large surplus of corn and in August it is common to see people from other villages (especially San Antonio) coming to buy corn since they have run out before their own new crop is ready. This seems to be partially due to the practice in some villages to put aside much more acreage for rice. Coffee, tobacco, and various fruits are also sold between villages. Within the village produce is also sold, especially eggs (three for 10¢), chickens ($1 to $1.50 each), various domestic meats and game.

Goods are purchased from a variety of sources. Besides several stores, there are market days in Punta Gorda (Wednesday and Saturday). People come into Punta Gorda every few months to buy dry goods, kerosene, shot gun shells, and salt.

Roberto too (along with his father and Eusebio Chos) was one

There are also several reasonably well stocked stores in San Antonio, which are owned by Indians. In both Punta Gorda and San Antonio the prices of most goods go up considerably during harvest.

There are at present three stores in Pueblo Viejo. These stock tinned foods (e.g. sardines), bottled soft drinks, batteries, matches, and soap. The oldest established store is operated by Eusebio Choc; it has been operating for about twenty years. The other two are operated by Leocardio Shal and Hilario Ixim and have only been operating for a few years. The prices in these stores are generally a few cents higher than in Punta Gorda, though during harvest the prices tend to be lower due to the slower turn-over in the village stores. Many goods are also brought from the Kekchi Indian traders from Coban, Guatemala. These 'Cobaneros' pass through the village (they visit all of the Indian villages in the District) every week or so, selling Indian handicrafts, clothing, candy, garlic, radios, and many other items that are not available or more expensive in British Honduras.

A considerable amount of skill and luck is involved in marketing corn since the price is not fixed by the Marketing Board. Often, the price of corn will increase markedly in Punta Gorda due to scarcity ($5 per bag), only to decrease drastically within a few days as other Indians hear of the high price and glut the market. Sometimes the Indians have to take their corn home again or sell it for as little as $2 a bag.(15) Thus, unlike rice and red kidney beans, the

income from corn is not necessarily related to the amount available for market, but is dependent upon current market conditions which may be difficult for the Indians to judge. The price of corn does not greatly affect most individuals' income, however, since it is not the principal cash crop.

Non-agricultural Sources of Income

There are several ways in which men in Pueblo Viejo are able to gain additional income in areas not directly related to agriculture. All of these are temporary and supplementary and farming always remains the Indians' primary means of making a living. Such work generally takes place during the summer when agricultural activities are minimal.

During the 1920's and up to 1960's many men worked during the summer bleeding chicle from trees or cutting mahogany. (16) Men worked as 'chicleros' (chicle bleeders) until 1966 when buyers from Belize City quit coming to the District. However, even before this it had become progressively difficult to make much money from chicle since many of the trees had been overworked. Chicle sold for $35 to $45 per one hundred pounds, and it was possible for a man working through the summer to earn several hundred dollars. Mahogany work was much less popular among the Indians since wages were quite low for the amount of work required. Few people worked at logging for very long.

A few local handicrafts are also sources of income. Many Kekchi men make baskets, but most now prefer to buy them.

Generally a man will make baskets to sell if his yield was meager and he needs additional cash (a basket sells for 50¢ to 75¢). Clay pottery for cooking and burning incense in are made by some of the women. Clay pottery is still used to some extent in most of the houses. Pottery sells for about 15¢ for an incense burner to 50¢ for a larger cooking pot. A popular source of income, predominantly among the Mopan women, is embroidery for blouses. This work is sold to other Indians and to the occasional tourist for $3 to $6. It takes considerable time to make a blouse, but since women want to generate capital of their own, they are willing to spend the time necessary. At present these are the only handicrafts made in the village. Many people know how to make other items, but they prefer to buy them from others.

It has become common in recent years for young men to go away from the area for short periods to earn money as labourers. This has become possible through more education and a better command of English, as well as improved transportation. Many wish to see a little of the country before getting married. Thus, some have worked at saw mills in the northern part of the District, while several have worked at Maya Beach, for a company putting up resort housing for foreign (primarily Canadian) tourists. Others have gone to cut cane in Corazal or to work near Stann Creek for the fruit companies. A few went to work in construction of the new capital at Belmopan, but none liked the work there. Generally, young men discover that the places they work at are not as nice as their own village, but they enjoy the novelty.

Many of those who go away to work save very little money since they spend it on the more readily available rum and consumer items. Nevertheless, some do manage to save a fair amount. Leocardio Shal, for example, worked at a saw mill in Mango Creek for two years before getting married. Though he did spend a good deal of his earnings, he managed to save a few hundred dollars. In addition, upon his return he demonstrated an inclination for certain non-Indian ways.

Much of the money saved by these young men is used to pay for their wedding. It is common practice now for the young man to pay for his own ceremony and related expenses. As the young men have been able to earn more money, the amount spent on weddings has increased considerably. Presently, it may take a few years of growing rice or working away from the village to save the $200 or more required for a wedding. As in many other cultures, a good deal of prestige is attached to the amount that is spent on a wedding and the groom publicly displays both his wealth and generosity.

Such work away from Pueblo Viejo has added a great deal to young men's knowledge of non-Indians and their ways of life, as well as improving their ability to speak English. For the most part, though, the effects have been minimal. Most men are still quite happy to return home and to go back to farming, though their desire for consumer goods may have increased a little.

Government Agricultural Policy

The government of British Honduras is trying to develop the agricultural potential of the Toledo District and to modernize agricultural methods. While it has in some ways succeeded, its efforts have at times been uneven and myopic due to overcentralized planning and at times inadequate concepts of socioeconomic development. The primary economic problem from the Indians' viewpoint at present is transportation and marketing. They see little use in growing large quantities of rice if it is going to rot because the roads are flooded and the rice cannot be shipped to market. The roads are slowly being improved, but not fast enough to keep up with rice and other agricultural production in certain parts of the district.

The government officials in charge of social and economic development have tended to be dedicated to a belief that capital-intensive agriculture is much better for the country than the widely practiced labour-intensive, slash-and-burn cultivation of the Indians of the Toledo District. It is possible to cite examples of the great productivity in certain areas where mechanized farming is used and to compare these with the apparent lower production of the areas using the "primitive" slash-and-burn system. This fails to point out that this higher production and usefullness of mechization is closely related to the nature of the land and to the better transportation facilities. The area around Big Falls and Mafredi (east of San Antonio) is quite suitable to some form of capital-intensive

rice growing, due in part to the population configuration, geography, communications, etc.. Such is not necessarily the case with such areas as that around Pueblo Viejo. The land there may be less suitable to capital-intensive farming, communications at present are poor, and the future utility of conversion to capital-intensive farming should be open to question. This is not to say that some mechanization may not be helpful, but a total shift in systems may not be the best course of action.

It has been pointed out that "Near the margin (of commercial production), the cost of purchased inputs designed to increase yields (especially fertilizers) must exceed the farms gate value of the additional amount produced..."(17) This is not always easy to determine or to predict. When roads are improved to such villages as Pueblo Viejo, mechanized farming on a limited scale may become more advantageous than it is at present. However, with the limited resources of the people of Pueblo Viejo (and the government of British Honduras) such a development is not the only possibility, nor necessarily the best one, to improve agriculture. Brosan has cited the impressive amount of foodstuffs produced in West Africa where the system of slash-and-burn agriculture is highly developed and where the national government supports and seeks to improve the existing form of agriculture.(18) In some areas, the low output of farms based upon "primitive" farming techniques is the result of farm size: these being too small for any successful form of exploitation.(19) Comparison of slash-and-burn

agriculture to other forms is difficult. Conklin makes two important points in regards to this:

> Swiddens are rarely planted with single or even with only a few crops. Hence, the productivity of a swidden can be determined only partially by an estimate of the harvest yield of any one crop... It appears that the efficiency of swidden farming can be ascertained-- relative to some other type of economy-- only by taking into account the total yield per unit of labor, not per unit of area.(20)

Such studies of production are rare and all too often it is taken for granted that slash-and-burn (swidden) production is low.

Studies concerning slash-and-burn agriculture in general are relatively limited. However, some recent studies have indicated that this system is not necessarily wasteful and that under certain conditions it may be an advisable ecological adjustment.(21) Carter cites a study done by Popenoe in the Polochic Valley in Guatemala, which indicated that the soil in the area has retained a high level of fertility under slash-and-burn farming.(22) Conklin cites similar findings from the Philippines.(23) In both cases, however, the fallow period was adequate to allow relative rejuvination of the growth and soil.(24)

A change from Reserve Land to private ownership is a related goal of the British Honduras government to foster development. This idea appears to have been first proposed by the Land Use Survey Team in the 1950's.(25) Such a program seems to be based upon a lack of sensitivity or understanding of the Indian cultures and to over-centralization in planning (the plans being based largely upon English capitalist

ideas of development). Such a move increases the likelihood of the Indian lands being eventually usurped through the manoeuvering of non-Indian (and often non-national) capitalists in the name of "efficiency" and "progress."(26) It is also debatable whether such a move is economically the most advisable. Studies of the ejidos in Mexico tend to indicate that under proper conditions (e.g. with roads and credit) ejidos, which are similar to the Reserves, can be advisable adaptations for social, cultural, and economic reasons.(27)

If the British Honduras government examines the possibility of different forms of development to suit the needs and conditions of different parts of the country, then the Indians of Pueblo Viejo may be able to develop with minimal changes. Improved seeds, transportation, and planning will certainly be necessary to improve output. For the present this seems more likely (and more advantageous) an adaptation than a complete shift in agricultural systems. Lack of communication between the Toledo District and the central government certainly hampers development. Hopefully, this will improve, and the government in the future will carefully plan and take into account the aspirations and culture of the people in the district when pressing for development.

Economic Entrepreneurs

Since the "founding" of Pueblo Viejo in the 1930's, there have been several socially acceptable ways in which a man could make money. Most men spent some time bleeding chicle or

cutting mahogany and everyone sold corn and black beans on occasion. The situation was not too different from that of the Maya Indians in the village of Tusik in Quintana Roo, described by Villa during the same period:

> The acquisition of wealth is related directly to the personal ambitions of the individual, for there are no differences in opportunity and no important differences in privilege. The principal source of wealth is the extraction of chicle, which is within the reach of all. (28)

During the 1940's conditions in the Toledo District changed. Conditions improved for more varied kinds of economic activity, provided that an individual had the requisite assets, and the initiative to take advantage of them. In this respect, the Indian communities in the Toledo District were not hampered by many of the problems besetting Indian communities in Mexico and Guatemala, which resulted from a few hundred years of discrimination and the presence of other ethnic groups of a higher status within their midst. The mestizos, or ladinos, in Guatemala moved into many of the Indian communities during the late nineteenth century and early twentieth and opened stores and undertook many of the economic operations that were becomong available due to economic and social changes.(29) In the Toledo District such activities tended to be handled by Indians. For the Indians of the Toledo District the main blocks to taking advantage of the economic opportunities were cultural (e.g. normative) ones, rather than structural ones.

The interior of the Toledo District is mostly inhabited by Indians, and members of other ethnic groups have not been

particularly interested in providing services for the former as this would often entail living in the interior, which most prefer to avoid. The increasing marketability of goods and the resulting increasing demand for consumer goods has led to opportunities for entrepreneurs interested in satisfying these desires by operating stores and driving trucks. Opportunities were also present (and still are) for those wishing to take advantage of the marketability of new crops, such as red kidney beans and cattle. A few Indians did decide to seek economic gain out of the conditions and become entrepreneurs. As defined by Barth the latter is "someone who takes the initiative in administering resources and pursues an expansive economic policy."(30)

Entrepreneurs are in some ways different from other members of the community. Barth states that:

> The difference between actors pursuing entrepreneurial activity, and the encumbants of traditional statuses who act in accordance with institutionalized patterns, are limited to a few crucial features, and are largely a question of degree and emphasis. These are: (1) the entrepreneur's more single minded concentration on the maximization of one type of value: profit... (2) the more experimental and speculative, less institutionalized character of the activity of the entrepreneur... (3) the entrepreneur's greater willingness to take risks... where other actors might entertain a conservative, exaggerated fear of the risk of loss.(31)

Although Barth is discussing entrepreneurs in northern Norway and not in British Honduras, there are some similarities. The last part of his statement amply describes some of the activities of the entrepreneurs in Pueblo Viejo. This is especially true regarding their greater willingness to take economic risks,

for most of the Indians are very cautious and prefer to wait and see how something works for someone else before trying it themselves.(32) However, rather than the differences between entrepreneur and non-entrepreneur being "a question of degree and emphasis" it seems more adequate in the case of the Indian entrepreneurs to say that the entrepreneurial activities tend to be limited to certain spheres of activity, while they may not be involved in other spheres of an individual's activities.

Barth points out how the entrepreneur must take into account profit and cost not just in monetary terms. "As in the case of the entrepreneur's gains, his losses may also include vital intangibles like power, rank, and goodwill."(33) 'In a community such as Pueblo Viejo, the entrepreneur must be very careful of such losses, for if they become too great he may be forced to leave the community.(34)

Most, if not all, "persons have commitments in specific social relations which hamper them in, or prevent them from pursuing effective strategies."(35) The entrepreneurs in Pueblo Viejo cannot avoid such relationships and it is difficult, if not disasterous, to repudiate existing ones. Such a course of social isolation is at present not considered possible by the entrepreneurs (although in one case social links have been restricted). Instead the entrepreneur must try and work out a strategy which seeks to isolate contradicting spheres of activity, thus minimalizing the relationship between his entrepreneurial activities and activities in other spheres. Generally, however, the maintenance of social

ties that impinge on the freedom of the entrepreneur's activities and are necessary due to activities and goals in other spheres, cannot be entirely isolated and the entrepreneur must remain cognizant of these ties. This is in part due to the practice of reciprocal labour and the fact that all people farm for a living, thus making the entrepreneur dependent upon a fairly wide network of people. Thus, he must often grant credit, loan items, or give other special favours to his kin or compadres. Goals in other spheres (e.g. political) may outweigh economic entrepreneurial goals and should the economic activities peril these other goals, a decision must be made regarding the continuance of such activities. However, due to the multiplex personal networks of most villagers (especially the entrepreneurs) such crises generally can be avoided.

The assets, defined as "the sum total of capital, skills, and social claims which he may employ in the enterprise," of the various entrepreneurs in the village are somewhat different.(36) In all cases, certain assets are necessary to successful entrepreneurial activities. In dealing with these people's assets, the time element is quite important. For an asset which initially was the unique property of an individual may cease to be his monopoly over time, or may cease to be of significance. However, at that point there are usually other factors involved which allow the person to continue in his activities. Thus, he usually tries to strengthen his niche in other ways over time.(37) For example, though Apolonio Sho no longer is the only person in the village who is literate in

and who has a good command of English, which were originally his primary assets, he is still able to use these assets in conjunction with others: his links to the Villanuevas, his seniority in the village, and his external ties and expertise.

In order to elucidate more fully the role of the entrepreneur in Pueblo Viejo, a brief account and an analysis of some of the village's entrepreneurs follows. Many of these men are also quite active politically and more material will be presented on them later.

The Villanuevas

Diego Villanueva has been the village leader since the early 1930's, and his sons have managed to maintain much of his status. As first alcalde, Diego acted as the village's official representative. This enabled him to maintain a partial monopoly on external relations with the village for many years and to gain expertise at dealing with non-Indians. Diego received an income of 8% of the amount he collected for the Land Use Fees in the village, which amounted to $11 or $12 a year, plus money for various other services performed as alcalde. Though very traditional in his political activities, he was not as conservative in his economic outlook. For example, he was one of the first people to raise red kidney beans for market (see Chapter 6 on alcalde).

Many of Diego's assets were passed on to his son Roberto. Roberto became first alcalde in 1950 and possessed a high status in the village, being the eldest son of Diego Villanueva.

Roberto too (along with his father and Eusebio Choc) was one of the first villagers to actively engage in the marketing of red kidney beans. Roberto used some of this income to start raising cattle and he gradually built up a fair size herd. Roberto took his position of authority for granted and did not concern himself with the "social costs" of his activities. This eventually led to Roberto leaving the village (see Chapter IX).

The younger brother, Rafael, did not get along well with his older brother, Roberto, but he eventually assumed the village leadership after his brother left. His status made economic opportunities available to him, such as being appointed School Attendance Officer for the village, which carried an annual income of $48. Rafael has continually been one of the men most involved in new marketing activities and he has pushed very hard for economic changes in the village. He and Apolonio Sho have both been very interested in getting a truck for the village as well as other amenities.

Generally, all of the Villanuevas have been active in bringing economic change to Pueblo Viejo. They have possessed a knowledge of non-Indian affairs and sources of income that has aided them in their economic activities. In their economic affairs they have tried to increase their income in non-traditional ways and the quest for profit has been quite important for them. Resentment by others seems to have been kept to a minimum due to the Villanueva's status in the community, though Roberto's wife was 'obeahed' apparently as a

result of envy caused by her wealth. (38)

Eusebio Choc

During the early years, Eusebio was a very close ally of the Villanuevas and he was one of the earliest settlers of the village. He served as second alcalde under Diego Villanueva in 1949 and as first alcalde in 1953 and 1960. Over the years he has become an important entrepreneur in the village. His assets included residential seniority, close ties with other leading families in the village, and a strong kinship network. However, he had little of the government related income that the Villanuevas and a few others had and his initial savings were derived largely from agriculture and forest related labour. At the same time as Roberto Villanueva, Eusebio started a cattle herd and marketed red kidney beans (he also raised mules).

He used some of his savings and the experience that he had gained dealing in Punta Gorda to open the first store in Pueblo Viejo. A store was needed to supply some of the wants of the people and to save them the trip to Punta Gorda, but very few had the technical expertise and capital required. A problem in opening a store was that such a means of gaining wealth (by making a profit at other villagers' expense) obviously would lead to jealousy and a degree of ill-feeling. However, Eusebio was able to overcome this due to his wide social ties in the community (at present he has one of the most extensive personal networks in the community). He has generally tried to show generosity and to maintain and extend

his social network. In this way he hopes to avoid widespread censure, a problem which Roberto Villanueva did on occasion encounter. However, this mattered little to Roberto due to his status in the community. Eusebio could not as easily afford causing ill-will and he had to temper his entrepreneurial activities to a degree.

Apolonio Sho

Apolonio has encountered difficulties as an entrepreneur: And his activities have caused a fair amount of ill-feeling (for a few years he moved back to San Antonio). However, his assets have generally been sufficient to allow him to continue his activities. He was married to one of Diego Villanueva's daughters and has always been very close to the Villanuevas (especially to Diego and Rafael). He has been useful to the Villanuevas and to the village since for many years he had by far the best ability to read, write, and speak English. These skills he picked up in San Antonio, where he had lived before moving to Pueblo Viejo.

Of all the men in the village of his generation, he is the most dedicated to non-Indian ways and to "modernization:" he is an innovator in the field of social and economic development and has worked very hard to introduce progressive changes to the village. These activities have alienated some over the years, but his close ties with the Villanuevas and a large compadre and kinship network has enabled him to overcome these difficulties.

Apolonio has tried a number of undertakings that have failed. He attempted to get the villagers to co-operatively by a truck (co-operatives of such an economic nature have a history of non-success among the Indians), but this was a spectacular failure: "We only succeeded in saving enough for one tire." He tried operating a store, but this did not succeed. Other activities have succeeded and he has tried very hard to gain recognition as the middleman who brought several changes about, though at times his role in the decision-making process was a bit tenuous. He strived to get a school and a road for the village, and the village now has these. Such activities, though they have caused some losses, have in his opinion been on the whole rewarding since he, his family, and the rest of the village have what he considers a better life now.

Presently, Apolonio is raising hogs obtained from a Peace Corps volunteer in San Pedro Columbia and is phasing out his local hogs. Most of the other villagers are waiting to see how he progresses. Such hog raising entails a fairly large capital outlay: the cost of the hogs, wire fencing ($75), concrete for the pen floor, and various kinds of special feeds and medicines. No one else in the village has so far been willing to take such a risk. However, now that he is having moderate success a few other individuals are considering taking up this kind of hog raising next year.

Leocardio Shal

Leocardio is married to Apolonio's oldest daughter, who

motivates and supports him in much of his entrepreneurial activities. Leocardio worked in a saw mill for a few years and managed to save a fair amount of money. He had also bled chicle and cut mahogany on a few occasions. He comes from a family which has been closely allied with the Villanuevas and which is one of the larger and more important ones in the village. Leocardio speaks English and can read and write fairly well.

Since returning to Pueblo Viejo, Leocardio has been actively engaged in several "development" related activities. Thus, he, his brothers, Apolonio, and some of the Villanuevas were the first to grow rice in the village and to petition the government for a rice thrasher. He also started a cow pasture and now has eight head, including two bulls. Leocardio also raises horses. Last year he opened a store, but his clientele is so far limited. Like the Villanuevas and Apolonio Sho, Leocardio considers himself to be somewhat above most of the rest of the villagers-- they being more tradition oriented. Unafraid of the social costs involved, he plans on building a zinc-roofed house within a year: something that neither Apolonio or the Villanuevas have ever attempted to do. Whether or not he succeeds remains to be seen. Should he succeed, it will increase the gap in social statuses within the village.

It should be noted that all of the above men are from leading families in the community, rather than marginal members of the village. In a village of this size and of this social

and cultural nature it would probably be very difficult for marginal men to operate as entrepreneurs and to still maintain a "proper" way of life in other spheres. Ongoing economic change in the community has also depended on the fact that either village leaders or those close to them have been the leading advocates of such change. This has probably occured since it is these people who are most strategically placed in regard to recipt of information from the outside on economic opportunities, and at the same time best able to operationalize them. Also, it seems that the village leaders do not consider such change as detrimental to their positions. It appears that economic heterogeneity in the community, to a limited degree, does not effect political status: other factors such as personal networks and certain cultural values being more relevant.

Conclusion

Although everyone in Pueblo Viejo practices a similar system of agriculture, there are differences in personal wealth. This is due to several factors: 1) different strategies in growing and marketing, 2) absolute family size and its development, 3) income unrelated to agriculture, 4) differing consumption patterns, and 5) entrepreneurial activities. Thus, income alone is not sufficient to understand wealth differences. Consumption patterns are also relevant. These are related to personal habits (e.g. rum consumption) and social considerations related to the owning of modern consumer goods and

to differing statuses.

Not everyone in the village is interested in buying modern "conveniences." Thus, many market a good deal of produce and hoard their money. Consumer-oriented families tend to have radios (29% of the households do), kerosene lamps, and a few other trappings of modernity, such as plastic bowls. In the past everyone bought only a few goods, requiring very little cash, and the rest of the income was hoarded. This is changing as more and more commodities are catagorized as "necessities." However, even the most consumer-oriented individual still is able to save a good amount of his money for security (the money is usually wrapped in an oil cloth and buried in a biscuit tin). He is able to do this since his expenditures will rarely go much over $100 a year for such goods, which is well beneath his yearly income, usually.

The question still remains, is there a relation between economic associated prestige and wealth and political power? As stated earlier, there is a stigma attached to being very poor and, accordingly, none of the village leaders are poor. Most aspire to a certain level of income which allows them to buy new clothes, a Corona corn mill, rubber boots every six months, and a few other things. However, wealth above this level does not imply greater political power or prestige that is convertible into such power. Those with political power and position tend to be among the wealthier members of the community, but this is a result of their position, and to some degree dependent upon it, and not the cause of it. Political

power seems to be more closely related to variables in other spheres of activity.

Political power is not directly achieved through the possession of wealth, but prestige and a degree of political influence can be gained by fiesta sponsorship, by giving large parties for various festive occasions, or by loaning money. This seems to be due to the fact that such activities illustrate personal generosity and an interest in the village. (39) The village has two fiestas, for the Blessed Virgin and for San Francisco, which require a principal sponsor and auxiliary sponsors. The San Francisco fiesta is older and more expensive to sponsor and it carries more prestige. However, fiesta sponsorship without other resources is not sufficient to acquire much political power.

Footnotes

1. Slash-and-burn agriculture may be minimally defined as "always involving the impermanent agricultural use of plots produced by the cutting back and burning off of vegetative cover" (H.C. Conklin, 1968, p.126).

2. D.H. Romney (1960, p.127-128).

3. This is not related to Foster's concept of "the limited good", but appears to be related to ideals of proper behaviour and the maintenance of ethnic solidarity through certain symbols and modes of behaviour (e.g., living in a thatch house and not flaunting wealth before fellow villagers). The acquisition of wealth by itself is not looked upon as being bad, but excessive stinginess and making money "without working for it" is (this is one of the reasons for the Indians' dislike of many Blacks in British Honduras). The Indians do not appear to feel that there is a limit to the available wealth (in fact, their agricultural adaptation tends toward maximization), or that obtaining wealth necessarily implies someone else loosing out. They just feel that wealth does not give a person the right to treat another "just like one animal." See G.M. Foster (1967, p.122-129).

4. D.H. Romney (1960,p.132).

5. See W.E. Carter (1969,p.125-128).

6. On other Kekchi see W.E. Carter (1969). This book has its limitations, see G.A. Collier (1970), but it does provide a fairly good description. On the northern El Peten see R.E. Reina (1967). A general description for Mesoamerica is available in A. Palerm (1967,p.29-33).

7. I am not sure of the scientific names for all of the types of maize planted. Some are: black (Negro de Chimaltenango), small yellow (Nal-Tel Amarillo, Tierra Baja), and small white (Nal-Tel Blanco, Tierra Baja).

8. The amount of a crop planted is measured in terms of the number of quarts of seed. Planting in 1972 for the forty-three corn plantations in the village (one older man and one younger, unmarried man planted only rice) was between fourteen and eighty quarts of seed, with an average of 36.3 quarts.

9. Considerably less land is cleared for rice and fewer quarts of seed are planted. Thirty-three men planted rice in 1972 (twelve did not, and in all of these cases very large quantities of red kidney beans were planted, some men planted large quantities of both rice and beans). Planting was between ten and sixty quarts, with an average of twenty-four quarts.

10. See W.E. Carter (1969,p.47-48) on the Kekchi, J.E.S. Thompson (1930,p.43) on the Mopan Mayas of San Antonio, A. Palerm (1967,p.50-51) for Mesoamerica in general, and Fr. D. de Landa (1965,Ch.23) for a description for Pre-Conquest Yucatan. C.J. Erasmus (1956) reviews much of the literature on the subject and analyses the occurance and disappearance of this kind of labour. He hypothesizes that "the breakdown of reciprocal labor (is) one aspect of a larger process-- the individualization of society."(p.173) Thus, the degree of communal solidarity that still exists in the Indian communities of southern British Honduras is probably largely responsible for the continuance of reciprocal labour practices.

11. In some ways this form of labour approximates Sahlins" "balanced reciprocity" in that transactions "stipulate returns of commensurate worth or utility within a finite or narrow period" (1969,p.148). However, in this case reciprocity hinges more on the "prevailing social relations" than on "the material flow." In many ways the situation is much too complex to fit neatly into his model.

12. See J.P. Gillin (1947) for an illustration of the results of the loss of joint land holdings in a Peruvian Indian community. Alienation of land from the community to individuals in the Peruvian case proved quite detrimental to the community members. Similar occurances are evident in Mexico and Guatemala.

13. For information on other villages in the district, see D.H. Romney (1960).

14. See D.H. Romney (1960,p.127-128).

15. The Marketing Board will often pay $2 per bag for corn, but at this low price the Indians rarely consider this a place to sell corn. However, the government has on occasion been forced to import corn at a much higher price in Belize City. Only limited data was gathered on the importance of the availability of credit from merchants in Punta Gorda on selling practices. This appears only to be important in a few cases, since credit is usually restricted for the Indians.

16. See P. Sherlock (1969,p.78-83) and D.H. Romney (1960, p.41) for more information on chicle bleeding and mahogany cutting.

17. J.C. Crossley (1972,p.304).

18. B. Bronson (1966).

19. See L.B. Fletcher, et al (1970) and also P. Dorner (1971).

20. H. Conklin (1968,p.131).

21. D.E. Dumond (1961).

22. W.E. Carter (1969,p.12).

23. H. Conklin (1968).

24. For information on other studies on soil fertility and production with slash-and-burn agriculture see R.L. Carneiro (1961), especially his bibliography.

25. D.H. Romney (1960,p.270-271).

26. Examples of this are widespread in the history of Mexico and Guatemala (cf. the agrarian revolt led by Emiliano Zapata in Oaxaca and its causes).

27. See J.C. Crossley (1972,p.296-297) and R. Wilkie (1971) for fairly current data on ejidos.

28. A. Villa R. (1945,p.90).

29. See B.N. Colby and P.L. van den Berghe (1969) for examples of this among the Ixil.

30. F. Barth (1963,p.5).

31. F. Barth (1963,p.7-8).

32. The Indians often prefer to let someone else take the risks (the entrepreneur) and if he fails they consider him foolish. If he succeeds they may emulate him. This degree of conservatism, combined with a willingness to try something if it has a chance to succeed (they often will plant a few seeds of new crops to see how they work out) and suits their purpose, seems to be one of the strengths of the Indian communities as they are attacked from all sides by self-styled "experts" telling them what to do.

33. F. Barth (1963,p.8).

34. In the village of San Pedro Columbia, the presence of quite a few 'bush-doctors' has been a deterrent to anyone wishing to open a store, due to fear of making them angry by refusing them credit. One man did try to open a store and upon refusing a local 'bush-doctor' credit, the store owner was 'obeahed.' The store owner died a short time later and to date no one else has been willing to open a store in the village.

35. F. Barth (1963,p.8).

36. F. Barth (1963,p.9).

37. See F. Barth (1963).

38. To 'obeah' someone is to work some form of magic against them. This may entail making magic that is supposed to kill them, make them ill, embarrass them, or to make them suffer in various ways.

39. See F. Cancian (1965,esp.Ch.7).

Chapter IV

Social Groups and Relationships

The Domestic Group

The basic unit of social organization within Pueblo Viejo is the domestic group. The latter resides in either a single or double thatch house.(1) If there is a second house (only 19% of the residences do), this is situated adjacent to the first dwelling and is frequently used as a kitchen. The size and shape of houses varies, depending upon family size, personal taste, and current fashions.(2) Also, there is a tendency for Kekchis to have larger houses than Mopans. It is common to divide the house into two parts: one for cooking and eating and a second part primarily for sleeping and entertaining.

The domestic group shares a single fire hearth for cooking (this may have two sections-- one for beans and the other for tortillas). They also share a supply of maize and black beans for consumption. All houses have a single religious altar. In the past, the household head kept all of the money, but it is now common for individuals to have their own savings. Most other items are considered to be personal possessions.

There is a strict division of labour between the sexes. Men do all agricultural work, carpentry, hunting and fishing,

butchering of hogs (and generally of turkeys), and they make baskets. Women usually do all cooking, house cleaning, washing, sewing and embroidery, killing of chickens, and pottery making. Among the exceptions are widowers. There is a problem for widowers since cooking is looked upon as women's work. Not to have a female in the house may cause somewhat of a stigma. Despite this, there are cases of widowers living alone.(3)

Both parents take an active part in raising and disciplining children.(4) However, the wife has a larger role, primarily because the husband is often away from the home working. Generally boys start helping their fathers when it is felt that they are strong enough for the trip to the plantation-- usually when they are eight or nine. Girls start helping their mothers at about the same time, sometimes when a bit younger. Young girls also take an active part in taking care of younger brothers and sisters. Children start school when they are six and attendance is mandatory. It is common for children to miss some school during planting and harvest. Formal education is usually completed at twelve.(5)

The domestic group in Pueblo Viejo has some properties of its own, but it also exists within a larger, and to a degree encompassing, environment. Fortes has pointed out that "it is necessary, for analytical purposes, to distinguish between the domestic field of social relations, institutions, and activities, viewed from within as an internal system, and the politico-jural field, regarded as an external system." He goes on to add that "a significant feature of the

development cycle of the domestic group is that it is at one and the same time a process within the internal field and a movement governed by its relations to the external field."(6) Residence patterns, Fortes writes, "provide a basic index of the internal structure of domestic groups." However, he does not consider them "a primary factor of social structure of the order of kinship, descent, marriage, and citizenship" since "the alignments of residence are determined by the economic, affective, and jural relations that spring from these primary factors."(7) Thus, to understand the functioning and development of the domestic group external factors must be taken account of. Conversely, it should be remembered that "Every member of a society is simultaneously a person in the domestic domain and in the politico-jural domain."(8) Thus, it should follow that to properly understand the politico-jural domain the domestic domain must also be taken into account.

In a small community, such as Pueblo Viejo, it is especially important to consider the interaction of these two domains since social and political relationships are so interconnected. Also, there is not always a clear boundary between the domain of the domestic group and that of larger social groups. An understanding of the structure of the domestic group in Pueblo Viejo also requires a consideration of the residential clusters, which are effected by kinship considerations. Houses tend to be in clusters of closely related kin and, although much domestic activity involves only the household, there are also many domestic activities which may involve

neighbours and relatives. This is especially true where widows reside near a younger relative. Her house is semi-autonomous, yet the nearby relatives are also very much involved in her domestic activities.

Residence upon marriage varies and during the first few years of marriage it is not uncommon for a couple to shift between patri- or virilocal and matri- or uxorlocal residence a few times before settling fairly permanently. A man who goes to live near his parents sometimes finds that his wife returns home frequently to visit her mother or sisters (though he often suspects that it is to see an old boy friend) and he may decide to move to her village, or her part of the village. How well each person gets on with the in-laws is of prime importance in some instances. The alternative of moving to an entirely new village is rarely considered now, unless accompanied by other related families, since this requires the building of new personal networks.

To begin with, finding a bride can be a difficult task. This is in part due to the small size of many of the villages. Accordingly, some young men travel to several villages, or wait several years before finding a wife. Generally the man's father petitions the girl's parents on his son's behalf. Only rarely will a young man go himself to ask for a girl. Before marriage there is usually a period of bride-service. This involves bringing the girl and her parents corn and firewood. (9)

Selection of residence is often patri- or virilocal, but frequently this is not the case. A main consideration seems

to be related to the patrilineal core clusters (clans) that will be discussed shortly. These are centered around certain dominant lineages in the village. Generally sons stay with this group and daughter's husbands frequently attach themselves. For example, Eusebio Choc has two sons and three son-in-laws living near him. In all three cases the son-in-laws come from other villages. Such a choice is also related to economic factors, since living with such a large group makes reciprocal labour recruitment easier.(10)

Moving into a seperate dwelling is not common until the second or third year of marriage. This is in part due to the time and energy required to build a new house and to the fact that since the husband already has had to call on a large number of people to help him plant enough to pay for the wedding, he usually prefers to wait until he has paid off these labour debts before incurring more. There is a tendency for older sons to move out of the house sooner after marriage than younger ones. Generally the younger sons will stay with the father longer to try and help him. However, upon leaving the house after marriage, it is more common for the younger sons to move away from the cluster than the older one. Frequently the older son resides near the father (for reasons apparently related to seniority and the lineage) after leaving the father's home and the younger brothers move further away due to friction between older and younger brothers.

Girls tend to marry between the ages of fourteen and eighteen. Boys usually will not marry until they are eighteen

to twenty-one. This is in part due to the amount of money that a boy must save to pay for his wedding. The delay for boys is also partly due to the father wanting to keep his sons at hand to help with the farming. With an older son or two at home the father can plant a much larger crop. In three cases young married men are still planting a common corn crop with their fathers.

The position and status of widows and widowers is an important consideration in many societies. Freeman states that "the examination of the position held by affinal widows and widowers is a crucial stage in the analysis of any corporate kin group."(11) In Pueblo Viejo a married woman keeps her father's family name. Upon becoming widowed, regardless of her previous choice of residence, the general rule is that she will either move in with her own son (or sometimes her daughter) or she will live with her husband's or father's kin (there are exceptions due to personal preference). Younger widows always remarry (or at least find another man to live with). In such cases her younger children will generally accompany her. However, once they have become quite old they usually remain single. Disputes inevitably arise between the wife of the son or relative with whom she is living and the widow. This is settled either temporarily by her moving elsewhere or, as is common, by the man finally building the widow a seperate house near his own, where she maintains a semi-autonomous household.

The problem for widowers is somewhat different. A man

will generally remarry until quite old, but this is not always the case. At present there are three permanent widowers in Pueblo Viejo. None of them have any living close male kin, and all are originally from other villages, though they have lived in Pueblo Viejo for many years. One of the men lived with another woman until a few years ago, but as he became increasingly feeble she left him for another man. He presently lives with a son that the lady he formerly lived with had by another man. His own son recently married and the wife refused to live with his father. This man has become somewhat socially isolated and is dependent upon the young man living with him for subsistence.

The two other cases involving widowers are different. They are both in their mid-forties and have been widowers for several years. One tried living with various compadres, but quarrels eventually erupted and he had to move on. This man now lives by himself and is one of the village's leading chicha makers (an alcoholic home-brew). His house has become a social gathering place or "men's club" where on any evening there will be a few men sitting about drinking chicha and conversing. The other widower had a daughter who lived with him until about two years ago. However, when she married she went to live in another part of the village with her husband's kin. She still visits her father several nights a week. This man has recently adopted a young boy from Guatemala, who helps him farm, keep house, and operate a store. This store has become a fairly popular social centre. Both of these men are quite active in

village social life and they seem to provide a function by supplying a place where men can isolate themselves from home and women. The house of one of the widows in the village, who is also the mid-wife, also serves a similar function. Thus, widowers would appear to be more independent of kin than widows, though this can lead to loneliness in old age for some.

Kin-Based Social Groups

The beginning of the chapter examined domestic groups within the village. There is now the question of the existence of larger units of social organization within the village, which are intermediate between the domestic group and the village itself. Also, since such groups do exist, the question arises as to what their functional importance is. The literature on other Maya cultures indicates the widespread existence of patrilineages and patriclans throughout much of the Maya area during Pre-Conquest times and up to the present. (12) However, the existence and function of these groups in many Mayan societies is still debatable. This is in part due to the inadequacy or lack of literature on the subject for many groups and to lack of clarity in the terminology. (13) Despite this, archaeological, ethno-historical, and ethnological research on the subject during the past few years has led some to feel that the patrilineage is an extremely important element of Mayan social organization. (14) Unfortunately, data on this subject is not available for the Kekchi and Mopan in Guatemala for a comparison with the Indians of the Toledo

District.

To analyse patrilineages in Pueblo Viejo it is first necessary to define what is meant by a patrilineage. The principal of patrilineal, or agnatic, descent may be defined as descent traced through male lines from male ancestors which includes both men and women. For a patrilineage to be considered a corporate group it should be a theoretically permanent, bounded, organized collectivity of persons, having some common affairs and procedures adequate to deal with them. The lineage may also have a name, property or ritual, or some activity in common.(15)

The existence of agnatic descent and patrilineages in a society does not imply that this is the only, or the most important, principle of social organization.(16) In many strongly patrilineal societies uterine descent (descent through females) may also be of importance in certain spheres. Territoriality for some societies, such as the Nuer, is also a basis of politico-jural units (to some degree, this is also important in the case of Pueblo Viejo). However, descent is also of considerable importance in many of such societies and an understanding of both may be necessary in order to understand the operation of the politico-jural units.(17) The overall importance of patrilineal descent may vary within different spheres of social activity even within a society in which patrilineages are of the greatest functional importance to the social organization.(18)

Social groups, intermediate between the domestic group and the village, presently exist in Pueblo Viejo. These appear to be residential clusters with a patrilineal core.(19) Residentially, these groups resemble the "multiple households" described among the Chorti by Wisdom.(20) These consist of a chief household and a number of dependent households. Each group has a male head, in the Chorti example, and the cluster is given a permanent name (descent is not treated).(21) These "multiple households" include a core of persons related to the head of the group through male and female lines. Group affiliation depends upon residence and spouses of all residents are considered members (residual rights and ties to the natal household, if different, are not clear). This group also includes young men performing bride-service, which lasts for four years.(22) Unfortunately Wisdom's data throws little light on the problem of descent, beyond the fact that both agnatic and uterine lines can be used. He does not mention the predominance of patrilineal cores as exist in Pueblo Viejo.

The village geography in Pueblo Viejo to some degree limits the location and sizes of the household clusters. The area is hilly and the heavy rainfall requires building on high ground to facilitate drainage. However, the village covers a large enough area that it is generally possible for the people to choose the site and composition of their residential groups. Roughly, residential clustering and social group tend to overlap, but this is not precise. The tendency is for there to be a core cluster on one high point and for

other members of the group to reside nearby.

A creek divides the village and the villagers tend to think of this as a social, as well as physical, division.(23) Such occurances appear in other Indian villages within the district as well.(24) This social division does not exactly coincide with the physical one in practice. However, the two main social divisions (factions) within the village do tend to live on opposite sides of the creek and those living on one side of the creek, but with social ties to the other side, tend to carry on most social activities with people across the creek, while remaining relatively isolated from their physical neighbours socially. This physical division has not always existed and it seems to have evolved during the late 1940's and early 1950's in response to increasing social cleavages within the community.(25) Originally, most villagers lived near the site of the present school and cabildo (town hall).

There are certain general characteristics of all of these groups. First, the oldest son of the head of the group usually lives next to his father.(26) Thus, upon marriage the eldest son's residence is always patrilocal (after a period of bride-service in some instances). With younger sons of less important families residence is ambilocal, with a patrilocal tendency. In such cases, if the man marries a girl from one of the more important families he will often go to live with the wife's parents. The mother-daughter bond in most groups tends to be quite strong, and the husband may prefer to live with

the wife's group to avoid having his wife leave frequently to go visiting. There are also advantages for sons from smaller groups who marry daughters from larger ones in living with the wife's group in terms of labour assistance and general security.(27)

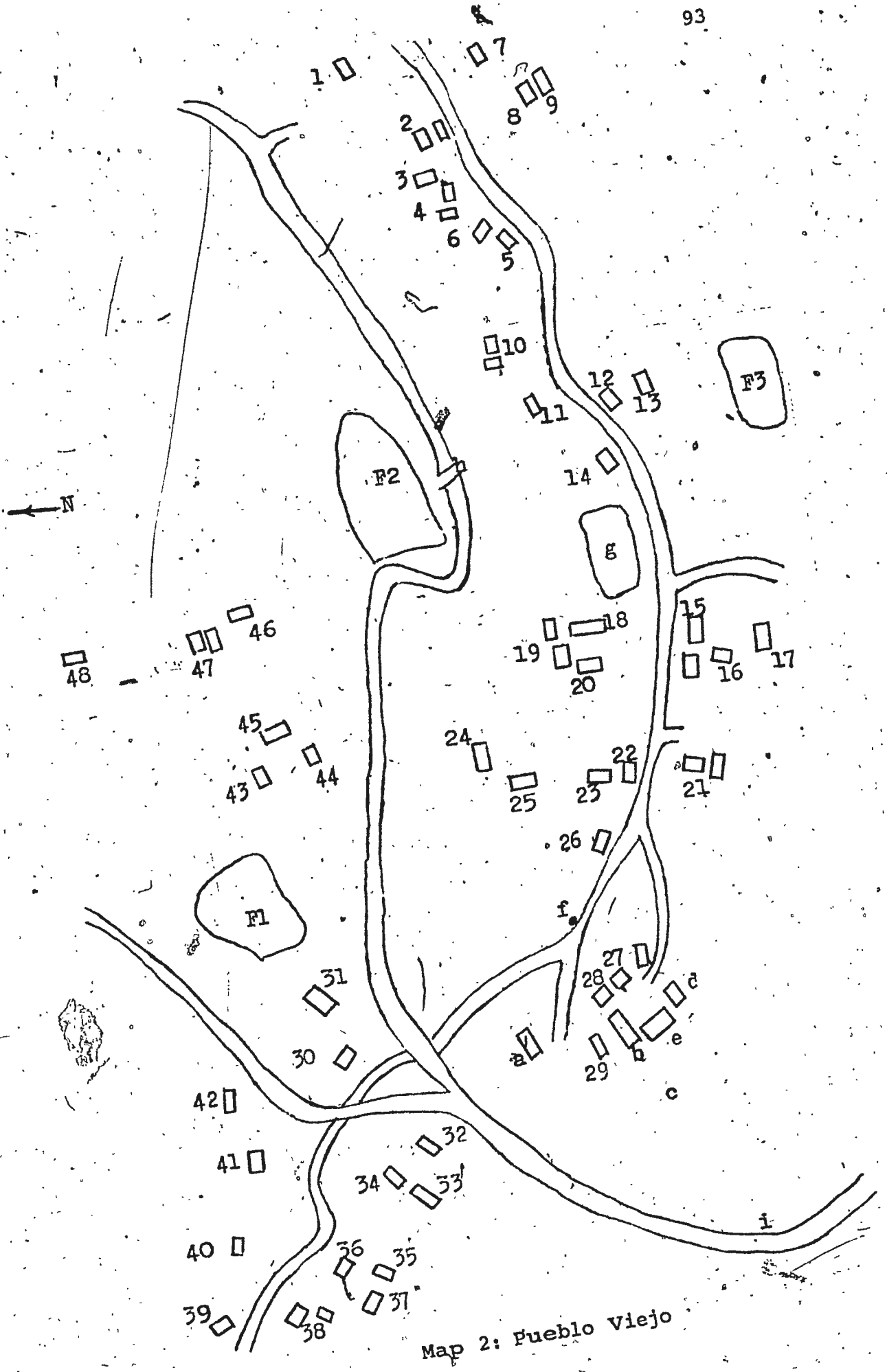
Although uterine ties are recognized and used, the core of these groups consists of agnates. Other members of the group do not share exactly the same status as agnates. This agnatic core consists of the head of the group, possibly his brothers and their children, and his sons and their children (due to the relatively young age of the village descendants beyond this rarely exist, at present). Some amount of fission does occur among brothers and also among children of junior brothers and the main group. However, the sibling bond is quite strong between brothers, as it tends to be throughout the Mayan area.(28) Some friction does result due to the distinction made between older and younger brothers, but this is generally not sufficient to cause a permanent break in the male sibling bond.(29) A relevant factor here is the minimal antagonism related to inheritance, unlike in many Mayan communities.(30) Inheritance is of very little importance in Pueblo Viejo since land is available to all men and people have few personal goods. Money is usually inherited by a man's wife, but there is a tendency to hide it before death-- a rationalization being that the man does not want the money spent by his wife's next husband. Leadership of these groups usually passes to the oldest son of the group leader, although

at times it may go to the leader's next senior brother due to exceptional circumstances or to the age of the oldest son.

These groups lack any property in the sense of land or buildings held in common. However, they do have certain affairs in common. Some of these activities were formerly performed at the village level, but now tend to be performed within the confines of these groups. These include: some forms of agricultural labour, house and other forms of construction, non-reciprocal help with various chores and activities, assistance by such things as loaning money or personal possessions, and giving general support when needed. Some of these activities cannot be performed solely by kin alone and require the additional use of compadres. These groups also provide the individual with a sense of security in personal relations that is lacking at the community level. This seems to be especially important under the stress of cultural change. As Gillin and Colby have pointed out, the Mayans tend to show extreme anxiety when faced with unpredictable social relations as well as a distrust of others.(31) For these reasons they prefer to operate within a web of social relations which are predictable, in which rules of proper etiquette exist. Such behaviour is generally only assured among kin and compadres.

Kin-Based Groups in Pueblo Viejo: Individual Cases

Diego Villanueva is considered the village founder. He arrived in Pueblo Viejo with his wife and young son, Roberto,



Map 2: Pueblo Viejo

Map Key

Household Heads, Etc.

Household No.	Resident
1	Reyes Cal
2	Matilda Cal
3	Sebastian Choc
4	Justacio Tush
5	Jose Choc
6	Carnacion Cal
7	Manuel Ak(SC)
8	Manuel Ak(SA)
9	Gilberto Shal
10	Leocardio Shal
11	Ricardo Shal
12	Secundino Coc
13	Florencio Mes
14	Monico Pop
15	Augustin Cal
16	Luis Cal
17	Jesus Bo
18	Eusebio Choc
19	Tomas Salam
20	Gonzalo Choc
21	Simeon Choc
22	Prudencio Coc
23	Miguel Coc
24	Hilario Ixim
25	Marciano Rash
26	Lauria Bo
27	Nicholas Pau
28	Teodoro Shal
29	Apolonio Sho
30	Merigildo Coc
31	Rafael Villanueva
32	Bernadino Choc
33	Martin Choc
34	Francisco Choc
35	Liborio Choc
36	Gregorio Choc
37	Victoriano Choc
38	Ramon Coc
39	Domingo Coc(PV)
40	Liberato Cho
41	Leonardo Rash
42	Panfilo Choc
43	Sefarino Coc
44	Eliodoro Choc
45	Marto Cal
46	Domingo Cucul
47	Domingo Coc(GU)
48	Santiago Ixim

Other Structures, Etc.	
a	Cabildo
b	School
c	Cemetary
d	Teacher's House
e	Church
f	Pump
g	Football Field
h	Tree Bridge
i	Waterfall

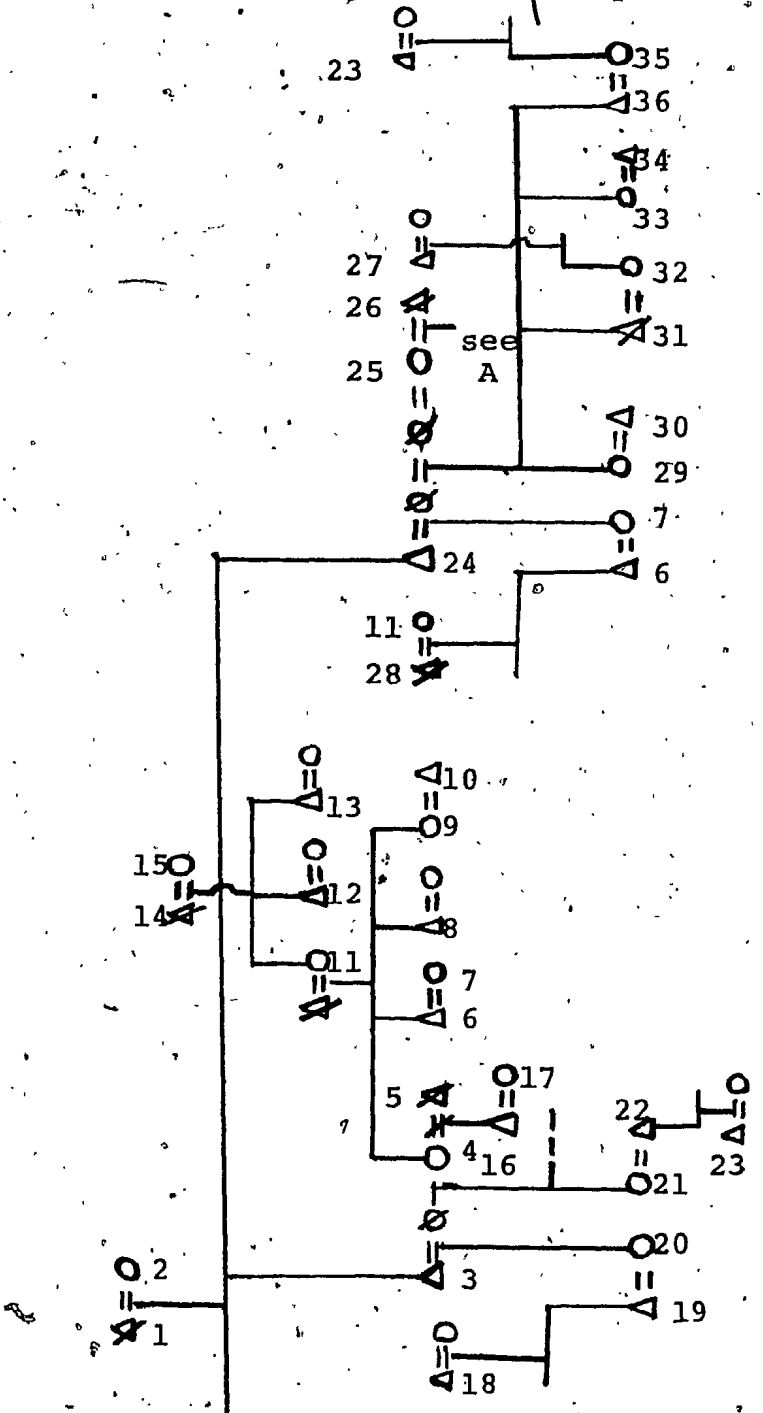
Pastures	Owner
F1	Marto Cal and Sefarino Coc
F2	Eusebio Choc
F3	Leocardio Shal

in the early 1920's. Altogether Diego had two sons and three daughters. His oldest son, Roberto, lived near Diego upon marriage and when Diego became older, Roberto assumed the position of village leader. Diego's younger son, Rafael, did not get on well with Roberto. After his first wife died and he found another woman, Rafael moved a few miles from the village. Roberto lived next to his father until his father's death in 1961. The two houses were then physically combined and Roberto's mother lived in one part of it.

Clustered around the Villanuevas are several other groups related to them in diverse ways. Roberto's third 'lady' (they are not married) had several children by her previous husband, Santos Coc. Her eldest son by this marriage was Merigildo Coc, who presently lives next to Rafael (h#30). Her other son by this marriage, Sefarino Coc, lives near his father-in-law Marto Cal, and not too far from Rafael (h#43). Roberto has had several children by this third 'lady,' Luisa Cho, but they are still relatively young. He had one daughter by his first wife and she married Matilda Cal. For several years they lived near the Cabildo and not too far from Roberto. However, this house was burnt down and shortly afterwards Matilda left his wife for a few years. He returned a few years ago and now they live near his brother, Reyes, at the other end of the village (h#2).

Roberto had several children by his second wife. His oldest son by this marriage, Gregorio, resided across the creek from his father with his wife's brothers, the Shals, and his

Diagram 1: Kinship for Diego Villanueva



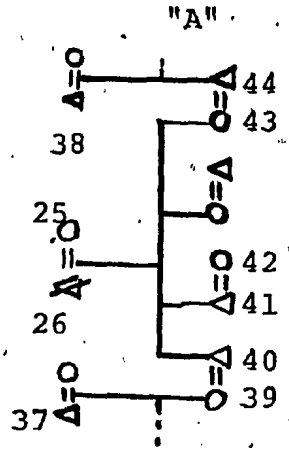


Diagram Key

1. Diego Villanueva
2. Natividad Pop
3. Rafael Villanueva
4. Trancita Cal
5. Pablo Choc
6. Matilda Cal
7. Josefina Villanueva
8. Reyes Cal
9. Jacinta Cal
10. Monico Pop
11. Feliciana Cal
12. Marto Cal
13. Cecilio Cal
14. Pascual Cal
15. Lauria Bo
16. Eliodoro Choc
17. Leona Ixim
18. Martin Choc
19. Bernadino Choc
20. Filberta Villanueva
21. Felicita Villanueva
22. Sebastian Choc
23. Eusebio Choc
24. Roberto Villanueva
25. Luisa Cho
26. Santos Coc
27. Teodoro Shal
28. Reyes Cal
29. Francisca Villanueva
30. Nicasio Coc
31. Gregorio Villanueva
32. Innocenta Shal
33. Micarla Villanueva
34. Juan Cruz

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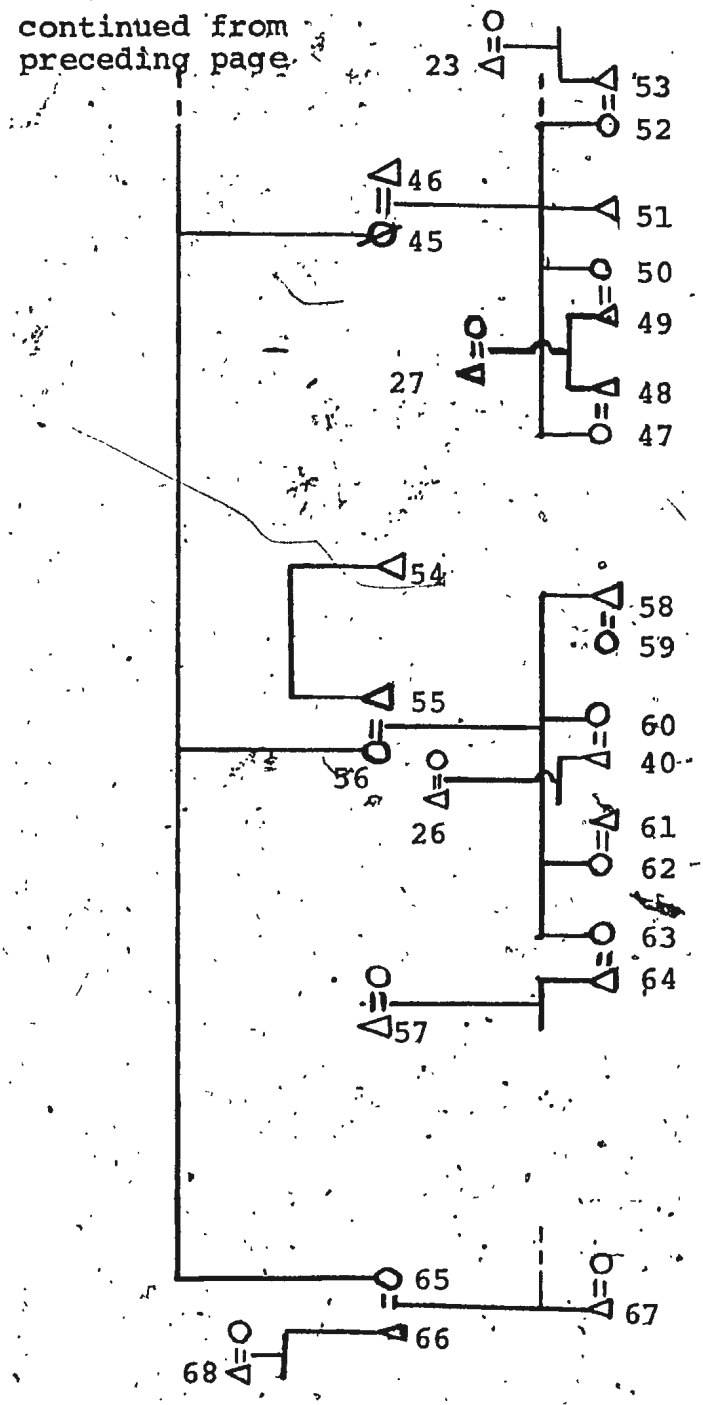

35. Catalina Choc
36. Anecleto Villanueva
37. Ramon Coc
38. Juan Ixim
39. Torraibia Coc
40. Merigildo Coc
41. Sefarino Coc
42. Elena Cal
43. Manuela Coc
44. Santiago Ixim
45. Feliciana Villanueva
46. Apolonio Sho
47. Arsenia Sho
48. Leocardio Shal
49. Ricardo Shal
50. Raimunda Sho
51. Eugenio Sho
52. Hermalinda Sho
53. Gonzalo Choc
54. Secundino Coc
55. See 37
56. Francisca Villanueva
57. Gregorio Choc
58. Domingo Coc (PV)
59. Margarita Cal
60. See 39
61. Liberato Cho
62. Antonia Coc
63. Amalia Coc
64. Panfilo Choc
65. Trinidad Villanueva
66. Liborio Choc
67. Victoriano Choc
68. Gregorio Choc

brother-in-law, Nicasio Coc. Nicasio lived near Leocardio Shal's present house (h#10) and Gregorio lived across the street from Ricardo Shal's present house (h#11). Roberto's younger son, Anecleto, lived next to his father as did Roberto's other son-in-law, Juan Cruz. Gregorio probably would have become village leader and the head of the Villanueva family after his father had he not been murdered in 1969.(32) Instead, Rafael moved back into the village after Gregorio's murder and after Roberto left in 1970 and took over the leadership of family and village. In late 1970, Roberto left with his son, Anecleto, Anecleto's wife; his daughter, Micarla, and her husband, Juan Cruz; his younger son by his second wife; and Luisa Cho and all of his children by her. This entire group moved up to South Stann Creek, where they presently reside, keeping very little contact with Pueblo Viejo.

Upon marriage to his first wife, Rafael lived near his father. He had one daughter by this marriage, Filberta, and she married Bernadino Choc, Martin Choc's oldest son. Rafael's next 'lady' (again, they were not married) was Trancita Cal. She is a sister of Matilda Cal and Reyes Cal. Her maternal uncle is Marto Cal, who lives close to Rafael (h#45). Next to Marto Cal lives Eliodoro Choc, who is a son of Trancita Cal by her first husband, and Sefarino Coc (h#43 and h#44). Rafael has a married daughter by his present 'lady', Felicita, and she is married to Eusebio Choc's youngest son, Sebastian. His other children are not yet of marriageable age.

Diego had three daughters. One, Trinidad, is married to Liborio Choc, Gregorio Choc's oldest son. Another, Feliciana, married to Apolonio Sho. Apolonio was from San Antonio and moved to Pueblo Viejo upon marriage. He has been a very close associate of the Villanuevas. Diego's other daughter is married to Ramon Coc, who moved to Pueblo Viejo with his family in the late 1930's. Ramon has three married daughters. One is married to Panfilo Choc, Gregorio Choc's younger son, another to Liberato Cho, and the third to Merigildo Coc. In to these families, the Cals, Cocs, and the Shos, the Villanuevas are closely allied with two other large groups with patrilineal cores consisting of the Chocs and the Shals.

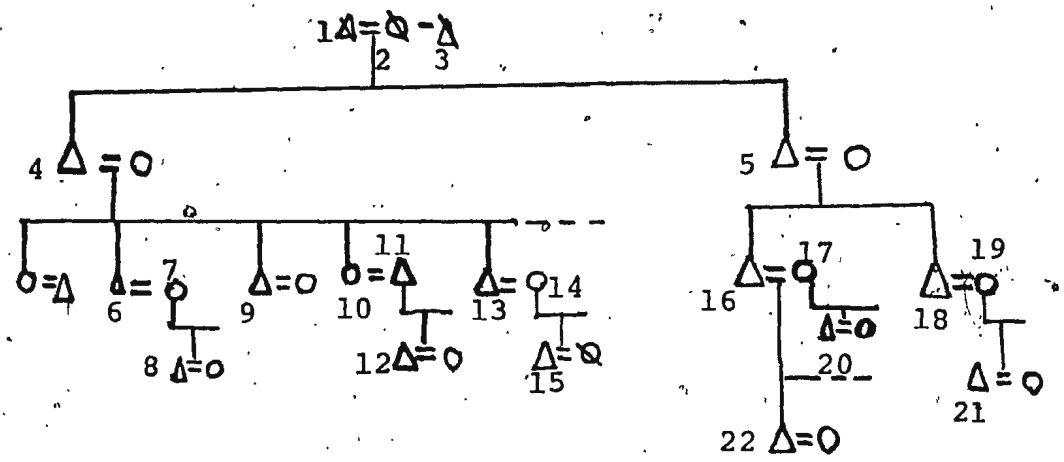

Diagram 2: Kinship for Martin and Gregorio Choc

Diagram Key

1. Heronimo Choc, 2. Rosaria Shal, 3. Santos Coc, 4. Martin Choc, 5. Gregorio Choc, 6. Bernadino Choc, 7. Filberta Villanueva, 8. Rafael Villanueva, 9. Jose Choc, 10. Madelena Choc, 11. Prudencio Coc, 12. Miguel Coc, 13. Francisco Choc, 14. Feliciana Ixim, 15. Hilario Ixim, 16. Liborio Choc, 17. Trinidad Villanueva, 18. Panfilo Choc, 19. Amalia Coc, 20. Diego Villanueva, 21. Ramon Coc, 22. Victoriano Choc.

Martin (h#33) and Gregorio Choc (h#36) came to Pueblo Viejo during the early 1940's with their mother, Rosaria Shal. Their father had already died at that time and their mother came to live with Santos Coc. After their mother died, Santos Coc married Luisa Cho, who lived with Roberto Villanueva after Santos Coc died. Martin is the older brother and is considered the head of the group. This group consists primarily of the two brothers and their sons plus, marginally, Ramon Coc and his son and son-in-law, who form a semi-detached group near the Chocs. All of these Chocs live together across a small creek from the Villanuevas.

Martin's oldest daughter left Pueblo Viejo upon marriage. His oldest son, Bernadino, lives next to him (h#32). Bernadino is married to Rafael Villanueva's oldest daughter. Martin's next son, Jose, married a girl from Santa Elena. Upon marriage they lived with the other Chocs, but Jose grew tired of his wife frequently going home to visit relatives by herself and so they moved to Santa Elena a little over a year ago. However, he frequently visits Pueblo Viejo. Martin has one other married son, Francisco. Francisco lives next to his father and they still work the land together (h#34). Francisco is married to Hilario Ixim's daughter. Martin also has a daughter married to Prudencio Coc, Miguel Coc's oldest son. They live next to Miguel Coc (h#22).

Martin Choc's younger brother, Gregorio, has only two sons. His oldest son, Liborio, lives next to him and is married to one of Diego Villanueva's daughters (h#36). Liborio's

oldest son lives behind him (h#37). For reasons of age and personality it appears as if Liborio will eventually become the head of the Choc group. Gregorio's younger son, Panfilo, lives across the road and up a hill from the rest of the Chocs. He is married to one of Ramon Coc's daughters and his wife's brother-in-law, Liberato Cho, lives nearby (h#42 and h#40). The Choc cluster is made up almost entirely of patrilineal relatives and so far all daughters have moved away upon marriage. The Chocs are linked through several uterine ties to the Villanuevas and these two groups have many activities in common. They are also linked through marriage and compadrazgo to other groups of the Villanueva faction.

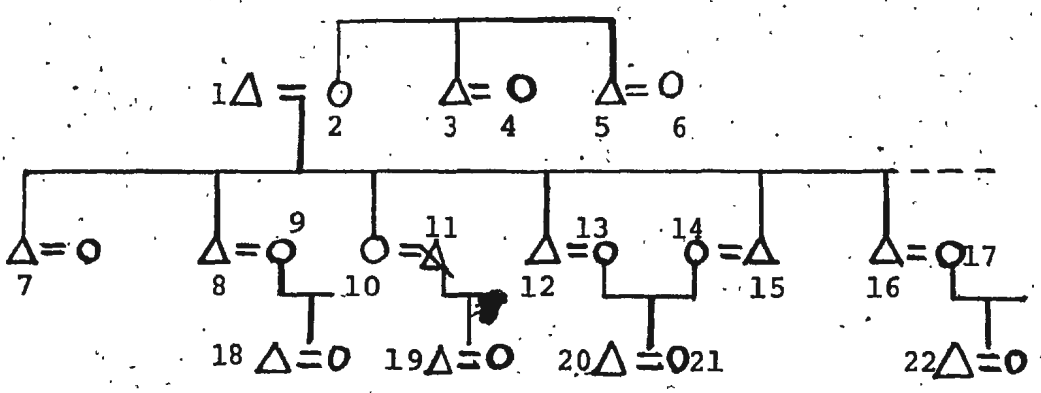

Diagram 3: Kinship for Teodoro Shal

Diagram Key

1. Teodoro Shal, 2. Carnacion Coc, 3. Secundino Coc, 4. Dolores Sho, 5. Ramon Coc, 6. Francisca Villanueva, 7. Felipe Shal, 8. Patricinio Shal, 9. Embre Cal, 10. Innocenta Shal, 11. Gregorio Villanueva, 12. Leocardio Shal, 13. Arsenia Sho, 14. Raimunda Sho, 15. Ricardo Shal, 16. Gilberto Shal, 17. Priscilina Ak, 18. Marto Cal, 19. Roberto Villanueva, 20. Apolonio Sho, 21. Feliciana Villanueva, 22. Manuel Ak(SA).

The other large family group that is closely allied with the Villanuevas is the Shal family. Teodoro Shal is the senior member of this group. He is married to Ramon and Secundino Coc's sister, Carnacion Coc, and lived with the Coc's to perform bride-service in Guatemala before coming to Pueblo Viejo. He was originally from Crique Lagarto, near San Antonio, where Diego Villanueva had lived before moving to Pueblo Viejo. Teodoro has five married sons and one widowed daughter. He has lived at basically the same location since coming to Pueblo Viejo, in what at one time was the heart of the village (h#28).

Teodoro's oldest son, Felipe, married a girl from Mafredi in 1950 and lived next to his father. The next son, Patricinio, married in 1961 and also lived near his father. In 1959 Teodoro's oldest daughter, Innocenta, married Roberto Villanueva's oldest son, Gregorio. They originally lived near Gregorio's father. In 1965 Leocardio Shal returned from a few years away working for a saw mill and married Apolonio Sho's oldest daughter, Arsenia. At about this time this entire group of brothers decided to move to the site where Leocardio and Ricardo now live. Teodoro decided to remain at his original location. They were joined at this new site by their brother-in-law, Gregorio Villanueva, and by one of his other brother-in-laws, Nicasio Coc. Gregorio Villanueva was to some extent the leader of this group and Felipe Shal functioned as nominal head of the Shal brothers who were living at this location, though their father, Teodoro, was still recognized as head of the lineage.

In 1969 Gregorio Villanueva was murdered and Felipe and Patricinio Shal left the village. Gregorio's wife, Innocenta Shal, also left the village a little later and their children came to live with Teodoro (Gregorio's father, Roberto Villanueva, left the village in 1970). Leocardio was the only one left at this site until his younger brother, Ricardo, moved in with him. Ricardo married another of Apolonio Sho's daughters in 1970 and for awhile lived with his father. However, friction between his wife and mother soon made him decide to move in with his brother. In 1972 Ricardo moved into his own house (h#11) next to his brother.

One of Teodoro's younger sons, Gilberto, married Manuel Ak's(SA) daughter in 1969. He moved in with his father-in-law upon marriage. Gilberto does not get on well with his older brothers and, although he is still close to his father, he rarely visits or has contact with his brothers. In 1972 he did not ask his brothers to help him plant, preferring to depend upon others for help.

Although the Shals live near Eusebio Choc and Secundino Coc and their groups, there is little social interaction between them. The Shals are socially isolated from these neighbours and tend to carry on social activities with the Chocs and Villanuevas across the creek. This social isolation is breaking down slightly now that feelings about Gregorio Villanueva's murder are not so intense, but not to any great extent.

The main family of those belonging to the social division

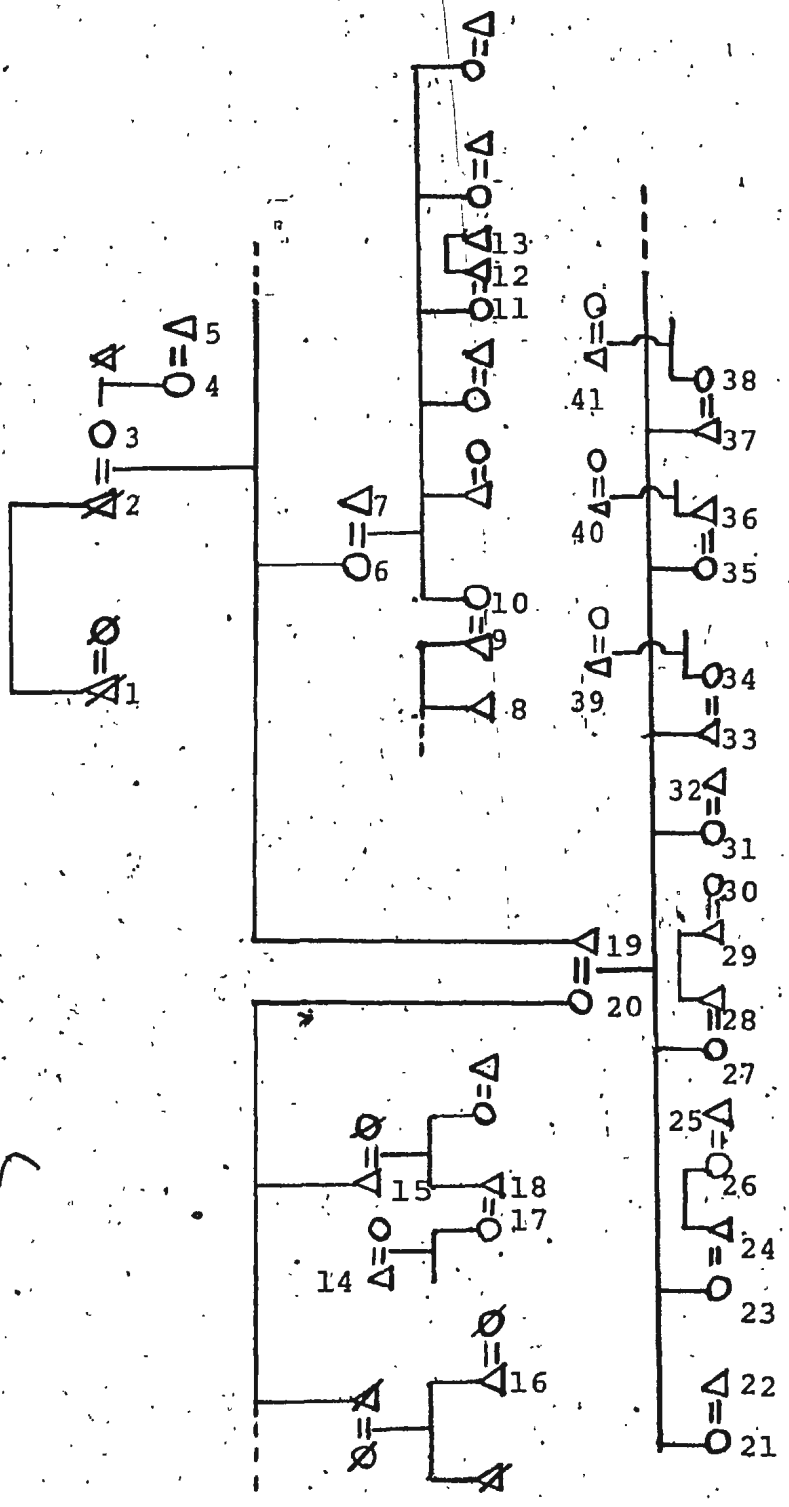

Diagram Key

1. Jose Choc
2. Sebastian Choc
3. Carnacion Cal
4. Petrona Cal
5. Jose Choc
6. Santa Choc
7. Pedro Oh
8. Marto Cal
9. Cecilio Cal
10. Simeona Oh
11. Paula Oh
12. Domingo Ak
13. Manuel Ak(SA)
14. Secundino Coc
15. Marciano Rash
16. Leonardo Rash
17. Justacia Coc
18. Gregorio Rash
19. Eusebio Choc
20. Cayetana Rash
21. Adriana Choc
22. Justacio Tush
23. Justina Choc
24. Tomas Salam
25. Simeon Choc
26. Christina Salam
27. Luisa Choc
28. Rafael Coc
29. Nicasio Coc
30. Francisca Villanueva
31. Elaria Choc
32. Manuel Ak(SC)
33. Gonzalo Choc
34. Hermalinda Sho
35. Catalina Choc
36. Anecleto Villanueva
37. Sebastian Choc
38. Feliciana Villanueva
39. Apolonio Sho
40. Roberto Villanueva
41. Rafael Villanueva

Diagram 4: Kinship for Eusebio Choc

(faction) opposite the one just discussed is the Choc family (not to be confused with the Choc family previously discussed). This family is presently headed by Eusebio Choc and the founder was Eusebio's father, Sebastian Choc. Eusebio was Sebastian's oldest son. Sebastian and Eusebio arrived in Pueblo Viejo in the mid-1930's. They were accompanied by Sebastian's younger brother, Jose Choc, by Jose Tush, and by Abelino Choc, father of Simeon Choc. Sebastian died in 1942 and Jose Choc died a few years later.

The year before his father died, 1941, Eusebio married Cayetana Rash, who was originally from Santa Cruz. During the 1950's Eusebio began slowly to build a following about himself. His oldest daughter married Tomas Salam from Laguna, who came to live in Pueblo Viejo (h#19). Tomas' sister, Christina, had come to Pueblo Viejo in 1948 to marry Simeon Choc. In 1959 his next oldest daughter, Adriana, married Justacio Tush from Santa Elena. They also lived in Pueblo Viejo (h#4). They did move to Santa Elena for a few years, but returned to Pueblo Viejo and have now lived there for several years. At about the same time another of Eusebio's daughters married Rafael Coc from San Antonio (brother of Nicasio Coc). Rafael lived near Eusebio until 1969, when he returned to live near San Antonio. Eusebio's next daughter, Elaria, married Manuel Ak(SC) from Santa Cruz in 1965. They also live in Pueblo Viejo (h#7).

During this same time Eusebio had built up social links in other ways. His sister, Santa Choc, had married Pedro Oh

and Pedro himself was beginning to gather about him a fair number of people through the marriages of his children. By 1970 he had one married son (who lived next to him), who had married a girl from San Antonio, and five married daughters. The oldest of these was married to Cecilio Cal, Marto Cal's younger brother. All of his daughter's husbands lived near him. However, eventually two of his son-in-laws moved away. Throughout this time Pedro and his group left and returned to Pueblo Viejo several times. He left again in 1970, but most expect him to return again. This group lived across the road from Jose Choc (h#5).

Members were also recruited in other ways. Eusebio's mother, Carnacion Cal, had a daughter by another man after her husband, Sebastian Choc, died. This daughter, Petrona Cal, married Jose Choc from San Pedro Columbia in 1958. Upon marriage, Jose came to live in Pueblo Viejo. Presently, Eusebio's mother lives in a small house next to Jose's (h#6). There were also relatives on Eusebio's wife's side that moved to Pueblo Viejo. Her brother, Marciano Rash, moved from Santa Cruz in the late 1950's (h#25). Another of her brother's (Juan Rash, who lived in Pueblo Viejo until 1947) son, Leonardo Rash, also moved to Pueblo Viejo (h#41). It should be noted that these non-patrilineal links are usually somewhat tenuous and that a great personal effort by the group head is required to maintain their allegiance.

Eusebio had another daughter, Catalina, married to Anecleto Villanueva, son of Roberto Villanueva, and they lived

near Roberto. This daughter left with her husband in 1970. Finally Eusebio's oldest son, Gonzalo, became old enough to get married (he was born in 1947). Gonzalo married one of Apolonio Sho's daughters in 1968. He now lives next to his father (h#20). In 1971 Eusebio's other son (he still has a few unmarried daughters), Sebastian, married Feliciana Villanueva, a daughter of Rafael Villanueva. Sebastian had left the village after the death of Gregorio Villanueva, but his father persuaded him to return. He now lives near one of his brother-in-laws, Justacio Tush (h#3). This link across the main factional division in the village has been used by both Eusebio and Rafael Villanueva to smooth over ill-feelings between them. Inheritance of group and lineage leadership will eventually go to Gonzalo Choc.

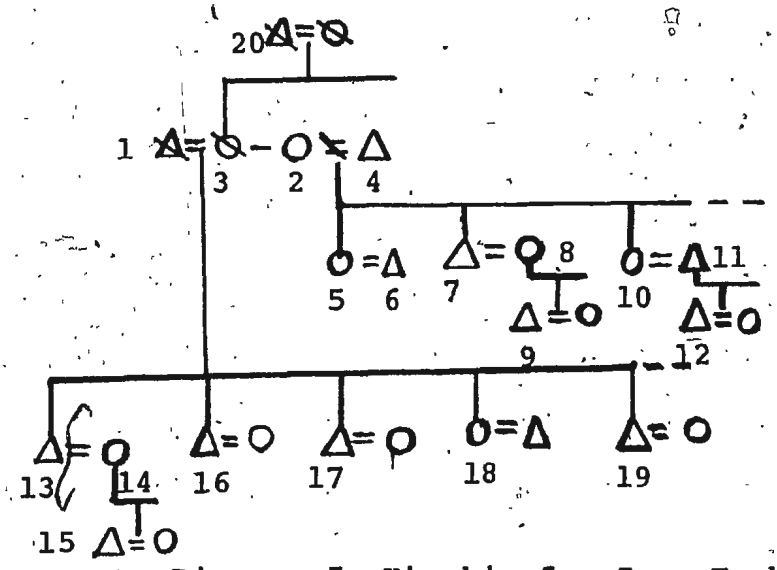

Diagram 5: Kinship for Jose Tush

Diagram Key

1. Jose Tush, 2. Nicholasa Taca, 3. Eugenia Choc, 4. Julian Pop, 5. Primitiva Pop, 6. Apolonio Sho, 7. Monico Pop, 8. Jacinta Cal,

9. Pascual Cal, 10. Ignacia Pop, 11. Luis Cal, 12. Augustin Cal, 13. Eusebio Tush, 14. Augustina Coc, 15. Miguel Coc, 16. Vitoline Tush, 17. Jesus Tush, 18. Maria Tush, 19. Sebastian Tush, 20. Jose Choc.

Another group closely associated with Eusebio Choc's was Jose Tush's group. Jose had come with Eusebio to Pueblo Viejo in the mid-1930's and was married to a daughter of Eusebio's father's brother. Until his death in 1970, Jose always lived near Eusebio. He and his family lived on the site of the present football field and in the house now occupied by Monico Pop and Nicholasa Taca (h#5). He had four married sons and three of them lived near him. The fourth, Vitoline, his second oldest, had moved to San Antonio upon marriage. His oldest son, Eusebio, is married to Miguel Coc's oldest daughter. Upon marriage Eusebio lived next to his father. Jose also had one married daughter, Maria, who was married to a man from San Pedro Columbia, Valentino Kib. They also lived near Jose.

When Jose's wife died in 1963 he brought another woman to live with him from San Antonio, Nicholasa Taca. She was seperated from her previous husband, Julian Pop. Nicholasa brought her four children by Julian Pop with her. The oldest daughter, Primitiva, married a man from Santa Cruz, but he died after a few years and she returned to Pueblo Viejo (she presently lives with Apolonio Sho). The other daughter, Ignacia, married Augustin Cal's oldest son, Luis, and they now live next to his father.

Most of the Tush group left Pueblo Viejo in 1969, following

the murder of Gregorio Villanueva. Eusebio and Jesus Tush moved to Santa Elena and Sebastian Tush moved to Pomona, near Stann Creek. Maria Tush left her husband in 1970. Jose Tush remained with Nicholasa Taca and her children until his death in 1970. Disputes, culminating in the murder of Gregorio Villanueva, led to the disintegration of the Tush group.

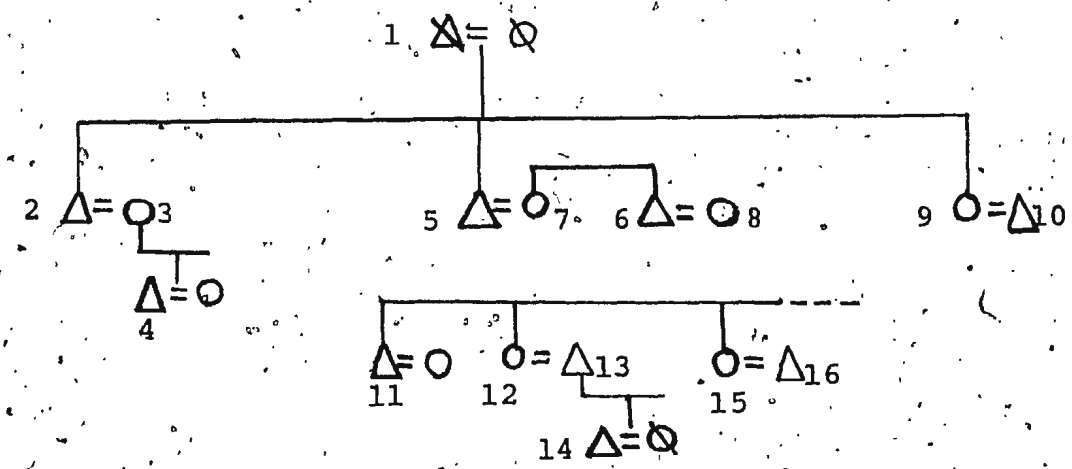

Diagram 6: Kinship for Secundino Coc

Diagram Key

1. Domingo Coc, 2. Ramon Coc, 3. Francisca Villanueva, 4. Diego Villanueva, 5. Secundino Coc, 6. Apolonio Sho, 7. Dolores Sho, 8. Feliciana Villanueva, 9. Carnacion Coc, 10. Teodoro Shal, 11. Edmundo Coc, 12. Justacia Coc, 13. Gregorio Rash, 14. Marciano Rash, 15. Cecilia Coc, 16. Florencio Mes.

A group that is loosely allied with the Eusebio Choc faction is that headed by Secundino Coc. Secundino is Ramon Coc's younger brother and Teodoro Shal's wife is his sister. This group seems to be the result of lineage fission involving a younger and older brother. This has also resulted in another group becoming allied with the village faction opposing that

dominated by the Villanuevas by the splitting off of one member of a lineage allied with the Villanueva faction (a middle ground, or non-alignment does not occur with any of the groups). (33) Ramon Coc has not built a personal following as has his brother Secundino and is closely integrated into other groups. However, Secundino has split and decided to build his own personal following.(34)

For added security and assistance Secundino has loosely allied himself with Eusebio Choc's group, but no strong kinship bonds exist between them. Strategically, the creation of such strong kinship bonds would probably make it more difficult for Secundino to recruit his own following, since there would be a strong tendency for people to more closely ally themselves with Eusebio Choc's larger and more established group, than with his. He would only be able to depend upon his sons living with him after marriage (and not even all of them) and would possibly lose his daughters to such larger groups. Marriage of daughters to men who can be recruited seems to be necessary and, if kinship links are to be made with other important groups, it should be by marrying a son to one of the other group's daughters. Eusebio Choc's recruitment pattern seems to be similar to Secundino's in this respect. Except that so far Secundino has created no important kinship bonds with major groups (although this may happen once Secundino's group is more firmly established), while Eusebio did so with both of his sons.

Secundino's oldest son, Edmundo, married a girl from San

Antonio in 1972 and they presently live in Secundino's house. One of his daughters, Cecilia; married a man from Santa Cruz, Florencio Mes, and they live behind Secundino's house (h#13). Another daughter married Gregorio Rash in 1972, Marciano Rash's son, and they too presently live with Secundino. Secundino, like Eusebio Choc, tries very hard to keep his sons-in-law happy to ensure their continued allegiance. His group is presently small and it will be a few years before any of his other children are of marriagable age. He has tried to augment his strength through the use of compadre links (these will be discussed in the next chapter).

The core of Secundino's group and his most secure base of support are his sons. In general, the core of most of the groups in the village appears to be a patrilineage, and the other members remain secondary. It should be noted that the Villanuevas use uterine lines to create bonds with other large groups, unlike Eusebio Choc and Secundino Coc who use them to recruit members to their own groups. This seems to be partly necessary since they are trying to recruit a following in opposition to the pre-existing one of the Villanuevas.

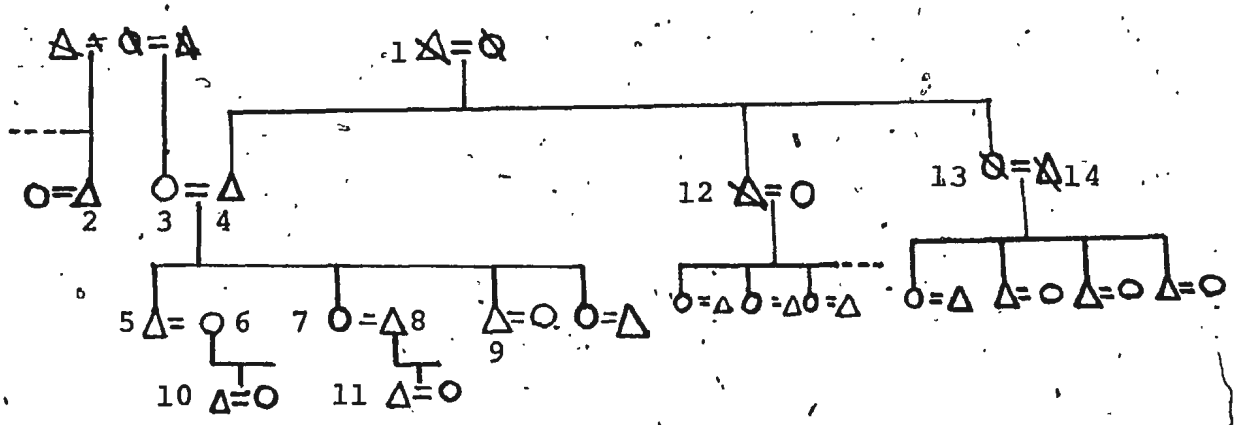

Diagram 7: Kinship for Miguel Coc

Diagram Key

1. Francisco Coc, 2. Jesus Bo, 3. Paula Bol, 4. Miguel Coc, 5. Prudencio Coc, 6. Madelena Choc, 7. Augustina Coc, 8. Eusebio Tush, 9. Gregorio Coc, 10. Martin Choc, 11. Jose Tush, 12. Torraibio Coc, 13. Petrona Coc, 14. Juan Bol.

Miguel Coc moved to Pueblo Viejo in the mid-1930's with his father Francisco Coc, his brother Torraibio Coc, and his brother-in-law Juan Bol. Miguel Coc's father died within a few years. These other three men and their families continued to live in a small cluster for a number of years. Around 1950 Torraibio Coc moved to San Pedro Columbia. Juan Cruz left Pueblo Viejo around 1960 and moved to Bullet Tree Falls, in Cayo District, where he formed his own group from his sons and sons-in-law: Torraibio died in 1969 and Juan Cruz died in 1971.

Miguel Coc has social ties with groups on each side of the major village factional division. His oldest son, Prudencio, is married to Martin Choc's daughter Madelena, and his oldest daughter, Augustina, is married to one of Jose Tush's sons, Eusebio. However, the social bonds with the Chocs seem to be much stronger, primarily because they are through his son rather than through a daughter. The bonds with the Chocs, and the Villanuevas, have been reinforced by compadrazgo links.

Prudencio lives next to Miguel, and Augustina now lives in Santa Elena (she does visit frequently). Miguel's younger son, Gregorio, married a girl from San Antonio and they live with Miguel. His other daughter married a man from Blue Creek

and they live there. Miguel keeps in close contact with this son-in-law and this year went to help him harvest rice. Miguel's wife, Paula Bol, is originally from San Luis. She was fathered by her mother's second husband. By her first husband, Jose Bo, her mother had several other children, including Jesus Bo, who moved to Pueblo Viejo several years ago and now lives behind Secundino Coc (h#17). At present, Miguel's is a small group and he has not tried to expand it beyond the limits of his sons. His daughters have gone to live with other groups. He has social ties with both major factional groups in the village, but the ones to the Villanueva faction are much stronger. It is with this side that he and his sons recruit assistance for agricultural labour.

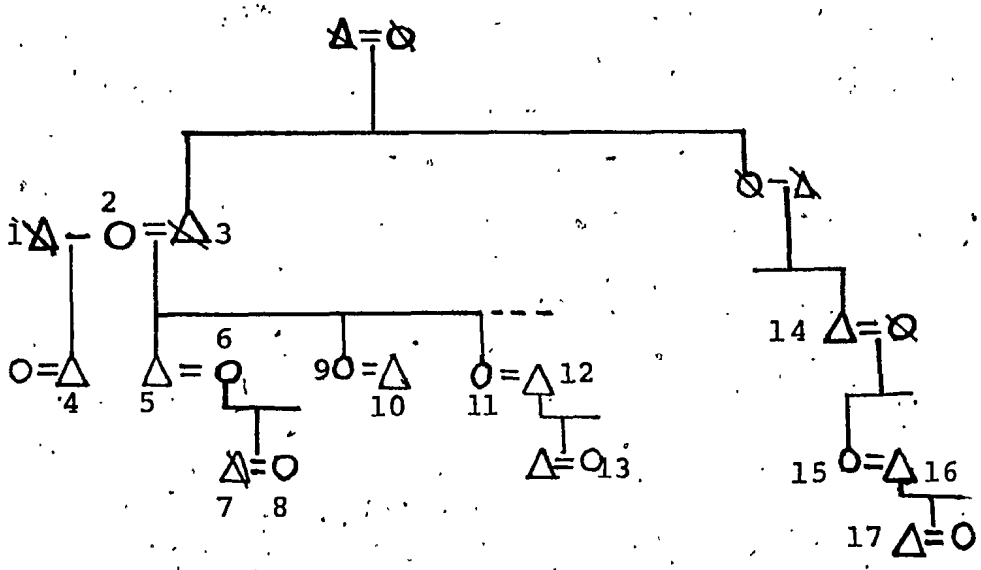

Diagram 8: Kinship for Juan Ixim

Diagram Key

1. Tomas Oh, 2. Petrona Coc, 3. Juan Ixim, 4. Domingo Coc (GU),

5. Santiago Ixim, 6. Manuela Coc, 7. Santos Coc, 8. Luisa Cho, 9. Dominga Ixim, 10. Domingo Cucul, 11. Leona Ixim, 12. Eliodoro Choc, 13. Tracita Cal, 14. Hilario Ixim, 15. Feliciana Ixim, 16. Francisco Choc, 17. Martin Choc.

The final group in the village consists of a extended family that migrated from Guatemala in 1968. This group was originally headed by Juan Ixim (who is the maternal uncle of Hilario Ixim). With Juan and his wife came his oldest son, Santiago; all of their unmarried children; their daughter, Dominga, and her husband Domingo Cucul; and Domingo Coc(GU) and his wife. Domingo Coc(GU) is a son that Juan's wife had had by another man previous to her marriage to Juan. In 1970 Juan returned to Guatemala, where he died in the same year. Her children persuaded Petrona Coc to stay, and she now lives with Domingo Coc(GU), who is her oldest son (h#47).

This group has slowly become integrated into the village and now has several social links with the Villanueva side. Santiago Ixim married Manuela Coc shortly after arriving. She is the daughter of Santos Coc and Luisa Cho, who now lives with Rafael Villanueva. A dispute has arisen between Rafael Villanueva and Santiago and Santiago is now in the process of moving to a new house located a short distance from the village (h#48). One of Juan's daughters, Leona, married Eliodoro Choc. They live between Rafael Villanueva and the other Iximes (h#44).

For agricultural labour assistance the Iximes depend upon their new kin plus recently acquired compadres. They have increasingly been integrated into the Villanueva side of the village, but, like other groups within that faction, they have retained a fair degree of autonomy for the present.

In summary, the village appears to be divided into patrilineal surname groups which form the core of local extended families. The size and total composition of these groups seems to be related with recruitment by certain group leaders who wish to increase their following beyond the bounds of the agnatic group. This is done at the expense of other families which have not formed into such clusters or multiplex bonds of alliance are created with other clusters. Forming such clusters through predominantly non-patrilineal lines is difficult and fragmentation is easier than with more compact patrilineal groups. These larger groups seem to be more dependent upon personal attachment than on structural or normative bonds.

Overall, the village appears to be roughly split into two general factions. One consists of Eusebio Choc and his following, plus two formerly allied extended families (the Ohs and the Tushs), and a loosely allied splinter group from the other faction. The other faction is headed by the Villanuevas. The Villanuevas are allied with two large extended families (the Shals and the Chocs), both of which possess large patrilineal cores, as well as with an assortment of other smaller families and individuals through a variety of links. One new group, the Ixims, is becoming integrated into this faction. Another small group, the Cocs, has bonds with both sides, but its bonds with the Villanueva side predominate. (35) The bonds between families are strengthened and secondary bonds of alliance are created through another mechanism besides kinship: <u>compadrazgo</u>, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

It would then appear that within the village there are two basic social groups: the domestic group and the extended family with a patrilineal core. To understand these groups an analysis of internal and external processes is necessary. Externally the important considerations involve factionalism and village politics; these will be discussed shortly.

Footnotes

1. Since the plantations are relatively close to the village there is no need for secondary residences on or near the plantations as is the case in some of the Maya areas. See R. Reina (1967).

2. These fashions include such things as placement of doors, slope of roof, or building a porch. Currently a few people in San Antonio have put windows in their houses.

3. There are no homosexuals in Pueblo Viejo. However, there are in San Jose and San Antonio.

4. Frequency, harshness, and general patterns of discipline vary considerably. Some parents rarely lash their children while others do so quite frequently. Harsh treatment, in the cases where it does occur, is not a new phenomena and a time depth back at least to the late nineteenth century can be established in some cases. This seems contrary to discipline mentioned by many authors for the Maya: e.g., J. E.S. Thompson (1930), J. Gillin (1951), R. Redfield and A. Villa R. (1962).

5. To go beyond sixth form (the highest level offered in the village) and to go on to college requires sending the child to Punta Gorda (where there are very limited facilities for girls) or to Belize. Only a few Indian children in the district have gone to college, and none from Pueblo Viejo. At present, continued education has little value to most Indians and many of those who have gone away to college have suffered adjustment problems upon their return.

6. M. Fortes (1958,p.2).

7. M. Fortes (1958,p.3).

8. M. Fortes (1958,p.12).

9. For a description of betrothal and marriage customs among the Kekchi in Guatemala see F. Eachus and R. Carlson (1966,p.114). This is very similar to what is practiced by the Indians in Pueblo Viejo.

10. See E. Wolf (1966,p.65-66) for a statement on economic factors affecting family structure for peasants in general. He sets minimal conditions which seem to allow for the existence of extended families.

11. J.D. Freeman (1958,p.30).

12. For data on patrilineages or patriclans among the Yucatecan Maya see R. Roys (1943) and (1957), S. Morely (1956, p.161-162); on the Quiche see M. Edmunson (1971), R. Bunzel (1952,p.190-191); and R. Carmack (1972); on the Tzotzil and Tzetzal see H. Siverts (1969,p.97-134), E.Z. Vogt (1969,p. 140-154); on the Pokommes see S.W. Miles (1957); on the Lacadones see A.M. Tozzer (1907) and G. Duby and F. Blom (1969, p.288-290); on the Mam see C. Wagley (1949); on the Chuj see F. Termer (1957,p.377); on the Chol see A. Villa R. (1969,p. 236); on the Chorti see C. Wisdom (1940,p.250-252); on the Maya of Quintana Roo see A. Villa R. (1945,p.98). Data is inadequate or non-existent on most of the other Mayan groups. The lineages in Pueblo Viejo at present are surname groups possessing little other corporate property.

13. See H. Siverts (1971,p.405).

14. See E.Z. Vogt (1971,p.412-13,423-27,436) and H. Siverts (1971,p.405-407).

15. All of the above definitions are taken from class notes; S.F. Moore (U.S.C., 1970).

16. For example, see the literature on "double descent" systems. See C.D. Forde (1950) and J. Goody (1961).

17. See E.E. Evans-Pritchard (1940).

18. See I.M. Lewis (1969).

19. The village itself is a corporate entity and engages in certain activities (e.g. local administration and fiestas) and has property (the school, cabildo, and church). Land is to some degree a village property, although usufruct right does exist and the government has ultimate control over it. Residence is also by consent of all village members. See M. Nash (1971) and E.R. Wolf (1955) in general and also M.E. Hunt and J. Nash (1967) on other territorial groups among Mesoamerican Indians.

20. C. Wisdom (1940,p.250-252).

21. No such names are given to the clusters in Pueblo Viejo.

22. Among the Kekchi bride-service used to last one year. However, this is becoming less common and in Pueblo Viejo it sometimes only lasts about a month.

23. Similar physical and social divisions occur in other villages in the district. In Otaxha and San Pedro Columbia for example. The archaeological site of Pushila is also divided by a large creek.

24. See note 23.

25. This will be discussed further in Chapter 8.

26. There are a few exceptions, although generally not during the first few years of marriage.

27. Indian women keep their father's surname upon marriage. Due to English custom they sometimes will adopt the husband's surname in conversation with non-Indians.

28. See F. Cancian (1965,p.103-106), B.N. Colby (1967,p. 420-421), and J. Gillin (1952).

29. When this does occur it is often a very severe break and feelings become quite intense.

30. See B.N. Colby (1967,p.421) and E.Z. Vogt (1969,p. 238-245).

31. See J. Gillin (1952) and B.N. Colby (1967,p.419-420).

32. Further discussion appears in Chapters 6 and 9.

33. This seems to be related to the need for labour assistance, security, and with leadership activities. It will be discussed further in Chapters 8 and 9.

34. Due to the split, Secundino and those in his group have never held office and do not presently have any potential for so doing.

35. One individual has not been mentioned so far: Nicholas Pau (h#27). He has lived in the village since the late 1950's and has no kinship ties with anyone in the village. All of his agnatic kin live in San Luis and his wife is from Pushila. He is compadre with Hilario Ixim and Marto Cal. Usually only a few people, recruited from diverse principles, help him with his plantation.

Chapter 5

Compadrazgo

Introduction

Compadrazgo is found in most Mesoamerican societies, though its exact form varies considerably.(1) It involves a social bond between the parents of a child and a sponsor or sponsors for the child who is passing through some rite. It may also be extended to involve other kin of the parents and sponsors. Though basically a product of European culture, evidence of sponsorship of children for certain rites in Pre-conquest Mesoamerica also exists.(2)

Compadrazgo ritually binds individuals and implies the existence of mutual rights and responsibilities. These rights and responsibilities vary cross-culturally and situationally. Mintz and Wolf make the distinction between vertical and Horizontal compadrazgo: vertical compadrazgo existing between social unequals and horizontal compadrazgo existing between social equals.(3) With the vertical type relationships tend to be of a "patron-client" nature.(4) Although horizontal compadres are basically social equals, a degree of asymmetry exists since it is implied that the parents can never adequately recompense the sponsors.(5)

Compadre relationships tend to strengthen pre-existing

social relationships and, as such, do not ordinarily involve the creation of new ones. For example, in Zinacantan, in the highlands of Chiapas, there is evidence that compadrazgo is used to perpetuate alliances between lineages.(6) Compadrazgo is more flexable than, though possibly not as strong as, kinship and it allows individuals to construct strategic personal networks by extending, restricting, and purposely choosing compadre relationships.(7) Basically, it allows people to extend personal relationships beyond kinship on a firmer basis than unritualized friendship.(8)

Compadrazgo exists in Pueblo Viejo in a number of forms. As soon as a child is born it is ritually washed. The person performing this task, usually the mid-wife or a close female relative, becomes a shul to the child. There is considered to be a strong bond between the child's first shul and the child's parents. Even in cases where the mid-wife does not perform the ritual washing she is treated with great respect by the child and the child's family. At present there is only one mid-wife in Pueblo Viejo, and she delivers most of the children there and in neighbouring villages.

The next ritual requiring a sponsor is the a·took ritual, which is to prepare the child for its future life.(9) When a girl is about six months old and a boy about seven months, the parents arrange for an individual of the child's sex to perform the ritual. Generally an older person is chosen, since they are more likely to know the proper way to perform it. Like similar rituals in many other parts of the Maya area,

the purpose of this one is to prepare the child for the kinds of work he or she will have to do when older and to provide for the child an older person to help and advise when needed. The person performing this ritual is called the shul (sometimes k·shul) by the child and compadre or comadre by the parents of the child.(10) The parents must promise that the child will be informed who his shul is "when he is old enough to know himself." The following diagram shows the social relations created by the a·took ritual (those who become compadres in this and the following diagrams are shaded).

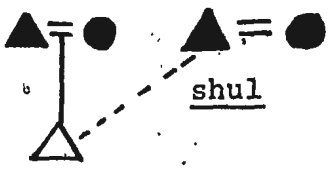

Diagram 9: Social Relations
Created by a·took Ritual

The a·took ritual is simple in form. Early in the morning the parents bring their child to the shul's house. This is done before they have eaten the morning meal. They bring with them the things that they gathered the day before to be used in the ritual: for a boy, a file, machete, ax, gun, scissors, etc., The ritual consists of the shul showing these things to the child and letting him handle them: "so that he can learn." The shul then places the child on a house post and also possibly astride a horse or mule. He then holds the child and returns it to its parents. After this the people formally eat together.

Most people continue to practice the a·took ritual. Leocardio Shal is among the few who doubt its efficacy. His wife performed it herself for their last child since she continues to believe that it is important that a child pass through the rite and have a shul. Many are embarassed to talk about it to non-Indians since they fear that they will be considered foolish. The relationship of the child to its shul continues to be very important at a personal level. It is common for only a very few, besides one's parents, to know who a person's shul is. Often when no one else will help a person since they are too busy or angry with him, the persons shul will be called on, and will rarely refuse.

Baptism is perhaps the most important "life crisis rite" that a child must go through. For a child to die and not be baptized is almost unthinkable.(11) In the past, and in most cases today, the father of the child asks his father in turn to approach the man that he has chosen to baptize his child. This is done for two reasons: 1) "because he is too ashamed to speak about such things," due to the importance and solemnity of the occasion and, 2) because there is a proper way to petition that requires a knowledge of the correct things to say and the right way to say them (this skill being rarely possessed by younger men). The father will go to the man's house and petition for his son for several hours. Finally the man will give his decision. If the man agrees, he buys certain clothes for the child. There follows a church ceremony and a formal meal given by the child's father in honour of

his new compadre.

Baptism creates social bonds between a number of people. Not only are the parents of the child linked to their child's sponsors, but the parents of both sets of compadres are also linked as compadres. There is slight individual variation and some choose to include a wider network of people than do others. The following diagram illustrates the links generally created through baptism.

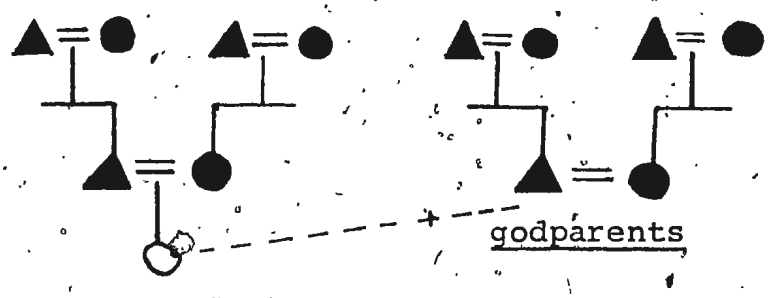

Diagram 10: Social Links Created by Baptism

Every two years the Catholic bishop comes and confirms all children that have turned ten since his last visit. The child's parents themselves petition someone to sponsor their child. Speaking of this does not seem to warrant the same feelings of shame as do requests for sponsorship for baptism. The configuration of social links resulting from confirmation is the same as for baptism.

With any wedding there is a joining of two kinship networks. The marriage also serves to link networks of compadres. Thus, the baptismal godparents of the man and his wife are also linked as compadres. It is also common practice for in-laws to address each other as compadre or comadre. A further

social link is added with the padrino and madrina who serve as sponsors for the couple being married. These people are chosen by the bride and groom, in consultation with their parents. The father of the groom or the groom himself may petition the person selected. Such a person is usually an older, more established member of the bride's or groom's community or occasionally a teacher (teachers served as padrinos for 18% of the weddings recorded in Pueblo Viejo over the past fifteen years). The padrino is supposed to be someone that the young man may go to for advice and aid. The padrino and madrina of one's children are considered compadres. The following diagram indicates the compadre links created through marriage.

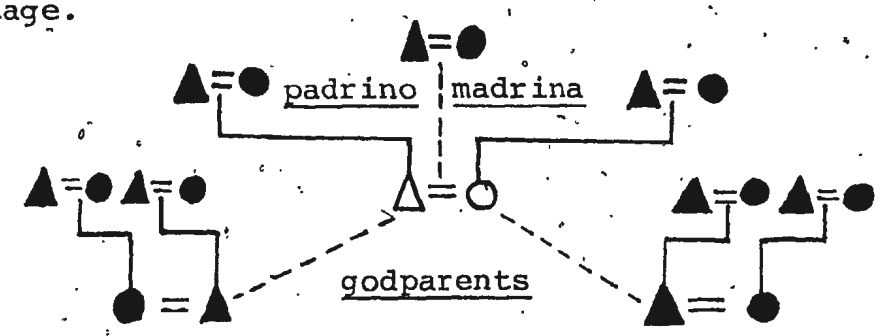

Diagram 11: Compadre Links Created by Marriage

The social bonds between compadres are somewhat asymmetrical in that the child's family is petitioning the others to do them a favour. Thus, the parents and grandparents of the child who is sponsored are expected to show a good deal of respect towards the other family. In asking favours they are expected to act with considerable humility. The sponsor and his parents generally need not show quite as much humility

when they ask for favours. However, for both, when the relationship is of a horizontal nature, it is expected that the compadre will try and grant the request.

Granting favours depends upon several variables. The kinds of favours asked naturally vary and those requiring the least sacrifice will more readily be granted. However, some favours, such as loaning money or helping with difficult work, may not be so readily agreed to. Here three variables need be taken account of (this applies to horizontal compadrazgo only): 1) the current condition of personal affairs between compadres, 2) whether the person being petitioned may soon be asking for a favour himself and, 3) the individual's strategy for living in the community (e.g., being overly generous to ensure the good will of others).(12)

Some of the proceedures in petitioning and the obligations of compadres are changing among a few of the younger people. Some prefer to avoid the long petitioning procedure and merely ask a close friend in person to sponsor their child. Also granting of some favours has become more situational in response to the increasing incidence of factional boundaries conflicting with older compadre links.

Thus, through birth, the a·took ritual, baptism, confirmation, and marriage, an individual has a potentially wide network of compadres. The form and extensiveness of these networks vary considerably and the differences tend to be largely the result of different personal strategies for living in the community in combination with, to a lesser degree, the

strategies of one's kin. It should be kept in mind that these links serve only as potential avenues for certain kinds of activity and that the content of various compadre links are not all equal.

Compadre Networks

Compadre networks, for the most part, are recruited by individuals. In this sense they can be thought of as being individually "anchored" or as "ego-centered" networks.(13) One also gains compadres by the actions of his children in choosing sponsors for their children for baptism and confirmation, but even in many of these cases the father influences his son's decision, making them somewhat ego-centered for the father where he is influential in his children's choice. Choice of compadre is not entirely free and, as stated earlier, these bonds tend to solidify existing bonds of kinship or friendship.(14)

Once created, compadre links are only potential links for social interaction. Individuals may decide to use them, or allow them to remain dormant due to considerations of factionalism, disputes, or physical distance. As with kinship, should the links be utilized, there are rules for behaviour. However, these rules at present tend to be more situational and less automatic than those for kinship. Thus, the "intensity" of these links varies in regard to the situation in which they are used and the interactional history of the compadres.(15) There is some evidence of a lessening in the

"intensity" of these links over the past few decades to a slight degree. J. Eric Thompson mentions that in San Antonio during the late 1920's a compadre who had promised to help with someone's planting or harvesting would never break such a promise.(16) In the early 1970's in Pueblo Viejo, and in San Antonio, this is not entirely true, and the expectation that commitments will be honoured by compadres has become more individualized. Thus, some people have reputations as being 'good' compadres who are generous and keep their promises, while others are considered not so generous or dependable. Even the compadre with a good reputation may at times renege on a promise. It is now common practice in Pueblo Viejo, when asking compadres to help with the planting or harvesting, to ask an extra compadre or two in the event that some may not show up.

Although not common, "vertical" compadrazgo does occur in Pueblo Viejo. With the economic changes it has become more important over the past few decades for Indians to have some personal contacts in Punta Gorda. Someone to do small favours for you, to talk to, to ask advice of, to spend the night with should the need arise, or just to add a more personal dimension to economic transactions. In general, it is the older men who prefer this added security of having a compadre in Punta Gorda. Most of the younger men do not seem to feel this need. Only 14% of the men in Pueblo Viejo presently have compadres in Punta Gorda.

Teachers are another group of "vertical" compadre chosen.

Presently 22% of the men in Pueblo Viejo have at least one teacher for a compadre. Those chosen are always teachers resident in the village. There does not seem to be any change in the frequency of choosing teachers since the first teachers came to Pueblo Viejo in the early 1950's. Also older as well as younger men have teachers for compadres. These teachers, usually Caribs, seem to be willing to become compadre with the Indians since very little is expected of them by their Indian compadres and it makes life in the village more comfortable (especially since it makes procuring food easier). There appear to be three reasons why villagers choose teachers to be compadres (the first two being closely related): 1) those individuals who are enamoured of non-Indian ways see some prestige in having non-Indian compadres, 2) some villagers have become good friends with the teachers and wish to further cement this bond, and 3) sometimes certain individuals can find no one else to baptize their child or to act as padrino at their wedding and out of despiration they ask a teacher (in such cases the social bond created tends to be especially weak).

The links in vertical compadrazgo seem to be of a much more limited content than those among social equals.(17) While horizontal compadre links tend to be "multiplex" in the sense that multiple attributes or expectations exist, vertical compadre links are usually of a more "uniplex" nature. (18) Thus, a vertical compadre link with a store owner in Punta Gorda carries only limited content (e.g., a few favours

are possible and a personal dimension is added to some economic transactions), while links with someone in Pueblo Viejo, or with Indians in other villages, indicate a much wider range of potential action. Spicer feels that the social bonds in compadrazgo are strengthened by the daily recognition of reciprocal obligations.(19) While this may be true among social equals in Pueblo Viejo (and for other Indians), frequency of interaction in the case of non-equals does not seem to intensify the links.(20)

Most compadre links in Pueblo Viejo (70% of the men in the village have all-Indian compadre networks) are between fellow villagers. It is the analysis of these links, rather than the limited links with non-villagers, that seem to be of greatest importance in understanding this aspect of people's strategies for living in the community (the compadrazgo aspect). These networks within the village are also of considerable importance in understanding village politics, since in addition to kin, compadres are another source of support.

The number of compadres each man has and the overall structure of his compadre network vary considerably. To speak of a typical compadre network is impossible. The networks of individuals also vary throughout the course of a lifetime. This is in part due to the development cycle of the family. For when one's children start getting married and having their own children the father's own compadre network also expands, along with the growth of his son's or daughter's network of compadres. However, this expansion is not necessarily

spatial. It may be in terms of an increase in the links between a relatively constant group of people. Tomas Salam, for example, chose to have all of his children baptized by his brother-in-law, Rafael Coc. Others prefer building much more expansive networks by choosing different compadres for each of their children.

Examining the personal compadre network of everyone in the village here would be somewhat tiring and probably not very profitable, so a few networks will be examined to indicate how different individuals build their networks and to see what similarities, if any, exist among them.(21)

As stated in the last chapter, Miguel Coc has kinship links with both sides of the village's major factional division, but that through his compadre links he has sought to strengthen his ties with the Villanueva side. For his children's shuls Miguel chose Simeon Choc, Teodoro Shal, Trinidad Villanueva (Liborio Choc's wife), and another woman who has since moved to San Pedro Columbia. Three of his children were baptized by Roberto Villanueva (the fourth being baptized by a non-Indian in Punta Gorda). He then chose to have Liborio Choc confirm two of his children (the others being confirmed by a friend in Santa Elena). By becoming compadre with Roberto Villanueva and Liborio Choc he also became compadre with their fathers, Diego Villanueva and Gregorio Choc. A little later Bernadino Choc asked Miguel to sponsor one of his children for baptism. This also made Miguel compadre with Bernadino's father, Martin Choc, as well as with Bernadino's wife's father,

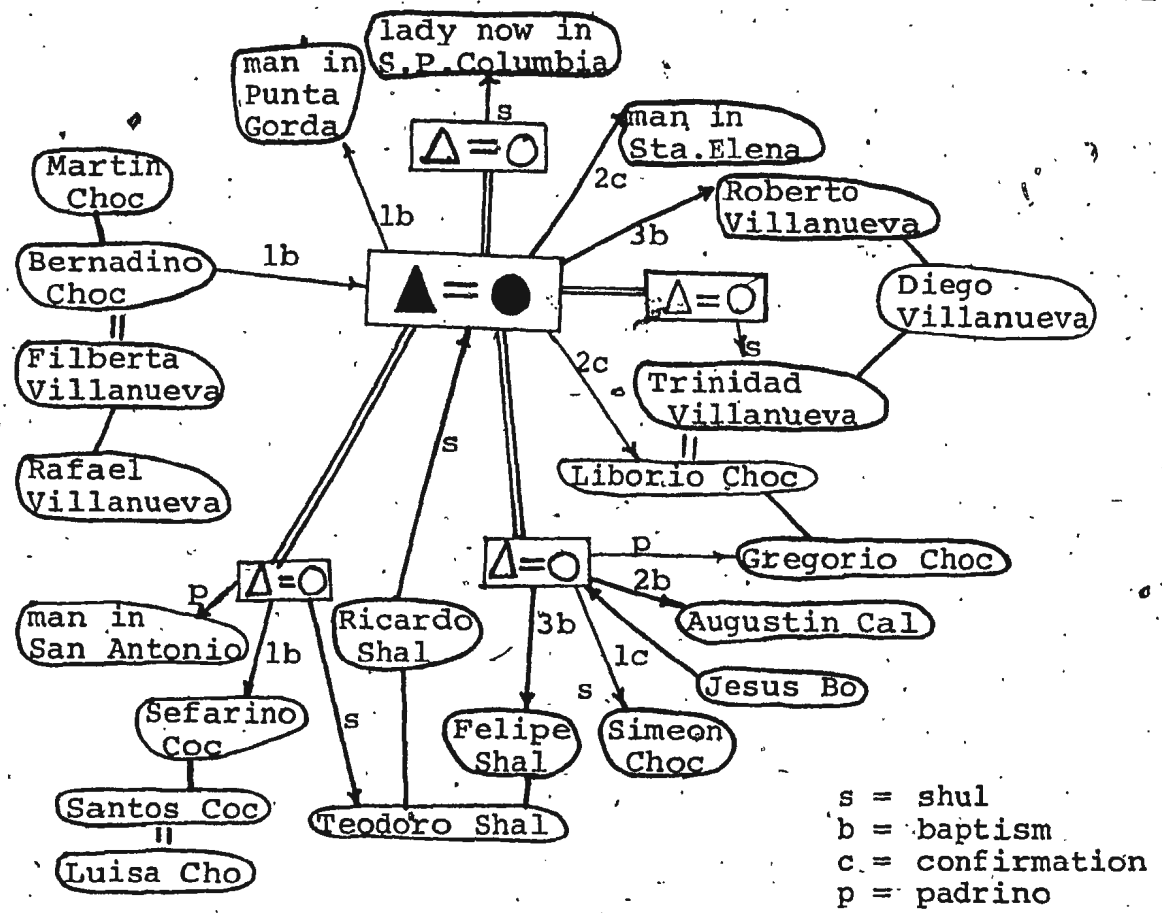

Diagram 12: Compadre Network of Miguel Coc

Rafael Villanueva. All of these links served to strengthen Miguel's ties with the Villanueva and Choc families.

When Miguel's son, Prudencio, was married, Gregorio Choc was chosen to act as padrino. The padrinos for Miguel's daughters' weddings were from Santa Elena and San Antonio. Miguel's ties with the Shal family were strengthened when he was asked to serve as shul for Teodoro's son Ricardo. These ties were further strengthened when Prudencio had three of his children sponsored for baptism by Felipe Shal. Jesus Bo and Augustin Cal also sponsored some of Prudencio's children. Miguel's

other son, Gregorio, married a girl from San Antonio and a man from there served as padrino. Gregorio's first child was baptized by Sefarino Coc (who's mother presently lives with Roberto Villanueva). Miguel is no longer having children and his children have passed through all of their rituals and ceremonies which require sponsors. In the future Miguel can expand his network in only two ways: 1) by sponsoring someone else's child, or 2) through his children choosing compadres as their children grow up or as they have more children.

Miguel Coc's network gives him a compadre in Punta Gorda, several in San Antonio and Santa Elena, and fourteen in Pueblo Viejo. His compadre network has been somewhat expansive, in that he has sought to cement ties of kinship and friendship with several families belonging to the Villanueva faction of the village, especially in strengthening his alliance through ties with the Villanueva, Shal, and Choc families (the major families of that faction). The expansion has not been as great as possible since Miguel chose not to make some friends compadres and in other cases preferred to overlap already existing links. All of his links have been forged outside of his immediate family, unlike some who choose to use their own family (this satisfies the ritual requirements, but has little effect on the persons social position).

An important aspect of a person's compadre network is its importance in reciprocal labour recruitment. Miguel's corn plantation in 1972 was relatively small since his son, Gregorio, planted a seperate one that was much larger. Also,

he has limited material aspirations and no younger children to feed. He had only nine men help him this year. This included his sons, a few compadres, and the Iximś, who he helps since they are a new group in the community. He was also assisted by another young man who was planning to move to Pueblo Viejo from San Antonio later in the year. Kinship bonds, even with such limited assistance, were not adequate and compadres and friends were necessary. In helping new arrivees in the village Miguel hopes to eventually expand his compadre network to include some of them (e.g. the Iximś) by their asking him to sponsor some of their children as they seek to expand their own compadre networks.

Having nine children (three of whom are married), Ramon Coc has a much larger family than Miguel Coc. His compadre network is also different from Miguel's in a very important way: it is much more diffuse. However, like Miguel, Ramon tends to seek alliances within the same group of families (those within the Villanueva faction). Ramon has several compadre links with non-Indians. Four of his children were sponsored for baptism by three different teachers, one child was sponsored by a Mestizo carpenter who came to build the church altar, another was sponsored by a store owner in Punta Gorda, and one was sponsored for confirmation by a teacher. In all, Ramon is compadre with six non-Indians.

Within the village he has had several people serve as shul for his children: Roberto Villanueva, Roberto's wife, Felipe Shal's wife, Lauria Bo, Teodoro Shal, Apolonio Sho and

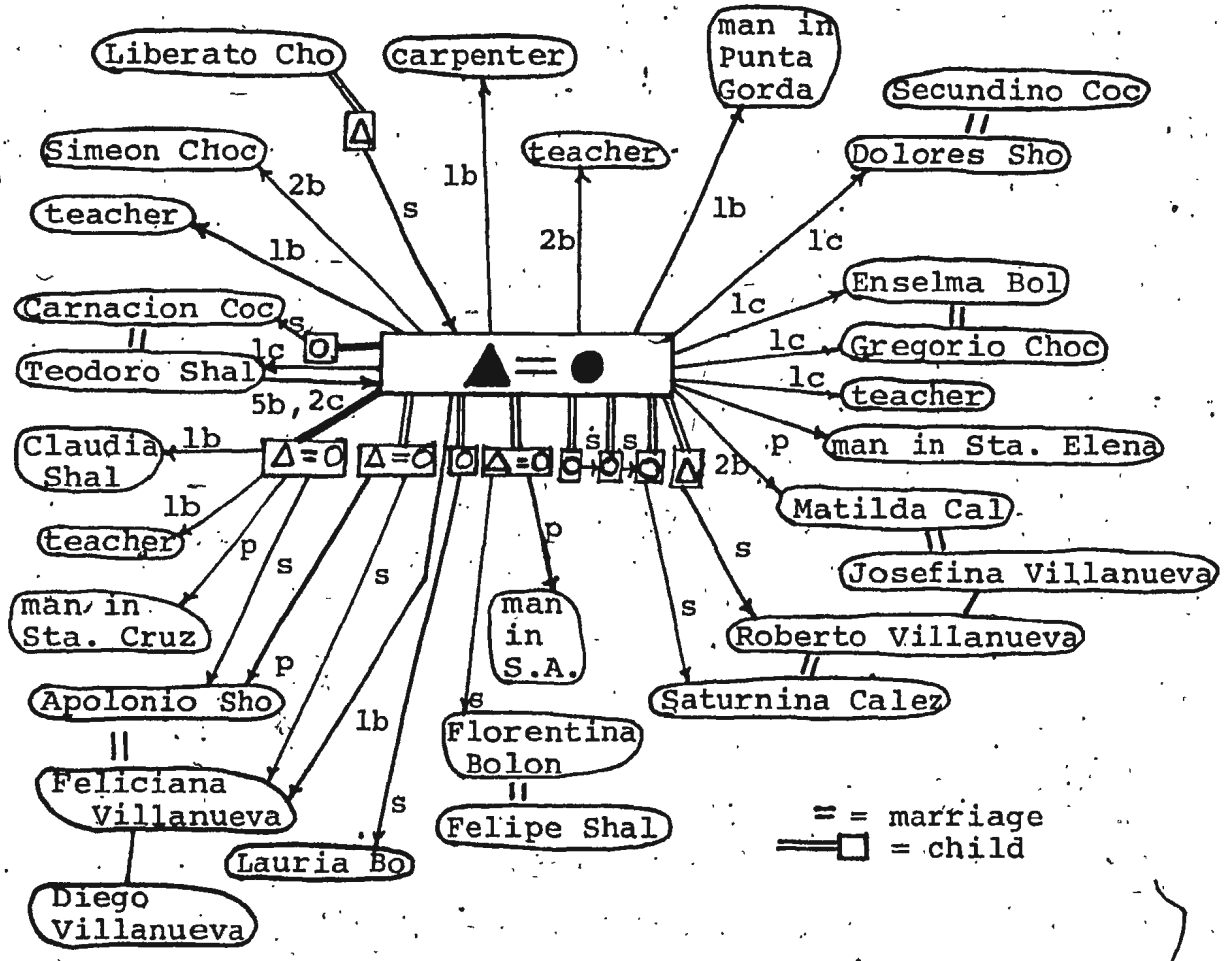

Diagram 13: Compadre Network of Ramon Coc

Apolonio's wife. In addition, two of his daughters served as shul for their own sisters. Two men in Pueblo Viejo have sponsored some of his children for baptism: Simeon Choc and Matilda Cal. Four of his children were confirmed by people in Pueblo Viejo: by Dolores Sho (his brother's wife), Gregorio Choc, Gregorio Choc's wife, and by Teodoro Shal.

At present three of Ramon's children are married. Only one of the padrinos is from Pueblo Viejo: Apolonio Sho, who was padrino for Domingo Coc. The other two are from Santa

Cruz and San Antonio. Ramon has expanded his network very little in Pueblo Viejo through his married children. His son, Domingo, has two children: one sponsored by a teacher and the other by Teodoro Shal's unmarried daughter Claudia. One of his married daughters has had a child baptized by Feliciana Villanueva (Apolonio Sho's wife and Diego Villanueva's daughter). Ramon himself has sponsored five of Teodoro Shal's children for baptism and two for confirmation. He is also a shul for one of Teodoro's daughter's children. Ramon's compadre network has the largest number of non-Indians in it of anyone in Pueblo Viejo. He also has a few Indian compadres living in other villages. Within Pueblo Viejo he has relatively few compadre links, and these tend to be quite overlapping. He has also chosen to use family members for some of the sponsors.

Ramon does not have sufficient kin to help him with his plantation, which is a relatively large one. In 1972 he had sixteen men help him. Among these were his in-laws (the Chocs), plus some of the Shals, and his compadre Apolonio Sho. He also had Edmundo Coc help him (Edmundo was in need of an extra large labour force that year due to his pending marriage). Due in part to his choice of compadres (e.g. non-Indians) Ramon's kinship and compadre network is barely able to supply his labour needs. Due to his large number of in-laws, the Chocs, however, he is less dependent than many on help from compadres. In general, it seems that Ramon maintains a personal network that is large enough for minimal

labour needs, while giving him a degree of prestige (from his point of view) by having a large number of non-Indians as compadres. Ramon is rarely active in village political affairs and usually acts as a passive supporter of the Villanuevas. Thus, he has no political need for a large personal network.

Ramon's brother Secundino has seven children (three are married), and he lived in San Antonio for a few years upon marriage. To understand the development of Secundino's compadre network requires a general understanding of his changing status in the community. His children's shuls were picked from among the same general group as his brother had used (e.g. the Villanueva faction). He chose: Apolonio Sho and Apolonio's wife, Francisca Villanueva (Nicasio Coc's wife), Teodoro Shal, and a woman in San Antonio (his wife's natal community). He was living in San Antonio when it came time to baptize his first child, and he chose a Mestizo carpenter who was working there. After his return to Pueblo Viejo he had his other children baptized: one by a store owner in Punta Gorda, two by different men in Santa Elena, and a little later, two of his children by Felipe Shal.

Eventually the split between Secundino and his brother and his increasing estrangement with the Villanueva faction caused a change in the pattern of Secundino's compadre network. One of his sons was confirmed by Jose Tush. Another of his daughters was confirmed by her own sister. Later, one of his daughters married a man from Santa Cruz and their padrino was also from Santa Cruz. When this daughter had children she had

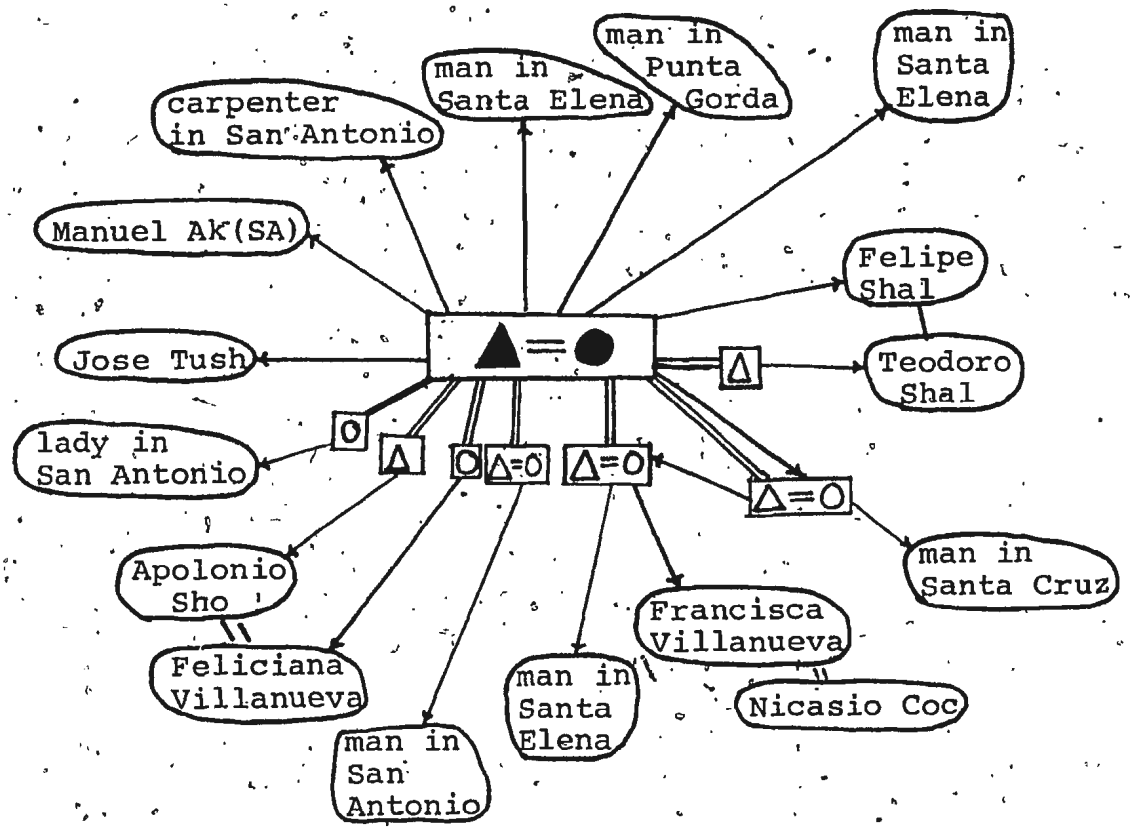

Diagram 14: Compadre Network of Secundino Coc

her older sister sponsor them for baptism. In effect, Secundino was withdrawing socially from those of the faction to which he formerly had been allied to. At the same time he was making new friends with those of the opposing faction. This led to his making Jose Tush a compadré. However, rather than become a minor satelite of the Choc faction Secundino decided to try and build his own following and to try and remain fairly autonomous from that faction. Since this time Secundino's choice of compadres and his influence in choosing spouses for his children have been directed toward building a larger following about himself.

During 1972 one of Secundino's sons and one of his daughters were married. In both cases the padrinos were men from outside of Pueblo Viejo (from Santa Elena and San Antonio, abbreviated SA). The spouses of both of his children were persuaded to reside with Secundino upon marriage. Earlier he had had Manuel Ak(SA) sponsor one of his children for confirmation. He strengthened this bond by having Manuel also sponsor his youngest son for baptism. Manuel Ak(SA) is a relatively unattached member of the community (to the main groups) and Secundino seems to be trying to woo him as an ally. At present, although Secundino is compadre with many members of the Villanueva faction, these links have become dormant. He is now trying to build a new compadre network based upon an attempt to gain the alliance of loosely attached members of the community and, to some degree (e.g. Jose Tush), to ally himself loosely to the Choc faction for support and assistance. Thus, unlike his brother Ramon, Secundino's compadre network is at present expansive (following a period of very little expansion) due to political considerations related to his attempt to gain sufficient followers and allies.

From these three examples it should be clear that people's compadre networks vary considerably in form and content. Other important points that emerge, especially from Secundino's example, are that these networks must be placed in a diachronic perspective and that they are closely related to the person's evolving social situation in the village. We see also that the existing links indicate only potential routes of

interaction and that they must be treated situationally. In the first two examples the compadre networks were built to more fully integrate the persons into certain social and political groups with which they already had fairly strong ties. In the third case, the course of the network's development changed and eventually recruitment was motivated by the desire to form a new group around ego and to gain allies in a faction to which the recruiter had not been previously linked. Such a process seems to follow from the existence of factionalism and fission within the village and within families. This is in keeping with the idea that compadre networks reflect a person's social situation. It appears then that most villagers have a group of compadres that serve as an extension of their kinship networks and personal strategies. These links can be especially important in gaining a more secure following for those attempting to be leaders at some level (cf. Secundino Coc). For others they can add security for various forms of social interaction and activities beyond kinship. But for all they are only potential sources of interaction or alliance.

Footnotes

1. S.W. Mintz and E.R. Wolf (1950,p.341) define compadrazgo as "the particular complex of relationships set up between individuals primarily, though not always, through participation in the ritual of Catholic baptism."

2. See R. Ravicz (1967,p.238n).

3. S.W. Mintz and E.R. Wolf (1950,p.342) define horizontal compadrazgo as "linking together members of the same class" and they define vertical compadrazgo as "tying together members of different classes." It should be noted that compadres

through such rituals as the a·took can only be between members of the same class since the ritual is not shared by members of other classes or ethnicity.

4. See R. Paine (1971) and E.R. Wolf (1966,p.16-17) on the nature of "patron-client" relationships. These are not treated at length here since they are of relatively little importance to the aspects of compadrazgo treated in this chapter.

5. J.M. Ingham (1970,p.281) states that "compadrazgo is asymmetrical in the sense that godparent selections are not reciprocated (note-- in some cases they are) and that rights and obligations based upon this relationship are not precisely the same for each co-godfather and family. This asymmetry may or may not entail differences in social status..." Although asymmetry does seem to exist, to a degree, the relationship between social equals in Pueblo Viejo is not entirely asymmetrical if, following R. Paine (1971,p.11), we treat asymmetry as "an exchange of different items and services." Clearly the original services are different, however, afterwords, in the case of actual use of the compadre bond for various kinds of exchange, there seems to be very little asymmetry present.

6. E.Z. Vogt (1969,p.237).

7. B. Paul (1942) makes this point in his Ph.D. dissertation, which has been cited in most works on compadrazgo.

8. For descriptions of compadrazgo in other areas see S.W. Mintz and E.R. Wolf (1950) and R. Ravicz (1967).

9. This ritual is similar to the "hetz" described by J.E. S. Thompson (1930,p.78,110) in San Antonio, the "hetzmek" described in Chan Kom by R. Redfield and A. Villa R. (1962,p. 188-190), and the birth ceremony described in Zinacantan by E.Z. Vogt (1969,p.181). Also see C. Guiteras Holmes (1952,p. 111).

10. In the future, mention of the shul will refer to the shul acquired through the a·took ritual only.

11. Unbaptized children are considered not to have a soul.

12. This applies only to "horizontal" relationships. With "vertical" relationships rights and responsibilities are much more restricted.

13. See J.C. Mitchell (1969,p.13).

14. See J.C. Mitchell (1969,p.41-43). He states that the element of individual choice in network recruitment is usually affected by the person's social position.

15. J.C. Mitchell (1969,p.29) defines intensity as "the degree to which individuals are prepared to honour obligations, or feel free to exercise the rights implied in their link to some other person."

16. J.E.S. Thompson (1930).

17. J.C. Mitchell (1969,p.20) defines content as "the meanings which the persons in the network attribute to their relationships," such as economic co-operation, kinship obligations, reiligious co-operation, etc..

18. M. Gluckman (1955,p.19) and see P.D. Wheeldon (1969, p.132).

19. E.H. Spicer (1940).

20. See J.C. Mitchell (1969,p.29).

21. I have chosen people mentioned in the previous chapters and that are older, since their compadre networks will be more fully developed.

Part III

Local Politics and Leadership

Chapter 6

Village Officers

Introduction

The colony of British Honduras possesses an administrative office which appears to be unique in the British Empire and Commonwealth-- the Alcalde.(1) The latter is a Spanish office that was adopted in British Honduras during the nineteenth century. The alcalde functions principally as an administrator in Indian, Mestizo, and Carib settlements. Since these groups came from a region (Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras, etc.) that had been administered through Spanish colonial institutions, the colonial government in British Honduras considered this form of administration as the most expediant, rather than trying to impose culturally foreign forms of administration on these people. The government passed an act in 1858 "to provide for the speedy and economical administration of justice in the rural districts of the settlement..." which established the alcalde system of administration in many of the rural villages.(2) After British Honduras became a colony in 1862 the alcalde system was continued in keeping with the trend toward indirect rule throughout the British Empire. In 1884 the Secretary of State set down guidelines for the local administration of Indian and Carib villages by alcaldes "subject to appeal to the District

Magistrate."(3)

Due to the isolation of the Indian villages during this period, the government had very little influence on the internal workings of village governments. The villages thus were allowed to retain a form of government that was familiar to them and to develop this form of government in their own ways. As a result of this relative autonomy, the position of the alcalde in many of the Toledo District's Indian communities came to be held by members of a single family (or group of families) who wielded considerable power: "they became minor tyrants."(4)

J. Eric Thompson described the village government in San Antonio in the 1920's in this way:

> Each of the important Indian villages of the Toledo District has its alcalde (mayor). A new alcalde is elected each January. The men of the village are summoned to the cabildo (the town hall), usually the most pretentious hut in the village. Names of candidates are proposed by the older men, and the voting is conducted by a show of hands. Any man or boy over the age of seventeen is free to vote. As a rule there is no contest, only one name being proposed... The alcalde is aided in the discharge of his functions by a segundo-alcalde (vice-mayor) and eight policemen.(5)

Generally the older men of the village and the members of the most influential families decide who will hold the various offices, and if chosen one must serve.

In many of the smaller villages, such as Pueblo Viejo, the family that was recognized as first settling the village was afforded the right to represent the village and to hold political office (the alcaldeship) and authority. The senior male member of this family ordinarily served as first alcalde.

This phenomenon is in line with the widespread normative belief among the Maya concerning seniority and, accordingly, it seems to apply to political affairs in other parts of the Maya area as well.(6) Anyone who did not like rule by this family generally chose to move. The latter seems to be partly responsible for the founding of a few of the district's newer, as well as older, villages, as families decided to leave villages following a series of disputes with the senior family and founded their own villages. Recently, for example, a family and related faction left San Miguel and settled at Silver Creek due in part to such quarrels.

In 1952 the Inferior Court Ordinance was passed, which sought to regularize the then disparate alcalde systems and to further the cause of local democracy by encouraging regular elections of new village officers.(7) Through this ordinance the government hoped to establish more effective controls over the local alcaldes. At about this time Diego Villanueva, who had been first alcalde of Pueblo Viejo since 1939, handed the alcaldeship over to his oldest son Roberto. Generally the same members of the community continued to hold political prominance despite governmental attempts at reform. At present the government is continuing in its efforts to bring English-style democracy to the Indians by dispersing the functions combined in the office of alcalde and, correspondingly, by establishing village councils. This has met with some resistance in many of the Indian communities in the Toledo District, but, as with most government decisions, the Indians passively

accept them (they have little choice due to their lack of political power at the national level) and then try to accommodate to the changes.

Development of Local Government in Pueblo Viejo

Before 1937 Pueblo Viejo was considered, by Guatemala and the village's residents, to be part of Guatemala. Prior to this time the village was quite small and the population fluctuated greatly. It is not clear when the first alcalde was appointed for Pueblo Viejo, or exactly how much administrative control the Guatemalan government in San Luis (the administrative centre for the municipio) exercised over the village. Apparently Diego Villanueva served as alcalde for several years during the time that the village was administered by Guatemala (what his official status was is not certain, but the inhabitants referred to him as the alcalde).

In the late 1930's the boundary between Guatemala and British Honduras was redrawn and Pueblo Viejo became part of British Honduras. Under the new government Abelino Choc became the first alcalde and served for two years. He was replaced by Diego Villanueva in 1939. Diego continued to serve as first alcalde until 1949, when he stepped down and turned the alcaldeship over to his eldest son, Roberto. Throughout the late 1930's and 1940's Diego was the chief political figure in the village, and his influence continued until his death.

As alcalde, Diego had only limited contact with the colonial government. He had to keep a record book of cases and

expenses, which was inspected once or twice a year. Since, at that time, no one was literate in the village, Diego was required to go to San Antonio about once a month to have a teacher there fill out his books. Visits by colonial administrators were quite rare and the Indians contained considerable autonomy, within the general administrative guidelines set down by the colonial government in Belize.

By the late 1940's the population of Pueblo Viejo had become much more heterogeneous and it was no longer as easy to maintain the custom of one-man rule. A major change in this kind of government came in 1952, when the Inferior Court Ordinance was passed. In 1949 Diego Villanueva turned the alcaldeship over to his son Roberto, and Roberto served until 1952. After the Inferior Court Ordinance was passed it was decided among the senior members of the community, under pressure from the colonial government, that different people should serve as first alcalde, and that the position ideally should change every year. This change was not entirely due to external pressure from the government, for internal factionalism and increasing heterogeneity were also partly responsible.

To keep the new ideal of changing alcaldeships in line with norms regarding seniority, and at the same time provide an alcalde who was able to fulfill the requirements of the office (e.g., to be able to deal effectively with outside government officials) was difficult. Most of the older men had only limited contact with non-Indians, some spoke only

Kekchi, and only a very few spoke English. In keeping with the seniority principle there was the necessity of ensuring that the new alcaldes were recruited from the senior patrilines. Thus, newcomers, even though possessing the requisite skills, were not allowed to hold prestigious offices of this sort.

The two men most suited for the alcaldeship in terms of ability and seniority were Eusebio Choc and Miguel Coc. Both had had a fair amount of contact with non-Indians. Eusebio spoke Spanish and Miguel was the only senior member of the community who could speak English (due to his early schooling in Aguacate). Also, they came from two of the older and more important families in the village. Thus, in 1953 Eusebio Choc served as first alcalde and Miguel Coc served in 1954.

In 1955 the first alcaldeship was given to Jose Tush. He was one of the early settlers of Pueblo Viejo and was closely connected with the other leading families. He was not overly anxious to take the position, as he considered himself ill-qualified, but he was a senior member of the village and as such was obliged to serve if chosen. He served a few months but proved unable to fulfill the role of first alcalde. For he was very poor at communicating with government officials and was not very adept as a judge. He was relieved of the alcaldeship (a move which he himself supported) and Roberto Villanueva was reinstated as first alcalde. He then served until the end of 1958.

Roberto was unable to run the village as firmly as his

father had done, as it had grown much larger and much older. Due to increasing factionalism it was becoming increasingly difficult for the alcalde to exert his authority on all members of the community. The office of alcalde was loosing its importance as the locus of political power in the community. Diego was still alive and much of the authority vested in him as village founder remained with him. Also his political power remained with him rather than with the office of alcalde. As the position of alcalde became more "democratized" it became less important politically, and became simply an administrative office. Real political power had always been vested in certain individuals and families, and with the Villanuevas in particular. Now that they no longer occupied the position of first alcalde at all times the office served only an administrative function and diminished prestige was associated with it. (8)

What was evolving in the structure of village administration was a "step-ladder" hierarchy as is present in many other Mesoamerican Indian communities, with actual political power not necessarily identified with the administrative structure. (9). Under Diego Villanueva a few men had served as village police for several years and these same men or others served for two year terms as second alcaldes. Moving through such offices in a "ladder-like" progression does not appear to have been part of the structure. Generally, it was considered proper for more established members of the community to serve in these offices as part of their civic duty and to

acquire further prestige (the same was true of fiesta sponsorship).

By the late 1950's the old form of government had been mostly replaced by a "step-ladder" form of government. This was partly due to government sponsored ideas regarding a more participatory form of local government and partly due to an increasing population in the village. There were more people who were available to take an active part in village administration (within the leading families as well). This was also partly related to increasing education and contact with non-Indians.

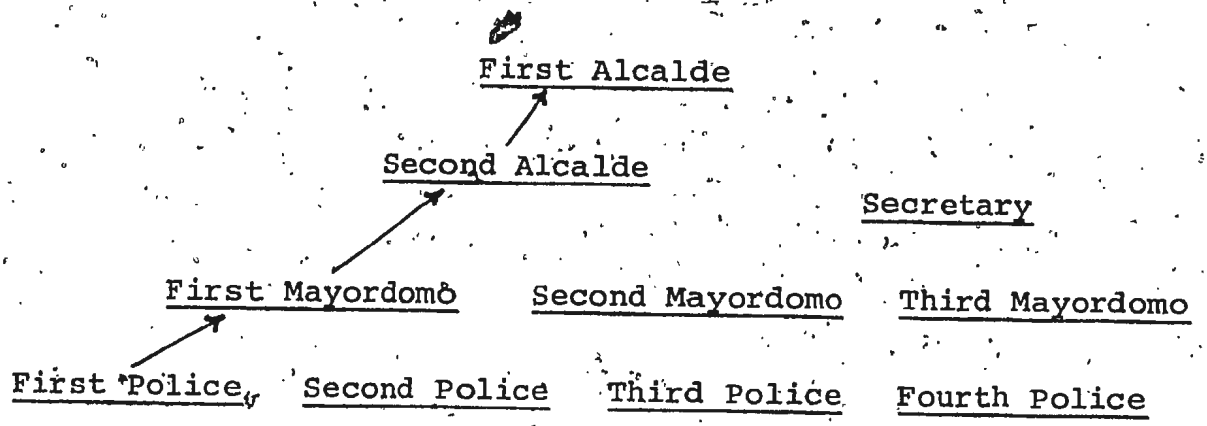

Diagram 15: Village Officers, Hierarchy and Ideal of Succession

During the late 1950's it became the practice for all young men to serve at least once as village policemen and that from among these men some would be chosen to serve as second alcalde. Eventually, it became the practice for the first alcalde to be chosen from among those who had served as second alcaldes. This system became more rigid as the village became larger and more complex and as the senior members of

the village finished serving as village officers. Now a normative ideal exists which, simply stated, specifies that "everyone serves as alcalde." In actuality, though, this is not the case. Although the number of people serving in various positions has increased, basically, the same group within the community retained control of the higher offices. So, while all young men served as police, they were arranged in a hierarchy from 'first police' to 'fourth police' and a person serving as first police usually was from one of the leading families. Generally, only the first police are considered eligable to serve in a higher office.

The decisions regarding who will serve in which position comes from two, somewhat overlapping, sources (which will be discussed at greater length in the following chapters). First, there are the Villanuevas and those closely allied with them. Second, there is a 'council of elder' (an informal council) which has a good deal to say in many village affairs. However, the elders who seem to carry the most weight politically tend to be those closely tied to the Villanuevas.

There is one office, in addition to the first alcalde, which is of some importance in the community. This is the village secretary. However, the village secretary has never possessed the power that such secretaries do in many other Indian communities due to their role as "cultural brokers."(10) This is due to the fact that the secretaries in Pueblo Viejo have either been non-Indian teachers, with a limited interest in the community (the possible spoils for them are quite meagre

as compared with the situations in some other instances), or Indians who were in no position to wield much political power through exploitation of their "niche" due to age or social ties. Before 1952 the teachers in San Antonio served as secretaries for Pueblo Viejo. In 1952 a school was built in Pueblo Viejo and the local teacher began serving as secretary. His duties entailed keeping the alcalde's record books when requested to do so. The teachers did not try to use the office for political or economic gain as their position in the village always tended to be a bit tenuous. In 1960 the first Indian secretary was elected. Since that time the role of secretary has expanded or contracted according to the incumbent. The office in general has become more important since the local administration now has more affairs with other levels of the government. The office itself has become more integrated into the overall village administrative structure.

The office of secretary became potentially more important when held by an Indian since only a few had the skills required of the office and the duties began to involve dealing closely with politically important village affairs. This potential was kept in check, however, since the early village secretaries were closely allied with one of the leading families in the village. Thus, they were unable to act too independently. The importance of the village secretary has decreased in recent years since there are now increasing numbers of people who can read and write and who possess the social qualifications for office. Three men served as secretary

until recently: Apolonio Sho, Rafael Coc, and Nicasio Coc. All were from San Antonio and dependent upon important village families for their statuses. In 1970 and 1972 Gonzalo Choc served as village secretary. Although he comes from an important family (he is Eusebio Choc's oldest son) he lacks the seniority at present to have much political power.

The position of mayordomo (caretaker for the church) has never been politically important.(11) It is now considered proper for the second alcalde to have first served as mayordomo, but so far this rule is little adhered to.

Since much of the authority and power in the village is held by the older members of the community (who held offices in the mid-1950's), by close associates of the Villanuevas and the Villanuevas themselves, and by the heads of influential families in general, the authority of the alcalde today has lessened due to its close identification with the personal power and authority of its incumbent. Also, factionalism in the village has become more widespread and complex and it is harder now for the alcalde to settle disputes (especially in a way that will not leave one of those involved angry with him). The older alcaldes were aided in settling disputes by the greater degree of village homogeneity and by greater personal power and authority. Thus, it was easier for them to achieve consensus. The role of the first alcalde has moved more and more into the realm of administration as a result of these many changes and has become politically less important. It has also become less popular to serve and it is more common now for young men to be

asked to become first alcalde. The alcalde now appears to be more of a judge than a village leader, while in the past he tended to be both.

Present Government Structure and Duties of Office Holders

At present there are ten administrative offices in the village (see Diagram 15), discounting the village council. The first alcalde serves as judge and "mayor," the second alcalde as an assistant to the first alcalde and as chief of police, the secretary takes care of minutes of meetings and of general correspondence, the mayordomos are responsible for maintenance of the church and feeding the priest, and the police serve as deputies of the alcalde and keepers of the peace. The positions are held for one year, beginning the first of January. Elections are generally held during fagina (cleaning the village) in November of each year. The election is held during the middle of fagina to encourage full attendance, since attendance at the fagina is mandatory for all males over seventeen. At the meeting, the alcalde will ask the older men who the new alcalde should be. Generally there is only one nomination, as the possibilities have been discussed among the more important members of the community for several months and a decision has usually already been reached. To be elected, however, the nominee must be present at the meeting, and on occasion someone who knows that he will be nominated and who does not want to be elected may decide not to be present.

The election is only a formality, and the person nominated

is the one who is elected. Should a person try and get out of election by non-attendance pressure will be put on him and the next year he will probably serve. There is actually little choice in the matter of selection since the new first alcalde must come from among the former second alcaldes and should not be someone who has served as first alcalde before (though at times senior members of the village are asked to serve again). In practice then, there are only a few eligible men, and if not chosen this year the other former second alcaldes will eventually have to serve, unless they move.

During the last five or six weeks of the year the newly elected (though not yet installed) alcalde will name the person that he wishes to serve as his second alcalde. Such a choice is generally made in consultation with the more influential members of the community and the person nominated is expected to serve. The second alcalde must have served as a police (usually as first police) and theoretically as first mayordomo (though this is often not the case). Since the second alcalde should come from among those who have served previously as first police, there is usually little choice in the matter.

Once someone has been found to serve as second alcalde, the first and second alcaldes, in consultation with others, decide on who they wish to be their first police. This decision is carefully made since chances are good that the person selected will end up serving as first alcalde some day. Again, this person must serve once selected, or he is locked in the cabildo (town hall and jail) until he agrees to serve. It is

often difficult to find someone readily willing to serve as first policeman since the first police must lead the other police and do much of the more hazardous work: the job can be somewhat dangerous, especially when making arrests. The other three police are chosen in early January.

On the same day day as the election for first alcalde the first mayordomo is also elected. The first mayordomo chooses his second mayordomo in consultation with the more important members of the village. Generally there is little resistance to serving in either of these offices since the positions carry few responsibilities and make few enemies. They are the only offices which may be refused since people do not want a mayordomo who will not do a good job. The third mayordomo (chinam) should be a respected member of the community and the position carries a fair amount of prestige since the officer handles the church fund. However, as in all cases of handling public money, it also entails potential pitfalls and the office holder must be very careful to avoid suspicion that he is mis-using the money.

The newly elected alcalde will not begin to serve until the first of January when the old alcalde gives him the 'stick of office' (the 'bashton') and the former second alcalde gives his replacement his 'stick of office' (the 'barra' a shorter stick). The former police give their replacements their "billy-clubs" and the old mayordomo gives his counterpart the church keys. During late November and December the old alcalde makes an effort not to involve himself in any more cases, leaving

them for the next alcalde. A common ploy is to tell the complainee to go see the new alcalde. Then the new alcalde will tell the person that he has not taken up his office yet and that he or she should go see the old alcalde again. As a result, the case may be put off until January and the old alcalde avoids the risk of making any more enemies.

Generally, it is the alcalde's duty to enforce the laws of British Honduras and the customary laws of the village. However, the alcalde usually will not act unless someone has filed a complaint, and even then the tendency is to give the offender a warning unless the offense is particularly serious or the offender has a particularly bad record. Once the alcalde has decided to act, he will call 'his' court into session at the cabildo and will have the police summon all parties involved. Within the village there is no means of appeal for the alcalde's decision. If the plaintiff or defendant disagrees he has the right to appeal to the District Officer in Punta Gorda, but such appeals are very rare and other villagers tend to consider this improper behaviour.

Use of police and government officers from Punta Gorda by the alcalde is becoming more common. Should a person refuse to appear in court or to pay a fine the alcalde may eventually call on the government police for assistance. This may occur after the alcalde has tried for a long time (sometimes a year or more) to get the person to comply with his decision.

For cases handled locally, the alcalde is empowered to

issue fines of up to twenty-five dollars for each offense. The amount of the fine is largely determined by a combination of considerations: by tradition, by the offender's past history, and by how the persons involved behave in court. Improper conduct in court always brings a stiff fine and on a few occasions the plaintiff has been fined more for improper behaviour in court than the guilty party for the original offense.

How strictly the laws are enforced varies somewhat from alcalde to alcalde. A good deal of descretion must be used by all alcaldes since they do not wish to make additional enemies. Thus, the alcalde must take special care that he acts properly in a case involving his own kin and compadres. From an examination of court records, there appears to be little favouritism in the cases, though a blatant case did occur in a neighbouring village in 1972. It should not be implied that favouritism does not occur-- it does. The alcalde has a fair amount of leeway in deciding upon whether he will hear a case and there is some reluctance to ask an alcalde to bring a close relative to court. There was one case in which the alcalde's father-in-law hit him while somewhat drunk and then proceeded to provoke a fight with several other people by using insulting language. After being hit, the alcalde left the scene to try and avoid becoming involved in the trouble and no complaint was ever issued. Informally, the alcalde's social relations with his father-in-law were "cooled" by this incident and other pressures were brought to bear on the father-in-law to try and avoid a repeat of his actions.

The alcalde faces a difficulty in assessing fines. Although tradition largely establishes the amount of the fine, the alcalde is often personally blamed by the guilty party and his kin for issuing the fine-- even in cases of obvious guilt. The wife of a man who has been fined often gets quite upset since the loss of income may mean that she and their children will have to do without some "necessities" over the year. Some alcaldes do not try very hard to collect the fines that they have imposed, although it is their duty to do so, preferring to let the next alcalde try and collect them.

The alcalde must call meetings from time to time to discuss and explain various village affairs and government directives. However, the village council has taken over much of this responsibility in recent years. The alcalde must also decide when to call fagina. This is the cleaning of the village and, although the approximate times for it are established by tradition, it is the alcalde's duty to determine exactly when the 'bush' is high enough to warrant cutting. Fagina is usually called four times a year and it also serves as a time for holding public meetings. All men over seventeen must attend the fagina: those who do not are fined $1.50.

The alcalde has other administrative duties. He is responsible for collecting fines from children's parents when the children have missed school without an excuse. The fines are reported to the alcalde by the teacher at the end of the month and they amount to 10¢ per day and 5¢ per half day. The alcalde is also responsible at funerals for mobilizing people to build

a coffin and to organize the funeral proceedings. The alcalde also has a few duties relating to the national government. He may be required to provide transportation for government officials traveling in the area (for which he is reimbursed), and he collects fees from Guatemalan traders entering British Honduras through Pueblo Viejo. In the past he collected residency fees for the village reserve, for which he was given an 8% commission (providing him $12 to $15 a year).

Should outsiders wish to 'make plantation' and settle in the village they must ask the alcalde. He will then hold a meeting in which the person in question petitions to be allowed to settle in the village. Though the entire village may attend the meeting, it is up to the alcalde to make the final decision (in consultation with others). There is usually no problem in allowing a person to settle in the community since there is presently adequate usable land. Should the newcomer prove to be an undesirable resident, the alcalde will call another meeting to decide whether the person should be allowed to remain in the village. If the person is deemed undesirable (this is usually decided before the meeting is called), he will be told to leave the village. This has happened a few times in Pueblo Viejo and there are several Indians around the district who have been told to leave several villages. More established members of the village, or those with strong personal ties, seem never to be asked to leave, even though they may cause considerable trouble. In many instances informal pressure has a good deal to do with a person leaving the village,

without formally being told to do so.

The alcalde and all of the other village officers are paid a salary. The first alcalde is paid six dollars a month plus expenses for travel related to his duty. The second alcalde is paid three dollars a month. The police are each paid five dollars a year. All of the officers are at times eligible for extra wages by performing special duties. The alcalde will usually not plant too large a crop due to the extra work entailed by his office.

The second alcalde serves as an assistant alcalde and takes over for the first alcalde in his absence. For example, once the first alcalde was away in Punta Gorda selling rice when a baby died. It is customary to bury the dead as soon as possible, so the second alcalde organized the funeral and got his kin to build a casket. The second alcalde also serves as chief of police.

The village police serve both as police and as messengers for the alcalde. They notify people of meetings, faginas, and issue summonses (the actual beginning of a meeting is indicated by the alcalde blowing on a large conch shell). The police guard the cabildo when someone is locked up. It is the duty of the first police to literally lead the other police in all endeavours. When issuing a summons or making an arrest it is the first police who must first enter the person's house-- at times a dangerous undertaking. During fiestas the police, and the government police now, maintain order, though at times they are not too successful since drunken individuals sometimes

try and provoke fights with the police.

The mayordomos have few duties. The first and second mayodomo must keep the church swept and once or twice a week inspect it. They must also feed the priest when he comes to say Mass once a month (they alternate doing this). Most of their work comes during Easter and Christmas when the first mayordomo must get men to help gather flowers and palm leaves, make a 'house' for the santo, and to clean up afterwords. The third mayordomo, or chinam, keeps the money from the church fund. The chinam is a relatively new position in Pueblo Viejo, the first one serving in 1969, and he lacks the importance of chinams in many other Toledo District Indian communities.

The secretary has been dealt with earlier in the chapter. In general, his only duty is to keep the record books and to write letters. Due to his education and status in the community the secretary is at times able to take an active part in village affairs beyond these few duties.(12)

Conclusion

Since the 1930's the administrative structure of Pueblo Viejo has changed considerably. It has evolved from a system of one-man rule with few offices to an increasingly complex one with a hierarchy of offices. Changes have also occured in the functions of these offices in village society. These changes have been the result of both internal and external factors. Internally, the changes have largely been the result of an increasing population and increasing heterogeneity and

factionalism in the community. Since the village administration is part of a national governmental structure it is also subject to certain external pressures from the national government (and the ruling People's United Party) and agencies associated with it.

Although the Indian villages in the Toledo District are somewhat isolated and they tend to be "closed corporate communities" in their dealings with non-Indians, they are not entirely impermiable to outside influences and pressures.(13) The Indian communities must accept national laws and decisions, up to a point. However, they are often only affected by these forces and decrees on a superficial level, due to the degree of physical and cultural isolation that does exist.

What has resulted from these outside forces and pressures and the resultant changes is a form of political syncretism.(14) The Indians accept the culturally alien ideas and forms of administration that the government imposes, but what results is not exactly what the government had envisaged. The result is a form of government with certain structural features that the government has told the Indians they must accept, which is highly imbued with Indian values and culture and is subject to local considerations of political power.

One of the national government's main goals has been to democratize the Indian communities.(15) The government apparently is trying to do this by changing the administrative structure of the Indian communities (e.g. through the Inferior Court Ordinance and implementation of village councils) to

approximate institutions in other parts (and cultures) of the country. In practice, a new form of administration has evolved, but much of the old cultural ideas and non-democratic ways remain. Some democratization of the Indian communities has occured, but this seems to be as much, or more, due to internal factors as to external government intervention.(16)

Part of the difficulty with the government's attempt at democratization is due to their trying to bring about profound political change by causing changes primarily in the administrative sector. If the overall political structure (or governmental structure) were closely integrated with the system of administration such changes might be possible. However, this does not seem to be the case in Pueblo Viejo. Political power in the community is not vested in the administrative offices--only authority relating to the performance of certain administrative duties is, and it seems very doubtful that democratization of Indian political life will occur without democratizing the sources of political power.(17)

When Diego Villanueva was alcalde it might have appeared that the office of alcalde wielded political power and that it was closely related to the Indians' undemocratic ways, but it was not the office of alcalde where the power lay, it was with Diego Villanueva and his power came from other sources (which will be discussed in the following chapters). Presently the office of alcalde implies very little power, because those in that office hold little power. These people have vested authority to impose fines or call meetings, but they lack

political power. The alcaldes do not make political policy at present and they do not now represent the village in the way that Diego Villanueva did in the past.(18)

Footnotes

1. See the next part of the chapter for a detailed description of the alcalde's duties. For Mesoamerica in general see F. Cancian (1967). K.H. Silvert (1954) deals in detail with the structure and functioning of local-level government in Guatemala.

2. C.H. Grant (1967,p.62).

3. C.H. Grant (1967,p.62).

4. D. Carr and J. Thrope (1961,p.124).

5. J.E.S. Thompson (1930,p.78). This data applies mainly to San Antonio which, due in part to its size, is somewhat different.

6. This will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 9. See R. Redfield and A. Villa R. (1962) and V. Goldkind (1966).

7. C.H. Grant (1967,p.64).

8. Much of the analysis in this chapter is drawn from M.G. Smith (1956) and (1960). Smith writes that government ("the management, direction and control of the public affairs of a given social group or unit," 1960,p.15) has two essential components-- political and administrative activities. "Political decisions having been made, their execution or translation into effect proceeds by administrative action." Smith sees political action as being related to "power relations, competition, coalition, compromise..." and administration as being related to "authority and authorized relations, order, obligations, and rights." "Thus power characterizes political action, authority characterizes administrative action," (1960, p.18-19).

Smith also states that political action is segmentary by nature and that administrative action is hierarchical (1956). He chooses to distinguish political systems (governments) in terms of the extent to which they vary in degree of differentiation and form of association of these two features. This is to replace a typology of segmentary and centralized state societies (see M. Fortes and E.E. Evans-Pritchard, 1940) with a continuum. He is criticized for this approach by D. Easton (1959,p.226-227), who prefers a typology of "primitive" and

"modern' political systems. As can be seen from the study of government in Pueblo Viejo, the village's government has changed in terms of differentiation and form of political and administrative action. This differentiation has increased since the 1940's. The form of government in Pueblo Viejo has evolved along a continuum toward a differentiated (segmentary) form of administration and political action from one in which the two were closely centralized.

9. For more information on the "step-ladder" or "civil-religious" hierarchies in Mesoamerican Indian communities see F. Cancian (1967) and P. Carrasco (1961).

10. H. Siverts (1971,p.390-393) deals with the political role of the village secretary (a ladino) in an Indian community in Chiapas.

11. The mayordomos are caretakers of the church and are responsible for organizing certain religious celebrations. See F. Cancian (1965) and (1967). It is common in Pueblo Viejo to refer to fiesta sponsors as mayordomos as well.

12. See Appendix A for a list of village officers.

13. Pueblo Viejo is a "closed corporate community" in that it maintains a body of rights and has possessions, it puts pressure on members to redistribute their surpluses within the community (to some extent), and certain privileges are reserved for villagers, membership being by petition to the village as a whole. See E.R. Wolf (1957,p.1-2).

14. H.G. Barnett (1953,p.49) defines syncretism as the "conscious adoption" of alien forms of ideas in terms of some indigenous counterpart. The literature on religious syncretism among the Indians of Mesoamerica is fairly extensive and it indicates the great tenacity of the Mayan's cultural norms. See W. Madsen (1967).

15. Democratic will roughly be defined as giving all adults equal rights and privileges and a voice in government. It is also the absence of hereditary or arbitrary class distinctions.

16. The persistence of non-democratic ways among the Indians will be dealt with more fully in the following chapters.

17. These sources of political power will be dealt with at greater length in Chapter 9.

18. See P.C. Lloyd (1969,p.73-74). He states that "Policy is made by a group...whom we may call the political elite." Policy making requires political power and legitimacy as well as a means to put it into effect (administration).

Chapter 7

The Village Council

Introduction

> The P.U.P. Government believes that democracy should reach down deep to all the people and will therefore encourage the development of Village Councils.(1)

Since the mid-1960's the government of British Honduras has been introducing village councils to the Indian communities in the Toledo District as part of a program to "socially develop" these communities. This program is closely tied to the government's desire to more fully integrate and equalize the nation's jural and administrative system. Also included in this plan is the eventual replacement of the alcalde, and associated offices, by national police and courts.

After an initial period of resistance, the councils have gradually been accepted by the Indians, though the form, as will be demonstrated, differs from that envisioned by the national government. The government's plan to eventually replace the alcaldes has met with much less success. The Indians tend to look upon the alcalde as a symbol of their relative autonomy and ethnic identity. Due to this they have resisted efforts to do away completely with the alcaldes. However, as with most government programs, the Indians slowly seem to be making adjustments to the changes. In some villages, such as Pueblo

Viejo and San Antonio, the political activity seems to have shifted to the village councils as the traditional leaders in the community assume positions in the council. The old leaders seem to realize that in order to maintain their positions in the community they must change with their social environment.

The government administrators' views of the role and functioning of the village councils appear to be different from the way the Indians conceive of them.(2) The government's view of the village councils is based largely upon an English model of how councils operate in England.(3) In fact, they often use English films on councils to demonstrate the workings of the latter to Indians. The councils are supposed "to encourage and assist cooperative efforts among the members in the village for economic and social purposes and for the welfare of the people in any manner."(4) The councils also are to operate Community Centres and to sponsor "practical programmes for adult education, community self-help improvement, handicraft development, home economics, and civic teaching."(5) A similar inventory of services are promulgated by English town councils.(6)

Through these councils it is also hoped that a more participatory form of democracy will be encouraged in the Indian communities. Thus, it is hoped that a basic change will take place in Indian political life through the council apparatus. The introduction of English-type councils to a colonial and culturally dissimilar people to encourage political change is not a new phenomenon. Indeed, for the past few decades colonial administrators in British colonies in Africa have been promoting

British municipal organization. Audrey Richards in her work among the Bemba of northern Zambia has tried to analyse the introduction of councils in Bemba culture. She found that:

> Both types of authority, European and African, had obviously different ideas as to how a local council should be composed and what it should do. The traditional councils had...multiple functions. British colonial authorities, in contrast, tried to define very carefully the powers of the different councils ...they also tried in time to seperate judicial courts from local government bodies. The priorities of both types of administration were also quite different. Colonial officers judged the success of a local council in terms of the welfare activities it undertook, the speed with which it acted, and its skill and probity in handling its budget. The traditional council seems to have put first its duty to settle disputes.
>
> The right of attending meetings in most traditional societies depends, not on the choice of the community as a whole, but on hereditary descent, membership of a kinship, territorial or occupational group, and usually on account of age and status in that group. (7)

As can be seen from the above quotation, Bemba ideas about councils were quite different from those of the English administrators. The Bemba councils had different functions and membership was not necessarily in line with the desires of the colonial administrators. To have the Bemba operate councils as the English would have them would probably require considerable change in Bemba culture and social structure. This not occuring, it is quite likely that the resultant council system will only vaguely resemble the English model and that Bemba ideas regarding the council's function, administration, and membership will continue to be quite pronounced. To understand the form of council that will be produced under such circumstances requires an understanding of the indigenous

form of council, if any, and other relevant social and cultural variables, such as norms of seniority, that might effect the evolution of council form. It is also important to take into account the power and ability of the administrators to impose their will on the subject society. In the case of many colonial situations a good deal of selection is left to the colonial society due to their relative isolation and autonomy. (8)

Councils exist, or existed, among many of the Mayan societies in the form of organized groups of elders (principales). Such groups did not exist among all Mayan societies, and in those societies in which such groups do or did exist there appears to be some variation as to how membership is achieved and the spheres of activity and authority of the elders. (9) The political role and authority of the Maya principales in a way approximates Weber's description of the ideal type of "gerontocracy," for principales and other members of the society share certain equal rights in a corporate group within which authority is exercised and role expectations are primarily defined through common membership rights and secondarily through seniority. (10) In this respect they also resemble the elders in some African societies possessing "age-grades." (11) In such societies status is determined to some extent by seniority and tempered sometimes by considerations of heredity. (12)

In the Mayan societies the status of principal is based upon other criteria, in addition to age (e.g., serving in a variety of civic offices known as cargos). In this way status as a principal is limited to only a portion of the

senior members of the community. As was seen in the last chapter, although all men serve as village police in Pueblo Viejo, only a few become first alcalde. This seems to be true in many Mayan communities, especially the larger ones.(13) Wealth and success in farming may be a prerequisite for holding village offices (passing cargos) which enable a man to become a principal. However, further criteria are also often important in becoming a principal. A criterion that seems to be prominent in many Mayan societies is membership in certain leading families (patrilines) in the community which maintain a monopoly on political power and the access to village offices, civil and religious. In such societies one must pass through certain cargos to achieve the status of principal and passage through these cargos, and thus status as a principal, is open to only a few on a hereditary basis. Accordingly, only senior members of the leading families attain the status of principal.(14)

The role of the principal in different Mayan societies varies. In some, such as among the Quiche of Chichicastenango and the Mam of Todos Santos Cuchumatan (both in Guatemala), the principales are involved in, and seem to have a great deal of authority in, both civil and religious matters.(15) In others, such as among the Chontal and Chol, the principales only have authority and concern themselves with religious affairs and civil matters are entirely left to the municipal authorities.(16) Between these two extremes there is a fair amount of variation regarding the degree of involvement and

authority of the principales in civil affairs. Also, it is important that the role of the principales should not be treated as static in any society. (17)

In societies where the principales serve as a community council, councillar behaviour tends not to be very democratic from the point of view of the community as a whole. Generally, these men will either make decisions among themselves or they may consult with the heads of other families. Their authority is usually derived from their seniority, possibly their community service, their knowlege of traditional law or ritual, and possibly from family status within the village. In societies where principal status is closely associated with the authority and power of dominant patrilines or families it may be expected that the degree of participatory democracy will be quite limited. (18)

A formally organized and designated group of principales does not exist in Pueblo Viejo. However, on an informal level a number of senior members of the community do function as a decision-making body and do hold authority in certain spheres. These principales in the community tend to be those who have served as first alcalde and who are also senior members of the more important families, or senior members of families closely allied with the most prominent patrilines in the village. Being an older member of a family closely allied with the important patrilines does not imply principal status. Elder members of some of the families closely allied with the Villanuevas do not act as principales. The preceeding only allows for the

potentiality of becoming a principal. The individual's personal interest in actively pursuing the role open to him is necessary to convert the potentiality into fact, and not all potential principales choose to attain that status. Thus, age alone does not determine principal status. Only those with the proper social background can attain this status and of these, only those who desire to achieve the status will.(19)

In deciding who will be the first alcalde each year, most of the villagers discuss the possible candidates, but it is a few of the senior members of the village who decide. They discuss the possibilities among themselves for a few months, weighing the qualifications of the possible candidates and thinking of the kind of man needed that year. A little before the election they have usually arrived at a decision. On election day the incumbent first alcalde asks one of the senior men who the next alcalde is to be. The man named, if he is present, then becomes the next alcalde.

In 1971 Simeon Choc had been first alcalde. It had been a difficult year and Simeon Choc had not been a very strong alcalde. In the process, he had left several uncollected fines as well. As a result, the principales decided that a stricter person was needed for 1972 to calm the situation and to collect the fines. Augustin Cal was considered as a prime candidate and Leocardio Shal as an alternative. On the day of the election, Augustin Cal chose not to appear since he did not want to be alcalde at this time (possibly preferring to wait for a less demanding term). Marto Cal was asked for the nomination

and he named Leocardio Shal. Leocardio was considered a good choice since he had a good record for strict law enforcement when he was second alcalde. In making the decision on the nomination for first alcalde only a few men were involved (a dozen at most) and everyone agreed with their decision, because they had the right to choose.

Usually in Pueblo Viejo policy decisions are made by a limited number of people who gain their authority from personal or lineage seniority and civic service. Their power is enhanced by the manipulation of personal networks. Thus, their authority to make decisions is reinforced by significant personal ties which are widely distributed.(20) Marto Cal, for example, is a member of a fairly old family in the village (since the mid-1940's). Closely allied with the Villanuevas, he has a reputation as a person of sound judgement and pleasant personality, and in addition he has an extensive network of kin and compadres. He also takes an active part in the village's civic life. Thus, he has the requirements to become a principal (he served as first alcalde in 1966), the desire to become one, and the social network to back him up.

Marto Cal is not a village leader though, in the sense that Rafael Villanueva is. He does not act as independently as Rafael, but rather acts in counsel with others of his status. Thus, when he nominated Leocardio Shal for the alcaldeship, he did not do this on his own, but as a spokesman for the other principales. To criticize his decision is to criticize the principales and their normative basis of authority. It has

been shown then that Pueblo Viejo does possess a traditional informal council; that this council is recruited by age, service and heredity; that the council is involved in political matters; and that the council does not arrive at decisions through consultations with the population at large.

Development of the Village Council in Pueblo Viejo

The first official village council in Pueblo Viejo was formed in 1966. The government had been trying to introduce councils to the Indians and a few people decided to begin one in Pueblo Viejo. There was considerable ambiguity as to what the role of the village council was to be. The government had not been precise in outlining the intended functions of the councils. It was recognized by the Indians that the council was to take care of the general welfare of the community, but this was rather vague and open to interpretation. Also, they had been told that the village council would eventually replace the alcálde. But, as to how and when, this does not appear to have been made very clear.

It appears that the first village council was not taken very seriously by many of the villagers, and especially by the leaders. It is significant that none of the village's senior leaders were on this council. The two people who most desired to have a council were Nicásio Coc and Calistro Boi. Both of these men were recent immigrants from San Antonio. Nicasio had married into the Villanueva family. The other

members of the council were all junior members of older, better established families. Nicasio and Calistro saw the creation of a village council as the opening of a new "niche" which, due in part to its functional ambiguity, might allow them to manoeuvre for political power and influence.

First Council, 1966-67:
Chairman- Nicasio Coc
Vice Chairman- Gregorio Villanueva
Secretary- Calistro Bol
other mambers- Sefarino Coc, Patricinio Shal, Panfilo Choc, Bernadino Choc

Second Council, 1968-69:
Chairman- Gregorio Villanueva
Vice Chairman- Roberto Villanueva
Secretary- Nicasio Coc
other members- Eusebio Choc, Felipe Shal, Bernadino Choc, Panfilo Choc

No council, 1970-71

Third Council, 1972-73:
Chairman- Rafael Villanueva
Vice Chairman- Eusebio Choc
Secretary- Apolonio Sho
other members- Merigildo Coc, Sefarino Coc, Marto Cal, Prudencio Coc

Table 1
Village Council Officers

Nicasio Coc and Calistro Bol were both well educated and could read and write English. In this respect, and in their desire to bring about social and economic change in the village, they resembled an earlier immigrant from San Antonio, Apolonio Sho (who also married a Villanueva). However, Apolonio was much more cautious. He had a much more senior status in the village and a wide personal network of kin and compadre

for support which he had built up over many years. Apolonio, however, chose at this time not to become involved in the village council. Nicasio Coc and Calistro Bol were interested in bringing social change to the village, but because of their statuses in the village they would probably not have been able to have any influence through traditional channels for years. The village council appeared to them to be the only means open for achieving their goals.

Since the council was new and was not taken too seriously by the traditional village leaders, the chairmanship was open to Nicasio Coc. The village leaders did not, at this time, consider the chairmanship of the village council as particularly important or threatening. Calistro Bol was made secretary because he wanted the position and because he could speak and write English well. The principal problem for these two men, and the reason for their eventual failure, was that though they held an administrative office, the office lacked much local authority and the men had little individual power to exploit it. These men had no seniority and had not served in civic offices (Nicasio had been village secretary, but this is not integrated into the cargo system so as to count toward becoming a principal) and they thus lacked legitimacy for expansive political manoeuvering. They also lacked the power that is derived from the development of strong and extensive personal networks over time. Calistro Bol had almost no strong ties in the community. Nicasio Coc had married a Villanueva, but his personal network had been little extended or strengthened beyond

his in-laws. Thus, these two could make decisions, but they could not ensure that they would be agreed to by the other villagers.

During 1966, Calistro Bol was involved in a feud with several other villagers, including one of the village's senior residents and his sons. In March, this man (drunk at the time) fired several shots at Calistro's house and insulted him. In May, Calistro got into a fight with the son of this same man and later he also threatened another man, who had tried to break up the fight. In September, Calistro fired a few shots at yet another of the man's son's house. This feud continued until the time when Calistro left the village. Such disputes as this, and Calistro's choice of friends (e.g., others like himself who had few strong ties in the community) did not place him in an influential position in the village. As a result, he remained socially rather marginal, instead of trying to strengthen his position in the village. Nicasio Coc did not get into as many disputes as Calistro Bol, but he also did not try to expand his personal network in a way that would augment his power in the village. Neither of these men tried to build a strong base of political power in the village by traditional means. Their only resource was their education.

It was not clear what the village council's rights and functions were to be, so the members had some latitude in deciding what they were to do. Since they had been told that the village council was to eventually replace the alcalde, Nicasio Coc and Calistro Bol began interferring with the duties

of the alcalde. They started going to the alcalde's court and trying to reduce fines that they thought were too high. The alcalde at the time, Marto Cal, did not feel that they had the right to do this, so he had a letter written to the District Officer asking if the village council members had the right to interfere with his cases. The District Officer replied that, at that time, council members had no such right.

Such interference with the alcalde did not endear the village council to the traditional leadership. The leaders began to view the village council as a potential threat to their prominence. Since it now appeared that the village council was going to be a permanent feature of village life, the leaders decided that to insure their preeminence they had better have more control of the council.

It should be noted that the first village council did not operate in a very democratic fashion. Calistro Bol and Nicasio Coc locked the cabildo door when the council had its meetings so that only council members could attend. Some of the villagers resented this and once someone started shooting rocks at the cabildo during a meeting with a sling-shot. Consultation with other members of the village, even lineage heads and traditional leaders, was rarely considered in making decisions. Thus, there was no competition between the undemocratic ways of the traditional village leaders and a new participatory democracy, but rather it was between which clique should make decisions for the village.

The traditional village leaders took a much more active

role in the second village council (1968-69). Calistro Bol had left the village and returned to San Antonio. Nicasio Coc was made secretary, rather than chairman. In his place, Gregorio Villanueva, son of Roberto Villanueva, was made chairman. The most important membership changes were that Eusebio Choc and Roberto Villanueva became council members. Thus, two of the village's most significant leaders took up positions on the council.

The second village council did not function very well. There were frequent arguments between the council members. Nicasio Coc did not get on well with several of the members, since he had his own ideas of how the council should operate and what its function was.(21) Among other members there were disputes as well. These tended to be related to factionalism and to personal quarrels. Thus, Roberto Villanueva did not get along well with his son, Gregorio, or with Eusebio Choc. Due to the continual arguing among the members only a few council meetings were held after the first six months. By the end of 1968 the council had virtually ceased to function. The council completely disentigrated when the chairman, Gregorio Villanueva, was murdered in August of 1969. The murder was not directly related to councillar activities, but to factional disputes in the community.(22) After the murder, Nicasio Coc returned to San Antonio (this was partly prompted by his wife's illness) and several other families moved away. The already extant factions within the community became even more divided and the resultant severe "vertical" cleavages in

the village made forming another village council impossible. In 1970 and 1971 there was no village council.

In 1969 the Social Development Office issued a revised constitution and rules for the village councils.(23) This helped somewhat to clarify the role of the village council. Also, the pace of economic development had picked up in the Toledo District since 1969. This was due in part to a change in District Representatives. Originally the Representative for Toledo District North (the district which includes Pueblo Viejo) had been an Independent. This meant that the P.U.P. controlled government had spent government funds in other parts of the country, rather than in the Toledo District. In 1969 the P.U.P. candidate for Representative was elected. Since his election the government has been willing to spend much more money in the district than in the past. In a speech delivered in Monkey River, the new Representative, Alejandro Vernon, listed some of the developments that have taken place since his election:

> Let us briefly assess the performance during the past year and six months of political office. We see assistance given to Alcaldes to build Cabildos in Santa Elena, San Jose, and San Pedro Columbia. Small loans to farmers. Contributions to the new San Jose Church. The Columbia Rice-shed. The San Miguel cable bridge. Football gears to Santa Elena, Santa Cruz, Columbia and San Antonio, Pueblo Viejo and San Jose. Softball and Cricket gears to Monkey River and to Mafredi. Assistance to the 4-H Apollo Club. Water tanks to Pueblo Viejo, Columbia and San Jose. Streets in Columbia and San Antonio. The newly gravelled Pueblo Viejo road. The completion of the Southern Highway including the Swansea Bridge. The renovation of the Home-Economics house in San Antonio. The present construction of the Mafredi Community Centre. Contributions to Laguna, San Miguel

> and other villages for their fiestas and National Day celebrations...Then you shall be witness to the good things that will come...Electricity and Streets for San Antonio; Streets and a Nurse-Clinic for San Pedro Columbia; and innumerable other amenities for the villages. (24)

Essentially, this has meant that there is more for the village councils to do, more "spoils" to try and obtain, and more for council members (in addition to Mr. Vernon) to try and take credit for.

In late 1971 it was decided that Pueblo Viejo again was in need of a village council. By this time the hostility caused by the murder of Gregorio Villanueva had lessened (largely because many of those most closely associated with the affairs that led up to it had left). There were no well-educated immigrants in the village who wished to run the council this time. The established leadership decided to take control of the village council (e.g. some of the principales). Since Roberto Villanueva was the primary village leader, he was asked by the principales to become council chairman (now sometimes referred to as the 'village chairman'). However, the murder of his son and other disputes had caused Roberto to decide to leave the village. It was then decided by the principales to ask Rafael Villanueva to become the chairman. Rafael accepted the office.

The third village council was quite different from the preceeding councils. For the first time the traditional leadership of the community ran the council. In the first council they had taken no part and in the second they had only

been involved enough to check the activities of those they felt threatened by. Now the village leaders took over the active running of the village council. This meant that the village council was no longer an isolated institution with little impact on the political and social life of the village. It now became an integrated part of the village's administrative and political activities.

Although the village council now was more integrated into the political and administrative activities of the village, it had not superseded the alcaldeship. Instead, the two institutions had evolved along different lines and they now had seperate functions within the village. The alcaldeship became a more specialized office. Also, its functions had become almost completely administrative and void of much political activity. The alcalde had become a judge: he was now principally concerned with settling disputes, and political decisions (policy) were no longer made by the alcalde.

The administrative character of the alcaldeship had been present for a few years before 1972 and the village's political leaders had held no formal offices for several years. Political activity and policy decisions had for several years taken place entirely in noninstitutional settings-- in the form of casual meetings between the members of the political elite in groups of two or more to discuss various issues and pending decisions. However, in 1971 and 1972 political activity began to shift to the village council. With the increasing interaction between the village and external agencies and

administrators there was an increasing need for the village leaders to have administrative offices, to give them a more official standing that was recognizable to those not familiar with internal village politics and to act as spokesmen for the village to outsiders. Also, if they were to have control of the incoming spoils this control could be made more secure by controlling the village council.

With Rafael Villanueva as chairman, the third village council has functioned fairly well. Since he is the legitimate village leader he commands a good deal of authority and political power (though his power is certainly less than that formerly possessed by his father). He is also an effective chairman since he has been active in attempting to ease the ill-feelings between the village's two main factions. This has in part been possible since his daughter married one of Eusebio Choc's sons. As a result, the two leading families within these factions are now much less divided and village leadership is more united and pervasive. It is significant that Eusebio Choc is the village council's vice chairman.

Apolonio Sho is the present council secretary. From the village leaders' point of view this is an improvement since Apolonio can be considered as one of them, rather than as a possible threat as was Nicasio Coc. The other council members are all from families closely identified with the traditional leadership, though they tend not to be the senior members of these families.

The present council seems to operate much more efficiently

because there are no individuals or factions overtly trying to dominate it at the expense of the other members or who have quarrels with other council members. The chairman, Rafael Villanueva, wields considerable personal power and authority, but he allows other council members a voice in making decisions. Publicly the council acts as a unit. Like all previous councils, however, the present council's meetings are generally closed to the public.

Perhaps the most public example of the council's activities in 1972 was the National Day celebration, on September 10th. During 1972 there were no fiestas celebrated and the people missed these. In the past National Day had been a small affair, involving mainly the school-children. The Church usually provided sweets for the children and there was a small parade. In mid-1972 the village council found out that some money would be available from the government for the celebration. This turned out to be about $15. The year before Alejandro Vernon had given the village a few soft drinks and candies. This had gotten a few adults to attend, and it was hoped that with additional revenue the celebration could be larger.

The village council decided to try and collect additional money for the celebration from the villagers. They hoped that this plus the money from the government would allow them to purchase enough refreshments to encourage a large number of villagers to participate. Five cents was collected from each school-child and twenty-five cents from each adult male. Only

about fifteen people failed to contribute and about $11 was collected. Rafael Villanueva and Leocardio Shal went to Punta Gorda with the money and bought soft drinks, biscuits, cigarettes, and chewing gum for the celebration. The attendance for the celebration was quite large and the council members passed out the refreshments and ran the celebration. There was a parade, speeches by the council chairman and first alcalde, picture taking and marimba playing. There were no fights and no rum was served. The only difficulty was that a few were upset because one or two people attended the celebration who had not paid their twenty-five cents.

The National Day celebration was considered a big success and it enhanced the reputation of the village council. It proved that the council could accomplish something and that it could get the other villagers to cooperate. It is very doubtful that the other village councils could have succeeded in such an undertaking. The previous councils lacked the cohesiveness internally and the authority and political power externally to carry out such tasks. The present village council has also undertaken other tasks and has been especially active in petitioning the government for funds to build a Recreation Centre for the village. The council is now seen as an effective way to achieve certain kinds of public goals (or goals deemed best for the public by the elite) and has become a functioning part of the village's political structure.

Some Theoretical Considerations

The theoretical literature in anthropology dealing with local-level councils has mainly concerned itself with the decision-making process within councils. Little attention has been paid to the problem of implementing such decisions, or as to how implementation relates to the decision-making process. One of the earliest anthropological works to offer theoretical hypotheses concerning local councils was Frankenberg's Village on the Border, which dealt with a town council in Wales.(25) In this work Frankenberg hypothesized that open and prolonged conflict is discouraged, and generally avoided, in councils existing in communities where social relationships among the members are multiplex. Frankenberg explained this by stating that disagreements relating to council affairs could not be isolated and they would involve social relationships in other spheres.(26) Frankenberg seems to consider conflict as being contrary to normal behaviour in this instance.

Bailey criticizes Frankenberg's hypothesis and goes on to try and make hypotheses regarding the conditions under which council decisions will be made through consensus or by majority voting.(27) To understand the decision-making process, Bailey feels that it is necessary to examine the function ("task") of the council (e.g., policy-making or administrating), whether the councils are concerned with external or internal relationships ("structural position"), and whether

the councils are "elite" or "arena"-councils. (28) "Elite councils are those which are, or consider themselves to be (whether they admit it or not), a ruling oligarchy." Bailey feels that the dominant cleavage with such a council is horizontal-- with the oligarchy and the public being structurally opposed. An "arena" council is considered the opposite of this-- "in which members are representatives of various public segments." The dominant cleavage in this case is vertical. (29) Decisions by consensus, Bailey feels, tend to predominate when the councils have an administrative function, an elite position, or are concerned with external relationships. Majority voting is more likely when the council is concerned with policy-making, an arena council, or is concerned with internal relationships. (30)

Bailey does deal briefly with the problem of implementation of decisions as it relates to the decision-making process. He states that compromise may be important where a minority opposition may be able to block or hinder implementation. This, apparently, may be the case when the minority opposition is directly involved in implementing the decision, rather than a detached executive. (31)

Consideration of the traditional councils, Bailey indicates, may be necessary to understand the operation of modern ones. Especially when "people elected to positions of power on the new councils are also people who held power in the traditional councils." (32) However, mention is not made of the role that those who traditionally held power may play in

decision-making within the council even when they do not serve on the council.

Kuper analyzes and criticizes (modifies) Bailey's analysis of decision-making by councils by drawing on research done on councils in tribal Africa.(33) Kuper agrees with Bailey's division of councils into "arena" and "elite." However, he chooses to further divide the "arena" type of council into two subtypes: 1) the "community-in-council" or assembly, in which "all full members of the political community have the right to attend and participate in meetings," and 2) "arena councils which are distinct from their public...membership is more strictly limited."(34) He makes a further important point about "arena" councils when he says that "all arena councils, including communities-in-council, develop within themselves decision making elites. These elites are made up of spokesmen for interest groups within the broader political reference group."(35)

To understand the internal workings of a council Kuper also feels that it is necessary to understand certain features in the larger village society. He feels that "the principles by which membership of any council is fixed must be directly related to the forms of social differentiation in the society."(36) If this is true, then Kuper believes that this leads to a question of representation within the "arena" type councils. That is, how are the various vertically divided groups within the society represented, if they are.(37) Factional alliances are quite relevant here and they should effect decisions.

Kuper makes another point about the connection between the society as a whole and the council's activities when he hypothesizes that "the form of economic activity may influence council structure and behaviour."(38) For examples of this he cites Barnes' analysis of decision-making among Norwegian fishing crews and Bloch's analysis of Merina cooperatives in which the need for cooperation in rice growing is handled through a council.(39)

In addition to modifying Bailey's typology of councils, Kuper criticizes (mildly) Bailey's hypotheses concerning decision-making in councils. He feels that Bailey's division between decisions by majority vote and those by consensus is too neat and asks: "What indeed precisely constitutes a decision by consensus?"(40) Kuper goes on to state that Bailey neglects a third possible course of action which occurs frequently-- "the failure to take a decision, or the formulation of a merely ceremonial decision, or a decision which is ambiguous."(41)

Criticism is also made by Kuper of Bailey's catagories of council tasks (functions): administrative and policy-making. These, Kuper feels, are of too general a nature and they exclude some important tasks. He cites the fact that many tribal councils in Africa also deal with legal and ritual affairs and that such activities "impose a logic of their own on the decision-making process."(42)

The analysis of councillar activity by Kuper also touches on points that are relevant to criticism of Frankenberg's

hypothesis regarding the avoidance of open and prolonged conflict in councils due to the multiplex links of the members. Kuper finds that "sometimes the costs of not making a decision are so high that they override the pains of dividing a council or community that is very close-knit."(43) Kuper makes two final important points: 1) "The neatness of the opposition between elite and arena councils must not be allowed to obscure the subleties of lines of support and demand" (44) and 2) that the time factor is important in understanding decisions, in that "it may therefore be worthwhile to yield a point now in hope of winning a point later."(45)

Though Kuper succeeds in refining Bailey's hypotheses, some problems remain. Kuper has shown that the dividing line between "elite" and "arena" councils is not always too clear and that "arena" councils have the potentiality of becoming "elite" councils. He also demonstrated that members of "elite" councils may not always act in opposition to the public when it is in the interest of some members of the oligarchy to do so due to their lines of support.

The data from Pueblo Viejo seems to indicate that some further problems with this division exist. It seems that "elite" is also a rather ambiguous term. The first village council in Pueblo Viejo was certainly not an "arena" council, yet it does not seem to quite fit with Bailey's description of an "elite" council either. The members of the first Council did consider themselves as part of the ruling oligarchy, to a degree, in that they were either from the most influential

families or of the most educated. However, these people certainly were not the ruling oligarchy. Also, the members of this council were divided themselves vertically. Each of these factions within the council considered that their actions and interests were in the public's well-being. Rather than trying to act as a unified council, two members of the council sought to bypass the traditional leadership and to act as leaders in their own right by implementing some of their own programmes in certain spheres of activity. The village council in this case was used by a few "elitists" with little local political power as a platform to put forward some of their programmes with the aid of authority drawn from the national government and from the ambiguity of council functions. Decision-making in the case of this council is difficult to assess since in some instances members of the council acted without consultation of the other members.

An important point to remember when dealing with modern councils is that they are often specialized: much more so than traditional ones. Thus, a modern council may only deal with certain administrative actions, such as keeping the village clean and operating a Recreation Hall. It may be primarily interested in economic activities; such as is the case with an agricultural co-operative (which is certainly a form of council). Such councils may be primarily interested in fishing activities, as with a fishing co-operative, or with the growing of rice, like several of the co-operatives in the Toledo District. These are specialized activities that may have an

important effect on how the council acts and makes decisions.

If these modern councils are more specialized, then an important point to analyze is how and to what degree the councils are integrated into the community, and especially into the political and economic activities of the village. If the council is primarily concerned with agricultural activities, then, as Kuper pointed out, the council's activities may be effected by this. It should also be taken into consideration the role of the economic activity in the community. However, Kuper seems to take as given the relationship between economic activities in the community and the council. He also treats as given that "the principles by which membership of any council are fixed must be directly related to the forms of social differentiation in the society."(46) This does not seem to be a valid point. The relationship between the council and the society should be treated as problematical. While such a relationship may be true of most tribal councils, this is not necessarily the case with others. Especially when the council's role is quite specialized, or when the council is used as an attempt to attack the society's traditional forms of social differentiation.

In many of the societies in which councils have been recently introduced there already exists an older form of council. These traditional councils, as mentioned earlier, tend to be multi-functional and the newer ones tend to be more specialized. This seems to imply that the older council form is not necessarily replaced by the newer one since their functions may not overlap. It is also possible that the traditional

council may begin to operate in a less formal manner (this seems to be the case in some of the Toledo District's communities). Another possibility is that the two forms of council may be forced into competition in certain spheres, as was the case with the first Pueblo Viejo council when it tried interferring with the alcalde. Such competition is bound to effect the activities of both councils. Bailey and Kuper seem to indicate that either the new council supersede the old one, or that the old council system continues through the new council organization.

An important point in examining any council is its political role in the community. Such political activities relating council and community can vary considerably. The strategy of the village leaders is certainly important. The leaders may choose not to involve themselves in the council for a variety of reasons. This will probably hinder the council's ability to implement certain kinds of decisions and possibly curtail the range of decisions that are possible. This seems to be the case with some councils among the Tolai of New Britain, where the role of the councilors is reduced to "a filter, through which messages are passed, while the responsibility for raising new issues, influencing opinion, and mustering public support is assumed by other prominent persons in the community."(47) This takes most decision-making out of the hands of the council. Should the councilor in such a situation decide to make policy decisions, implementing them would probably not be possible in most cases without the

support of the village leaders. In such councils the councilors themselves lack much authority and power. However, should persons with external sources of authority or power occupy the positions the council's activities might be different. It should also be noted that interference from external sources (e.g. colonial administrators) may have an important effect on the authority of council members.

The village leaders in a community may decide to take an active part in the village councils. They may decide to do this because they feel that the maintenance of their position depends on it (as was the case in Pueblo Viejo), or because they wish to insure control of the spoils associated with the council. In such cases the council will become more integrated into the political activities of the village. This may make the council approximate Bailey's definition of an "elite" council, but it does not necessarily imply that the council will make decisions through consensus. Village oligarchies are not necessarily homogeneous and rivalries among members of oligarchies (and there may be competing oligarchies) may be as strong as splits between members of an "arena" council who represent various segments of the community.(48) Such rivalries and factions among the oligarchy can keep consensus from being possible and it may be necessary to make decisions by majority vote. Much probably depends upon the issues decided upon and whether or not they involve particular areas of activity. The historical setting of the council is another consideration. It is also possible that

one faction of the village oligarchy may be able to control the council at the expense of others.

There are probably many more possibilities than those listed above, but what is important is that councils do not really seem to fit at all neatly into a few catagories and that catagorization probably does not greatly facilitate our understanding of the internal dynamics of councils anyway. This is not the place to go into a detailed analysis of how councils should be studied, but a general proposition of this can be put forward. To understand councillar activities it seems necessary to analyse the particular council's function(s) or task(s). This implies more than deciding whether it is policy-making or administrative. It must be determined precisely what its task is and how rigid or institutionalized this is. Also, the degree and form of integration of the council into the society must be analyzed. As was briefly illustrated, a council that is well integrated into the political structure of a society acts differently and is subject to different pressures than one that is not. In such an analysis the relationship of community social structure (the integration of which is not implied) to council must be treated as problematic. Finally, as has been pointed out by Bailey and Kuper, councils may have rules for proper conduct.(49) This must be analysed, but it is also necessary to keep in mind that such norms may be manipulated and the manipulation of these norms must also be analysed. Also, such norms may change over time, especially where new forms of councils are

introduced.

One last point-- it seems that little attention has been paid by social anthropologists to the implementation of council decisions. While this may, or may not, be necessary to the analysis of councils in all situations, it is important in understanding the role of councils in socioeconomic change in a community. Council structure varies considerably and the effectiveness of councils in achieving differing kinds of goals is also variable. It should be kept in mind that at any one time several goals for a council exist, depending upon the perspective chosen.(50) Often goals from one perspective, such as that of the colonial administrator, may come into opposition with goals of different groups, quasi-groups, or individuals. For example, many government administrators desire to bring "democracy" to villages through the introduction of councils and to allow for apparent local participation in economic development. However, the political activities of the council may come into conflict with national political policy, or a council operated on non-democratic principles may be the most effective in handling and administrating resources in the community.

Footnotes

1. from "Manifesto for the New Belize in the Surging Seventies" (n.d.,p.13).

2. A definition of what a council is is needed. For convenience, I shall use the one by A. Richards (1971,p.1-2): "a gathering of people of which the membership is limited by the rules of the society either to particular catagories...

to persons of a given status...to members of a social group ...or even to the widest political unit. The council may also be limited to particular individuals chosen in accepted ways... Secondly, councils...are usually, though not invariably held in one place. Thirdly, a council...is a body which accepts a series of conventions governing the behaviour of its members." This definition applies best to traditional councils, especially to those in tribal Africa.

3. This may in part be due to the British colonial administrators' influence on present Belizian officials and to the fact that some of the government administrators received their education in England and Jamaica.

4. See Appendix B.

5. "Manifesto for the New Belize in the Surging Seventies" (n.d.,p.13).

6. See P. Spencer (1971,p.201n) for services rendered by English town councils.

7. A. Richards (1971,p.8-10).

8. See E.H. Spicer (1958) for an example of Yaqui acculturation under Spanish colonial rule. The Yaqui, like the Maya, have also proven themselves resistant to changes.

9. F. Cancian (1965,p.23).

10. M. Weber (1947,p.346).

11. See M. Wilson (1963) and A.H. Prins (1970).

12. R.E. Bradbury (1969,p.19).

13. See F. Cancian (1965) and (1967) on the problem of serving cargos in an expanding population.

14. The frequency of such an occurance among various Mayan societies is hard to judge since many writers have not addressed themselves to the problem of selection for such offices, being satisfied to deal only with the general structure of the cargo system. R. Bunzel (1952,p.171-191) does give a good account of the principles of selection among the Quiche of Chichicastenango; among whom heredity plays a very important role in achieving the status of principal. She cites the existence of an Indian "aristocracy" and the leading principal claimed descent from the ancient Quiche kings.

15. See R. Bunzel (1952,p.171-191) on the Quiche, and M. Oakes (1969,p.56-59) on the Mam.

16. See A. Villa R. (1969,p.230-232) on the Chontal, and (1969,p.234-236) on the Chol.

17. Alcaldes (alcalde auxiliars in the smaller villages) and principales exist among the Kekchi, but the literature on the role of the principales is not clear. See A. Villa R. (1969,p.236,240), A.R. King (1957), and S. Tax (1971,p.339-352).

18. Data is insufficient to prove or to disprove this hypothesis. More detailed information on decision-making processes among the principales would be useful.

19. Information on "big-men" in New Guinea illustrates that in some instances, although an individual may have the potential for leadership, he may choose not to become one. At the same time others struggle to take advantage of all of their resources to become leaders (this goal may exhaust their resources too). In both instances the position may be somewhat hereditary, but it also depends upon the personal strategy and desire of the person aspiring toward leadership. See K.E. Reed (1964), M.O. Reay (1970), and K. Heider (1970).

20. See Chapters 4 and 5.

21. Nicasio Coc and Apolonio Sho worked very hard during this period to get a new school built in the village. They accomplished this in 1969 with aid from the Lion's Club, CARE, and the Peace Corps (which sent a person into the village to help for a few months).

22. See Chapter 5.

23. See Appendix B. A new revised constitution for the village councils is due in 1973.

24. From A. Vernon (n.d.). The speech is somewhat political and he takes credit at times for things that he had little to do with. Some of the claims are a bit exaggerated.

25. R. Frankenberg (1957).

26. R. Frankenberg (1957,p.18).

27. F.G. Bailey (1968). His data is entirely from India.

28. F.G. Bailey (1968,p.13-14).

29. F.G. Bailey (1968,p.10).

30. F.G. Bailey (1969,p.13).

31. F.G. Bailey (1968,p.9).

32. F.G. Bailey (1968,p.15,18).

33. A. Kuper (1971).

34. A. Kuper (1971,p.14). The council described by A.L. Epstein (1969,p.254-280) for the Tolai of New Britain in some ways approximates the "community-in-council" type.

35. A. Kuper (1971,p.15,see p.19).

36. A. Kuper (1971,p.15). This does not take into account councils that are imposed on societies adequately.

37. A. Kuper (1971,p.15).

38. A. Kuper (1971,p.16).

39. J.A. Barnes (1954) and M. Bloch (1971).

40. A. Kuper (1971,p.17).

41. A. Kuper (1971,p.17,see p.21-22).

42. A. Kuper (1971,p.18). The principales are an example of a council that may deal with legal and ritual affairs.

43. A. Kuper (1971,p.18). V. Turner's (1957,esp. ch. 6 and 7) data on fission in Ndembu villages also makes Frankenberg's hypothesis questionable.

44. A. Kuper (1971,p.19).

45. A. Kuper (1971,p.20).

46. A. Kuper (1971,p.15).

47. A.L. Epstein (1969,p.275).

48. Just as representatives of opposing segments may have common bonds to unite them in certain spheres of activity, elites may also be divided and share common ties with segments of the public. The commonality or "content" of links in all cases should not be taken for granted.

49. See F.G. Bailey (1968,p.7), A. Kuper (1971,p.20), and M. Bloch (1971).

50. See A. Richards (1971,p.8-10).

Chapter 8

Factionalism

Introduction

In the last chapter it was shown that the functioning of the village council was closely related to other aspects of village social organization and culture; especially to factionalism and leadership within the village. This chapter will discuss the nature of factionalism in Pueblo Viejo and those factors interrelated with it. Factions are generally considered by social anthropologists to be politically oriented "quasi-groups," the members of which are recruited by a leader, or leaders, on diverse principles.(1) As will be shown, this definition is not entirely accurate and some refinements or changes may be needed (this will be dealt with at length in the concluding part of the chapter).

J.M. Bujra complained recently that many analyses of factions try to isolate them "from a wider analysis of various types of political groupings."(2) Rather, she feels, they should be placed on a continuum in terms of the degree of internal integration of the groups. This continuum begins with factions at one end and what she calls political parties at the other.(3) She further states that "factional processes are in a dialectical relationship with other social and political processes going on both within and outside the community."(4)

Thus, it would seem that an understanding of factionalism, like the functioning of the village councils, requires treating them as being part of a larger, changing social and cultural environment, and not as isolated entities (though again, their integration into this environment is variable). Within Pueblo Viejo in particular factionalism is related to forms of village leadership, personal or group disputes of a wide variety, and the nature of kinship-based groups and compadre networks. The relationship with external processes is as yet minimal, but this is undergoing change.

Factionalism, like most political phenomena, involves competition between individuals or groups for dominance of some form, which is limited to only a few.(5) In Turner's analysis of Ndembu politics and village fission, competition was for control of the village headmanship.(6) In a society such as that of the Ndembu, or the Lakeside Tonga studied by van Velsen, this competition involves attempts by certain lineage heads, or those who have segmented from their lineages, to recruit large bands of followers through various kinship ties, friendship, or ill-feeling toward others.(7) In Pueblo Viejo factionalism tends to occur, in a similar manner, between certain senior families, or segments of them. These families (or patrilines) augment their strength, like the Ndembu and Tonga, by recruiting followers through a variety of ties (e.g., ego coaxing a daughter's husband to join his group).

For the competitors in this situation, however, there

is a problem. This involves certain cultural norms which limit competition, or stigmatize those who break them. These norms involve respect for authority and the notion that seniority dictates legitimacy of political power. Thus, a rebelling younger brother cannot fully escape the fact that he has gone against these norms and that he has violated another which dictates the importance of sibling solidarity. For this reason, such younger brothers usually decide to leave the village if the quarrel with his older brother becomes serious enough. On the other hand, some younger brothers (such as Secundino Coc) return to, or continue to live in the village. Such men tend to be stigmatized by many members of the village, especially by those allied to their older brother. In seeking to recruit his own following Secundino Coc faces the problem that he lacks legitimacy in the eyes of many villagers and he must try to overcome this. In most cases, younger brothers choose not to openly break with their senior brothers, despite mutual ill-feelings. The problem is also relevant to competition between family groups. Thus, although Eusebio Choc and his family and followers may feud with the Villanuevas and their followers, they still recognize the right of the Villanueva patriline to act as village leaders because of their seniority. This sometimes leads to village fission, with the junior family moving to another village, or founding their own.

Bailey, Nicholas, and others stress the importance, if not the necessity, of leaders in factionalism.(8) This is the "point of unity" of the faction. It is the leader, to

these writers, who recruits faction members. Mayers' study of electioneering in India and his use of "quasi-group" also stresses this point.(9) Kuper, however, disagrees with this stress on the role of the leader in factions. Thus, he points out that

> it should be stressed that the literature, which has been written largely by Indianists, tends to concentrate upon the exigencies of political strategy, assumed to set similar constraints in all political systems. Taken together with the peculiarities of the Indian material, this has led to an emphasis upon the personal and temporary nature of factions which must seem exaggerated to the Africanist. In many African arena councils, and in particular at the community level, factions are fairly stable. They may be seen as the political dimensions of the segmentary pattern of society. (Alliances between factions, however, are determined by tactical considerations).(10)

His point seems to be a valid one and Turner's data on the Ndembu would certainly seem to support this.(11) In Pueblo Viejo, although leaders are certainly important to the factions (especially in forming alliances between the smaller units within the factions), much of the operation of factionalism is related to similar principles as those of the segmentary societies in Africa. In Pueblo Viejo, at present, certain factions tend to be fairly permanent features of village social organization.

Once factionalism and conflict do occur, three developments seem possible; 1) the situation may be settled through victory or a satisfactory compromise, 2) individuals or groups may physically leave, or 3) the factions may become fairly permanent features of the village social structure.

Compromise or victory do not seem very likely under present circumstances in Pueblo Viejo for the various factions. Victory in the political arena by the opposition wresting control of the village leadership is possible only in the unlikely event that the incumbent leaders, the Villanuevas, leave. Compromise is possible temporarily, but due to the nature of conflict in Pueblo Viejo this will not at present succeed as a permanent measure. Lulls or "cooling-off" periods are possible, but these are not permanent since the old grudges remain.

Migration resulting from disputes and factional rivalries has been common among the Indians of the Toledo District and adjacent Guatemala for years, if not centuries.(12), Only a few years ago the Guatemalan village of Pushila was virtually abandoned following an intense rivalry between families.(13) However, the possibility of this occuring and the nature of the fission are to a degree dependent upon certain variables.(14). Important variables seem to be: ownership and availability of land, population density, policies of the external or national government, and ritual or economic interdependencies within the village.(15) In both Mexico and Guatemala such moves often take the form of urban migration or movement into areas being opened by the respective governments for colonization.(16). In southern British Honduras the Indians rarely move to the city, due in part to ethnic differences of the urban population (almost entirely Carib and Creole). Movements to different parts of the district is possible due to the relatively low

population density and many have moved to newly founded settlements along the Southern Highway.(17) It is also made easier since land ownership is communal and not individual. However, even with the migration of large segments of a village's population (as occured in Pueblo Viejo in 1969), especially in villages numbering a few hundred or more, many members of the opposing factions are likely to remain. Often only those members of the factions most involved in recent encounters will leave.

A modified form of migration is practiced by moving house locations within the village. Since Pueblo Viejo and many of the district's Indian villages are not compact it is possible to move to a part of the village where contact with those with whom one is quarreling can be kept to a minimun (this may also be reflected in choosing sites for plantations).(18) For this reason the physical layout of the village closely resembles the social divisions within it. However, such moves are not a complete solution since disputants still meet at various public gatherings (e.g. fiestas). It is at such public gatherings that these disputes often lead to fights, sometimes involving quite a few members of the opposing factions (plus other "innocent bystanders"). For years it has been common for such fights to erupt at fiestas and there seems to be an increase in the incidence of fighting at such public gatherings during the past few years. Police supervision of these affairs and the cost of the liquor permit have increased considerably and there has been a decrease in the frequency of fiestas

celebrated in many villages.(19)

What seems to have occured in Pueblo Viejo (and in many other Indian communities in the district) is that relatively permanent factions have evolved. This is in some ways related to the techniques of factional recruitment, which is through the creation and use of kinship and compadre bends. These are relatively durable bonds and once recruited, members of factions tend to become increasingly enmeshed in the kinship and compadre networks of their factions in addition to becoming firmer members of the kin-based social groups with which they are allied until the boundaries of factions and kin groups become almost coincidental.(20) Such groupings within factions are at the same time subject to fission and this often results in the segmenting unit or individual joining another faction.(21) Continual disputing between members of opposing factions is encouraged by feelings of solidarity when a co-member is involved in a quarrel with a member of another group or faction. Within groups there are forces which work to keep disputes in check, but such forces are weak or non-existant when members of different factions are involved.

Disputes in Pueblo Viejo

Within most societies there are both cultural and social aspects of personal or group disputes.(22) The cultural aspects revolve around people's norms concerning proper and improper behaviour as well as beliefs of such things as sorcery and the "supernatural." Social aspects involve the use,

or manipulation, of and the relation to the social structure of these norms and beliefs, in addition to social (as well as cultural) ways of handling them. The analytical boundary between these two aspects certainly is not rigid and there is a good deal of interaction between them. To understand factionalism within Pueblo Viejo (and possibly other communities as well) both aspects must be taken account of, although the exact relationship between them and factionalism certainly varies situationally.(23)

Colby mentions several significant psychological orientations among Mesoamerican Indians that are relevant to the understanding of disputes in Indian communities. Of primary importance is the Indian's concern with assertive behaviour and aggression and beliefs relating to the importance and power of speech.(24) Assertive behaviour when properly channeled into traditional forms of economic and social competition (e.g., aspiring for certain administrative offices in prescribed ways) is not seen as a threat. However, uncontrolled forms of assertion are seen by the Indians as being particularly dangerous. For example, ruthless aspiration to political prominence by someone lacking traditional legitimacy.(25)

The power (efficacy) of words is very important to the Indians. Cursing is looked upon as being potentially dangerous. If a man curses another man it is feared that he may decide to put his words into some form of action in the future and that this person has shown himself to be potentially aggressive. For this reason, men 'talking' to women in an

improper manner or cursing another person may be taken to court and fined in Pueblo Viejo. The power of words is also important since through them the "supernaturals" can be petitioned and persuaded, snakes can be called, and with the proper knowledge of words the 'bush-doctor' can 'obeah' people. (26) The belief in the efficacy of sorcery, or 'obeah-magic,' is quite pervasive among both Indian and Carib in the Toledo District.(27) Once sorcery has been used in a dispute some of those involved may decide to move for fear of further escalation through the more widespread use of sorcery (e.g., by the apparent victim). In this way sorcery provides a means of formulating tensions and it may be used as a catalyst in the fission, or segmentation, of lineages or entire villages.(28) An important obstacle to the wider use of sorcery is that it is believed possible for the victim to find a more powerful 'bush-doctor' and to not only find who was responsible for the action, but to also have the magic reversed.(29)

Fear of aggression is related to Indian norms concerning proper behaviour. As stated in Chapter 4, there is a great reliance upon etiquette in relations among certain individuals (e.g., compadres and kin). This seems to be related to a desire to make these relations controlled and predictable. Improper behaviour by people within the range of those who are supposed to act in predictable ways is considered especially threatening and does not usually occur unless the relations are extremely strained. Among brothers the social bond

is supposed to be especially strong.(30) Jealousies do exist between brothers and minor fights occur, but these are not supposed to be sufficient to disrupt the sibling bond. However, occasionally quarrels do escalate and result in fission. Ideas of proper behaviour also relate to the norms of respect for seniority and authority. Thus, one is expected to act in a certain way when dealing with older men or those in authority and deviation from this is usually viewed with considerable disapproval. Such disapproval is situational, however, and often depends upon the parties involved.(31)

An important aspect of disputes in Pueblo Viejo is their long duration. This seems to be a common phenomenon in many of the area's Indian communities. Thus, Thompson wrote concerning quarrels in San Antonio:

> Personal quarrels are usually ventilated at the different feasts, where both parties, when drunk, seek each other out to continue a quarrel started months or even years ago. In this manner they will cherish some insult for a long period, until under the influence of drink they feel the urge to fight.(32)

Fighting does not settle the matter, since it will long be remembered who was involved in the fight. Disputes usually involve a long series of clashes that are occasionally brought to a head by a major fight or by taking one of the disputants to court. In this manner disputes can go on for generations since the quarrel may also involve a man's kin who feel that they should support him. The disputes may come to involve the entire membership of one faction against another. This is especially a problem in recent years since in Pueblo Viejo,

and even more so in the larger villages, some of the young men have started going about in groups of their age-mates from similar factions, occasionally getting into fights with members of other factions. In most cases the degree of escalation with these quarrels seems to be related to the social position of those involved and whether there are social forces at work which tend to lessen the potential hostility or whether there are forces which tend to enhance exploitation of ill-feelings. (33)

Generally, when disputes become serious enough, one party brings charges against the other to the alcalde. It can be argued that certain catagories of court cases are closely related to the level of tension between factions or groups within the village. In Table 2 below it seems that the increase in the incidence of cases involving quarrels or fights between two or more men is closely related to the major village fission which erupted between 1968 and 1969 (to be discussed shortly). There appears to be a correlation between the incidence of such cases and the increasing factionalism within the community beginning around 1950. The 1970 and 1971 period represents a lull in the tempo of disputes following the migration of a number of villagers in 1969 and 1970.

Domestic disputes seem to reach the court in the case of women who have frequent trouble with their husbands, or mothers-in-law living with them. Women in such situations have little other recourse except actual seperation from their

A. type of dispute (34)		incidence
I.	a. rape, attempted rape, etc.	15
	b. domestic quarrels	28
	c. quarrels between women	20
	d. misc. (making 'chicha,' missing fagina, etc.)	43
II.	a. quarrels or fights between two or more men	107
	total	213

B. (35) years (36)	no. of cases	no. type II cases	no. type II cases in family (37)
1937-40	12	4	0
1947-49	10	1	0
1951-53	21	10	2
1956-58	24	7	1
1959-61	23	12	2
1962-64	39	19	4
1965-67	43	24	2
1968-70	27	22	1
1971-72	16	8	1
total	213	117	13

Table 2: Alcalde's Court Cases

husbands. (38) Rapes or attempted rapes only involve a few individuals-- one man being involved in four of the cases. Cases between two women frequently involve neighbours or women who wash near to each other. Often the alcalde will find both women guilty and fine or warn both of them. Convictions for making 'chicha' occur when the maker is caught by the government police (which is rare) or when someone to whom 'chicha' has been served gets into trouble. In giving another man 'chicha' the maker is held responsible for that man's subsequent actions.

Many, probably most, of the quarrels or fights are not brought to court. 'Obeah' accusations cannot be taken to court since it is not legally recognized and could not be

entered in the alcalde's case book. Most other crimes or quarrels can potentially be taken to court. Quarrels over pigs destroying crops or dogs breaking into houses are frequent. If the animal belongs to kin or compadre then the problem is usually quickly settled by the owner paying for the damages.(39) In other instances disputes arising from crops destroyed by pigs often escalate to the point that blows with machetes are threatened (only occasionally do they actually occur). Disputes between brothers or fathers and their sons rarely are taken to court unless they become quite serious. Usually, one of the parties involved in such disputes moves before the quarrel develops to this point.

There is an important exception to the avoidance of the use of courts by disputing brothers or fathers and sons--this is quarrels within the Villanueva family. Rafael and his brother Roberto have not gotten along well for many years. In many families a younger brother in a similar situation probably would have moved to another village. However, since Rafael is a Villanueva and a member of the village's leading family such a move is discouraged. Rafael found a compromise by moving a few miles from the village for a few years after his father died and until his brother, Roberto, left. Despite this attempt at avoidance, the Villanueva brothers continued to feud. Rafael had taken his brother to court twice before moving out of the village (in 1959 and 1960). In 1967, while he was living outside the village, Rafael again decided to bring his brother to court since his brother had blocked a

trail that Rafael and his family used to go to a creek for drinking water (apparently, not intentionally) and because the burning of Roberto's cane field threatened some of Rafael's coffee trees. Rafael stated that he brought the charge "because it is just impossible to settle any matter with him (Roberto)." Their quarrels were never resolved and Rafael did not move back into the village until after his brother left in 1970.

Gregorio Villanueva did not get along well with his father, Roberto, either. For this reason he eventually decided to move to another part of the village. In 1962 Roberto brought charges against his son Gregorio for using "bad words" against him. It would appear that the Villanuevas are under pressures that the other families in the village are not. They feel that they must remain together (or at least close by) because of their status. Also, they are the only family in which a really significant inheritance is involved-- the village leadership. The only other situation approximating this is the Chocs (Eusebio) and it is interesting to note that one of the recent court cases involves a charge by one of Eusebio's sons against the other.

Almost half of the court cases involve quarrels or fights between men outside of the core patrilineage. Of these cases eighty-seven out of ninety-four (six others involve men from Santa Elena) are between members of different family groups and most of these involve disputes between members of opposing village factions. These disputes are closely related to the

development of factions within the village; both by adding to fissional tendencies originally, and later by helping to maintain boundaries between factions by their continuance.

The Development of Factions in Pueblo Viejo

During the 1930's and most of the 1940's Pueblo Viejo contained a fairly stable core population. This population was interlinked through an overlapping series of kinship and compadre links. It included most of the village's older families: the Villanuevas, Eusebio Choc and his family and relatives, Gregorio and Martin Choc and their families, the Shals, Miguel Coc and his brother and brother-in-law, Ramon Coc and Secundino Coc, the Tushes, and a few smaller families. Diego Villanueva served as alcalde during most of these years and older members of the other families served in other administrative positions. There were other families who moved to Pueblo Viejo for brief periods and then decided to move elsewhere for various reasons, sometimes after quarreling with members of one of the other families. By the late 1940's these senior families had grown considerably in size, both in terms of children and extended members.

By the later part of the 1940's quarrels began to erupt between junior members, and a few older members, of these older families. Ill-feelings began to spread and within a few years what had begun as a few personal quarrels had become family affairs. A few of the junior members of these older

family groups moved away from the village as a result. At this same time the colonial government was encouraging increasingly participatory democracy within the villages and sought to weaken the positions of the cacique-like village alcaldes. Due to a combination of old age, village disputes, and changes in government policy, Diego chose at this time to step down as first alcalde and to turn it over to his son Roberto. Roberto had less authority than his father (in part because his father was still alive) and found running the village difficult. Eventually the alcaldeship became open to more villagers as it became a less enviable position to hold. (40)

Disputes continued to proliferate between certain families throughout the 1950's and early 1960's. This lead to a tendency to form compadre links only within certain portions of the population. In the past, compadre links had criss-crossed the entire village, making most of the older men compadre to each other. But these compadre links began to fall dormant and new ones were created either within family groups or between certain families. The increasing social cleavage in the village caused increasing physical seperation of the disputants as well, until the settlement pattern of the village approximated that described in Chapter 4.

The extension of compadre links between certain families may be seen as attempts to create alliances between various family groups that were becomong aligned factionally. Such political alliances are not precisely of the nature of those

described by Barth between groups of Swat Pathans.(41) Although, like the Pathan example, these alliances are free to individual choice and are not as binding as other relationships.(42) However, the villagers try to make these alliances more binding through multiple compadre links and sometimes through marriage. In this way the compadre links come to resemble kinship networks, although they are never of quite the same order as kinship links. Shifts in alliance can cause preexisting compadre links to become dormant (this is not quite as simple with kinship links), but they are certainly more durable and binding than links of friendship.

It is important to note that such alliances are not entirely the work of the group leader, as is the case among the Swat Pathans.(43) Although the group leader is important in forming these alliances, other members of his group also play an important role by spreading or intensifying these bonds with allies or potential allies. Due to the nature of these network patterns these alliances may become increasingly stable between groups and may exist over generations. Thus, forming a "web" of alliances, rather than an all-important single stranded link between group leaders. This tends to modify the importance of the group leader to these alliances.

By the late 1960's tensions between the two main factions were considerable. Fights between younger members of these factions occured with greater frequency. At this time the boundaries between the two main factions had become well defined and within them multiplex links of kinship and compadrazgo

had been created. However, there were strains beginning to appear within the factions. Within the Choc faction quarreling had erupted between the Tush family and the Ohs, which threatened a break in the alliance between these groups. Within the Villanueva faction lineage fission was occuring. Secundino Coc was in the process of breaking ties with his older brother, and eventually with the entire Villanueva faction. As discussed in Chapter 5, Secundino began recruiting his own following and form a loose alliance with the Choc faction.

In late 1969 members of the Choc faction were involved in the murder of Gregorio Villanueva. This resulted in the migration of several families from the village and a temporary lessening in the amount of overt fighting and quarreling between the factions. Following the murder, all of the younger members of the Tush family and a few members of the Choc group left the village. They were followed by the two senior Shal brothers and a few other members of the Villanueva faction. Shortly afterwords the Ohs left as well. Roberto Villanueva remained for several months, but when his mother died (who had been living with him) in mid-1970, he and members of his family also left.

The migration of those most directly involved in the factional quarreling succeeded in eventually lessening tensions between the groups, to a degree. However, on a less overt level it also hardened the boundaries between the two factions for those less involved in the quarreling. A large number of the members of each faction remained and little

attempt at reconciliation between the groups was made. A move toward some reconciliation was made after Sebastian Choc returned and married Rafael Villanueva's daughter. Both Rafael and Sebastian's father, Eusebio Choc, have used this newly created bond to try and lessen the degree of ill-feelings existing between their groups.

Following the events of 1969, the boundary between Secundino Coc and his small following and the Villanueva faction became much more pronounced. The migration of the younger members of the Tush family had also weakened his ties with the Choc faction. This made him more dependent upon recruiting his own following and allies. Since that time he has sought to strengthen his ties with the less strongly aligned members of the community, such as Gregorio Rash (who married his daughter) and Manuel Ak(SA).

The Ixim family, which arrived in Pueblo Viejo in 1968, has become more integrated into the Villanueva faction and group, at the same time that Secundino's separation from that faction became more complete. One of the Ixim's daughters and one of their sons married members of the Villanueva group and they began to build compadre links with other members of that faction. Generally they received labour assistance only from other members of the Villanueva faction. This process of integration into the Villanueva faction has been somewhat marred by a quarrel between Santiago Ixim and Rafael Villanueva. However, other members of the Ixim family have refused to let this quarrel escalate and they continue to increase the

intensity of their social ties with the Villanueva faction.

There were, and are, three important social processes going on simultaneously within the village. First, there is the process of recruitment to extended family groups. Second, alliances were being formed between these groups along emerging factional lines of social cleavage. Third, there is fission within some of the lineages and factions. The creation of extended family groups have the effect of making the larger families within the village less dependent upon each other for security and assistance. However, no single extended family group is usually large enough to be entirely autonomous, nor would such a move, if possible, be desirable. Since the Villanueva group has extensive alliances, any opposing faction must recruit allies from other dissident groups or individuals or from new groups in the village to keep from being insignificant in village affairs. The emerging patterns of family and personal disputes led to an intensification of social divisions between certain families and the Villanueva faction. These families coalesced into a fairly unified opposing faction. Eventually the internal solidarity of these factions increased as social bonds of kinship and compadreship were formed entirely within the boundaries of these factions. However, internal quarrels in the factions eventually led to fissional pressures and eventually fission did occur within the Villanueva faction. It appears that, although the exact membership of the factions may vary over time, that the existence of at least two relatively stable sociopolitical factions has

become a fairly permanent feature of Pueblo Viejo's social structure.

Conclusion

In light of the data just presented it would seem that, as indicated in the beginning of the chapter, the existing definition and models of factionalism mentioned may be in need of some revision. A problem with the theories of factionalism seems to be that most authors choose to deal with very limited phenomena and to extrapolate from data of a limited comparatibility. More limited than is perhaps warrented if an adequate understanding of factions is to be achieved. If we take a minimal dictionary definition (these seem to vary quite a bit and there are problems inherent in most) we find that a faction is "a group or collectivity acting together within and usually against a larger body."(44) Competition and dissention by groups within a larger unit seem to be the key ingrediants to factionalism.

Defined this way, how does this fit with other usages of factions among anthropologists? Need factions be quasi-groups? If we take A.C. Mayer's use of quasi-group as being "ego-centred, in the sense of depending for their very existence on a specific person as a central organizing focus" and that "actions of any member are relevant only in so far as they are interactions between him and ego or ego's intermediary," then clearly the factions described in Pueblo Viejo, and those referred to in Africa by Kuper and others, are not

quasi-groups.(45) The existence and function of factions in Pueblo Viejo are not entirely ego-centred and relevant actions by members do not necessarily occur only between members and factional leaders or their intermediaries. Considering factions and quasi-groups to be virtually the same thing seems to obscure the analysis of factionalism. There are specific actions by members of factions which require them to call upon members of their faction for political forms of support. This seems to resemble what Mayer has called "action-sets."(46) However, the faction in Pueblo Viejo endures beyond this. They are not the rather amorphous "action-sets" temporarily created by candidates in elections described by Mayer in Dewas. Also, they are not political parties, since they lack the organizational structure of these.

J.M. Bujra in her recent article in which she attempted "A new look at factionalism," also seems to equate factions with quasi-group, as Bailey and Nicholas had previously.(47) She is correct when she states that "The basic factor in any assessment of political conflict groupings is the degree of integration of the groupings under study."(48) But her use of faction as representing the least integrated pole of her continuum of integration does not seem valid. The degree of integration of factions should be treated as problematical. The least integrated form of political conflict group is probably some form of "ad-hoc" committee or Mayer's election "action-set" (although the cores of electioneering action-sets may be quite integrated and exist over time). Although

these may be considered factions under some circumstances, so may more integrated forms of political conflict groups.

Central to the problem of factionalism is the role of the leader in factions. Bailey states that "The point of unity (of the faction), if that is the appropriate word, is the leader, the man with whom they (faction members) each seperately have their own transactions."(49) This stress on the role of the leader in factions also seems questionable. Can acephalous factions exist? Or, to be less extreme, is it possible that the factional leader may in some situations be secondary to other considerations? In the case of Pueblo Viejo, the role of certain lineage leaders as factional heads is of some importance, but they are not the centre of the factions. Without them the factions would not necessarily disentigrate. The factions in Pueblo Viejo are alliances among certain family groups with a few common interests. The leaders of each of these families are certainly important to the overall functioning of the factions. However, there are also many other considerations which are involved in the functioning of these factions (e.g., the nature of disputes, different member's kinship and compadre networks, norms relating to seniority, etc.). These factions, as they presently exist, have become relatively permanent and they tend to coincide with the village's physical divisions, the extent of kinship and compadre networks, and the boundaries within which certain activities (e.g. labour assistance) occur. These factors have added to their relative permanence and have modified the

ego-centeredness of them as well as the importance of individual leaders. The factions are now relatively well integrated in certain ways (though not approximating a political party) and can survive the loss of their leader.

Footnotes

1. See R.W. Nicholas (1968) and A.C. Mayer (1966).

2. J.M. Bujra (1973,p.132).

3. J.M. Bujra (1973,p.133). In general this definition may be more useful for national level politics and, in fact, seems to be related to definitions used by some political scientists (e.g., H.D. Lasswell, 1948,p.50).

4. J.M. Bujra (1973,p.133).

5. F.G. Bailey (1969,esp.ch.1).

6. V.W. Turner (1957,esp.chs.5 and 6).

7. V.W. Turner (1957,chs. 5 and 6) and J. van Velsen (1964,p.240-268).

8. F.G. Bailey (1969,p.52) and R.W. Nicholas (1968,p. 45-46).

9. See A.C. Mayer (1966).

10. A. Kuper (1971,p.15-16).

11. V.W. Turner (1957).

12. The migration of the Itzas is a possible pre-Columbian example of this. See J.E.S. Thompson (1970).

13. A fear of sorcery is sometimes an important factor in families deciding to leave.

14. The universality of these variables is debatable, and in other settings others may well be found.

15. See J.M. Bujra (1973,p.142-143).

16. In Guatemala colonization is being attempted in the El Peten and El Estor Departments. See T. and M. Melville (1971,esp.p.235-252), R.N. Adams (1965), and W.E. Carter (1969). In Mexico the government is presently opening up

large areas of southeastern Chiapas and Quintana Roo for settlement (largely for Indians from the Tarascan area).

17. Such as the villages of Silver Creek, Indian Creek, and South Stann Creek. Also San Felipe near the Punta Gorda-San Antonio road. Many of the villagers in these settlements migrated due to factional disputes and due to the attraction to easier marketing conditions.

18. This solution is not possible in more compact villages, such as those built around a central plaza, where almost daily encounters are likely.

19. National Day in 1972 was used as a partial substitution.

20. See Ramon Coc example in Chapter 5.

21. See Secundino Coc example in Chapter 5.

22. This analytic distinction is not shared by many cultural anthropologists, but this is not the place for a discussion of these differences of opinion.

23. External forces are also important. Such as, population pressure, economic changes, and changing political situations.

24. B.N. Colby (1967,p.418-19,429-30).

25. In non-Indian Mesoamerican communities such activities seem to be viewed differently. See G.M. Foster (1967).

26. For data on 'obeah' practices and origins in the Caribbean area see H.H.J. Bell (1899). There appear to be some similarities between Kekchi and Carib 'obeah' practices, but this is not the place for a detailed analysis of these.

27. See D.M. Taylor (1951,p.133-137).

28. See M.G. Marwick (1965,p.145-147).

29. There is a great range in the power attributed to different 'bush-doctors' as well as the recognition of the existence of frauds. Especially powerful ones are said to live in certain Kekchi villages in Guatemala across the border from Otaxha.

30. B.N. Colby (1967,p.420-421) feels that sibling rivalries may be related to weaning practices.

31. J.R. Crawford (1967,p.220-223) deals with the situational nature of support for witchcraft accusations.

32. J.E.S. Thompson (1930,p.85).

33. It should be mentioned that violent crimes are made difficult by strict gun-control laws in British Honduras, which do not allow for the possession of hand guns and bored rifles without special permits.

34. Until 1963 Rio Blanco (Santa Elena) had no alcalde of its own and the alcalde of Pueblo Viejo served for both villages. This table is intended mainly as a guide to give some indication of the number of cases actually involved.

35. There are no case records for 1941-46, 1950, 1954-55. The records begin in 1937.

36. It could be argued that the increase in crimes reported was due to an increase in the Indian's awareness of the court and its proceedures. This does not seem to be valid since the court was Indian operated and was in many ways similar to the form of legal institutions that they had lived under in Guatemala. Also, it is important to mention that population increases from the mid-1940's to date are not nearly sufficient to account for the increase (nor the particular frequency).

37. Cases occuring within a family refer to those cases involving brothers, fathers and sons, or sons and their mothers.

38. On rare occasion a wife does leave her husband. Husbands leaving their wives seems to be more common.

39. Owners of all animals are considered responsible for their animal's actions.

40. See Chapter 6.

41. F. Barth (1959,p.104-107).

42. F. Barth (1959,p.105).

43. F. Barth (1959,p.104-105).

44. This definition was compiled from several dictionaries. It is not entirely satisfactory, and there remains the problem of how to deal with internal integration. It seems that the term "party" may be best reserved for recognized political parties (that is, officially institutionalized).

45. A.C. Mayer (1966,p.97-98) and A. Kuper (1971,p.15-16).

46. Seee A.C. Mayer (1966).

47. J.M. Bujra (1973,p.134), F.G. Bailey (1969,p.51-55), and R.W. Nicholas (1968,p.45-46).

48. J.M. Bujra (1973,p.134). She perhaps should have included the faction's integration into the society as well.

49. F.G. Bailey (1969,p.52).

Chapter 9

Political Leadership

Introduction

In the first chapter a political leader was defined as one who has the power to make decisions within and on the part of the group. It was hypothesized that the dimensions and maintenance of this power are related to the leader's strategy for the manipulation of his available resources within his general sociocultural environment as he perceives it. It was also pointed out that a leader's political power, while being ambiguous and to a degree personal, is also dependent to a varying degree upon some form of legitimation and support. This chapter will briefly review some of the features of political leadership in Mesoamerican Indian communities in general and then examine political leadership in Pueblo Viejo in terms of the leaders' strategies and resources and needs for support and legitimation within the sociocultural environment discussed in the previous chapters.

Leadership in Mesoamerican Indian Communities

Since the sixteenth century Mesoamerican Indians have been a subjegated people (with the exception of a few brief periods during temporarily successful uprisings). The Spanish conquest destroyed most of the pre-conquest forms of Indian

leadership and replaced many of these leaders with Spanish ones. During the later part of the colonial period non-Indian colonial society evolved a more rigid caste-like division between Indian and non-Indian. In many areas this and other factors led to the social isolation of the Indian communities from Spanish society and government and from other Indian communities as well.(1)

During the nineteenth century (following the Wars of Independence) the Indian communities evolved into virtually self-contained units within the larger national society. "For the Indians it was a time of cultural and social consolidation, and the erection of communication barriers between the major ethnic groups."(2) The evolution of these Indian communities into "closed corporate communities" was in response to the racial ideology of the non-Indians (fostered by the Latin American variety of "positivism") and to economic factors, such as the spread of haciendas and plantations which alienated Indian land and labour. During this period the Indians became "entrenched seperatists."(3)

The structure of ethnic relations described above and the community social organizations that evolved in response to it (e.g. the civil-religious hierarchy) remained relatively intact until the 1940's (there were some changes in Mexico due to the Revolution and its aftermath) and in some cases are still present. It was in this setting that the now traditional forms of leadership evolved (though they certainly had strong antecedents in the colonial and pre-conquest

periods). Since the 1940's these forms of leadership have been under attack by new ones. These newer forms of leadership have arisen in response to the niches created by the socioeconomic changes during and following the 1940's. There has been a wide variety in the nature of competition and adaptation of the newer forms of leadership and the traditional ones. Although these newer leaders arose in response to changing environments, there are some similarities between these newer and the older forms of leadership. In general, they both depend upon some form of local legitimation and they both often exist in response to the communication gap between Indian and non-Indian society.

During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as the Indian communities remained isolated from non-Indian society, the Indian communities maintained contact with the outside through a few leaders who served as their representatives and managed to keep contact to a minimum. It was this minimal contact that the Indians desired that allowed some leaders to gain power. Often these representatives were from among the principales who possessed special knowledge or who had risen through the civil-religious hierarchy. However, as indicated in Chapter 7, just who constituted the principales and what their range of authority and power was varied considerably. In some instances men used their status as principal and their position as cultural broker to gain considerable political power. Such leaders have usually been referred to as "caciques." (4)

Although the term "cacique" has been used for a wide variety of political leaders, there appear to be some elements in common in most of these cases. Generally, though not always, the "cacique" possesses a "detachment or freedom from the normative, formal and duly instituted system of government."(5) Generally, he is a leader who tries to extend his political power to the utmost within his environment. Thus, he must try and utilize all of the resources that he perceives available. It is common for a "cacique" to have held office at some time during his career, often during its early stages. However, many "caciques" appear to prefer not to hold office through much of their career--preferring to depend upon other political resources for their power. It is possible that the constraints of office may require the ascending "cacique" to operate out of office. Such a move, however, raises the problem of legitimacy.(6)

For the "cacique" legitimacy is an important problem. He can try and avoid this by maintaining power and support entirely through coercion, but this is often not possible. Even where it is possible, some form of legitimacy may be required to assure the allegiance of his "core" of supporters (e.g. his "gun-men").(7) For the leader of limited power, who lacks the ability to depend upon coercion, a wider form of legitimacy is required. Should the leader be of limited ambition and "stick close to the (normative) rules," the problem of legitimacy may not be too great, but for the "cacique" the situation is different. He must balance

"social costs" and legitimacy with his desired power.(8)

Discussions of "caciques" in contemporary Mesoamerican Indian communities occur in a few monographs and papers. In most of these cases the Indian "caciques" used their niche as a cultural broker with the national or state administrations to add to their own more limited political power within their communities. Vogt briefly discusses a "cacique" in Zinacantan. In this case the leader used his ability to speak and write Spanish as a resource. Eventually he was able to gain control of the distribution of ejido lands in the community.(9) In another Chiapas community, Oxchuc, Siverts discusses local "caciques" and mentions those in other nearby communities. He found that "they all have demonstrated an exceptional knowledge of Indian and Ladino culture. Furthermore, they have all managed to partake for a considerable period of their life in the tribe's ceremonial activities."(10) Goldkind, in his restudy of Chan Kom, also describes the rise of an Indian "cacique" and his family. In this case, a few dominant families in the village controlled all of the administrative offices as well as all of the local political power. Eventually, one of these families gained supremacy due to the manoeuvering of its senior member. This was accomplished through using his brokerage role to gain control of most of Chan Kom's ejido lands for himself and his family.(11)

Three features seem to be important to understand Indian "caciques" and Indian political leaders in general. One is

that they are dependent upon legitimation through traditional Indian norms, even though such norms may be vague and at times contradictory.(12) Second, they often acquire political power through the manipulation of a brokerage role created by the nature of Indian non-Indian relations. Finally (although the data is scarce on this point), in order to make his power secure the leader must manipulate certain social ties within the community (e.g. kinship and compadrazgo). Like most local-level political leaders in encapsulated units, Indian leaders are dependent both upon the sociocultural environment within their own community and that of the encapsulating unit where it effects the (or comes into contact with) local group.

Political Leaders in Pueblo Viejo

In general, the village leadership has been controlled by one family, the Villanuevas. Accordingly, discussion will centre on the Villanuevas in particular. There are, however, other leaders within the village who will also be discussed.

Diego Villanueva

Diego Villanueva became somewhat of a local "cacique" in Pueblo Viejo during the 1930's and 1940's. He served as first alcalde from 1939 until 1949. After that he continued to exert considerable influence in village affairs until his death in 1961. Initially he was able to become village leader since he was considered the first to have settled at

Pueblo Viejo of those living there. The importance of this form of seniority in terms of political power and authority seems to occur throughout the Toledo District and evidently, there are other examples of this occuring in Yucatan.(13) Whether or not this is related to earlier Mayan ideas regarding lineage seniority and aristocracy is open to speculation. (14) In any event, such a rule does seem to exist in Pueblo Viejo. And in combination with a principle of patrilineal descent it has, to some extent, created a single lineage with the authority to govern Pueblo Viejo.

Diego used the authority derived from this seniority to ensure holding the office of first alcalde. Through this office he was the official representative for the village for a period of ten years (longer, if the period of Guatemalan administration is included). As a result, Diego was the only person in the village well known by government authorities. In addition, he alone had a monopoly on available government information concerning their policies and opportunities available to the Indians. However, Diego's power was kept in check by two factors. First, he, or no single individual, could control access to the land, as had the "caciques" in Zinacantan and Chan Kom. This seems to be important in understanding political power among most agricultural peoples such as the Maya due to the extreme economic and ideological importance of the land for them. Second, support through coercion was not entirely possible since families could, and often did, move to another village to

escape any form of oppression. This source of support was also limited by the possibility of a disgruntled villager calling in the police (though there are social sanctions against this). Thus, his support depended to a large degree upon consensus among the villagers.

He was able to gain this support through his status as village founder. However, to ensure having a following, so as not to be the founder of a virtually uninhabited village (there are cases of this happening), Diego had to build an extensive personal network based upon kinship and compadrazgo (how this was done and its nature have been explained in earlier chapters). Through this network his authority was reenforced by political power generated from the obligations of kinship and compadreship.

In the late 1940's the political environment in Pueblo Viejo began to change. The village population had increased in size and heterogeneity and disputes leading to factionalism were beginning to occur, especially among the younger men. These two events caused Diego's power in the community to weaken. He no longer was able to maintain strong kinship and compadre ties with all of the villagers and some of his compadres were becoming estranged due to conflicts between younger members of their respective families. Thus, while Diego was able to maintain the political authority to govern the village, his power, although still considerable, was weakened.

An important factor to consider at this time in regard

to Diego's weakening political power, is that due to his age he no longer had any young children. This meant that he could no longer extend his kinship and compadre links himself. He was dependent upon his children or others to do this, and his children and many of the other villagers were becoming increasingly involved in factional quarreling. Thus, Diego's children were choosing compadres from among factional allies. This same process was also occuring simultaneously among the village's other families. Diego apparently either did not consider this important to his political power base of felt that there was little he could do about it.

A further resource of Diego's-- his personal charisma-- should not be overlooked. Diego apparently had a personality which helped to maintain allies and followers. Due to this, even though many were quarreling with members of the faction associated with the Villanuevas, they did not wish to quarrel with Diego out of respect for his position and because of his personality. This allowed him to continue to exercise authority across factional lines for several years.

In the late 1940's the government began a program of increasing involvement in village political affairs. Part of this involvement involved attempts to increase participatory democracy within the villages through closer supervision of the alcaldes. Alcaldes, such as Diego, who had served for many years, were one of the government's main targets in this program. They desired that different alcaldes be elected each year and that the powers of the alcaldes be

diminished. In 1949 Diego was sixty-five years old. Due to governmental pressure and in part to his age and the increasing village factionalism, Diego decided to step down from the alcaldeship in that year.

Roberto Villanueva

After Diego stepped down as alcalde it was decided by Diego and the other principales that his son Roberto should succeed him.(15) Roberto served until 1952, when the government passed the Inferior Court Ordinance, which increased their involvement in village affairs. Following this the government insisted on the election of new alcaldes each year.(16) The next year Roberto stepped down and was replaced by Eusebio Choc.

Roberto lacked some of the political resources possessed by his father. Although he was his father's direct heir for the village leadership, and although his father had turned the alcaldeship over to him, his father was still alive. Thus, much authority was still held by his father, who was still head of the lineage, and of the village. Also, Roberto's compadre networks were not as diverse as his father's. He did not have many links crossing factional lines, in fact he preferred to recruit compadres from within his own faction. Due to Roberto's entrepreneurial activities he seems to have created some jealousy within the village.(17) There was also a difference in Roberto's personality. At times he acted somewhat haughty and some people resented this.

A good deal of political power was held by Roberto despite the above limitations. However, he lacked the desire to bridge the emerging factional divisions. To some extent he helped to increase these divisions through quarrels and choice of compadres. Roberto seems to have adaopted a strategy of solidifying his links within his own faction rather than trying to increase his cross-factional ties.

When Jose Tush failed to fulfill the role of first alcalde it was decided that Roberto should replace him. Apparently there was a feeling among some of the principales that the new idea of electing different alcaldes every year was not a very good one. Most of those who were considered eligible to serve by this time were either too old, lacked the desire to, or already had. So it was decided by these men that Roberto should serve again and continue to do so for awhile as his father had done before. He did so until the end of 1958.

In 1958 the Indians were again told that they should elect a new alcalde every year. This move was supported by some villagers, mostly those who belonged to factions opposed to the Villanuevas. In 1959 Roberto again stepped down from the alcaldeship. After this the alcaldeship began evolving into a purely administrative office as described in Chapter 6. As it did so it became increasingly a political liability due to increasing factionalism and the lack of political power of the incumbents. Also, external economic and political relations were no longer the monopoly of the first alcalde.

Diego and Roberto (and a few others) were known personally by many of the administrators and for them communication with government officials did not necessarily require holding an office.

In 1961 Diego Villanueva died and Roberto became lineage head. With his father dead, Roberto no longer had to share authority with him, but he also lost some of the personal political power that Diego possessed and that had given the Villanuevas added strength. From this time on Roberto's political power became increasingly factional in nature and his personal strategy was not to try and alter this.

As described in Chapter 8, factional quarreling within the village increased during the 1960's (this may in part be attributed to Diego's death ending most of the remaining inter-factional ties). During this time Roberto was quarreling with his oldest son, Gregorio, and with other villagers (including a few members of his own faction). This cost him some support and weakened his position as village leader. When, in 1969, his son Gregorio was murdered, the political situation in the village became considerably unsettled. The village council (which Gregorio had been chairman of) ceased to exist. Also, many families migrated and fiestas were not celebrated for awhile. Roberto was still the village leader and he still had considerable political power, but when his mother died the following year, he decided to leave. He no longer desired to be village leader. His oldest son and his parents were dead, he was not on good terms with his brother

Rafael, and he had enemies within the village who had shown themselves capable of extreme violence: the "game" had gotten out of hand and Roberto decided that it was time to leave.(18)

Rafael Villanueva

Had it not been for the murder of Gregorio Villanueva, Rafael most likely would not have become village leader. The position would have gone to Gregorio, who would have succeeded his father. However, with Roberto gone and Gregorio dead, the next in line of succession was Rafael. To the principales and many of the villagers it seemed proper that Rafael should become the new village leader. Before Roberto had left he had been offered the chairmanship of the village council, which he had refused. It was then decided to offer it to Rafael who was to become the new village leader, and he accepted it.

Rafael does not seem to have been well prepared for the series of events that led to his becoming village leader. Due to his quarreling with Roberto he had lived outside of the village for several years. Despite having a large number of children, this relative social and physical isolation had led to him having only a few compadres. His personal social network was not as strong as had been his father's and brother's. He had not been trying to build a base of political support. However, since becoming village leader Rafael's strategy has changed and his social position has become stronger.

Due to his lack of resources for political leadership, Rafael has had to try and expand and strengthen his position in the village. Roberto had been satisfied, more or less, to utilize the resources accumulated by his father and this had succeeded to a point for almost twenty years. However, if Rafael were to succeed as a leader he had to persue an expansive strategy due to his own position and to the state of village affairs when his brother left. Although much of the overt quarreling of the previous decade had ceased, the old animosities were still present, if not in some cases stronger.

Rafael adopted a strategy consisting of three main approaches: 1) to personally act more like a leader, 2) to strengthen his links within the Villanueva "core" of supporters, and 3) to make peace overtures to members of the main opposing faction (Eusebio Choc's). In line with the first point, Rafael began to take on an "aura" of leadership. At meetings and public gatherings he acted in ways to advertise his importance. If money was needed for some project he would always contribute more than was asked. On National Day he and the other village council members made certain that they were given credit for its success, and Rafael delivered a speech about the importance of National Day. Even when in small groups Rafael acts in ways to illustrate his leadership. Generally his actions are to show machismo, which only a leader would do in Indian culture, most preferring to act modestly or respectfully in social interaction.(19)

Even when hiring a few men to help with his rice harvest (so that his will be the first crop finished, in addition to being the largest), he offered to pay fifty cents per day over the usual one dollar a day in 1972. In essence, Rafael tries to portray a "face" which demonstrates his leadership. (20)

Among those closely allied to the Villanueva family Rafael had maintained close personal ties with only a few. This was changed after he became village leader. He began visiting many of these people frequently. He also made a point of attending social gatherings, such as baptism and wedding receptions. He still remained closest with his older friends and compadres (e.g. Apolonio Sho), but he realized that wider support was necessary.

Finally, to try and lessen the factional divisions within the community, Rafael has been trying to make peace and to create bonds with Eusebio Choc and his following. This began when one of Eusebio's sons married one of Rafael's daughters. A very public display of this cordiality was made at the christening of his daughter's child. With only one exception all of the guests at this celebration were members of Eusebio Choc's faction. The one exception was Rafael, who made a point of acting quite friendly toward all present. It should be noted that in most social gatherings all kin and compadres are entitled to attend, however, feuding kin and compadres rarely do so. Since Rafael does have some ties with members of the other faction he has chosen to utilize

these by attending social functions. The good will between Rafael and Eusebio Choc seems to also have been enhanced by their working together on the village council of which Eusebio is vice chairman.

An important feature of Roberto's leadership was that for much of the time he did not hold office. This, combined with factional difficulties, seemed to add to the limited range of Roberto's political power. Since an office would have given him a potential base for widening his base of support. Without an office Roberto's power was non-institutionalized and was based upon certain norms and social ties. As chairman of the village council, Rafael has an office and, unlike the former chairman, he is also village leader. Since the village council has performed, or at least claimed responsibility for, a number of public acts (which resulted in part because of external political changes), Rafael as chairman was able to prove himself a capable administrator and leader within the village and in relation to the external government. Thus, through a series of strategic manoeuvres Rafael has sought to regain a degree of the power formerly possessed by his father which crosses factional boundaries and is based upon a multiplexity of resources.

Other Village Leaders

Two other political leaders within the village also warrant discussion: Eusebio Choc and Secundino Coc. In both cases these men command a fairly large following which is

factionally opposed to the Villanuevas. The growth of these men's followings and their involvement in village factionalism has previously been discussed (see Chapters 4 and 8). Here their political strategies, resources, and limits will be briefly examined.

Eusebio Choc is a senior member of the village (from the recognized second oldest lineage) and presently has an extensive "core" of supporters through his numerous married male and female children and their spouses. Politically his strategy has been to build a sufficiently large backing so as to be a significant factor in village political affairs and to keep he and his followers from being pressured into leaving the village. He also has sought to make his faction relatively autonomous in terms of labour requirements and various forms of assistance. However, extending his power beyond this has not been possible (and possibly not desired) due to the problem of legitimacy. He did not wish to leave Pueblo Viejo due to quarreling with the Villanuevas, as some families have chosen to do, and at the same time he could not "defeat" them. This lead to increasing frustration among many of his faction's members during the 1960's. What resulted was an uneasy status quo, with the factions becoming relatively permanent. This is the condition at present. How amenable he is to lessening factional tensions is not entirely certain (and much depends upon the actions of Rafael Villanueva and other faction members), but at present Eusebio seems to want to ensure that the violence that did occur does

not happen again.

Secundino Coc and his group presently are relatively isolated from the other groups. He seems to be pursuing a strategy of attempting to increase his following from the ranks of the less attached members of the community and from outside the community. He is also attempting to act like a more important member of the community-- to put on the "face" of a leader. When two of his children were married the wedding receptions were very large affairs and Secundino made a point of being a very generous host. However, Secundino is limited by the fact that he has little claim to legitimacy as a leader. He is a younger brother and a member of a minor lineage in the village. Also, due largely to his rebelliousness, he and his followers have not been able to serve as any kind of village officer besides police. This bars him from ever becoming a principal. His only source of political power is his ability to recruit and maintain a sufficiently large following. His only remaining choice for attaining greater political power is to await a chance to take advantage of any new political niches which may appear.

Conclusion

The previous section discussed two catagories of leader within the village: village leaders (the Villanuevas) and factional leaders (the Villanuevas since Diego, Eusebio Choc, and Secundino Coc). There are, in addition to these, two other catagories of leader: group leaders (leaders of a

lineage and associated extended family and various followers) and the principales (various senior members of the village). Within the political "arena" these four kinds of leader interact with each other, as well as with, and in accordance to, personal strategies which to a degree reflect perceptions of their various (and often overlapping) sociocultural environments.

The village leaders have consisted of three members of a single lineage in succession: Diego, Roberto, and Rafael Villanueva. There have been, and are at present, three factional leaders: Roberto Villanueva (now succeeded by Rafael), Eusebio Choc, and Secundino Coc. There are a much larger number of group leaders: Rafael Villanueva (who succeeded Roberto, who in turn had succeeded Diego), Gregorio Choc, Miguel Coc, Teodoro Shal, Eusebio Choc (who succeeded Sebastian Choc), and Secundino Coc. Formerly there were a few others: Jose Tush (deceased and his group now moved), Juan Ixim (deceased and leadership now divided between Santiago Ixim and Domingo Coc), and Pedro Oh (he and his group have left the village). Those who may be considered as principales have varied considerably over the years. Several of the older principales have died (e.g. Abelino Choc). At present, in addition to most of the men named above, there are several other principales: Marto Cal, Hilario Ixim, Martin Choc, Apolonio Sho, and Ramon Coc. Of the other leaders named above, only Secundino Coc would not be considered a principal.

The membership in each of the catagories tends to overlap,

with fewer being present at each level. Thus, Rafael Villanueva is a village leader, a faction leader, a group leader, and a principal. This is not to say that membership in one catagory depends, necessarily, upon being a leader in another catagory. There is no ostensible hierarchy of leadership and each is based upon slightly different sources of authority. The status of one form of leader to another often varies situationally and personally. Thus, in some situations one catagory of leadership may have authority (e.g. principales over elections), though this is modified by differences in personal power and competition.

In general, it can be said that a catagory of leadership has certain areas of influence, though this again varies situationally and personally. The area of influence for the village leader has varied. Under Diego Villanueva the influence was village-wide. However, with his son Roberto this influence contracted to within emerging factional boundaries. Rafael is again trying to expand the range of influence village-wide. The influence of factional leaders is strongest within the group of which they are head and their influence with allied groups and individuals is more limited, especially since the leaders of allied groups retain a fair amount of autonomy. The group leaders themselves have a "core" over which their influence is strongest, which consists of their patrilineage. Their influence over the more extended members of these groups varies considerably in relation to the group leader and the person's social position

in the village. More socially integrated extended members of the group are less likely to leave the village and have a stronger vested interest in the group, which makes them more obliged to follow the group leader. On the other hand, members of the group who are more tenaciously attached (and especially those from other villages) are more difficult to control and their support often depends upon the nature of personal relations between themselves and the group leader. However, even the more integrated members of the group are subject to certain fissional tendencies (e.g. younger brothers). The principales have village-wide influence in certain matters (e.g. elections and deciding upon certain matters of tradition), but much of their influence depends upon their personal sources of support.

Functionally, there are some differences in the catagories of leadership. For example, the village leader serves as village representative to the outside and there is little conflict of interest here. The principales decide upon the election of certain village officers, and again there is little conflict of interest with the other leaders. In general, however, the functioning of any form of leadership affects other similar forms as well as different forms of leadership. This is related to the degree of overlap in sources of power and support. Only the village leader, and to a lesser degree the principales, are not completely enmeshed in this due to the unique sources of some of their authority (e.g., being the village founder). However, even

with these leaders, they are ultimately involved with the actions of others since the source of much of their power is of a similar nature. This means that, although there are some distinct sources of authority, leaders' sources of power are always in conflict. Thus, the principales receive authority due to seniority and community service and the group heads have authority due to their kinship positions. However, in all of these cases (and more so for the factional leaders) their power is personal and in competition with other leaders.

The ultimate conflict of all forms of leadership is related to the nature of the sources of their political power. Authority alone is not usually sufficient for leadership since it does not ensure integrated, cohesive control and support. Thus, although the Villanuevas' position as village leaders cannot be legitimately denied, without adequate personal power the position can become virtually meaningless. This is not to imply that the position of village leader itself contains no potential power-- it does. However, its power alone is not sufficient to make the village leader effective-- it is not by itself an adequate resource and it must be utilized in concert with other resources.

There are several sources of political power within the village. Kinship and compadrazgo obligations, the authority of seniority (of individual and lineage), and personal charisma are three of the most important. Office can be a source of power, as can performance in and out of office. Education

is generally not an important source of power. Wealth tends not to be one. In fact, extreme wealth must be handled with caution to keep from becoming a liability. None of these alone are sufficient to attain power. There are instances in the literature of Indian leaders who were able to mobilize sufficient resources to reach a "threshold" of power after which many previous resources either became unnecessary or encombering. Such was the case with the "caciques" cited in Zinacantan and Chan Kom who utilized various resources until they gained one (control of the land or its distribution) which in itself was sufficient to make them relatively powerful men. The situation in Pueblo Viejo is different. The struggle to maintain power is fairly constant and failure to utilize a wide range of resources may result in a loss of position. In the case of Roberto Villanueva, his power receeded to within factional boundaries since he chose not to use certain resources and to pursue a strategy which encouraged factionalism. Of course, what can be lost depends upon what one has in the first place. For a group leader, the loss of a few family members (e.g. due to lineage fission) may spell the loss of his position of leadership. However, in Roberto's case, his resources were sufficient to overcome a considerable loss in power.

The maintenance of power is in many ways related to two features of Pueblo Viejo life: the general nature of the sociocultural environment and changes within this environment. In general there are no monopolies on sources of power (e.g.

distribution of land). In the 1930's and 1940's Diego Villanueva had a limited monopoly on contact with outside government administrators, but this has ceased to be a monopoly for over twenty years. Rather, power requires a "constellation" of resources and these resources, for the most part, are subject to competition and change. This change is of two kinds. There is the change that results from certain social processes such as recruitment to extended family groups, the creation of various forms of alliance, village factionalism, fission within faction and lineage, and migration. There is a more encompassing change which is related to the encapsulation of the village's society, culture, economy, and administration. These are changes resulting from outside the village to which the village must adapt. This kind of change affects the very nature of the niches available to the leaders, as well as their sources of power. It is these changes in combination with the nature of the sources of power in general, which require the leaders to be continually manoeuvering in an attempt to prevent the loss of their power and position.

The strategies of various leaders vary considerably in trying to adapt to their continually changing environment. In general, however, there are two distinct stages involved in any leader's strategy. The first involves achieving power. In Pueblo Viejo, and possibly in most situations, power is never entirely ascribed. Even in cases where one inherits a position with wide resources of power, the individual has a previous (pre-inheritance) history that is relevant and,

as stated earlier, these resources only represent potential power. The achieving of power, however, often does not involve the inheritance or succession to some status or position. It is often the result of a personal "campaign" to achieve a position at which the aspirant can claim and be recognized to be powerful. Such a "campaign" involves the building and utilization of a "constellation" of resources (and possibly the discarding of some in the process). For example, Secundino Coc has been striving for almost ten years to build up his power through the manipulation of various kinship and compadre bonds, as well as through his personality. As in Secundino's case, the point to which one must strive to be considered powerful depends upon one's political environment. If one's opponents have extensive resources and followers, then to avoid insignificance the aspiring leader must strive to achieve at least near equality, if not superiority, through similar or equivalent resources.

The second stage of a leader's strategy involves maintaining a position of power once achieved. This does not necessarily mean that he will be satisfied to stay at this level of power-- he may desire to further increase his power. It does mean that he will try and avoid loosing power beyond the "minimal" point (which is situational) at which his position can be maintained. The leader may be satisfied with merely maintaining what he considers an adequate amount of power (e.g. Roberto Villanueva), or he may desire to solidify or entrench (e.g. the "institutionalization of charisma") his

power to ensure against loss of position. Whatever the strategy, it must take into account relevant aspects of the sociocultural environment (relevant to the leader's particular niche and sources of power, authority, and legitimacy) as well as changes in this environment. It is such changes that are of particular importance to the leader's strategy. Some changes may be fairly predictable, or at least predictable at certain points (e.g., if the government changes its policy toward private ownership of land this will lead to increased potential for economic differentiation and speculation and create certain kinds of niches), others are not. Predictability depends in part on the position of the leader vis-a-vis the source (e.g., from the national or local government) and the location of the change in the environment. In any case, the leader must try and make some predictions and adjust his strategy accordingly. (21)

In the beginning of the thesis it was stated that the dimension of political power achieved by a leader is ultimately a personal matter. That he adopts a strategy in line with his personal goals as they relate to his perception of his political resources and sociocultural environment (where it appears to be relevant to his strategy). The power achieved by a leader must also be balanced against "social costs" and the need for support (and usually legitimacy). In Pueblo Viejo the various leaders have had to adjust their strategies to an environment which is encapsulated and undergoing considerable change in certain sectors. This required the continual

adjustment of certain sources of power to maintain positions. However, there have also been some areas of continuity. These have been mainly in the realm of cultural norms. These changes have created new niches for potential leaders. However, the continuity of cultural norms as they relate to legitimacy and authority have caused some new aspiring leaders (e.g. Nicasio Coc and Calistro Bol) to fail in their attempts to exploit them. Thus, the traditional leaders have been able to maintain their prominance through the maintenance of these norms concerning authority and legitimacy. They were also able to maintain their positions by adapting their sources of power to the changing environment. The adaptation of their power resources has, however, resulted in a change in the influence and power of the various forms of leadership. Thus, the traditional leaders have maintained themselves, but many elements and aspects of their leadership have changed.

Footnotes

1. See O. La Farge (1940), M. Morner (1967), and R. Beals (1951).

2. M. Nash (1971,p.173).

3. M. Nash (1971,p.178).

4. See R.E. Alegria (1952) on the origin and use of the term "cacique."

5. P. Friedrich (1972,p.247).

6. For more general information on "caciques" see R. Kern and R. Dolkart (1972).

7. For a definition of "core" see F.G. Bailey (1969,p.45).

8. There is some information on Indian leaders in the various uprisings. On the Caste War in Yucatan see N. Reed (1964), T.W.F. Gann (1918), and A. Villa R. (1945). For other Indian uprisings see L. Gonzalez Obregon (1952).

9. E.Z. Vogt (1969,p.284-287).

10. H. Siverts (1971,p.398). Also see H. Siverts (1969).

11. See V. Goldkind (1966) and R. Redfield and A. Villa R. (1962).

12. On the use of coercion see E.Z. Vogt (1969,p.287). On norms see S.F. Moore (1970,p.322-324).

13. See R. Redfield and A. Villa R. (1962).

14. H. Siverts (1971,p.405-407).

15. R. Firth (1964,p.145) defines succession as a "process of replacement, with public recognition, whereby title, offices, authority, roles and other indicators of status are transferred from one person to another." However, it would appear that the transfer is not always complete and residual authority may remain with the former incumbent.

16. This is now said by some Indians and by most non-Indians in the area to be traditional. Apparently this "tradition" was created by the government.

17. This is claimed to be the reason for Roberto's first wife being 'obeahed.'

18. The "game" aspect of politics is discussed by F.G. Bailey (1969,p.1-3).

19. The machismo aspect of Indian culture appears to be quite complex. It is different from non-Indian machismo, but the differences and its exact nature cannot be dealt with here. On machismo in Latin America in general see J.P. Gillin (1955). G.M. Foster (1967,p.130-133) deals briefly with it among peasants in the Tarascan area in Mexico.

20. E. Goffman (1967,p.5) defines "face" as "the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact."

21. See F.G. Bailey (1969,p.7-9). He uses the term "forcast."

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Appendix A

Village Officers

First Alcaldes

1937,38 ..	Abelino Choc	1962	Miguel Coc
1939-49 ..	Diego Villanueva	1963	Apolonio Sho
1950-52 ..	Roberto Villanueva	1964	Rafael Villanueva
1953	Eusebio Choc	1965	Felipe Shal
1954	Miguel Coc	1966	Marto Cal
1955	Jose Tush	1967	Tomas Salam
1955-58 ..	Roberto Villanueva	1968	Liberato Cho
1959	Hilario Ixim	1969	Miguel Coc
1960	Eusebio Choc	1970	Liborio Choc
1961	Ramon Coc	1971	Simeon Choc
		1972	Leocardio Shal

Second Alcaldes

1945	Abelino Choc	1962	Simeon Choc
1946,47 ..	Pedro Ba	1963	Felipe Shal
1948,49 ..	Eusebio Choc	1964	Simeon Choc
1950-52 ..	Teodoro Shal	1965	Augustin Cal
1953,54 ..	Marto Cal	1966	Rafael Coc
1955,56 ..	Ramon Coc	1967	Leocardio Shal
1957,58 ..	Gregorio Choc	1968	Gregorio Villanueva
1959	Rafael Coc	1969	Manuel Ak(SC)
1960	Torraibio Coc	1970	Merigildo Coc
1961	Felipe Shal	1971	Sefarino Coc
		1972	Eustacio Tush

Village Police

1939,40 .. Teodoro Shal, Andres Cuc, Juan Choc
1941,42 .. Sotero Makin, Pedro Choc, Ignacio Coc
1943 ..... Sotero Makin, Ramon Coc, --
1944-46 .. Teodoro Shal, Ramon Coc, Encarnacion Teul
1947 ..... Teodoro Shal, -- , --
1948-50 .. Ramon Coc, Martin Choc, Jose Tush
1951 ..... -- , -- , -- , -- (began having four police)
1952-56 .. -- , -- , -- , --
1957 ..... Liberato Cho, Eustacio Tush, -- , --
1958 ..... -- , -- , -- , --
1959 ..... Matilda Cal, Felipe Shal, -- , --
1960 ..... Panfilo Choc, Leonardo Rash, Jose Choc, --

1961,62 .. -- , -- , -- , --
1963 ..... Gregorio Villanueva, -- , -- , --
1964 ..... Leocardio Shal, -- , -- , --
1965 ..... -- , -- , -- , --
1966 ..... Manuel Ak(SC), -- , -- , --
1967 ..... Anecleto Villanueva, -- , -- , --
1968 ..... Patricinio Shal, Florencio Mes, -- , --
1969 ..... Jesus Bo, Santiago Ixim, Jose Choc, Sebastian Choc
1970 ..... Ricardo Shal, Domingo Coc(PV), Eliodoro Choc, Domingo Cucul
1971 ..... Bernardo Choc, Luis Cal, Francisco Choc, --
1972 ..... Victoriano Choc, Domingo Coc (GU), Gregorio Coc, Edmundo Coc

Considerable difficulty was entailed in gathering the names of village police since many could not remember when they served or information was contradictory. Police are listed in order, from first to fourth. Where the name is unknown a double dash (--) has been inserted.

Mayordomos

1953 ..... Teodoro Shal, --
1954 ..... Torraibio Coc, --
1955 ..... -- , --
1956 ..... Miguel Coc, Marto Cal
1957 ..... Rafael Villanueva, --
1958 ..... -- , --
1959 ..... Miguel Coc, Jesus Bo
1960 ..... Gertrudis Cucul, Matilda Cal
1961 ..... Jesus Bo, Matilda Cal
1962 ..... Matilda Cal, Jesus Bo
1963-67 .. -- , --
1968 ..... Eustacio Tush, Anecleto Villanueva
1969 ..... Augustin Cal, Bernadino Choc, Ramon Coc
1970 ..... Prudencio Coc, Nicholas Pau, Panfilo Choc
1971 ..... Jose Choc, Panfilo Choc, Prudencio Coc
1972 ..... Ricardo Shal, Sebastian Choc, Liberato Cho

Many found it difficult to remember when they had served prior to 1952. Most of the older men have served at least once. Mayordomos are listed from first to third (chinam).

Secretaries

1960 ..... Rafael Coc
1961 ..... Nicasio Coc
1962 ..... Apolonio Sho
1963 ..... Apolonio Sho
1964 ..... Nicasio Coc
1965 ..... Apolonio Sho
1966 ..... Nicasio Coc
1967 ..... Rafael Coc
1968 ..... Rafael Coc
1969 ..... Apolonio Sho
1970 ..... Gonzalo Choc
1971 ..... Apolonio Sho
1972 ..... Gonzalo Choc

Appendix B

Revised Constitution and Rules of the Village Associations and Village Councils in Affiliation with the Social Development Department, 1969

Preamble:

One of the objects of the Social Development Department shall be to aid and assist in the formation of Village Associations and Councils, but each Association shall govern and control its own affairs within a defined boundary through its Council and be responsible for its own finances and community development will depend upon the efforts and cooperation of its people as whole.

1. Name: The name of this Association shall be the _____ Village Association and the Council shall be called the Village Council.

2. Aims and Objects: The objects of the Village Association shall be:

(a) To interest all residents with 20 or more families living in the village in the welfare of the community and to enroll them as members;

(b) to arrange for villages with less than twenty and more than twelve families to establish village committees comprised of three officers-- Chairman, Secretary, and Treasurer. These committees may seek affiliation with the nearest Village Council in their area and make representation to Government through that body. Notwithstanding this, village committees may make direct representation on their own behalf of residents in their areas;

(c) to define the boundaries of a village through its Village Council, subject to the approval of the Minister of Local Government and Social Development;

(d) to coordinate the work of all organizations in the village which are engaged in any kind of social service work, by inviting them to become affiliate members of organizations so as to:

  (i) prevent competition and overlapping of efforts; and

  (ii) promote proper activities for different age groups and sections of the community;

(e) to encourage and assist cooperative efforts among the members and in the village for economic and social purposes and for the welfare of the people in any manner, but neither the Association nor the Council shall interfere with the internal administration of the bodies concerned;

(f) to affiliate with the Social Development Department and to cooperate with other Village Associations in the formation of District Councils;

(g) to cooperate with the District Councils in the formation of a National Council;

(h) to provide and run a Community Centre for the development of the social, educational, civic, cultural, recreational, religious and economic life of the people of the village, irrespective of colour, class, or creed.

3. Membership:

Membership shall be in two forms:

(a) Membership Organizations:

(i) Every Social service organization in the village may become a member organization of the Association and thereupon all members of such organizations shall become members of the Association and shall be entitled to enjoy its privileges; but only direct members may vote;

(ii) Applications for membership as a Member Organization shall be made to and decided upon by the Village Council;

(iii) The Secretary of each Member Organization shall, early in each year, report on the number of the members, the names of its officers and of its representatives on the Council, to the Secretary of the Council and thereafter promtly advise that officer of any changes.

(b) Direct Members:

(i) Any person 18 years and over may join as a Direct Member;

(ii) Every person desiring to become a Direct Member shall apply to the Council through the Secretary on the form provided and the decision of the Village Association as to the approval or the refusal of the application shall be final provided that the applicant shall have a right to appeal to the Social Development Department;

(iii) A register of Member Organizations with the names of the Officers and Representatives of such Organizations, and a full list of the names of Direct Members shall be kept up to date by the Secretary;

(iv) The Council may, where it deems fit, admit residents of the village, who are not members of the Village Association, to participate in any activities of the Association, but no such person shall be granted the full rights of membership.

4. Finance:

(a) The Village Council shall be responsible for the collection of subscriptions and other fees.
(b) Direct Members shall pay an annual subscription of 25¢ per year, but non-payment of fees shall not debar anyone from participating in elections.
(c) Member Organizations shall arrange with the Council to make an annual payment of membership fees covering the individual members of their organizations, as in the case of Direct Members.
(d) Special community efforts shall be made to meet necessary expenses not carried by collections made under Sub-Rules (b) and (c).
(e) No financial undertaking shall be entered into by the Village Council unless adequate measures have been taken to meet obligations under the same.

5. Management: The affairs of the Village Association shall be managed by a Village Council which shall consist of the Representatives elected by the Direct Members and Representatives of Member Organizations: provided that--

(a) each Member Organization shall, upon joining and thereafter annually, appoint two Representatives to serve on the Council;
(b) Members of the Council representing Member Organizations may be replaced by their Organizations from time to time.

6. The Village Council:

(1) The Village Council shall:

(a) manage, direct and control the affairs of the Association in all respects and be responsible for its finances;
(b) meet as often as it wishes, but not less than once a month. Two-thirds of the members shall constitute a quorum. The Chairman shall have a right to vote like any other member, but in the case of a tie or dead-lock, the Chairman shall have the power to cast another deciding vote;

(c) have the power to make rules to amend and vary the same, for the management and control of any of its activities subject to the approval of the Social Development Officer;

(d) determine and regulate all matters, not provided for in these rules, arising from time to time;

(e) appoint Working Committees from among Association members with such powers as it may deem fit;

(f) consult and cooperate with all country-wide organizations with common aims so as to assist in carrying out the objects of the Association;

(g) make rules to govern its own procedures, a copy of which shall be submitted for approval to the Minister through the Social Development Officer.

(h) have the power to fill any vacancy among its members caused by death, resignation, or leave granted. The person appointed shall hold office either for the remainder of the term of office for which the vacating officer was appointed, or until such time as the incumbent returns;

(2) should a member of the Council fail to attend three consecutive Council meetings without a reasonable excuse or being granted leave of absence, such a member shall automatically lose his seat in the Council and the Council shall have the power to co-opt a member who shall serve with the full rights of an elected member;

(3) special meetings of the Council may be called at any time by the Chairman or at the written request of any three members of the Council, addressed to the Secretary and setting forth the purpose of the meeting, in which case the Secretary shall cause a meeting to be held within five days of the receipt of the request;

(4) notice of regular Council meetings along with the agenda shall be served on members by circular at least three days before each meeting;

(5) no member of the Council shall incur any personal liability in respect of any loss or damage incurred through any act done, authorised, suffered, or omitted by him when acting in good faith for the benefit of the Council: provided always that such act does not contravene the provisions of the Constitution and of the Rules of the Council.

7. Elections and Method of Voting:

(a) There shall be a yearly registration of voters which shall be arranged by the Social Development Department.
(b) A period shall be designated by the Minister during which elections shall be be held in an election year.
(c) The villagers shall, on a date decided on within the election period, nominate candidates and immediately thereafter, by secret ballot, in the same day elect seven members to form the Council. These seven members shall, among themselves, elect officers to the various posts mentioned in Rule (8).
(d) The day and date of the elections shall be set by the Minister..

8. Officers:

The Officers of the Village Council shall consist of:

(i) Chairman
(ii) Vice Chairman
(iii) Secretary
(iv) Assistant Secretary
(v) Treasurer
(vi) Assistant Treasurer
(vii) Councillor

These Officers shall remain in office for two years commencing as from the date of the Election. The Chairman and Secretary shall be ex-official members of all Working Committees.

9. Duties:

(a) Chairman: The Chairman shall:

(i) preside over all meetings of the Village Association and Council;
(ii) see that the Constitution and Rules are faithfully observed;
(iii) countersign all orders prepared by the Treasurer and sign cheques and negotiable instruments in conjunction with the Treasurer; and
(iv) in all cases of voting have an original and a casting vote.

(b) Vice Chairman: The Vice Chairman shall preside at all meetings of the Village Association and Council in the absence of the Chairman and shall be vested with the duties and privileges of the Chairman. In the absence of the Chairman or Vice Chairman at a particular meeting the

members present shall proceed to elect a Chairman who shall be vested with all the powers of the Chairman as laid down in sub-rule 9(a);

(c) Secretary: The secretary shall:

(i) carry out the directions of the Village Council and keep books as the Council and Social Development Officer may direct;
(ii) be responsible for all correspondence and be fully in charge of all properties of the Association;
(iii) be responsible for the serving of all notices convening meetings and of agendas covering such meetings; these being served within the time laid down in Rules 6 (3) and (4);
(iv) attend all meetings of the Association and Council and take minutes of the proceedings;
(v) notify all new members and Member Organizations of their acceptance or non-acceptance in the Association within seven days after a decision is reached;
(vi) when time does not allow for the Council to be consulted and after agreement with the Chairman, or if the Chairman, act on behalf of the Council, but in such cases he shall inform the next meeting the Council, of the action taken: provided that all decisions shall be in accordance with the Constitution and Bye-Laws. (The above is as it appears in the text of the original.)
(vii) keep a register of all members and Member Organizations.

(d) Assistant Secretary: The Assistant Secretary shall assist in all duties indicated by the Secretary, and take over all the duties of the higher post in the Secretary's absence.

(e) Treasurer: The Treasurer shall:

(i) carry out the directions of the Council in all financial matters, keeping such accounts as it may direct;
(ii) be the ultimate receiver and be responsible for all monies paid to the Association, issuing receipts for such payments and making appropriate entries in the book provided for this purpose;
(iii) make all payments on behalf of the Association as the Council shall direct, making appropriate entries in the book provided for this purpose and obtaining receipts or vouchers for such payments;

(iv) submit an account of all monies received and expended together with all books, vouchers and receipts to the Auditor;
(v) lodge with the Government Savings Bank in the name of the Association;
(vi) sign along with the Chairman or Vice Chairman all negotiable documents for the withdrawal of any amount lodged with the Government Savings Bank;
(vii) be responsible for the collection of all amounts owed to the Association;
(viii) present an audited financial statement to the Annual General Meeting.

10. Annual General Meeting:

(a) The supreme authority of the Association shall be vested in the Annual General Meeting;
(b) the Annual General Meeting of the Association shall take place in February of each year or as soon as may be thereafter;
(c) at least ten days public notice of the date of the Annual General Meeting shall be given and 50% plus one of the membership shall constitute a quorum;
(d) the business of the Annual General Meeting shall be as follows:
(1) To receive and adopt the Annual Report of the Village Council, a copy of which shall be sent to the Social Development Officer;
(2) to receive and adopt the Audited Financial Statement, a copy of which shall be sent to the Social Development Officer;
(3) to receive an inventory of Property;
(4) to deal with any matter brought forward by a bona-fide member present or previously notified to the Secretary;
(5) to record minutes which shall be read at the next meeting of the Council on which occasion any resolutions or suggestions included there in shall be given proper consideration.

11. Quarterly General Meeting: A general meeting shall be held once in each quarter to receive reports from the Village Council on its work and state of finance and to discuss projects in connection with which special speakers may be invited.

12. Special General Meetings: The Secretary shall convene a Special General Meeting:

(i) at any time on the order of the Chairman, and, in his absence, the Vice Chairman of the Council;

(ii) on receiving a requisition signed by the Secretaries of not less than two member Organizations affiliated to the Association, stating the business for which the meeting is to be summoned and the Secretary will give three days public notice of the place, day and hour of such meeting: provided that no other business other than that on the agenda shall be transacted at such a meeting.

13. Discipline:

(a) The Association shall have the power to suspend or expel any member, whether affiliated or direct, whose conduct is found, in the judgement of a two-thirds majority of the Councillors present at any meeting thereof; to be inconsistent with the objects of the Association, or whose general attitude and spirit are found to be prejudicial to the interest of the Association.

(b) In the case of a Member Organization, the Council shall have the power to suspend membership pending enquiry at a special meeting of the Association when the termination of membership shall depend upon a two-thirds majority of those present: provided that notice of such special meetings, stating reason, shall be sent to the Social Development Officer not less than two weeks prior to the meeting.

(c) If any person misconducts himself or herself on the premises of the Village Association, or at any function organized by the Association, an Officer or other persons in charge for the time being shall report the persons or person to leave the premises and shall report the matter to the Council for consideration at its next meeting.

(d) Anyone accused of misconduct shall have the right to appear at any hearing to conduct his or her defence.

(e) The decision of the Council shall be final: provided that in case of explusion an appeal may be made to the Village Association not later than five days after the Council's decision is made known.

14. Accounts:

(a) The council shall keep a cash book which shall be opened for inspection by Officers of Social Development Department at any time.

(b) The accounts of the Association and Council shall be audited by the staff of the Social Development Department though the Council may engage its own external auditors.

15. Property:

(a) The buildings, lands, and equipment acquired by the Association shall be vested in the officers of the Council for the time being, and any property and equipment acquired by the Ministry of Local Government and Social Development or the Social Development Department for use by the Association or Council, shall remain the property of that Ministry or that Department as the case may be.

(b) If, in the opinion of the Social Development Officer, the Association is failing to serve the purpose for which it exists, the Social Development Officer shall have the power to make recommendations to the Minister of Local Government and Social Development as to the disposal of any property or equipment provided by the Ministry or Department.

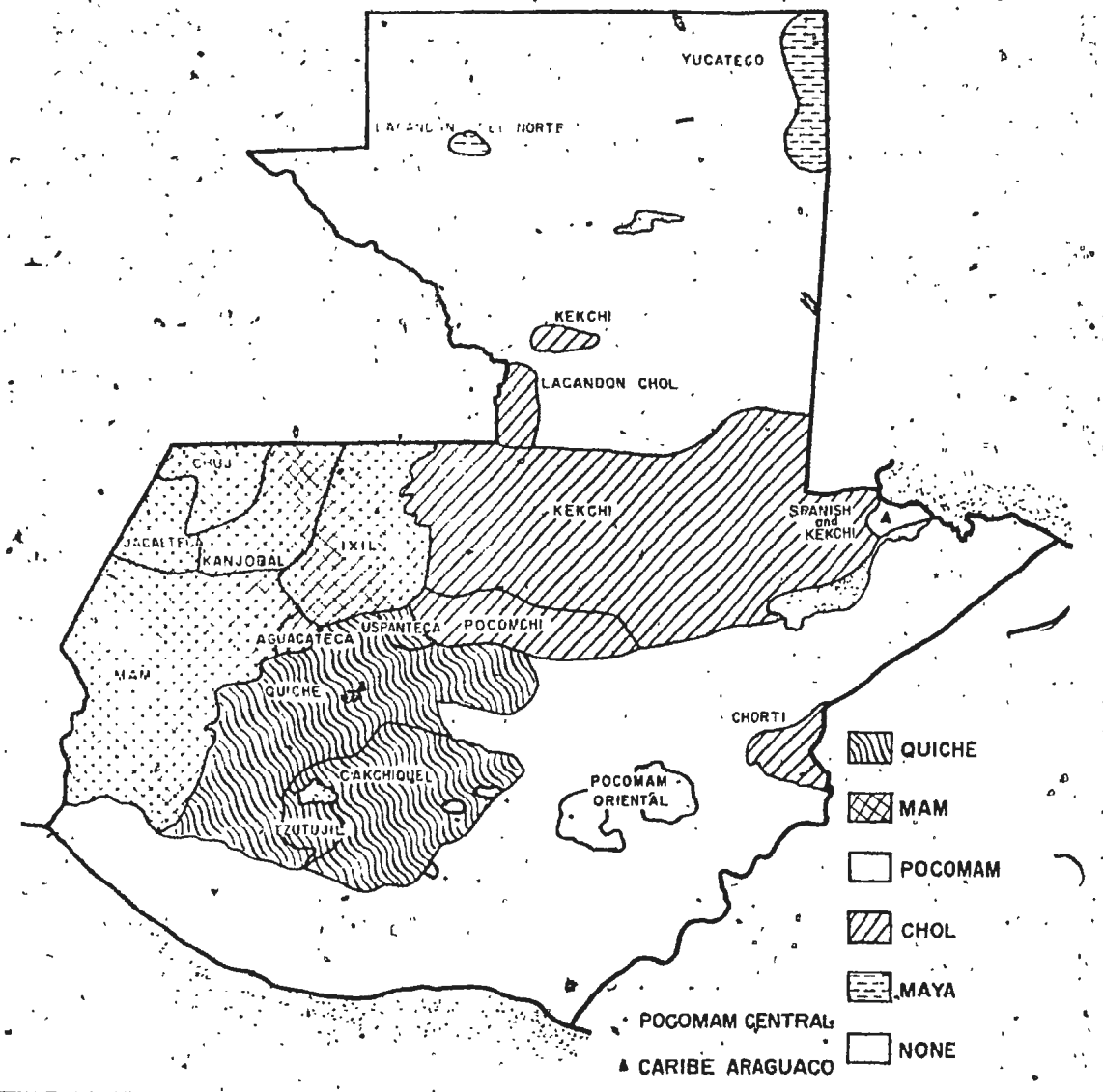
(c) Inventories of property and equipment owned by or loaned to the Association shall be checked and signed for by the incoming officers as soon as possible after their election to office.

16. Interpretation: Any question as to the interpretation of this constitution shall be decided by the Social Development Officer, subject to the ratification of the Minister.

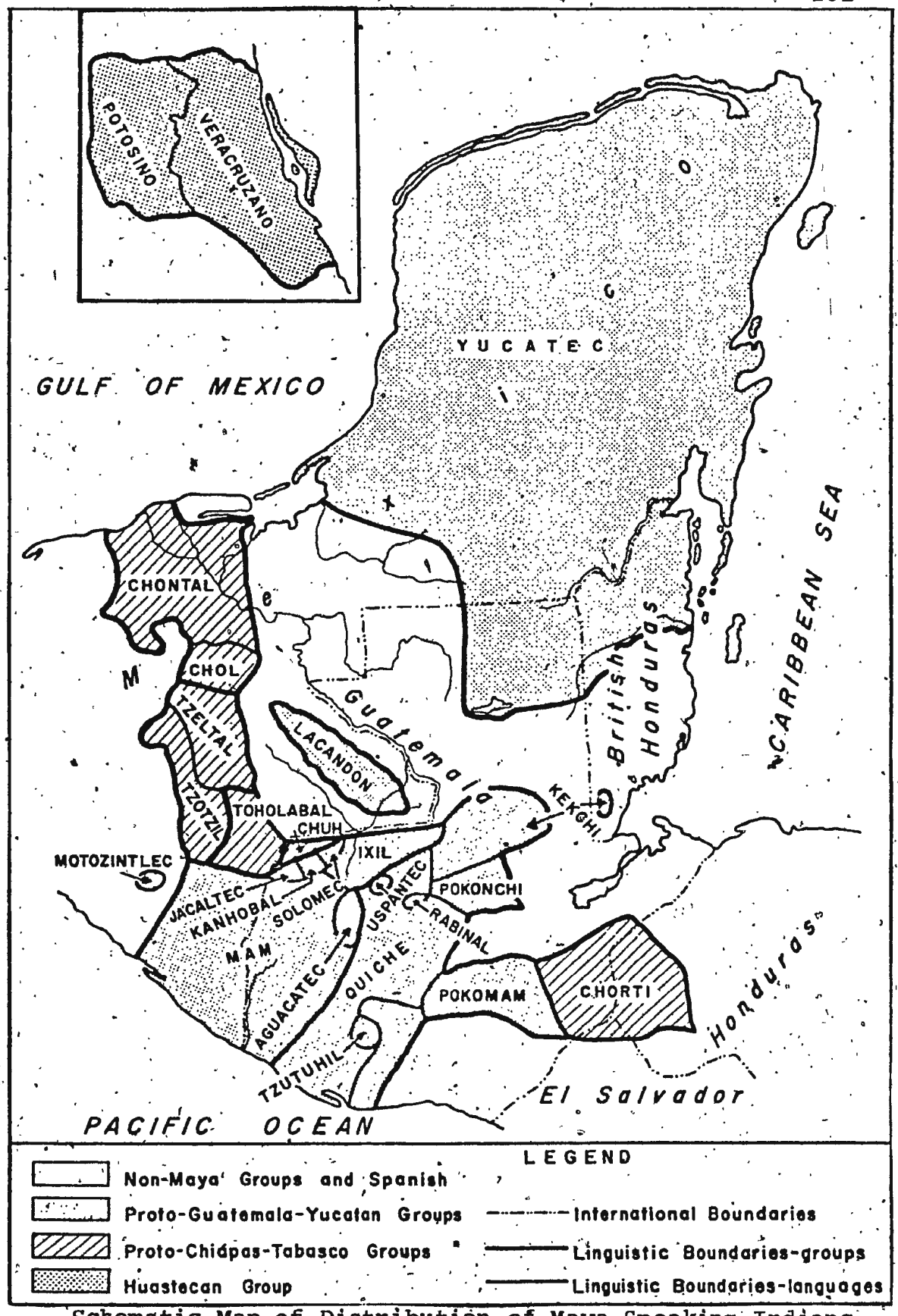
17. Alterations to Constitution and Rules: No alterations to this constitution and these rules as affecting the aims and objects of the Association or the relationship of the Social Development Department or any of the officers of the Association shall be made without the consent and approval of a General Meeting of the Association and of the Social Development Officers, subject to the final approval of the Minister.

Appendix C

Linguistic Maps of the Mayan Area



Present-Day Maya Language Boundaries of Guatemala
(From Whetten, 1961, fig. 9)



Schematic Map of Distribution of Maya-Speaking Indians
(From Morley, 1956,pl. 7)