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Brokerage, capital accumulation and development: Transporters in the process of economic and political change in Chiapas, Mexico

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BROKERAGE, CAPITAL ACCUMULATION AND DEVELOPMENT: TRANSPORTERS IN THE PROCESS OF ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL CHANGE IN CHIAPAS, MEXICO.

by

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A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Anthropology in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor in Philosophy, The City University of New York.

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Abstract

BROKERAGE, CAPITAL ACCUMULATION AND DEVELOPMENT: TRANSPORTERS IN THE PROCESS OF ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL CHANGE IN CHIAPAS, MEXICO.

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Luis J. Loyola

Advisor: Dr. Eric R. Wolf

This research examines the relationship between transportation and development, which is explored at two levels.

At the economic level, this relationship is analyzed through the process of capital accumulation stemming from the activity of transporting cash-crops and commodities necessary for their production. The central question explored is, whether the accumulated capital stays within the community in the hands of local transporters or escapes the community level in the hands of non-community transporters. The data gathered shows that 77.17% of the money spent in the transportation of coffee, honey, and fertilizer for corn and coffee escapes the municipal level.

At the political level, the relationship between transportation and development is explored through the study of haulers in their struggle to control transportation services. The key issue discussed is, whether the conflict generated by competing caciques over

transport services contributes to the development process. The data gathered shows that the struggle to control transportation services does not contribute to development since corruption and killing does not help to build up people's trust in the system.

Participant observation in the field as well as structured and open-ended interviews were used to gather data. Similarly, observation of transporters' daily activities, through participant observation, allowed for situational analysis of brokerage/transporter functions. Situational analysis was not limited to formal contacts but included social and leisure contacts in such a behavior settings as dances, school graduations and inaugurations, baptisms, and religious and civil festivities.

Dedication

I want to express my life long love and gratitude to my parents Jaime and Inés, to my brother Jim and my son Alux. For them, who have been a constant source of energy, support and inspiration; who were, are and will be part of my being, I dedicate this work.

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I will always be grateful to the people of Tenejapa who in one way or another contributed to this project, and those who shared with me part of their lives while drinking

a quart of pox, specially to my compadre Ismael, Lalo, Francisco, Pedro, Felipe, Doña Alicia, Rene, Jaime, Mincho, Antero, Alonso, Antonio, Sebastían, Nicolas and Miguel.

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Abbreviations

AHDSC	-	Archivo Histórico Diocesano de San Cristóbal de las Casas.
ANDSA	-	Almacenes Nacionales de Depósito, S.A.
BANRURAL	-	Banco de Crédito Rural.
CCTT	-	INI's Centro Coordinador Tzeltal/Tzotzil in San Cristóbal de las Casas.
CONASUPO	-	Compañia Nacional de Subsistencias Populares.
COPLAMAR	-	Coordinación General del Plan Nacional de Zonas Deprimidas y Grupos Marginados.
CROC	-	Confederación Revolucionaria de Obreros y Campesinos.
FERTIMEX	-	Fertilizantes de México.
IMSS	-	Instituto Mexicano del Seguro Social.
INI	-	Instituto Nacional Indigenista.
INMECAFE	-	Instituto Mexicano del Café.
JLC	-	Junta Local de Caminos.
NACSA	-	a private road construction company.
PAN	-	Partido de Acción Nacional.
PIDER	-	Programa Integral de Desarrollo Rural.
PRI	-	Partido Revolucionario Institucional.
PSUM	-	Partido Socialista Unificado de México.
SARH	-	Secretaría de Agricultura y Recursos Hidráulicos.
SCT	-	Secretaría de Comunicaciones y Transporte.
SDR	-	Secretaría de Desarrollo Rural.
SOP	-	Secretaría de Obras Públicas.

SSA	-	Secretaría de Salubridad y Asistencia.
SUB-SAI	-	Sub-Secretaría de Asuntos Indígenas.

Glossary

acción	-	action, gesture.
aguardiente	-	rum; made from distilled sugar cane.
ahijado	-	godchild.
alcalde(s)	-	political Indian authorities.
alcaldes mayores	-	province governors in colonial times.
anticipo a cuenta de cosecha	-	the process by which the coffee growers receive an advance in cash to buy fertilizer and later adjusted to the total amount of coffee delivered at the INMECAFE warehouse at official prices.
banquil	-	in Tzeltal means older brother; banquilales is a Spanish adaptation to denote the plural form, older brothers.
barrio(s)	-	see paraje(s).
beneficio(s)	-	drying terraces sponsored by the INI.
brechas de penetración	-	narrow dirt road that facilitates the penetration to the communities without a road.
cacho(s)	-	a bull's horn use by Indians to carry pox.
cacique(s)	-	a person who has great political and economic power at the local level and often uses it in an arbitrary form generally ending in corruption.
cafetal(es)	-	coffee field(s).
Cartilla del Presidente	-	the approved budget and development programs to be carried out by the municipal president.
caminos de grava	-	gravel road.

capulín	-	the ripe red coffee grain which has been air dried.
cargo(s)	-	religious and civil positions.
central	-	main office in a subregion.
cereza	-	the red ripe coffee grain.
chicha	-	fermented drink made from sugar cane juice.
comadre	-	female godparent.
comandante municipal	-	municipal commander. The person who is responsible for maintaining the order in the municipality. Also known as Comandante de Policía.
combi(s)	-	Volkswagen station wagon used to transport passengers.
compadre	-	male godparent.
comunidad	-	community.
coyote(s)	-	intermediary who buys directly from the producers at low prices and resells making a profit.
curandero(s)	-	shaman.
despulpadora	-	machine used to de-pulp the coffee grains.
ejido(s)	-	land granted to individuals or groups of individuals for use, without actual ownership, under Mexico's land reform program.
el sexenio	-	space of six years.
encomenderos	-	persons who had a Spanish Royal decree in order to utilize the Indian labor force.
enganchador(es)	-	a person who hooks/contracts Indians to work in the fincas.

enganche	-	the system by which the Spaniards obtained the necessary labor force for their haciendas.
federales	-	group of Indians transporters who received the first federal license to provide transport services in Tenejapa.
fiadores	-	young Indian authorities who execute municipal orders in the their communities.
fiesta(s)	-	a complex set of political but mainly religious celebrations.
finca(s)	-	large extensions of land normally devoted to cash-crop production; plantation.
gobernación	-	the office of the State Governor in Tuxtla Gutiérrez.
güero	-	a white-blonde person.
hacendados	-	a person who owns an hacienda.
hacienda(s)	-	an agricultural productive system widely use to colonized the new world consisting of one or various plots of lands and the utilization of landless peasants, coerced labor force and/or share croppers.
jcaxlan pox	-	tzeltal term for beer.
jlumaltic	-	our town.
la contra	-	group of Tenejapanecan Indians, who stemmed from the federales.
ladino(s)	-	is a cultural term referring to non -Indian Mexicans or Indians who have adopted western cultural patterns.
licenciados	-	government employees who have B.A. degree.
mestizo	-	is a cultural term referring to non -Indian Mexicans or Indians who have adopted western cultural patterns.

metate(s)	-	a curve stone, in the shape of an inclined plane, resting on three feet, used for grinding maize for tortillas.
mi equipo	-	my team.
milpa	-	corn field.
mordida	-	the sum of money given so that an employee of the bureaucracy - surely underpaid - should take some action desired by the donor.
mucho taq'uin	-	a lot of money.
municipio(s)	-	municipality.
oro	-	a totally cleaned coffee grain that only needs to be toasted to be consumed.
padrino de graduación	-	graduation sponsor. Tenejapanecan Indians and mestizos use the same metaphor as in real godparenthood for school graduations.
padrón	-	poll.
panela	-	blocks of brown sugar.
paraje(s)	-	a territorial unit, composed of dispersed extended families, internally bound through agnatic descendance (father's side) and some through affinal ties.
patrón	-	boss.
peón	-	day laborer.
pergamino	-	coffee grain that has been de-pulped and dry out but still has the inner husk.
pinche indio	-	damned Indian.
plaza	-	public square: not to be confused with market place.
pox	-	distilled sugar cane liquor. The literal translation is medicine.

precio de garantía - the official guarantee price established by INMECAFE.

Primer Regidor - a three years remunerated civil position.

principales - a civil cargo.

quintal(es) - coffee bags weighing 57.5 kilograms.

Quinto Viernes - Catholic religious festivity celebrated by ladinos.

rancherías - term use to refer to the Indians communities in which non-Indians owned great extensions of land.

regateo - bargaining.

regidor(es) - civil cargos lasting one year. Their function is three fold: as messengers of the president, as town police and as the president's guards.

repartimiento - the system by which Indians were distributed to work and be exposed to taxation.

Segundo Mayordomo - a religious cargo.

Síndico Municipal - a civil cargo which is the second most important after the president position lasting three years.

tapiscar - harvest the corn or coffee.

tarea(s) - a day's work.

tequio - a form of communal work by which individuals offer their labor without receiving any type of economic remuneration.

Tercer Regidor - a three years remunerated civil position.

tiene taq'uin - has money.

tierra caliente - hot country.

tierra fría	-	cold country.
tierra templada	-	warm country.
tortillas	-	the basic staple eaten by Mexicans made with ground corn.
zocalo	-	the town main square.
zontle(s)	-	one zontle equals 400 corn ears.

Brokerage, Capital Accumulation and Development: Transporters in the Process of Economic and Political Change in Chiapas, Mexico.

Chapter I: Introduction

I.A Problem

This research examines the relationship between transportation and development.[1] This relationship is explored at two levels; economic and political, the latter arising from the first. At the economic level, this relationship is analyzed through the process of capital accumulation stemming from the activity of transporting cash-crops and commodities necessary for their production. At the political level,[2] the relationship between transportation and development is explored through the study of haulers in their struggle to control transportation services.

Development involves modernization of farming technologies and infrastructure, as well as diffusion of institutions regulating market relations and providing security and predictability to both private and government entities. In Chiapas, as elsewhere, both aspects of development depend on the activities of social agents described by anthropologists as economic brokers, who are linked in characteristic ways to local communities.[3]

The economic brokers are large-scale truckers who transport cash-crops. Consequently, transporters link local production (cash-crops destined for the international

market) with government and private warehouses.

Developmental goals can be summarized as follows: encouragement of peasants to extend their cultivation to lands dependent on rainfall in order to increase their agricultural production for self sufficiency (Ulises-Leal 1980), provide inexpensive foodstuffs for urban areas (Salinas de Gortari 1982), increase peasant standards of living in order to stem the tide of rural-urban migration, diminish underemployment, and quell potential political unrest.

Development can be measured in terms of productivity increases, improvement in farming technologies, and the expansion of communication and transportation networks. This has fostered stronger linkages between rural communities and local, subregional, regional, national and international markets (Carlos 1981). The impact of this development on the society can fully be assessed by observing the activity of transportation at the local/community level.

From a developmental perspective and for the bulk of peasants, decreasing transportation costs could stimulate capital reinvestment which could, at the same time, increase productivity. On the other hand, for locally situated haulers, the accumulated capital obtained from the transportation activity could also stimulate reinvestments.[4]

I.B Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

The literature on Mesoamerica in the last 30 years has focussed on social change, economic development, agrarian reforms, ethnicity, class and urbanization. The Highlands of Chiapas region has received the bulk of attention due to individual as well as group efforts such as the Harvard Chiapas project (Chambers and Young 1979).

Regional analysis in Chiapas has focused on commodity production which in turn has been explained from an ecological, geographical and historical perspective. The ecological perspective suggests that cultural variations promoted by ecological differences stimulated local specializations (Collier, G. 1976).

The geographical perspective suggests that subregional/regional commodity production depend on market patterns. These market patterns stem from the economic geography models such as the central place theory (King 1985). San Cristóbal de las Casas market pattern does not allow for symmetrical participation among sellers and buyers (De la Peña 1986).[5] As C. Smith (1977:117) states "... most differences among modern peasant economies can be explained by variation in the type of market that engages peasant rather than the degree to which peasants engage in a market".

Difference in commodity production can not be solely explained either by environmental differences[6] or by market

patterns but by an analysis that incorporates class relations within a historical perspective as the most important determinant of patterns of commodity production (Wasserstrom 1976, 1977, 1978a; Stavenhagen 1969).[7]

The revised literature on the Highlands of Chiapas reveals that commodity production and its transportation played a major role in developing the municipal[8] economy (e.g., in Zinacantan, Chamula and Amatenango), thus increasing wealth/class differences.[9]

The income of the Zinacanteco households in this region depends in part on the success of the cash-crop harvest and the range of options which the peasant has in selling the harvest. There are three principal alternatives: (1) sell surpluses of subsistence crops to the federal warehouse system of the Mexican Government (Compañia Nacional de Subsistencias Populares - CONASUPO), (2) sell surpluses to a middleman and/or (3) sell it himself in the market in small quantities during the year. Using any of these alternatives the Indian households spends between 15 to 30 per cent of the production costs in transportation - a considerable amount (Cancian 1965; 1972; Grindle 1981). Furthermore, the importance of the high transportation costs and expansion of corn planting in the Grijalva Valley has contributed to the "decapitalization cycle"[10] and the transformation of the arable land to land for cattle raising - a shift in the regions commodity

production (Wasserstrom 1983a).

In Chamula, transportation proved to be a consistent factor in developing the municipal economy. This was attained through the production of aguardiente/pox (pronounced posh), followed by the implementation of government programs.

In 1942, the Chamula scribes[11] made an alliance with state authorities to enforce the law of 1937. This law allowed the religious cargo[12] holders or the ones who would assume such an office to sell aguardiente as a way of paying the cost of their cargo service (Wasserstrom 1983a:177). This alliance coincided with the destruction of the aguardiente production monopoly (Crump 1987:244-246; Navarrete-Pellicer 1983:67-72).[13] Chamula's scribes took advantage of the historical conjuncture and began to develop the transport activity jointly with the production and distribution of aguardiente. In order to get the necessary panela (blocks of brown sugar) to produce aguardiente, the Chamulas had first to transport it from the lowland to the Highland municipality. This stimulated the first Indian producers of aguardiente to acquire transport vehicles (Crump 1985:359).

INI, during the 1950's, began to implement development projects in Chamula, among which were the construction of roads, the formation of truck associations, and a shift and increase in cash-crop production to satisfy San Cristóbal

de las Casas' ladino[14] population (Köhler 1975). Chamula authorities began to function as intermediaries between INI and the Chamula community, thus consolidating the power which had developed along with their control over the production and sale of aguardiente.

These two components, the production of pox and the implementation of government programs, resulted in a shift from subsistence agriculture to cash-crop production (Crump 1985, 1987; Wasserstrom 1983a).

The Panamerican Highway transformed the Amatenango market system. Transportation polarized markets, eliminating the exchanges between Indian villages. Before the road network was developed, Indians transported their clay pots on horseback. Ten years after the Panamerican Highway was constructed, Amatenango Indians began to transport their clay pots by bus (1960's), and ten years later by truck (1970's) to the Comitán and San Cristóbal de las Casas markets. The road network accentuated the role of the subregional market of San Cristóbal de las Casas, controlled by ladino middlemen (Nash 1975, 1966).

In the Zinacantan, Chamula and Amatenango cases, transportation played a crucial role by: (1) facilitating integration/linkage between local production with subregional, regional and national markets; (2) transforming the markets' intermediation system which consists of selling price, buying conditions, type/quality

of cash-crops and potential buyers (Masferrer-Kan 1986) and (3) at the same time delineating power groups at the community level. Additionally, transportation proved to be a major factor in promoting class differences.

In order to fully understand the socio-cultural complexity of the development-transportation relationship one needs to examine the role and praxis of economic brokers, some of them having great political and economic power at the local level for which they have been termed caciques (Bartra 1975; Warman 1972, 1976), as a manifestation of a dynamic relation between the state - expressing the development goals- and the peasant, as class relations begin to emerge (Snyder 1980, 1981).

The concept of mediator refers to the status of a person who serves to connect local systems with the national system (Silverman 1965).[15] One type of mediator is the economic broker, responsible for articulating different modes of production through the labor market (Oxaal 1975; Long 1975; Long and Roberts 1978; Scott 1976; Rollwagen 1974). Additionally, the economic broker controls and regulates a set of relations, constituting a network, which facilitate dynamic interaction between the rural economy and regional or national structures (Long 1975). For my purposes, an economic broker is a hauler who articulates local production with a market system through local, subregional and state warehouses rather than someone

who articulates different modes of production through the labor market.

There have been various models explaining the origin of the broker. The "folk-urban continuum" model presented by Redfield (1941), has been utilized by Geertz (1960) to understand the integrational function of the cultural broker since he/she provides for an effective juncture between traditional cultural patterns and modern/national ones. This is, "... the most essential pre-requisite for the success, in democratic form, for the nationalist experiment both in Indonesia and elsewhere" (Geertz 1960:229). Following this model, Butterworth & Chance (1981:76) see the migrant and the return migrant as a culture broker since they are between two worlds; the urban and the rural due to the fact that they work in the city but have land in the rural area.

The transactionist model explains the origin of the broker when there are material needs that cannot be satisfied by the individuals who are forced to resort to mediators to fulfill them. Thus, the broker is a communicating agent who intervenes/facilitates economic transactions (Wells 1979:401-402).

The third model may be termed integrational.[16] The topic of social integration, through mediators, has acquired importance for those anthropologists who have dealt with the articulation between community/region/nation

(Butterworth & Chance 1981:79). Wolf (1956) understands that the mediator is from the community where he/she carries out his/her functions, although he/she responds to the interests of the national institutions. They represent the relation between part and whole characteristic of a pre-industrial society, in which local units separated from each other and from the political center are dependent on individuals who could establish the links (Silverman 1965:174).

The argument is further refined by associating the origin of the mediator with the origin and development of the government at the local level (Mayer 1967:186). Mayer (1967) does not transcend the local context, which limits the understanding of the whole. This is so, since the local policy has to be understood within the wider frame of reference such as the national policy (Adams 1970). Ugalde (1973:123) emphasizes that

> In political systems with strong central controls and a dominant party, of which Mexico is a good example, lower administrative levels are left powerless, and consequently, the process of demand aggregation requires political brokerage if the local leader is going to have any success.

Velez-I. (1978:369) demonstrates the same powerless resulting in the inability of local administrative machinery to make decisions.

The three models are not mutually exclusive; presenting the broker as an intermediary who facilitates

communication between the rural and urban areas, the ones in need and the providers, and between the nation-state and the community which is already integrated or in the process of becoming integrated. This suggests that brokers not only have a social role, but also form part of the social structure (Wells 1979:401; Butterworth & Chance 1981:80).

I define as my unit of analysis a modified version of C. Smith's (1977) regional markets. For this study the unit will consist of the area served by government warehouses to truck routes. Objects of research are the individuals, groups of individuals, households and communities within such area.

I.C Methodology

The central relation explored is transportation and development at the economic and political level. At the economic level, the central question to explore is whether the accumulated capital stays within the community in the hands of local transporters or escapes the community level in the hands of non-community transporters.

In order to operationalize the research question data was gathered on three major categories of transportation: coffee, corn and honey. I also gathered data on subsistence outputs and cash-crops destined for local, regional and urban allocation.

At the political level, the key issue to discuss is

whether the conflict generated by competing caciques, over transport services, contributes to the development process. For this I gathered data on the transporter and his family's occupational, educational and socio-cultural background, past and present income, position within their community, intra-kin relations as well as the types of activities that transporters engage in when they are not working. I conducted an inventory of material goods in the household, addressing when and where they were acquired, and how they differed from the rest of the community.

I examined the relations between transporters and cash-crop producers, others haulers, municipal and government officials and pre-existing transport cooperatives/associations.

Participant observation in the field as well as structured and open-ended interviews were used to gather the above mentioned data. Similarly, observation of transporters' daily activities, through participant observation, allowed for situational analysis of brokerage/transporter functions. Situational analysis was not limited to formal contacts but included social and leisure contacts in such a behavior settings as dances, school graduations and inaugurations, baptisms, and religious and civil festivities. Since I am a native speaker of Spanish, the interviews and social contacts were

conducted and developed in Spanish.

Anthropologists have distinguished themselves by studying relatively independent and "simple" hunting and gathering societies to communities that form part of a wider social/state structure normally termed "complex society". The underlying assumptions or explanations for this is twofold. First, anthropologists depend more on qualitative rather than quantitative data with the purpose of obtaining information that would provide a deeper insight to the inherent processes within "the community" as well as the links established with the "external world". That is, anthropologists study the local level in order to arrive at a macro level of analysis, gaining in this way a more holistic perspective of the socio-cultural processes. Second, carrying out field research in various communities does not allow for as an insightful and indepth understanding of cultural patterns, compared to spending an equal amount of time and energy in one community. Therefore, I decided to focus on one community in order to gain insight of the particular socio-cultural processes that influence the lives of the persons living in that community.

In order to identify the research community, I travelled to the 13 municipalities that constitute the San Cristóbal de las Casas subregion during the first two months of my field work. The criteria for selecting the

municipality of Tenejapa were (1) type of agricultural production (e.g., subsistence and cash-crops), (2) the existence of transport associations, (3) the existence of ladinos living in the Cabecera Municipal,[17] (4) distance, a midpoint that was not among the farthest (e.g., Pantelhó 64 kilometers) nor the closest (e.g., Chamula 8 kilometers) to San Cristóbal de las Casas, and (5) apparent political tranquility.

Field work was done from March 1985 to July 1986. The first seven months of research I lived in San Cristóbal de las Casas although traveling almost daily to Tenejapa. By December of 1985 I decided to live in Tenejapa's Cabecera Municipal until my departure in July of 1986.

Every field research carries a set of unpredicted dilemmas. However, the dilemmas confronted by researchers vary in terms of its seriousness (to affect and delineate the research topics and strategies) and type (e.g., health, political, economic). Most of the times these dilemmas are not addressed in scholarly writings (Punch 1986). Due to the exploitative historical relation between the ladino and Indian population, and the identification of foreigners with the status of the former, field research in the subregion of San Cristóbal de las Casas was and still is difficult and sometimes impossible (Guiteras-Holmes 1961:1). Although I was able to carry out field research, I was forced to confront three problems. The first two

were related to the ongoing violent political conflict described in Chapter III. Due to this conflict, the leader of one transport association was reluctant to provide me with interviews regarding the creation and development of the transport association he directs. The second problem confronted was that I made a conscious decision not to investigate the land tenure patterns in Tenejapa through the Municipal Office of Bienes Comunales.[18] The reason for this decision was to secure my life and stay in Tenejapa by not asking questions on the most politically sensitive topic. Even if access to records were granted most of the contracts for the renting of land are not registered since they are done verbally and required a cash expenditure. The third problem was health related. Due to the poor hygiene conditions and the research technique of participant observation (e.g., drinking and eating with the Indians, the same food they eat) I developed a three month long paratyphoid illness.

The dissertation is structured into five chapters. Chapter II deals with the process of capital accumulation from a socio-historical and regional perspective. Also, discussion on socio-cultural change in Tenejapa is provided. This serves as the background for Chapter III which is the study of road construction, transportation, markets, haulers and the political conflict stemming from transportation. Chapter IV explores the relationship

between development and transportation through the analysis of the patterns of capital accumulation stemming from the activity of transporting cash-crop and related commodities necessary to their production. Finally, in Chapter V conclusions are drawn from the presented material relevant to the main topic of this research.

I.D Significance of the Research

The significance of this study must be seen at two levels. The first level attempts to pay adequate attention to the socio-cultural complexity and repercussion that transportation generates, which have not received appropriate attention although its importance in almost every development program is fully realized (Barwell, et al., 1985).

The second level attempts to bridge the gap between community and macro-level studies through the concept of brokers. That is, the concept of brokers allows observation and analysis of the interaction and degree of interaction between federal and state agencies with local communities. Brokers' importance arises from their position in a set of social relations which facilitate the implementation and articulation of the economic structure providing security to capitalist entrepreneurs and national integration.

In conclusion, this research contributes in

understanding the complexity of socio-economic development from the above discussed levels of significance. The region chosen provides an abundant anthropological literature which will help to gain a holistic comprehension of the ongoing social and cultural processes.

I.E Notes

1. Transportation refers to motorized transportation which encompasses road networks and transport services.

2. The political level is defined in terms of power which in turn is defined as control over critical or essential resources (e.g., land, capital) within "... a system of rewards and sanctions under the control of the national government" (Hansen 1977:5).

3. Community is defined as a group of persons with a common territorial base (municipal boundaries) and a sense of shared interest, values, world views and ethnic identity.

4. Truck owners in Tiraque, Bolivia reinvest their gains from the transport activity in land (Lagos 1988).

5. The uneven relation between the Indian and the ladino populations is the main factor that accounts for the asymmetrical participation of Indians in the San Cristóbal de las Casas market which is controlled by ladinos (Siverts (1976).

6. Quintero (1972:24-25) has pointed out that Steward (1956) inaccurately identifies commodity production of coffee and sugar in Puerto Rico with ecological differences. These differences in Puerto Rico and Chiapas are a product of historic-economic and class struggle processes. On the other hand, the lack of a historical perspective conceptualizes market models as causal entities with their own personality; thus, responding to an intrinsic dynamic and not to external forces at the level of the international market and class relations which delineates the type of commodity production at the local level.

7. Stavenhagen (1969) and Wasserstrom (1983) point out that ethnicity serves only to obscure the real historical differences of social class. However, it could be argued that the concept of class, as well as the concept of ethnicity, are folk classifications. The perspective adopted in this dissertation is that ethnicity is differentially incorporated into a class system; having the dual characteristic of stimulating change while at other times perpetuating the status quo. The concept of ethnicity tends to fade when class interests are at stake. For a discussion on social classes and ethnicity in San Cristóbal de las Casas see McVay and Vogt (1988).

8. The term municipal is a translation of the Spanish term municipio. The municipio is the smallest administrative unit in Mexico.

9. Lagos (1988) in her study on elite - peasant relations in Bolivia emphasizes the important role played by transportation in the process of class formation and consolidation. The merchant class, responding to the needs of urban centers for agricultural staples, began to dominate transportation by controlling agricultural productive agreements and capitalizing on dyadic asymmetrical social relations with peasants. By assuming a double role, as merchant and haulers, the merchants were able to maintain their power/class position.

10. The decapitalization cycle is the process by which peasants are not able to accumulate a considerable percentage of their agricultural production since that same percentage is used to mainly pay transportation costs (Wasserstrom 1974:4).

11. Indians who can read and write Spanish appointed for one year terms. They are responsible for "... keeping a list of all adult male who must pay fiesta taxes, writing out notifications of appointment to cargos, and keeping the lists of people who are waiting for cargos" (Cancian 1965:45).

12. Cargos are rotating positions/obligations in the civil-religious hierarchy. There are two major perspectives regarding the social structure (civil-religious hierarchies) of the Indian communities. The first perspective sees the civil-religious hierarchy as a mechanism of stratification (Cancian 1965; Smith, W. 1977; Wasserstrom 1978b, 1983a; Wasserstrom and Rus 1981). The second perspective sees the social structure as a leveling mechanism (Cámara-Barbachano 1968; Carrasco 1961; Falla 1969; Zabala-Cubillas 1961). For a discussion of other perspectives on the cargo system see Greenberg (1981:1-22).

13. For alternate explanations accounting for the formation of monopolies see Crump (1987:246) and Navarrete-Pellicer (1983:69-70).

14. Ladino is a cultural term referring to non-Indian Mexicans or Indians who have adopted western cultural patterns.

15. The literature on intermediaries, mediators, brokers, patrons and caciques is vast. For a discussion of some of the difference between: intermediaries and mediators see

Silverman (1965) and Velez-I. (1978); mediators and patrons see Paine (1971); and traditional and new brokers see Wells (1979). For a discussion on: legal brokers see Betley (1971), Collier, J. (1976, 1973), Hunt and Hunt (1969); caciques as brokers or patrons see Mayer (1967) and Ugalde (1973); culture brokers see Adams (1970), Gonzales (1972), and Butterworth & Chance (1981); economic brokers see Oxaal (1975:3), Long (1975:272-277), Long and Roberts (1978:299), Scott (1976) and Rollwagen (1974); and political brokers Dennis (1973).

16. Social integration refers to "... the social and cultural processes by which the part-process characteristic of a plurality of social and cultural units are coordinated into a social system" (Wolf 1967:300).

17. The Cabecera Municipal is the administrative and religious municipal center.

18. The office of Bienes Comunales is in charge of (1) registering the assignments of the ejido plots, (2) registering the new owner when land is sold and (3) managing the forestall resources from the communal/municipal lands.

Chapter II: Historical and Ethnographic Background

II.A The State of Chiapas

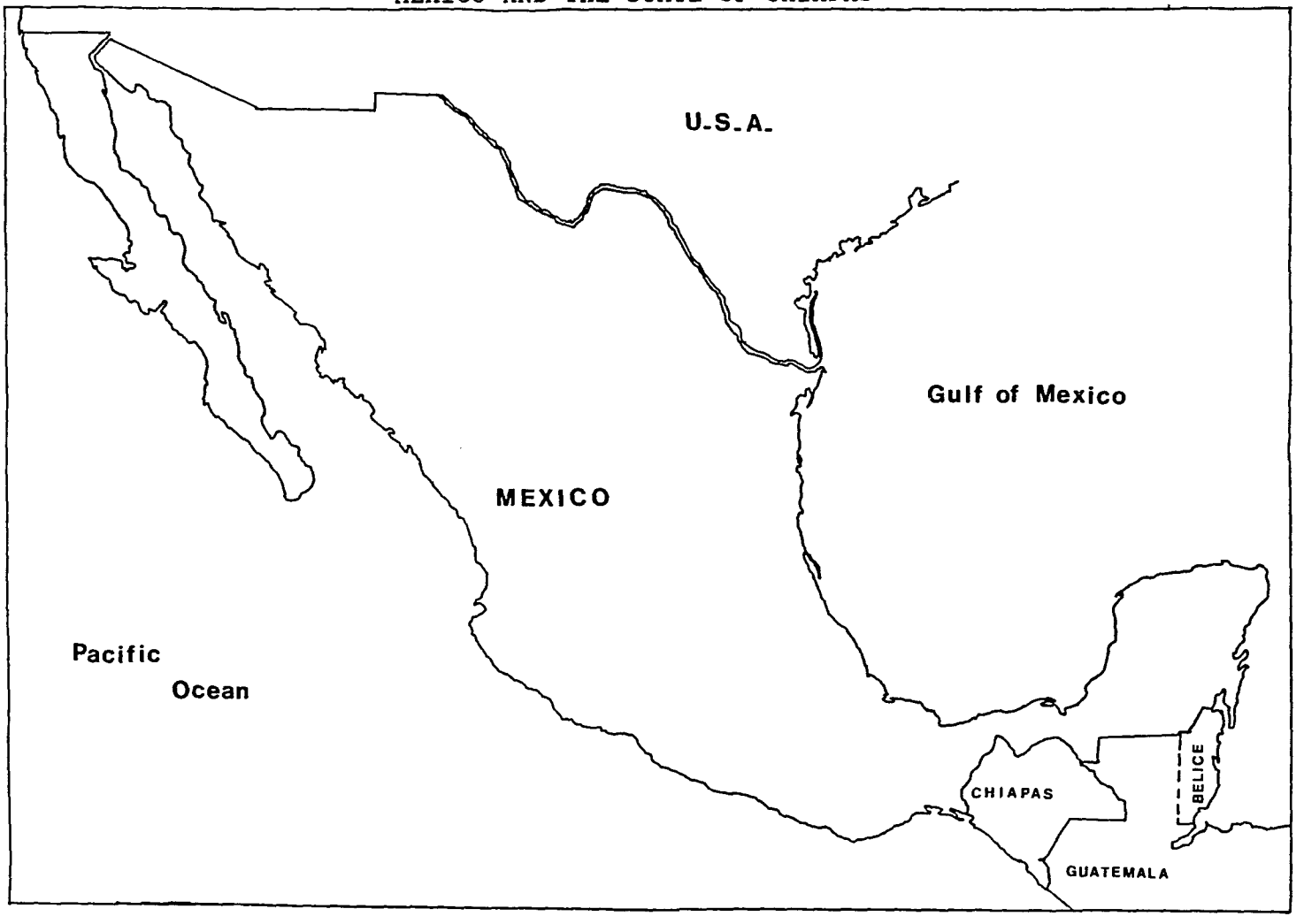
II.A.1 Chiapas' Geography and Its Importance

The State of Chiapas is the southernmost State of the Mexican Republic. It is located between parallel 14°31' and 18°0.5' of the northern latitude and meridians 90°23' and 94°8' of western longitude of the Greenwich Meridian (Müllerried 1982:13; cf. Gobierno Constitucional n.d.:2; Velasco-Palacios 1984:19). Geographically speaking, it is part of Central America rather than North America since it lies south of the Tehuantepec Isthmus.

The State of Chiapas borders on the north on the State of Tabasco; south on the Pacific Ocean; east on the Republic of Guatemala and to the west on the States of Oaxaca and Veracruz. See Map 1. Its territorial extension encompasses 73,889 square kilometers with an approximate total population of 2,096,812 inhabitants. Chiapas' territorial extension represents 3.7% of the national territory occupying the 8th place within the Mexican Republic (Velasco-Palacios 1984:19).

Chiapas can be divided into seven geographical regions: (1) the Pacific coastal plains which includes the Soconusco region and part of the Tehuantepec Isthmus, (2) the Sierra Madre, (3) the Central Depression where Tuxtla Gutiérrez (the State capital) is located, (4) the Central Highlands (where San Cristóbal de las Casas is located, (5)

MAP 1
MEXICO AND THE STATE OF CHIAPAS



the Mountains of the East (which includes the Lacandona Jungle), (6) the Mountains of the North and (7) the Gulf of Mexico Plains (Müllerried 1982:15-30; Velasco-Palacios 1984:28-49). See Map 2.

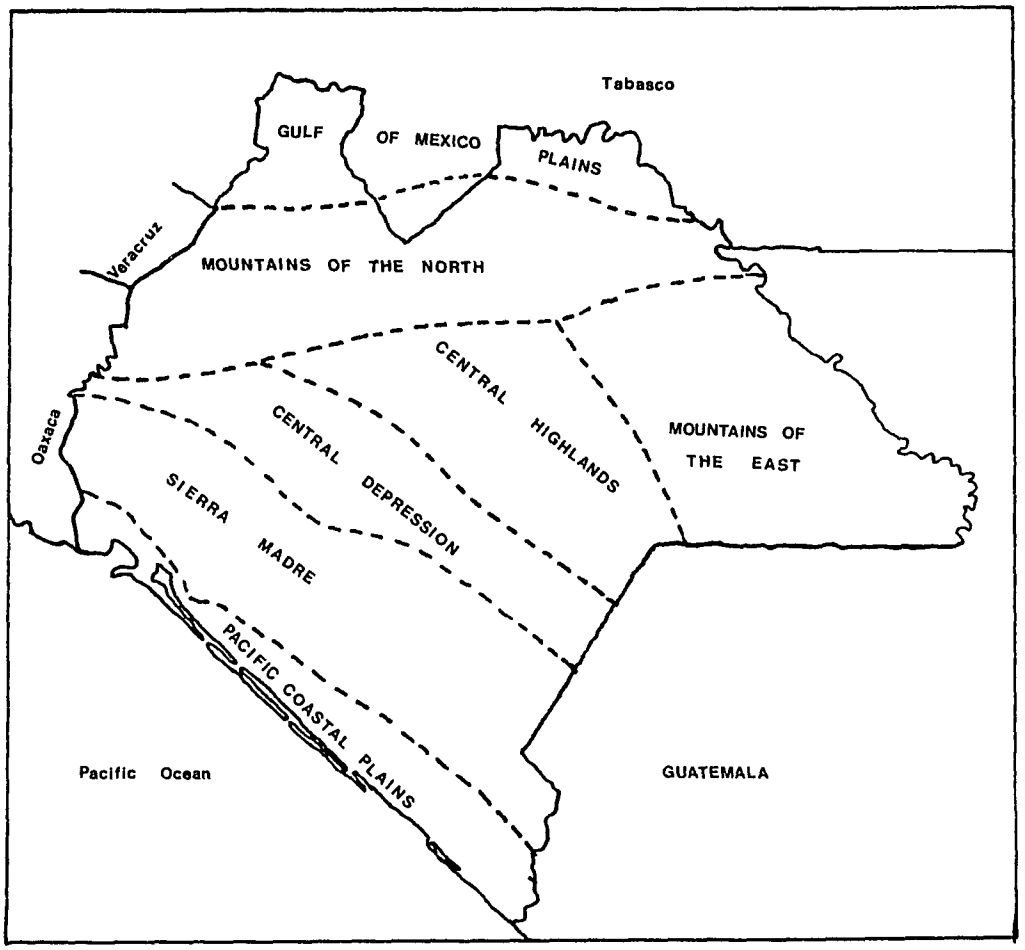
The State of Chiapas includes 46 rivers of great national relevance. The most significant of these are the Grijalva River and the Usumacinta, capturing 15% of the pluvial precipitation of Mexico. The immense water capacity has made Chiapas the number one producer of electric energy and hydroelectric power in the Mexican Republic. Chiapas produced 3.5 megawatts[1] in 1983, thus providing approximately 23% of the electricity produced nationally (Enciclopedia de México 1985:116, 118; Gobierno Constitucional n.d.:8; Instituto Nacional de Estadística Geografía e Informática 1984:52).

Chiapas' importance derives not only from its hydroelectric plants but also from its impressive agricultural production and production of crude oil. In terms of its agricultural production Chiapas is: (1) the leading producer of coffee and plantains; (2) the second biggest producer of cacao and, (3) the third producer of corn.[2] Also, Chiapas is a major producer of sugar cane, peanuts, precious woods, meat and wool.

In terms of fuel oil, Chiapas produced 47.5 millions of barrels or 4.84% of the national production. Additionally, it produced in 1985 10.6% of the national

MAP 2

GEOGRAPHICAL REGIONS OF CHIAPAS



production of natural gas or 4,457 millions of cubic meters (Enciclopedia de México 1985:118).

Finally, Chiapas' geographical position is essential at a socio-political level for the Mexican State as well as for the United States. Chiapas functions as a repressive barrier against any social or political unrest in Central America that could pose a potential threat to the political stability of the Mexican State and therefore, to the United States.

II.A.2 Socio-Historical Background

The social history of Chiapas, after the initial Spanish contact, can be divided for analytical purposes into three main periods: (1) the conquest, (2) the forced consumption, and (3) emergence, development and crisis of agricultural capitalism.

The conquest period, which extended from 1524 to 1545, was the most turbulent of the colonial experience showing a high level of violence between the Indian population and the Spaniards (Villa-Rojas 1979:197; Pineda 1986:17-40; de Vos 1985).

The forced consumption period lasted approximately from 1545 until 1790-1824.[3] Spain, in order to administer its territory, developed a complex administrative bureaucracy. These administrative bureaucrats benefited from corruption, extortion and by defalcating royal

tributes. These local administrators, led by alcaldes mayores (province governors who were Spaniards), organized illegal economic activities by forcing the inhabitants of the Indian towns to accept concessions of alcohol, textiles, seeds, and other commodities in exchange for cash-crops such as cacao, cochineal and indigo. This developed into an artificial market which had the ultimate goal of mobilizing the Indian workers for the production of commodities for the international market (Larson and Wasserstrom 1982:364-365, 383).

The repartimiento system had the objective of forcing the Indian population into debt. Indians were forced to sell their subsistence crops, corn and beans, in order to get the necessary cash to buy the cacao and cochineal to pay their debts. Additionally, Indians had to buy back, most of the times on credit, the corn and beans cultivated by them at three or four times the price they received. This was one of the major reasons for the Tzeltal rebellion of 1712 (Tovar-González 1973:35).[4]

The Spanish and mestizo population depended on the Indian agricultural products for basic subsistence and to carry out the forced consumption. Nevertheless, by 1776 the church faced a growing contradiction. The Indian population, the base of the forced exchange/consumption system, was fleeing out of the Highlands to the Grijalva fincas. This created a stressful situation in that the

church could only survive if the alcaldes mayores (province governors) abandoned their commercial activity with the Indians.

The forced consumption in the Highlands was displaced by the commercial production in the lowlands allowing for the development of agricultural capitalism in the 19th century. This brought about two important processes: at the regional level the struggle to control the Highland Indian labor and at the national level the development policy of Porfirio Díaz.

The war of independence in 1821, and the subsequent incorporation of Chiapas into the Mexican State in 1824, generated a struggle to control the Highland Indian labor and their lands. The two parties involved in this struggle were the Highland clergy and their merchant allies (conservatives); and the Grijalva lowland cattle ranchers, plantation owners and merchants (liberals). The main reason for this struggle was that the lowland ranchers, sugar plantation owners and merchants felt cut off from the indispensable Indian labor supply from the Highlands, thus threatening the existence of the lowland's economy (Rus 1983).

Lowland liberals developed a strategy to diminish the power of the conservatives in the Highlands by strengthening the Indian's position through enhancing Indian freedom of worship. Indian freedom of worship

caused the clerical income and commerce to dramatically decrease since Indians were at the same time developing their own worship rituals and commercial activities in tandem in the same region (Rus 1983:144-147).

In the 1860's the Highland clergy was not able to maintain control over the Indian labor supply allowing the system of debt and plantation labor to take control over the Highlands labor. In spite of this, the liberals used the highlanders for the task of organizing and administering the Indian labor supply. Indian communities were affected by this struggle, and stripped of their lands from 1850 to 1911; thus, land shortage became a major Indian concern for the first time (Rus 1983:132, 156; Villa-Rojas 1969:198).

Porfirio Díaz' development policy allowed American, German and Belgian capital to be invested in the state. Jointly, changes in prices at the international level stimulated a change in commodity production. In the 1870's local and foreign <u>hacendados</u> directed their resources to the production and transportation of cotton and coffee which required an extensive labor supply. As a result, Highland Indians were forced to work as part-time laborers through the <u>enganche</u> system.[5] By 1914 debt servitude was abolished producing the return of the semi-proletarianized Indians to their native form of agriculture, although still been forced into the <u>enganche</u> system (Mauricio-Leguizamo,

et al. 1983:18-20; Navarrete-Pellicer 1983:63-64; Wasserstrom 1976, 1977, 1980:2-3).

By 1918, the Indian peasants found themselves increasingly deprived of land; this stimulated the creation of various Indian peasant organizations. With Cárdenas' implementation of the Agrarian Reform, in 1936, some percentage of the Indian population was able to gain official access to their ancestral lands in the form of ejidos. However, the Reform has not fully achieved land redistribution, since in the 1970's 72.5% of the small private property had plots of land larger than 100 hectares controlled by 16.9% of the production units (Mauricio-Leguizamo, et al. 1982:18-21, 29). The struggle for land accentuated by the Mexican crisis of the 1960's manifested itself in mass land invasions and conflicts between land owners and Indians which presently are the norm rather than the exception (Consejo de Representantes Indígenas de los Altos de Chiapas 1985; Rabasa 1984; Rojas and Rodríguez 1986).[6]

The landowner class, in order to regularize the essential labor supply and comply with the Agrarian Reform, went along with the creation of the Departamento de Asuntos Indígenas del Estado and the Sindicato de Trabajadores Indígenas (Wasserstrom 1980:48). Nevertheless, Highland Indians are still exposed to maltreatment, abuses, meager wages, and poor work and

health conditions in the Soconusco fincas.

Chiapas' economic development in the colonial period responded to the interest of the local political elite and the needs of the international mercantile capitalism. During the 19th century the economy reacted primarily to the international market and foreign capital invested in agroindustrial enterprises. In both situations, the Highland Indian labor supply has proved to be an essential requirement.

II.B The Subregion of San Cristóbal de las Casas

The Chiapas Central Highlands region encompasses a series of subregions; the best known is constituted by San Cristóbal de las Casas and surrounding municipalities (see Table 1 and Map 3). The San Cristóbal de las Casas subregion, in 1980, had a total population of 232,625 inhabitants of which 40% was economically active. The Indian population constitutes 62.3%, with a 41.2% of illiteracy rate. The percentage of the Indian population who do not speak Spanish is 55.1%; 66.9% live in houses without piped water and 74.8% without electricity service (Centro de Investigaciones Ecológicas del Sureste 1985:13).

San Cristóbal de las Casas from colonial times has constituted a commercial and administrative center. Presently it still plays an important economic and managerial role stemming from: (1) maintaining the

TABLE 1

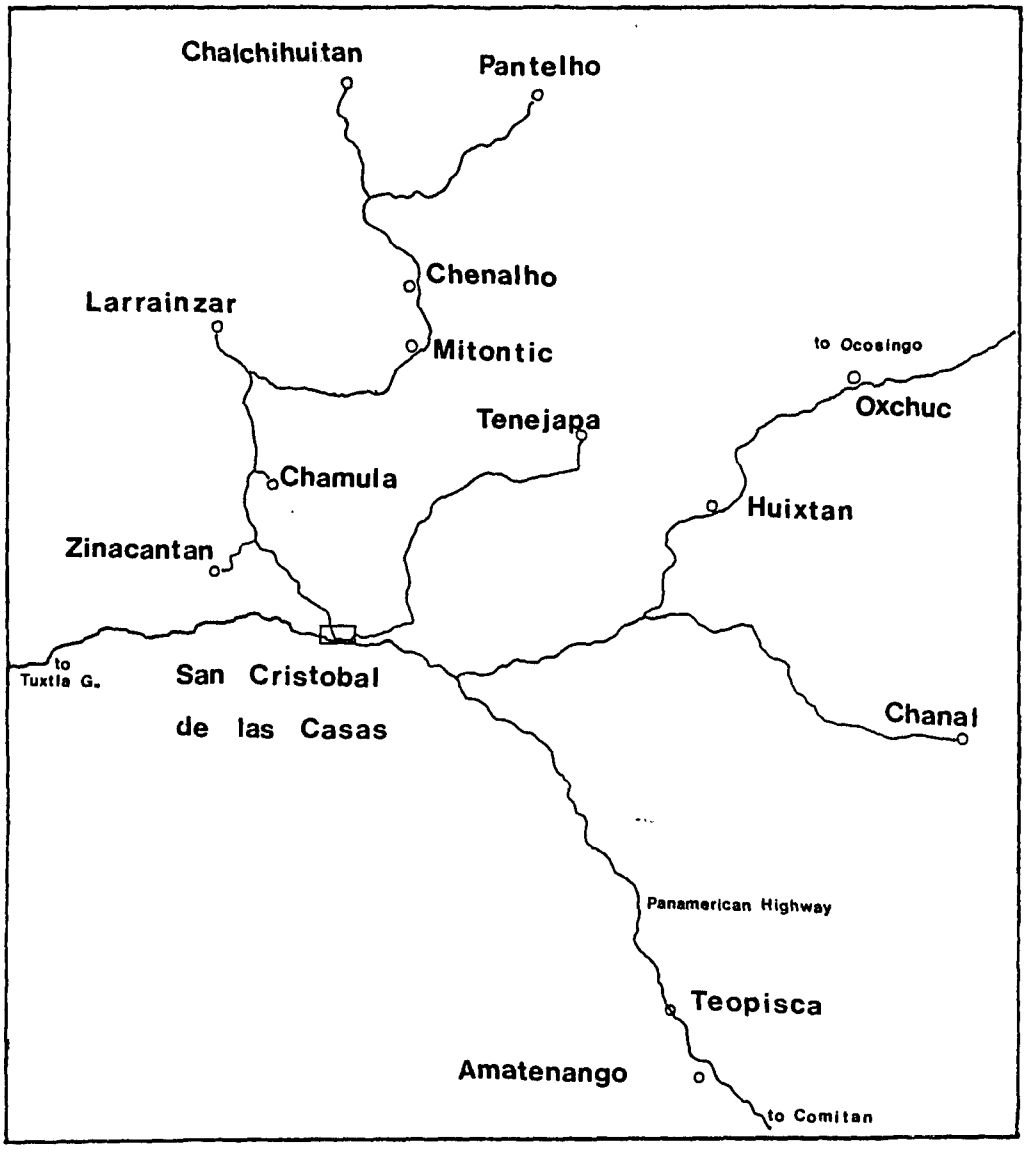
GENERAL DATA FROM THE MUNICIPALITIES IN THE SUBREGION OF SAN CRISTOBAL DE LAS CASAS

Municipality	Area in sq. km2	Estimated Population in 1960	1970	1980	1985	1970-1980 population growth	density
Amatenango	236.00	3,179	3,656	4,424	6,283	1.9%	32/km2
Chalchihuitán	75.00	2,940	2,996	5,564	7,582	6.4%	101/km2
Chamula	393.65	26,789	29,357	31,364	29,164	.6%	75/km2
Chanal	380.00	-	-	5,135	9,500	-	25/km2
Chenalhó	165.00	10,553	13,552	18,400	25,002	3.0%	152/km2
Huixtán	219.00	7,421	10,323	13,340	15,165	2.6%	70/km2
Larraínzar	189.00	7,337	8,101	10,591	12,110	2.7%	64/km2
Mitontic	82.00	4,677	3,339	4,913	5,960	3.9%	115/km2
Oxchuc	350.00	12,579	17,993	24,879	29,254	-	84/km2
Pantelhó	137.00	4,967	7,287	9,305	10,515	2.5%	77/km2
S. Cristóbal	484.40	27,198	32,833	60,550	82,229	6.3%	-
Tenejapa	99.40	9,768	12,930	20,648	26,081	4.8%	263/km2
Teopisca	174.00	6,306	7,723	10,627	22,000	3.2%	126/km2
Zinacantan	171.40	7,650	11,428	13,006	13,697	1.3%	80/km2

Source: COPLADE 1983; Navarrete-Pellicer 1983;
Diagnóstico Municipal 1985.

MAP 3

THE SUBREGION OF SAN CRISTOBAL DE LAS CASAS



bureaucratic government institutions, (2) private exploitation of the Lacandona jungle resources and (3) commercialization of imported and locally produced commodities which are mainly sold to the Indian population.

II.C The Municipio of Tenejapa

II.C.1 Historical Background

The reconstruction of Tenejapa's history is very difficult to develop since the available historical material is poorly documented (Calnek 1970:117; COPLADE 1983:883). However; the oral history, at a mythical level, describes how the municipal administrative and religious center was established.

According to a Tenejapanecan historian, Tenejapa was populated when:

> In Pantelhó Veronica and San Sebastían were born. Their father was lazy and always being threatened by the mother because he did not want to go out to hunt for deer. The father, worried that there would not be sufficient food for all of them, decided to abandon Veronica and San Sebastían in the wilderness. Veronica and San Sebastían overheard the conversation the father was having with their mother and decided to carry a bag of corn grains. The father convinced Veronica and San Sebastían to go out hunting, and on their way they dropped corn grains in order to be able to return. They passed through Amaquil to drink water. They arrived at Pocolum were the three crosses are found and where they were going to build the temple. The father left them and having spent the night by themselves they were able to return home following the grains of corn. Next morning the father once again took them into the wilderness, arriving at Cruzchén. At night Veronica and San Sebastían saw a light where the old church of San Sebastían is located

> but then it was a witch house. The witch planning to transform them into rats is killed by Veronica and San Sebastían. The rats that were in the witch's house were transformed into men (Translated by me).

The paraje of Pocolum, according to the oral history, was the place were Tenejapa was first founded by the Indians. Due to the lack of water in Pocolum, the center was moved to where it is presently located.

The San Sebastían church, presumably built by the christianized Indians, was in ruins in the 17th century. Its ruins still exist, although there is no documentation regarding when it was constructed (Medina-Hernández 1964:327). The ladino families and the christianized Indians, under the leadership of the regional priest, constructed the San Alonso Church at the entrance of the Cabecera Municipal probably during the 19th century.[7]

Tenejapa was first mentioned in the list of geographical names of Domingo de Ara in 1571, and in the Ecclesiastical Census of 1598 (Calnek 1970). The earliest document found in the Archivo Histórico Diocesano in San Cristóbal de las Casas (AHDSC) mentioning Tenejapa was dated July, 1673. In this document the regional priest, who also provided Catholic religious services in the municipalities of Oxchuc and Huixtán, is accusing an Indian of usurping ecclesiastical functions such as administering the sacraments of baptism and confession.

Since 1549, early in the colonial period, all the

colonized towns were identified under one or more of the following classes of denominations: (1) a Mexican (Nahua) name, (2) a Tzeltal or Tzotzil name and (3) a name from a Christian saint. In the case of Tenejapa we find that the Nahua name is Tenexapa, the Tzeltal name is Jobeltó and the saint's name is San Alonso (Calnek 1970). Tenejapanecan Indians refer to the saint's name as San Alonso or San Ildefonso indiscriminately.

The Tzeltal name of Tenejapa, Jobeltó, lends itself to a toponymic analysis. According to Becerra (1985), "Jobel" is the Tzeltal/Tzotzil name for San Cristóbal de las Casas while "tó" comes from "tok" meaning "new Jobel." With the arrival of the Spaniards the Tzotzil Indians residing in Jobel moved to Teopisca and Tenejapa, naming the latter Jobeltó (Becerra 1985:158). However, although it would be correct to assume that at the arrival of the Spaniards at San Cristóbal de las Casas some adjacent Indians migrated to new areas, Becerra (1985:67-68) does not account for the Indian population neighboring San Cristóbal de las Casas that existed before the above mentioned migration nor the process of contact between the Tzotzil and Tzeltal population.

II.C.2 Tenejapa's Location and Parajes

Tenejapa is one of the 13 municipalities that make up the subregion of San Cristóbal de las Casas. Tenejapa

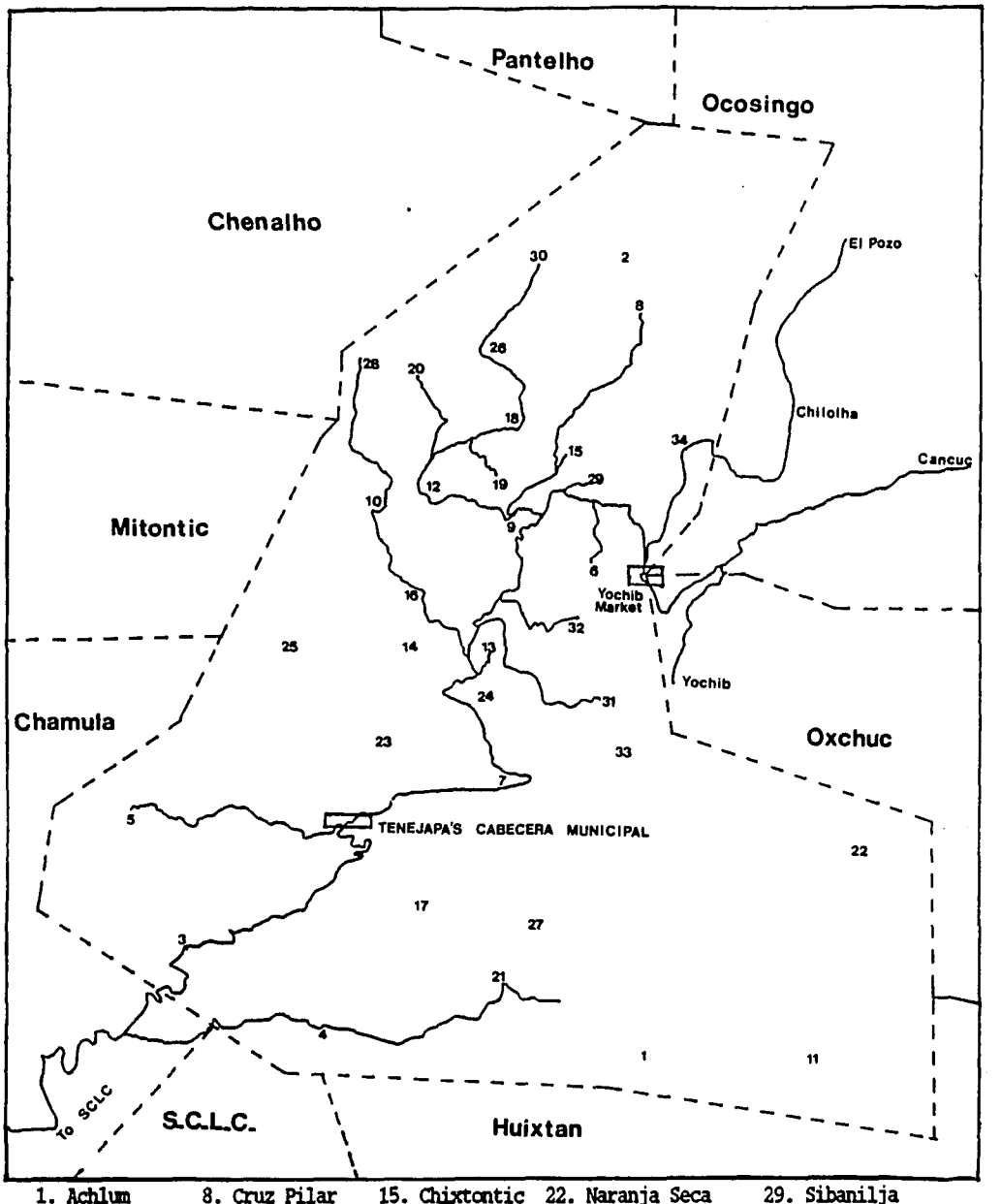
covers an area of 70 square miles or 181.3 square kilometers (Berlin, Breedlove and Raven 1974:20). It borders on the north on Pantelhó, to the northeast with Ocosingo, to the southeast on Oxchuc and Huixtán, to the south on San Cristóbal de las Casas, to the southwest on Chamula and Mitontic, and to the northwest on Chenalhó (See Map 4). Tenejapa's Cabecera Municipal is located on a valley of approximately two square kilometers at 1,113 meters above sea level, between the latitudes 16°49' and 16°50' North and longitude 92°29'.5'' West.

Tenejapa is composed of 35 recognized parajes (see Table 2 and Map 4). Each paraje is composed of dispersed extended families, internally bound through agnatic descent (father's side) and some through affinal ties. This facilitates the organization of corporate groups (Medina-Hernández 1970:8).

The spelling and pronunciation of the different paraje names has changed over the years manifesting dialect variation (see Table 3).[8] For example, the paraje of Cotolté is also pronounced and spelled Cololté. Another reason that accounts for variation in naming parajes is that, in some cases, when the paraje acquires representation in the municipal government the name is changed reflecting in this way its new status. This is the situation with paraje Pocolum (old town) which is also known as Sibanilja (new town).[9]

MAP 4

PARAJES IN THE MUNICIPALITY OF TENEJAPA



1. Achlum
2. Amaquil
3. Baluncaná
4. Banabil
5. Cañada, La
6. Cotolté
7. Cruzchén
8. Cruz Pilar
9. Culactic
10. Chacomá
11. Chalam
12. Chaná
13. Chichintonil
14. Chixaltontic
15. Chixtontic
16. Chuljá
17. Huinit-tón
18. Jomanichin
19. Juchaljá
20. Majosic
21. Matsam
22. Naranja Seca
23. Nabil
24. Ocosh
25. Pajaltón
26. Pagtetón
27. Retiro, El
28. Sibajtel, Ejido
29. Sibanilja
30. Tres Cerros
31. Tzajalchén
32. Tzaquibiljoc
33. Yashanal
34. Yetzucum

TABLE 2

TENEJAPA'S POPULATION IN EACH COMMUNITY

Community	Population	Primary School		Piped water
		Full	Half	
Achlum	-		*	
Amaquil	450		*	
Baluncaná	450		*	*
Banabil	-		*	
Cabecera Municipal	2,500	*		*
Cañada, La	600	*		*
Cotolté	750		*	*
Cruzchén	525		*	*
Cruz Pilar	300		*	
Culactic	600		*	*
Chacomá	1,200	*		*
Chalam	450		*	
Chaná	600		*	*
Chichintonil	900		*	*
Chixaltontic	600		*	
Chixtontic	600		*	
Chuljá	540		*	
Huinit-tón	450		*	
Jomanichin	900		*	
Juchaljá	750		*	
Majosic	750	*		*
Matsam	1,200	*		
Naranja Seca	510		*	
Nabil	600	*		*
Ocosh	600		*	*
Pajaltón	900		*	*
Pagtetón	600		*	
Retiro, El	300		*	
Sibajtel, Ejido	300		*	
Sibanilja	900	*		*
Tres Cerros	600		*	
Tzajalchén	1,200	*		*
Tzaquibiljoc	1,050		*	*
Yashanal	750	*		*
Yetzucum	450		*	
Totals	28,875	9	27	17
		25%	75%	47%

Source: Diagnóstico Municipal 1985 - Tenejapa modified by the author.[10]

TABLE 3

SPELLING OF PARAJE NAMES ACCORDING TO DIFFERENT SOURCES:

COPLADE (1983)	Diagnóstico (1985)	Becerra (1980)
Amaquil	Amaquil	Amail* (Oxchuc)
Balún Canan	Balun Canal	Baluncaná
Banavil	Banavil	Banabil
Cañada, La	Cañada, La	-
Jotolté	Cololté	Coloté*(Ocosingo)
Cruz-Chen	Crushchem	Cruzchén
Cruz Pilar	Crushpilar	-
Culactic	Colactic	Culactic*(Oxchuc)
Chagcomá(Sibactel)	Chacomá	Chajcomá
Chalám	Chalam	Chalán
Chaná	Chaná	-
Shishintonil	Chichintontic	-
Chishaltontic	Chichatontic	-
Chishtontic	Chistontic	-
Chuljá	Chuljá	Chuljá*
Winik Ton	Huinit-Tón	-
Jomanichim	Jomanitzim	-
Jushaljá	Joshaljá	Jushalá*
Majosic	Majoshic	Majosic
Matzán	Matzam	Matsán*
Naranja Seca	Naranja Seca	-
Nabil	Nabil	-
Ococh	Ocosh	Ocochi
Pajaltón	Pajaltón	Pajaltón
Pactetón	Pajtetón	Pajtetón*
Retiro, El	Retiro, El	-
Sibactel (paraje)	Sibactel	Sibajtel
Sibaniljá	Pocolum	Pocolún
Tres Cerros	Tres Cerros	-
Tzajalchen	Tzajatchén	Sajalchén*
Tzaquibiljock	Tzaquiviljoc	Saquibiljoc
Yashanal	Yashanal	Yashanal*(Oxchuc)
Yetzucum	Yecsucum	Yetsucún*

* paraje or ranchería; The names within the parenthesis indicates the municipalities to which they belonged.

Berlin, Breedlove and Raven (1974:20-21) divided the municipality of Tenejapa into parajes and barrios; each paraje encompasses a given number of barrios. Hunn (1977:7) and this author found no indication that Tenejapanecan Indians, as well as ladinos, distinguish parajes from barrios. Nevertheless, some of the so-called barrios presently have the official status of parajes with full representation in the municipal government.

Becerra (1985) classified the communities of Cotolté, Culactic, Chuljá, Juchaljá, Matsam, Pagtetón, Tzajalchén, Yashanal and Yetzucum as ranchos without providing any information of how he distinguished them from other Indian small hamlets, which he classifies as parajes.

Ranchos or rancherías were the names given to the Indian hamlets by the Mexican government, while paraje comes from the Zapotec term of paraj which was translated as paraje, lugar/place or sitio/spot (Hunt and Nash 1969). Furthermore, the word rancherías denotes a separation from the speaker's point of view. That is, in Tenejapa ladinos never refer to the Indian hamlets as Indian communities, towns nor by their Tzeltal names but by using the generic term of rancherías. On the other hand, Indians use the terms rancherías, parajes, comunidad together with the community name.

Apparently, the ascription of different parajes to different municipalities has changed over the years. For

example; the communities of Cotolté, Yashanal and Tzajalchén, were part of the municipality of Oxchuc although the dates when they became part of Tenejapa are not provided (Becerra 1985:63, 342; Villa-Rojas 1969:211). On the other hand, there are inconsistencies regarding the ascription of parajes to different municipalities. For example; Becerra (1985:266-267) reported that there were parajes named "Sajalchén" in the municipalities of Chamula, Chenalhó, Tenejapa, Cancuc and San Martin but not in Oxchuc. Notwithstanding, Villa-Rojas (1969:211) ascribed Tzajalchén to Oxchuc and not to Tenejapa.

Tenejapa's Cabecera Municipal, known by the Tenejapanecan Indians as jlumaltic/our town, is the only community in the municipality that has a drainage system, electricity, mail service, radio communication and a pre-primary, primary and secondary school (Diagnóstico Municipal - Tenejapa 1985:15). Although most parajes have piped water, the service provided is mainly limited to a faucet at the paraje's center or school.

In 1986, the Federal Electricity Commission began to construct the necessary infrastructure for electricity service for a limited number of parajes. Not every household in each paraje will receive electricity service due to the fact that this depends on the payment of the installation fees. The installation fees depended on the number of houses requiring electricity service and the

distance from the main road. In paraje Tzajalchén sixty five families paid 18,000 pesos each for the electricity service, which does not include the electricity meter, necessary electrical materials and household installation fees.

The radio communication service is located in the Cabecera Municipal and is not easily accessible by the Indians living in the parajes. The radio is used mainly by the Municipal President for official matters and by Tenejapanecan mestizos who, in cases of emergencies, need to communicate with relatives outside the municipality.[11]

The mail service within Tenejapa is limited to the Cabecera Municipal. However, through the frequent use of regidores[12] and fiadores, as delivery men, mail is distributed throughout the municipality.

II.C.3 Population

In 1938, Villa-Rojas (Redfield and Villa-Rojas 1939) travelled in the Tzeltal region and noticed that the ladino families in Tenejapa's Cabecera Municipal were a minority compared to the Indian population.[13] This situation changed in the 1960's and 70's since Villa-Rojas (1969:303) and Hunn (1977:11) estimated that there were approximately 500 ladinos in the municipality constituting the predominant group in the Cabecera Municipal.

At the municipal level, Cámara-Barbachano (1966:88) in

field research done in 1943-1944 indicated that the ladino population constituted 10% of the municipal population. During the decade of the 1960's the ladino population in the municipality was approximately 4.06% of the total population. The ladino municipal population in 1980 was reported to be 1,500 or 7.26% of the total population (COPLADE 1983).

Notwithstanding, the population census of 1985, done by Secretaría de Salubridad y Asistencia (SSA) and up-dated by this author, indicates that in the Cabecera Municipal there are 308 houses of which 58 belong to mestizos, 139 to Indians, 36 are vacant due to the owners working and living outside Tenejapa, and 75 are reported as "the owners are not there". In a period of one year, from 1985 to 1986, there were 11 houses constructed by Tenejapanecan Indians and 4 reconstructed. The total population living in the inhabited houses is 1,085. The data gathered shows that the number of mestizos living in Tenejapa Cabecera Municipal is approximately 300. That is, 27.65% of the Cabecera Municipal population is mestizo while constituting only 1.70% of the total municipal population.

The population density in Tenejapa's highland areas is 40 to 50 persons per square kilometer while in the hot lowlands it is 100 persons per square kilometer (Hunn 1977:11), an average of 75 persons per square kilometer. I estimated that the population density for 1980 and 1985

was 113 and 143 persons per square kilometer, respectively.[14] Tenejapa's population density is probably the highest or the second highest in the San Cristóbal de las Casas subregion.

II.C.4 Health[15]

In Tenejapa we find a series of clinics sponsored by different government agencies. For example in the Cabecera Municipal we find two clinics, each one with a full time doctor. One of the clinics is supported by the SSA while the other by Instituto Mexicano del Seguro Social and Coordinación General del Plan Nacional de Zonas Deprimidas y Grupos Marginados (IMSS-COPLAMAR). Additionally, there are three other clinics sponsored by the Instituto Nacional Indigenista (INI).

The fact that there are two clinics in the Cabecera Municipal is paradoxical since it does not allow for the maximization of limited health resources and services throughout the municipality. That is, when IMSS-COPLAMAR decided to construct their clinics, the Salud Clinic was already in existence with one full time doctor. Not only was there one clinic but Madre Rosario, a ladino nurse and a nun, had been providing medical assistance to the Indians since 1956. It is hard to understand the rationale of IMSS-COPLAMAR in constructing a clinic where there are already medical services provided.

IMSS-COPLAMAR's rationale or lack of it was manifested once again when their representatives decided to construct a second clinic in Tzajalchén. The Tzajalchén clinic only provides health services to a limited number of parajes since Tzajalchén is one of the parajes closest to the Cabecera Municipal. More practical and functional would have been to establish the clinic in the farthest part from the Cabecera Municipal where members of different parajes could attend it.

The availability of clinics does not necessarily guarantee improvement of health conditions due to a series of factors; one of these is the lack of economic resources. Due to this, two out of three clinics sponsored by INI are not opened while the clinic that is opened in the community of Yochib is only attended by an Indian nurse, thus providing a limited number of medical services and medicines.

A second factor is related to how the services are structured and provided. Normally, doctors and nurses stay in their clinics waiting for patients to arrive. In many situations the patient is so ill that they can not walk to the nearest functioning clinic, a trip which might take up to three hours on foot. On the other hand, the only clinic that has a motor vehicle is the Tzajalchén clinic. The vehicle is used to transport doctors to San Cristóbal de las Casas and back rather than to where the ill person is.

A third structural factor is the lack of knowledge about the local Indian culture. The IMSS-COPLAMAR doctor in the Cabecera Municipal confronted serious complaints from the Indian population. The IMSS-COPLAMAR program was based on the idea of reciprocity by which the clinic provided free health services, including medicines, in exchange for the patients' contribution of labor to some community activity. The IMSS-COPLAMAR doctor understood the patients' community contribution as work to be performed in the clinic's plot of land where the only beneficiary would be the IMSS-COPLAMAR residing doctor. An Indian informed this author that he was more than willing to do work for his community, but not in the doctor's plot and that for this reason he decided not to go again to the IMSS-COPLAMAR Clinic.

A fourth factor is related to the ongoing political conflict. Although health services have generally improved, an essential secondary source of health services provided by the local curandero is not readily available to the Indian population. Due to the political conflict, discussed in section III.E., curanderos feel afraid of being accused of witchcraft. Furthermore, political repression against selected communities who opposed the municipal administration was manifested upon when the president did not notify the community of Matzam the date that the vaccine campaign was going to be implemented at

the community. Because of this intentional lack of communication, only a few children benefited from the vaccine campaign.

In 1956, before INI began to implement the health program, the health conditions of the population in general were terrible: parasitosis, amebiasis, diarrhea, eye diseases (onchocercosis, conjunctivitis), paludism, lung diseases (pneumonia, bronchitis, tuberculosis), skin diseases (iteh), and stomach cancer[16] were widespread and frequent cause of deaths.

Even though there has been a considerable input of economic and labor resources into the improvement of health conditions by different government agencies (INI, Sub-Secretaría de Asuntos Indígenas [SUB-SAI], SSA, IMSS-COPLAMAR) as well as international agencies (FUNDECAI) illnesses characteristic of Third World Societies are still prevalent. In order to explore the different types of illnesses suffered by the Tenejapan population I decided to codify the number of cases of persons who attended the Cabecera Municipal clinic sponsored by Secretaría de Salud. In a three month period, from a total of 214 cases reported 40.18% were cases related to respiratory illnesses while 37.85% were cases related to lack of hygiene (see Table 4).

Indians go to the clinics in Tenejapa while most of the <u>ladino</u> population prefers to be treated in San

TABLE 4
WEEKLY REPORT ON CONTAGIOUS ILLNESSES

Period	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	Totals
3/02/1986	1	7	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	11
3/09/1986	10	3	1	3	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	1	1	23
3/16/1986	3	4	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9
3/23/1986	2	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	6
3/30/1986	6	3	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11
4/06/1986	1	3	0	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	10
4/13/1986	8	4	5	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	20
4/20/1986	6	2	5	3	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	20
4/27/1986	8	9	2	0	0	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	23
5/04/1986	4	1	5	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12
5/11/1986	7	6	4	2	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	23
5/18/1986	13	6	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	21
5/25/1986	12	6	1	1	0	0	2	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	25
Totals	81	55	28	16	5	5	4	3	2	2	2	1	1	1	8	214

Source: Data provided by SSA clinic and compiled by the author.

1. Ascariasis, Colitis parasitaria, Colitis amibiana, Enteritis, gastroenteritis, parasitosis
2. Farinjo-amigdalitis, Laringitis, Rino faringitis
3. Bronco neumonía, Bronquitis
4. Conjuntivitis
5. Escabiasis
6. Otitis
7. Paludismo
8. Tuberculosis
9. Parotiditis
10. Sífilis
11. Mordida de perro
12. Varicela
13. Escariasis
14. Polio
15. Resfriado Común

Cristóbal de las Casas. In a three months period, 175 persons out of 214 or 81.78% who attended the Salud Clinic in Tenejapa were from the nearby parajes, all of whom were Indians. The remaining 18.78% were Indians and mestizos from the Cabecera Municipal. Of this group Indians use the SSA services more frequently.

One of the aspects contributing to the health conditions of the general population is the consumption of meat and milk.[17] Presently in Tenejapa's Cabecera Municipal there are six butchers each one having a predetermined week to sell their meat. This arrangement was decided upon by the butchers themselves in order to provide everyone with a fair chance of selling their meat. The reason for this agreement is that in the 1970's there were three butchers who were competing against each other by killing bulls the same day. This did not allow any of them to make a profit since none could sell all their meat.

Usually two bulls are killed in one week, one on Thursday and the other on Sunday, when market days take place. Each bull averages approximately 100 kilograms of meat which is sold in its totality the same day. According to a ladino butcher from Tenejapa, 75% of his clients are Indians from the parajes and 25% Indians and mestizos from the Cabecera Municipal. Although Indians are a higher percentage of those who buy meat, their per capita intake is smaller than that of mestizos.

In terms of milk consumption, Diagnóstico Municipal - Tenejapa (1985:23) reported 379,000 liters of milk produced in 1983; definitely a misleading and groundless report. There is no milk production at all in Tenejapa. Therefore, its consumption is limited to those who can afford powdered and evaporated milk when available. One possible explanation that accounts for this is that Indians raise bulls instead of cows since ladinos only sell bulls to the Indians. The ladinos sell the milk, hide and meat, and make cheese while the Indians raise bulls to obtain meat, sell the hide and make horn containers known as cachos. Obviously, ladinos obtain higher profits from raising cows than bulls.

II.C.5 Kinship, Marriage and Compadrazgo

The Tenejapanecan kinship system utilizes an Omaha-type kinship terminology (Villa-Rojas 1969:215) and is divided into patrilineal clans which are divided subsequently into patrilineages. Clans, as well as lineages, are not strictly localized in a specific territorial unit but dispersed throughout the municipality. This situation allows the individual to move with a high degree of security throughout the municipality (Medina-Hernández 1961; Villa-Rojas 1969:213).[18]

Tenejapanecan Indian marriages are endogamous within the municipal territory. This is accentuated by the fact

that they tend to marry within their same parajes while preferred marriages are among cross cousins.[19] Descent and inheritance are patrilineal while residence is patrilocal (Cámara-Barbachano 1966:89; Villa-Rojas 1969:211-215).

Among the Indian population in Tenejapa there are 14 Spanish surnames combined with 125 Indian surnames (Medina-Hernández 1961). Villa-Rojas (1969:213-215) identifies the Spanish surname with a clan to which the individual belongs. Indians who have the same Spanish surname identify each other as a source of cooperation and help. On the other hand, the Indian surname identifies the individual with a patrilineage.

Redfield and Villa-Rojas (1939:112) found that in Tenejapa, Indians use their Indian surnames to regulate marriage since persons having the same Indian surnames are discouraged from marrying each other. Notwithstanding, Medina-Hernández (1961) pointed out that the Hispanic surname is the one that regulates marriage without distinguishing among Indian surnames. Nevertheless, it was noted that some Indians use their Spanish surname together with their Indian surname while others use both surnames in Spanish. Additionally, in the event that two persons have the same name (first name, Spanish surname and Indian surname), the paraje name will function to differentiate them and ascribe them to a kinship network. When I asked an Indian if he was related to another person who had the

same Spanish name, he responded that they were not related and that he was from a different paraje.

Marriage between ladinos and Indians does occur in Tenejapa, reflecting in this way the process of inter-ethnic marriages that has characterized Latin America (Harris 1964).[20] The information gathered shows that some inter-ethnic marriages and sexual encounters, either voluntary or forced, do occur.

A considerable percentage of the ladinos in Tenejapa are kin either through affinal and/or cognate ties. Arturo, a ladino from Tenejapa, called almost every ladino with whom he talked to compadrito or comadrita. When asked why, he replied that it was a respectful term used among the mestizos in Tenejapa (even when not a true compadre) although some of them are kin. At the same time, Arturo is related to a lot of persons, but he is not sure about the specific kin ties.

Gloria, Arturo's mother, provided a list of approximately 130 persons who are related to her (through affinal and/or cognate ties) residing in Tenejapa, not counting the third descending generation. Additionally, Gloria was able to provide names of persons from two ascending and three descending generations. The amazing aspect is the collateral extent of her kinship network which included affinal as well as cognatic ties. From a total of 58 recorded ladino houses in the Cabecera

Municipal, Gloria is related to at least 16 of them or to 27.58% of the ladino households in Tenejapa. If the number of ladinos living in Tenejapa's Cabecera Municipal is approximately 300 persons and Gloria provided a list of 130 names it can be postulated with a high degree of accuracy that she is related to at least 43% of the ladinos living in Tenejapa.

Tenejapa's contemporary ladino population can be traced back to four main characters in the latter part of the 19th century: Onofre Bautista, Arnulfo Bautista (Onofre's brother), Rafael Velasco and German Trujillo. The reason for this is that: (1) Rafael Velasco and German Trujillo had multiple wives over their life span; (2) three out of five children of Arnulfo Bautista, and one out of the three children of Onofre Bautista had more than one wife and (3) the grandchildren of the four mentioned men had more than one wife over their life span. No wonder that the most common Spanish surname for ladinos in Tenejapa is Bautista which has been combined with Cordero, Díaz, García, Gómez, Molina, Morales, Santiago, Trujillo and Vega.

Baptism among Indians is not frequent, although some Indians enter into baptismal co-parenthood with the ladino population (Hunt and Nash 1969:272; Medina-Hernández 1961; Wasserstrom 1983b). Inter-ethnic baptismal sponsorship can be classified as vertical since economic differences

between ladinos and Indians is significant (Mintz and Wolf 1950). A similar situation that follows the same vertical pattern occurs in school graduations. Most of the sixth grade graduating Indian students in the Cebecera Municipal had ladino godparents. From an approximate number of 15 graduating students, out of which half were Indians, only two of them (or 13.33%) had Indian godparents.

The fact that Indians look forward to establish fictive kinship ties with the ladino population through baptisms and school graduations tends to convey the idea that the ladino population is socially a homogeneous group with no class differences nor internal conflicts.[21] Notwithstanding, differences in ladino's socio-economic position and status is manifested in wedding patterns and the economic resources invested in the wedding ritual. Ladino families of high status consume different types of industrialized alcohol beverages, hire better music bands and execute a more complex wedding ritual (Metzger and Williams 1963). This also applies to their baptisms. Furthermore, conflicts among the Highland mestizos are common since they are competitors in commerce (Siverts 1971:392).

II.C.6 Alliances and Conflicts

Conflicts between the ladino and Indian populations have been the norm rather than the exception. Indian

rebellions during the colonial period were caused by the high level of exploitation of the Indian population by the Spaniards, the clergy and the ladino merchants (Aguirre-Beltrán 1979). During the colonial period a series of rebellions occurred, the best known being the Tzeltal Rebellion of 1712 (Klein 1970; Pineda 1986; Tovar-González 1973). Indian rebellions in the Tzeltal region also occurred in the post-independence period: in 1914, 1917 and 1930, culminating in the slaying of a group of ladino merchants by Cancuquero Indians in 1935 (Redfield and Villa-Rojas 1939).[22]

It was not until 1936 when the Highlands municipal governments changed as a consequence of the Cardenista reform period. The direction of the municipal government was handed over to the Indians although ladinos developed a strategy to safeguard their political and economic interests. The ladinos, as a means to establish political alliances with the Indian presidents, utilized the position of the Secretario Municipal. This position was historically occupied by ladinos who were the only persons trained to read and write Spanish. The ladinos made sure to cast their vote in favor of Indian candidates who would not attempt to oppose their economic interests (Medina-Hernández 1964:327, 1970).

In Tenejapa, Indian - ladino relations in the 1950's were characterized by a high level of exploitation.

According to Madre Rosario, ladinos paid whatever they felt was proper for agricultural goods provided by the Indians. Obviously, in this unilaterally imposed exchange system the ladino always had the upper hand. The contemporary scene has changed somewhat. Indians have some input in the exchange system, having now the relative advantage to appeal to the local Indian authorities.

In the most recent case of political and economic conflict in Tenejapa, the alliance between the Indian Municipal President and a mestizo cacique did not require the intervention of the Secretario Municipal. Compadrazgo ties between the president and the mestizo cacique's sister were sufficient to solidify the alliance (see sec. III.E.1). Furthermore, in the contemporary scene Tenejapanecan ladinos do not vote in the municipal elections. However, this does not mean that mestizos with high economic status do not participate in the decision making process but rather that the form in which they deliver their message has changed.

In 1977 a conflict which originated among Indians from Tzajalchén developed into an inter-ethnic confrontation. According to a mestizo informant, an Indian named Anastacio allied himself with Roberto (at that time the municipal president) in order to take over the land owned by another Indian named Teofilo residing in the paraje of El Retiro. Anastacio and the municipal president killed

Teofilo's cattle and destroyed his property. It is interesting to note that Indian intra-ethnic conflict resulting in drastic increases in homicide rates in the Chatino community in Oaxaca, Mexico have been explained by the change from subsistence agriculture to cash-crop production (i.e., coffee; Greenberg 1987). Furthermore, Nash (1967) explained the high homicide rate in terms of three factors which increase "social tensions". These three factors are cattle-herding, pox production and trucking which have increase wealth differences.

Threats and accusations emerged between ladinos and Indians due to the proximity of the Tzajalchén - El Retiro conflict to the Cabecera Municipal and the lack of trust the Indian and mestizo population have for each other. The mestizos, threatened by the possibility of an Indian attack and "to show the Indians that they were not afraid", decided to go to Tzajalchén and burn some Indian houses, but not until they had taken their wives and children to refuge in San Cristóbal de las Casas. The conflict did not escalate, but some mestizo families decided that it was about time to move permanently to San Cristóbal de las Casas in search for more secure frontiers.

Ladino and Indian hostilities, emerge not only for economic reasons but also when one of the parties feel insulted or treated without respect. In the Santiago Apóstol fiesta, a three-day Indian festivity celebrated on

July 25, 1985, a violent confrontation developed between a ladino veterinarian from San Cristóbal de las Casas and an Indian passenger hauler residing in the Cabecera Municipal.

I was walking with Angel (a Tenejapanecan Indian from paraje Nabil who works as an agricultural technician for the INI) when Rafael (a bilingual Indian teacher working in paraje Nabil) asked us if we knew a güero who was playing around with an Indian traditional hat and therefore insulting him. Angel responded that we did not know anyone who would engage in such behavior. Fifteen minutes later Miguel (the INI veterinarian who came to the festivities) was being led to jail by the regidores. Miguel was the güero who was playing with the Indian hat.

Angel talked to the regidores to tell them that Miguel was working with the INI and that there would be no further problems. The regidores decided to let Miguel go and we decided to walk through Tenejapa's Cabecera Municipal streets. Cepeda, an Indian from paraje Nabil (who was my godchild/ahijado since I was his graduation sponsor/padrino de graduación) happily joined us on the walk. Prudencio, an Indian hauler, and Miguel coincidentally met and confronted each other with threats and insults. Angel, who knew all of the persons involved, attempted to convince Prudencio to stop the confrontation. Prudencio responded by delivering a right jab to Angel's jaw; that was the end of Angel's mediating activity.

On three occasions Cepeda, my ahijado, told me not to intervene. In accordance with Cepeda's perception, Miguel decided to deliver a couple of blows to Prudencio. Suddenly, Prudencio together with four Indians from the Cabecera Municipal began to encircle Miguel, leaving him with no alternative except to run down the street only to be caught a couple of houses down the block. The regidores, who were one block away, began to run to where Miguel was being beaten. At that moment I thought the regidores were going to stop the fight but to my astonishment the regidores also participated in the cudgelling. Miguel got a black-and-blue eye, a broken/swollen lip and all of his clothes muddied. He was lucky since one of the four Indians who supported Prudencio pulled out a pistol pointing it at his face. Miguel could have been killed.

This confrontation reveals some interesting aspects. One of these is that Indians who are kin are not willing to identify themselves as such. After I began to make inquiries regarding the persons involved in the fight I discovered that Prudencio, Cepeda and one of the regidores are brothers, Prudencio being the oldest. Another interesting aspect is the territoriality of each ethnic group. Both contestants claimed to control a specific territory. Miguel was threatening Prudencio to watch out in San Cristóbal de las Casas while Prudencio was

responding that he was not afraid of Miguel in any place and less in Tenejapa.

On another occasion an inter-ethnic conflict developed into an intra-ethnic conflict. In a local house party, a young ladino man and an Indian from Tenejapa got drunk; for some unknown reason a turbulent argument ensued. The Indian, not been able to walk by himself, was taken to his house. The young ladino man was too heated up and followed the Indian, attempting to enter into the Indian house. While some men were restraining him from entering, the ladino man began to curse the Indian by screaming "pinche indio". Another young ladino man, who was also drinking at the party, ventured to convince the ladino man to forget the whole confrontation but only got an invitation to fight. Suddenly, the two of them were beating each other up until a group of women intervened and separated them. The ladino who had the altercation with the Indian left the scene by howling that he was going to kill both of them.

In the 1950's the Highland Indian communities, responding to the penetration of the Protestant Church, experienced another transformation, thus resulting in intra-ethnic conflicts.[23] In the municipality of Chamula, the protestant conversion in the late 1960's and early 1970's resulted in the subsequent expulsion of the converted protestant Chamulas from the municipal boundaries

(La Galería 1984:28-29). However, Chamula was not the only municipality that experienced internal tensions. In the municipality of Chanal, protestant penetration in the 1950's caused conflicts which resulted in the killing of some protestant followers, setting fire to their houses, followed by their expulsion from the community (Navarrete-Pellicer 1983:119). A similar situation developed in Cancuc and Oxchuc (Siverts 1969).

Two of the main issues which caused internal conflict and community fragmentation in these Indian municipalities were the protestants' prohibition regarding consumption of inebriating beverages and their doctrine which supports private capital accumulation. Nevertheless, in the Chiapas Highland Indian communities the consumption of aguardiente has been described as "... a necessary part of every social contact" (Bunzel 1940:377). Today, consumption of inebriating beverages is a major prohibition for the protestant believers. Subsequently, protestant believers were and are isolated from the rest of the community, and stigmatized as selfish and anti-social. With regards to capital accumulation, the sponsorship of religious and civil ceremonies required buying ceremonial items such as aguardiente, cigarettes, candles, incense and fireworks. The Protestant believers argue that such spending are not necessary but superfluous, not allowing for private capital accumulation.

In Tenejapa's Cabecera Municipal I recorded two fights among ladinos; two fights among Indians; and two inter-ethnic conflicts due to different reasons. One of the reasons was that all persons involved in the fights were inebriated. Other possible reasons that account for these conflicts/fights are purely economical.

Although alcohol consumption is a contributing factor in these fights, it does not mean that it constitutes the main intervening variable. The stress of the economic variable would probably have a greater input in these conflicts. It seems that the problem resides in the fact that some researchers do not measure other intervening variables independent of the drinking behavior (Honigmann 1979:31). According to the percentage of Indians and ladinos living in the Cabecera Municipal (72.35% and 27.65% respectively), one would expect a higher percentage of conflicts among the Indian than among the ladino population. Notwithstanding, my observation and ethnographic data suggest that the percentage of violent conflicts among ladinos is higher than among Indians.

Furthermore, the role played by the drunk has been analyzed from two complementing perspectives which are applicable to both inter and intra-ethnic conflicts. The first one sees the role played by the drunk as balancing the social system (Dennis 1979). This balance is achieved by airing out the critical issues known by everyone which

would not be allowed to be verbalized under sober conditions. The second perspective incorporates class analysis; the upper and middle class differentiate themselves from the masses by condemning public inebriation as characteristic of a peón (Madsen and Madsen 1979). Both perspectives stem from the idea that the behavior manifested while inebriated has been socially defined/prescribed by the community/society. That is, "... 'social drunkness' really defines the drunk's role, and not physiological inebriation" (Dennis 1979:63; Marshall 1979:453).

II.C.7 Land

In the anthropological and historical literature, it is not clear how many ejidos exists in Tenejapa. In 1944 there was only one ejido, Ejido Sibactel. The Indians of Chacomá, Majosic and Sibactel were the ones entitled to use the ejido lands from Sibactel (Cámara-Barbachano 1966:147). In 1964 Berlin, Breedlove and Raven (1974) reported that there were two ejidos in the municipality: Achlum and Banabil, without mentioning Ejido Sibactel. COPLADE (1983:884) reported that there are only two ejidos: Matzam and Sibactel. According to the information gathered during fieldwork, Matzam and Sibactel are ejidos although only the latter is referred to by the term ejido. However, the important point is that Tenejapa is the Highland

municipality with the next to the least ejido land, the first being Mitontic with no ejido lands at all (Ulises-Leal 1980:27-28).

Indians rent land in other parajes within and outside the municipality (Medina-Hernández 1961; Villa-Rojas 1969:211). The frequency of such arrangements is unknown and very difficult to establish although it would be logical to assume that: (1) due to the high population density renting land has become a frequent practice, and (2) due to the coffee boom experienced in the last 10 years the speculation in the buying and selling of land for coffee production has dramatically increased.

This process has accentuated the specialization of cash-crop production and subsistence agriculture in certain climatic zones. That is, tierra caliente has become a cash-crop producing area since most Tenejapanecan Indians want to plant coffee for the relatively high economic returns associated with it. On the other hand, planting corn, still an essential activity for the subsistence of the household, has been predominantly displaced to tierra fría areas. As a consequence, both tierra caliente and tierra fría are increasingly in demand.

Although the Tenejapanecan Indians still rent land, the present situation is somewhat different. Tenejapanecan Indians are crossing the municipal boundaries in order to rent and/or buy land in municipalities like Pantelhó and

Ocosingo. This process of renting land outside the municipal boundaries could develop into a conflictive situation between Tenejapanecan Indians and Indians from other municipalities. There were rumors in the municipality of Chenalhó that there were problems with Tenejapanecan Indians renting land in the municipality of Pantelhó. Indians from Pantelhó felt that their land was being taken away by Tenejapanecan Indians without being first made available to local residents.

Land scarcity, population growth, and the lack of wage work in Tenejapa have forced Tenejapanecan Indians to find temporary jobs in the Soconusco coffee fincas, which until the late 1970's utilized the historical and well known enganche contract system.

The wife of one mestizo enganchador[24] informed me that her husband was active until his death in 1978. At that time he was paid "300 pesos for each lift." Enganchadores had a difficult time hiring workers when Indians were working on their corn plots just when the coffee fincas required a greater number of workers. According to this informant "enganchadores came with enough money to hire 60 to 100 workers, but only got 20 to 30. By August there were more workers." Another informant added that "in the 1900's the Indians who were hooked were put to sleep overnight in the house across the street with their hands tied, no blankets and no food, as if they were slaves."

The Indians had to fill out a card registering themselves with the Sindicato de Trabajadores Indígenas. They were then taken to the bus terminal and transported to the finca. The Tenejapanecan Indians were provided with money to cover their trip to the finca and only if they finished their contract, which normally lasted for six weeks, were they provided with money to cover the return trip.

II.C.8 The Highlands and the Lacandon Jungle

II.C.8.a Contemporary Background

The Lacandon Jungle was declared national patrimony in 1966. Soon afterwards, as a mean of attracting settlers to colonize the jungle and to alleviate highland socio-economic tensions, the government decided to provide ejido lands. It was not until after the new colonizers established themselves in the Lacandon Jungle that the government began the search for oil wells, building a relatively comprehensive network of dirt and paved roads.

The colonization of the Jungle began in the 1960's with the establishment of Nuevo San Juan Chamula, a Tzotzil community from the municipality of San Juan Chamula. However, the community of Nuevo Huixtán is the most important community in that part of the region due to its essential role as a center for the distribution of commodities, the selling of coffee, and the buying of corn

and beans. The new migrants, at the colonizing stage, had to depend on the corn and beans sold by the community of Nuevo Huixtán until they could harvest their own milpas (Pohlenz 1985:75-91).

The agricultural production in that region has changed over time due to various reasons. The lack of a road forced many of the newcomers to dedicate themselves to cattle raising. Cattle is one of the few commodities that can transport itself on the hoof, in contrast to the surplus of corn production which requires trucks to transport it. With the construction of the road from Lagos de Montebello to Nuevo San Juan Chamula, which was initiated in 1970 and finished in 1983, the peasants were able to take their surplus production of corn and beans to regional markets (Pohlenz 1985:78-79).

Presently, the most important agricultural production in the region is coffee, followed by cattle, corn and beans. Nevertheless, due to the mildew plague that developed in the last three years, many of the coffee producers are seriously contemplating the idea of cultivating cacao rather than coffee (Pohlenz 1985).

II.C.8.b Tenejapanecans in the Lacandon Jungle

The competition for jobs in the Soconusco coffee fincas, offered by Guatemalans, and the lack of available land in Tenejapa led to the colonization of the Lacandon

Jungle by Tenejapanecan Indians (among other Indian groups) in the late 1960's.

Jerusalén, a Tzeltal community in the Lacandon Jungle, was formed in 1969 when families from the parajes of Chacomá, Sibactel, Tzajalchén and Matsam (in the municipality of Tenejapa) decided to relocate. In 1969 the Jerusalén residents asked for the legal recognition of the new lands but until 1986 the government has not processed their papers.

In 1975, the community of Jerusalén had a population of 176 persons divided in 49 families. Each family was entitled to 20 hectares of ejido land divided into two or three different parcels (Preciado-Llamas 1976:392-394).

The relocation to the Jungle proved to be beneficial to the Tenejapanecan Indians since they could produce cash-crops as well as subsistence crops on virgin soil. The data gathered during fieldwork shows that Tenejapanecan Indians in Jerusalén have an average coffee plot of 2.125 hectares producing an average annual production of 1,168 kilograms of pergamino coffee which is sold at Huixtán, Comitán and Tapachula to intermediaries.[25] In terms of subsistence production the average number of hectares planted with corn is 2.125 with an annual yield of 3,750 kilograms which is sufficient to cover household subsistence requirements for one year. Moreover, some Jerusalén Indians are able to produce a surplus which is

sold in the Municipality of Tenejapa. This is a significant difference from the Tenejapanecan Indians residing in Tenejapa. Tenejapanecans in Jerusalén do not depend on CONASUPO to obtain their corn and beans as occurs with Indians in Tenejapa (see Chapter IV.B).

However, the relocation to the Jungle, in the long run, will produce the characteristic problems of swidden agriculture: considerable extensions of land in use, shorter fallow period and agricultural intensification resulting in the depletion of the soil's vital minerals (Turner 1967). The process of agricultural intensification (increment in units of work, fertilizer and/or pesticides in a given plot of land) already began in the 1970's.[26] Most probably, when land is depleted and coffee becomes a low profit cash-crop, the land in the Lacandon Jungle will be transformed into pastures for raising cattle.

A paradoxical aspect of the ethnic relations in the Jungle is that Tenejapanecans have adopted the role of patrón while the role of peón, traditionally assumed by Tenejapanecans in the Soconusco coffee fincas, has been imposed upon the Guatemalan refugees.

In 1982, when the political conflict and government repression in Guatemala was at its peak, approximately 30,000 Guatemalans were forced to abandon their lands and migrate to the Mexican territory in order to safeguard their lives. The Highland Indians residing in the Lacandon

Jungle took advantage of this situation by utilizing the Guatemalan labor supply to work in their ejido lands. Since the Guatemalans have the status of refugees, wages paid to them were lower than the usual wages for a day of work or a tarea. Thus, Tenejapanecans residing in the Lacandon Jungle have benefitted economically from the Guatemalans refugees.

II.D Notes

1. One megawatt equals one million kilowatts.

2. Chiapas produced in 1983: 127,748 tons of coffee, 381,747 tons of plantains and 8,592 tons of cacao (Enciclopedia de Mexico 1985:118; Velasco-Palacios 1984:160-168).

3. Villa-Rojas (1969:198) calls this period as one of "slavery and royal land grants". However, although land grants were dispensed, Wasserstrom (1983a:117) points out that land was not the major concern among the Indian population of Central Chiapas in this period but rather the imposed onerous taxes and the system of repartimiento.

4. Another reason that explains the Tzeltal rebellion of 1712 was the indentured service imposed on Indians which was abolished in 1720. Indians were required to provide non-remunerated work to the Spanish entrepreneurs which otherwise was only available to the encomenderos (Tovar-González 1973:18).

5. For a description on how the enganche system was implemented through the consumption of alcohol see Bunzel (1940:363); Wasserstrom (1980:46-62); Navarrete-Pellicer (1983:64-67). In Chile, besides the enganche system the mestizos used aguardiente to buy land from the Indians (Lomnitz 1973:141).

6. For a discussion on the Agrarian Reform and ejidos in Mexico see Climo (1979); Kaya (1978); Restrepo-Fernández and Sánches-Cortés (1972); Reyes-Osorio, et al. (1974); Ronfeldt (1973); Stavenhagen (1968b) and Warman (1976).

7. Although Pocolum was the municipio's religious/administrative center, there is some archeological evidence indicating the existence of a ceremonial/religious center at the top of the mountain named Cruzchén. A mestizo from Tenejapa showed this author a Maya stone head, approximately over a foot tall, which he found while hunting at the top of the above mentioned mountain.

8. The Tzeltal language is one of the 25 Mayan languages which have been linguistically classified in 12 sub-groups (Kaufman 1970). The Tzotzil and Tzeltal languages are the two closest related languages of the Mayan family which stemmed from the prototzeltaltzotzil; the hypothetical

common protolanguage which began to split into two separated languages at about 260 A.D. The language that developed into Tzotzil and Tzeltal began to develop internal variations around 650 A.D. and 1,200 A.D. respectively (Hopkins 1970:191, 203). Presently 98% of the population in the municipality of Tenejapa are Tzeltal Indians of whom 50% do not speak Spanish (Diagnóstico Municipal - Tenejapa 1985:15).

9. Although Pocolum and Sibanilja denote the same territorial unit, the Tenejapaneco Indians differentiate between them reflecting in this way economic changes. Pocolum refers to the area where the INMECAFE coffee and the INI honey warehouses are located while Sibanilja refers to immediate area surrounding the school.

10. The total population reported in Diagnóstico Municipal 1985 - Tenejapa is not congruent with the population break-down of Tenejapa's population. Therefore, the communities' population provided in Table 2 were the result of this author's modification. I decided to multiply the figures provided by Diagnóstico Municipal 1985 - Tenejapa by three in order to arrived at a more accurate estimate congruent with the total population reported in Table 1 by COPLADE (1983).

11. Each municipality in the Central Highlands have radio communication service which links them to the State Capital, Tuxtla Gutiérrez.

12. There are two types of regidores: regidores constitucionales and regidores locales. The regidores constitucionales form part of the Ayuntamiento Constitucional (prescribed by the Mexican Constitution). This group embrace six regidores propietarios and three regidores suplentes. Their position last for three years and are appointed by the municipal president. The regidores locales are persons nominated by each paraje normally through community/PRI associations. Their civil cargo last for one year and their main function is three fold: as messengers of the president, as town police and as the president's guards. Normally, each paraje appoints two regidores locales. In this research the term regidor is utilized to denote both types of regidores unless otherwise noted by including their respective numbers or the word suplente for the regidores constitucionales (e.g., tercer regidor).

13. There is no information regarding the first Spaniard or ladino who established their permanent residence in the municipality of Tenejapa. However, the Padrón of 1811 (AHDSC 1811) mentions 25 ladinos living permanently there.

14. Tenejapa's population density has been incorrectly calculated by COPLADE (1983) due to the fact that the Census of Population (1960, 1970, 1980) incorrectly calculated Tenejapa's area. A more accurate estimate of Tenejapa's area is provided by Berlin, Breedlove and Raven (1974:20) which is 181.3 square kilometers. Therefore, if the estimated figures provided by COPLADE (1983) regarding Tenejapa's population is correct, the population density in 1980 and 1985 is 113 and 143 persons per square kilometer, respectively.

15. I decided to discuss the relationship between transportation and health resource allocation as part of this chapter in order not to lose focus of the main theses explored in Chapter III and IV, thus facilitating the organization of the material. Besides having importance for the analysis of transportation, health related services are important also as an indicator of the "effectiveness" of development programs.

16. According to an American doctor who specializes in stomach cancers and was doing voluntary work in Comitán Hospital, the percentage of patients suffering from stomach cancers is extremely high. This may be a consequence of much hot and spicy foods, and alcohol.

17. Although it is not the purpose of this research to establish a comparison between Tenejapa and Oxchuc it is important to point out that Cámara-Barbachano (1966) concluded that the mestizo as well as the Indian population in the municipality of Tenejapa live in better conditions when compared to the municipality of Oxchuc taking into consideration health, clothing and food (intake of meat).

18. For a discussion on different types of marriage arrangements among the Indians from Oxchuc and Cancuc see Villa-Rojas (1969:217-218).

19. There are different opinions regarding exogamous marriages since Villa-Rojas (1969:215) stated that the union of neighbors or members of the same paraje is considered incestuous while Cámara-Barbachano (1966:89) considered that marriages tend to occur within the same paraje.

20. During field research this author became aware of two cases in which a ladino man married an Indian woman, one case in which a ladino women married an Indian man, and two cases in which Indian women were raped by ladino men.

21. This is manifested by the lack of ethnographic studies in Chiapas addressing mestizo's class differences/conflicts.

22. At the present moment, there are no ladinos living in Cancuc. In Tenejapa only two ladino ranch owners live temporarily in their ranches.

23. The Instituto Lingüístico de Verano entered the Tzeltal region in 1938. By 1951 the Mexican Government formalized the relationship with the Instituto Lingüístico de Verano, through the Secretaría de Educación Pública, in order to carry out linguistic research. With the development of linguistic research, school textbooks and bibles were translated into the Tzotzil and Tzeltal languages facilitating the penetration by the Protestant Church.

24. The historical role of the enganchador has been conceptualized as an intermediary who function "... entre la agricultura comercial multinacional y el proletariado rural naciente de Chiapas" (Wasserstrom 1980:49).

25. INMECAFE involvement with Tenejapaneco coffee producers in Jerusalén is null since the Indians prefer to solicit credit with BANCRISA due to the INMECAFE lateness providing the credit and therefore, the necessary fertilizer.

26. Peasants who planted one hectare of corn invested 833.3 hours per hectare harvesting 12.12 corncobs per hour of work; while the ones that planted two or three hectares invested only 461.2 hours per hectare with a yield of 18.27 corncobs per hour of work. However, the interesting thing is that the yield per hectare for the Indians peasants who planted one hectare of corn was 26.13 zontles while for the latter it was 22.60 (Preciado-Llamas 1976:399).

Chapter III: Transportation, Development and Conflict in Central Chiapas

III.A Historical Development of Roads

III.A.1 "Abriendo Caminos"

INI was created by presidential decree in 1948. From that year until September 12, 1950, when INI's Centro Coordinador Tzeltal/Tzotzil (CCTT) in San Cristóbal de las Casas was founded, a series of investigations were carried out by anthropologists in order to delineate the forthcoming INI programs (Romano-Delgado 1976:44-45). The CCTT was divided into four departments: education, health, agriculture and construction of roads. Through the INI research it was determined that, in order to carry out its task, the first objective would be to develop the road system because it would greatly facilitate the transportation of personnel and materials from and to the different communities in the Highlands (Villa-Rojas 1976:247).

Before INI began to implement the road construction program there were four main roads in existence: (1) San Cristóbal de las Casas-Teopisca-Amatenango, (2) San Cristóbal de las Casas-Tenejapa, (3) San Cristóbal de las Casas-Zinacantan and (4) San Cristóbal de las Casas-Larraínzar. These roads allowed cars and trucks to pass, although with great difficulty particularly during the rainy season. In the spring of 1951, INI started a program

to pave and condition the four roads mentioned.

TABLE 5

INI ROAD CONSTRUCTION AND CONSERVATION PROGRAM: 1951-1976

Road name	1	2	3	4
S.C.L.C.-Chenalhó	37.0	37.0	1951	1954
S.C.L.C.-Chenalhó (km. 10; Chamula-Campo Agrícola)	1.0	1.0	1951	1952
S.C.L.C.-Chenalhó (km. 18.5; Larrraínzar)	6.0	6.0	1954	1956
Panamerican (km. 1182) - Chanal	45.0	45.0	1955	1967
Chenalhó-Pantelhó	40.0	20.0	1956	1965
S.C.L.C.-Tenejapa	37.0	18.0	1959	1966
S.C.L.C.-Chalchihuitán	4.1	4.1	1959	1960
Chilil-Oxchuc	25.5	5.0	1962	n.d.

1. Road length in kilometers.
2. Length of road construction.
3. Starting Date.
4. Finishing Date.

Source: Villa-Rojas 1976: 248-251.

There is some confusion as to what agencies were involved in road construction. According to Köhler (1975:177), from the beginning the work was done by a private company; later, INI decided to undertake the construction of roads. According to De la Fuente (1977:231), from the beginning the road program received the economic and technical support of the Secretaría de Comunicasiones y Obras Públicas while INI was in charge of:

> ... determinación de las carreteras necesarias, en función de varios factores, entre ellos el concepto social, más bien que económico, de una vía de comunicación; fijación parcial del trazo, para conseguir mayor acceso a los dispersos parajes; empleo de la mano de obra indígena y

> restricción de la maquinaria moderna, para conseguir el mayor derrame posible de dinero en aquélla; fijación de un salario justo; pacificación de subcomunidades sublevadas por la penetración del camino en su territorio y obtención de su cooperación para la obra; compensación de daños en especie --con semillas y plantas de calidad igual o superior a las destruidas (De la Fuente 1977:236).

Finally, Villa-Rojas (1976:247) indicated that in the beginning the road work was done by the INI and only afterwards was the road construction program delegated to Secretaría de Obras Públicas.

The contemporary road scene in the Highlands has changed dramatically since the 1950's. INI constructed 200 kilometers of brechas de penetración and 208 kilometers of caminos de grava from 1951 to 1976 (Villa-Rojas 1976:247). Every municipality has one road that reaches the Cabecera Municipal. Each municipality has a network of secondary roads which cover or diffuses into great part of the municipal territory. Two municipalities that have a relatively extensive network of secondary roads are Chamula and Zinacantan.

The furthest Cabecera Municipal from San Cristóbal de las Casas, measured in terms of time and distance, is Pantelhó, taking four hours to reach by car. This is a considerable improvement in road conditions since it took a day, under normal weather, and two to five days during the rainy season in the 1960's.

The two closest municipalities to San Cristóbal de las

Casas are Chamula and Zinacantan. These municipalities are eight and ten kilometers respectively, from San Cristóbal de las Casas, and do have a paved road.

Closeness to San Cristóbal de las Casas is determined not so much by the distance involved but rather by the quality of the road. Roads can be classified into paved and dirt roads.[1] Table 6 summarizes the distance, time and the type of road for each of the twelve municipalities in the Highlands. See Table 6. From an approximate total of 401 kilometers needed to get to all of the twelve municipalities, 190 kilometers or 47.38% are not paved. The time involved in getting to the different Cabeceras Municipales through dirt roads varies significantly because some are in poorer conditions than others. Sometimes roads are impassable by car, making the different municipalities accessible by truck or jeep only.[2]

The form in which the roads are structured present problems for Indians who want to go to other municipalities besides the ones covered by the road that takes them to their own (Köhler 1975:183). For example, if an Indian from Pantelhó wants to go to Tenejapa by a motor vehicle, he needs to pass by: (1) Chenalhó, Mitontic and Chamula, (2) the road entrance to Chalchihuitán, Larraínzar and Zinacantan, and (3) San Cristóbal de las Casas. In this case, it would be at least more convenient to travel directly from Pantelhó to Tenejapa as most Tenejapanecans

do so by foot since Pantelhó and Tenejapa share municipal boundaries. Therefore, the road structure does not provide for the integration of commerce among Indian municipalities. The road structure suggests that San Cristóbal de las Casas is the locus of commerce and government institutions.

TABLE 6

DISTANCE FROM SAN CRISTOBAL TO THE MUNICIPALITIES

Municipality	Distance in km.	Time	Paved Road*
Amatenango	38	:40	yes
Chalchihuitán	45	2:45	no
Chamula	8	:15	yes
Chanal	38	1:30	no
Chenalhó	35	2:00	no
Huixtán	34	:50	yes
Larraínzar	28	1:00	no
Mitontic	30	1:30	no
Oxchuc	54	1:15	yes
Pantelhó	64	4:00	no
Tenejapa	27	1:00	no
Zinacantan	10	:20	yes

* The roads mentioned for the purpose of constructing this table are the main roads that arrive at the municipal/administrative center. Some of these roads are partially paved as is the case for Chalchihuitán, Chanal, Chenalhó, Larraínzar, Mitontic, Pantelhó and Tenejapa.

Source: compiled by the author.

III.A.2 Problems in Road Construction and Indian Wage Labor

The construction of the roads in general confronted a series of problems, particularly the road to Pantelhó that passes through Chamula. Indians objected to the

construction of the road, their reason being that it cut through a sacred mountain. The Indians were also afraid that the ladinos would be able to increase their participation in the economic and social life of the Indian communities (Köhler 1975:178).

The problem of the road crossing the sacred mountain was resolved by determining what regions were sacred to the Indians and detouring the road around such areas. On the other hand, the Indian suspicion that ladinos were going to migrate and take over the economic and social life in the Indian communities never materialized (Köhler 1975:185).

According to Köhler (1975:185) the lack of ladino migration combined with the advantages brought by the road led to the disappearance of paying Indians a wage for their road work. The rationale for paying Indians a wage while working on the road, when the INI program started, was to provide them with the opportunity to earn cash (Köhler 1975:177; De la Fuente 1977:236). However, Köhler (1975) does not explain how ladino migration or the lack of it stimulated the INI to make the decision not to pay Indians for their road work. Furthermore, Köhler (1975:184) falls into a contradiction when pointing out the lack of advantages brought by the roads:

> En lo que se refiere al transporte de mercancías entre el hinterland indígena y San Cristóbal, no hubo mucho cambio a partir de la construcción de las vías de comunicación por parte del INI. Esto se debe, en gran parte, al hecho de que los indígenas llevan sus productos,

> como antes, a espaldas o en bestias de carga y por lo tanto no ven ningún provecho en los caminos nuevos, que más bien significan, en relación con los caminos tradicionales, un rodeo más grande. De ahí que pueda observarse en todas partes que los indígenas de Larraínzar, Chenalhó o Tenejapa, por ejemplo, usan los tramos de las carreteras que conducen de manera más corta a San Cristóbal, pero en lo demás prefieren las veredas a través de la montaña (Köhler 1975:184).

Accordingly, if the roads did not alter the transportation patterns between the Indian communities and San Cristóbal de las Casas, how is the disappearance of wage labor in road construction to be accounted for? There are two basic reasons. The first consists of lack of economic resources which was manifested in lack of cash to pay for road work. The other is that new interests emerged that opposed the goals of the INI programs thereby limiting their implementation (Villa-Rojas 1976:19).

The above contradiction stems from a lack of perspective of the historical development of commodity production, road networks and transport services. That is, it might be completely correct to state that Indians did not use the roads since the use of footpaths proved to be shorter in time and distance than the roads if you were walking to San Cristóbal de las Casas. On the other hand, with: (1) a shift and an increase in commodity production (which did not occur in the early stages of INI's road construction program); (2) the availability of trucks to transport passengers and freight; and (3) an increase in support programs sponsored by government agencies, the

Indians began to realize the advantages of the roads in the process of marketing their commodities (Romano-Delgado 1976:48; Wasserstrom 1983a:156-215).

A good example of the above mentioned process occurred in the municipality of Zinacantan. Due to the Panamerican Highway, completed in 1948, and transportation services Zinacanteco corn farmers have expanded their milpas to the lowlands near the Grijalva Valley. "By providing rapid and efficient transportation to the Grijalva Valley, this road encouraged agraristas to abandon their marginal and unproductive ejidos in favor of fields rented from lowland cattlemen" (Wasserstrom 1983a:175).[3] An interesting point is that due to the territorial expansion of Zinacanteco farming, transportation costs have become the major area of expenditure by absorbing 25% of the corn production; these costs when combined with fees paid to rent land, amount to 44% of the corn production. Furthermore, this territorial expansion changed the nature of agricultural production in Central Chiapas replacing large stretches of cultivated land with elephant grasses (Wasserstrom 1983a:182, 194, 196).

An interesting question underlying the prior discussion that needs to be raised is, why should Indians be involved in tequio arrangements in order to construct and maintain the roads? Tequio is a kind of cooperative, compulsory, communal and unpaid work arrangement used for

public or community projects.[4] The tequio has been used predominantly for the construction and repair of roads (De la Fuente 1977:258-259;260).

One possible reason is that Indians would have direct access to their respective communities besides marketing their own commodities in the San Cristóbal de las Casas market. However, the important point is that the average Indian (1) does not control the means of transportation, (2) does not have enough cash to buy a truck, (3) does not have the facility to obtain the necessary credit/credibility to buy one, and (4) communal solidarity vanishes with the organization of the pseudo transport cooperatives (De la Fuente 1977:164).[5] On the other hand, if Indians have either the necessary cash or credit there is a strong probability that they are caciques in their respective communities.

The other possible reason is that the roads changed the occupational patterns of the Indian population which are linked to agricultural production. However, the number of Indians who have changed their occupation is not significant since in Central Chiapas there are no industries at all. Additionally, Indian migration to San Cristóbal de las Casas follows the same occupational trend as in the 1950's since most Indians still end up as servants, gardeners, janitors and messengers in ladino family houses or businesses. This situation reaffirms the

status/class differential between Indians and ladinos. According to Pearlman (1976:256) "... they contribute to the process of capital accumulation by lowering the reproduction cost of labor in the dominant sector." At a symbolic level this sector of the population provides the middle urban class with a sense of upward mobility and success (Lomnitz 1978).

Some Indians, with the support of INI, got together and created truck associations which did not include the community as a whole (Köhler 1975:184). Between 1951 and 1975 INI supported the creation of transport cooperatives in the municipalities of Chamula, Chanal, Chenalhó, Huixtán, Oxchuc, Tenejapa and Zinacantan (Villa-Rojas 1976:241). In Amatenango the truck cooperatives was initiated by the Indians although INI's advice was to invest in a tractor rather than on a truck (Nash 1975:93-95; 1966:359). However, Köhler (1975), Villa-Rojas (1976) and De la Fuente (1977) do not provide any information regarding: (1) who controlled the means of transportation, (2) the kind of support provided by INI in this matter, (3) the development of these associations in terms of their functioning, (4) how long these associations were able to operate, and (5) why they disappeared?

Prior to the 1950's the ladinos were the ones who controlled transportation rather than the Indians due to the low capital accumulation, low cash flow and lack of

credit that has characterized the Highland Indian communities. Additionally, the commercial activity in San Cristóbal de las Casas as well as in the Indian communities has been controlled historically by the ladino population (Collier, G. 1976). That is, the ladinos from San Cristóbal de las Casas and Teopisca were able to acquire goods not only in San Cristóbal de las Casas but also in the Indian communities. Additionally, the ladinos living in the Indian communities were able to acquire goods and transport them to the San Cristóbal de las Casas market.

In the 1950's, as discussed in sec. II.C.9.b., Indian authorities were the ones who controlled the transportation. As time passed these scribes became elders. "In this capacity, they played a prominent role in INI's plan to develop the highlands: beginning in 1952, they became the region's first schoolteachers and health workers, the first owner of improved breeding stock and seeds, of 'cooperative' stores and communal trucks" (Wasserstrom 1983a:177).

Although Wasserstrom (1983a) sees the local Indian authorities perpetuating their power position as caciques in the community, by creating and controlling truck cooperatives/associations, De la Fuente (1977:236) and Nash (1975:93-95) see the control over transportation by Indians as a mechanism by which the Indian status is re-

evaluated in relation to the ladino population. It is my understanding that both positions are not mutually exclusive but rather complement each other. This is so since one mechanism by which Indians have been able to relatively levelled up in relation to the ladinos has been by consolidating the cacique's power by controlling transport services.

III.B General Overview of Transportation in Tenejapa

III.B.1 Roads and Transportation from San Cristóbal to Tenejapa

The construction of the first road from San Cristóbal de las Casas to Tenejapa was done by the Secretaría de Obras Públicas (SOP) before 1951. Before this road was constructed to Tenejapa, travelling was done by footpath or by horseback taking from five to eight hours respectively. INI was responsible for the conditioning of this road which started in 1959 and finished in 1966; later it was delegated to SOP (Villa-Rojas 1976:247,249). Although a three ton truck was serving Tenejapa mestizos in 1966, the road system did not alter the transportation arrangements used by Indians up until 1972 when the new road was finished since they still travelled by footpath due to the fact that the old road was impassable in 1970 and 1971 (Hunn 1977:7; Truman 1981:117; Stross 1973:259). The average time spent from San Cristóbal de las Casas to

Tenejapa utilizing the old road was approximately five hours although in the rainy season two to three days were spent traveling.[6]

By 1974 there were three commercial buses and five trucks travelling almost daily to San Cristóbal de las Casas (Truman 1981:145). The average travel time spent in getting to Tenejapa over this new road was approximately one hour and a half and two hours by truck or bus. Presently, Tenejapa is one of the closest municipalities to San Cristóbal de las Casas since it only takes approximately one hour of travel by combi and one hour and a half by bus. On the other hand, the new road did not provide a significant number of jobs (Hunn 1977:7).[7]

The number of transportation services has significantly changed since the 1960's and 1970's. Approximately 200 Tenejapanecan Indians travelled by public transportation every day to San Cristóbal de las Casas in 1974 (Truman 1981:145). If we take into consideration that in 1985-1986 there were eight passenger vehicles transporting approximately twelve passengers per trip and making two round trips, combined with four buses, each making one round trip per day carrying at least 30 passengers, there are approximately 300 persons (mainly Indians) travelling to San Cristóbal de las Casas each day.

"By 1974, the economic ties with San Cristóbal de las Casas had increased primarily due to the increased

availability of cheap transportation" (Truman 1981:148). However, it is my understanding that transportation costs in 1974 were not cheap but rather relatively expensive since the fare to San Cristóbal de las Casas for one passenger was five pesos while the minimum daily wage for an unskilled laborer was fifteen pesos and most laborers did not make that much (Truman 1981:145). Thus, a round trip represented 66% of the minimum daily wage, a considerable amount within the Indian economy. The trip from Tenejapa to San Cristóbal de las Casas cost, in the spring of 1985, 160 pesos while the minimum wage was 500 pesos per day of work. In a round trip the passenger would spend 64% of the daily wage in transportation costs. By the end of 1985 the transportation tariff increased to 200 pesos per trip due to an increase in gasoline prices, representing 80% of the daily wage received by an unskilled Indian worker. This situation once more changed when wages increased to 800 pesos per day of work in May of 1986 while transportation tariff stayed the same, representing 50% of the daily wage (see Table 7).

The activity of transportation does not constitute the prime mover that accounts for the increase in economic ties with San Cristóbal de las Casas. It is rather a function of the economic activity of commodity production and subsistence agriculture. That is, Indians travel to San Cristóbal de las Casas on errands stemming from the

activity of cultivating coffee or corn such as obtaining credit and technical assistance from different government institutions; getting fertilizer for their cafetales and milpas; and buying the necessary agricultural tools. Consequently, the economic ties with San Cristóbal de las Casas responded primarily to the economic activity developed in the municipality in response to the national/urban needs for cash-crops and only secondarily to the availability of transportation services.

TABLE 7

MINIMUM WAGE AND TRANSPORTATION TARIFF

Date	Minimum Wage	Transportation Expenses	% Spent in Transportation
00/1984	15	10	66%
04/1985	500	320	64%
12/1985	500	400	80%
06/1986	800	400	50%

Source: Truman (1981) and information gathered during fieldwork.

The transportation of passengers from Tenejapa to San Cristóbal de las Casas is not regulated by a fixed schedule. Nevertheless, combis (Volkswagen station wagon use to transport passengers) to San Cristóbal de las Casas start their trips at 5:00 a.m.. Once they arrive at San Cristóbal de las Casas they pick up passengers for the trip back to Tenejapa. Most of the passengers that go to San Cristóbal de las Casas early in the morning are Indians while ladinos travel relatively late in the morning. Some of the passengers travelling from San Cristóbal de las

Casas to Tenejapa in the morning are teachers who work in Tenejapa's Cabecera Municipal and live in San Cristóbal de las Casas; Indians who were taking care of personal business and needed to stay overnight; and government technical personnel that were not provided with an official vehicle.[8]

Few passengers travel to San Cristóbal de las Casas after 10:00 a.m. with the exception of Thursdays and Sundays which are market days in Tenejapa. When the Tenejapa market ends, which normally occurs around 11:00 a.m. or 12:00 p.m., mestizo merchants return to San Cristóbal de las Casas. From 12:30 p.m. to about 3:00 p.m. passengers from San Cristóbal de las Casas return home. Only rarely did I see a combi arriving after 4:00 p.m.. Trips done after 2:30 p.m. to San Cristóbal de las Casas are considered special trips which means paying 4,500 pesos no matter how many passengers make the trip.

Sometimes, three or four passengers make the arrangements with a combi owner to make a special trip. Most of the times these special trips involve emergencies. On one occasion I was interviewing Rodolfo, a combi owner, and an Indian woman came to ask if he could make a special trip for a sick woman who needed to be taken to the hospital in San Cristóbal de las Casas. After informing her of the special charge, the woman's family accepted and we departed as I was invited by Rodolfo to accompany them.

On that occasion Rodolfo explained why combi owners charge the special tariff. He pointed out that on the way back there are no passengers to pick up and that they had to charge the ones going to San Cristóbal de las Casas for a round trip in order to come out even and then some. According to haulers, the explanation for this kind of rationale is that going to San Cristóbal de las Casas does not render an economic profit since the vehicles consume much more gasoline. On the other hand, in the return trip haulers can make a profit being that most of the trip is down hill and therefore gasoline consumption/expenses decreases.

III.B.2 Spatial Distribution of Roads in Tenejapa

The main road connects Tenejapa's administrative center with the entrance of secondary roads. The municipality of Tenejapa has 35 legally recognized communities or parajes. Out of these 35 communities 25 (or 69.44%) have a secondary road that reaches up to the community center/school; the other 11 communities (or 30.56%) do not have a access/secondary road although some of them are relatively close to one (see Table 8).

All of the roads in Tenejapa are dirt roads; they vary mainly in terms of their quality and safety. The main road, at the point where it passes through the community of Cruzchén, had one strip that during the rainy season only

TABLE 8

DISTANCE FROM THE COMMUNITIES TO TENEJAPA'S CENTER

Community	1	2	3
Achlum	N.A.	(3.5)	no
Amaquil	N.A.	(4.0)	no
Baluncaná	N.A.	6.4	yes
Banabil	9.9	14.5	yes
Cañada, La	.1	2.1	yes
Cotolté	13.7	14.7	yes
Cruzchén	4.0	N.A.	yes
Cruz Pilar	14.4	19.4	yes
Culactic	11.2	11.7	yes
Chacomá	8.2	11.8	yes
Chalam	N.A.	(6.0)	no
Chaná	12.1	15.0	yes
Chichintonil	7.8	8.3	yes
Chixaltontic	N.A.	(2.0)	no
Chixtontic	12.9	14.8	yes
Chuljá	8.2	10.0	yes
Huinit-tón	N.A.	(2.0)	no
Jomanichin	12.1	18.4	yes
Juchaljá	17.3	18.1	yes
Majosic	16.1	20.5	yes
Matsam	9.9	19.5	yes
Naranja Seca	N.A.	(6.5)	no
Nabil	N.A.	(4.5)	no
Ocosh	N.A.	(0.5)	no
Pajaltón	N.A.	(3.0)	no
Pagtetón	12.1	19.2	yes
Retiro, El	N.A.	(2.0)	no
Sibactel, Ejido	8.2	15.9	yes
Sibanilja	12.9	13.2	yes
Tres Cerros	12.1	21.2	yes
Tzajalchén	8.9	12.3	yes
Tzaquibiljoc	10.1	12.4	yes
Yashanal	N.A.	(2.0)	no
Yetzucum	15.35	18.5	yes
Yochib	N.A.	15.3	yes

1. Kilometers from Tenejapa's administrative center to the communities' road entrance by dirt road.
2. Kilometers from Tenejapa's center to the communities' center/school by dirt road. Numbers in parenthesis refers to the walking distance from the nearest road to the community center/school.
3. Communities that have an access road to the community center/school.

Source: data gathered during fieldwork.

jeeps can pass. Furthermore, this road does not provide any type of road security in terms of road guides or defense barriers, specially where there are one lane turns exposing drivers and passengers to life threatening situations if the vehicle slips and falls into a precipice. It was definitely a very unsafe section of the main road (see section III.E.4).

Lack of safety measures are characteristic not only of Tenejapa's main road but of the network of secondary roads as well. The secondary road to the community of Tzajalchén during the rainy season is dangerously slippery since the driver does not have control over the vehicle but rather it slides downhill following the tire tracks on the road.

The rate at which these dirt roads deteriorate is amazing. The day I visited the community of Cruz Pilar, where I was exploring the new road, an Indian teacher from the community asked me when the road was going to be resurfaced. The teacher knew that although it was recently finished it would only last a few strong rains in good condition. This represented more problems for the community coffee growers since they had to transport their coffee by tumpline to the nearest road at least three kilometers away.

The same kind of road deterioration occurs in the last portion of the road from San Cristóbal de las Casas to

Tenejapa. In a period of fifteen months this strip of road was re-conditioned three times utilizing both manual labor and machines. Each re-conditioning done to this road lasted approximately three weeks.

The low quality of the roads not only causes problems for the agricultural producers but also for the truck owners and the administration of their economic enterprise.

The two newly constructed roads to the communities of Majosic and Cruz Pilar have already caused problems since the soil was not compacted, thus producing large mud holes when it rained.[9] In a Winic a'tel (a transport association) meeting Chavon was discussing with fellow members who was going to pick up coffee quintales in the community of Majosic since a truck had already gotten stuck in that road that same week. Chavon was expressing his concern due to the fact that he was the trucker owner and driver covering that route.

The poor road conditions produce an increase in truck maintenance and repair costs due to the fact that break-downs in vehicles frequently occur while driving through the rancherías. In these cases the owner needs to leave someone with the truck while another person looks for a mechanic and parts which normally means taking whatever means of transportation are available to San Cristóbal de las Casas and back. With luck the whole process of

repairing a break down in the vehicle takes a full day although two day repairs are frequent.

During my field work I recorded eight cases in which vehicles broke down and were repaired on the road.[10] On one occasion I was going to San Cristóbal de las Casas with Pipo (a member of Confederación Revolucionaria de Obreros y Campesinos, CROC, who transport passengers) when a wheel bearing broke at 10:00 a.m. We were all forced to find another transport vehicle to San Cristóbal de las Casas. At 10:00 p.m. when I was returning to Tenejapa in my car I saw Pipo and Adrian still repairing the van, twelve hours later. In this type of situations the persons involved are exposed to rain and cold weather besides being thirsty and hungry if there is no store close by. The driver totally depends on: (1) a support group such as fellow members of a transport association, (2) friends and/or (3) help provided by another driver who identifies himself with the situation and is willing to give assistance.

Break-downs in vehicles involve not only the driver of the vehicle, friends who are willing to help, hired mechanics and assistants but kin as well. Napoleón has a son who was a driver for CONASUPO. At 6:00 a.m. Napoleón's son departed to Cancuc in a CONASUPO three ton truck with a battery lent by Napoleón. Napoleón's son was supposed to arrived back at 4:00 p.m. By 6:00 p.m. Napoleón was worried and asked me if I could take him to Cancuc, a two

hour drive. His son was supposed to collect cash, so there was cause to worry. Obviously, Napoleón was extremely concerned about his son since he (1) could have been robbed of the cash and beaten up, (2) could have had an auto accident or (3) the truck broke down which implied that he could get back to Tenejapa through Yochib or through Oxchuc. The Oxchuc route is longer although more reliable in terms of getting transport to San Cristóbal de las Casas and then to Tenejapa. When we got to Cancuc the truck was parked and Napoleón immediately began to ask in Tzeltal where the driver was. A group of Indians responded that the truck did not start and the driver decided to go to Oxchuc and from there to San Cristóbal de las Casas. Napoleón opened the truck hood and took his battery back. When we got to Tenejapa Napoleón took his car and went to San Cristóbal de las Casas where his son would probably be waiting in an aunt's house. Next morning, Napoleón commented that his son was well and that they came back at 1:00 a.m. of that day.

III.B.3 Structural Factors Affecting Road Construction and Repairs

In the municipality of Tenejapa there are a series of government agencies involved in road construction and its conservation. The Junta Local de Caminos (JLC) is in charge of the construction and conservation of state roads;

the Secretaría de Comunicaciones y Transportes (SCT) is in charge of the construction and conservation of the federal and rural roads; the Secretaría de Obras Públicas (SOP) takes care of the construction of rural roads; and the Secretaría de Desarrollo Rural (SDR) is the other agency involved in rural road construction.

In 1980 the SCT approved a budget to construct a road from Cancuc to Yajalón and paved the road from San Cristóbal de las Casas to Yajalón via Tenejapa. The construction of the road from Cancuc to Yajalón was never finished and the pavement from San Cristóbal de las Casas to Yajalón was not completed; only the first fifteen kilometers were paved. Additionally, a re-routing of the road at the twenty second kilometer, to avoid a very difficult strip that had caused many inconveniences due to a very steep slope, was scheduled but never executed.

SCT is in charge of the conservation of the following roads in the municipality of Tenejapa: (1) Naranja Seca - Oxchuc; (2) Matsam; (3) Tenejapa - Cañada; (4) Pocolum - Jomanichin - Tres Cerros; and (5) Yochib - Yetzucum. The conservation of the above mentioned roads is not done on a regular basis since it depends on the availability of money. Thus, the following road conservation projects were proposed pending approval by SCT: (1) Robles - Unión Yashanal; (2) Cruz Pocolum - Tres Cerros; (3) Cruz Pocolum - Chixtontic; and (4) Yochib - Yetzucum.

SDR normally constructs roads that are less than 10 kilometers long. SDR approved in 1985 the construction of two roads: Chixtontic to Cruz Pilar and Chaná to Majosic. These roads were finished early in 1986. According to the municipal president the following were proposed road construction projects pending approval of SDR for 1986: Cipres to Yashanal and Tenejapa to Pajaltón. However, the Director of Dirección de Ingeniería Rural (from SDR) pointed out two different roads: Cruz Pilar to Manual Utrilla and Jomanichin to Amaquil. Construction of the road from Jomanichin to Amaquil began late in 1986 while the road to Amaquil had not begun prior to my departure on July, 1986.

The road construction program is not always implemented by government agencies. The Cruzchén strip was to have been widened by NACSA, a private company, but on June 20, 1985 the municipal president publicly stated that NACSA was only working 12 out of the 17 days a month of stipulated work. The municipal president suggested the creation of a commission that would investigate the above mentioned situation since NACSA had taken more than 3 years to widen only 4 of the 8 kilometers stipulated by the contract.

The way in which the road construction programs are undertaken manifests a lack of coordination among the different government agencies causing deficient use of

limited resources. The amount of money destined for roads is allocated to different agencies within the government. Each agency constructs or maintains a series of roads in different municipalities. The amount of paper work each agency generates, and the time, energy, and money spent in transporting the necessary machinery and technical personnel from one municipality to another duplicates the efforts spent by other agencies. For example: SDR, on the way to construct the road to Majosic and Cruz Pilar passed by the last strip of the main road to Tenejapa which was in very bad condition without reconditioning it. Sometime after, SOP sent a machine and a squads of men to re-condition this same road strip. The amount of time and energy spent on transporting the personnel and machinery by SOP is more than the time and energy SDR would have spent if the task had been delegated to SOP squad which was on its way to Majosic anyway.

Furthermore, the administrative divisions generated by government agencies in road construction and conservation programs negatively affects the conservation of the road system since over 50% of secondary roads in the municipality are not repaired by any of the above mentioned agencies.

JLC, SCT and SDR officers were asked if there were any social impact or cost benefit studies done prior to determining to what communities roads should be

constructed. They responded that no such studies were or are being done and added that the decision process depended on the municipal president.

Due to the lack of coordination among these government agencies, low road construction budgets and maintenance which is almost completely lacking, road construction is an activity that greatly depends on the lobbying power of the municipal president. The municipal president functions as a cultural broker in the sense that he develops political contacts outside the municipality with mestizo government representatives enabling him to have a series of resources to distribute in his municipality. This was the case in the relationship between the municipal president and the director of the engineering section of SDR in Tuxtla Gutiérrez. With the support of other government officers in San Cristóbal de las Casas the municipal president was able to get the approval and funding for the construction of two roads: Chixtontic to Cruz Pilar and Chaná to Majosic.

III.C Socio-Cultural Profile of Haulers in Tenejapa

III.C.1 General Overview

In the municipality of Tenejapa there are a number of haulers who transport passengers as well as freight. Haulers can also be classified in terms of their membership or non-membership in transport associations.

The data gathered show that 15 of the 21 (71%) Tenejapanecan haulers presently operating their vehicles belong to a transport association. If we break down the haulers into two groups, mestizos and Indians, we note that five of the 12 (58.33%) Indian vehicle owners belong to a transport association compared to eight of the nine (88.89%) mestizo vehicle owners (see Table 9). This suggests that Indian vehicle owners, who are economically well off, do not feel the need to be collectively organized in order to guarantee their positions in the community.

In terms of the transport of passengers, 41.38% of vehicles owned by Tenejapanecans are destined for this purpose while 58.62% are destined mainly to the transport of freight (see Table 9).

Haulers in general are members of the Winic a'tel[11] or the CROC, which are transport associations, and of a third group which can be categorized as the independents.

Winic a'tel is comprised of 11 members who owned 15 vehicles: five combis, four buses, five three ton trucks and one eight ton truck. Some of these vehicles are collectively owned by two or three persons.[12] The CROC, the other transport association, has four members although only three of them are operating their vans (see Table 9).

The independents are comprised of six persons, five of them operating their own trucks.[13] The independents have a relatively high degree of independence due to a series of

reasons. First and most important, they do not need to conform to any association in order to guarantee their economic activity and obtain the vehicle plates. Second, their clientele is not related to any of the existing associations; and third, they administer and control their own enterprise.

TABLE 9

TRUCK OWNERS IN THE MUNICIPALITY OF TENEJAPA

Name of Owner	Type of Vehicle	Name of the Organization	Are they Coyotes?	Indian or Mestizo?
Napoleón	1 car	CROC	No	M
Adrian	1 van	CROC	No	M
Pipo	1 van	CROC	No	M
Rodolfo	1 van	CROC	No	M
Ampelino	1 truck	Winic a'tel	Yes	M
Chavon	1 truck	Winic a'tel	Yes	M
Refugio	1 truck,1 van	Winic a'tel	Yes	M
Guillermo	1 truck,1 van	Winic a'tel	No	I
Ramón	1 truck,1 bus	Winic a'tel	No	I
Inocencio	1 truck	Winic a'tel	No	I
Soda Dist. 4	1 bus	Winic a'tel	No	I
Prudencio	1 combi	Winic a'tel	No	I
Isidro	1 combi	Winic a'tel	No	I
Bigotes	1 combi	Winic a'tel	No	M
Chulito	1 combi	Winic a'tel	No	I
Soda Dist. 1	4 trucks,1 car	Independent	No	I
Soda Dist. 2	2 trucks	Independent	No	I
Soda Dist. 3	1 truck	Independent	No	I
Erasmo	1 truck	Independent	No	I
Ignacio	1 truck	Independent	No	I
Raul	1 truck	Independent	No	M

Source: data gathered during fieldwork.

All CROC members and five Winic a'tel members transport passengers from Tenejapa to San Cristóbal de las Casas and back. Only on rare occasions do they carry passengers up to the Indian communities and if they do so

they only go as far as the community of Cruzchén. On the other hand, truck and bus owners who are members of Winic a'tel and the independents are the ones who normally transport passengers as well as freight to the rancherías. Winic a'tel is more diversified than the CROC in terms of the services provided since they have combis, trucks and buses transporting a wide variety of commodities. The independents, Winic a'tel and CROC members have social, economic, political and kin ties in the Indian communities, Tenejapa's Cabecera Municipal and San Cristóbal de las Casas. Tenejapanecan Indians wanting to transport freight use the above mentioned ties to obtain a carrier.

The data gathered show that of a total of 21 haulers in Tenejapa there are nine mestizos and twelve Indians or 42.86% and 57.14% respectively (see Table 9).

It is interesting to note that eight out of the ten (80%) vehicle owners interviewed[14] have occupied a cargo.[15] If we break down this category we notice that only three of the five (60%) Indian vehicle owners interviewed have occupied a cargo compared to five out of five (100%) mestizo vehicle owners (see item 15 in Table 10). The reason for this situation is that the Indian vehicle owners interviewed are relatively young. The mean age of the haulers interviewed is 37.30 years while for mestizo and Indian haulers is 40 and 34.60 years old respectively (see item 1 in Table 10).

The average number of years in school of the haulers interviewed is 4.75 years. All of the interviewees (n = 10) could speak Spanish and Tzeltal while only one of ten did not know how to read or write their native language. In terms of their children's education, two of the five mestizo owners interviewed send their children to schools in San Cristóbal de las Casas compared to none of the Indian owners (see item 3, 4, 5 and 6 in Table 10).

All of the Indian haulers interviewed hire other persons to work in their transport activity compared to three of the five (60%) ladino haulers (see item 19 in Table 10). The explanation for this is that the volume of the transport activity of Indian haulers is higher than that of the mestizo haulers. Most of the time the persons hired to work are kin who do not have the traditional mean for their economic support, land.

Vehicle owners limit the number of possible future competitors at the local level by controlling the dissemination of needed driving and truck maintenance skills. A young Tenejapanecan Indian asked me if I could teach him how to drive clarifying that he was willing to pay for the lessons. I responded by asking why does he not ask Soda Distributor 1 to teach him since both are from the same paraje. The young Tenejapaneco bitterly responded that he already asked, but that Soda Distributor 1 wanted to charge an onerous amount that no one could afford. A

TABLE 10

SOCIO-CULTURAL PROFILE OF HAULERS

	Vehicle Owner Mestizo n=5	Vehicle Owner Indian n=5	Vehicle Owner Total n=10
1) Average Age in years	40.00	34.60	37.30
2) Income per month	66,200	93,333	79,766
3) Years in school	4.70	4.80	4.75
4) % knows read/write	100.00 %	80.00 %	90.00 %
5) % knows Spanish/Tzeltal	100.00 %	100.00 %	100.00 %
6) Children who study outside the community	40.00 %	0.00 %	20.00 %
7) % who owns a house	100.00 %	100.00 %	100.00 %
8) # of rooms in house	5.4	6.3	5.8
9) % of houses with water service	100.00 %	40.00 %	70.00 %
10) % of houses with electricity	100.00 %	40.00 %	70.00 %
11) Average value of electrical appliances in the house	66,550	26,980	46,765
12) Average # of persons in the household	6.0	8.2	7.1
13) Average clothing expenses in a year	266,800	155,000	210,900
14) % who own land	40.00 %	60.00 %	50.00 %
15) % who have occupied a cargo	100.00 %	60.00 %	80.00 %
16) Average contribution to religious festivities	18,340	31,400	24,870
17) Average contribution for road, school, clinic and church repairs	13,920	28,400	21,160
18) % who bought the vehicle cash	60.00 %	0.00 %	30.00 %
19) % who hires other persons to work	60.00 %	100.00 %	80.00 %

Source: data gathered during fieldwork.

similar situation was documented by Nash (1966:359) when ladinos from Teopisca refused to teach Indians in Amatenango how to drive and maintain a newly acquired truck.

III.C.2 Credit

The purchase of transport vehicles, specially trucks, involve a high capital investment, thus limiting the number of persons who can buy the trucks with cash.[16] Thirty percent of all the vehicle owners interviewed (n=5) were able to buy their vehicles with cash while seventy percent depended on credit. If we break down this category we notice that three of the five (60%) mestizo owners interviewed were able to buy their vehicles with cash contrasted to all five (or 100%) of Indian owners who needed to get credit (see item 18 in Table 10).

Credit depends on who knows you rather than who you know. Although the credit relationship is a two-way (dyadic) contact/contract, its nature by definition is asymmetrical in the sense that the person in need of credit depends on the one providing the credit. Most of the time banks are not involved in providing credit since the interest rate on vehicle loans are onerous. Therefore, credit is offered by the dealers who sell the vehicles requiring the buyers to pay within twelve to eighteen months.

According to Soda Distributor 1, a truck dealer knew that he could be trusted and facilitated the necessary credit to buy his first truck. The popular version in Tenejapa states that Soda Distributor 1 was able to buy the truck when he discovered gold.[17] On the other hand, the version according to Soda Distributor 1 is that he won the lottery in Tuxtla Gutiérrez and with that money he was able to provide for the downpayment.

The lack or scarcity of capital, in the form of cash or credit, is manifested in the: (1) diversification of economic activities, (2) transportation of different commodities, (3) co-ownership of transport vehicles, and (4) buying and selling of transport vehicles.

In terms of the diversification of economic activities one interesting aspect of the haulers in general is that five of the ten (50%) interviewees own land: two of five (40%) mestizo and three of five (60%) Indian haulers (see item 14 in Table 10).[18] However, a significant aspect of this is that only one of five (20%) mestizo haulers work the land compared to three of five (60%) Indian transportistas interviewed. Land is not used in order to acquire credit in the form of mortgage although land is sold mainly by ladinos when they need cash. Thus, Indian haulers do not exclusively depend on providing transportation services as a source of economic income or subsistence since they have land which is being cultivated

either with coffee or corn.

Rodolfo bought a van on credit requiring twelve monthly payments. Transporting passengers was not rendering enough money to cover the vehicle's monthly payments and maintenance, and living expenses. Rodolfo's sister, who was a wholesale distributor of wheat flour in San Cristóbal de las Casas, provided him with flour at distributor prices to be paid once Rodolfo sold it.[19] After Rodolfo brought his first set of passengers from Tenejapa, he proceeded to load his van with flour and deliver it to different clients throughout San Cristóbal de las Casas. After developing a public relations campaign Rodolfo was able to establish a network of satisfied customers. The clients saw a great advantage in the arrangement since Rodolfo was selling the flour at the price sold in retail stores and his clients did not have to spend time, energy and money in the transportation of the flour. After delivering the flour Rodolfo proceeded to load his van with passengers and returned to Tenejapa.

Rodolfo sold flour for a year allowing him to pay the monthly installments. Afterwards, his sister sold the flour concession and truncated Rodolfo's flourishing flour distribution business. Rodolfo thought of developing a secondary activity related to the transportation of commodities; in this case a concession to distribute gas tanks in the municipality of Tenejapa. Thus, Rodolfo went

to talk to the gas company representative in San Cristóbal de las Casas. The gas company representative indicated that Rodolfo had to: (1) transport the gas tanks in an open van or truck which he did not have, (2) buy at least 15 tanks to start the business since the gas company does not loan gas tanks nor provides credit to buy them, (3) sell at government official prices and (4) the concession was not guaranteed, meaning that another person could enter into the distribution of gas tanks. Rodolfo abandoned the idea stating that he could not afford to buy the gas tanks without the gas company guaranteeing the exclusive concession, and that selling at San Cristóbal de las Casas' official prices would not render an economic profit. Rodolfo concluded by saying that it was better for everyone to continue as they have done so in the past; if you need gas, you would pay one of the haulers for taking your gas tank to be re-filled in San Cristóbal de las Casas.

Don Adrian bought a van in 1980 which he still operates to transport passengers and distribute concrete blocks made in his house. The economic activity of making concrete blocks supplements Adrian's main activity of transporting passengers. The concrete blocks are made by a Tenejapanecan Indian who lives in Tenejapa and receives a daily wage of 1,500 pesos with a stipulated output of 200 blocks per day.[20] Adrian sells each concrete block for 100 pesos, not including its transportation.

Rodolfo and Adrian have not gone beyond distributing wheat flour and making concrete blocks, respectively. On the other hand, due to the number of trucks owned by Soda Distributor 1, his transportation activity is fully diversified, transporting general freight such as: corn, beans, eggs, gas containers, concrete blocks, wood, lumber, coffee and fertilizers throughout the Highlands. On one occasion I went with Soda Distributor 1 and Jorge, a mestizo who is a petty coffee coyote,[21] to the rancherías to deliver a freight of blocks and on the way back to pick up approximately 90 coffee quintales for Jorge. Additionally, Soda Distributor 1 buys concrete blocks in San Cristóbal de las Casas for 50 pesos and sells them for 100 pesos in the municipality of Tenejapa. The selling price of the blocks provided by Soda Distributor 1 includes its transportation to the different rancherías.

Another interesting aspect of the lack of capital is manifested in co-owning transport vehicles. The number of co-owners depends on the required cash deposit, expected credit and co-signers. The cash deposit depends on the accumulated capital that the co-owners can provide. The lower the individual contribution, the greater the number of co-owners required to come up with the downpayment and vise versa. In Amatenango, the deposit to buy the first truck was provided by 30 Indians (Nash 1966:359). In Tenejapa, the first bus was acquired by 21 persons (mainly

Indians) who got together and formed the Cooperativa de Transporte Tenejapa (see sec. III.E.1).

In this kind of arrangement conflicts emerge frequently among the co-owners. Chavon and Erasmo, co-owners of a bus, were said to have problems with each other in terms of the administration of the profits derived from the bus operation.

Don Chavon's fascinating characteristic is that he has a history of having problems with his ex-partners. Chavon had problems with Rodolfo in 1982 when they established a partnership. They bought a combi for 150,000 pesos, each contributing 60,000 pesos for the down payment and the balance paid in monthly payments. After six months Rodolfo sold his share to Chavon since Chavon accused him of stealing the combi profits.

This situation repeated itself in early 1983 when Chavon and Pipo (Rodolfo's brother) bought a combi together for 150,000 pesos. Each gave a down payment of 25,000 pesos and monthly payments of 8,000 pesos. According to Pipo, the daily gross income obtained from the combi operation was 400 pesos. However, most of the accumulated profits was invested in the vehicle when the motor was repaired at a cost of 19,000 pesos. Chavon, disgusted with this situation, accused Pipo of not properly maintaining the combi and stealing the profits; this time Pipo bought Chavon's share. By the end of 1983

Pipo sold the combi for 200,000 pesos and bought Napoleón's station wagon for 400,000.

Haulers take advantage of the inflation rate or lack of vehicle depreciation through the buying and selling of vehicles. Due to the inflation rate, haulers can buy a vehicle, use it and later sell it obtaining a "considerable" profit. However, due to the same inflation rate the haulers would not be able to acquire a better vehicle with the money obtained from the sale. The strategy utilized by the haulers to compensate for this situation is to wait until they are presented with a good offer to sell and buy without needing to invest a substantial amount of money above the amount received from the sale in order to buy the vehicle. Accordingly, the vehicle's value, measured in pesos, is increased by the "lack of depreciation" caused by inflation rate that affects the acquisitive power of the peso.

Most of the time the acquired vehicles are used ones. From the sample interviewed only 30% bought a new truck or van. The interesting aspect to accentuate is that this 30% are Indians who were able to acquire credit. Consequently, it seems that most Indian haulers do not accumulate enough cash in order to buy used or new vehicles, although if credit is approved Indians tend to buy them new. On the other hand, the mestizo haulers can buy them, used or new, cash down.

III.C.3 Income and Operational Costs

The approximate yearly gross income of a combi owner is 1,920,000 pesos. To obtain this figure one needs to take into consideration that a combi carries no less than 10 passenger per trip; works no less than five days a week; makes two round trips; and charges 200 pesos per person. In order to arrive at an approximate net yearly income one needs to subtract the expenses involved in operating, maintaining and repairing the vehicle.

The main item under the category of vehicle operation costs is gasoline. The average kilometers per liter of gasoline is five. This means that in a day of work a combi owner would spend no less than 1,700 pesos in gasoline and 408,000 pesos in a year at 85 pesos per liter. Additionally, there is a fee of 9,000 pesos for the car's yearly registration.

The approximate average maintenance costs can be itemized as follows: five tires every year, each one costing 40,000 pesos; six oil and oil filter changes during a year, each one costing 6,000 pesos and 22,000 pesos for points, spark plugs, condenser, and gasoline and air filters.

The most expensive items in maintenance and repairs are brakes, wheel bearings, front end terminals and bolt joints. Brakes are repaired twice every year costing approximately 10,000 pesos each time. On the other hand,

wheel bearings, front end terminals and bolt joints may require repair only once every year with an approximate cost of 10,000 pesos.

The above stated items add up to a total of 705,000 pesos (see Table 11). In calculating this amount I did not take into consideration expenses such as: minor reparations of the muffler, new batteries, vehicle lubrication, flat tires, the labor the owners put into maintenance and repairs, and the amount paid for services rendered by a mechanic. Normally the owners are the ones who maintain and repair their vehicles. Thus, the average net yearly income for a combi owner is no more than 1,215,000 pesos or 101,250 pesos a month. This amount is above the mean reported by the interviewees which was 66,200 pesos a month for mestizo van owners and 93,333 pesos for Indian truck owners (see item 2 in Table 10).

TABLE 11

COMBI OPERATIONAL EXPENSES

gasoline	408,000
registration	9,000
tires	200,000
oil/oil filters	36,000
brakes	20,000
miscellaneous points, condenser, spark plugs, gasoline filters, wheel bearing, terminals	32,000
Total	705,000

Source: data gathered during fieldwork.

The five persons who are working their trucks, listed

as independents, can be considered as belonging to the upper class of Tenejapa. Their well off position is manifested in their concrete houses, the fact that two of them have a second house, one of them in San Cristóbal de las Casas and the other in Ocosingo, and that at least two of them have more than two wives. On the other hand, there is a difference between the mestizo and Indian haulers as manifested by their house quality. Only 40% of the Indian haulers interviewed had running water and electricity compared to 100% of the mestizo haulers interviewed (see item 7, 8, 9 and 10 in Table 10).

The high capital investment results in a relatively high economic income and a relative high standard of living. It is important to stress the relative high standard of living since it depends from whose perspective it is being analyzed. Soda Distributor 1 has four trucks, owns a small pick up and a big concrete house in Tenejapa's Cabecera Municipal. From an Indian perspective Soda Distributor 1 is well accommodated or in Spanish-Tzeltal "tiene taq'uin". However, according to Edgardo, a mestizo from Tenejapa, "... he has money but does not how to live with it ...", giving as an example that Soda Distributor 1 does not have the house decorated a la mestizo.

The relatively high economic status allows haulers to manifest their position in the class system in various forms. All the haulers interviewed pay for tequio labor.

Congruent with this non-direct participation in tequio labor, which most of the time involves manual work, the data gathered shows that eight of ten (80%) interviewees hire at least another person in transport related activities: loading/unloading the truck and driving the truck. Three of five (60%) mestizo owners interviewed hire another person while five of five (100%) Indian owners interviewed do so (see item 19 in Table 10). Additionally, the percentage of the haulers in the municipality that does not hire another person, yet use the services provided by household members, is 61.90%. The interesting aspect to note is that the more diversified the transport activity is the more persons are needed to be hired.

Another form of manifesting their class position is by cooperating with substantial sums of cash for the construction of school rooms, clinics and improvement of roads and church. Furthermore, economic support for religious festivities is considered a major responsibility which is rapidly and happily accepted. The average contribution made by Indian haulers interviewed for religious festivities and the construction of school rooms, clinics and improvement of roads and church is higher than the contribution made by the mestizo haulers (see item 16 and 17 in Table 10). On the other hand, mestizo haulers show a higher average value of electrical appliances in their houses and average clothing expenses in a year

compared to the Indian haulers (see item eleven and thirteen in Table 10).

III.D Markets and Commodities for Mestizos

III.D.1 The Tenejapa Market

In Tenejapa's Cabecera Municipal the traditional market day has been Sunday while the Thursday market seems to have originated sometime late in the 1960's or early 1970's. Truman (1981:121-122) provides a description of the commodities and actors selling these:

> Indians from Chamula come to sell woolen chamarras, women's belts, and potatoes. Those from Cancuc come with large bags of chilis, and ropes for backstrap looms and cattle. Ladinos from outside San Cristóbal de las Casas come to buy foods because the prices are lower in Tenejapa. On Thursday, a much smaller market which only began recently (about 1972) takes place but is seldom attended by Indians or Ladinos from other areas.

In 1985-1986 the Chamula Indians still come to sell the above mentioned commodities.[22] However, Indians from Cancuc rarely come to the Tenejapa market to sell or buy commodities. For example, the ropes made by Cancuqueros are sold in the Yochib market, brought to Tenejapa and sold by ladino merchants. The reason for this is that Cancuqueros do not need to go to the Tenejapa market since the Yochib market satisfies most of their basic needs without having to spend money and time travelling to Tenejapa's Cabecera Municipal.

In the 1930's metates were made for export (Redfield

and Villa-Rojas 1939:110); in the 1960's sleeping mats (Villa-Rojas 1969:212); and in the 1970's coffee, oranges, peanuts and avocados were the principal export crops (Truman 1981:123). It would be logical to assume, as Truman states, that the amount of money saved by San Cristóbal de las Casas ladinos buying these items in Tenejapa would pay off for the energy, time and transportation costs as well as the merchandise bought when compared to the prices paid for the same amount and kind of merchandise bought in San Cristóbal de las Casas. However, those items, with the exception of coffee, do not show a significant price difference taking in consideration: (1) how much of the products they want to buy in Tenejapa; (2) the prices at which they expect to sell the acquired goods in San Cristóbal de las Casas if they decide not to consume them; (3) the amount of time they will spend selling the acquired goods (if that is the case), getting to the bus terminal plus the travel time; and (4) the price paid to transport the acquired production and themselves to and from Tenejapa.

On the other hand,

> Because the prices paid for goods in San Cristobal were generally higher than those received from the local market or the Ladinos of Tenejapa, it is likely that the difference in price would more than pay for the bus fare and compensate as well for the lost work time (Truman 1981:145).

Nevertheless, if the Tenejapanecan Indians decide to sell

in the San Cristóbal de las Casas market they also need to consider: (1) the amount of production they want to sell; (2) the prices at which they expect to sell compared to the prices at the local markets;[23] (3) the amount of time they will spend selling their cash-crops, getting to the bus or truck stop together with the travel time; and (4) the price paid to transport their commodities and themselves to and from their respective communities.

Moreover, Tenejapanecan Indians are exposed to (1) competition with a larger number of Indians that sell the same type of commodities mentioned above; (2) overnight stays in San Cristóbal de las Casas since, depending on the amount of production involved, it might take more than one day to sell all their commodities; and (3) pay transportation costs (back to Tenejapa) for themselves and the merchandise not sold.

Pox made by neighboring Chamula Indians was the main import into Tenejapa in 1971-1974 (Truman 1981:123). Although it is still an important item, it is secondary to corn imported and sold by CONASUPO (see sec. IV.B).

The Thursday Tenejapa market is attended by Chamula Indians as well as by ladino merchants from San Cristóbal de las Casas. The number of persons attending the Thursday market is approximately 450 persons while the Sunday market is attended by at least by 600 persons. On certain special occasions, when the market day coincides with a religious

or political activity, the number of persons increases to approximately one thousand.

Approximately 150 Tenejapanecan Indians travel by truck back to their respective communities after the Sunday and Thursday Tenejapa's market. The transportation tariff is 100 pesos to the closest community of Cruzchén and up to 350 pesos to the farthest community of Tres Cerros. There are four three ton trucks carrying standing passengers as well as freight to the different communities. Three of the trucks are owned by Tenejapanecan Indians: Erasmo (the municipal president from 1983 to 1985), Soda Distributor 1 and Soda Distributor 3 (actually the municipal judge); and one truck is owned by Chavon, a mestizo coyote from Tenejapa who resides in San Cristóbal de las Casas.

The number of petty stores opened on both market days is approximately 32, most of them owned by Tenejapa mestizos although Indians own some of the stores as well. The items sold in these stores vary greatly since some of them only sell sodas, jcaxlan pox/beer and pox; others sell clothes and sewing material while still others sell dried shrimps, bread brought from San Cristóbal de las Casas and candles made locally. Along the street where the market takes place, Indians sells agricultural products and home made tortillas. Additionally, the mestizo merchants from San Cristóbal de las Casas station themselves along the market street walking back and forth

calling out their merchandise. Ladinos come to sell anything from plastic toys to locks and cheese. Other ladinos park their pickups or three ton trucks on the corners facing the market street.

While economic transactions occurred with some bargaining, most of the time friendly, the market place is a fertile area to establish new social relations and solidify old ones. These are normally accompanied by drinking chicha and/or pox or, in the case of young teenage male friends, walking back and forth holding hands. It also provides a good opportunity for the persons responsible of next year's carnival to socialize with men who might be interested in participating, for young men and women to court each other, and for banquilales to show off their traditional dress and their pride in being a banquilal.

III.D.2 The Yochib Market

Tenejapanecan Indians also go to the Yochib Saturday market, located where the boundaries of the municipalities of Tenejapa, Oxchuc and Ocosingo meet which is marked by three crosses. It is strategically an important point since: (1) persons traveling to the communities of Cancuc and Chilolá in the municipality of Ocosingo need to pass by Yochib; (2) it is easier for most Indians from Tenejapa and Cancuc to walk to Yochib than to Tenejapa or Oxchuc's[24]

Cabecera Municipal market; (3) there is a road that connects Cancuc with Oxchuc; and (4) it is the most important Indian market in the Highlands (Villa-Rojas 1969:213).

The Yochib market starts on Saturday as soon as the first sun rays hit the mountains and ends at 11:00 a.m. The trip from Tenejapa to the Yochib market takes about one-and-a-half hours by car while by bus it takes from two-and-a-half hours to three-and-a-half hours. Because the trip to Yochib is time consuming some Indians from Chamula and Tenejapa, as well as mestizo merchants, arrive the day before.

Chamula Indians go to the Yochib market to sell their potatoes. The Chamula arrive at the market on Friday afternoon and transport their potatoes by bus paying 300 pesos per bag. Normally, each Chamula seller takes two or three bags of potatoes to be sold at the market.

Don Carlos and his son Claudio, Tenejapanecan Indians, go to the Yochib market to sell pox. They travel on Friday afternoon. However, due to their economic situation they can not afford to travel by bus, having to walk for four hours with a container of 30 liters of pox each. If the selling of pox renders a "good" profit they would sometimes be able to pay for their trip back on a truck. On the other hand, all mestizo merchants go to the Yochib market with their own trucks or can afford the round trip costs if

they do not have their own transportation.

Don Eugenio, a mestizo from Tenejapa, arrives at Yochib on Friday afternoon with his pickup truck. Eugenio buys approximately 15 to 20 bull skins paying the Indian seller a fixed amount per kilogram. Eugenio explained that Fridays are his best days since bulls are killed on Friday in order to sell the meat Saturday morning. Eugenio sells the cured skins to a mestizo from San Cristóbal de las Casas who re-sells them to a skin distributor/exporter in Mexico City. Additionally, Eugenio's patrón owns two meat stalls in the San Cristóbal de las Casas market.

The Yochib market was in existence before 1944, apparently located five minutes away by car from the present locale. Villa-Rojas (1976:15) reported that about 400 Indians attended the Yochib market in 1944. Presently, approximately 700 to 800 persons attend the Yochib market.

The Yochib market was destroyed by ladinos from Tenejapa and San Cristóbal de las Casas in 1944:

> Todo parecía marchar a las mil maravillas cuando, de pronto, surgió un grito aterrador: ¡Soldados a la vista! La confusión fue tremenda: todos corrían gritando, caían sin saber qué rumbo tomar, verdaderamente desorientados. Fue cuestión de minutos, pues, al momento hizo irrupción en el lugar una fuerza de caballería compuesta de diez jinetes, la cual venía encabezada por el Secretario Municipal de Tenejapa de nombre Abraham Liévano; los demás "policías" procedían de Ciudad de las Casas. Todos iban bien armados; algunos iban disparando al aire para aumentar la confusión de los indios. Los jinetes se metieron entre la gente rompiendo a bastonazos los cántaros de chicha. Algunos indios que intentaban escapar corrieron por las veredas, eran

> alcanzados y el cántaro roto en sus propias espaldas; otros caían de susto al oir tan cerca el trotar de lo[s] caballos, entregando desde luego el cántaro. ¡Era cosa de ver aquellas carreras de indios y jinetes! De modo espontáneo surgían a la mente escenas similares propias de la Conquista, cuando los blancos recurrían a todos los medios para imponer el terror entre los nativos.
>
> En no más de 15 minutos el mercado quedó desierto, sin más gente que los jinetes tomando un descanso junto a sus caballos. Según supe después, el verdadero motivo de este asalto fue el de obligar a los indígenas a llevar sus productos al mercado dominical de Tenejapa, de modo que les pudiesen cobrar impuestos y, además, surtir a la población ladina de productos agrícolas (Villa Rojas 1976:15-16).

The Yochib market was re-established in 1965 as a consequence of three factors: (1) the disappearance of the Pocolum market; (2) the need to exchange, buy and sell goods; and (3) the beginning of the construction of the road to Yochib in 1966 and latter to Cancuc in 1967.

According to Andrés, a Tenejapanecan Indian who is considered among Indians the founder and the most important person of the contemporary Yochib market; long before the Yochib market was re-established and after the first Yochib market was destroyed, the Tenejapanecan Indians went to Pocolum to exchange goods and buy certain items from mestizos (e.g., tools and cattle[25]). The Pocolum market was organized mainly by a ladino from San Cristóbal de las Casas. When the ladino man stopped organizing the market it disappeared.

This situation created a need for a market place. At first, Andrés saw the opportunity to exchange tierra

caliente fruits together with the selling of clay pots and dishes. With the passing of time Andrés established a small store and directed Tenejapanecans where to buy the pots and dishes. Presently he owns a store where pox and beer can be bought.

According to Andrés the road to Cancuc was constructed to enable the licenciados to come to the different rancherías. Nevertheless, "... the ladino merchants came faster than the licenciados". The ladino merchants came to buy tierra caliente fruits but mainly coffee which was sold in its totally to coyotes. Presently, merchants depend on a truck to arrive at the Yochib market in order to transport the newly acquired merchandise.

One Saturday I counted two eight ton trucks, three three ton trucks and two pickups; all of them, with the exception of one eight ton truck, owned by ladino coyotes. During the coffee season there would be two or more three ton trucks lined along the entrance of the market waiting for Indians to bring their coffee to sell.

III.E Political Conflict and Transportation

III.E.1 Emergence of Political Conflict

Abel, a Tenejapanecan Indian, in 1972 began to transport passengers and freight with a three ton truck which he latter sold to co-buy with 21 persons (mainly

Indians from Tenejapa) a bus, forming the Cooperativa de Transporte Tenejapa in 1974. Later the Cooperativa de Transporte Tenejapa applied for and received the first federal license to transport passengers and freight in Tenejapa, and a concession to operate four buses and one three ton truck covering the route of San Cristóbal de las Casas-Tenejapa-Cancuc.

The members of the Cooperativa and followers of Abel came to be known as the federales due to the federal license plates in their vehicles. In 1983 this group of Tenejapanecan Indians transformed itself into what was known as la contra. La contra consisted of those persons, representing a number of parajes, who opposed Erasmo.

By the end of 1974, Erasmo (municipal president from 1983 to 1985) and Soda Distributor 4, together with 35 other persons from Tenejapa, bought a bus and asked Abel to let them participate in the Cooperativa. Abel did not allow them, stating that there were not enough passengers. The group, under the leadership and representation of Erasmo, decided to form the Unión de Permisionarios Fray Bartolomé de las Casas: San Cristóbal de las Casas-Tenejapa-Cancuc. On February 7, 1975 the Unión de Permisionarios applied and received the transporting license allowing them to transport passengers and freight on the above mentioned route. On June 2, 1975 each member gave 2,000 pesos for the down payment of a new bus. In

1977 the Unión representative sold the bus without notifying, reimbursing or distributing profits (derived from the operation of the bus) to the Unión members.

The creation and transformation of these two transport associations marked the beginning of the political conflict together with he creation of a new transport association.

Don Refugio, a mestizo from Tenejapa, taking advantage of (1) the conflict between the Cooperativa and the Unión; (2) the conflict among members of the Unión; and (3) that the future president, Erasmo, was his compadre who saw the opportunity to "check mate" the Cooperativa de Transporte Tenejapa in order to organize and direct his own transport association, Winic a'tel.[26]

Winic a'tel was created in 1982. Refugio, Erasmo and Pepe (ex-director of the Sindicato de Trabajadores Indígenas) were the organizers and leaders of Winic a'tel. Two or three weeks after Winic a'tel was organized they already had a series of buses transporting passengers and freight.

The leaders of the newly created Winic a'tel used various methods to destroy the Cooperativa. The most frequent of these methods was to harass the operating members of the Cooperativa. According to Napoleón, who was a member of the Cooperativa, Refugio paid off the transit director in San Cristóbal de las Casas to confiscate

Napoleón's car since his car had bus rather than auto plates. Napoleón pointed out to me that "... this was and is permissible and does not violate any government law or CROC regulation since the plates belong to the Cooperativa and can be exchanged among registered Cooperativa vehicles". Another form of harassment was to block the road by laying a tree trunk across it. Additionally, harassment was acted upon when Erasmo became president (1982) and sent for Abel to be put in jail. This situation provoked the group opposing the president, referred as la contra, to organize the Alianza Revolucionaria Campesina.

A group of mestizos who belonged to the Cooperativa de Transporte Tenejapa, realizing the political conflict that was developing and the constant harassment on Winic a'tel's part, decided to form their own transport association by affiliating themselves to the Confederación Revolucionaria de Obreros y Campesinos (CROC) in 1984.[27] On March 14, 1985 the Tenejapa chapter received their registration number as a CROC affiliate and on June 18, 1985 the four members were publicly recognized in the CROC National Congress.

Early in 1985 Winic a'tel and the CROC were clearly competing for passengers, registration (vehicle plates) and a concession. Rodolfo, a mestizo from Tenejapa and a CROC member, was one day picking up passengers at Tenejapa's

center. When he arrived at the zócalo he was confronted by Isidro, a Tenejapanecan Indian and a Winic a'tel member. Isidro accused Rodolfo of stealing his passengers and proceeded to attack him with a machete. Rodolfo stayed inside his car while Isidro delivered a blow to his vehicle. Isidro returned to his combi and departed for San Cristóbal de las Casas.

The competition also stemmed from who was going to first get their association officially registered. For Winic a'tel the situation became more complicated since they did not have car plates while CROC members were already able to get them. The lack of plates on Winic a'tel's vehicles caused problems for its drivers in San Cristóbal de las Casas since transit officers were not allowing them to park in the bus terminal and pick up passengers. According to CROC members this problem was resolved on February 13, 1986 when Refugio gave a mordida (bribe) to the transit director in order to allow the Winic a'tel combis to park in San Cristóbal de las Casas bus terminal. Additionally, CROC and Winic a'tel were and still are competing for concessions. Supposedly, Winic a'tel had a concession that allows them to travel all the way to Bachajón. On the other hand, CROC members on various occasions stated that it was they who first received the transport concession and that it included all the Highlands.

The hostile competition between the Winic a'tel and CROC manifested itself by a series of harassments on Refugio's part. CROC member decided to allow a young Tenejapanecan Indian who owned a car to become a member of their association. Refugio notified the transit police in San Cristóbal de las Casas of the new CROC member who was transporting passengers. The transit police confiscated his car stating that the car had the CROC emblem without being registered. According to the CROC director the car's papers and the papers concerning the qualifications of the owner/driver were in order and the only thing that was pending was the registration number. After various attempts the transit department returned the car to the owner although he was not able to use it to transport passengers.

Furthermore, in June of 1986, Arturo (a mestizo mason from Tenejapa) with his brother (who lives in San Cristóbal de las Casas) bought Pipo's van. A few days latter two Winic a'tel members attempted to intimidate Arturo by asking if he was the person who bought Pipo's van, if he was thinking of joining the CROC and if he attended the CROC State meetings in Tapachula.

Winic a'tel members were attempting to register their association and obtain the vehicles plates since 1979. On March 15, 1986, Winic a'tel members received the governor (who was going to inaugurate the coffee warehouse at the

community of Pocolum) with a cross road banner. The Winic a'tel road banner was either a public expression of gratitude towards the governor for his assistance in obtaining the vehicle plates or a form of manifesting support for the governor in exchange of the vehicle plates since they got them sometime after the governor's public appearance.

III.E.2 Political Conflict and Witchcraft Accusations

When Erasmo became president a series of events took place that both contributed to and accentuated the conflict between the Cooperativa (la contra) and Winic a'tel. According to maestro Socrates, in the community of El Retiro and Pocolum there were land invasion problems as well as a wave of cattle rustling.

The climax of this situation developed when the president, the future first regidor (1986-1988) from the community of Pocolum and Soda Distributor 2, together with two other persons, were accused of killing a young Indian from the community of Cotolté in September or October of 1983.

Why did the killing take place? According to various informants the president wanted to make money by collecting illegal contributions and asking 30 to 40 thousand pesos from people in jail. When a woman from the community of Cotolté refused to pay 1,500 pesos as a contribution, she

was put in jail and accused of witchcraft.[26] One morning while the woman was sweeping the municipal building (which is customary for persons in jail to do as punishment) she saw the opportunity to escape. In revenge the president sent for her son, put him in jail and asked for the usual 30 thousand pesos.

The young Indian did not have the bail money and refused to pay anything since the witchcraft accusation was part of the strategy used by the president to obtain money for himself while at the same time repressing his political adversaries. Due to the young Indian's rebelliousness, he was killed.

Don Refugio's involvement in this situation was quite apparent since he occupied the position of Comandante Municipal,[29] the person in-charge of maintaining order in the municipality, at the time Erasmo was president. Refugio resigned as Comandante Municipal after the killing of the young Indian of Cotolté.

Soda Distributor 2 was put in jail accused along with the president and the future Primer Regidor of killing the young Indian. In an interview with Soda Distributor 2, he manifested that (1) he was not a cacique; (2) he was put in jail indiscriminately with no real proof of anything; (3) he did not kill anyone; and (4) that Abel (leader of la contra) and his cousin were the persons who accused him of being a cacique and killing someone, sending him to jail

for the first six months of 1985. Soda Distributor 2 paid eight million pesos for his freedom.[30]

According to Soda Distributor 2, Soda Distributor 1 had the money to become a member of the Cooperativa but Abel did not allow him. Soda Distributor 2 went to Tuxtla Gutiérrez to inform the Governor of what was happening. "Since I was saying the truth, Abel took it against me but right now he is paying for it"; meaning that Abel was in jail paying for the false accusation. As we will see in the following discussion this was not the real cause of why Abel was in jail.

Socrates, while working in the school of Chixaltontic as a teacher, knew of the killing and accused the president. The president, realizing the threat presented by Socrates, decided to tell the community's educational committee that they had to dismiss Socrates or their community was not going to receive any support from the presidency. Socrates, confronted with this situation, resigned from the Chixaltontic school and started teaching in a different community the following semester.

The killing was proven in court but Erasmo was not put in jail since he was occupying the public position of municipal president. It was a known public fact that as soon as his turn was due Erasmo was going to be put in jail. The president, realizing his precarious position, started to look for an alternative. The strategy used by

the president was to put in the president's office a person who was going to keep him out of jail in exchange for his support in the municipal elections which finally occurred.

According to Metzger and Williams (1970) out of a total population of 10,000 in 1960 approximately 600 to 900 persons were Tenejapanecan curanderos. To my surprise, it was not until the end of my field work when I heard a mestizo woman naming some of the Indian curanderos in Tenejapa. Due to the political repression carried out by Erasmo, Indian as well as mestizo curanderos were not willing to identify others nor identify themselves as curanderos.

Witchcraft accusations were made by Chaparro who was third regidor in Erasmo administration. On one occasion while drinking chicha, I asked Chaparro if he owned a bull. He responded that at the time he did not although two months before he did. I proceeded to make a joke by saying that he had mucho taq'uin from the sale of the bull. However, I was surprised when he informed me that his bull was killed by a witch who was jealous of him. I spent some seconds debating within myself if Chaparro really meant it or if he was playing a joke on me, arriving at the conclusion that it was a serious matter. Chaparro added that there was no problem since he knew the person who paid the witch. What underlay the witchcraft accusation was the

political turmoil and conflict which was manifested by the killing of Chaparro's bull.

III.E.3 Electing the PRI Candidate and the Municipal President: SUB-SAI Participation

The internal election to select the PRI[31] candidate to occupy the municipal presidency was held in the second week of August, 1985. The person in-charge of the elections was Justo, director of the Juridical Department at SUB-SAI and a PRI official. His main responsibility was to count the persons voting and supervise the election process in general. Before the election began all of the candidates met and agreed that no matter who won there would not be claims of fraud since contra members were already saying that Candido and Erasmo paid off the PRI official so Candido would fraudulently win the elections. There were no contra candidates running for the presidency.

At the election meeting, two of the four candidates were clearly the ones competing for the post; one of them was Candido, who was the candidate chosen by Erasmo. The two candidates had visually a similar number of persons and tension was being felt by everyone since one vote could decide who was going to win.

The election process is interesting since the way in which votes are counted allows for fraud. Candidates aligned their voters in a specific area of the main square

in lines of five persons each. Some candidates have a great many supporters, and have the voters lined up all along the streets without being able to see the beginning or end of the line. A representative of each candidate and Justo proceeded to decide if the voters in the first line satisfied the age requirement. The voters do not carry any identification and therefore depend on the verbal testimony of adjacent voters to certify that the young voters have the required age. Then, the persons are counted in groups of fives and asked to stay at their specific position. The electoral committee then moves to the second line and go on in this manner until they finish with the voters of a specific candidate.

The whole electoral process moved quickly but when the time came to count the votes in the last lines for Candido, persons who had voted in the first lines moved and voted again in the last lines thus artificially increasing the number of votes. One of my informants told me that he was one of the persons who moved from the first lines to the last lines and that the persons supporting the other candidate did not cheat.

After all the voters were counted, Justo gave a speech pointing out that the elections were fair and that ultimately the winners were the people of Tenejapa. Justo announced Candido as the winner and left. Some Tenejapanecan Indians who were against the president

informed me that it was better for Candido to win the elections so less conflict would be generated. However, la contra did not accept the PRI's internal nomination.

On November 1, 1985 la contra sent a letter to the governor of Chiapas, General Absalon Castellanos Dominguez, soliciting him to rectify the nomination for municipal president and Primer Regidor since Candido and Samuel, respectively, were accused of criminal charges. La contra understood that it was against the law to nominate a person who was undergoing a criminal investigation. La contra never received a reply from the Governor.

Furthermore, on November 23, 1985 la contra addressed a letter to the President of Mexico stating that the PRI's internal elections were a fraud since the other strong candidate, running against Candido, had won the elections. La contra stated that it was publicly known that all the municipal elections in the Highland municipalities were won by paying off: (1) the personal secretary of the State Governor, (2) the director of the judicial department at SUB-SAI, and (3) an influential agricultural promotor working for SUB-SAI.[32] Finally, the letter sent to Miguel de la Madrid ended by stating that if the two nominations are not changed they will take over the municipal building (Girón-Sánchez et al., 1985).

The period before the municipal elections was marked by violence: a series of shoot-outs occurred in the

community of Pocolum. Socrates went to SUB-SAI under the direction of Beto[33] and notified him of the situation in Pocolum, accusing Inocencio (who was the president of the PRI branch in Tenejapa) and Roberto (ex-municipal president and supporter of Erasmo). Beto delegated the problem to Justo who called Inocencio and Roberto letting them know that they could not repress other persons who wanted to participate in the electoral process and that the elections should develop without any conflict or violence.

The municipal elections were celebrated on November 27, 1985, to elect the municipal president. Few persons attended the elections and by 10:30 a.m. the elections concluded. No violent conflict emerged mainly due to the fact that La contra could not obtain a candidate to run for the position of municipal president. However, a public denunciation surfaced.

La contra, with the use of a loud speaker, was attacking the president by publicly listing the number of development projects the president did not carry out as stated by the Cartilla del Presidente. Among many allegations the president was accused of kidnaping, killing, not compensating regidores for their service, and not building small bridges needed in the communities. The Síndico Municipal (for the period of 1983-1985) and Candido (the elected candidate) emphatically told me that "all of it were pure lies." However, not all of it were

pure lies since an informant told me that after this public denunciation the president ordered him to build one of the bridges. However, by June of 1986, long after the bridge was constructed, the ex-president still owed him 50,000 pesos for his work on the construction of the bridge. Furthermore, this informant who was a regidor for the year of 1985 when asked if the regidores received any compensation for their cargo service responded that they never did.

SUB-SAI and PRI involvement in supporting Erasmo was not merely limited to participating in the election process. This support was also manifested during Erasmo's presidency. From July of 1985 SUB-SAI sent a young law student, studying at San Cristóbal de las Casas Law School and member of the PRI, to supervise local decisions made by the municipal judge. This came about because of reports stating that the president and the judge were unfairly deciding cases in order to collect a mordida from the defendant as well as the plaintiff.[34]

III.E.4 The Take Over of the Municipal Building and Subsequent Repression

On December 30, 1985, the most important day when the out-going president hands in his authority to the new president, la contra took over the municipal building and attempted to kill the out-going president. The president

escaped in his truck[35] although barricades made of wood logs and rocks were placed across the road. The new president called the military police in order to forcefully clear the municipal building. Abel, leader of la contra and the Alianza Revolucionaria Campesina, was put in jail, accused of taking over the municipal building and again released late June 1986.

In the take-over of the municipal building many people participated in a violent confrontation that emerged between la contra and the regidores, and among the regidores themselves. Rey, a regidor, was drinking pox and did not receive the president's notice to come and protect the municipal building. When Rey happily arrived at the municipal building he was accused of treason by the president and was beaten up by his fellow regidores.

The take-over of the municipal building produced a series of repressive acts by the new president. Members of la contra went to talk with gobernación in Tuxtla Gutiérrez. The four-member committee was received but never allowed to talk to the state governor and surprisingly enough they were put in jail. After a few days they were released without gobernación pressing any charges.

Three CONASUPO drivers who participated in the takeover of the municipal building were fired. According to one of the CONASUPO drivers, the new president sent a

letter to the CONASUPO warehouse in Tenejapa ordering the three drivers to be fired. The president stated that persons who work in government agencies are paid to do their job and not to cause problems for the government. Although the take over of the presidency did not enter into a conflict with the driver's work, he was unfairly fired without appeal.

In January 7, 1986 the new president, Candido, burned down some homes in the community of Matsam (Grajales and Luna 1986b). His antipathy towards the community of Matsam was noticed by one of the doctors in Tenejapa. The doctor asked the municipal president to send one of the regidores to notify the community of Matsam that on a given day the vaccination campaign was going to be implemented. The municipal president did not send the regidores and when the doctor's assistants arrived in the community no one was waiting to receive the vaccinations. This situation limited the number of children who could have benefited from the vaccination campaign.

On March 19, 1986 a group representing at least 12 communities which were part of la contra registered with Alianza Revolucionaria Campesina to constitute the Comité Directivo Municipal de Tenejapa. The main purpose of the group was to deal with the internal problems of these communities without going to the municipal president for assistance. The Comité developed a strategy that would not

allow the president to involve them in party politics by stating that they are members of the PRI and that what they wanted was to clean up the PRI's image in the municipality. This strategy not only allowed the Comité to partially legitimize themselves in the communities but also avoided accusations on the president's part that they were members of the Partido de Acción Nacional (PAN) or Partido Socialista Unido de México (PSUM).

Socrates, one of the leaders of the newly formed Comité, sent an invitation to the new municipal president to be present at the inauguration of their office. The municipal president felt insulted and put Socrates in jail for two days. While in jail Socrates expressed his disappointment towards the new president since "... the new one is following the steps of the old one ...".

The day of the inauguration of the Comité offices a large crowd of people came and tension was felt. For security reasons, the Comité managed to get six military guards in order to assist them in case of violence. No confrontation arose although a few days later the street sign was removed and has since disappeared.

The creation of the Comité and the public inauguration of their office caused the presidential <u>regidores</u> to start asking the <u>mestizo</u> population what group they were a part of or if they attended the Comité's inauguration?

SUB-SAI officers, particularly the director of the

Judicial Department, knew from the 1970's the political situation developing in Tenejapa. On June 6, 1986, SUB-SAI gave the municipal president two trucks.[36] Three weeks latter the presidency, under the supervision of the Síndico and utilizing the tequio arrangements, started to condition the main road from Tenejapa's center to the communities. The two strips that received their immediate attention were in Cruzchén and the entrance to the Yochib market. SUB-SAI gave both trucks to the presidency with the intention of calming down the people of the communities and to "repair" the damage done by Erasmo.

III.F Summary

The road network in the subregion of San Cristóbal de las Casas began to experience a drastic change in the 1950's as a consequence of INI's development projects, mainly its road construction program. This program confronted a series of difficulties, such as a road crossing a sacred mountain and the fear of ladinos penetrating the Indian communities. However, the topic of tequio labor never became an issue although Indian peasants did not benefit directly from the new roads. The new roads did not alter the occupational patterns of the Indian population but rather reaffirmed the power differential between the ladinos and Indians.

Presently, the way in which the road construction and

maintenance programs are undertaken manifest a lack of coordination between the different government agencies. This results in a deficient use of limited resources. Additionally, the lack of timely supervision over private road contractors also diminishes the effectiveness of the resources spent in road construction/maintenance programs.

The contemporary road structure provides for the integration of Indian communities with San Cristóbal de las Casas, the locus of commerce (which mainly satisfies ladino/urban needs) and government institutions.[37] On the other hand, the road structure does not provide for the exchange of subsistence crops among Indian municipalities.

Transport services are a strategic resource since they are necessary in order to carry out either subsistence or cash-crop production. Caciques struggled among themselves to control transport services in the 1970's.[38] This conflictive situation transcended the municipal and subregional political/governmental level. The PRI, operating through SUB-SAI officials, supervised and directed the municipal elections in order to safeguard their dominant position in municipal, regional and state politics. La contra did not accept the fraudulent election results and later proceeded to take over the municipal building. After the takeover, the municipal governmental authorities carried out a series of repressive/punitive acts. Political repression was clearly manifested through

witchcraft accusations, which in turn affected the health services provided by the Salubridad Clinic as well as local curanderos.

Haulers are in a constant struggle to accumulate capital in order to maintain and further develop their economic activity while at the same time maintaining their socio-economic position/status within the municipality. They have compensated for this lack of capital by diversifying their economic activity, transporting different commodities, co-owning motorized vehicles, and buying and selling transport vehicles.

III.G Notes

1. For the purpose of this dissertation dirt roads include: gravel roads, roads exposing the natural soil and roads made with any size of rocks. A road is defined as an open way that allows for vehicles to pass through.

2. During the rainy season a strip of the road to Pantelhó is annually flooded by a river which does not even allow jeeps to pass. In another situation, the rain causes the dirt road to become dangerously slippery causing traffic to be postponed until the road dries out.

3. Most of the corn produced by Zinacantecos is destined for the local and regional markets after reserving a share for their own subsistence.

4. The tequio arrangement has been categorized as unconstitutional since there is no compensation for the work rendered. De la Fuente (1977:256-267) provides an interesting discussion on the socio-cultural context of tequio labor as well as its positive and negative aspects.

5. Wasserstrom (1974) points out that these "cooperatives" are in reality associations while Köhler (1975:184) called them transport corporations. The distinction between associations/corporations and cooperatives denotes individual interests contrasted with communal/group interests, respectively. Each of these concepts present different meanings specially with regards to legal responsibility, how members participate in the decision making process, the purpose of the partnership and magnitude of operation.

6. According to an informant, mestizo passengers travelling by truck had to help the truck owner to condition the road as many as three times during the trip. Sometimes each road repair took up to four hours.

7. The construction of the road system in Lacandon Jungle has not altered the employment and occupational pattern (Pohlenz 1985:78-79) reaffirming in this way the agricultural use of the roads.

8. I was travelling the main road on my way to the community of Pocolum in order to interview honey producers. On my way a Secretaría de Agricultura y Recursos Hidráulicos (SARH) technician asked me for a ride.

A conversation was started as he was grateful for the ride since he had to take the combi to Tenejapa and then walk for about two hours. When I asked why SARH did not provide him with a vehicle, he responded that sometimes jeeps or pick up vans are not available and that it was important that he attend the meeting or the Indians would not take him seriously. We agreed that an adequate vehicle would improve his efficiency in carrying out his task since he could visit two municipalities in one day.

9. According to a SDR officer one kilometer of dirt road cost 700,000 pesos in late 1985. However, an JLC officer reported in February of 1986, that one kilometer of dirt road cost 5 million pesos while a paved road cost from 25 to 30 million pesos. There are a number of different layers used in road construction. The first layer is the natural soil. The second layer includes approximately 30 centimeters of a combination of soil and gravel. The third layer includes 15 centimeters of a different kind of soil while the fourth and final layer includes 5 centimeters of asphalt. If the road is not going to be paved with asphalt the second layer needs to be compacted. On the other hand, if the road is going to be left as a dirt road the second layer is not compacted at all.

10. Out of these eight cases, three of them involved front end terminals and bolt joints.

11. Winic a'tel in the Tzeltal language means "a man who works" or "a man who is working"; winic stands for man and a'tel for work. It is interesting to note that the spelling written on the vehicles is different from the one adopted in this dissertation since they spell it with a "k" rather than with the Spanish "c".

12. For example, one of the buses is owned by Chavon and Erasmo while another bus is owned by Soda Distributor 4 and Soda Distributor 3 (presently the municipal judge).

13. Ignacio, a Tenejapaneco Indian and a relatively big coffee producer, owns a truck but has not recently operated it since it needed considerable repairs. Additionally, his house is very close to the INMECAFE warehouse and therefore, does not require the services of a truck to transport his coffee production.

14. I interviewed ten haulers. All ten interviews were structured, done in Spanish and lasted approximately two hours. Additionally, informal open-ended interviews were used to supplement the structured interviews.

15. Cargo in this context means civil and religious positions as well as any non-traditional ones like being a member of the school educational and Quinto Viernes committees.

16. In early 1986 a three ton Chevrolet cost 7.5 million pesos plus an insurance of 300,000 pesos. An eight ton diesel truck cost 15 million pesos plus 700,000 pesos for insurance while a Volkswagen station wagon cost five million pesos.

17. In two occasions a mestizo and an Indian hauler approached me to ask if I could get them a metal detector. One of them believes that there are pre-hispanic caves containing gold. The other believes that he could find some gold where he has his Ocosingo ranch. In any event the desire of making fast money and becoming rich is widespread and is transformed into treasure seeking tales.

18. Transporters in Tiraque, Bolivia also are engaged in other economic activities. By doing this, transporters increase their probabilities of surviving a catastrophe (e.g., vehicle accident) which is intrinsic to the exclusive dependence on transportation as a sole source of income/subsistence (Lagos 1988).

19. Rodolfo bought a 25 kilogram bag for 900 pesos and sold it for 1250 pesos.

20. Madrugador, Don Adrian's employee, starts working at 5:30 or 6:00 a.m. and finishes his quota around 11:00 or 12:00 p.m. He utilizes a motorized machine to make the blocks which produces a loud noise that can be heard throughout the Cabecera Municipal. On one occasion Madrugador was being scolded by a woman who was complaining about his schedule since the day before he started at 4:30 a.m., too early for the mestizo woman who was used to getting up at sun rise.

21. A coyote is an intermediary who buys directly from the producers at low prices and resells making a profit.

22. In 1944, some families had sheep which they sold or used their wool (Cámara-Barbachano 1966:90, 95). However, it seems that since the 1970's the Tanejapanecos has rendered that economic activity to the Chamulas since Hunn (1977:12) reported that no goats, sheep or donkeys are kept by Tenejapaneco Indians.

23. Indians realize the degree of demand for their commodities in that if the supply exceeds the demand prices decreases resulting in less profit. For example,

coffee constitutes a profitable crop while oranges, peanuts and avocados do not.

24. Although Cancuc belongs politically to the municipality of Ocosingo it is located closer to Oxchuc's Cabecera Municipal.

25. On one occasion I was visiting the Toniná ruins in Ocosingo. The owner of the land surrounding the ruins, a cattle rancher, told me that he travelled throughout the Highlands since the 1950's selling male calfs to the Indians and that one market attended by him was that of Pocolum.

26. I could not get much information on what happened between 1978 and 1980 except that Chavon seems to have been the director of the predecessor of Winic a'tel, Alianza. On various occasions, too many to mention here, I attempted to interview Refugio but he constantly refused. Not only did he refuse but he also made sure that none of his members (living in Tenejapa) talked to me about their association.

27. CROC functions at a federal level and in Tenejapa are officially a central, meaning that they can expand their transport activity to any area in the Highlands and diversify their economic activity to include any kind of consumer cooperative if they want to do so.

28. Medina-Hernández (1970:12) points out that witchcraft accusations are among the cases presented to the municipal authorities and whatever penalties are imposed stay on the hands of the municipal president and/or secretary.

29. The position of Comandante Municipal or Comandante de Policía has been occupied by ladinos who helped the enganchadores recruit Indians (Cámara-Barbachano 1966:143).

30. From the data gathered it is not clear if the eight million pesos paid by Soda Distributor 2 were paid as a mordida or to cover legitimate expenses for attorney and court fees.

31. According to an informant, the PRI people control the electoral process in Tenejapa and destroy the ballots of anyone who votes in favor of the PAN.

32. The predecessor of SUB-SAI was the Programa de Desarrollo Socio Económico de los Altos de Chiapas (PRODESCH).

33. The general director of SUB-SAI is Mr. Beto who was a candidate in the previous elections for the state governorship. Mr. Beto was forced to withdraw his candidacy when he killed a woman in a car accident. However, he was able to escape accusations for the crime.

34. For a discussion on how the PRI has managed to stabilize the political system see Fagen and Tuohy (1972), and Ugalde (1970).

35. The president, utilizing his official position, was able to acquire federal transport plates for his new three ton truck that (according to la contra members) he bought with money diverted from the Unión de Permisionarios Fray Bartolomé de las Casas' funds.

36. When SUB-SAI gave the two year old trucks to the municipal government representatives, part of the agreement was that repairs and maintenance expenses would be the responsibility of the municipality since SUB-SAI could not afford such expenses. The starter of one truck broke consuming all the available repair funds. Two weeks later the second truck broke and could not be repaired due to the lack of funds.

37. Siverts (1969:30-48) describes San Cristóbal de las Casas as a dependent urban distributive center divided into different occupational barrios. The ladinos who specialize in commerce depend on the subsistence crops produced by Indians. On the other hand, Indians depend to a lesser degree on ceremonial items and certain agricultural tools sold by ladino merchants.

38. Struggles to control transport services have been documented in the municipalities of Amatenango (Nash 1966, 1975) and Chamula (Crump 1985, 1987; Wasserstrom 1974, 1983a).

Chapter IV: Agricultural Production and Transportation

IV.A Coffee

IV.A.1 Mexican coffee and the international market

Coffee constitutes the second most important Mexican export commodity, petroleum being the first. In 1985 Mexico exported 2,056,432 coffee bags[1] while leaving the lower quality coffee for national consumption (INMECAFE 1984a(24):1). Additionally, Mexico is the fifth most important coffee export country in the world (Nolasco 1985:30-31).

Mexican export coffee is formally controlled by the government through the Instituto Mexicano del Café (INMECAFE). INMECAFE with representatives from Confederación Nacional Campesina, Confederación Mexicana Productores de Café, Confederación Nacional de la Pequeña Propiedad, Asociación Mexicana de Exportadores de Café and Beneficiadores-Exportadores de Café de Mexico, allot the export quotas among themselves in order to fulfil the international quota agreement. In order to assign the export quotas, INMECAFE together with representatives from the above mentioned organizations, carry out an inventory every three months by dividing the year in four periods: January-March, April-June, July-September and October-December. The inventories are done in the last month of the preceding period thus establishing the export quotas for the following period.

Mexico sells coffee internationally to countries who form part of the quota system, most of them capitalist. Mexico also sells coffee to countries that do not participate in the quota system, mostly socialist countries. All economic transactions are done in dollars.

The World Coffee Council is the organization that regulates the coffee prices at the international level by assigning quotas to its member nations. Periodically an international coffee inventory is done and quotas assigned. If the quotas do not stabilize the world coffee prices different countries withdraw or provide a predetermined amount of coffee for the world market.

The World Coffee Council is attempting to control its member nations that sell coffee to non-member nations at half the official price (INMECAFE 1984a (28):4). The lack of warehouse capacity explains in part why countries that are members of the World Coffee Council sell to non-member nations. This situation produces losses to countries who sell exclusively within the quota system (INMECAFE 1984a (29):3; 1985a (48):4).

IV.A.2 Coffee production

In the Municipality of Tenejapa there is a variety of coffee subspecies such as arabic, bourbon, canephora, caturra and mundo novo.[2] Each of these subspecies has a different life span, volume of production and

characteristics adapted to the highlands. Coffee produced in the highlands is of better quality due to the fact that acidity levels are low when compared to the coffee grown in the lowlands.

The process of coffee production is long, time consuming and involves different stages, each controlled by different, competitive and complementary entities.

The coffee growers[3] collect the ripe red fruit, called cereza, and transport it by head load to the area where it is de-pulped. The process of de-pulping needs to be done within 24 hours after the fruit is collected because coffee grains begin to ferment quickly causing the grains to loose their properties. Normally, the de-pulping area is in the owner's home-site. In order to de-pulp coffee, coffee growers use a manual machine known by the name which function it executes, despulpadora. The use of these machines is becoming more popular although there are still many coffee growers whose production does not allow them to acquire such technology.[4]

After being de-pulped the red coffee grains are put to dry under the sun over plastic sheets or a concrete terrace. The de-pulped grains cannot be put to dry directly on the earth since soil humidity evaporates and would be absorbed by the coffee grains. The use of plastic sheets involves certain inconveniences: for instance, every two or three hours the coffee needs to be reshuffled in

order for it to dry evenly, and it takes more time to dry than on the concrete drying terraces. The concrete drying terraces will dry the coffee faster and evenly without requiring as much attention as the plastic sheets. However, the cost and skill involved in making a concrete terrace is higher compared to the availability and cheapness of plastic sheets.

Coffee growers, after drying the coffee, proceed to put it in bags of approximately 50 to 60 kilograms known as quintales. The coffee in this form is known as pergamino. That is, the coffee bean is not yet totally exposed nor is it ready to be consumed since it needs to be de-shelled and roasted. This process is not done by Tenejapanecan coffee growers since it involves high capital investments in order to acquire the necessary technology to de-shell, roast and select the de-pulped coffee grains. This process is done by private and government-sponsored agencies that have the necessary capital to buy and maintain the adequate technology.

Tenejapanecan coffee growers do not sell the ripe red grains (known as cereza) mainly because the road system does not allow for its transportation to the nearest processing center within 24 hours after being collected.[5] The other reason is the weight relation between pergamino coffee and cereza which is 57 kilograms to 250 kilograms, respectively (Nolasco 1985:153). This also explains why in

Tenejapa coyotes prefer to buy coffee in the form of pergamino rather than in the form of capulín (the ripe red coffee grain which has been air dried) or oro (the totally cleaned coffee grain that only needs to be toasted and grounded to be consumed (see sec. IV.A.5).

IV.A.3 Fertilizer

The use of fertilizers is required by coffee plants in order to yield the expected amount of production. INMECAFE orders and buys the fertilizers directly from Fertilizantes de Mexico (FERTIMEX). FERTIMEX is the government-sponsored agency that produces and distributes the fertilizers in Mexico.

The effective use of fertilizers requires that it be placed on the soil during a specific period of time long before the harvest season. FERTIMEX confronts a series of problems providing the necessary quantity of fertilizers at the right time. The reasons for this are: (1) chemical components used to make fertilizers are imported from the United States and sometimes are not received on time in Mexico, (2) even if FERTIMEX receives the chemical components on time, the factories' productive capacity does not allow the production of huge amounts of fertilizers that are needed in order to satisfy the nation's extensive needs, (3) transportation from the factory to the different warehouses takes time and depends on the availability of

trucks, and (4) transportation from the warehouses to the communities is tedious and time consuming.

The use of fertilizers poses other kinds of problems. According to an INMECAFE official, part of the fertilizers distributed to the coffee growers does not reach the designated communities but is instead taken to the Mexican border with Guatemala. Once at the border, Guatemalan coffee growers buy the fertilizers for their own coffee plants. Another problem is the constant increase in the price of fertilizers.

TABLE 12

PRICE OF COFFEE FERTILIZER & TRANSPORTATION COSTS PER TON

Period	Sale Price*	Transportation Costs	Exchange Rate
November 23, 1978	3,034	-	22.70
March 25, 1979	3,062	-	22.80
June 12, 1980	3,154	-	23.14
October 1, 1981	3,887	-	26.23
August 15, 1982	5,955	-	-
February 1, 1983	6,826	-	-
February 24, 1983	9,401	-	-
August 15, 1983	13,477	-	143.95
April 1, 1984	17,993	-	192.56
February 18, 1985	19,118	2,692	-
April 10, 1985	28,808	2,692	-
August 1, 1985	29,832	3,217	-
November 26, 1985	39,450	3,700	457.00
February 1, 1986	40,641	4,735	-
March 10, 1986	40,848	4,735	-
April 18, 1986	53,871	5,399	514.00

* Sale prices already include transportation costs from Arriaga to San Cristóbal de las Casas.

Source: Europa Year Book (1977 - 1988); FERTIMEX (1986); New York Times (1985, 1986); Wilkie and Lorey (1987).

One would assume that Indian coffee growers responding to the scarcity of land and the high prices paid for coffee will inevitably depend more on the use of fertilizers in order to maximize their production.

In Tenejapa 74.47% of the interviewees[6] are involved in cultivating coffee. The average plot of land dedicated to coffee cultivation is 1.9 hectares with an average annual production of 666.5 kilograms of pergamino coffee or 350.79 kilograms per hectare. 98.8% of the Indian coffee growers interviewed use an average of 10.25 bags of fertilizer[7] for their individual plots. Notwithstanding, the data gathered at the exhibit at Pocolum shows that for 1986 the percentage of beneficiaries using fertilizers was 39.51%.

TABLE 13

DISTRIBUTED FERTILIZER IN THE MUNICIPALITY OF TENEJAPA

Year	1	2	3	4	5
1984	76,620	219	15.97%	326	26.78%
1985	227,450	680	46.57%	650	52.58%
1986	206,600	590	35.41%	575	39.51%

1. Fertilizer in kilograms.
2. Fertilized area in hectares.
3. Percentage of fertilized area.
4. Number of beneficiaries.
5. Percentage of beneficiaries.

Source: INMECAFE (1986).

The percentage of beneficiaries in 1985 is higher than the percentage of beneficiaries in 1986. The two above

mentioned discrepancies are explained by the series of problems FERTIMEX confronts in delivering the fertilizers on time. Many times Indian coffee growers received the fertilizer after the fertilizing period, obligating the coffee growers to store the fertilizer for the following harvest.

IV.A.4 Government sponsored intermediaries

IV.A.4.a INI support program

In 1984 INI approved a program providing credit and technical assistance for the construction of four beneficios húmedos.[8] The beneficios húmedos consist of a concrete drying terrace measuring eight by ten meters, two concrete tanks to ferment and clean the coffee grain and a despulpadora machine. The credit for one beneficio was 50,000 pesos to be paid in two annual instalment beginning a year after the benefico was constructed. However, the real cost of each beneficio was 60,000 pesos since INI paid for the qualified technical assistance and the transportation costs which included gasoline, driver's wage and truck service. Although the beneficios were constructed a year later, in 1985, the program was widely accepted by the community.

In 1985 INI approved a similar program for the construction of 24 beneficios secos.[9] The main difference between the beneficios húmedos and the beneficios secos is

that the two water tanks were not included in the construction. The credit was for 80,000 pesos per beneficio although for the reasons above mentioned the real cost of each beneficio was 140,000 pesos. The terms and technical assistance remained the same as in the previous year.

In 1986 and 1987 INI responded to strong community support for the coffee program by providing credit to construct 105 beneficios secos in 1986 and 170 in 1987. Sixty of the beneficios secos for the year of 1987 were going to be built in Cancuc while the remaining 110 were destined to be constructed in Tenejapa. The cost of one beneficio in 1986 was 160,000 pesos while in 1987 it cost 320,000 pesos.

INI's support in 1987 was not limited to providing credit for the construction of the beneficios secos. INI developed a program that would provide the required credit to develop a complete cooperative beneficio to be established in the community of Pocolum at a cost of 60 million pesos. This would include the de-shelling and roasting process of the pergamino coffee.

IV.A.4.b INMECAFE

At the national level, most coffee production is sold to intermediaries, private or government-sponsored. Indian coffee growers receive the support of INMECAFE, the

government sponsored intermediary. INMECAFE provides voluntary life insurance (see Table 14), technical assistance, credit to buy fertilizers, empty bags to transport the coffee to the receiving centers and free coffee plants,[10] besides buying the production at official prices.

TABLE 14

FREE LIFE INSURANCE FOR COFFEE GROWERS IN CHIAPAS

Year	Number of Insured Growers
1982	24,749
1983	24,535
1984	22,744
1985	27,774
1986	31,527

Source: INMECAFE (1986).

The technical assistance consists of guidelines on how to plant coffee, how much fertilizer is needed, how to improve the general conditions of the cafetal and how to control the mildew (Haarer 1984:431). INMECAFE recommends planting 1,600 bushes in one hectare of land with 350 kilograms of fertilizer.[11] However, according to the Indian coffee growers interviewed the average number of coffee bushes planted per hectare in Tenejapa is 1,160 with 270 kilograms of fertilizer.

In Tenejapa, INMECAFE operates with delegates representing each of the seventeen communities affiliated to it (see Table 15). Each community creates an association consisting of coffee producers who want to

join. Coffee growers who want to participate are required to pay the necessary fee in order to become members. The members elect a delegate who is responsible for and represents them before INMECAFE.

In 1986 Tenejapa had 1,455 members affiliated with INMECAFE of whom no less than 42 members produced more than 40 quintales per year. The number of members has increased steadily since 1981 (see Table 15). This steady increase, together with the fact that 91.43% of the Indian coffee growers interviewed sell their crop to INMECAFE, suggests that Indian coffee growers find coffee cultivation and the support provided by INMECAFE economically attractive.

TABLE 15

COFFEE PRODUCTION IN THE MUNICIPIO OF TENEJAPA

Year	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1981	17	875	1,892	900	48	4,360	4.84
1984	15	1,217	2,952	1,371	46	12,398	9.04
1985	17	1,236	2,976	1,460	49	14,286	9.78
1986	17	1,455	-	1,666	-	-	-

1) number of communities producing coffee affiliated to INMECAFE
2) number of INMECAFE members
3) total agricultural area in hectares
4) total area planted with coffee in hectares
5) percentage of area planted with coffee
6) coffee quintales captured by INMECAFE
7) quintales of coffee produced per hectare

Source: INMECAFE 1981, 1984b, 1985b, 1986.

The relationship between the coffee growers and INMECAFE begins in the month of August. INMECAFE estimates how many hectares of coffee will be planted and accordingly provides the coffee growers with an advance payment for next year's harvest. The advance payment is half of the expected harvest. That is, if a coffee grower is expected to produce ten bags of pergamino coffee INMECAFE will give him an advance payment of five bags of coffee computed at the current official sale price. The coffee growers utilize some of this money to pay for next year's fertilizer which is authorized and provided by INMECAFE. Coffee growers are responsible for transporting the coffee fertilizer from San Cristóbal de las Casas to their agricultural site.

Indian coffee growers begin to deliver their coffee, at the INMECAFE receiving center located in the community of Pocolum, by January. At the receiving center the coffee is weighed[12] and the advance is adjusted to the actual official guaranteed price, precio de garantía. This whole process is known as anticipo a cuenta de cosecha. If the final price is higher than the guaranteed price the coffee growers will be able to collect the remainder. The remainder is the difference between the guaranteed price and the final price. Normally the remainder is paid in the months of June and July.[13]

The official guaranteed price is established in

accordance with the international quota and prices, together with the volume of coffee production in Mexico. INMECAFE receives and utilizes information from the United States Department of Agriculture regarding the world coffee production and from the United States National Coffee Association regarding the United States coffee market. By May of each year INMECAFE provides the final official price.

After arriving at the INMECAFE warehouse in Tuxtla Gutiérrez the coffee is sent to the Beneficio Tocana to be de-shelled and roasted. Then, the coffee is sent to the port of Veracruz and Laredo to be exported.

IV.A.4.c BANRURAL

In terms of the credit, coffee growers who do not participate in the INMECAFE programs can solicit loans from Banco de Credito Rural (BANRURAL) on a collective basis. BANRURAL is the government agency that provides credit to peasants for their agricultural production. Agricultural loans are devoted to the production of basic crops such as corn and perennial crops such as coffee.

In order for Indian coffee growers to solicit credit they must provide their names, the beneficiaries' names, their respective age and the number of hectares planted. The credit is provided on a collective basis. The object of the credit may be the ejido or community, the small land

owner or the rural production society. The credit contract is signed by BANRURAL and Bienes Comunales. Bienes Comunales is the department within the political structure of the municipality which keeps the records of land ownership. Bienes Comunales certifies that the land for which the credit is going to be used for is not involved in any legal contention. Tzajalchén is the only community in Tenejapa that has received credit for 232 hectares of coffee through BANRURAL.

On the other hand, the bureaucracy generated by BANRURAL negatively affects the coffee growers' interests. On July 18, 1985 a group of Indian coffee growers, from the communities of Chenalhó and Cancuc, took over BANRURAL offices in San Cristóbal de las Casas. The Indian coffee growers claimed that (1) BANRURAL had not paid them 33 million pesos from an approved loan of 100 million pesos, (2) they had not received a detailed report on the credit paid for 1984, (3) BANRURAL was obstructing the process of providing them with credit, and (4) BANRURAL had not provided them with a detailed report on credit payment and the respective receipts for the 1985 year. The sub-director of BANRURAL in San Cristóbal de las Casas explained to me, a few months later, that the above mentioned situation was caused by "lack of communication" between BANRURAL's main office in Chiapas, localized in Tuxtla Gutiérrez, and BANRURAL in San Cristóbal de las

Casas.

IV.A.5 Private intermediaries

INMECAFE does not buy all coffee production. At the national level, every three months INMECAFE buys an average of 572,554 quintales or 44.16% of the total export crop (see Table 16). However, according to an INMECAFE official, in the Highlands of Chiapas approximately 70% of the coffee production is captured by private intermediaries while the other 30% is collected by INMECAFE.

TABLE 16

EXPORT QUOTAS ASSIGNED TO INMECAFE AND PRIVATE COMPANIES

	INMECAFE		PRIVATE SECTOR	
Export period	%	Quintales	%	Quintales
January-March (1985)	37.98	653,206	62.02	1,066,590
October-Dec. (1985)	51.70	570,889	48.30	533,298
January-March (1986)	42.80	493,568	57.20	660,509
Averages	44.16	572,554	5.84	753,465

Source: INMECAFE (1985a (33):3,(50):1,(54):2).

In Chiapas there are three big export companies: Café Chiapas, Agroindustrias Comalapa and Café Palenque. All three have a well developed infrastructure and are mostly owned by Mexicans of German descent.

These private companies acquire their export coffee utilizing three different strategies. In the first

strategy, coffee is harvested in their own great holdings of land cultivated by wage labor. In Chiapas there are 50 landowners who produce 42% of the state production and control 56% of the Chiapas market (Sepulveda-Ibarra 1986). Each of these landowners own 300 or more hectares of land. Historically, wage labor was supplied by the sad enganche or labor contract system (Pozas 1952) which provided the basis for defining and integrating the Soconusco and Highland regions (Pohlenz 1977).

In the second strategy, the exporting companies provide the coyotes with a specific amount of cash, requiring them to deliver a specific amount of coffee. In the third strategy, coyotes use their own cash to buy coffee from the Indian coffee growers and later sell it to the private companies without any previous obligations on either part.

In the last two of these strategies the coyote acquires "some extra money" by taking advantage of the Indian coffee grower. The coyote usually uses an adjusted scale giving them an advantage of five kilograms for each quintal weighted. The other mechanism used to "acquire extra money" requires more calculation and buying skills on the coyote's part since the coyote will try to pay the Indian coffee grower less than the amount export companies pay the coyotes. The coyote's success depends on his buying skills to convince the coffee growers that he is

paying a good price or at least the price that everyone is paying. After buying the coffee the coyote proceeds to deliver it to the company's warehouse.

Coyotes are transporters. One of the basic qualifications for becoming a coyote is to own a truck.[14] The use of the truck allows the coyote to move freely and rapidly between different strategic points. The strategic points can be classified as major and minor points of economic activity. The major strategic points are the Yochib Saturday market and the Thursday and Sunday markets at Tenejapa's town center. The minor strategic points are road crossings such as the one in Tres Cerros and Juchaljá communities. The major points are characterized by a high number of economic transactions reflecting, at one level, the number of coffee quintales captured. However, the importance of the minor points should not be underestimated due to the fact that the volume of coffee sold and bought, although less, is more constant throughout the week. That is, the coyote would buy a considerable amount of coffee the days that the markets are not in effect. At either of these points of economic activity coyotes complement their coffee coyotaje by buying commodities from the Indian peasant population such as corn, beans, fruits, chickens and pigs. The coyote transports the newly acquired merchandise to Tenejapa's center or to San Cristóbal de las Casas in his three ton truck to be sold there.

Coyotes operate in various ways due mainly to the coffee growers' lack of cash and transportation. Coffee growers, in need of cash, will ask coyotes for loans. The coyote functioning as a lender and buyer will provide the solicited cash by requiring the coffee grower to pay him/her with pergamino coffee during next year's harvest. The price set for the economic transaction is the official price for the current year. This permits great gains for the coyote and negatively affects the Indian coffee growers soliciting the loan since the latter will not be able to sell according to the official price of the next year's harvest. This represents, in some situations, a loss of more than 400 pesos per kilogram.[15]

During the harvest season coyotes go to the different strategic points and buy the production of Indian coffee growers who are not members of INMECAFE or want to sell one or two bags of coffee just to get the necessary cash until they are ready to deliver most of their coffee to INMECAFE. In the latter situation the inverse happens too. Indian coffee growers who have delivered their production to INMECAFE find themselves with some extra bags of coffee in their homes and do not want to spend the necessary time, effort and money to transport it to the INMECAFE receiving center.

Indian coffee growers who do not have enough cash to transport their crop are more inclined to engage in

negotiations with the coyotes. Coyotes are approached and asked the price at which they are buying coffee. It is understood that the price set includes the transportation of the crop. If they come to an agreement they proceed to set a pick-up date.

During the period of time I lived in Tenejapa I witnessed no conflict between the coyotes and the Indian coffee growers although I was told, by one of my informants, that sometimes they are forced to sell more than the quantity agreed upon. This situation has been documented for the northern region of Chiapas where it caused violent conflict in the years of 1974, 1975 and 1980 between the commercial class and coffee growers (Fontigo and Hernández 1984).

The price at which a coyote buys coffee is directly affected by how effectively official prices are communicated to the coffee growers and not as much by the time at which the coffee is sold.[16] Coyotes take full advantage of this situation by buying coffee at a lower than official price. If coffee growers do not know the official price by early season they accept the price provided by the coyote out of need and the lack of other alternatives.

On a Saturday morning, in the Yochib market, a coyote bought fifteen quintales of pergamino coffee at 350 pesos a kilogram. A month and a half later the same coyote was

paying 1,050 pesos a kilogram. This represented a difference of 700 pesos per kilogram amounting to 603,750 pesos for the fifteen quintales. The Indian coffee grower who found himself in this situation probably will end up asking for a loan from the coyote who bought his crop.

Coyotes were buying coffee prior to and during the month of February, 1986, at 350 pesos a kilogram. During the months of March and April coyotes (responding to the guaranteed price established by INMECAFE during the month of February, 1986) were paying 850 pesos per kilogram. By May 21, 1986, coyotes paid up to 1,050 pesos per kilogram. Subsequently, the price decreased in June of that year. When the official guaranteed price is known the price set is normally twenty to thirty pesos, per kilogram, above the official guaranteed price.

Although INMECAFE provides technical and economic assistance, it has not developed any sort of program to support Indian coffee growers in their relationship with the coyotes in regard to the weighing of coffee and effective communication of official prices.

The relation between the Indian coffee growers and the coyotes is symbiotic. Indian coffee growers "benefit" from selling their coffee production to the coyotes for many reasons. Coyotes provide the Indians with cash for emergencies. Furthermore, Indians are paid at the moment of sale, in contrast to the traditional lateness of

INMECAFE in paying the remainder and do not need to pay nor make arrangements for the transportation of coffee.

IV.A.6 Transportation

Transportation can be divided into three coffee related categories: coffee transportation from the growers home-site to the INMECAFE receiving center, coffee transportation from the INMECAFE receiving center to the INMECAFE central warehouse in Tuxtla Gutiérrez and transportation of coffee fertilizer from San Cristóbal de las Casas to the different communities in Tenejapa.

IV.A.6.a Coffee Transportation to INMECAFE Receiving Center

Tenejapanecan Indian coffee growers sell their coffee to INMECAFE 82.86% of the time at Pocolum while selling to INMECAFE in San Cristóbal de las Casas 8.57% of the time.

The reason why some INMECAFE members deliver their coffee to San Cristóbal de las Casas, 37 kilometers away, is that they are not allowed to send their coffee to be received in Pocolum, the nearest INMECAFE receiving center. This situation emerged when one of the representatives from the community of Yashanal did not want to contribute his share in the construction of the new INMECAFE warehouse in the community of Pocolum. The community's members and representatives were divided. The group that did not

contribute was not allowed to deliver its coffee. This group was forced to transport its coffee to San Cristóbal de las Casas where it was received by INMECAFE. The Yashanal members paid over 200 pesos extra per bag for transportation costs.

In 1986 the average cost of transporting a bag of coffee to be sold in Pocolum was 233 pesos. The minimum transportation cost was 50 pesos from the near by community of Cotolté (approximately two kilometers away) and the maximum was 400 pesos from the faraway communities of Chacomá, Cruz Pilar and Majosic (approximately eight to ten kilometers away). Transportation cost to San Cristóbal de las Casas averages 500 pesos per coffee bag.

Coffee transportation from the home-site to the INMECAFE receiving center in Pocolum or San Cristóbal de las Casas is done in 82.76% of the time by Tenejapanecan Indian transporters. The other 17.24% of the time coffee is transported by coyotes functioning as transporters and Linea Lacandonia truckers who do not reside in the municipality of Tenejapa.

The INMECAFE receiving center in Pocolum collected 14,286 quintales in 1985. The average transportation cost is 233 pesos per quintal which represents a total of 3,328,638 pesos. However, this amount does not remain in the community. The amount of money that remains within the community is 82.76% of 3,328,638 or 2,754,780 pesos since

82.76% of the coffee is transported by local Indian truckers. The amount of money that escapes the local level is 573,858 pesos since 17.24% of the transportation from the home-site to the receiving center is in the hands of non-Tenejapanecans transporters.

IV.A.6.b Coffee transportation to the INMECAFE Central Warehouse

Transportation from the receiving center in Pocolum to the central warehouse in Tuxtla Gutiérrez is furnished by the Linea Lacandonia. INMECAFE and Linea Lacandonia established a year long contract stipulating the transportation costs. INMECAFE pays Linea Lacandonia truckers 5,800 pesos per ton from Pocolum to Tuxtla Gutiérrez, 126 kilometers apart. An eight ton truck can carry 140 bags of coffee. Howèver, due to the deplorable road conditions, between Pocolum and San Cristóbal, the truck is normally loaded with no more than 95 to 100 bags. If a truck is loaded with 100 bags of pergamino coffee the total weight carried would be 5,700 kilograms or 5.7 tons. The truck owner would receive 33,350 pesos for one trip. INMECAFE pays truckers according to distance traveled, quality of road travelled, and tons carried.

Tenejapa produced 14,286 bags of coffee in 1985 (INMECAFE 1985b). It would require no less than 165 trips from Pocolum to Tuxtla Gutiérrez to deliver all of the

production. If we multiply 33,350 pesos by 165 trips we get 5,502,750 pesos that escape from the community. This is the case in Tenejapa since Lacandonia truckers are not from Tenejapa nor do they reside in the municipality, but rather in San Cristóbal de las Casas and the surrounding municipalities.

The trip from Pocolum to Tuxtla Gutiérrez would take one full day under normal conditions. However, due to the rain and the poor road conditions it could take up three days to deliver the coffee to Tuxtla Gutiérrez. On various occasions, during the rainy season, I observed up to seven Lacandonia truckers working to improve a strip of road over which they could not pass. This has made Lacandonia truckers reluctant to transport the coffee from this area of Tenejapa.

The percentage spent in transporting coffee relative to coffee prices decreased in the year of 1986 due to the enormous increase in coffee prices.

IV.A.6.c Transportation of Fertilizer

The communities' delegates to INMECAFE are responsible for coordinating the transportation of the fertilizer from San Cristóbal de las Casas to their communities in Tenejapa. The delegates meet with the association members and decide when and where they are going to bring the fertilizer. Each of the 17 associations transport their

fertilizer independently from the other.

INMECAFE makes an exclusive contract with Linea Lacandonia for the transportation of fertilizer from Almacenes Nacionales de Deposito S.A. (ANDSA)[17] in San Cristóbal de las Casas to the different communities in the Highlands. Linea Lacandonia is not always able to fulfill this obligation. This situation is explained by non-Lacandonia transporters by stating that Lacandonia truckers might have other commitments the day Indian coffee growers arrive at the fertilizer warehouse or are already engaged in transporting a load of fertilizer to other communities. The community delegate is obliged to find other means of transporting the fertilizer since arrangements have already been made at their community to receive and distribute the fertilizer.

Tenejapanecan Indian coffee growers interviewed utilize the services provided by Linea Lacandonia to transport their fertilizer 89.65% of the time. Although the transportation of coffee fertilizer is supposed to be done in its totality by Linea Lacandonia, 10.35% of the Indian coffee growers manage to transport their fertilizers utilizing the services provided by other transporters whc are not members of the Linea Lacandonia, some who are from Tenejapa.

The data gathered shows that the average Indian coffee grower utilizes 10.25 bags of fertilizer per year. The

cost of transporting one bag of fertilizer from San Cristóbal de las Casas to the different communities in Tenejapa averages 289 pesos per bag. Thus, the Indian coffee grower would spend an average of 2,962 pesos in order to transport 10.25 bags of fertilizer for the average coffee plot.

In 1986, 206,600 kilograms of fertilizers were transported into Tenejapa's communities (see Table 13). This equals 4,132 bags of 50 kilograms each. If the Indian coffee growers pay an average of 289 pesos per bag for transporting one bag of fertilizer, the money spent in transporting the fertilizer would amount to 1,194,148 pesos.

The amount of money that escapes from the community for the transportation of fertilizer is at least 1,070,553 pesos. This is due to the fact that 89.65% of the transporters of fertilizer belong to Linea Lacandonia, none of whom are members of the Tenejapanecan community. This percentage is probably higher since that not all of the 10.35% of the non Lacandonia transporters are from Tenejapa.

IV.B Corn

IV.B.1 Corn production

Corn production takes place in three different climatic zones: tierra fría, tierra templada and tierra

caliente. Tierra caliente is limited to the first 500 meters above sea level. Tierra templada is limited to the area between 500 and 1,500 meters above sea level while tierra fría is found above 1,500 meters. Corn planted in tierra fría yields one harvest a year while in tierra templada and caliente two harvests are normally but not always produced.

Tenejapanecan peasants in tierra fría plant their corn in the month of March. Peasants do not like to plant corn earlier in the month of February since a frost might occur inhibiting the seeds' germination. A similar situation might occur if they plant in the month of April since a frost might occur before the corncobs are completely mature. The first weeding is done in the month of January and/or February before seeding. The second weeding is done in the month of June and the third in the month of July/August. The corn ears are fully matured by the month of September. By the month of October the corn is "doubled". The purpose of "doubling" the corn is to cut the food supply from the stalk to the ear making the latter dry out. The ear is left pointing downward in order to protect it from the rains and rotting. Harvesting is done in the month of November/December.

The average peasant cultivates 1.05 hectares of corn with an annual average production of 1,091 kilograms. Eighty per cent of the peasants have their milpa plot in

tierra fría while 15% harvest two annual corn crops in tierra caliente. Five per cent of the interviewees do not have any land dedicated to corn production which means that they totally depend on the corn sold by CONASUPO.

IV.B.2 Fertilizer: SARH and BANRURAL

The Secretaría de Agricultura y Recursos Hidráulicos (SARH) is the government agency charged with providing technical assistance for the cultivation of corn and beans. SARH provides the peasants with technical assistance regarding how to plant corn, use the fertilizers, insecticides and fungicides. Another important function is to assist peasants in the task of filling out applications in order to receive credit from BANRURAL to buy fertilizer.

SARH recommends planting one hectare of corn with five bags of fertilizer while the data gathered shows that the average number of bags of fertilizer used in one hectare is 6.4. The reason for this apparent discrepancy is that the number of bags depends on the type of fertilizer available in the ANDSA warehouse.

The use of fertilizers has become an indispensable element in order to harvest the expected amount of corn. According to a SARH official one hectare of corn in Tenejapa planted with fertilizer should yield 1,550 kilograms. On the other hand, the failure to use

fertilizer would result in a yield of only 600 kilograms. The data gathered during field work demonstrated that one hectare of corn planted with fertilizer yielded 952 kilograms while one hectare of corn planted without fertilizer yielded 845 kilograms.

According to a SARH official, in 1985 there were an estimated 3,900 hectares planted with corn in the municipality of Tenejapa, of which owners of 1,312 (or 33.64%) hectares received credit to buy fertilizer. Notwithstanding, the data gathered during field work shows that 79% of the Indian peasants use fertilizer for their milpa while 21% do not use fertilizers at all.

The difference between the figures provided by the SARH official and the data gathered regarding the percentage of peasants who use of fertilizer and the yield produced in one hectare with or without fertilizer is explained by the quality of the soil, the over-use of the soil, the frequency with which plants are fertilized, whether the fertilizer is used properly and at the right time, the number of years the plot of land is put to fallow, whether the land is in tierra fría o tierra templada.

The fertilizer used for corn is known as 87-46-0. This particular combination of nitrogen, potassium and phosphorus is not made by FERTIMEX which means that the peasant needs to calculate, with the assistance of the SARH

technician, the combination of available fertilizer to arrive at the desired formula. There are three different sets of fertilizers used to arrived at the desired formula.

In the first set, 150 kilograms of urea and 100 kilograms of diammonium phosphate can be combined which means that five bags are needed to fertilize one hectare of corn.[18] If the diammonium phosphate is not available the peasant could obtain the desired formula by combining 200 kilograms of ammonium sulphate, 100 kilograms of urea and 100 kilograms of triple superphosphate. In this case the peasant needs to transport eight bags to fertilize one hectare of corn. If the ammonium sulphate is not available the peasant can combine 200 kilograms of urea with 100 kilograms of triple superphosphate. In this third set the peasant needs to transport six bags of fertilizer.

Although the price for the fertilizers in the first set is more expensive than in the second and third sets, the transportation costs and the energy to load, unload and transport the respective number of bags, utilizing the tumpline, makes the second set more expensive than the first and third (see Table 17).

The Indian peasants spent an average of 300 pesos to transport one bag of fertilizer from San Cristóbal de las Casas to their respective communities. If we consider that there are 1,312 hectares of corn with fertilizer and the average number of bags per hectare is 6.4, the

transportation cost would amount to 2,519,040 pesos. Transportation of the fertilizer is furnished by Linea Lacandonia.

TABLE 17

COSTS OF TRANSPORTATION AND FERTILIZATION FOR ONE HECTARE OF CORN

Costs	1st Set	2nd Set	3rd Set
Fertilizer	17,252	16,976	16,781
Transportation	1,500	2,400	1,800
Total	18,752	19,376	18,581

Source: data provided by a SARH employee.

The transportation of the fertilizer for corn poses the same type of problems that affects the transportation of the coffee fertilizer (see secs. IV.A.3, IV.A.6.c). Furthermore, according to the SARH official the peasants are harassed by the Linea Lacandonia truckers and sometimes need to wait up to five days to receive the corn fertilizer. A possible solution to this problem is to commission the fertilizer directly to the CONASUPO warehouse in Tenejapa which has the storage capacity.

Another problem confronted by peasants who want to use fertilizers in their milpa is the constant increase in the price of fertilizers (see Table 18).

TABLE 18

PRICE* OF CORN FERTILIZER PER TON

Period	1	2	3	4	5
04/17/1978	3,398	4,846	1,979	3,764	-
11/25/1978	3,467	4,946	1,807	4,004	22.7
03/25/1979	3,495	4,974	1,835	4,033	22.8
01/01/1980	3,495	-	1,836	4,033	-
06/12/1980	3,587	-	1,928	4,125	23.1
10/01/1981	4,465	6,271	2,263	5,182	26.2
08/15/1982	6,880	10,034	3,357	8,027	70.0
02/01/1983	7,749	10,901	4,221	8,896	-
02/24/1983	10,867	15,872	5,275	12,688	-
08/15/1983	15,327	21,631	8,269	17,618	143.9
04/01/1984	20,603	31,983	9,666	23,913	192.5
02/18/1985	21,728	33,108	10,791	25,038	-
04/10/1985	30,608	49,908	13,601	35,108	-
08/01/1985	31,632	50,932	14,625	36,132	-
11/26/1985	41,850	67,950	19,943	47,950	457.0
02/01/1986	43,041	69,141	21,134	49,141	-
03/10/1986	43,248	69,348	21,341	49,348	-
04/18/1986	53,371	92,471	27,664	61,071	514.0

1. Urea.
2. Diammonium Phosphate.
3. Ammonium Sulphate.
4. Triple Superphosphate.
5. Exchange rate for a dollar.

* Sale price already includes transportation costs from Arriaga to San Cristóbal de las Casas.

Source: Europa Year Book (1977 - 1988); FERTIMEX (1986); New York Times (1985, 1986); Wilkie and Lorey (1987).

IV.B.3 CONASUPO and corn consumption

CONASUPO, created in 1965, is a decentralized federal agency charged with the storage, industrialization, distribution and commercialization of basic foodstuffs.[19] The main objective of CONASUPO has been to provide the popular classes with basic and necessary foods, such as corn, beans, coffee, meat, lard, vegetable oil, sugar and salt among many others.

On the other hand, the CONASUPO system plays an essential role in the production of agricultural commodities for the national and international markets. That is, with the division of agricultural production by regions within the Mexican State, one of CONASUPO's responsibilities is to provide the urban dwellers with agricultural commodities and the agricultural commodity producers with subsistence commodities, allowing them to produce more agricultural commodities for the urban, national and international markets.

In Tenejapa less than 25.71% of the interviewees produce enough corn for household consumption which means that at least 74.29% need to buy corn from CONASUPO 100% of the times. The average annual amount of corn bought by each household from CONASUPO is 554 kilograms.

The CONASUPO warehouse in Tenejapa distributes basic foods to the 21 CONASUPO community stores throughout the municipality. Table 19 provides a brief summary of the

three major agricultural commodities distributed in the Municipality of Tenejapa.

TABLE 19

KILOGRAMS OF CORN, SUGAR AND BEAN SOLD BY CONASUPO IN TENEJAPA TO COMMUNITY STORES: JANUARY TO MAY 1986

Community	Corn	Sugar	Beans
Cabecera M.	17,100	11,200	700
Cañada	7,500	2,950	0
Cotolté	26,700	8,150	3,150
Cruzchén	9,500	3,500	0
Crushton	4,000	0	0
Culactic	21,300	3,650	1,600
Chacomá	17,500	3,800	0
Chichintonil	12,000	4,700	0
Chilolá	33,600	7,800	0
Chixtontic	21,300	3,350	1,150
Jomanichin	48,100	4,300	1,850
Majosic	27,500	1,900	300
Matsam	10,500	5,700	0
Pagtetón	25,000	3,100	300
Sibactel, E.	25,000	4,800	0
Sibanilja	23,500	4,200	875
Tres Cerros	16,500	2,200	1,500
Tzajalchén	49,000	19,500	4,000
Tzaquibiljoc	38,000	5,600	3,600
Yochib	21,300	3,650	1,600
Totals	454,900	104,050	20,625

Source: Information provided by CONASUPO official and compiled by the author.

One of CONASUPO's functions is to stabilize the prices of basic agricultural foodstuffs. However, due to the "economic crisis" and the inflation rate experienced since 1982, such a stabilization has confronted great difficulties.[20] Table 20 shows CONASUPO's prices for three major agricultural items.

TABLE 20

CORN, SUGAR AND BEAN PRICES PER KILOGRAM FROM CONASUPO

Date	Corn	Sugar	Beans	Exchange Rate	
01/07/86	63	91	215	457	01/01/86
02/05/86	59	91	215	453	02/01/86
03/07/86	59	91	215	469	03/01/86
04/08/86	59	114	254	484	04/01/86
05/02/86	59	114	254	514	05/01/86
06/07/86	84*	114	250	559	06/03/86

* The price of corn sold by CONASUPO was expected to increase to 12,000 pesos per bag of 100 kilograms or 120 pesos per kilogram by the end of July 1986.

Source: Information provided by CONASUPO official and compiled by the author; Europa Year Book (1977 - 1988); New York Times (1985, 1986); Wilkie and Lorey (1987).

IV.B.4 Corn and coffee production

What are the principles governing the relationship between cash-crop and subsistence agriculture?

> In this cycle of subsistence crops and cash-crops, subsistence crops guarantee a stable minimum livelihood, where cash-crops promise higher money returns but involve the family in the hazards of the fluctuating market. The peasant is always concerned with the problem of striking some sort of balance between subsistence production and cash-crop production. Preceding cycles of cash-crop production have enabled him to buy goods and services which he cannot afford if he produces only for his own subsistence. Yet an all-out effort to increase his ability to buy more goods and services of this kind may spell his end as an independent agricultural producer. His tendency is thus to rely on a basic minimum of subsistence production and to expand his cash purchases only slowly (emphasis added, Wolf 1955:464).

Stavenhagen (1968a:122-123) defines the relationship

between subsistence crops and cash-crops more precisely by pointing out three important variables: land and time availability, and access to corn buying.

> El agricultor de subsistencia asegura en primer lugar su cosecha de maíz; sólo si dispone de tiempo y de tierras suplementarias se dedica a los cultivos comerciales, aunque éstos sean más productivos que aquél. .... si el agricultor se dedicara exclusivamente a los cultivos comerciales, la base de su economía se derrumbaría, si no estuviera en posibilidad de comprar maíz del exterior (emphasis added, Stavenhagen 1968a:122-123).

Notwithstanding, Early (1982:134-135) states that the Zongolica coffee growers practice the opposite:

> En lugar de asegurar su producción de maíz para la subsistencia, los productores dedican su tierra al cultivo del café, y después rentan parcelas para el maíz.

Furthermore, Early (1982:136) asserts that:

> ... mi hipótesis consiste en que, con condiciones climáticas favorables para la siembra del maíz, un aumento en el precio del café estimularía un incremento en la producción de subsistencia del maíz y una caída en el precio provocaría un decremento en su producción. .... Con el propósito de aislar todas las variables del café y del maíz, pregunté a los productores qué cantidad de maíz sembrarían en 1975 de acuerdo con el precio actual de 750 pesos por saco, cuánto sembrarían si el precio estuviera a 520 pesos y, finalmente, si aumentara a mil pesos por saco. Los resultados indicaron que si el precio del café descendía de 750 a 520 pesos por saco, precio de garantía establecido por el gobierno, los productores reducirían la cantidad de maiz sembrado de 15.4 a 14.8 tareas. Sin embargo, si el precio del café aumentara de 520 a mil pesos por saco, los campesinos sembrarían más maíz en una proporción de 14.8 a 31.8 tareas, más del doble, con una diferencia de 14 tareas ....

The relationship stated by Early regarding the increase and decrease between the coffee price and hectares planted with corn requires further analysis.

First, the relation described by Early is not based on real experiences but rather on a hypothetical example. Cancian (1972) and Hernández-Díaz (1987) demonstrate that the energy involved in expanding corn production, for subsistence or as a cash-crop, does not make the overall return to labor and capital greater if the peasant needs to travel long distances to cultivate his plots. This is accounted for by the travel and transportation expenses, rent paid, type of labor (family and/or wage labor) and time consumed in making arrangements to rent the land, hiring of the workers and getting to the agricultural site.

Second, in terms of the methodology used, Early (1982:24) points out that the data was submitted to a t-test. However, he does not provide any statistical information that reflect such analysis such as: value of t, level of significance and degrees of freedom. Conceptually, Early should have only used a correlation analysis since what he tries to explore is the linear relationship between coffee and corn production. Early (1982:133) did provide the reader with a scattergram which allows the researcher to evaluate the strength of the linear relationship (r^2) between hectares of coffee cultivated and tareas planted with corn together with the

Pearson's correlation coefficient (r) to address the significance of the linear relationship investigated. In spite of this, Early does not incorporate the findings into his analysis.

Third, Early does not explain how the variables addressed by Stavenhagen (land and time availability, and access to corn buying) influences the productive patterns of the Zongolica Indians. Furthermore, his statement presumes that there is unlimited availability of land to expand corn production. Early (1982:122, 131) already stated that there was land scarcity in Zongolica reinforcing the first criticism made above.

Fourth, Early fails to explain what would happen if the coffee prices fall below the corn price, how far the Zongolica coffee growers are willing to expand coffee production vis-a-vis corn production before reaching the point of diminishing returns. Early also does not clarify the process of fragmentation of coffee lands and how this affects corn production for subsistence?[21]

Fifth, the basic assumption underlying Early's statement is that coffee growers are peasants. Nevertheless, if we consider the categories of peasants and farmers as the two opposite poles of a continuum, the Zongolica coffee growers stand closer to the category of farmers than to the category of peasants. The reason for this is that, according to Early's (1982:131) data, 56% who

owned less than one hectare of land, 77% who owned less than two hectares of land and 33% who owned more than two hectares of land plant it with coffee. The Zongolica coffee growers depend more on the international market rather than on corn as a subsistence crop.

My contention is that Indians producing subsistence crops at the same time as cash-crops would manipulate and utilize both productive strategies without sacrificing their ultimate goal of maintaining a minimum subsistence level. In order to achieve this goal the peasant and coffee grower need to take into consideration: time and land availability, production expenses and the possibility of buying corn at a price lower than what it would cost them to cultivate iy should they need to do so.

In Tenejapa 4.25% of the interviewees plant coffee but do not plant corn at all, while 25.53% plant corn but do not have any land planted in coffee, leaving 70.22% of the interviewees planting a combination of corn and coffee.

In order to explore the relationship between subsistence crops, cash-crops and corn bought in CONASUPO I decided to carry out a set of correlation analyses on the data gathered during my field work. The Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient was calculated by computer through the use of the scattergram program from the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (Nie et al., 1975). The correlation analysis was done on three sets of

variables summarized in Table 21.[22]

TABLE 21

CORRELATION ANALYSIS ON COFFEE AND CORN

Variables	1	2	3
Has. planted w. corn/ kgs. of coffee produced	.32562	.01276	47
Has. planted w. corn/ corn bought in kgs.	-.31629	.02064	42
Kgs. of corn produced/ corn bought in kgs.	-.31115	.02533	40

1. Correlation Coefficient.
2. Level of Significance.
3. Number of Cases.

The three sets of variables tested show a significant[23] correlation between the two variables at .05 level of significance. The linear relationship between hectares planted with corn and kilograms of coffee produced is not a strong one since only 10.60% of the variance of hectares planted with corn is accounted for by its correlation with the kilograms of coffee produced.

The linear relationship between (1) hectares planted with corn and corn bought in kilograms, and (2) kilograms of corn produced and corn bought in kilograms is not strong since only 10% (in the first correlation above mentioned) and 9.68% (in the second correlation above mentioned) of the variance of the first variable is accounted for by its correlation with the second variable. Nevertheless, there are two interesting aspects of these significant correlations: one of them being a negative

slope and the other the slope of the linear relationship. The negative correlation means that while one variable increases the other decreases and vice versa. In other words, the more hectares planted with corn and the more kilograms of corn produced the less corn they will buy, and vice versa. The slope of the linear relationship addresses the expected change in Y with a change of one unit in X. That is, for each .62 kilograms of corn produced the peasant would not buy one kilogram of corn at CONASUPO and vice versa.

IV.C Honey

IV.C.1 Honey production

Honey production plays an important role in Mexico's economy. Mexico produces 70 million kilograms of honey annually, making it the fourth producer and the first exporter of honey in the world (Méndez 1986). Honey produced in the Highlands has a low percentage of humidity, 16 to 18 per cent, which makes it one of the best quality honies in the world. The low humidity level is explained by the kind of flora in the Highlands.

A honey producer who owns 20 bee-hives would require one full day of work every 15 days. Honey producers check the hives to see if the bees are healthy, paying special attention to the queen bee and the possible existence of moths. The 20 beehives produce 2 drums of honey per year,

each weighing 300 kilograms.

During the winter season, when the flora is scarce, bees are fed with sugar syrup. Usually, one bag of sugar weighing 100 kilograms is enough for a year's supply for twenty beehives. After preparing the sugar syrup honey producers proceed to fill the crevices.

Harvesting is done in the months of February, March and April. Honey collection involves at least two persons since it is done at night in order not to overly disturb the bee-hives. The honey combs are retrieved from the cases and taken to a nearby area were the honey is to be extracted.

There are two different processes for extracting the honey from the squares. The use of a centrifugal manual machine is an easier and faster way of extracting the honey. Honey squares are loaded into the machine and are rotated manually, making the honey accumulate at the bottom of the centrifugal container. The honey is then filtered and stored in a 300 kilograms drum. The other process uses the force of gravity to extract the honey from the squares. Honey squares are laid to rest horizontally on a container that filters and accumulates the honey at the same time. Since the honey is of a high density the force of gravity takes some time to attract it to the bottom, although the amount of squares put in this type of horizontal container is greater than the number of squares used in the

centrifugal machines.

IV.C.2 INI and honey

In 1983 INI initiated a nation wide program to support Indian apiculturists (Méndez 1986). In early 1985 INI started implementing the support program in Chiapas by providing technical and commercialization assistance to Indian honey producers.[24] The way in which INI organized honey producers was through community associations which constituted a municipal association which in turn constituted the regional association.

TABLE 22

APICULTURE ASSOCIATIONS IN THE HIGHLANDS OF CHIAPAS

Municipality	Number of Community Associations - 1986	Number of Drums Captured 1986	1987
Cancuc	25	108	92
Chalchihuitán	8	---	22
Chenalhó	22	46	--
Larraínzar	13	18	21
Tenejapa	14	70	53
Totals	82	242	188

Source: Information provided by INI official.

The regional association which represents five major honey producing municipalities, Cancuc, Chalchihuitán, Chenalhó, Larraínzar and Tenejapa is the Sociedad de Apicultores de los Altos de Chiapas. For example, in the municipality of Tenejapa there are 14 community associations which constitute the honey producers association of Tenejapa.

The honey producers from Tenejapa are represented in the Sociedad de Apicultores de los Altos de Chiapas.

The technical assistance consists of providing the honey producers with training on how to make wooden cases and squares,[25] how to recycle the wax and stamp new honey combs, how to take care of the bee-hives, how to produce queen-bees in order to produce royal jelly, how to collect pollen, how to feed vitamins to the bees and how to control the African bees. INI had already started in June 1986 the workshop on how to make wooden cases and squares and how to feed the bees with vitamins. The other aspects of the technical assistance were to be implemented by the end of 1986 soon after the hirinng of an apiculture technician by INI.

The commercialization assistance is twofold: the construction of a warehouse and the process of commercialization as such. INI thought that a first step for Indian honey producers to level up with the coyotes in the process of commercialization was to construct a warehouse in order to provide the necessary space for honey storage and accurate weighing of the honey.

INI built four warehouses in the municipalities of Cancuc, Chenalhó, Larraínzar and Tenejapa in 1986. The honey produced in the municipality of Chalchihuitán would be deposited in the nearby warehouse of Chenalhó.

INI provided the skilled labor for the warehouse

construction which mainly consisted of providing the services of a civil engineer and foreman. Members of the Tenejapa Honey Association provided the un-skilled labor together with 30,000 pesos to level out the terrain where the warehouse was going to be built. INI also provided the necessary materials not found in the communities' such as concrete, blocks, metal sheets, nails and the transportation of the construction materials free of charge. The average material cost sponsored by INI for each of the four warehouses was 550,000 pesos.

The Tenejapa Honey Association decided that the warehouse should be situated in the community of Pocolum on the main access road since it was a centric location for most of its members. Permission to acquire the communal land was obtained from the Municipal President. By November 1985 the construction started and was completed by February 1986. However, the access road from the main road to the honey warehouse took about 30 by 15 meters of the access road of the INMECAFE warehouse causing a conflict with the coffee association of Tenejapa. Another conflict that emerged with the construction of the honey warehouse was related to its inauguration.

The Honey and Coffee Associations of Tenejapa got together to celebrate the inauguration of the honey and coffee warehouses. The governor was invited but could not attend, forcing the inauguration organizers to celebrate a

second inauguration party. This situation created a conflict between the coffee and honey associations since the honey producers were charged 30,000 pesos for the costs of the second inauguration besides the 35,000 pesos paid for the first inauguration. Honey producers argued that they made arrangements with the governor for the second inauguration and not for the first since they knew that the governor was not coming and that they had already contributed twice since they were also coffee growers. After a period of negotiations the honey producers decided to pay the balance due and the coffee association agreed to let the honey association use the access road to the honey warehouse.

IV.C.3 Sweet coyotes and bitter prices

Honey producers did not have any bargaining power that would allow them to effectively negotiate better prices with the honey coyotes exposing them to whatever prices were decided upon in the asymmetrical bargaining process. On the other hand, honey producers find the prices offered by coyotes who buy for export more attractive than the prices offered by coyotes who re-sell at the national level, the reason being that prices at the national level are lower.

The strategy utilized by the INI to compensate for this situation was to draw all possible buyers together in

order to have them compete against each other and also to directly negotiate with the Sociedad de Apicultores de los Altos de Chiapas as a group rather than negotiating on an individual basis.

The idea of collectively negotiating the honey contract and the construction of the honey warehouse was not accepted by all members of Tenejapa's honey association since the community association of Majosic did not believe that the above mentioned strategy would result in higher prices. Due to the skepticism manifested by the Majosic's honey producers they decided not to participate in the warehouse construction. Because of lack of cooperation, the Tenejapa honey association decided not to allow Majosic's members to deposit their honey in the warehouse nor sell their honey to the intermediary negotiating with the Highlands Honey Association until they paid their dues. Once Majosic honey producers saw the benefits of the program, specifically the relatively higher prices offered, they decided to pay 91,000 pesos to cover their share of the labor and inauguration costs of the new honey warehouse.

In carrying out its proposed program INI began to solicit buying offers from other <u>coyotes</u> during the month of April.

Agroindustrias Maya offered 300 pesos per kilogram of honey picked up in San Cristóbal de las Casas with

replacement of drums. This offer was not really competitive and posed the same problem as before, that is, the transportation of honey drums from Pocolum to San Cristóbal de las Casas.

Kinton Brothers offered 860 dollars per ton picked up in the sea-port of Veracruz without replacement of drums. This offer meant that each kilogram of honey would be sold for 474 pesos.[26] However, the transportation costs from Pocolum to Veracruz, transportation insurance and replacement of drums, each drum costing 2,700 pesos, did not prove beneficial to the honey producers.

Productos Selectos del Campo offered 680 dollars per ton picked up in Pocolum with replacement of drums. Although the honey producers did not have to deal with the transportation costs and arrangements from Pocolum to San Cristóbal de las Casas the price offered at the exchange rate of May 1, 1986 was 375 pesos per kilogram.

The fourth bidder was Dulzura, an intermediary who sells to a Belgium company. Dulzura has bought Tenejapa's honey for the last four years making the same type of arrangements every year. Prior to the harvesting season Doña Dulzura visits the different communities and talks to the honey producers in order to calculate how much production she will be able to buy and negotiates the sale price. Honey producers take responsibility for delivering the honey to an INI warehouse in San Cristóbal de las

Casas, paying INI for the use of their trucks and drivers. On the other hand, the coyote is in charge of making arrangements to transport the honey from San Cristóbal de las Casas to the sea-port of Veracruz and also replacing the drums.

Doña Dulzura bought honey at 135 pesos a kilogram in 1985. She offered 240 pesos a kilogram early in the month of March 1986. By the end of March 1986 she knew about the possibility of losing the 1986 contract since other coyotes were interested in acquiring the sweet syrup. This situation forced her to increase the offer to 290 pesos a kilogram. By the beginning of May she made a final offer of 400 pesos a kilogram picked up in San Cristóbal de las Casas with the replacement of drums.

The interesting aspect of Doña Dulzura's offer is that her offer increased according to the dollar exchange rate. The explanation for this, besides the obvious one of acquiring the honey at the lowest possible price, is that any international transaction is done in dollars.[27] This situation provides the coyote the opportunity to speculate with the dollar exchange rate since there is a considerable difference between the price paid in pesos for the honey and the exchange rate at which the coyote exchanges the dollars. This speculative situation is accentuated by the fact that the coyote could hold the dollars for a certain amount of time and obtain a higher exchange rate while

paying the same amount in pesos to the honey producers.[28]

The meeting to decide who was going to buy the honey took place on May 24, 1986.[29] Later I was informed that none of the bidders came to this meeting although a week later Doña Dulzura was able to sign the contract.

Doña Dulzura's offer was the highest if we take into consideration the exchange rate of June 1, 1986. However, her offer was not the highest taking into consideration the exchange rate at the time the honey producers were paid by her. Honey producers were paid by June 15, 1986. In reality Doña Dulzura paid 396.94 pesos per kilogram since transportation costs were paid by the honey producers (see following section).

If the honey producers would have accepted the offer in dollars made by Productos Selectos del Campo and cashed the dollars by June 15, 1986, the time Doña Dulzura paid them, they would have: received 427 pesos per kilogram of honey, delivered the honey in Pocolum and used the newly constructed warehouse which was never used in 1986.[30] This was the best alternative for the honey producers in order to maximize the selling price.

TABLE 23

HONEY PRODUCTION, PRICES PAID, PRICES OFFERED AND EXCHANGE RATE

mo./year	1	2	3	4	5
1984	-	95.00	95.00	-	-
1985	19,800	135.00	135.00	-	-
3/1986	-	-	240.00	475.00	323.00
4/1986	-	-	290.00	485.00	329.00
5/1986	-	-	400.00	520.00	353.00
5/1986	-	-	400.00	530.00	360.00
6/1986	-	-	400.00	552.00	375.00
6/1986	21,000	400.00	400.00	628.00	427.00

1. Production in kilograms.
2. Price paid per kilogram.
3. Price offered by Doña Dulzura.
4. Exchange rate per dollar.
5. Price offered by Productos Selectos del Campo in pesos.

Source: Informant; Compiled by the author.

IV.C.4 Honey transportation

INI traditionally has transported the honey from the different communities in Tenejapa to its warehouse in San Cristóbal de las Casas. INI's honey transportation costs are lower than that of private transporters. INI charges the honey producers for the gasoline used and the chauffeur's viaticum. A full tank of gasoline would be sufficient to cover a round trip costing 7,650 pesos at 85 pesos per liter for 90 liters. INI also charges 5,000 pesos for the chauffeur's viaticum if the transportation of honey drums is not over by 5:00 p.m. The maximum transportation cost INI charges amounts to 12,650 pesos for

one trip. If the transportation of the honey drums is done before 5:00 p.m., the transportation costs decrease to 7,650 pesos per round trip.

Various interesting aspects of this kind of arrangement are that INI does not take into consideration: (1) the daily wage received by the chauffeur which is 2,500 pesos, (2) 825 pesos for INI's daily truck insurance, (3) the time, energy and expenses in administrative arrangements, (4) the truck depreciation, maintenance and repairs costs, (5) the possible increase in the insurance premium together with the truck services lost in case of an accident and (6) the use of the warehouse facilities in San Cristóbal de las Casas.

In 1986, honey production in Tenejapa amounted to 21,000 kilograms or 70 drums (see Table 24). An eight ton truck is capable of carrying 15 honey drums. This means that it would take at least 6 trips to deliver the whole production. If the transportation is done by the INI it would cost the honey producers a minimum of 45,900 pesos or a maximum of 75,900 pesos. These figures are based on the assumption that it would take a minimum of 6 trips to deliver the 70 drums to San Cristóbal de las Casas. Most of the time INI trucks are loaded with less than 15 drums. The data gathered shows that the average cost for transporting a kilogram of honey is 3.06 pesos. The cost to transport the total honey production would amount to

64,260 pesos. On the other hand, if the transportation is done by a private trucker,[31] it would cost 30,000 pesos per trip which amounts to 180,000 pesos or 5.87 pesos per kilogram.

TABLE 24

HONEY DRUMS PRODUCED IN TENEJAPA

Community	Number of Drums 1986	1987
Amaquil	2	2
Cotolté	2	1
Chacomá	5	3
Chaná	4	4
Chixtontic	8	6
Ejido Sibactel	2	3
Juchaljá	7	10
Majosic	6	0
Pocolum	13	9
Tres Cerros	3	5
Tzajalchén	5	7
Tzaquibiljoc	6	3
Yashanal	0	2
Yetzucum	7	1
Total	70	56

Source: Informant.

Another interesting aspect of this kind of arrangement is that honey producers do not calculate the energy, time and expenses incurred by them in the process of delivering the honey to the INI warehouse in San Cristóbal de las Casas, and do not contemplate compensation in case of an accident in the process of loading, unloading and transporting the heavy drums of honey which weigh up to 300 kilograms.

IV.D Summary

Agricultural production is intricately/symbiotically related to transportation services. The category of agricultural production, for analytical purposes, was divided in three areas: coffee, corn and honey production.

In the last ten years coffee production in Tenejapa expanded jointly with the municipal road system, and the development programs sponsored by INI and INMECAFE. However, the beneficiaries of these government sponsored programs are not only Indian coffee growers but also private intermediaries (coyotes) who have the necessary capital to buy and transport part of the municipal coffee production.

The transportation of coffee was divided for analytical purposes in three categories. Coffee transportation costs from the growers home-site to the INMECAFE receiving center in 1985 amounted to 3,328,638 pesos. Of this amount, 82.76% (or 2,754,780) remains at the municipal level since local Indian haulers are the ones who transport the coffee production at this stage.

Coffee transportation from the INMECAFE receiving center to the central warehouse in Tuxtla Gutiérrez amounted to 5,502,750 pesos, of which 100% escapes the municipal level due to the fact that it is transported by Lacandonia (non-community) haulers.

The third coffee related transportation category is

that of coffee fertilizer which amounted to 2,519,040 pesos. In 1986 the amount of money that escaped the community in the transportation of fertilizer was at least 1,070,553 pesos, since 89.65% of the haulers of fertilizer belong to Linea Lacandonia.

The total amount of money spent in transportation costs stemming from the three coffee related categories is 10,025,572 pesos. Less than 28.71% of this amount (or 2,878,411 pesos) remains at the municipal level since the truckers who acquire the above mentioned quantity reside within the municipality. On the other hand, 71.29% of the transportation costs (or 7,147,161 pesos) escapes the municipal level through the hands of non-community haulers.

Per capita corn production in Tenejapa has been decreasing in response to the increment in coffee cultivation and the constant increase in the price of corn fertilizer. CONASUPO has played a major role in this process of crop substitution by facilitating the buying of corn at official prices. Furthermore, corn production requires the use of fertilizers in order to yield the desired/expected amount. The total amount of money spent in transporting the corn fertilizer is 2,519,040 pesos. All of this amount escapes the community level since it is transported under an exclusive contract by non-community based haulers, in this case by Linea Lacandonia.

The third agricultural category studied was honey.

The amount of money spent in transporting the honey is 64,260 pesos. As in the case of corn fertilizer, 100% of the honey transportation costs escapes the community level.

In all of the three agricultural cases studied (coffee, corn and honey) 77.17% of the money spent in transportation (or 9,730,461 pesos) escapes the municipal level due to the fact that the truckers are not members of the community/municipality and do not have any ties with the community aside from the one stemming from such economic activity (see Table 25).

The relationship between the different kinds of agricultural production and transport services, examined in the preceding pages, manifests a clear pattern of government/state intervention/sponsorship. That is, in the transportation of coffee and honey, and the fertilizer for coffee and corn production, government agencies decide (consciously or unconsciously) the degree of participation of local haulers.

TABLE 25

TRANSPORTATION COSTS OF COFFEE, FERTILIZERS AND HONEY

	Remains		Escapes			
Transportation of:	Pesos	%	Pesos	%	Totals	%
coffee from house to Pocolum	2,754,780	82.75%	573,858	17.24%	3,328,638	100%
coffee from Pocolum to Tuxtla G.	0	0%	5,502,750	100.00%	5,502,750	100%
coffee fertilizer	123,631	10.35%	1,070,553	89.65%	1,194,184	100%
corn fertilizer	0	0%	2,519,040	100.00%	2,519,040	100%
honey	0	0%	64,260	100.00%	64,260	100%
Totals	2,878,411	22.83%	7,147,161	77.17%	10,025,572	100%

Source: data gathered during fieldwork.

IV.E Notes

1. Coffee bags are known as fardos. Full bags of coffee for export weigh 60 kilograms while nationally they weigh 57.5 kilograms; both of them are known as quintales.

2. For a comprehensive description on: 1) the scientific classification of coffee plants and 2) the production of coffee see Haarer (1984).

3. Early (1982:18) has conceptualized the Zongolica Indian coffee growers in the state of Veracruz as semi-proletariats: "Debido a las presiones demográficas y a la escasez de tierra, la mayoría de los campesinos de Zongolica no tienen tierras suficientes para la práctica agrícola y por consiguiente para mantener a sus familias. Así, deben recurrir al trabajo asalariado agrícola, ya sea en sus propias comunidades o en las tierras bajas de los campos de azúcar. Podemos calificar a estos campesinos de semiproletariados, por su condicion de productores de café para la subsistencia y por ser trabajadores asalariados" (emphasis added). Early does not adequately conceptualize the role of the Indian coffee growers. He points out that the Indian coffee growers are semi-proletarians since their production is for subsistence. This statement is incorrect due to the fact that coffee production for subsistence or for local and international markets does not make them semi-proletariats. The semi-proletariat is define by the characteristic of selling their labor force to complement their subsistence economy or the income generated by their production of coffee.

In Tenejapa, coffee growers as well as corn producers have worked (at some point in their lives) as wage earners. This periodic exchange of work for a salary occurs in a relatively early age. Boys and young teenagers go to the coffee fincas to work as seasonal agricultural workers. Most of the time they are accompanied by some close male kin. Tenejapaneco coffee and corn producers participate in this type of periodic work due to two factors. The first has to do with access to land and the second with debts or emergencies that need to be paid in cash. According to the semi-proletariat definition provided above, Tenejapaneco Indians periodically "assume" (or are forced to assume) the role/function of semi-proletariat.

4. Even if they are able to save enough money to buy despulpadoras there is no guarantee that they will receive the solicited machines. A group of indian coffee growers,

from the community of Yashanal in Tenejapa gave money to a coyote and their INMECAFE delegate on February 1986 to buy despulpadoras for them. By July 1986 the coffee growers did not know if they were going to receive the despulpadoras or be reimbursed although various attempts were made to get the machines delivered.

5. Something similar happens with fruits in the Chapare region in Bolivia. Lagos (1988) explains that Chapare colonizers used trucks more frequently than mules, allowing for the transport of tropical fruits to the market before they spoil. Since in Tenejapa there are not any processing facilities to de-pulp, dry, toast and de-shell the coffee grains, the first two stages of this process are done by Tenejapaneco coffee growers. The contrary occurs in Zongolica, Veracruz, where coffee growers can sell the cereza coffee due to the closeness of processing plants and transport services (Early 1982). This re-emphasizes the importance of road networks and transportation services as two factors that contribute to delineate the intermediation system.

6. The data gathered for coffee, corn and honey production was collected through structured interviews. There were 47 persons interviewed. Twenty seven interviewees were regidores at the time the questionnaires were administered. Thirteen interviewees were members of the Sociedad de Apicultores. These two sets of interviews were administered in Tzeltal by two assistants. The last seven interviews were administered by me in Spanish at the early stage of field research. In each of the three sets of interviews care was given not to interview persons from the same paraje. The reader cannot find the information provided in the interviews in public documents.

7. One bag of fertilizer weighs 50 kilograms.

8. The four beneficios were constructed in the communities of Chaná, Chixtontic, Juchaljá and Cotolté.

9. The 24 beneficios were divided as follows: nine in the community of Chaná, seven in the community of Pocolum and eight in the community of Yochib.

10. INMECAFE has a coffee planting area. The coffee seeds are planted and grow until they are approximately twelve inches tall. At this point they are ready to be given to the coffee growers.

11. The fertilizer used for coffee is commonly known as 18-12-6.

12. In the INMECAFE receiving centers the official receiver has the opportunity to steal coffee in its weighing. Afterwards the receiver will sell the coffee to INMECAFE. The other strategy utilized is to say that the coffee is stained or has a lot of pulp. This will automatically decrease the quality of the coffee which means selling it at a lower price.

13. INMECAFE does not always pay the remanent on time (La Jornada 1985a). This constitutes one of the major problems confronted by the Indian coffee growers which do not occur with the coyotes.

14. The Compañia Nacional de Subsistencias Populares (CONASUPO 1984:9) recognizes the coyote's role stemming from his ability to transport the commodities from where they are produced to the city markets.

15. For example, the official final price for the 1985 harvest was 431.65 pesos per kilogram while the guaranteed price for 1986 harvest was 820 pesos per kilogram, representing a loss of at least 398.35 pesos per kilogram.

16. Truman (1981:122) assumes that the Indian language radio station effectively disseminates official coffee prices and therefore "... when the Ladino traders come to buy coffee from the Indians they are unable to 'buy low and sell high' ". In order for this assumption to be correct three things need to happen: (1) Indians need to have a radio, (2) Indians need to listen to the radio news and (3) Indians need to negotiate the coffee selling price without any pressure to do so.

17. ANDSA is the government agency in charge of receiving, storing and delivering the fertilizer according to INMECAFE and BANRURAL stipulations.

18. This assumes that a whole bag is transported.

19. For a description of how the CONASUPO system operates at the national level and the different filial agencies under it see CONASUPO (1982, 1984). For a description of how the ANDSA system operated in the Highlands of Chiapas before CONASUPO took over its role (specifically regarding corn buying) see Young (1962).

20. For a brief description on the different problems confronted by CONASUPO in regularizing the price of corn see Cruz-Sánchez (1986), La Jornada (1985b) and Warman (1985).

21. De Taviera (1984) describes some of the changes that have been occurring in the Chuj area with the introduction of coffee. One of those changes has been land fragmentation.

22. The reason for utilizing hectares planted with corn in the first two sets of correlations rather than kilograms of corn produced is that the amount of corn produced per household varies considerably. This is due to factors such as: where the milpa is located (e.g., tierra fría or tierra caliente), quality and wear of the soil, weather condition, labor input and use of fertilizers.

23. Statistical significance means that the obtained result is not likely to be attributed to chance.

24. This is not the first honey support program INI sponsored. In 1979 INI carried out a program in which they provided beehives and the technical assistance for care taking of bees. Alonso, a honey producer, benefited from this program by starting out with 10 beehives. In six years he has been able to expand his beehives to 40. Alonso has also benefited from the Programa Integral de Desarrollo Rural (PIDER) by obtaining in 1980 a honey gravity extractor.

25. Each case contains 10 squares. It takes two days of work to make a case with its ten squares.

26. For purpose of the analysis I decided to use the exchange rate of 552 pesos to the dollar, one week after the auction day, June 1, 1986.

27. The INI official and I had a discussion over what type of exchange rate applies to this type of economic transaction. The INI official believed that Dulzura was receiving controlled dollars while my position, sustained by the analysis done, is that she received free dollars. At that time the free dollar was higher than the controlled dollar; for example in June 1, 1986 the exchange rate for the controlled dollar was 340 pesos and 552 for the free dollar. If Dulzura was receiving controlled dollars she would have received at least 1,176 dollars for a ton of honey just to get the honey without making any profit. The only possibility for Dulzura to pay 400 pesos per kilogram was to use the exchange rate of the free dollar.

28. The coyote could maximize the exchange rate by holding the check in dollars or deposit it in an American bank cashing it whenever more advantageous.

29. I was not allowed to observe the auction process although I had been present in all the previous stages. To my surprise the INI coordinator notified me, through another person, that I could not stay in the meeting since it was an "internal matter" and that in any case I would know the outcome of the auction.

30. The exchange rate by June 15, 1986 was 628 pesos for one dollar.

31. The Winic a'tel Transportation Cooperative did not want to transport the honey drums because of its tremendous weight which creates too many problems.

Chapter V: Conclusion

The relationship between development and transportation is complex and permeates the social and cultural patterns of the Tenejapanecan Indians. This relationship, explored at two levels, was analyzed during a confined period of time, from April 1985 to July 1986 in the municipality of Tenejapa. At the economic level, 77.17% (or 9,730,461 pesos) of the money spent in the transportation of coffee, honey, and fertilizer for corn and coffee escapes the municipal level. This is accounted by the fact that the haulers are not members of the municipality nor have any ties in addition to the one stemming from such economic activity.

The municipality of Tenejapa has participated in economic development programs through the: (1) modernization of agricultural techniques such as utilization of fertilizers, weed killers, insecticides, fungicides, and relatively better use of their cafetales, milpas and bees; and (2) modernization of the infrastructure through the construction and improvement of roads, construction of warehouses (e.g., for coffee and honey) and coffee drying terraces. However, although the percentage of money that "stays" or "escapes" the municipality (see sec. IV.D) is not fixed, and it is assumed that a percentage of that money is going to be spent in urban centers such as San Cristóbal de las Casas,

the impact of the income generating activity of transportation and related ramifications has diminished the effectiveness of the above mentioned development programs.

Adequate attention has not been paid to transportation and the capital accumulation that this economic activity generates as a mean of contributing towards a more integral economic development. This situation perpetuates the urban-rural dichotomy and accentuates the dependence of Indian agricultural communities on private and government sponsored intermediaries, and subsequently to the world market.

I propose that the conceptualization of what constitutes "agricultural production" should be expanded to incorporate the economic activity of transportation. The incorporation of transportation as an activity within the realm of "agricultural production" could point to a shift away from the process of decapitalization towards capital accumulation at the local level. One way to accomplish the above would be to require SARH, INMECAFE and CONASUPO to "open the system" by allowing local haulers to transport the coffee produced and the fertilizer.

In a similar way, if the control over the transportation of cash-crops is in the hands of non-community transporters there is no reason for Indian agricultural producers to contribute with their tequio labor for road construction and maintenance programs. The

rationale for this is that none of the direct producers are benefiting from the activity of transporting their cash-crops.

At the political level, the economic opportunity presented by the development of transportation services evolved into a violent struggle. This struggle led to the constant censure of Erasmo in his three year term, as municipal president, by la contra. The public denunciation of corruption and killing which pointed to a concern for the community's well-being on la contra's part contrasted with that displayed by the PRI/government's control over Indian communities.

Furthermore, corruption (e.g., la mordida, frauds) does not contribute towards achieving economic development. The reason for this is that corruption encourages the notion that the state exists to serve individual interests, protecting and rewarding the incompetent and inefficient producer, respectively. Thus, this does not build up the people's trust in the system (Goodman 1974). In order to minimize or restrict the opportunity for corruption, the "open the system" strategy requires efficient and practical mechanisms by which decisions are made and supervised.

The considerable number of government agencies involved in road construction/preservation programs and development projects, combined with scarce economic resources to implement them, suggests that the success of

such programs at the local level depend in part on the patron-client relations municipal authorities are able to establish with key individuals in state and federal agencies. Furthermore, patron-client relationships are reinforced by such concepts as "el sexenio" and "mi equipo" which have become part of the political/governmental culture (Grindle 1977). At the same time, these patron-client sets articulate with government agencies that compete for power and resources. This competition among agencies generates a high level of non-cooperation among themselves, even though they may share the same formal goals. The result is duplication of function on the local level and intensified rivalry among various interest groups. Such local fragmentation enhances the monopolistic control of the PRI over state and federal government agencies.

The contemporary agricultural commodity production and the road network has not allowed for inter-municipal Indian markets to develop. The explanation for this was addressed in historical terms focussing two processes. The process of agricultural surplus extraction in colonial, post colonial and contemporary periods was and still is directed towards subregional, regional, national and international markets. This implies that at the local level a mono-crop or a set of two or three cash-crops are predominantly produced, a pattern of concentration that does not permit

the exchange of diverse subsistence surpluses. Presently, surplus extraction is achieved through the process of unequal exchanges which forces Indians to become seasonal wage earners in order to buy subsistence crops not produced by them, a situation also experienced by their ancestors.

Part of the above mentioned process involves the essential role played by CONASUPO in facilitating the process of crop substitution. This is achieved by buying and providing basic subsistence crops (e.g., corn and beans) at controlled prices, thus minimizing potential political unrest.

The second process is intertwined with the first and consists of the historical and contemporary inter- and intra-class struggles inherent at the community, subregional, regional and national levels. Transportation constitutes a strategic resource, and therefore one source of power and conflict which is represented in the image of a truck. Thus, road development since the 1950's and the subsequent ownership of trucks by Indians have altered the traditional asymmetrical relationship between the Indian and the _ladino_ population.

The social impact of the road network in "peasant societies" is multifaceted. _Pox_ production, the INI road construction project and the subsequent shift from subsistence agriculture to cash-crop production prompted the development of transport services in Chamula. The

construction of the Panamerican Highway stimulated Zinacanteco Indians to expand corn planting to the Grijalva Valley ensuing the decapitalization process. In Tenejapa, as well as in Chamula, Zinacantan and Amatenango, the road network has delineated the "market intermediation system". Additionally, it also has altered the renting/buying of land.

Transportation services, road networks, land scarcity, demographic pressure and uneven distribution of land have stimulated Tenejapanecans to acquire, rent and/or buy land outside the municipal boundaries (e.g., in the Lacandón Jungle, Ocosingo and Pantelhó, respectively), although they still ethnically ascribe themselves to Tenejapa. Due to the fact that Tenejapanecan transporters have motorized vehicles and therefore can move freely within any given territory, they now have the alternative of renting and/or buying land in areas not easily accessible by most Tenejapanecan Indians.

One manifestation of economic underdevelopment at the level of the infrastructure of a society is found in the road system. Likewise, it is manifested in the lack of cash or credit needed to buy motorized vehicles.

The relatively low level of vehicle ownership, the lack of cash or credit that constrain the purchase of cars/trucks, the relatively high passenger transportation fare, the relationship between commodity/cash-crop

production and the system of road networks in Tenejapa, all follow the same pattern documented for other Third World societies. In societies where export crops are mainly produced the road network is relatively well developed. In contrast, for small peasants who sell only petty surpluses the road system is less developed (Barwell, et al., 1985:128, 133).

The price for new or used motorized vehicles is extremely high due to the devaluation of the peso and its low acquisitive power. The lack of cash or credit is one of the most significant constraints for the development of transportation services. In order to cope with this situation one of the alternatives practiced is the co-ownership of vehicles. This allows the partners to establish economic and political alliances.

Another alternative to deal with the lack of cash/ credit would be for government agencies/programs (e.g., INI, SUB-SAI, SDR) to develop programs making credit available to groups of Indians cooperatively organized. This idea is not new since it was implemented through the creation of truck associations in the 1950's. The lack of controls in the administration of the truck/bus associations' funds frequently resulted in fraud, and the creation and consolidation of power groups under the leadership of local caciques. The associations' structure should be delineated following the idea of equal

participation, representation and decisional power by all its members. Tenejapanecan Indians have proved, by establishing honey and coffee producers' associations, that they are willing and capable of organizing themselves as long as the associations' structure provides for the satisfaction of the group's needs rather than individual interests.

In the Tenejapa case, transportation can be conceptualized as cause and effect. Transportation serves as the axis and delineator of economic and political changes. At the same time it is a product of a convergence of many factors, such as the penetration of the Mexican State in the process of national integration through the implementation of development programs and the kind of commodity production which has delineated power groups at the local level. The economic aspect of the process of national integration is twofold. On the one hand it links local production with urban, national and international markets, while on the other it opens local communities to imports of mass-produced consumer goods (Howe and Richards 1984:4).

Economic brokers form part of the ongoing process of integration, thus adapting themselves to the ever changing needs of national and international capitalism. Capitalism's needs have changed over time, and therefore integration has required different types of brokers. The

change in brokerage functions entails the creation of power groups and consequently the destruction/control of other groups. Therefore, the process of integration is accompanied by disintegration, its counterpart. Consequently, social integration/disintegration should not be conceptualized as fixed categories constituting opposing poles of a linear continuum but rather as a constant movement between different sets of opposing factions/segments attempting to control strategic resources.

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