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**THE STRATEGY OF URBAN LIFE:
REINVENTING PRACTICE IN THE DISENCHANTED
WORLD**

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of
Philosophy in Social Anthropology
at Massey University

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FOR JOE, PAULINE AND CHRIS

ABSTRACT

The economic practice of a Mexican squatter settlement provides the focus for this study. The thesis argues that traditional structures of individual and community have been transformed in squatter settlements to function as economic structures influenced by the logic of capitalism. Using a method deriving from Bourdieu's ethnographic account of field, habitus and strategy, the varied and complex struggles for economic and social survival among Oaxacan squatter residents are examined. It is contended that a method which overcomes the idealist limitations of interactionist theory, and the structuralist limitations of functionalist theory, as well as the determinism of marxist theory is necessary. Using Bourdieu's method, a dialectical analysis examines the forms of capital, the struggles for position, and the economic practices in the fields of economics, social relations and community politics. The study concludes with a critique of the method.

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INTRODUCTION

This study of economic practice is set in the urban squatter settlement, Colonia Linda Vista in Oaxaca, Mexico. Colonia Linda Vista is approximately 25 years old, and populated by Spanish speaking migrants from primarily rural Oaxacan locations. Such settlements can be likened to buffer zones between the sub-proletariat and the modern world. In this economic universe, the newly-urban poor find a number of safeguards which enable them to gain some kind of equilibrium. Among these safeguards is the mutual help between kin and neighbours which establishes basic systems of support in terms of money, work and lodging.

For the Colonia Linda Vista, the first 25 years was a period of structural transition. During this period the community grew, and was finally incorporated into the city boundaries. In a parallel development to the growth of the Colonia, some of the migrant families managed to ensure their economic survival in a more or less successful way. Others did not. This transition, both of the community and of the families, serves as the central focus of the study. The data collected examines household economic practices, and draws extensively on ethnographic research completed over a six year period, between 1968 and 1974.¹

The history of Oaxaca City tells us that urban populations living on the fringes of the city are not a new phenomenon, but have existed since the city was built under Spanish domination. Migration to the city has its origins in pre-capitalist history, and is therefore no simple product of modernisation. What distinguishes modern marginal settlements, however, especially in post World War Two Mexico, is that the migrants live entirely within the structure of capital, and their lives are thus constrained in a way not seen before. Migrants have reinvented ideologies and practices which are directed to the economic pressures they live under, and which utilize their particular social situation, entrepreneurial skills and individual caprice.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The thesis argues that traditional structures of individual and community have been transformed in squatter settlements to function as economic structures within the logic of Western capitalism. The difference in meaning can, perhaps, be explained by the following discursus: in traditional societies, many activities can not explicitly acknowledge economic gains and ends, such as the relationship which

is typical of the gift exchange. However, within capital, a system of economic rationalisation takes precedence which de-emphasises the symbolic structures of certain practices, and reduces the economy to its objective reality, thereby removing, at least at the surface level, its symbolic content. (Bourdieu 1977:172). As a consequence of this transformation, traditional ideologies are themselves being transformed in a dialectical fashion with economic practice, and within a framework of economic rationality. While some individual families 'succeed', others 'fail': at the same time the structural entity of the urban poor is preserved. The fundamental problem, therefore is the dialectical relationship between ideology and economic practice, and correspondingly of structure and agency in economic practice.

The analysis presented here examines parallel changes which have occurred in the structure of the Colonia as a community, and at the same time, the practices of families within the Colonia, especially the degree of 'success' and 'failure' which families experience in seeking to rationalise their lives within the structure of capital, and brings them together in a dialectical model which transcends the structure-agency dichotomy. The community, understood to be the mutually agreed framework of residents, was, during the period of transition, transformed from an economy of collective work-groups to an economy of individualist action, based on a money economy and commodity exchange. These new activities in turn are dependent upon entrepreneurial skills. Families began to shape their economic practices to the imperatives of the urban capitalist economy. Such changes within the Colonia are to be understood within the framework of the analysis established by Pierre Bourdieu (1973; 1979a). The general framework suggests that a transformation which takes place from a kin-based mode of production to capitalism is associated with a change in lifestyle that can be conceptualised as moving from the 'fully-lived' and 'enchanted' world to the world of 'economic' thought. Through the use of the concepts of habitus and the field, Bourdieu provides a framework which conceptualises both the personal level of family life and the outside world. Seen in a dialectical fashion, such interplay necessarily creates a different mode of living and practice than one which migrants have experienced in rural settings. The data presented describe individuals' lives and family situations as they exist within the overall structures of economic practice in the Colonia. The critical value of Bourdieu's analysis is assessed, both in terms of its own shortcomings, and in terms of the advantages it offers over other approaches.

THE WORK IN THE FIELD

"What happens on the growing edges of life is seldom written down at the time. It is lived from day to day in talk, in scraps of comment on the margins of someone else's manuscript, in words spoken on a street corner, or in cadences which lie well below words that are spoken."

(Mead 1959:xv)

Margaret Mead wrote these lines in reference to her edited biography of Ruth Benedict. I have used them to introduce this first section on fieldwork to describe my own intuition, that what one learns while doing fieldwork are scraps which, when finally pieced together within a conceptual framework lead to an understanding and explanation of the social conjuncture under study. The actual writing of ethnography is clearly a separate activity, and can only realise part of the ethnographic experience. Michael Agar (1980) writes that fieldwork has a profound impact on ethnographers which frequently lasts a lifetime. Being such a personal experience and therefore difficult to translate fully for others, we can perhaps understand why anthropologists surround the experience with such a hallowed mystique, and discuss it as if it were a fundamental 'rite de passage'. In the following section, I discuss my field experience in an attempt to set the context for the rest of the study.

The most important book I read as an undergraduate student was the familiar *Children of Sanchez* by Oscar Lewis. After reading it, I decided, in straightforward fashion, that I wished to train as an anthropologist, to study with Lewis, and to work with the urban poor. My first four years at University were spent completing a degree in foreign languages, and taking anthropology as an elective. This process of education occurred during the mid-sixties, when students were much taxed by the American involvement in the Vietnam war, the problems of race relations in the United States, and Johnson's 'War on Poverty'. I confess to a naive idealism at that time, which led me to the belief that if people from different cultures could appreciate the differences between them and have compassion for their mutual problems, then the world would benefit from it, and be a different and a better place. Lewis's work on the culture of poverty, and the specific conjuncture of the United States in the 1960's were strongly to influence where I studied, and also establish my area of intellectual activity. Furthermore the lack of feminist theory in American anthropology at the time, reflected my own blind spot with reference to the position of women in society. Anti-war protestors joined the radical Students for a Democratic Society (S.D.S.), but it was the young men who held office, and it was the young women who ran the mimeograph machine. Not only did the obvious discrimination against women in my own group escape me, but the lack of interest in women's lives in ethnographies did not arouse my suspicions, until after my fieldwork was completed. Lacking a feminist perspective, I set out to study the object which all ethnographers seemed to study: the lives of men. It was only because the women of Colonia Linda Vista were so singular, and that their lives stood out from the general context of the data, that they came to be a major factor in this study of economic behaviour.

I chose to begin graduate school in anthropology at the University of Illinois in Champaign-Urbana because Lewis was on the staff. When I arrived the older, more worldly students were quick to inform me that 'Oscar' as they called him, did not teach: Oscar 'was always away', and 'Oscar was a bear to

work with anyway'. Fortunately, they were wrong. I did find Lewis a difficult person, because of his drive and his tendencies towards perfectionism. On the other hand, I valued enormously the time I spent with him, and the hospitality of his family. Aside from the obvious encouragement I received when doing my doctoral examinations, I learned fieldwork in and out of the field. At Illinois, as elsewhere, fieldwork was a clear 'rite of passage', with distinct age grades to establish hierarchy. There were 'those who had done successful fieldwork' and 'those who had not', with the former well on the way to becoming "real" anthropologists. Fieldwork was the core activity of ethnography. The teaching of methods was a mixed bag of survey techniques and procedures, but it offered little concrete advice on techniques of fieldwork, on the implicit assumption that either one had the gift or not. The approach which we were encouraged to take was a more flexible approach in which, as Beteille argues '...a good investigator...is able to use to advantage all that is fresh, novel and unforeseen in the field situation' (Beteille 1975:100). Of more help, then, were the discussions over food and drink, which produced stories from fieldworkers on the difficulties encountered in field settings, which were continually and routinely brought back from the field. Given the difficulties of discussing field work procedures in a formal manner, these practices served as an alternative, but serious introduction to field work activity.

'Going Native' was also something anthropology students eagerly undertook. This particular social practice is probably also well understood as part of the social milieu in the United States of the late 1960's, early 1970's. Those of us who were Latin Americanists took minor studies in Spanish and in Latin American History, ate Latin food, wore ponchos and spoke Spanish at academic cocktail parties. At one barbecue, the hostess, recently back from highland Peru, served gulled guinea pigs, as they are eaten by the Quechua speakers with whom she had worked! Fieldwork was less an academic skill than personal attribute, and the talent for undertaking fieldwork was to be assessed in the practice of doing it. While there were some ethnographies which reflected on the practice of fieldwork (like Lévi-Strauss's *Tristes Tropiques*, Hortense Powdermaker's *Stranger and Friend*, Elizabeth Bowen Smith's *Return to Laughter* and Margaret Mead's autobiography, *Blackberry Winter*), the business of doing fieldwork was rarely written about or analysed in any detailed way; indeed one could say it was not a topic at all. E. Evans-Pritchard is said to have tried to purge "colourful digressions" from the monograph form. Evans-Pritchard branded monographs so tainted in "...the least flattering comparison he could think of, linking them with Mead's *Coming of Age In Samoa*" (Boon 1983:13). Of this, Evans-Pritchard wrote "...this discursive, or perhaps I should say chatty and feminine book with a leaning towards the picturesque, is what I call the rustling-of-the-wind-in-the-palm-trees kind of anthropological writing, for which Malinowski set the fashion" (Cited in Boon, from Evans-Pritchard 1962:96). The in-depth field experience of the ethnographer is anthropology's great strength. That it has not always been considered a serious area for investigation derives from the positivistic leanings embodied in the work of Evans-

Photograph shows the main dirt road into the Colonia Linda Vista. Upon entering, the school is on the left and San Miguel's house is on the right (not shown). The road soon gives way into paths which wind up into the housesites carved into the hillside.

Photograph: author's collection



Pritchard and those like him. Such views have, until the last fifteen years, been typical of mainstream anthropologists, particularly among certain British and American traditions, associated with functionalism in the U.K., and pragmatism in the U.S. However they are hardly adequate within the social sciences today, and particularly in the humanistic discipline of anthropology.² Currently, the conception of fieldwork as both an experiential as well as a cultural activity is more widely recognised, and the processes outlined above are now well-discussed (Brody 1981; Clifford and Marcus 1986; Clifford 1985; Geertz 1983, 1985; Marcus and Fisher 1986; Marcus and Cushman 1992; Rabinow, 1977; Rabinow & Sullivan 1979; Rosaldo 1984; Ruby 1982).

In parallel with the experience of my fieldwork training, I also generated a genealogy of theoretical development, a topic rarely discussed in Lewis's time, but of major interest to contemporary anthropology. Redfield's folk-urban continuum had offered a preliminary analysis of problems of rural and urban change, but had failed to account fully for the economic and material base which underlies cultural practices. Lewis's own theory of *The Culture of Poverty* was widely influential in his time, though its idealist proposal for the transference of poverty through culture had, in spite of its wide acceptance, a limited period of influence. In the meantime, French structuralism, especially the work of Maurice Godelier (1977) offered categories of Althusserian certainty for the analysis of this same material, and the patterns of economic logic within capital certainly influenced my preliminary analysis when I came to write up my fieldwork. However, though Godelier offered a way past the empiricist and idealist tendencies within anthropological theory, his work did not adequately convey the complexity of life in the Colonia Linda Vista which is embodied in the dialectical relations between economic structures and daily practice. Such rigid categories of structuralism were set aside in the writing-up of this study in favour of the causally complex and fluid social categories which Bourdieu's theory of habitus and dispositions provides. These theoretical developments are canvassed much more thoroughly in a later chapter.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE STUDY.

This study begins with a review and an analysis of the relevant work done in the field of migration and migrant adaptation in Latin America. In general such work can be characterised as interactionist or systemic. Chapter One, which suggests that any adequate analysis should embrace both interactionist and systems theory approaches, shows how this synthesis can occur. Additionally the use of Bourdieu's theory, a theory of structuration concerned with both levels, is introduced. This introduction leads directly to Chapter Two with a detailed exposition of Bourdieu's theory, and sets out the conceptual framework which structures this study. The discussion centres on the notion of habitus, the field and the

process of cultural reproduction and transformation. The concern here is with the internalisation of social structure, and the generation of an individual's approach to the world, as well as the more specific behaviour of sub-proletarian migrants to the city, as it is related to the dual logics of traditional and capitalist social patterns. In this sense traditional behaviour within the city is not mistakenly analysed as an attempt to recreate the traditional world, but as a transformation and creation of new lives within a dual logic.

Chapter Three reviews the historical development of Oaxaca with regard to the transitions within the broader history of the state and city. The chapter argues that changes in the economic base are related to structured alterations in social life within Oaxaca and its fringe settlements, which developed and remain in a relationship of complex inter-dependence. The history of the development of some of Oaxaca's squatter settlements is included in the review as well as an account of the fieldwork situation in the Colonia Linda Vista. Chapter Four traces the origins and growth of Linda Vista over the first 25 years. Changes in political cliques and community work are viewed in relation to outside city structures. Chapter Five examines how it is that daily economic practices maintain households. The data presented focusses on material resources from property and jobs, and includes examples of household budgeting and consumer behaviour. Chapter Six examines the field of social relations and describes how social networks create the informal structures which have fulfilled needs not met by city and state structures. In particular, mutual help in providing food, money, child care, health and emotional support are reviewed. Such help is central to the use of personal strategies that some residents use to accumulate symbolic capital. Accordingly, the chapter provides data showing how some powerful women used symbolic capital to generate economic capital. Chapter Seven moves back to the level of structural analysis, to provide the context which explains why the personal networks outlined in Chapter Six were so necessary to the lives of Colonia residents. This chapter sets out the relationships between residents and larger urban institutions. The focus is on the capital-embedded institutions of housing, medicine, education, religion and politics. The concluding chapter summarizes the ethnographic work as the data is conceptualized again in terms of the work of Bourdieu. The particular emphasis of the chapter is the change in the structure of the Colonia, and interprets the success and failure of specific families. The movement of the thesis can thus be seen to begin within the theoretical problematic of Bourdieu, then to move to the levels of history, community development and family practice within the data, and finally to return to the theoretical analysis at family and structural level. The final pages return to the issues of the first chapter, in suggesting that Bourdieu's theory well fills the gap left by interactionist and systemic accounts. In that sense the perspective establishes a bridge between the agency at the level of family practice, and the level of social structure, which other approaches, by their polarity to one side or another, fail to comprehend. The chapter leads to the conclusion that the social and economic practice of

the urban poor can best be studied with a perspective that conceives economic behaviour as having its multiple sources of causation at several levels: at the level of the social formation in history; at the level of the social structure of the city; at the level of the community and its structure of economic life; and at the level of the family and the individual, full of individual caprice and variation. Bourdieu's theory, albeit in modified form, offers the potential to provide a flexible structure with which to analyse the connections between these levels, and thereby account for the economic practices of everyday life, by conceiving everyday life as an economy of practice.

FOOTNOTES

1. At the completion of the field trips I took time to have a family and, later, to move and establish the family in New Zealand. Since I began teaching at Massey University I have had the opportunity to go back to my Mexican work.
2. Currently several anthropologists address what is called by Geertz, 'the crises in anthropology'. *Anthropology as Cultural Critique* by Marcus and Fisher, and *Writing Culture* by Clifford and Marcus are both concerned with the crises of representation in anthropology in terms of how ethnographies are written.

CHAPTER ONE

LOCATING THE THEORETICAL SPACE.

This chapter critically evaluates the relevant literatures in the field of Latin American urban studies so that the theoretical space which the thesis occupies can be made clear. Rather than review all literatures of Latin America, or all literatures of migration, this section concentrates on the fundamental issue of migrant adaptation, as it directly impinges on the problem of the thesis, which is the economic practice of squatters living in the city. The intent of the exercise is not to replace an empiricist approach with a deductive theoretical approach, (which may appear to provide ready-made theoretical categories for use in the present analysis), but rather to demonstrate the analytic incompleteness left by the work reviewed. It is argued at the end of the chapter that it is within this space that Bourdieu's method can contribute to migration studies.

Anthropologists became interested in urbanisation through following the peasant to the city (Goode 1970:152), so that in broad terms theirs has been a preoccupation with migrant and migrant adaptation to the city environment. Over the past thirty years, anthropologists have generated a vast literature in this field. Within this literature, researchers have sought to account for the rapid rise in urban populations, have made case studies of migrant adaptation, and have analysed the structure and development of the city (Arizpe 1977; Fox 1975; Kemper 1977; Lomnitz 1977; Morse 1965, 1971). The general trend is a universalistic one which views modernisation and urbanisation as processes which follow a broadly similar pattern, in spite of regional variations which may be found in specific times and places.

This broad empirical approach can be said to embrace two general theoretical traditions, distinguished by their separate levels of analysis. First, interactionist theories have been concerned with the minutiae of everyday life in squatter settlements. To put the argument precisely, such approaches concentrate on asking questions at the level of the individual and families. The products are ethnographically-based case studies which generate suitable explanations. Such studies focus on the goals that individuals pursue, and the strategies they may use to achieve those goals. This leads to an inevitable focus on social action and on subjective strategies for survival. The literature on migrant and migrant adaptation is characteristically structured in this fashion (Arias and Alcala 1973; Bradfield 1973; Browning and Feindt 1969; Campiglia 1967; Chen 1968; Cornelius 1976; Romero and Flynn 1976; Casaco 1969; DuToit 1975).

The second tradition incorporates work informed by systems theories, which concentrate (in contrast to interactionists) on the "functioning of the economy at societal and world levels..." (Worsley 1984:179). This second tradition encompasses a wide variety of studies which can be grouped into two 'meta-theoretical polar types' (see Worsley 1984:179). On the one hand there are demographic and historical studies of Latin American cities, which examine statistical trends of population growth and create typologies of urban development (Kirk 1960; Fox 1975; Browning 1967; Morse 1965, 1971; Sjoberg 1972; Chance 1976; Taylor 1972). On the other hand it is also the case that dependency theorists can be grouped within the boundaries of systems theory, since they concern themselves with the same level of analysis, albeit from a quite separate theoretical perspective. The application of dependency and marxist models is fairly recent in urban studies, and it has largely been applied to the study of the continued under-development of Latin America, and the position of ruling classes in these countries (Frank 1966a, 1966b, 1969; Portes and Walton 1976; Wolf and Hansen 1972; Urquidi 1975; Walton 1975; Leeds 1969, 1971). Within the framework of systems theory, dependency analysis takes a broad view on the key issues of migration and urbanisation. The impact of colonial, neo-colonial and multi-colonial forms of economic penetration are said to extend into and dominate the economic life of peripheral countries such as Mexico. From this perspective therefore, movements to the city, and the life of squatters is to be seen as being shaped by the demands for labour that a penetrative capitalist economy imposes on the urban setting.

In the following pages, the theoretical arguments within these traditions are thoroughly canvassed in the search for an adequate theory of economic practice. The various fields of literature to be covered are set out in diagrammatic fashion below. The sections which immediately follow Figure One review and discuss the literature.

Figure One

LATIN AMERICAN URBAN MIGRATION AND ADAPTATION

INTERACTIONISM

SYSTEMS THEORY

Migration Studies	Migrant Adaptation	Functional Demography	Empiricist Urban History	Dependency Theory
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Equilibrium theory 2. Push-Pull 3. Folk-Urban 4. Rational Economy 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Culture of Poverty 2. City-based 3. Village to City 4. Adaptation, process and strategies. 			

INTERACTIONIST APPROACHES

Migration Studies

Equilibrium Theory

Push-Pull Theory

Folk-Urban Theory

Rational Economy Theory

Students of migration ask themselves the basic question 'Why do people move?'. To this the field has supplied several discrete answers. The first of these was developed during the 1950's, and had its roots in the dominant functionalism of American sociology, which suggested a model of 'equilibrium'. This sort of analysis viewed migration as '...a necessary element of normal population adjustment and equilibrium' (Bogue 1959:487). Such a perspective considers migration as providing a device to maintain social and economic balance, and one which would preserve the existing economic and demographic system; especially the system of social relations (Jansen 1969; Beyer 1967; UN 1961; Fox; 1975). This orientation argued that migration also allowed for changes as the economy of the city grew. The approach, however, was flawed with both the general difficulties of functionalism, and the particular

problems of trying to account for urban migration. The general problem of the failure to account for fundamental and qualitatively important social change was a particularly damaging problem for equilibrium theory, especially in a setting in which change was especially pervasive. In empirical terms, it became impossible to account for continual transformation through a theoretical account which depended for its foundation on assumptions of stability and stasis. Further, the idealist tendency towards explaining action solely as the result of normative expectations came up against the influence of real economic necessity, which frequently compelled people to move.

A second theoretical direction in the study of rural-urban migration made use of what came to be known as the 'push-pull' thesis, which suggested that migration occurs because of socio-economic factors pulling migrants to an area and of other factors pushing them out of their region of origin (Butterworth 1973, 1975; Butterworth and Chance 1981; Corrado 1955; Eder 1965; Benitez 1962; Martinez 1968; Diegues 1970; Martine 1975; Herrick 1971; Carvajel and Geithman 1974; Germani 1965; Whiteford 1976; Usandizaga and Havens 1966; McGreevey 1968; Rollwagon 1973). In part, this hypothesis was tied to the dichotomy of the rural-urban tradition made famous by Robert Redfield. Among researchers at the prominent Chicago School who had pioneered work in urban analysis, there was frequent vigorous personal, philosophical and methodological debate on these issues. Within this environment Redfield developed his conception of the folk-urban continuum, which analysed movement from the small, isolated, homogeneous, collectively-based village to the large, central, heteronomous, socially disorganised city (Redfield 1941, 1953). His folk-urban continuum was tested in communities in the Yucatan peninsula of Mexico. Redfield also emphasised that the change from folk to urban society implied a domination of the technical over the moral order, in which there occurs the '...transformation by which the primitive world view has been overturned' (1953:108). In *The Primitive World and Its Transformations* he wrote:

Civilisation is (the) breakdown of old ways. It is a meeting of many minds. It is the weight of new exactions upon human labour: and it is the organisation and mass production of food, buildings, war, cruelty and political adventure.

(1953:136)

The 'push-pull thesis' was further used by researchers to account for individual variations in tastes, habits, prejudices and dispositions. This application of the thesis has been criticised as leading to a polarisation based on the false variation of intentionality over time. Although detractors do exist (see Guillet and Uzell 1976 for the strongest criticism), many current researchers still use the push-pull hypothesis as a central form of explanation. Within such a framework, certain key 'pushes and pulls' are commonly identified: among the latter are employment, education and kinship ties in the city. The

'pushes' include the lack of sufficient land in villages, lack of productive land, lack of alternative economic opportunities, absence of sanitation and medical services, and poor educational facilities (Butterworth and Chance 1981). Although personal decisions are those most likely to be stressed in the explanation of migration, one study of a community in Columbia (Romero and Flynn 1976) went further in order to try and locate the source of what they termed the motivations to migrate within the relationship that peasants had to the means of production. This muted intimation that a connection existed between personal situations and structures within the economy marked a new awareness which developed on the edge of the 'push-pull' tradition. The 'push-pull' thesis and Redfield's folk-urban continuum therefore have some similarities in that they both posit distinct lifestyles at each end of the rural-urban spectrum. But, the folk-urban continuum is essentially *idealist*, postulating the differences in lifestyle in city and rural life in a descriptive fashion, and drawing the theoretical implications that beliefs and ideas constitute the dominant influence for change. The 'push-pull' thesis is much more directly concerned to explain the reasons why people move, an explanation which Redfield's work cannot easily provide.

A fourth model, suggested by Todaro in 1969, offered an approach which was based on the assumption that economic rationality could account for migration. This model asserted that the key variable in explanation was the rural-urban income differential and the probability of obtaining a job (Todaro 1969:139; Adams 1967; Murphy and Stepick 1978). It is immediately obvious that the model is deeply ethnocentric, and with little evidence afforded a Western economic rational consciousness to third world peasants. There are also obvious practical obstacles to such an explanation. For instance, higher urban incomes do not necessarily lead, in unproblematic fashion, to a higher standard of living in the city. Factors concerned with social structure, kin and familial relations were excluded from the analysis. The form of economic reductionism which it took, was premised most precisely on the concept of 'homo economicus'. It stressed the application of individual value systems and life strategies for achieving desired goals in a parallel, if different, formulation to that of anthropological functionalists. But, offering no method of assessing the actual values and aspirations of peasants, it could not make an authentic attempt to explain economic practice 'in the round'. In a similar account by Murphy and Stepick (1978), there is an attempt to integrate the individual value systems of migrants with their activities in urban areas, and some slight insight is offered. They suggest that '...models based upon goal-values produce a more complete explanation of both the economic and the seemingly non-economic behavior of urbanites and peasants' (Murphy and Stepick 1978:396). But, while this offers the possibility of a connection between the level of motivation and the level of the economic, the causal argument is again expressly idealist, by emphasizing the role of individual action, rather than allowing

for structural processes to play a part. Thus, not only is their level of analysis flawed, in that the level of motivations predominates, but their unit of analysis which is solely at the level of the individual, is also inadequate.

Migrant Adaptation

Culture of Poverty

City-Based Studies

Village-to-City Studies

Adaptation Processes and Strategies

In 1952, Oscar Lewis followed his informants from Tepoztlán to Mexico City. He encountered a situation which he termed 'urbanisation without breakdown'. His findings contradicted previous sociological accounts of urbanisation, which connected movement to the city with social problems, anomie and a general lessening of the 'quality of life'. The work led to a vigorous debate with Redfield, which in fact was part of a longer debate over their (nearly opposite) accounts of village life in Tepoztlán. Like many debates in the social sciences, the thesis had its origin at a personal level, and the debate was not entirely conducted on a theoretical level or even simply as a debate about practical empirical matters in the field. In *Life in a Mexican Village: Tepoztlán Restudied* (1951b), Lewis established a critique which took Redfield to task for writing a fantasy, story-book account of peasant society. In the first place, Lewis argued against the notion that Tepoztlán was in any way separate from the larger Mexican nation. While he acknowledged that there was considerable stability in the village population, he argued that Tepoztecáns lived within the general social conditions of Mexico, and were directly affected by outside national events. Thus, far from being a rural idyll, it was in fact a village closely integrated into the urban sector. The residents paid taxes, sent children to state schools, and took part in local and national political events. In addition, the community was extremely poor, and suffered from very high rates of illiteracy, and very high birth and death rates (Lewis 1951).

In return, Redfield, wounded, but ever the gentleman wrote:

'If valuing is a part of the ethnologist's work, and if, as we know, ethnologists like other people differ as to the values they place on things, we shall have accounts of cultures that differ in part because of the differing values of the ethnologists... apparently Dr Oscar Lewis shared my view that the ethnologist cannot help using some of his(sic) values in his fieldwork, for when he took me kindly to task in connection with my early description of the Mexican village of Tepoztlán, he made

no objection to the fact that I had values when I studied the community. His criticism (among others) was to the particular value system he felt he saw in my work. Apparently I had the wrong one. I think Dr. Lewis finds too much when he says my values there 'contain the old Rousseauian notion of primitive peoples as noble savages', ...Perhaps he would be glad merely to accept my confession that I saw and suggested to the reader of my book certain good things in Tepotzlán; ...perhaps, on the other hand, the presence of those values in myself helped to bring out aspects of the life consistent with them.'

(Redfield 1953, pp.155, 156)

In demonstrating that life in peasant villages was stressful as well as satisfying, Lewis embarked upon a method of analysis which led him to propose his 'urbanisation without breakdown' theory with respect to rural migrants and later to establish the culture of poverty thesis. Lewis maintained that all the possibilities of social organisation such as kinship networks, friendships, and patronage in various forms may be called upon and used in urban life as well as in peasant villages. The culture of poverty thesis attempted to describe and then analyse the urban poor. Though really a 'subculture' of Western capitalist society, Lewis used the term culture in the traditional anthropological sense because the Culture of Poverty provided '...human beings with a design for living, with a ready-made set of solutions for human problems, and serves a significant adaptive function.' (Lewis 1965:19) Hence, the poor do not live disjointed and disorganised lives, but live within patterns of behaviour transmitted from one generation to the next. Such a lifestyle is both created by, and is an adaption to the poor's marginal position in a class-stratified, highly individuated, capitalist society (Lewis 1965:21). The distinguishing features of the culture of poverty included a number of psychological as well as negative social traits; such as sibling rivalry, mother-centered families, and an early initiation to sex. The concept was overly determined by individualist, psychological traits and, in part, it was these characteristics which helped to popularize the culture of poverty idea with establishment groups because it gave new authenticity to the impression that the poor perpetuated poverty themselves. Quite contrary to his own intentions Lewis's work inadvertently lent credence to the views of those who already blamed the poor for their own existence. Since Lewis's early work, anthropologists as well as other social scientists have studied a range of urban groups, asking a set of questions to do with the reproduction of poverty, and about the forms of adaptation the poor make in their location in society.¹

The most common research designs undertaken in the field of urban migration are focussed, as in the previous section, on the level of individuals and families, and are organised within the following substantive categories: city-based studies; village-city studies; and adaptation processes and strategies (Kemper 1977). City-based studies research migrants to a single city, and follow a traditional pattern of familiar methodologies, which includes census data analysis, survey techniques and life histories (Balan

et al. 1973; Chance 1971; Lomnitz 1977; Peattie 1968; Whiteford 1976). Other city-based studies involve limited attempts to do fieldwork in a narrow setting, and attempt to link households to larger urban structures. Village-city studies look at the migrants who come from a single rural village, and follow their adaptation to the urban setting. This approach views the 'actor' as an individual within a system which includes the communities of origin and destination (Butterworth 1969; Gonzalez 1969). Other studies within migrant adaptation have worked within a third area, that of adaptation processes and strategies. Research has focussed upon questions of traditional values, and patterns of kinship and community. For example, Southall (1973) notes that in ethnic enclaves, traditional cultural patterns may serve as 'crucial survival strategies' whereby identity is preserved and a sense of 'belonging' is maintained. Such conclusions also emerge in the work of Lewis (1961), in his ethnographic materials collected from the urban poor slum dwellers in Mexico City. Other writers have emphasised the importance of voluntary associations and clubs (Doughty 1972; Mangin 1970), which are modelled on the ties of kinship and friendship as sources of identity and survival. In her study of squatter settlements in Mexico, Lomnitz (1977) notes the importance of traditional patterns, and makes the point that the urban poor are not 'marginal' to the urban system, but '...performs important though perhaps as yet unrecognised social functions. In particular, the rise of an urban middle-class in Latin America is greatly indebted to cheap labour and services...' Lomnitz 1977:208). Although ethnographically rich, the basic problem with research of this type is the empiricism in the absence of theory, a theory which is necessary to connect individual levels of practice to the levels of structure of the social formation. The data often appears to be written as if migrant adaptation is a pieced-together fabric of traditional and modern lifestyles, or, in other studies, as if migrants are already 'urban' or 'modern' and have the same urban goals and strategies as do the urban working and middle classes (See Mangin 1967; Murphy and Stepick 1978).

Returning to a consideration of interactionist theories in general, the broad research approach as a whole can be criticized in the following way: first, because it provides rich examples of what C. Wright Mills termed 'abstract empiricism'. Research accounts are unable to explain how migrants fit into the wider society, and how they are, in fact, created and reproduced by that society. The social reality under study appears to be immediately accessible to the observer, without recourse to the rules of method or theoretical elaboration. Further, the data are displayed as self-evident truths. A second problem arises from the criticism that Worsley (1984) makes of the ethnographic method in general (but which rarely concerns ethnographers), which is the problem of representation. The difficulties of this weakness are most obvious at the level of theoretical generalisation. Ethnography is such a detailed method that only a small number of informants can be used during the normal field session. This practice can prevent a

representative sample being taken (or rather the matter of representativeness is not heeded), and therefore it is difficult to make theoretical generalisations about the populations as a whole. In particular, it is difficult to make the integrative connections between the levels of the individual and the social formation. Thus, lacking in theory, but rich in evocative detail, this body of literature concerned with migrant adaptation suffers from similar methodological difficulties to those within the 'push-pull' and migration studies traditions. Shaw (1975), in a review of current migrant adaptation literature takes the view that the process of relating the 'who' and the 'why' of migration to its underlying structural and behavioural determinants is in its infancy in interactional studies. However, these difficulties are not entirely overcome by moving the level of analysis to the level of the social system, as the next section indicates.

SYSTEMS THEORY

Functional Demography

Empiricist Urban History

Dependency Theory

In contrast to those theories concerned to account for social interaction at the level of individual and family, there is a body of literature which embraces the level of the social system. Systems theory here is broadly conceived to include post World War Two functionalism (its normal field) as well as marxist-inspired dependency theories, widely found in Latin American work. The unit of analysis is taken to be the whole society, or, in marxist terms, the relation between the society (the social formation) and the world capitalist system or global economy. The vision is holistic, and attempts to integrate larger societal and economic patterns with the cultural behaviour of social groups. The models of modernity that the functionalists used, were, as is familiar now, models based upon the study of European societies and the United States. The models supported evolutionary views of modernization, and assumed that development consisted of the diffusion of modern elements to undeveloped countries. These ethnocentric accounts explained the backwardness of undeveloped countries as a temporary condition awaiting amelioration from the core (Worsley 1984).

Studies of the particular development of Latin American cities can be categorised into two traditions, both of which are functionalist. The first, functional demography, examines the population growth of cities, and its relationship to urban growth. The second, functional-empiricist urban history, uses the style of the urban historian to stress social stratification, and the shifts over time from colonial city to industrial metropolis.

Functional demographers are interested in accounting for the population explosion in Latin American cities. For them, the prime factors involved in explanations are common to all Latin American countries: a continuing rapid rate of population growth within the city, coupled with the vast exodus of people from the rural regions to the city environs. These two forces are seen to be reshaping the 'economic and social fabric...in the medium-sized and large cities' (Butterworth and Chance 1981:30). At one time researchers assumed that fertility rates for urban populations would be appreciably lower than those of rural populations. This assumption was based upon evidence from European and North American cities, which had a history of low urban fertility. The suggestion was, therefore, that as countries became more urbanised, fertility rates would decline, just as had been the case in other industrialised cities to the north. This was a deeply-flawed argument, which has failed to be realised in the cities of Latin America, and which is certainly not relevant to Mexico (Browning 1967; Scrimshaw 1975; UN Report 1961:110). Browning (1967) for example, reports that although fertility rates were lower in the urban setting than in the rural countryside, the differences were being narrowed and actually rising to rural rates in the cities. In a study of female migrants to an Ecuadorean city, Scrimshaw (1975) came to the conclusion that because migrant women were generally young, they had children at the same rate as other city dwellers (regardless of education levels), which was fairly close to the rate of rural pregnancies, i.e., 7 pregnancies per woman as compared to 9 per woman in the country. Both these rates are far higher than those experienced in European countries as well as the North American averages. There could be no more clear illustration of the failure of North American and European models to predict outcomes in Latin America than this example. The use of non-Latin models to account for the growth of Latin American cities has now largely been abandoned, and there is currently a trend towards treating the demographics of these cities in terms of their own social and historical contexts.

Empiricist urban historians of Latin America have been interested in classifying cities and constructing typologies of urban systems in order to show change over time. Studies of colonial stratification, the Spanish 'sistema de castas' and the transformation of the colonial city to the modern city have been the core research problems (Chance 1976; Gibson 1964, 1966; Taylor 1972; Morse 1962, 1965)² Morse (1962:480) for example, has distinguished two broad stages of urbanism in Latin America. The first is a centrifugal phase beginning with the Iberian conquest, and characterised by a flow of power outward from the European cities. The second, during the 19th century is characterised as a centripetal phase, due to urban development, rural population growth, a growth in rural-urban migration and a loosening of latifundian ties. This model is similar to that proposed by Sjoberg (1960) and his theorem of pre-industrial and industrial city forms. However, Latin America can not be characterised as having passed through a feudal stage of social development, and further, and most important of all, Sjoberg specifically

excludes Latin America from his general analysis. The important point to note is that there is a strong tendency in the literature to attempt a 'polar' model of urban development, instead of viewing the transition and growth of cities as being rather longer, more haphazard and tied directly to the transformations of the social formation as a whole, which is typical of Latin American history from 1500 onwards. This general point has been made by Fox (1977), and in the particular city of Oaxaca by Chance (1976). Fox places his emphasis on the power of the State and its effect on urban development. Chance stresses the lack of rigidity in the stratification of social groups during the colonial period of Oaxaca. He links the status changes of social groups to changes in access to the mode of production. This fruitful line of argument is explained more fully in Chapter Three in the discussion of historical society in Oaxaca City.

The leading challenge to the functionalist interpretation of the growth and development of Latin American cities came from marxist-inspired dependency theorists. Their work challenged the previous research on empirical as well as on theoretical grounds. Perhaps the best-known scholars in this field are Immanuel Wallerstein and Andre Gunder Frank. The broad thesis proposed by dependency theory is that European expansion and colonialism created the third world. Wallerstein comments:

The search for markets as an explanation simply does not hold. A much more plausible explanation is the search for low-cost labour forces. It is historically the case that virtually every zone incorporated into the world-economy established levels of remuneration which were at the bottom of the world-system's hierarchy of wage-levels...the policies of the colonial state seemed designed precisely to promote the emergence of the very semi-proletarian household which made possible the lowest possible wage-level threshold.

(Wallerstein 1979:39)

For Wallerstein, there is only a single world-system, which is a capitalist one, and it has been so since the 17th century. The unit of the world system is the 'country', and these can be classified in three types: core countries or those at the centre of the system; countries on the periphery of the system; and those in the semi-periphery.³ (Chilcote and Edelstein 1974; Frank 1966a, 1966b, 1969, 1972; Roberts 1970; Sunkel and Paz 1970; Wallerstein 1974; Walton 1975; Wolf and Hansen 1972; Worsley 1984).

Frank's thesis taken from research in Latin America states that underdevelopment is not a consequence of traditionalism, but has been created by the colonialist expansion within a capitalist mode of production and that it is a necessary and logical part of this expansion:

I believe...that it is capitalism, both world and national, which produced underdevelopment in the past, and which still generates underdevelopment in the present.

(Frank 1969, Preface)

Frank refers to this process as the 'development of underdevelopment' (Frank 1969, 1972, 1978). His studies also emphasise the following themes: first that a constant drain of wealth during the colonial and post-colonial periods in the form of material resources and labour from the most productive areas of Latin America produced not only poverty, but also systematically destroyed indigenous economic development; second, that the emergence of the Latin American landowning bourgeoisie was shaped by European, rather than local influences; and third, that shifts in trade or European politics effected the systems of exploitation and domination in various parts of Latin America. Frank's theoretical framework is cast in terms of the relationship between European centres and colonial outposts, and within countries, between colonial towns and the rural hinterlands which surrounded them. The starting point in dependency theory, therefore, is the nature of the capitalist market, and marxist categories such as the 'lumpenproletariat', the 'labour aristocracy', and the 'reserve army of labour' are used to establish categories of important actors within the framework of class analysis. In substantive analyses following from these broad theoretical parameters, the argument is frequently made that in Latin America, multi-national corporations drain the local economies of their profits and leave the countries with an unskilled population and an insufficient supply of capital and technology.

Wolf and Hansen (1972) make the point that most Latin American nations rely heavily on exports of a small number of extractive commodities. This has had two results: first, these nations are now dependent upon selling their commodities at unstable prices for foreign capital; and second, the terms of trade have moved against them, in that prices for their sold commodity continually go down, while the prices for imports needed continually go up (Wolf and Hansen 1972:6). The use of this and other similar approaches in urbanisation studies of Latin America means that urbanisation must now be viewed as part of a dependent social formation within the capitalist world-system, and that the crucial level of analysis on which research should concentrate is the core-periphery relationships both within a country and between countries (Butterworth 1981 :200). Using the hierarchical structure of the core-periphery, other urban researchers have studied the elitist control of political and economic structures which are centered on the city and which dominate the countryside (Portes and Walton 1976; Roberts 1970).

In a study typical of this genre, Perlman (1976) examined a group of Brazilian favelas (squatter settlements), and used dependency theory to analyse the position that squatters occupy with reference to

the overall structure of Brazilian society. Her thesis argued that the marginality of the urban poor was both a myth and at the same time a description of social reality. The myth was based on the view that the poor failed as a group and as individuals because they could not maintain steady employment and engage with urban institutions. The reality, Perlman argued, was that these groups have '...the aspirations of the bourgeoisie, the perseverance of pioneers, and the values of patriots', but '...do not have the opportunity to fulfill their aspirations' (Perlman 1976:243). Both myth and reality were sustained by the structure of the material and political conditions in Brazil, which are in turn structured by the shape of the world-system, which creates and maintains relations of dependency between the rich and the poor.

In a critique of dependency theory, Ernesto Laclau (1979) affirms the view that dominant interests have exploited indigenous people and endorses theorists like Frank who argue against conventional 'dualist' interpretations. Laclau's disagreement with Frank suggests, however, that there are important problems of interpretation. Frank's definition of capitalism comes under scrutiny, as well as his historical assertion that capitalist expansion began in Latin America in the 16th. century, both of which are challenged. Further, Laclau goes on to argue that the definition of capitalism appears to lie within Marx's sphere of exchange. Thus, capitalism is seen to be typified by the exchange form of the money economy, and not by the fundamental quality of the capitalist mode of production. For Laclau the failure to place the analysis around production, but instead to locate it within exchange is a fundamental weakness. The argument is very extended, and only part is relevant for the purposes of this review. This is the assertion that Frank has not been using the marxist concept of a 'mode of production', but instead has written loosely of an economic system, without explaining whether such a system can or cannot be characterised by a particular mode of social organisation and its attendant classes. If he were to incorporate his study of economic systems (defined as mutual relations between different sectors of the economy, or between different productive units) within a framework of the mode of production, Frank would then be able to situate the problem of dependence at the level of relations of production, classes, and thus be free to consider the transformation of capital from the 16th century to the present within that framework (Laclau 1979:35). In this way, one would not have to argue, for instance, that the social relations between the Colonia Linda Vista and the city of Oaxaca have been fundamentally unchanged for 400 years, but one would be able to map out the transformations in the varying modes of production, and the articulations between them, which are also reflected in the changes in class structure at the level of the community.

Dependency theory has also been criticised because of its focus solely on systemic properties, frequently at a very high level of abstraction (Worsley 1984:179). In particular, this form of analysis has been seen

to suffer from the reverse faults of the interactionists, with their obsession with the minutiae of everyday life. The dependency theorists stand accused of leaving this layer of analysis out of their deliberations, and thus of stripping off the experiential quality, which frequently provides an intuitive support for theoretical argument. This is an important criticism for a study concerned with the explanation of economic practice. Further, Miles (1984) has argued that the use of the concept of class has been weakly applied by Frank, who has failed to follow Marx in his original interpretation of the process of colonialism. With careful attention to the suggested emendations of Worsley, Laclau and Miles, dependency theory provides some useful explanations for the present study.

INTERACTIONIST AND SYSTEMS THEORY - A SYNTHETIC REVIEW

It is clearly evident that both systems and interactionist theories offer partial explanations in the study of economic practice, but that their weaknesses can be revealed by a critical analysis of their limitations; much of which has already been suggested in the secondary literature. At one end of the spectrum, there are idealist interactionists who conceive of individuals in the struggle for economic survival as shaping their own futures entirely, creating their own 'goals' and striving to fulfill them in their daily lives. At the other end of the spectrum, functionalists explain the history of Latin American cities through the logic of modernisation, and marxists through the logic of capitalism as a whole. While both sets of approaches focus their attention on the urban poor, neither offers an adequate account of urban poverty at all levels, an undertaking, which evidently enough, requires there to be a synthesis between those approaches which carefully outline daily economic struggles, and those which emphasise the economic history of the social formation. Both interactionist and systemic accounts are clearly parts of this fuller explanations.

'...systems analysis and interactionism are not inherently mutually exclusive. In a dialectical sociology, indeed, both are needed. The demand of the economic system for labour is the prime cause of the gigantic movements of immigrants... Analysis in terms of the political economy is thus a sine qua non. But to understand the variety of responses of the millions subjected to those pressures involves cultural, subjective elements which systems models restricted to political economy cannot provide.'

(Worsley 1984:180)

The remainder of this section will suggest how Bourdieu's work might offer an avenue by which such a synthesis might be attempted, and allow a more thoroughgoing analysis of economic practice to be achieved.

The basic theoretical problem centres on the establishment of models of analysis which can connect various levels of the social formation, and seek to bridge the space between structural properties embedded in the economic system and the actions of social agents. This problem, and its relation to a particular historical conjuncture, is the core of the study presented here. Different institutions, such as kinship and religion, provide the dominant cultural arenas of social action, or social fields in Bourdieu's terminology.⁴ In this way, problems associated with dependency theory can be overcome. On the level of the analysis of ethnographic data, Bourdieu provides a theory for the dialectical analysis of practical life. Such an analysis has the potential to exhibit the interplay between personal economic practice and the 'outside' world of class history, class structure and class practices. The approach also demonstrates how the product of this dialectic, the 'success and failure' to achieve economic survival, can be assessed.

Bourdieu makes a series of breaks with structuralist-marxist accounts. He first breaks with the categorising tendency of marxists which separates economics from ideology, and politics from both. Then, he has been at pains to distinguish his approach from a structuralism which has no place for agency, which caricatures the lives of people as puppets on structuralist strings. Finally, Bourdieu opposes those arguments which seek to canonise marxist thought as an unchanging body of received knowledge. Having said all this, however, Bourdieu remains heavily influenced by Marx, and one can view his own work as an attempt to extend the method of capital to the realms outside of marxist economics. His is therefore, a *general* theory of capital, rather than an *economic* theory of capital.

The central concepts in Bourdieu's method include habitus, the concept of the social field, the concept of capital, economic, social, symbolic and cultural, and the notions of strategy and struggle in the practice of everyday life. Habitus is seen to be a set of dispositions created and reformulated through the conjuncture of objective structures and personal history. Habitus thus plays a crucial mediating role as an analysis of 'structuration'. As a system of dispositions, it implies for ethnography that an informant's life is not to be reduced to the subjective experience of the individual, independent of objective structures, nor as a mirror image of social structures. Like the concept of 'deep structure' in Chomsky's now-famous structural linguistics and theory of syntactic structures, one's habitus generates an infinity of practices depending upon changing objective situations.⁵ In this way, habitus is posed as a central concept of a theory of practice.

His generalised arguments conceiving capital defines it as a form of valued good, which gains its value as a result of the worth that actors in a field give to it, and the effort they are willing to expend in fighting for it. Thus while economic capital has a value which is self-evident, symbolic and cultural capitals are often valued more, depending upon the conditions of the field and the struggles therein.

The social field(s) is the arena within which the struggle for positions of power and prestige takes place. Fields are determined by objective power relations, and the logic of positions within the fields is determined by various sorts of capital, economic, cultural and symbolic. For example, in the Colonia Linda Vista, there can be said to exist a political field made up by those individuals within the Colonia, who, by virtue of the different types of capital that they have, act as spokespeople and decision-makers for the whole community of the Colonia. In many situations, the levels of status and prestige held by certain individuals (their symbolic capital) can be seen to be useful as a means to gain access to economic power, and privilege which help to create and maintain one's position in the field.

Within the various fields which make up the social space and through the mediation of habitus, individuals struggle for monopoly over the legitimate representation of the social world. This struggle leads to the transformation of one's own position. Struggles for recognition and the accumulation of various forms of capital necessitate strategies. These strategies can not always be said to be conscious or calculated, but are the product of a particular situation or 'temporal structure'. For example, the decision to make use of one's friends in certain situations may be a strategy decision, as with the logic of the gift which necessitates a return gift, but which also insures against an immediate return, which would terminate the bond between groups. This is an example of what Bourdieu calls *misrecognition*. A gift can only work if it is seen not as a gift, but as an exchange, although it must never be recognized as such.

The key problems which this chapter has briefly raised can now be reviewed. Within the empiricist framework of many ethnographies lies the problem of weak and *inadequate theorization*. The lack of *representativeness* in reviewing community life has also been raised as has the need for a *reflexive* account of squatter life.⁶ Perhaps the central problem which must be solved is that of *structure and agency*. In bridging that gap lies the key to an account of squatter life which is both adequate to an understanding of the historical and structural mechanism of urban poverty, while at the same offering an authentic and fully-expressive account of the lived practice. The following chapter examines how this theoretical framework can be used in the analysis of economic practices, how it can overcome some of the difficulties outlined above, and what, in turn, are its own limitations. A detailed exposition of the general method and the relevant theoretical concepts, using appropriate empirical illustrations, is thus set out in Chapter Two.

FOOTNOTES

1. This is a summary of Lewis' work, which, it must be clearly suggested, is not unproblematic. For example, Perlman, in her *Myth of Marginality* (1976)(op. cit.) indicates the implicit support, clearly unconscious, given by Lewis that the poor were somehow to blame for their own condition. Lewis was to debate with many researchers on this and other related issues. For example, the critique by Valentine was a particularly extended one. Valentine (Valentine 1969, 1971) argued that Lewis's work was both theoretically and methodologically weak, that the data tended to contradict itself, and that the concepts were negative, and in need of alternatives. Valentine argued that Lewis's methods needed a fuller presentation (though Lewis' account is unusually long), and that the questions he asked should be set out in full. Valentine's critique is, however, not without its own difficulties. Valentine asserts that Lewis provided a huge bulk of ethnographic material for the reader, and then at a later stage complained about the editing (by Lewis) of material; two contradictory positions. The representativeness of the biographies is critiqued, as well as the integration of data and theory. A full account of this critique is provided in *Somos Gente Humilde*, Michael James Higgins, University of Illinois 1976, pp.359ff., unpublished Ph.D. thesis.
2. It is unusual for those concerned with the social history of Latin America to concern themselves with theoretical matters within this tradition. One exception is John Chance, who veers between a functionalist and a Weberian account, with marxist terminology cropping up on occasion. However, no explicit theoretical account is given.
3. The core countries are taken to be those capitalist countries who are the source of colonial exploitation and capital accumulation. The periphery refers to those countries who are suffering from under-development as a result of this world system. The semi-periphery embraces those countries who, because of high economic growth rates but low levels of 'development', appear to offer the prospect of an intermediate position between the two extremes.
4. Field is in part taken from the work of Kurt Lewin, the American social psychologist, and refers to a field of 'forces' in which social relations are organised, rather than a territorial field.
5. Bourdieu makes a parallel case for habitus, and for his method in general in referring to Chomsky's work. His attempt is to develop a generative structure through his method, similar to the parallel attempt by Chomsky to develop a generative grammar in linguistics (Bourdieu 1985c).
6. One immediately obvious solution to some of these general problems would be the use of feminist theory, an argument which is further encouraged by an emphasis on women in this thesis. This possibility is dealt with in several ways. First, by locating feminist writing in the broad substantive corpus of literature, rather than separating it out on its own. Thus the work of Perlman (1976) and Lomnitz (1976) is reviewed in this way, and embedded in the argument. Heavily influenced in my own work by feminist critiques, I find sympathy with Bourdieu because many of these critiques are embedded in his theoretical work, especially the issue of reflexivity. Accordingly, the general feminist project is widely influential in the thesis, though frequently embedded in broader arguments.

CHAPTER TWO

BOURDIEU'S THEORY AND THE PROBLEM OF POVERTY

The intent of this chapter is to present Bourdieu's theoretical position, and to demonstrate how it relates analytically to the ethnographic material in the chapters which follow. The level of data which is analysed in the thesis is focussed on the family household, although structural and personal data are also widely employed. The domestic unit of production has often been used at an empirical level to bridge the gap between levels of analysis (Wood 1981, 1982). In Latin America, it has been argued that the domestic unit mediates "...a varied set of behaviours, (for example, labour force participation, consumption patterns and migration) that are themselves conditioned by the particular makeup of this most basic economic entity" (Schmink 1985). By focussing on individual decisions and behaviour as they are mediated in the household, it is possible to study not only the different responses of individuals to general conditions, but also the specific changes in groups of squatters. To do this, it makes powerful theoretical sense to use Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, capital and field.¹

Before reviewing Bourdieu's contribution, however, it is necessary to review the residue of theoretical problems which the theoretical models previously explored do not adequately resolve. In Chapter One these problems have been identified as the widespread empiricism in many ethnographic accounts, without recourse to theoretical argument, an unwillingness to deal with issues of representativeness, a habit of skimming over the reflexive quality of anthropological work, and perhaps, most important, an inability to undertake an account of urban life at both the day-to-day and at structural levels.

As will become apparent, Bourdieu's own approach is no panacea for each and every problem, and some of these issues must be dealt with separately from his approach. For example, the issue of representativeness is a matter with which Bourdieu has wrestled, but he has not made clear to his Anglo-Saxon readers the types of choices he makes with regard to statistical data. In *Algeria, 1960* (1979a), Bourdieu confines most of his data procedures and ethnographic methods to footnotes and in *Distinction* (1984a), he makes use of large-scale survey work and statistical procedures but does not, for those schooled in the Anglo-Saxon world, make clear the relationship between his data base and the individuals that he writes about.² The empirical basis of this study is based upon a census of the area which included a representation of each subsample of individuals, (see Chapter Three, and Appendices).

Further, with reference to the problem of representation, Bourdieu's method can be challenged because of the problem of history.³ While Bourdieu is obviously wary of static accounts of social life, his account of history is limited to the history of careers and lifetimes, and does not extend, as yet, to the history of societies. In this regard, I have tried to follow the lead of marxist writers in Anthropology (Wolf 1982) in setting the location of the Colonia within a long history of urban and suburban development. This is set out in Chapter Three.

The three remaining problems, of reflexivity, empiricism and structure/agency do find a direct answer in Bourdieu's work. Reflexivity finds its fullest exposition in Bourdieu's *Leçon sur la leçon* (1982) in which he describes the way a professor's position in the academic hierarchy is greatly dependent upon the setting, the context and the meanings which participants bring to bear. This account, of course, has now been paralleled in other contemporary work and settings (see Rabinow 1985), and is especially evident in feminist literature (Fee and Gonzalez 1977; Finch 1984; Mahar 1982; Mies 1983; Nash 1980; Oakley 1981; Rosaldo 1981; Stanley and Wise 1983). It is clear that while such problems of reflexivity can be solved without recourse to Bourdieu's method, nevertheless he does provide an elegant and satisfying account, which links strongly to the solutions he provides to the problems of empiricism and the structure/agency dichotomy.

Bourdieu has consistently returned to ethnography, especially in his early work *Algeria, 1960* (1979a) and most recently in *Distinction* (1984a). Bourdieu's vast empirical work is not always apparent in the English translations of his work and is best grasped through a review of his journal *Actes de la Recherche en Sciences Sociales*. This work emphasizes his use of statistical and ethnographic evidence in the creation and use of his theoretical constructs. In all this work, it is his theoretical framework which has shaped his approach, a framework heavily influenced by Lévi-Strauss in the early work but which has become much more original recently. In spite of a change in theoretical emphasis, a capacity to acknowledge the central role of theory has always been at the heart of Bourdieu's writing and so empiricist accounts have been constantly avoided. Perhaps his major contribution has been in developing the concepts of habitus and the field which mediate and bring together both levels of society in a way which makes a 'total' account of social practice possible. These twin themes, a theoretical account, coupled with a solution to the structure/agency issue run throughout the discussion of his method which follows. Ethnographic examples have been used to illustrate the way in which the method is useful for ethnographic studies.

The first step that was taken in the introduction to this study was to pose the question of the genesis of the economic dispositions of the migrants to Linda Vista, and the social and economic conditions of the

genesis of these dispositions. Such dispositions function as an apparatus which gives direction and organisation to economic practice. This is unlike the push-pull hypothesis which concerns individual changes as individual practice, and emphasises individualistic notions deriving from Western origins, and which may therefore be justly criticised as ethnocentric.⁴ Another common failure of analysis lies in the general conception of cultural change as acculturation, or alternatively when the researcher assumes that the practice of migrants is somehow based on a mechanical and passive combination of traditional and modern models. Bourdieu makes the point that the transformations of pre-capitalist societies have heretofore been described by anthropologists as "culture change" and "acculturation". Such an approach says Bourdieu "...tends to ignore the fact that transformation of the system of cultural models and values is not the result of a simple logical combination between the imported models and the original models but that, being both the consequence and the precondition of economic transformations, this transformation takes place only through the mediation of the experience and practice of individuals differently situated with respect to the economic system" (Bourdieu 1979a:1). The new economic system presents itself as a field of objective expectations and migrants can only fulfill these expectations within the structure of appropriate economic and temporal dispositions. Thus in the type of ethnographic situations evident in squatter settlements there are discrepancies between objective structures and migrant's dispositions, therefore preventing a direct correlation between migrant lives and modern city structures, based as they are in a developing capitalist economy.⁵

The general aim of Bourdieu's programme is set within the dialectic between structure and agency. His aim, therefore, is to "make possible a science of the dialectical relations between the objective structures to which the objectivist mode of knowledge gives access and the structured dispositions within which those structures are actualised and which tend to reproduce them" (Bourdieu 1977:3).

BOURDIEU'S APPROACH : AN INTRODUCTION

The work of Pierre Bourdieu offers us a way to introduce actors and movement back into a social theory dominated by a structuralism which reduces individuals to an epiphenomena of the structure.

Outline of a Theory of Practice perfectly dismantled the "...great confidence trick worked by lots of people, starting with Lévi-Strauss and the whole unjustified extrapolation of Saussure" (Nice 1985). In addition to the break with structuralism, Bourdieu makes two further breaks: first with modern marxism which he says is "more marxist than Marx" (Bourdieu 1985a:195); and the second a break with the kind of phenomenological knowledge that seeks to "make explicit the truth of the primary experience of the

social world...and excludes the question of the condition of its own possibility" (Bourdieu 1977:3). Within marxism, Bourdieu finds fault with economism, which reduces the social field to the economic field, and with the objectivism of marxism which tends to ignore the symbolic struggles within the social world.⁶

His break with what he calls phenomenological knowledge is a break with the naive humanism that is content to create a science on the basis only of "lived experience" and the "rights of subjectivity". In Paris Bourdieu is identified as a philosopher and as a sociologist. This can be explained by the fact of Bourdieu's own training and, perhaps more importantly, by the more obvious connection between the two disciplines, in which philosophy is seen to raise a field of questions which implicitly or explicitly constitute sociology as a discipline, and which give sociology its theoretical and political function (Collectif "*Révoltes Logiques*" 1984:8). Bourdieu's work is characterized as having emerged from diverse intellectual sources such as Marx, Durkheim, Weber, Saussure, Wittgenstein, Benveniste, Canguilhem and from schools of thought ranging from phenomenology and structuralism to analytic philosophy. Rather than being characterized as eclectic, he is seen to have woven core ideas of Western thought into a synthesis of his own. In one review the achievements of his work are seen as setting the foundation of new thought in intellectual life and, by that, changing the conception of society (Designe 1983:614-616; Pinto 1974:54-76). Others in the Parisian field characterize Bourdieu's work as being made up of ideas (such as the notion of distinction and reproduction), which were already in existence in the field and (to use a cliché) whose time had come. This sociology is built upon the remains of a 'consumed world' "...It takes flight at the beginning of the 1960's with the great recapturing of rigorous theoretical marxism and the fires of revolution" (Collectif "*Révoltes Logiques*" 1984:3).⁷

Conscious of the influence of history and the field upon intellectual practice, Bourdieu has often reflected on his own position and the genesis of his ideas. Since sociologists are producers of cultural work, the methods which Bourdieu has evolved for defining and studying fields of cultural production can also be used to study academics. In this way the academic can better understand the genesis of their own ideas and master the effects of the social mechanisms to which they are exposed (see *Leçon sur la Leçon* 1982; *Homo Academicus* 1984b).

In a recent seminar given in the United States (Bourdieu 1986a, 1986b) Bourdieu explained his work, in part, by trying to convey to his American audience the fields which help define his work. Thus while sociology as a science may transcend national boundaries, the fact that Bourdieu is French and works in Paris means that he finds himself in a European field. He is related to both the phenomenological and

structuralist traditions and to marxist thought. To classify him as a post-marxist, post-structuralist, marxist or Weberian would be to mis-understand the nature of his work. Furthermore (Bourdieu would argue), such labels may play a harmful role in that they tend to monopolize and constrain the possibilities within the intellectual field. Such labels play the role of gate-keepers.

However, in an attempt to situate himself within an arena known to his American audience, Bourdieu characterized his work as being constructivist structuralism. By constructivist he emphasizes the subjective side of his methodology which focuses upon the social genesis of mental structures. Through the use of the word structuralism, (a different structuralism than found in Lévi-Strauss) Bourdieu emphasizes the objective structures which, independent of the will and consciousness of people, act to orient and constrain social practice.⁸ Elsewhere, an explanatory term which Bourdieu has used to characterize his work is that of generative structuralism. Like the previous term this implies that one of the key innovations of the method lies in the integration of both objective and subjective perspectives. Thus, in Bourdieu's paradigm the perception of the social world is the product of double social structuration. However in using these terms to help understand the complexities of Bourdieu's work the method should be understood more as a flexible apparatus which provides a methodology for empirical work, rather than a set of categorical boxes. The real key to the work is the emphasis on its dynamic quality (especially obvious in the move from rules to strategy), and the fact that Bourdieu himself is still heavily involved in empirical research and in working through his own conceptual trajectory.

Bourdieu has stated that his approach is not so much a theory as a method which asks certain questions and offers a particular analytical perspective. He is trying to describe, analyse and to take account of the genesis of the person, and of social structures and groups (Bourdieu 1985c). To do this one must use a relational mode of thought and go beyond the artificial opposition of objective structures and subjective representations. In order to proceed with his aim, Bourdieu, a non-linear thinker (by his own description) has designed a formula. The formula replaces any simple relation between individual and structure with a constructed relation between habitus and field. The generative formula which explains social practice thus reads: $[(\text{Habitus}) \times (\text{Capital})] + \text{Field} = \text{Practice}$. A considerable note of caution must be sounded in relation to this formula. While it provides a useful heuristic device for summarising the relation between the major concepts at work, it should by no means be used as some sort of deified solution to analysis. The objectification of theory in this fashion is frequently rejected in Bourdieu's own writing. Rather, the use of the formula is to provide an explanatory device for exposition, and does not in any way offer a universal solution for social action, which would be antithetical to the general method.

His reflexivity is expressed in his inaugural lecture at the Collège de France, where he commented:

"every proposition set forth by (the science of sociology) can and ought to apply to the sociologist himself."

(Bourdieu 1982:8)

While Bourdieu keeps his private life to himself, one can gain some insight as to how his sociological work is a natural (and continuous) conclusion of personal history. For instance, in his early work in education called *The Inheritors* (1979b), Bourdieu writes about the successful boy student who is good at school and achieves a type of status and career through scholastic achievement. This in a sense is a partly mythical account of his own childhood, and reflects what he himself achieved as a young student of a petty bourgeois family from the French countryside. Two other books, *The Algerians* (1962), and *Algeria, 1960* (1979a), were the result of his experiences in Algeria as a conscript soldier. Again, his writings exhibit a self-conscious reflexivity, because his writing was a result of his personal and philosophical interests, which were:

"...to make the reality of that country known and understood, as well as the tragic situation in which the Algerians were...I wanted to do something useful, maybe to soothe my guilty conscience of being a participant-observer in that atrocious war."

(Bourdieu 1985d)

A fourth book, *Homo Academicus* (1984b), reflects not only his maturing sociological theory and methods but the fact that he could not have written such a book of such authority, were it not for his position as a dominant figure in Paris.⁹ Bourdieu conceives of the university as a field in which one confronts several specific political powers which correspond to social class trajectories, schools and the production of 'cultural fundamentals'. At the back of the book, Bourdieu has a 'hit parade' of academics rated according to their level of symbolic capital. Lévi-Strauss, Aron, Foucault, Lacan and de Beauvoir are the top five. He remarks: "Academic people don't have biographies, they have careers..." (Bourdieu, Lecture at the Collège de France, March 1985e). The necessity to place Bourdieu in the context of the field that he works in, in order to make sense of his work, also has the advantage that one understands Bourdieu's own career trajectory.¹⁰ So, Bourdieu, who writes about the intellectual field, sees himself as the product of that same field. His writing about habitus and personal trajectory are thus as much about himself as they are about the people he has studied, and the people who work around him in Paris. The self-conscious reflexivity that he uses to interpret the field in which he works is a basic ingredient of his sociological method.

The Method

At its core, the method implemented in the present study is concerned with the explanation of survival and adaptation as a process of creative reinvention in the practice of individuals. This practice is 'produced' through a set of dispositions which evolve from the interpenetration of individual lives and objective structures. These two elements, subjective activity and objective structures, are found constantly in juxtaposition in Bourdieu's work. While many attributes of practice are built from customary dispositions which have outlasted many changes, including the change associated with the move from village to urban setting, they are also adapted to changed circumstances through reinvention and transformation. This is a quite distinct view from the traditions examined in Chapter One which argued that migrant practice was a mix of old and new ways, or simply a learning the new at the expense of the old. It is, in fact, a reinvention of the city as a form of new practice. Thus, Bourdieu proposes a theory for the dialectical analysis of practical life. The method offers the potential to exhibit the interplay between personal economic practice and the 'external' world of class history, structural and class practice. Further, one can demonstrate through the process of the dialectic, how the 'success' or 'failure' of people to achieve economic survival can be assessed.

One of the major characteristics of Bourdieu's work is the fact that his ideas are written, presented and re-written in a dialectical fashion. He works between theory, empirical work and back to the re-formulation of theory again. Beginning with his work in the early 1960's until the present day, Bourdieu is constantly reformulating his theory, and the core ideas in it.¹¹ This makes reading his texts a journey in thought, and leads to a cumulative as well as an almost intuitive acceptance of his work. The main concepts of interest are habitus, and the social field which generates practice. Within these boundaries one finds other important threads. These include notions of strategy and struggle (for symbolic and material power) and various kinds of capital, i.e. economic, social, cultural and symbolic capital. Again, this is a method; Bourdieu's work cannot be approached as a series of disparate concepts, or even as a theoretical approach with core ideas (Bourdieu 1985c). Understanding the approach as a method immediately removes it from a stultified form of categorical activity, and embraces an immediate and dynamic quality in the work of investigation. It provides a way of framing the problem, and a manner of asking questions.

The term 'generative structuralism' is used here since it is close to the sense Bourdieu generally applies to his method. Arguing that 'generative structuralism' is a simultaneous invention with the idea of 'generative grammar' found in Chomsky's work, Bourdieu refers to the way the general method

provides creative sources of analysis, rather than some simply-applied formula. In this way, he is actually making a clear and unambiguous break with all forms of structuralism, whether its source is Lévi-Strauss, Althusser or Saussure. The parallel with Chomsky also has its limitations because of Chomsky's famous assertion that the generative structure for language has innate properties, a view which Bourdieu would not share. Nonetheless, for him, the method is generative in its general purpose to provide openings for creative investigation.

Habitus

Habitus¹² refers to a set of dispositions, created and reformulated through the conjuncture of objective structures and personal history. Rather like the culture of a class or group which becomes internalised by an individual, and which becomes, in part, the basis for behaviour, it is also defined as sets of 'durable dispositions'. As a system of durable dispositions, it has an important implication for ethnography: that an informant's life, and their account of it, is not to be reduced to the 'objective experience' of the individual, independent of objective structures, nor as a simple mirror-image of those structures. Instead, the habitus generates an infinity of practices depending on the changing objective situation. In this way, habitus is thus posed as a generative principle, with the limits of its invention being contributed by the structure. Bourdieu writes:

The habitus is a system of durable, transposable dispositions which function as the generative basis of structured, objectively unified practice.

(Bourdieu 1979a:vii)

The concept of habitus is perhaps most easily grasped at a theoretical level. However the following account offers an example of how 'habitus' can be used to understand the data.

Maria Elena comes from a very poor matrifocal household on the Oaxacan coast. The move to Oaxaca was due to her husband's work prospects. In the squatter settlement Maria Elena's family have no economic capital. Maria Elena's general approach to life in Linda Vista is one which is foreign to any Western rationalized version of time and success. For her the ultimate responsibility for her family's welfare lies in the hands of the Virgin of Juquila, a popular saint from her natal home. While she has organised certain practical aspects of her economic and social life to conform to urban poor lifestyles she has never changed her fundamental view of 'life's chances' which have always been based on appeal and prayer to the virgin. Thus, while she was able to use her work skills from the village to earn money in the city and while she has some *compadre* ties which give her a measure of support in daily matters,

she never felt that education for her children would ensure them a job and better chances at life in the city; this was up to God. Furthermore, while she does use Western medical doctors and medicine, the quality of the care is dependent upon her 'relationship' with the Virgin. It is not her right to expect a high standard of medical treatment. Maria Elena's children offer an interesting contrast since they necessarily have grown-up with different dispositions. Their reliance on the Catholic saints is far less than their mother's, and as they see 'successful' migrants all around them in Linda Vista, the world of their own possibilities is much broader. One of Maria Elena's daughters, Isabel, found full-time employment as a clerk in a pharmacy, and learned how to give injections to clients. Although she did not have even a primary school certificate, she was able to convince the owner that she should have a job. She also married into one of the 'successful' families in Linda Vista. In this family the male head-of-household was a rural school teacher and the son was also training to be a teacher. Isabel was not welcomed into the family, because of her family's lack of position in the Colonia but Isabel clearly saw her marriage as a way up. The marriage was forced by Isabel's pregnancy. A few years later she and her husband were living in a two-roomed house built by her father next to her parents' home. While Isabel continued with her job at the pharmacy, (even after the birth of their child) her husband stopped his teacher training and was unemployed until he began working as a day labourer in construction with Isabel's father. Isabel became increasingly disenchanted with a husband who had once offered the promise of a better life and he became more and more depressed. Finally the couple divorced with Isabel staying with her family in the couple's home. Five years later Isabel married a second-class bus driver who not only makes very little money but who beats her. Still in her original house she now has four children and in fact lives the life more akin to the urban poor than the lifestyle of successful city migrants.

Another daughter, Rosa, has had distinct advantages in that she was one of the youngest of the eight children. Since she did not have the responsibility of helping her mother with domestic chores she was able to finish primary school and then, (after three years of waiting until she was fifteen), she took a vocational training course as a nurses' aide. Now, unlike anyone else in her family, she has full-time employment with a steady income. She has never married, which has allowed her a certain freedom from domestic responsibilities. As she still lives with her mother, much of her income contributes to the support of that household.

Habitus operates at the sub-conscious level, and embodies what other approaches might call 'values', as well as a host of other attributes, as mundane as matters of eating style, and the way one talks. Such fundamental behaviours are part of the larger social divisions in society which go to make up the

distinctions between classes. What the example above shows is that habitus and dispositions which are in a large part inculcated through family and household are not mechanically reproduced. That is, Isabel and Rosa are not living the same life as their mother although they are still in the same household. Their lives and life chances have been shaped differently. They grew up in the city, and their dispositions towards work and family being different mean that they see their future differently. They have constructed a variant on the pattern of family habitus.

Habitus is thus constructed in each generation from two sources (Harker 1984). The first source is the habitus of the parental generation which is itself a modification of the grandparent generation. Children are disposed to understand the world in similar fashion to their older generation of parents and family, and other significant adults. Yet this learning is highly mediated, and can not be said to simply 'reproduce' ideas in any straightforward fashion. Bourdieu describes such a process as making the world 'conform to the myth' (Bourdieu 1979a). The second source of the creation of one's habitus comes from the objective social and material conditions of society. For the children of migrants, the change in these conditions is systematically rapid and systematically great. Thus, the perspectives, aspirations and practice of the child's generation are constituted so as to make sense of the new surroundings. So, habitus changes between generations, and along with changes in material conditions. This change is especially dramatic and obvious when we contrast the habitus of rural life with that of the urban experience, yet, at the same time the two are deeply interpenetrated. Habitus is thus a product of the pressures of primary socialising agents and society. For Bourdieu, the compromise is 'inevitably' biased, since the objective conditions themselves are engendered, perceived and filtered through the habitus. Furthermore, such a system of compromise allows us to see how 'virtue is made of necessity' in relation to class habitus, where the expectations (or not) of a group are closely related to objective probabilities (Harker 1987). The understanding that dispositions (and the habitus that constitutes dispositions) are changeable with reference to objective structures is significant for its capacity to examine the world in a non-mechanical, reflective sense. This is evident in the importance that Bourdieu attaches to the examination of symbolic power and symbolic violence. Symbolic forms such as language, dress codes and body postures are important in understanding not only the cognitive function of symbols but the social function of symbols. Symbolic systems are instruments of knowledge and domination which make possible a consensus within a community as to the significance of the social world and contribute to the reproduction of the social order. The marxist tradition emphasizes the political functions of symbolic systems and explains the connections between these systems, in the interests of the dominant class and the problem of false consciousness in the dominated classes. From Bourdieu's perspective this approach tends to reduce power relations to relations of communication.

The real political function which symbolic systems fulfil to legitimate domination is by the imposition of the 'correct' and 'legitimate' definition of the social world. The struggles between symbolic systems to impose a view of the social world defines the social space within which people construct their lives, and carry on what Bourdieu sees as the symbolic conflicts of everyday life in the use of symbolic violence of the dominant over the dominated i.e. education, relationships in the workplace, social organizations, even in conceptions of good taste and beauty (Bourdieu 1977:115). Thus, it is necessary to draw on both family socialisation, and social and material structures as sources of the reproduction of habitus, and it can be used to describe both individual families, and classes which may be constituted by groups of families. However, the significance of compromise and individual struggle allows one to use habitus not as a determinant structure, but as a mediating construct. This facilitates an apprehension of both individual and class. The concept of habitus thus enables one to begin an account of social practice, by leading into a consideration of strategy and struggle.

Strategy and Struggle

The idea that habitus is not totally determined by structures, and that an agent can take up a number of positions within relatively autonomous fields (and indeed can assume one of a number of possible poses once a position in the field is acquired), allows considerable room for manoeuvre and the deployment of a variety of strategies. Bourdieu's notion of strategy is one which breaks from subjectivist and objectivist thinking. Such a notion is symptomatic of Bourdieu's work from the earliest times to the present. As his concepts of habitus and the social field have become more sophisticated, so has the notion of strategy, as well as the idea of struggle (for positions within the field, for capital of various kinds). In the past, Bourdieu has written about strategies for the maintenance of one's honour through challenge and riposte. He has written about the strategy of calculation of time, money and work, (Bourdieu 1979a) in order to account for the movement of individuals from sub-proletarian positions to the proletariat itself. In Oaxaca, Rosa Sosa who became a nurses' aide is an example of this move from a sub-proletarian to proletarian lifestyle. As economy and ethos are so profoundly interdependent in the whole attitude towards time, such strategies are intimately linked to objective structures and habitus.

In Bourdieu's later work, the concepts of struggle and strategy are closely connected to the idea of a field, wherein capitals are struggled for, while at the same time the very definition of what 'counts' as 'real' capital is being debated (Bourdieu 1985a, 1985b). These more mature conceptions of strategy and struggle may be summarised in three ways: first there is the idea that the struggle for recognition is a fundamental dimension of social life. Struggles are over the accumulation of capital, and therefore there

must be a specific logic of accumulation of various forms of capital; second, the idea of strategy, like the orientation of practice, is neither conscious or calculated or mechanically determined. It is the product of an understanding of the game; third, there does exist a logic of practice, of which the specificity resides in the temporal structure.

Bourdieu argues that he first considered the idea of strategy to 'break away from Lévi-Strauss' structuralism of 'indigenous rationalisations' which were incapable of clarifying the anthropology about the real causes of practices. "This is what compelled me to discover, (of marriage for instance), that the reasons or logic which inspired the same category of marriage could vary considerably as to agents and to circumstances...I was on the track of the idea of strategy" (Bourdieu 1985d). Struggle and strategy are dependent upon knowledge, which has active and materialist aspects. From Marx, Bourdieu says, we know that knowledge is neither idealist or passive. Knowledge and "...in particular all knowledge of the social world, is an act of construction implementing schemes of thought and expression, and that between conditions of existence and practices or representations there intervenes the structuring activity of the agents who, far from reacting mechanically to mechanical stimulations, respond to the invitations or threats of a world whose meaning they have helped to produce" (Bourdieu 1984a:467). The principle of such structuring is not idealist, nor is it a system of universal forms or categories, but rather "a system of internalised embodied schemes...constituted in the course of a collective history (and) acquired in the course of individual history..." (Bourdieu 1984a:467). Agents, then, construct their social world and act to reproduce their positions and to gain position in the social field. Bourdieu has described two types of strategies involved in this process. The first he terms reproduction strategies, which are said to be a set of practices designed and mediated to maintain and increase position in the social field. The strategies are mediated through dispositions directed towards the future. They are dependent upon capital, instruments of reproduction, and the state of power relations between classes. For instance, in the case of small business-people, these may be investment in the education of their children, so that a child may then be equipped to take over the business successfully.

The second type of strategy is called a reconversion strategy. Such strategies correspond to movements within social space, which is itself structured around the twin dimensions of the volume of capital involved, as well as the type of capital which is struggled for. People are said to move within the social space, depending on the changes that they make in their capitals. A typical movement is seen in the attempt to turn educational capital, achieved over a long process of sacrifice and schooling, into economic capital in the form of a job.

Victoria Lopez is the sort of person who insisted upon an education for her son. She lived in the most dire of circumstances but insisted that her eldest son not leave school in order to work, but to finish his qualifications as an electricians' apprentice. Victoria came from a background of rural poverty and a matrifocal family. She had only three years of primary school education. Unlike Maria Elena in the previous example, Victoria opted for the kinds of choices that would provide a better life for her son in the city. She did not rely upon prayer or a relationship with a special saint. Instead, because of the sort of person she was, and because of the influence of her first husband (now deceased) she held to the promise that an education would make a difference. With her first husband Victoria had a secure and happy life. She never wanted for food or shelter and even managed to accumulate a few 'extras'. This husband had had a primary school education and was determined that his son Victor would do better. The choice for Victoria was made easier because of her son's positive attitude to school and work. He now has steady employment and income, and cares for his mother, wife, child and two younger brothers. One of Victoria's strategies was to convert her high symbolic capital to economic advantage in the Colonia. Her good reputation meant that her neighbours would help with jobs and credit so that Victor could remain in school instead of having to work and help support the family. In this way Victoria 'converted' her symbolic capital into economic and cultural capital.

The concept of strategy is also critical because it is the process through which differences are established and marked, in a field which is commonly labelled 'taste'. For example, "...taste is an acquired disposition to differentiate and appreciate...to establish and mark differences by a process of distinction...ensuring recognition (in the ordinary sense)" (Bourdieu 1984a:466). Again the same points are being established: strategy (and the struggle associated with strategy) is a process which occurs within the logic of practice for the purposes of recognition, legitimation, capital and access to capital within the symbolic and material world. This process is created and bound, in turn, by habitus, and the objective structures which define the social field, and by a series of symbolic strategies, which hide the fact that a real struggle for capital is taking place at all.

Capital

In the present study the primary focus of attention is the social and economic practice of the urban poor. To reach a point of departure, one may consider practice as a product of the relationship between habitus and the field. Within the fields, there are positions of status or stakes - these are forces in terms of the various types of 'capital' which structure the logic of practice (or the struggle for positions). The field is thus a field of forces in which struggles for position and legitimate authority take place.¹³ The logic

which orders such struggles is the logic of capital. The definition of capital which Bourdieu employs is wide, and includes material things (which have symbolic value) as well as prestige, status and authority (referred to as symbolic capital), social capital which refers to one's social networks, marriage and kin groups, and cultural capital defined as culturally valued taste and consumption patterns. Cultural capital can include a broad range of goods from art to education and musical taste. For Bourdieu, capital acts as a social relation within a system of exchange.

Capital must exist within a field in order to have meaning, but it can be explained through the use of the formula set out above. The connection between field, habitus and capital is direct. The value given to capital(s) is related to the social and cultural characteristics of one's habitus (Bourdieu 1984a). The field(s) in which capital and habitus are engendered is bounded by the objective power, which has a material base. The types of capital that are recognised in particular fields are also, in part, generated by the material base. Naturally, the volume of capital, as well as the structure of capital, is also an important dimension of the field.

Having dealt with the more practical aspects of capital, we can now turn to the more political aspect of capital. From this viewpoint, capital is seen to be a basis of domination (although not always recognised as such). The various types of capital have some capacity for inter-changeability. Capital is thus convertible. The most powerful conversion is from one type of capital into symbolic capital, for it is in this form that the different types of capital are perceived and legitimated. For instance, San Miguel was the leader of a Colonia political group. He had enormous symbolic capital among residents as the person who spoke on behalf of the Colonia residents to the local government. His position is more clearly described in Chapter Four, but the point to be made here is that he had considerable ability to transform symbolic capital and his political position into economic and cultural capital which benefitted himself and his family. Like traditional village leaders, he was seen to work for the benefit of the community. He was also defined as being 'one of them' in looks, age, income and family size. However, unlike village leaders, San Miguel had been able to capitalize on his outside contacts to improve his financial and occupational position. This use of one capital to create another is an example of the kinds of conversion that take place. An opposite example to San Miguel is the 'Doctor' who was rejected by the Colonia residents as their spokesman. He was rejected first because he was not like them. He was older, had an education and a profession, and did not live in the Colonia but only housed his mistress there. A second reason for his rejection was his lack of symbolic capital. While he had economic and cultural capital, his profile in the Colonia was not one of an honourable headman as in a village, but of a part-time resident whose 'real' concerns were not the concerns of the Colonia. To be

seen as a person of prestige or status was to be accepted as legitimate, and as an authority. Such a position carries with it the power to 'name', the power to represent commonsense and above all to create 'the official version of the social world' (Bourdieu 1985a). Such a power to represent is rooted in symbolic capital. Perhaps one of the most powerful examples of the power to represent the 'legitimate' social world is through the law and the use of symbolic violence by the state to enforce this vision. The law guarantees to the state all forms of official nomination (such as titles of property, school titles, professional titles, etc.). This in turn gives individuals a known and recognized identity which in turn confers economic and cultural capital. In the struggle or conflict for the legitimate vision, (the power to name), a state-named 'expert' (i.e. doctor or teacher) produces a point of view which confers universally recognized rights to others who hold certificates and who act in the legitimate (expected) way. This in turn produces a kind of consensus based upon the power relations between two different systems of presuppositions (i.e. the layman and the expert), and results from the structure and functioning of the field. The law, Bourdieu says, is "...no doubt the form par-excellence of the symbolic power of naming and classifying which creates the things named, and particularly groups" (Bourdieu 1986:88).

One of the ironies of the logic of capital in practice is that the connection or the convertability between different types of capital is not always recognised. Thus, symbolic capital, for example may not always be recognised as a material form of power, which is institutionally organised and secured. Waquant makes the point in the following quote:

"...(the) hidden processes whereby different species of capital are converted so that economically-based relations of dependency and domination may be disguised and bolstered by the mask of moral ties, charisma, or of meritocratic symbolism."

(Waquant 1986:10)

The process of constructing visions and divisions of the social world presupposes a particular kind of capital (for some) which works effectively in the mechanisms of delegation and dispossession. The outcome of such mechanisms is what Bourdieu calls symbolic violence, because those who do not have the 'means of speech' and do not know how to 'take the floor' can only see themselves in the words or the discourse of others; i.e., those who are legitimate authorities and who can name and represent.

The discussion of capital leads to the view that practice, the product of the formula, can be largely conceptualised in terms of one's individual trajectory and class trajectory through the various fields that make up the social space.

The Field

In addition to habitus, the second important principle to consider is that of the social field. The notion of fields, the total social field, i.e. the intellectual field, the artistic field, the political field, the field of urban squatter settlement and so on, is central. This conception of field bears no relation to the traditional vision of field as a space surrounded by a boundary, but rather is more adequately conceived as a field of forces (Bourdieu 1985c). The social space itself can therefore be considered to embrace a system of fields, each with its own field of forces and structure. An example taken from Bourdieu's work on Flaubert's *L'Education sentimentale* provides us with another way to understand the integration between habitus and field. In this example Bourdieu likens the field to a game (as a site of struggle and strategy) with the trump cards being habitus (i.e. the assimilated properties of elegance, ease of manners, beauty, etc.), and capital (i.e. inherited assets). Both of these define, for the participants the possibilities inherent in the field. These trump cards determine the style of play, success and failure - in fact the entire "education sentimentale" (Bourdieu 1986c). Thus the field can be constituted as a field of forces within which the struggle takes place which tends to both transform and to conserve the field itself. The struggle in the particular field is concerned with position in that field, which is itself determined by the particular forms and compositions of capitals which are valued in the field, and which are held by people in the field.

The conception of field is used by Bourdieu in substantive instances to 'set the scene' for broader discussion (Bourdieu 1984a:222; 1985a:195). Fields therefore identify areas of struggle - the field of Parisienne intellectual life, the field of literary taste, and so forth.¹⁴ Bourdieu writes:

"...fields are the site, where what is at stake is the very representation of the social world and, in particular the hierarchy within each of the fields and among the different fields."

(Bourdieu 1985a:195)

Fields are set within a social space which comprises the social world. The social space can be conceived of as a typology with several dimensions, and as comprising multiple fields (Harker and Mahar 1987). The social space of the individual is connected through time, or life trajectory, to a series of fields, within which individuals struggle for capital, and on a broader level, connections between groups and people take place with others who share a proximate position within the social space (for instance, the mutual support activities apparent in squatter settlements).

At a particular time in the history of Colonia development the *tequio* (or the community work group) was successful. The types of projects (i.e. water well, electric street lights), the needs of the residents and the cooperation of government departments meant that at this historical juncture a voluntary labour group could meet certain goals. By 1974, some twelve years after the initial settlement of the Colonia, the projects (sewerage hook-up, potable water) were of the sort that needed money and labour. As only certain households could afford to participate it meant that the community solidarity as manifested in the community work groups (*tequio*) dwindled in importance (see Chapter Four for a thorough description of these events). Not only did the political field change with the changes in community development and the emerging new interests of 'leading' households, but the nature of capital in the field changed. Economic capital rather than social prestige and reputation was rapidly becoming the defining capital for the new field.

To summarise, the field, then, is structured by objective conditions with the positions within the field being structured by various sorts of capital which (finally) are used to appropriate material goods and the labour of others, as well as to ensure and reproduce a position of symbolic power and dominance over others. Such domination, then, leads to the legitimation not just of certain people within a field (for example, such as the clan of activists in a squatter settlement), but also to the restructuring of the rules of the game itself, so that new forms of legitimation and authority are constructed, reproduced and changed, and old fields are transcended as new fields emerge. The struggle is thus for the monopoly over the legitimate representation of the social world and the struggle (often disguised or misrecognized) for recognition.¹⁵ Strategies or orientations of practice that arise from such struggles are not always conscious or calculated, but the product of a 'feeling' for a particular game.

Practice

Bourdieu's method is therefore grounded in the dialectics of the mutual penetration of objective and subjective structures. As such, it is a path through the structure/agency debate in sociology and anthropology. The core of the method is the process of "...the internalisation of externality and the externalisation of internality" (Bourdieu 1977:72). This can be seen to be expressed in the initial formula linking field, habitus, capital, and practice. Thus the final theoretical outcome of the method is to provide us with a mechanism to derive the various forms of social practice which constitutes human life. Practice is thus a logical outcome of the interaction of field, habitus and capital. One must therefore seek an explanation of economic and other practices by resorting to an exposition of the fields, habitus and capitals which characterise the specific conjuncture of the setting, in this case urban poverty in Mexico.

While this chapter reviews the basic structure of Bourdieu's conceptual apparatus, it is important to remember that the only adequate way to understand the method of generative structuralism is to see the full method at work in the analysis of ethnographic data. While the general argument may work in an abstract way, its flexibility, and its capacity to illuminate the 'practice of practice' can only be assessed in the concrete societies of the world.

This conjunctural status of the method is made clear by Bourdieu himself. While Bourdieu's method may well be able to pose interesting questions, it is to the specificity of the ethnographic text that one must go, in order to gain a precise explanation. Bourdieu's method, then, is in the last sense, conjunctural:

"If I go to your country, I think I will know a lot of things beforehand, immediately. However, I must observe in order to change the weight of different things - some very specific things that would not be obvious outside the ethnographic context. So, the method is a general manner of thinking which obliges you to study every case."

(Bourdieu 1985c)

The final solution to the riddle is thus to be found in the specific economic, social and cultural practice of agents, agents who act in certain fields, who have certain kinds of capital and struggle for more, and who through their habitus, manage or fail to manage their lives. This is the precise focus of the thesis.

CONCLUSION

Bourdieu's method, therefore, provides a thoroughgoing starting point for an analysis of social and economic practice, in particular an analysis which is centered around ethnographic research. This method, which is most suitably termed generative structuralism, provides solutions to at least some of the difficulties which present themselves to the contemporary anthropologist. First, the theorised mechanism by which the problem is established ensures that the common-place empiricism of the anthropological text is avoided. The problem of 'data collection' is thus to be conceived as a 'theoretical' exercise, embedded in particular theoretical structures, rather than as a raw material, readily accessible without difficulty. Further, Bourdieu's method allows a fundamental difficulty with the orthodox literature to be bridged, which is the problem of levels of data. The structuralist account, limited by its focus only on the constraining features of society, is coupled with the benefits of interactionist theory, itself limited by an overly voluntarist approach, to provide the best of both worlds in Bourdieu's account of habitus, field, capital, and most importantly, practice. Some of the difficulties thus encountered in subjectivist, on the one hand, and historical-structuralist accounts on the other, may be overcome.

The central problem of the thesis is the study of economic practice in an urban poor squatter settlement in Oaxaca, Mexico. The thesis argues for the creative transformation of traditional behaviour within urban environments. While the consideration of 'adaptation' is not new in the literature on Latin America, the thesis of transformation, presented through the use of Bourdieu's method, is original.

The data chapters are structured through the medium of individual habitus, trajectories, fields and the social space of Oaxacan city life. The social space is bounded by the material conditions of work, income, housing and health. The fields which are of primary importance to the study of economic practice are the fields of community politics, fields of exchange (i.e. kinship, friendship and co-parenthood), and the fields of institutional structures, which encompass such activities as health, politics and education. The types of practice which can be generalised from the analysis are transformations of appropriate behaviour from traditional and mainstream dispositions. They are transformed or 'recreated' through the desperation of migrants as a response to the acute difficulties that urban life creates for them. The following chapter completes the discussion of method and the setting, before we proceed to the ethnographic material.

FOOTNOTES

1. While the use of family and household is embedded in Bourdieu's more ethnographic work (see *Algeria, 1960*, 1979a and *Distinction*, 1984a) he is most clear about that grouping as a methodological unit of study in *The Algerians* (1962). Further studies which envelop the family and household abound in Bourdieu's publications in *Actes de la Recherche en Sciences Sociales* which is the house journal for the Centre de Sociologie Européenne.
2. In Appendix 1 of *Distinction* (1984a), where Bourdieu discusses the statistical and ethnographic surveys which provided the 'hard' data and research procedures, he cautions against "...the smug display of data and procedures which is usually regarded as the best guarantee of scientificity;..." (p.503). This, he says, reinforces the naively empiricist conception of scientific work which pervades some social science. Another reference to his use of statistics is the first chapter in *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (1977) which considers the relationships between theory and method. It is a much broader exposition of Bourdieu's approach than is available in *Distinction*. Bourdieu has also written a critique of classifications used in coding statistics in France which is, so far, only available in French.
3. In a 1985 interview Bourdieu makes the following comment about history, "...sociology as we practise it...continuously presents historical questions and leads to the question of what is the genesis of such a structure, and what is the genesis of such a field?...I think that long-term history is one of the privileged places of social philosophy in the social sciences. Among sociologists that often gives rise to general considerations about bureaucracy, process of rationalisation, and legitimacy etc. The history which I need for my work very often does not exist" (Bourdieu 1985d). One of the histories that Bourdieu is currently writing is the history of the current French intellectual field in literature and art. This work is an attempt to generate a broad theory of the field. Bourdieu examines the work of Manet and Flaubert as the two major case studies.
4. The assumption that migrants begin to 'convert' to urban economic behaviour once they move

from a rural or a traditional village is one example of such 'misinformed' theory. Other researchers have argued for an equally ethnocentric though more liberal line, by suggesting that migrants are unable to become fully integrated into western economic structures, because of structural and political reasons (as opposed to psychological reasons). Here the argument is based on the structural requirements of reproduction in western capitalism, and thus completely misses the creative and agency aspects of economic practice.

5. In a colonia like Colonia Linda Vista, where all residents have had to make strategic changes to their lives in the city, some are more 'successful' than others. This type of difference in the group of Linda Vista residents can be accounted for by the differences in economic dispositions that informants have. These differences are ultimately related to differences in the objective social and economic patterns, as well as the family trajectories that informants have experienced.
6. Bourdieu's project is more complex today than the statement from *Outline of a Theory of Practice* might suggest. Structuralism can be considered a cul-de-sac since it has led to the 'death of agents', and in E.P. Thompson's view, excluded human subjects from history. Whether this view is reductionist is less clear. It is not reductionist in the normal use of the term, which generally refers to single cause explanation e.g. marxist theories are considered reductionist when they stress economic explanations at the expense of other causes. However structuralism in its Althusserian form was clearly not reductionist in this sense, since ideological, political and economic causes were frequently stressed together. Structuralism could be said to be reductionist in its limited use of levels of analysis, perhaps, reducing all cause to the level of the structure. In an interview Bourdieu comments: "In the sixties, the main question was how to articulate symbolic structures with economic structures. The vision is now merely a survival, and can be surpassed by the use of fields and strategies. People play different games, which are autonomous, but at the same time, there are homologies between different games and, I think, there are general principles concerned with the functioning of these games. What I want to write about now is the economy of symbolic goods...the core of the economy is, I think, culture" (Bourdieu 1985c).
7. The Collectif goes on to discuss the 'moment' of both Bourdieu and Althusser; "...the critique of illusions in *The Inheritors* accompanied at its outset, the great Althusserian battle for revolutionary science against ideology. The theory of reproduction mixed the austere axioms of structuralism with the flavour of the cultural revolution...it accepted the theoretical and political heritage of critical marxism and it completed their interpretive scheme" (Collectif "*Révoltes Logiques*", 1984:6, trans. C. Wilkes).
8. One might say that Bourdieu's method led him to the creation of a science of practical knowledge. However in identifying the work in this way, I would like to make the point that Bourdieu has always tried to make clear: that he must be distinguished from those who consider the 'knowledge of practical knowledge' to be sufficient in completing the task of social science and who reduce this knowledge to a simple description of what is taken to be 'real life experience', organized on the basis of universal principles. This distinction sets Bourdieu apart from the new trend of 'constructivists' in American sociology (the ethnomethodologist vision) as well as separating him from the phenomenological approach taken by many anthropologists. The study of practical knowledge according to Bourdieu must involve the social conditions which are at work in the construction of perceptions and which have a structuring effect on experiences.
9. Of the need to study 'up', and to ask questions about power and cultural strategies Paul Rabinow's paper 'Discourse and Power: on the Limits of Ethnographic Texts' is quite interesting. (see *Dialectical Anthropology*, volume 10, 1 July, 1985). Rabinow's argument about the necessity to go beyond ethnographic descriptions of interaction is taken up by Bourdieu's own study of the University elite in Paris, which goes well beyond the limits of the

ethnographic text to place power relations in centre stage. However, Rabinow's own self-criticism has a limiting implication for anthropology, which Bourdieu's approach avoids.

10. Of course, the opposite has also been said. Bourdieu mentioned that the sociologist Aron suggested (as a joke) that Bourdieu himself was an exception to his own theory of class reproduction.
11. In a recent paper, 'The Social Space and the Genesis of Groups', is an example of how Bourdieu reworks previous ideas (from *Outline of a Theory of Practice, Algeria, 1960, Distinction and Homo Academicus*), and uses them together to write about class in a new way.
12. Bourdieu has first written about 'habitus' in the postscript of his translation of Panovsky's work on Medieval philosophy and gothic architecture (see bibliography for complete reference).
13. The conception of field Bourdieu uses is thus not simply a space with a boundary, nor in the American sense of domain, but as a 'field of forces'. Yet this must still be distinguished from the physicalist conception of 'field of forces', because it is required to see this field as dynamic, a field in which various potentialities exist (Bourdieu 1985c). This conception has been compared to Goffman's 'frame', 'rules of irrelevance', etc. However, while Bourdieu has sometimes been called the French Goffman, he is sharply critical of such subjectivist-interactionist approaches. Thus, the parallel is quite false.
14. Much of Bourdieu's work in *Distinction* attempts to identify the elements of the field of taste, including lifestyle, art, food and music. However, the concept of the field makes little appearance in *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (1977), or in the recent work *Homo Academicus* (1984b), though both, and especially the later work are heavily influenced by the concept. *Homo Academicus* precisely delineates the field of French Academic Life - the concept is absent and at the same time everywhere (Harker and Mahar 1987).
15. The idea of misrecognition is critical to Bourdieu's portrayal of dominant behaviour. For instance, 'generosity' is often the mask of calculation and symbolic domination. The following explanation is taken from the introductory book on Bourdieu (Harker and Mahar 1987):

(Mis)recognition and *méconnaissance* - Bourdieu argues that every society conceals or masks the calculations involved in cultural or social practices behind an (ideological) screen, the main purpose of which is to conceal from the participants themselves the economic basis of such calculations.

However, the usual translation of *méconnaissance* as misrecognition misses out on the subtlety of the concept. The participants do not conceal a practice by dressing it up as something else (in the sense of disguising it) but rather render it invisible through a displacement of understanding and a re-construal as part of other aspects of the habitus that 'goes without saying'. The economics of gift-giving for example are rendered invisible by reconstructing them within such practices as family honour, generosity and so on. There is a refusal to recognise (or a disavowal of) the economic calculation involved in gift-giving, since to 'see' it would destroy whole fields within the social space by destroying the medium of exchange that IS recognised - family honour, generosity (symbolic capital). This transformation also serves to legitimate the unequal distribution of power to the participants (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977:205), and hence reproduces existing power relations, and disguises the struggle for position, along with the strategies for the acquisition of symbolic capital within the field. Hence a minimal translation of *méconnaissance* would be (mis)recognition and reconstrual.

CHAPTER THREE

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE: URBAN SETTLEMENTS IN OAXACA

One of the principle features of the Spanish conquest of America was its urban character. However in Mexico and specifically in Oaxaca, urban centres were not new. Just outside of the modern city of Oaxaca lie the ruins of Monte Alban, the most ancient urban centre in the New World. Suburban settlements and a population employed in service occupations were also part of the social fabric of this earlier indigenous settlement. The process of migration to urban centres and the existence of suburban settlements tied to the urban area through service occupations is thus not a phenomenon of modernization, but one which has occurred throughout the history of Oaxaca. In each historical period, the city has taken on the characteristics of the structure of the dominant mode of production. Thus, the general relationship between those who dominated in pre-colonial times and their service class, is a direct fore-runner of the relationship which now exists between those who control capitalism and those residents who live in contemporary suburban squatter settlements, and serve capital.

Oaxaca city and its suburban areas, developed through a process of mutual dependence which continues into the present day. To make sense of contemporary developments in the Colonia Linda Vista analysis requires an awareness of the changes in the modes of production through history, and the relationships between the core of the city and its dependent suburbs.

This chapter contains a brief history of the city of Oaxaca, as well as a history of the modern suburban areas which began as squatter settlements on the city's northern fringe. Today, some twenty-five years after their initial settlement, they are all encompassed by city boundaries and have access to city services. The chapter's focus upon the continuity and change of urban settlements around Oaxaca moves from a broad historical description to a narrow focus on the particular squatter settlement of Linda Vista. By way of introduction to the special characteristics of the Colonia, an overview of the research program which was carried out over a period of six years is also included.

GEOGRAPHY OF THE AREA

The state of Oaxaca is in Southern Mexico and is one of the most linguistically and ethnically diverse regions in Meso-America (see maps 1 and 2). Today, the Indian population can be divided into fifteen

Map 1: The state of Oaxaca and Oaxaca city as they are situated in Mexico.





Map 2: Political map of Mexico delineating each of the states.



- 1 Baja California
- 2 Territory of Baja California
- 3 Sonora
- 4 Chihuahua
- 5 Coahuila
- 6 Nuevo Leon
- 7 Tamaulipas
- 8 San Luis Potosi
- 9 Zacatecas
- 10 Durango
- 11 Sinaloa
- 12 Nayarit
- 13 Aguascalientes
- 14 Jalisco
- 15 Guanajuato
- 16 Querétaro
- 17 Hidalgo
- 18 Veracruz
- 19 Tlaxcala
- 20 Puebla
- 21 Morelos
- 22 Federal District
- 23 Mexico
- 24 Michoacan
- 25 Colima
- 26 Guerrero
- 27 Oaxaca
- 28 Tabasco
- 29 Chiapas
- 30 Campeche
- 31 Yucatan
- 32 Quintana Roo

major linguistic groups which are themselves marked by numerous variations in dialect. Such diversity is due to the extremely mountainous and broken terrain characteristic of the state.¹ Amongst these ethnic enclaves there are two dominant ethnic and linguistic groups which have historically controlled the urban areas, namely the Zapotecs and the Mixtecs.

Oaxaca is characterised by the Mexican census material as being very poor in comparison to other more northerly states in Mexico (Casanova 1970). Oaxaquenos also think of themselves and their state as being poor. The general reason they give for this poverty is the lack of industrialisation, which would employ much of the population, as well as lack of an effective transportation system which would link Oaxaca with the rest of Mexico, and allow goods to be transported more readily. The most frequently used means of transportation is the highway system which, because of its passage through mountainous regions, is extremely slow and difficult to drive. The city of Oaxaca lies in the largest plain in the centre of the state which is created by three overlapping valleys. Through the plain runs the Atoyac River. On the surrounding hills to the west lie the ruins of Monte Alban.

Most Indian settlements consist of *ranchos* and *municipios* and are considerably distant from populated centres. The only kinds of contact that these populations have with outsiders is through their market systems, the local priest (if there is one) or through Protestant missionaries and the rural school teachers, who come in from the city to live in the hinterlands during the school year. In some of the outlying areas there are health centres staffed by nurses and doctors completing their one year bonds. These contacts however, are few, and often the Catholic church or Protestant missionaries dispense what little health care is available. In addition, the government has supported the rural areas in terms of elementary schools, some health centres and the *ejido* (common land) programme. The Mexican government has encouraged the population of these backlands to migrate to the more populated areas, and has made it clear to the residents that jobs, higher education, and a choice of lifestyles are available only in the cities. This sort of encouragement sounds positive and convincing to rural dwellers. This is especially so when the Spanish language, as opposed to Indian languages and culture, is promoted in the schools; when transportation in and out of the rural areas is difficult; when crop prices are low; and when more and more young men and women are leaving their villages because of job difficulties, land problems and family quarrels (Butterworth 1969).

EARLY SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

The predominant settlement pattern in Oaxaca which existed at the time of the Spanish conquest and which still exists today is that of nucleated villages and towns. These settlements date from 1500 B.C.

(Flannery et al. 1967:453-54). Between 1200 and 900 B.C. the existence of ceremonial mound groups (of which the mountain top city of Monte Alban was the most impressive) and intertribal trade became increasingly important, so that by the beginning of the Christian era the valley of Oaxaca was the dominant political entity in the Mexican Southern Highlands. The early city was characterized by the presence of monumental architecture, bas-relief carving, a stella-altar complex, as well as calendrics and hieroglyphic writing. It was an urban society with a state organization. The mountain top centre was thought to be principally used as a ceremonial and market centre, with the surrounding hillsides settled by agriculturalists. Primary ethnic power lay with the valley Zapotecs, and they created a state society based upon intensive farming methods, social stratification and occupational specialization (Paddock 1966). Later, Monte Alban and the valley were primarily dominated by the Mixtecs, who struggled with the Zapotecs for centuries over positions of power.

When the Spanish arrived in Oaxaca in 1521, the valley was dominated by Mixtecs engaged in hostilities with the Zapotec population. They had inhabited several valley towns, including the area around which Oaxaca was built. The Aztecs had also penetrated into the valley (in about 1486), in order to protect their trade routes and to exact tribute. Their garrison town, Huaxyacac (later Oaxaca), consisted of a governor's residence, a temple, a jail, government rooms and a market plaza, which was also used to display the skulls of sacrificial victims (Chance 1978).² In order to maintain their positions of authority, the Zapotec nobility learned Nahuatl, the Aztec language. Mastery of the language was thus used as a tool in the struggle for symbolic domination, and to maintain the reproduction of capital (economic, symbolic and cultural), within the hands of the nobility. Later, these same Indian groups used Spanish for the same purpose of securing a powerful position in the symbolic field. In part, therefore, the domination by successive groups was symbolised by a dominant language. These strategic patterns illustrate a common thread of logic throughout, as successive dominant powers worked to supplant previous languages. The successful imposition of the language of each new dominant group served to disguise the relations of force which existed. In Bourdieu's terms the use of language in this way masked the symbolic violence that existed between classes.³

Nucleated town-states surrounded by farmland constituted the settlement pattern in the valley. Aztec society, (like the later Spanish society in the Oaxaca Valley), was highly stratified. The four major categories were: nobles, commoners, serfs and slaves. Membership was acquired through family lines and particular occupations were limited to specific strata (Chance 1978:64-65). Commoners were primarily farmers, but could also work as weavers, dancers, curers, peddlers, painters, interpreters and writers. Serfs were primarily tied to the land and worked as personal and household help. They were

also used as sacrificial victims. This type of stratified organization was very similar to that practised by the 16th century Spanish, with the exception of using slaves in sacrifice rituals. In fact, Indian nobles maintained their dominance over their lower-ranked commoners, as well as over a considerable amount of land. One might say that the successful Indian noble-men had a "feel for the Spanish game".

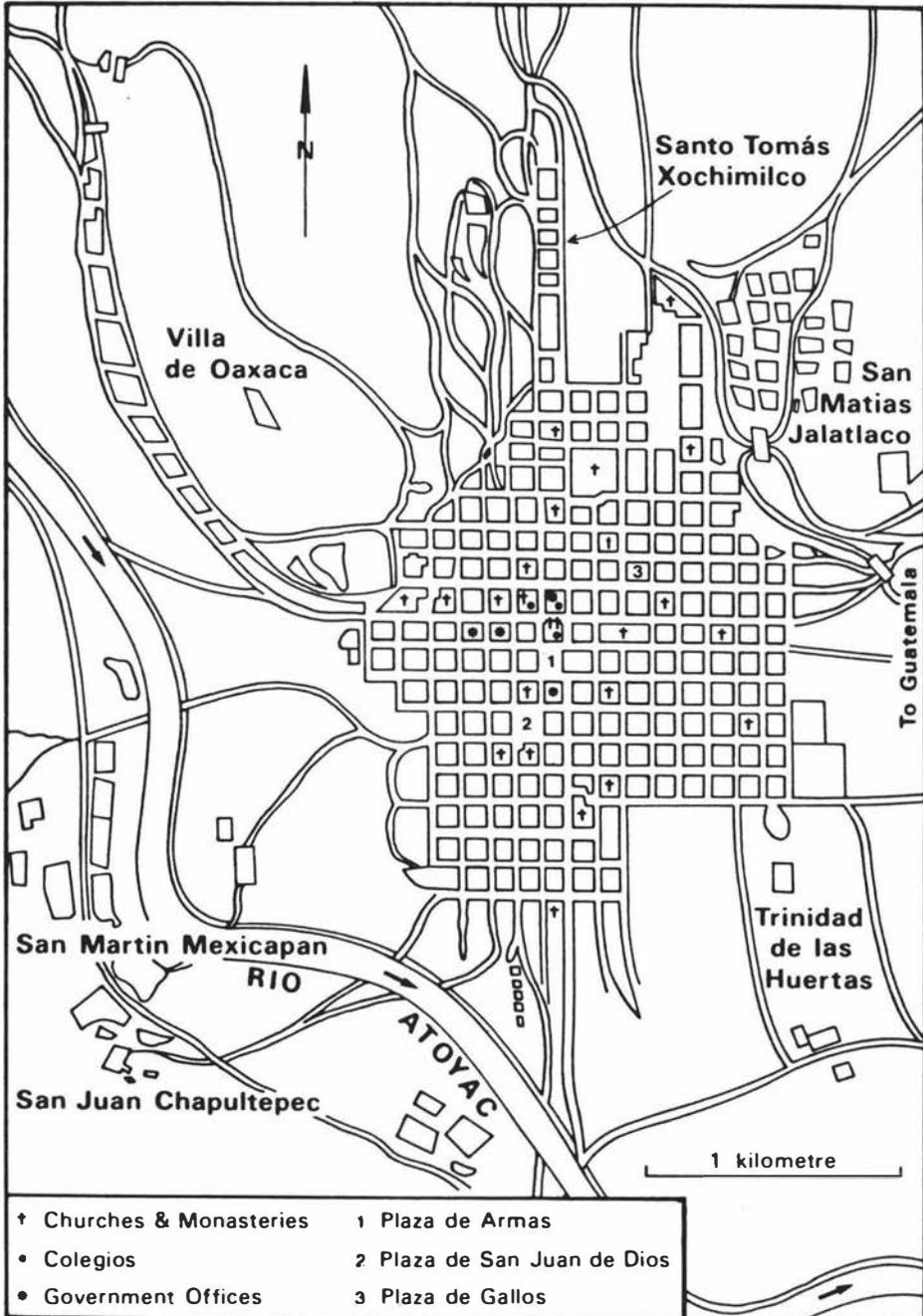
"Though the Indian in Oaxaca was never able to escape the subservient role forced on him by the nature of the colonial situation, neither did he admit defeat. A document from 1552 shows that he quickly understood the Spanish social system implanted in the colony and tried, often successfully, to manipulate it to his own benefit. The Spanish masons, tailors and potters who served as *corregidores* (local political administrators) in the Valley prior to 1552 were unable to win respect and cooperation from the Indians because they were not of *hidalgo* rank or men of letters, but worked with their hands. The Indians' well-developed sense of property ownership, their appreciation of the importance of formal wills and their quick grasp and utilization of the options open to them in the Spanish legal system helped preserve indigenous traditions - and property - throughout the long period of forced acculturation."

(Chance 1978:28-29)

By 1529, the physical plan of Oaxaca city was rebuilt by the Spanish, and resembled the ideal type of grid-pattern town which was imposed throughout Latin America (see diagram). The Aztec garrison building was demolished, and a new central plaza, with its governmental offices, cathedral and park was developed and still stands today. The central city area was also used to build housing for the Spanish residents and officials. The division of the city area into housing areas which reflected the stratification of the city's population was similar to the indigenous arrangements of the Aztecs and of earlier times, when only priests occupied Monte Alban as a residence. The result was that a small group of Spaniards occupied the central city grid, while Indian settlements surrounded the area.

The most urbanized of the Indian suburban settlements was composed entirely of Nahuatl speakers, who worked as skilled artisans and craftsmen (Chance 1978:36). Gradually during the 16th. century this particular settlement became ethnically and linguistically mixed, and residents worked not only as skilled craftsmen, but as labourers and servants of the Spanish. The agricultural occupational structure became much more broadly based, and urban Indian society developed in relationship to Spanish demands. Specifically those demands were for taxes from rural areas, (which gradually changed from goods to money), for payment in money for market goods, and for forced labour from mountain villages. In addition, villagers migrated to the city because Spanish livestock destroyed their crops. All of this made life extremely arduous for the Indian in rural communities. The situation became more difficult during the second half of the 16th. century, with the ever-increasing use of money in the city's economic system, especially in the cochineal and silk trade with Spain. While Indians still maintained control

Spanish Oaxaca. Antequera and its Indian satellite towns in 1790. Based on an 1884 copy drawn by Fernando Ayona Mejia as illustrated in *Chance* 1978 p.35.



over much of the agricultural land and produce, the Spanish controlled prices. Indian producers were forced to sell their goods through the central market which was controlled by Spanish officials. This set of circumstances was to change later when nearly 90% of the indigenous population of Mexico was lost, through the dual pressures of disease, and the gradual takeover of agricultural land by hacienda farming.

With the influence of such economic circumstances, Indian suburban settlements became ethnically mixed, and Indians worked as wage labourers, while some worked within the system of debt peonage. By the late 17th. century, urban Oaxaca had ceased to develop. This was due to the rise of small Spanish haciendas, a decline in trade with Europe which was due to the depression of Spanish markets (Wolf 1959:204-207), and the extinction of mining activity in the Oaxacan region.

At this time social classes were based upon occupation. Occupations were, in turn, structured around race. The *Systema de Castas* generally regulated entry into occupational groups by race, although many people of mixed ancestry could pass as whites. *Castas* were ranked conceptually between whites and Indians, but an inferior person could reach the elite group if he or she were 'white' enough, and had access to financial resources. In part, the transition was easier because the Oaxacan elite were not particularly economically stable. All of these elements acted to:

"...strengthen the criterion of wealth as a determinant of rank..If it was often true that 'money whitened' in late seventeenth century Oaxaca, it was all the more true in the eighteenth century."

(Chance 1978:194)

The broad occupational categories which developed in the early 1800's in Oaxaca are similar to those that exist today (see Chapter Five). The elite was composed of merchants, high government officials, clergy and landowners. The middle class was largely constituted of professionals such as physicians, lawyers, minor officials and the lesser clergy. The 'upper-lower' group consisted of high status craftsmen such as pharmacists, musicians, and traders. The lower class consisted largely of peons, servants and low status skilled workers such as carpenters, fireworks-makers, small traders and weavers (Chance 1978; Wolf 1959).

Oaxaca became a favourable environment for the accumulation of capital because the population provided a cheap source of labour, and because the merchants were eager to establish new markets. Chance concludes that many features of early Oaxaca gave the appearance of a developing capitalist economy, in particular in the emergence of an unstable urban elite, which gained its status through the newly emerging forms of social mobility, in which the 'rules of the game' were as yet unclear (Chance

1978:200). This unsettled structural framework, dependent on the complex relationship between various elements in the city, and the penetration of the city by the rural and suburban sectors, is at the core of the contemporary social structure, with its parallel forms of development.

After the revolution of 1910-1920, Oaxaca remained a provincial city with no major industry. However by the late 1940's, Oaxaca became connected to other major Mexican centres by the completion of the Pan-American Highway. Since that time there have been two major changes. First, the population size has increased and second, the economic base of the city has changed due to tourism becoming the major commercial interest in the city. As the population and tourism have increased, the service sector has also grown and includes many of the residents from the Colonia Linda Vista.

MODERN MIGRANT SETTLEMENTS IN OAXACA

The overall functions of Oaxaca city are largely the same today as they were in colonial and post-colonial times. Oaxaca continues to be the major state centre for government and business, and is the major market centre for outlying indigenous villages. Physically the city retains both its colonial appearance, and in some respects the rhythm of its Spanish heritage; however it is also a place where traditional Indian dress, languages and craft continue to be a living part of the society. Today, as before, the city's population is stratified on the basis of material and symbolic power, including occupations, marriage networks and race. Migrants to the city today play a similar role as did earlier city migrants, working as artisans, vendors, and in service. However, while migrants to the city and newly established suburban settlements are not a phenomenon of modernization, the fact that they now are created and bounded by modern capitalism means that there are qualitative differences between the two periods of development. Thus, while the alienation of land rights began during the Spanish conquest, the transition from the 'fully lived' to the 'economic' in the function of kinship and religious patterns is only seen in modern capital, and is a response to the demands of a specifically capitalist social formation. Therefore, while the problems squatters have in obtaining land derive from the early pressures imposed upon the Indian population by the Spanish, contemporary pressures are exacerbated by the even more inexorable pressures of the capitalist logic which contemporary settlers experience in the city.

Migration to Urban Centres

The structure of Mexican society today is such that one way in which families cope with difficult rural economic situations is by migrating to urban areas in search of jobs and economic security, (see

Appendix I). Rural migrants enter Mexico City at the approximate rate of one-half million per year or about 1370 per day (Hellman 1978:88). According to the Journal of Commerce, in 1972 there were 650,000 new workers annually in Mexico City with approximately 55% under thirty years of age, and 88% under 34 years of age.⁴

Because the migrants lack skills and expertise, and with industries' increasing reliance upon advanced technology, the rate of unemployment and under-employment is exceedingly high. Some migrants settle in squatter settlements outside of the city or live in inner-city slums. Almost all of them in some way or another experience overcrowded living conditions, with few facilities such as electricity and sewage. Occupations at the lower end of the scale extend from selling small sacks of chewing gum and pencils to lottery tickets. Persons who do find steady employment become part of the urban working class of Mexico. However, even with steady jobs they face inadequate city services in the settlements.

In spite of great problems, the concentration of wealth in cities still acts as a magnet for unskilled workers from rural areas. In a typical account, Lomnitz (1977) examines the effects of the wealth of urban areas on rural dwellers, and lists five key factors; first, the relative working conditions are improved for industry and workers in the city; second, public health services are more modern and more readily available than they are in the countryside; third, roads, telephone lines and television are much improved and available in the urban areas; fourth, the educational system offers a much better quality education in the cities; finally, that communication between cities and country-side is more effective now than ever before. The experience of family members in the military and in the new bureaucracies and tourist industries is communicated back to those who still labour in the countryside.

The city's attractions, along with the harsh realities of rural living such as population growth, fragmentation of rural holdings, and soil erosion, combine to foster large migrations of rural population to cities. It is estimated that by the year 2,000, the shantytown or squatter settlement population of Latin American cities will grow to between 100 and 150 million people, and that marginal urban inhabitants are increasing at a rate of 15% per annum. The growth of this new urban population has far exceeded the cities' capabilities to cope. Four problems are dominant in this regard: underemployment and unemployment; health maintenance and nutrition; education and housing. All four characterise the lives of the poor in Latin American cities, and are serious social problems. All four exist extensively in Mexico. Oaxaca and the Colonia Linda Vista are no exception to these patterns.

In Oaxaca the migrant squatter settlements are predominantly populated by those, either Indian or mestizo, (of mixed racial heritage), who have rural backgrounds. Generally, these residents came to the

city from valley mestizo villages, Zapotec mountain villages, some from Mazatec and Mixtec villages and Oaxacan coastal villages. A few residents are from the Mixe region. Most of the colonias, which are located on the outskirts of the city, are residential areas for the poor, and are referred to as 'colonias pobres' or 'colonias populares'. Most began merely as squatter settlements, until they organised their resources in some fashion, at which time incorporation into the city normally took place.

The general mobility pattern from the village to a city is for a family or family members to contact and live with other families or relatives who are already urban residents. They often use *compadrazgo* (coparent or god-parent) ties with others already settled in the city along with taking advantage of other kin networks. These ties help the new residents find work and sometimes their own home. After a period of time, the new family chooses its own home site, either buying or squatting on the land (Butterworth 1970; Chance 1971; Mangin 1967). The major hillside settlements are the Colonias Santa Maria, Benito Juarez, Linda Vista, and Mirador (see Map 3). The settlements of Santa Maria and Benito Juarez, which lie along the Pan American Highway, belonged until recently, under the single name of Santa Maria until they were separated by the highway.

The Colonia Linda Vista

The Colonia Linda Vista is the largest squatter settlement in Oaxaca. It is also the most complex and wealthy. The population is about 3,000. As one enters the city along the Pan American Highway from the north, Linda Vista is one of the first colonias visible to the eye. The Colonia has two dirt roads and several footpaths that range high up onto the hillside. Upon entering the Colonia, there are five communal water taps in the middle of the road, a new school and a row of plaster and painted houses facing the street. Some houses have small shops in their living-rooms. Linda Vista is characterised by its residents as being divided into four areas. The first section, which has a school, water taps and most of the shops, has an upper and lower division. The second section is divided from the first by a ravine and is also divided into an upper and lower section. Generally the population on the second section of the Colonia is poorer than those residents of the first section.

Linda Vista's geographical boundaries touch other colonias, which are composed of similar houstypes as those found in Linda Vista, and whose residents occupy the same kinds of labour positions as do the residents of Linda Vista. These include rural school teachers, carpenters, secretaries, tortilla vendors, and day labourers. The average monthly income of the residents ranges from US\$29.00 to US\$190.00 with the average being US\$75.00 per month, calculated in 1972 U.S. dollar equivalents.

Map 3: Four squatter settlements on the northern fringe of Oaxaca. (as compiled by the author)



Colonia Linda Vista Juarez

Colonia Benito Juarez

Colonia Santa Maria

Colonia El Mirador

House sites in the Colonia begin on level ground, and as they continue upwards, they are dug into the hillside. Colonia streets - of which there are two - are wide, unpaved and turn into many footpaths as they continue up the hill. They penetrate the entire Colonia and continue into the surrounding Colonias. Located in a lower portion of the Colonia are the school, a bath house, a store which sells kerosene and a few small food stores. The upper level of the Colonia also has a few smaller stores, but it mainly consists of a mass of rambling, unorganised house sites and a few water wells dug into the hillside, (see photograph). Colonia house types vary from substantial brick, cement-covered adobe houses with patios and several rooms, to less substantial brick and adobe houses with fewer rooms, and finally to wooden, wattle and adobe jacale (shacks) with tar-paper roofs. The size and the construction of the house correlates positively with the occupations and income of family and household members.

Also, in the Colonia, one finds a great range of material goods. Some items might be defined as constituting a certain amount of cultural capital; for instance television sets, gas stoves, refrigerators, beds, wardrobes, full sets of dishes, silverware and a variety of clothes. The televisions and refrigerators are relatively new, being purchased between 1970-74. At the outset of the field study, neither existed in Colonia houses, nor did Oaxaca have a television station. Most homes had a few beds, a wardrobe, a few pieces of crockery and cookware, a few chairs, a kerosene two-burner stove and little clothing.

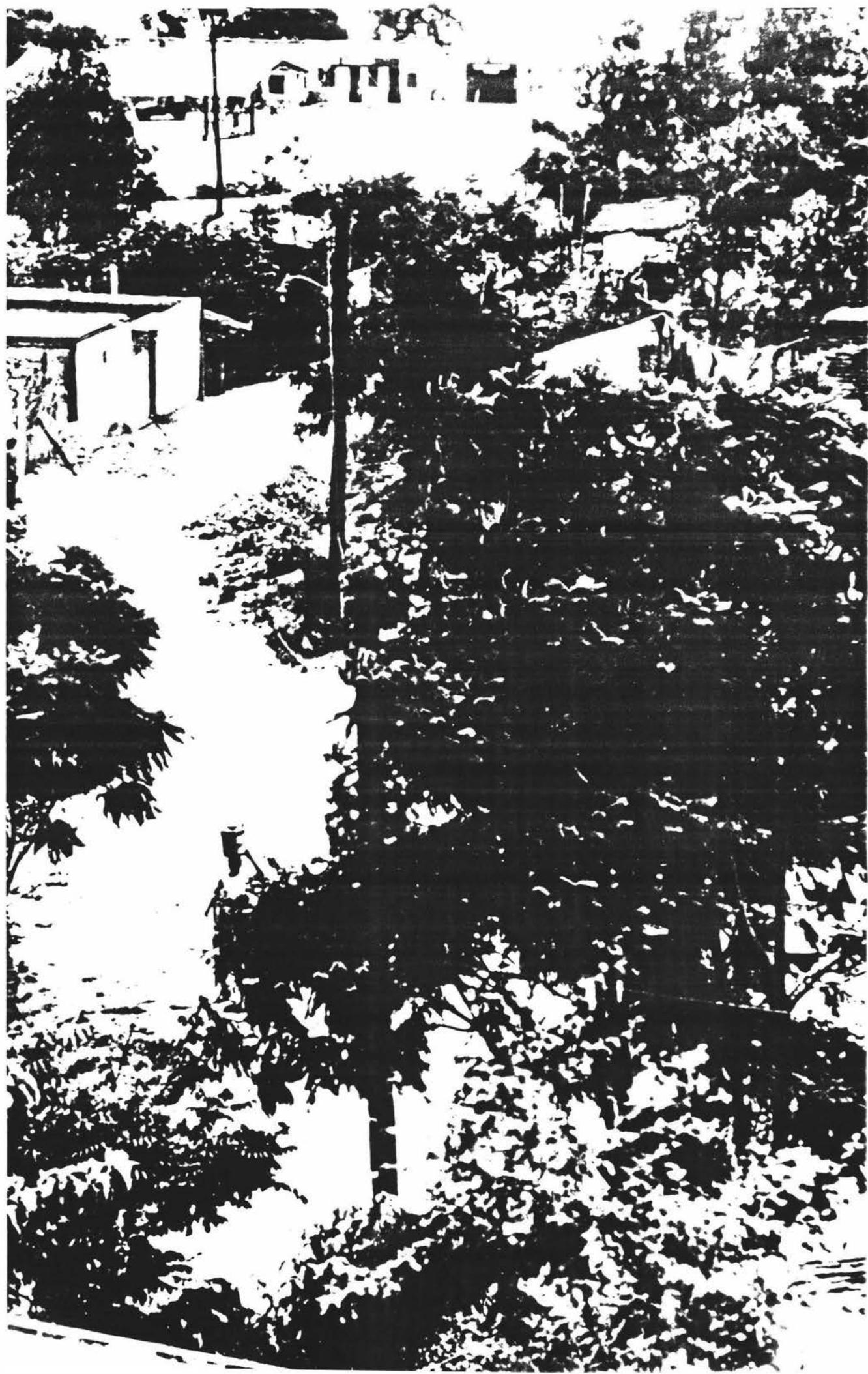
The daily lives of the residents were spent in the usual household routine of trying to survive and getting enough to eat. Men went off to jobs in the morning, women started their day early to begin breakfast, which usually consisted of tortillas, beans, bread and coffee. They began the day with the tasks of laundry and child care. Women also took on small jobs at home, such as making and selling food or doing laundry for other families. Most of the Colonia teenagers worked to provide additional income for their families, although teenage girls would often stay home to help their mothers with the younger children or with domestic tasks.

Settlements such as the Colonia Linda Vista and her sister communities are aptly described by Bourdieu when he wrote the following comment:

"....on the edges of the cities of Africa and South America there are economic universes which act as a sort of buffer between the subproletariat and the modern world. Their fundamental law seems to be the same as governs individual practices: the absence of predictability and calculability. The poorest and the most bewildered find there a number of safeguards which enable them to achieve a precarious equilibrium, at the lowest level, in the absence of any calculation - mutual help among kinsmen and neighbours which furnishes assistance in money or kind during the search for work, or unemployment, sometimes the job itself; a place to live, a shared

Photograph of the main dirt road into Section One of Colonia Linda Vista. The photograph is taken from the roof of San Miguel's house. The Pan-American highway is directly in the background. The man walking up the path in the foreground is selling snow-cones which he keeps in an ice bucket carried on his head.

Photograph: author's collection



Photograph of Section Two of the Colonia Linda Vista. Notice the criss-cross pattern of the pathways and the more substantial house of a 'middle' family in the centre as contrasted against the less substantial tar-paper roofed house of a poorer resident.

Photograph: author's collection



living space and kitchen which guarantee subsistence to the most destitute, with the pooling of wages and joint expenditure tending to compensate for the irregularity and smallness of each income; credit based on trust, etc."

(Bourdieu 1979:68-69)

Colonias Santa Maria And Benito Juarez⁵

Now separate communities, Santa Maria lies below the highway, with Benito Juarez above it. The two Colonias are quite different. Many of the homes in Santa Maria, a settlement of some 1000 people, are solid structures inhabited by middle-income families. A few stores supply minor items to the residents. The community is provided with both water and electric services, and a serviceable road goes from the highway through Santa Maria toward the city of Oaxaca below. In contrast, on the north side of the highway, steep and narrow footpaths lead to the Colonia Benito Juarez. This settlement, with less than half the population of Santa Maria, is much poorer than its neighbours. There is no electricity and, until recently, no potable water. Many of the houses are flimsy and are perched precariously in niches carved out of the precipitous terrain. Automobiles cannot enter the community, and foot travel is often difficult.

Thirty years ago, land which now comprises the Colonias Santa Maria and Benito Juarez was unoccupied. During the period from 1940 to 1946, the land was bought by a local lawyer from three separate owners. The Pan American Highway construction around the rim of the hill called Cerro del Fortín, was completed in 1944, and passed through the middle of these lands. The purchase of the land may have been stimulated by the new highway. In 1946 the lawyer sold the terrain to a politician from the state of Durango, but was retained as an administrator by the new owner. The lawyer died in 1959 and the administration of the land was taken over by his sons, who have a law firm in Oaxaca. In 1960 the land above the road was settled illegally by a group of about 100 family heads, led by a primary school teacher from the city. This is one of the rare instances of an organised invasion by squatters in Oaxaca. The lawyers administering the territory protested against the occupation to the state government. The government intervened and helped the lawyers to convince the new settlers that the land was privately owned and that their occupation was illegal. The settlers were evicted. It is believed that the government's intervention was prompted by the desire of the state governor to keep the slopes of the Cerro del Fortín unoccupied, since squatter settlements would give a bad impression to visitors entering the city. In the following year, 1961, the lands below the highway were opened for development by the aforementioned lawyers. Lots were laid out and sold to individual residents on instalment payments. Homes were built and the new urban settlement became known as Colonia Santa Maria.

During this time the lands above the road were again settled illegally. The city maintained that it held title to the land and on that basis the municipal government attempted to collect rent from approximately fifty squatter families. However, the scheme was thwarted by the state government, which again evicted the squatters in an attempt to continue to keep land above the highway free from settlement. Shortly after the second wave of squatters attempted to settle the land, a third group occupied the area. This group was led by an official of the Marquesado market, (one of the city marketplaces). Individuals who had business in the market (those who rented a stall) were led to believe that they were to be given lots above the highway by the government, free of charge. This third invasion coincided with a more lenient attitude from the government toward housing of the poor. This change was due to a new governor who did not place such a high premium on keeping the hillside open. The governor did not intervene to remove the new settlers and he therefore forced the city and the lawyers to negotiate directly with the squatters. The lawyers elected to subdivide the land and to sell sections to people from the market who wished to stay and pay for the land. This new area then was called Colonia Santa Maria, Section Two, as opposed to Section One which was below the highway. However, unlike the area below the highway, the new area did not have access to city services and therefore was never successfully divided or settled by paying residents. Because of the obvious differences in area and type of residents, Santa Maria Section Two was finally renamed Colonia Benito Juarez by the local resident group. The new name was chosen to distinguish themselves from the other Colonia and to honour the famous Oaxacan Indian 'liberator' of Mexico, Benito Juarez.

Colonia El Mirador

Mirador is the poorest shantytown in Oaxaca. A small settlement of about 200 people, it lies below the Pan American Highway to the southeast of the communities previously described. A steep footpath leads from the highway into the Colonia itself. Discarded rubbish and animal and human excrement clutter the ground. None of the adobe huts and reed grass shacks has electricity. There is no water available in the community and only a few homes have an outhouse. The tiny *milpas* (cornfields), the pigs and chickens, and the *temazcales* (sweatbaths) give Mirador an air of rusticity.

The first settler in Mirador was a migrant originally from the municipio of Tilantongo, in the Mixteca Alta region of Oaxaca. He began living on the land in the early 1960's. A lawyer from the city of Oaxaca claimed to be the legal owner of the land, and demanded that the squatters either pay 1,000 pesos for the title to the land, or alternatively, abandon the property. The migrant had lived in the state capital for a decade, and had become 'wise' to city ways. He inquired at government offices about title

to the land and was told that the land was public, not private, real estate. According to the settler, he thereupon purchased the land for 600 pesos. Today, however, the government claims that it has no record of the transaction, and considers Mirador to be municipal property which is officially unoccupied. As the children of the original family grew up and married they were presented with small housesites in Mirador by their father. The squatter also advised friends and relatives from Tilantongo who were already in Oaxaca, that he had land in Mirador that he was willing to sell or rent to them. Gradually, the Colonia became a small enclave of Tilantongo migrants.

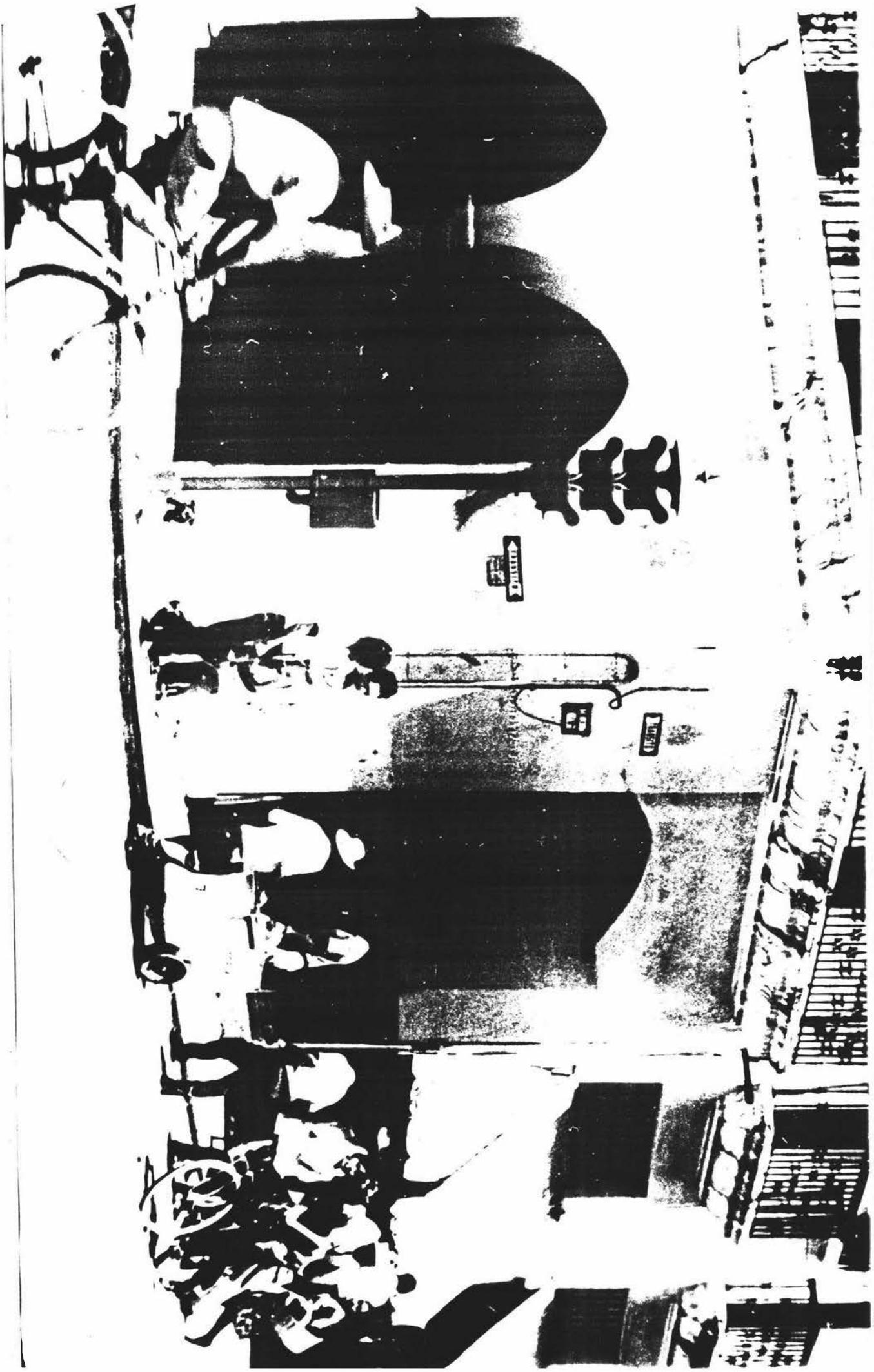
IN THE FIELD

Throughout this chapter the movement has been from a broad historical background to the more specific description of local squatter settlements. To narrow the focus even further, there follows a discussion of fieldwork activities which allows a more reflexive view of Oaxaca, and also offers the reader some insight into the day-to-day procedures which led to the particular shape of this study and its theoretical focus. For an examination of specific ethnographic methods used in the study, readers may wish to turn to Appendix II.

I was invited to work in Oaxaca at the end of my first year of graduate school by my immediate advisor who was beginning a study of squatters in the area. There was no far reaching theoretical structure or problematic to the study. Our group of one staff member, and three students was interested in the demographic structure of the squatter population, and in making a record of the number of settlements that existed around Oaxaca. Later we were to narrow our interests and begin to collect other kinds of ethnographic data. Because we did not have entry into the communities, we decided to take up residence in a ramshackle hacienda, which was divided up into furnished flats with kitchens. The woman who managed the business was the daughter of an ex-Oaxacan governor, an aristocratic family that had lost most of its wealth and land. The family and the setting could have been taken straight out of a novel by Gabriel Garcia Marquez. The daughter always went about with two (apparently vicious) Doberman Pinchers, and was said to have had some crippling disease from which she had recovered, (in order to explain why she had not married). She was very beautiful although her manner was extremely reserved. Her brother often stayed in one of the unrented flats, and when he was drunk he would take out his pistol and fire away into the night. The locals said that he was a failure as a businessman, and a great disappointment to his family. The accommodations were filled with marvellous Spanish-style wooden furniture with bright coloured curtains and rugs. Outside, masses of red bouganvillia hid the decaying stucco and tile work. A fish pond and large mango tree graced the centre lawn. The main house needed

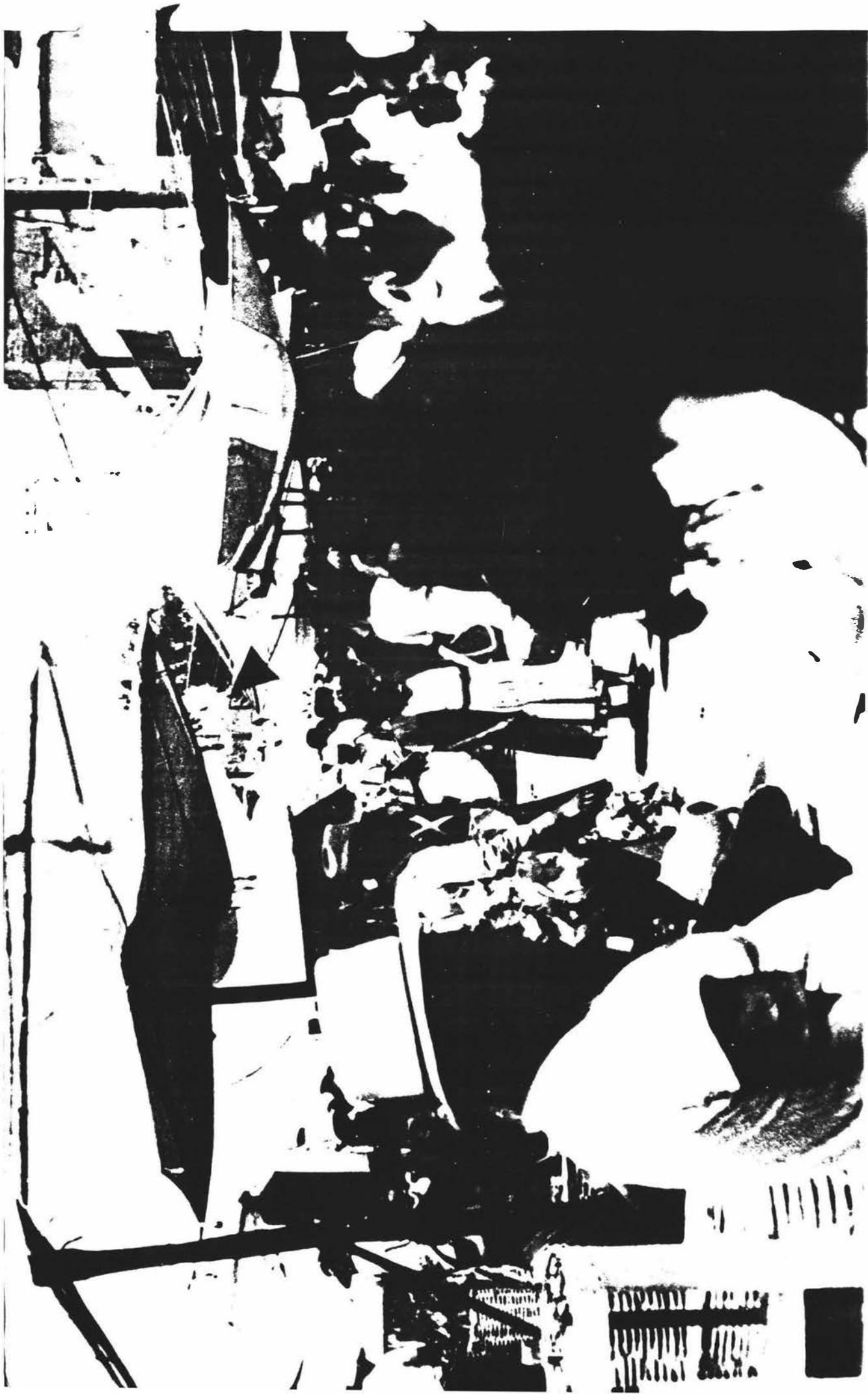
Photograph of the city centre in Oaxaca. Notice the Spanish style architecture and the ice-cream vendor on the street corner.

Photograph: author's collection



Photograph of Oaxaca's large downtown market.

Photograph: author's collection



a complete renovation and was used as a laboratory for an archeological research group from the University of Michigan. For me it was utterly romantic.

WORKING IN LINDA VISTA

The first task which concerned us in Oaxaca was to locate settlements that would allow us to do research, and which were representative of other settlements. One of us studied a small atypical community which was made up of residents from two related villages. Another studied a community that had been inhabited since the colonial era and perhaps during pre-hispanic times. Two of us studied the large, new settlement of Linda Vista which had some 300 households and which was built along the highway into Oaxaca.

On our first day in Colonia Linda Vista we met the community leader, San Miguel, working with a group of local men in the school yard. We introduced ourselves as students who were interested in learning their language and culture, and asked permission to work in the Colonia. San Miguel introduced himself and his colleagues explaining that they had built their first school building and were working on the second. He gave us permission to study the community. Each day we would go out to the Colonia and walk around saying 'hello' and asking residents "Is this the Colonia Linda Vista?" (as if we didn't know), by way of starting a conversation. One problem that we did not foresee, is that our perceived interest in the boundaries of the Colonia sparked off rumours that we were the legal owners of the land. Some residents claimed that the legal owners were Mexicans who were living in Los Angeles. Coming from the United States we seemed to fit the story and some people believed that we had come to reclaim our land! We should have foreseen that any inquiry into the boundaries of a community that had been illegally settled was bound to alarm the residents. Finally, the rumour gradually disappeared.

Because food hospitality played such an important part in the lives of Colonia residents, we were given drinks of liquor, soda or coffee at each house we visited. On Sundays, we were invited to dinner (sometimes two or three meals in one afternoon). Knowing that to refuse food and drink was tantamount to insult, we accepted everything and were grateful for the kindnesses received. The food was a pleasure because it was so delicious, although the after effects produced a lethargy that made it impossible to work. What I did not realise about my first foray into the field was that during those dinners I was working to create the personal relationships and rapport that would be the groundwork for the study in the years to come. By the end of the three months, I and another student had established ourselves in the community and had completed 150 ten-paged census questionnaires for the same number of households.

My specific interests in Linda Vista were in the area of urban family structure, but the experience of living and working in Oaxaca that first time was so overwhelming for me that I know it was not only academic knowledge that I gained, but a grasp of the style and rhythms of Mexican life. That is where my real enthusiasm lay. This is in part expressed by Kenneth Burrige who has so aptly written about field experience:

"...behind the mass of trivia and gossip that must inevitably accompany an adventure such as fieldwork - and let us acknowledge that the trivial may have significant consequences - is there not something wholly and entirely genuine in the endeavour?"
(Burrige 1975:564)

One aspect of fieldwork that I was made aware of by doing the questionnaires was the dramatic change of feeling that I would have with regard to the research and the day-to-day work with the inhabitants. For instance, on some occasions, I might feel enormously apprehensive about going out to the Colonia and would imagine that no-one wanted to talk. Even worse, one imagined there was a silent agreement among the residents that I was not welcome. At other times I felt extremely comfortable and looked upon some of my informants as friends. The other feeling that I remember was boredom. Census work was, in the end, dull. Answers became repetitive and some days I couldn't bear to face another interview. Along with the others in my group, I realized that these feelings are common to all those who undertake ethnography. By the end of this first field trip I had completed a series of census questionnaires but more importantly had gained the approval of local residents in order to carry out further study in the Colonia.

The second, third and fourth trips back to the Colonia were taken in 1969, 1971 and 1974. In total, the fieldwork sessions lasted some twenty-two months. The second trip back was important not only for reasons of work but because the residents seemed to take it as a sign that they were special to me, and that Linda Vista was important. Long-term field relationships of the same community are extremely rewarding and offer unique insight into the natural rhythm of a community. They also allow for a strengthening of friendship and work ties.

The house that I lived in was owned by San Miguel, who had by then moved to town. It was made of stucco with concrete floors. The main room was divided into three semi-separate rooms. These in addition to a bedroom served as my home. It was large and empty. A room on the side of the house and a cook shack outside served another family. We shared the water tap and an outdoor toilet, (which was a luxury). My time was mostly spent in practical chores, helping informants do their chores, gossiping,

drinking sodas or coffee with neighbours, and engaging in small talk and sharing information about our families and lives. About these 'daily tasks of fieldwork' Paul Rabinow comments:

" Anthropology is not a set of questionnaires which are handed over, filled out, and handed back. Most of the anthropologist's time is spent sitting around waiting for informants, doing errands, drinking tea, taking genealogies, mediating fights, being pestered for rides, and vainly attempting small talk - all in someone else's culture... interruptions and eruptions mock the fieldworker and his inquiry; more accurately, they may be said to inform his inquiry, to be an essential part of it."

(Rabinow 1977:154)

During the first field session, I became interested in family structure as it related to migration and survival skills in an urban poor community. In the second trip I focussed more on womens' work within the household. In particular I looked at their management of economic resources and health care. At the time these seemed to form the core of womens' work as I observed it, and as these topics existed in their conversations. The study was not structured by a particular theoretical interest but emerged from what I perceived as the interests of women and of the importance of women's management of the home. It was obvious that there was a connection between these interests and the place of the poor within the larger urban structure, but the analysis of this issue was not then clear to me.

One topic which interested Colonia women was why I had no children. They knew that I was married but had not yet conceived. Why not? One woman asked "You're Catholic, aren't you?" "Yes" I replied. "Then you wouldn't be taking the pill because that is forbidden by the Pope. " she continued. "No", I lied, "I'm not taking the pill." That was the only lie that I told my informants, and at the time I felt it was necessary for purposes of my "moral" standing in this community of Catholic women. A few years later in 1974 most men and women were pro-contraception, in spite of their religion, because of what they saw as the economic advantage of having fewer children. In other words, their change of mind and in some instances, behaviour, demonstrated a tendency toward a 'rationalization' of dispositions grounded in a Western economic structure. Since I was not on the pill, women felt that there must be something wrong with me. One of my most interesting informants, Dona Isabel, diagnosed a 'cold womb'. She was a *curandera* (curer) who also practiced witchcraft. She was so thin that her face had the appearance of a skull with just a fine covering of skin. Her mouth had just three or four teeth left. On an appointed day, she was to 'warm' my womb through a programme of baths and massages. I did not want to go through with the cure but agreed because it was part of my 'job' as an anthropologist. However, I think Isabel felt just as shy as I did, because on the appointed day it happened to be windy, and she said that I could fall ill with the changes in temperature and *mal aire*.

My third trip back to Linda Vista was for thirteen months. As with the second trip, I think my informants appreciated the fact that I did return. In fact I was a great success because I was pregnant and gave birth to my son in Oaxaca. Until then I had not realised how my status would change. I had always felt that I had been recognised as an adult. However as a pregnant woman I was truly a full adult, and developed even closer bonds with Colonia women. Simultaneously, the men took my interviews more seriously. I felt that there was a qualitative difference in my relationship with the Colonia residents due to my new status as a mother.

During this extended period I gathered the data on household budgets and inventories. I also was able to study city institutions such as hospitals, the family planning centre, and the social security centre. These organised interviews took place within the familiar context of Linda Vista. Life there had become so familiar that three-quarters of the way through the field session the questions I asked of Linda Vista residents no longer made sense to me. In fact their lives made so much 'sense' that my questions sounded foolish and redundant. I had not forgotten that they were the informants and I was the anthropologist, but there simply was nothing to query. There was nothing different or 'other' about their lives. Illnesses like the 'evil eye', and the 'follen fontennel' became natural, so that nothing 'stood out' to be written as field notes. In a sense I had forgotten what I was doing there apart from just living. This feeling has also been commonly experienced by my anthropological colleagues and is perhaps a regular experience of long term field work. It is no doubt due to one's discovery of the ordinary humanity of one's informants when they 'transform' from objects to subjects, and when the questions that one asks them seems as naive to oneself as they must seem to them. It is almost as if one joins sides with informants as a person, against one's self as an outsider and anthropologist. Thus it is the anthropologist who becomes the 'other'.

On reflection I think there were two main reasons for this phase of field work. First, my research was not structured other than by informants' lives. A more formal approach would have kept my sights in line. Second, I did not understand field work as being a dialectical process between informant and ethnographer, and that 'data' is a creation of that relationship. The facts of anthropology are already interpretations and data is culturally mediated by informants. Thus our facts arise out of a string of interpretations. Had I understood the reflexive nature of anthropological knowledge, I would have been more conscious of what I was doing and the process that I was going through; the central act and task of fieldwork becomes the translation of a set of experiences between the informant and the anthropologist.

My last field trip to Linda Vista was in 1974 and lasted just three months. During that time I re-checked some of the data I had previously gathered, and undertook some research into family planning and its

4. Banco Interamericano di Vivienda y Desarrollo Urbano Integrado; *Perspectiva en America Latina*, Washington D.C., 1966:17.
5. Some of the following discussion is taken from "*Squatters or Suburbanites? The Growth of Shantytowns in Oaxaca, Mexico*", ed., Robert E. Scott, University of Illinois Press, 1969. The article was written by our group of students and advisor who worked in Oaxaca during the first field visit in 1968.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE FIELD OF COLONIA POLITICS

This chapter introduces Linda Vista as a social space maintained as a community through the actions of key individuals, within the field of politics. Because of their personal dispositions and the cultural or symbolic capital that they are able to accumulate, the field is dominated by certain individuals. These individuals have been given a mandate by residents of Linda Vista to 'speak' for the community and to define community interests. This power base was often used to benefit their personal career trajectories as well as being advantageous to their family interests. The ability and the willingness of these people to become leaders was dependent upon a set of social conditions which combined with an individual cluster of predispositions. These can be defined as "...a socially induced propensity to seek and welcome public offices and to manage the kind of social connections required to press one's claim and ascertain one's hold over them" (Wacquant 1986 p.10). Such people practise symbolic power, a power that can be defined as the ability to impose and impress an understanding and structuring of the world, by using symbolic systems that contribute to the reproduction of economic and political power in such a way that the process itself has a "taken for granted" legitimacy.

Through the relationship between Colonia leaders and other community residents, traditional patterns of patron-client relationships and community work groups (the *tequio*) have been recreated. The specific moment in Colonia history was the spur to the creation of these new relationships. The politics of the Colonia have in turn, been structured by the larger fields of city and state politics, fields in which traditional patterns of patron-client relationships are still maintained by the dominant class.¹

THE DEVELOPMENT OF COMMUNITY

The initial period of settlement of Linda Vista was fraught with confrontations between two squatter groups. These confrontations resulted in a vitiation of relationships which produced disagreements and rivalries in the Colonia that lasted 13 years. A Oaxacan school teacher, Sr. Benito Mendez, formed the Colonia in 1960. He decided upon the name and the general territory which the Colonia would occupy. Because Mendez had wanted to become a property developer, he negotiated by means (which he subsequently claimed to be legal), the rights to part of the El Fortín hillside. Having achieved this

control, he then attempted to sell sections by using radio advertisements which were aimed at the urban poor of Oaxaca and at rural villagers seeking to migrate to the city. As each site was purchased, the new owner was given a 'title' to the land. Approximately thirty such titles were sold. Other individuals and families who heard the radio announcements also took up residence on the hillside but outside of the ground allegedly controlled by Mendez. The residents occupied the land as squatters. The ambiguity of ownership created problems for residents. For example, some of the squatters were simply hoping to cling to their house sites. Others, not a majority, vaguely hoped to take advantage of a Mexican law which stated that with the absence of a claim from a rightful owner squatters could claim ownership of a section of land if the resident on that land had lived there peacefully for five years.

During this period one family headed by their eldest son, San Miguel, bought a large piece of land from Mendez. The section was an especially attractive piece of real estate because it was close to the main highway, it was flat, and it was facing what was to become the main street. Initially San Miguel, helped by his family, proceeded to develop the section. This development included building a small store which sold the only kerosene in the Colonia along with the only public bathhouse in the area with hot water. For reasons which remain obscure (except that there was a personal animosity between them) San Miguel decided to check the school teacher's claims to the land. San Miguel challenged Mendez in court; the teacher was convicted of land fraud and jailed. While the court case was proceeding San Miguel became aware of a group of aggrieved residents who, although they did not have land titles claimed that they had as much right to the land as those who had purchased "worthless" titles. The residents who had titles were not inclined to support San Miguel since their titles were now rendered worthless by the conviction of Mendez. In fact these residents were angered by San Miguel's intervention. These circumstances were the basis of ensuing arguments over land rights as well as the political rights of one group over another in the attempt to represent the Colonia to the city. These arguments effectively split the community for several years, but finally San Miguel and his group became the key members of the Colonia *Mesa Directiva*, a community council.

The political voices from Oaxacan squatter settlements have focussed upon land tenure and municipal services in their dialogues with city government officials. In his article on Oaxacan squatter settlements, Butterworth writes:

"Most politics in the colonias revolve around acquisition and/or legislation of land titles and attempts to get community services. Three of the settlements...have a *Mesa Directiva* for this purpose. A *Mesa Directiva* is a form of local government that acts in a lobbying capacity as it represents the needs of a colonia in dealings with official government structures. Since the colonias must depend upon the city for water,

electricity and other services, the *Mesa Directiva* tries to apply pressure to obtain these amenities."

(Butterworth 1973:223)

In Linda Vista, San Miguel worked as a political broker. The second group, led by a city Doctor who was friendly with Mendez, also formed a *Mesa Directiva* but with no effect upon the majority of the community.

THE STRUGGLE FOR POSITION

San Miguel had considerable energy to devote to the development of the Colonia. A charismatic person, he was good-looking, at ease with people and able to inspire loyalty and support. As a leader of the urban poor residents, San Miguel had the right dispositions which allowed him to look and act in a 'popular' way. As far as outside appearances were concerned, he was young, in his mid-twenties like most Colonia residents, and he had a job with a local radio station but only earned what would be considered to be a moderate amount in terms of Colonia incomes. San Miguel did not have much more than a primary school education, which again was similar to other Colonia residents. He cared for his mother, brother and sister, and as Latin tradition requires, helped them to build small businesses for themselves. He thus shouldered the paternal role in the family (in accordance with the traditional role for an elder Latin son). All of these aspects gave San Miguel the necessary attributes of a community leader. His real ability was, in a sense, belied by his humble exterior because he had a 'political' understanding of the role of the patron and was able to use the familiar style of the patron with the people around him (even when he was quite young in age). In having the confidence to go into the governmental departments (in part due to his experience in living in a larger city to the north), and with his successful case against the teacher, San Miguel inspired the confidence of the residents in his abilities as a leader. In a sense, San Miguel embodied certain elements of an idealised Colonia resident. His fluidity with the orthodox patron-client relationships, his dutiful devotion to family, his humble education, and his casual appearance all gave credence to his authenticity as a leader who was one of the people. Yet at the same time, his urban (and therefore alien) guile also served to make him effective in that role. His lack of education and wealth let him sit comfortably among those with traditional ways. Yet his capacity to 'name' and to 'stand for the people' also depended on his urban connections, and his growing familiarity with a new set of practices.

In addition to having the appropriate personal dispositions, one would have to point out that the political conditions in Oaxaca were right for a leader like San Miguel. The new governor had a liberal attitude

towards the problem of housing the urban poor. San Miguel used this situation to his advantage by securing government help for specific projects, by circumventing the bureaucratic structure of government and by actively cultivating the favours of political leaders. No doubt San Miguel's move from advertising in the radio station to becoming a disc jockey helped him to gain access to politicians wanting to popularize themselves. San Miguel and his group established a patron-client relationship with key figures in government offices and exchanged favours. San Miguel's group helped directly in local, state and federal elections. The candidates always were always part of the majority ruling party in Mexico and never from the two minority parties. In exchange, the Colonia was given the materials to construct the school buildings, electric street lights and the road ways. The fact that San Miguel became the leader of the Colonia group in the eyes of government officials indicates that a form of capital exchange was at work, in terms of his access to the media for a small measure of political capital in town.

San Miguel and his mother became two of the most sought after patrons for *compadre* relationships² and because of these personal ties were able to maintain political support within the Colonia. Through his representations on behalf of Linda Vista to local government, San Miguel became well-known in Oaxaca. After becoming a popular radio disc jockey, he eventually served as a representative in the state government. His *Mesa Directiva* claimed to have 200 families (out of 300) as members, although only half this number actually worked directly for the *Mesa*. By 1974 San Miguel had married into a middle class Oaxacan family and owned the only bottled water factory in the city. His family still live in the Colonia, which he visits each day to have lunch with his mother.

A second *Mesa Directiva* was established by the Doctor, an old friend of the school teacher Mendez. It was a failure. Unlike San Miguel, the dispositions of the Doctor were quite wrong to secure him a place in the political hierarchy of the squatter settlement. First, being in his early fifties, he was much older than the majority of the residents. Moreover, he wore suits and ties instead of the usual open necked shirts and cotton trousers. Being a Doctor he was much better educated than all other Colonia residents. Furthermore, Colonia residents had no confidence that he would take their problems seriously, because he did not actually live in the settlement but only housed his mistress and children there. Thus he would only make sporadic visits. Not only did the Doctor not look the part, or live in the Colonia, he simply did not have the time and energy to give to the kinds of political activity that were necessary in the early years of Colonia development. Because the Doctor had no real grasp of the problems which concerned most Colonia residents, the types of projects that his group chose to work on were out of place for that period of the Colonia's history. The first project his group worked on was to have the courts declare that

their land titles (as opposed to the squatter's rights) were valid. The second project was to seek to have the city supply potable water to Colonia residents. This would have been of enormous help to the residents but at the time the Colonia was not recognised (legally) by the city and had no rights to city water. Had the group managed to get access to city water, residents would have been expected to pay for its installation. This second *Mesa* worked without success on its two projects from 1965-1973. In 1974, the two *Mesa Directivas* merged. The Colonia was by then incorporated into the city, and the Doctor became the Vice-President of San Miguel's group. The reasons for the success of one *Mesa*, and the failure of the other are, in many ways, self-evident. Having no feel for the game, the Doctor not only failed to correctly read the aspirations of inhabitants, but he kept his social distance from them. He also failed to comprehend adequately the politics of local government. Perhaps most important of all, the Doctor had no symbolic capital which he could use to secure a strong position in the political field. Given his manner, clothes and involvement with the Colonia it is evident that he had totally misconstrued the necessary forms of capital and strategies necessary to win. At all these levels, San Miguel proved more proficient.

For a local group, the *Mesa Directiva* was highly structured. The *Mesa* consisted of a series of elected officers with specific duties.³ A list of officers and duties is provided below.

The officers of the *Mesa* met on a regular basis in order to plan the program which they wished to develop. The real operations of each cargo were different than they appear on the list. For example, the *Secretario de Accion Politica* would never enter into any business with government bodies unless the *Presidente* organised the meeting. The *Secretario de Mejoramiento y Urbanización* could only be as good as the *tequio* allowed. Similarly, the *Secretario de Conflictos* never negotiated conflicts in the Colonia. The ultimate authority of the group lay with San Miguel and all major decisions were cleared through him. Showing San Miguel such respect is consistent with the role of clients to the patron in Latin America. Within these relationships, one of the most important dimensions is the patron's symbolic capital and his/her power to protect as well as to speak for the group. In this regard symbolic capital is thus embedded in the honour and prestige of the patron; their reputation for good works, credibility, honesty and kindness. The struggle for position in the political field of the Colonia was embodied in the relationships between the Doctor and San Miguel. In the struggle to capture the right to 'name' Colonial needs and to 'speak' for the residents, the protagonist from the city, steeped in the unambiguous dispositions of the middle-class and the city, was always at a disadvantage to San Miguel whose great skill was in the 'creative reinvention' of traditional dispositions that suited the urban squatter settlements.

Offices in the *Mesa Directiva*

OFFICE	DUTIES
1. Presidente	Executive officer of the group
2. Vice-Presidente	Assumes Presidential power in his absence.
3. Secretario de Actas y Acuerdos	Handles official correspondence and takes minutes of the meetings of the <i>Mesa Directiva</i> .
4. Secretario de Conflictos	Settles disputes in the Colonia.
5. Secretario de Finanzas	Official treasurer.
6. Secretario de Organización	Arranges meetings and agendas in the Colonia.
7. Secretario de Acción Política	Handles relationships between government structures and the Colonia.
8. Secretario de Acción Social	Allocates funds for the social good of the Colonia
9. Secretario de Mejoramiento y Urbanización	Keeps the streets in the Colonia in good repair.
10. Secretario de Higiene y Salubridad	Supervises sanitary facilities in the community.

The *Mesa Directiva* worked for what they felt to be the amelioration and promotion of the Colonia.⁴ Within the *Mesa*, there was a small, powerful group connected to San Miguel. It was this clique which controlled the meetings and the projects. The clique consisted of eight members, both men and women. They were amongst the wealthier families in the Colonia, and lived in the same area of the Colonia as San Miguel. They also had *compadre* relationships with one another as well as with San Miguel. The relationships with San Miguel were one-sided, with the others asking him for the honour of being their *compadre*. The basis of domination by this group of Colonia politics was the conjunction of economic, cultural and symbolic capital that existed within a certain group at the particular historic moment. The dominant position which the group occupied was construed in such a way that the domination was by-in-large misrecognised by Colonia residents, and perhaps by the group itself. The position of leadership

was veiled by the idea of the leadership's self-sacrifice, and thus symbolic capital was accrued by the hours given to community needs as opposed to hours given to self-interest.

When the *Mesa* decided upon a project, it was carried out by the collective labour of the *tequio* (community work group).⁵ The organization of the *tequio* offers an example of how the power that the leading group had to represent the Colonia also carried with it the power to delegate workloads among Colonia residents. Delegation works as a sleight of hand by tending to ensure that the group agrees to the leader's project, and defines him or her as one who argues for the interests of the community. In Linda Vista this symbolic power was held in varying degrees by the cargo holders. San Miguel would share these positions in the *Mesa Directiva*, thereby adding, in an indirect way, to the fund of symbolic capital that he himself could accrue. Furthermore if a Colonia resident was in a *compadre* relationship with San Miguel or if they had been asked to do something by him, they also would accrue a certain amount of symbolic capital. San Miguel, and his group continued to represent the Colonia, and over a period of years they altered the identity of the Colonia. As this process took place, their social images were shaped by means of the logic of delegation and their participation vis-a-vis other residents in community works and political representations.⁶

For some Colonia projects, the government provided materials while residents provided labour (e.g. street lights). Those *tequios* were held on Sunday mornings and often consisted of up to 80 people. When a large project was necessary (for example, when a community water tank was being built) day labourers were hired by the *Mesa*, and *tequio* labourers worked on Sunday. For each particular project, Colonia residents were expected to contribute a certain number of *tequios*, either by working or by providing 15 pesos per *tequio*.

The *Mesa Directiva* of San Miguel's group was successful in completing all of their projects. These projects included building the first primary school in the Colonia, installing electric light poles for electricity supply and street lights, organising the communal water taps and drilling two wells, making dirt roads and paths throughout the settlement, and installing public bathrooms in the school. When a project was completed, the *Mesa* held a public celebration. Various city officials such as the Governor and Mayor were invited. These celebrations were held in a small warehouse in the Colonia which San Miguel had built. The celebrations always took the same form, in that they were a forum for self-congratulation on the part of the invited governmental guests, and on the part of the *Mesa Directiva*. Each group would congratulate the other and thank the other for their help on the particular project. The celebrations were always orchestrated around opening the project (like the street lights or the water

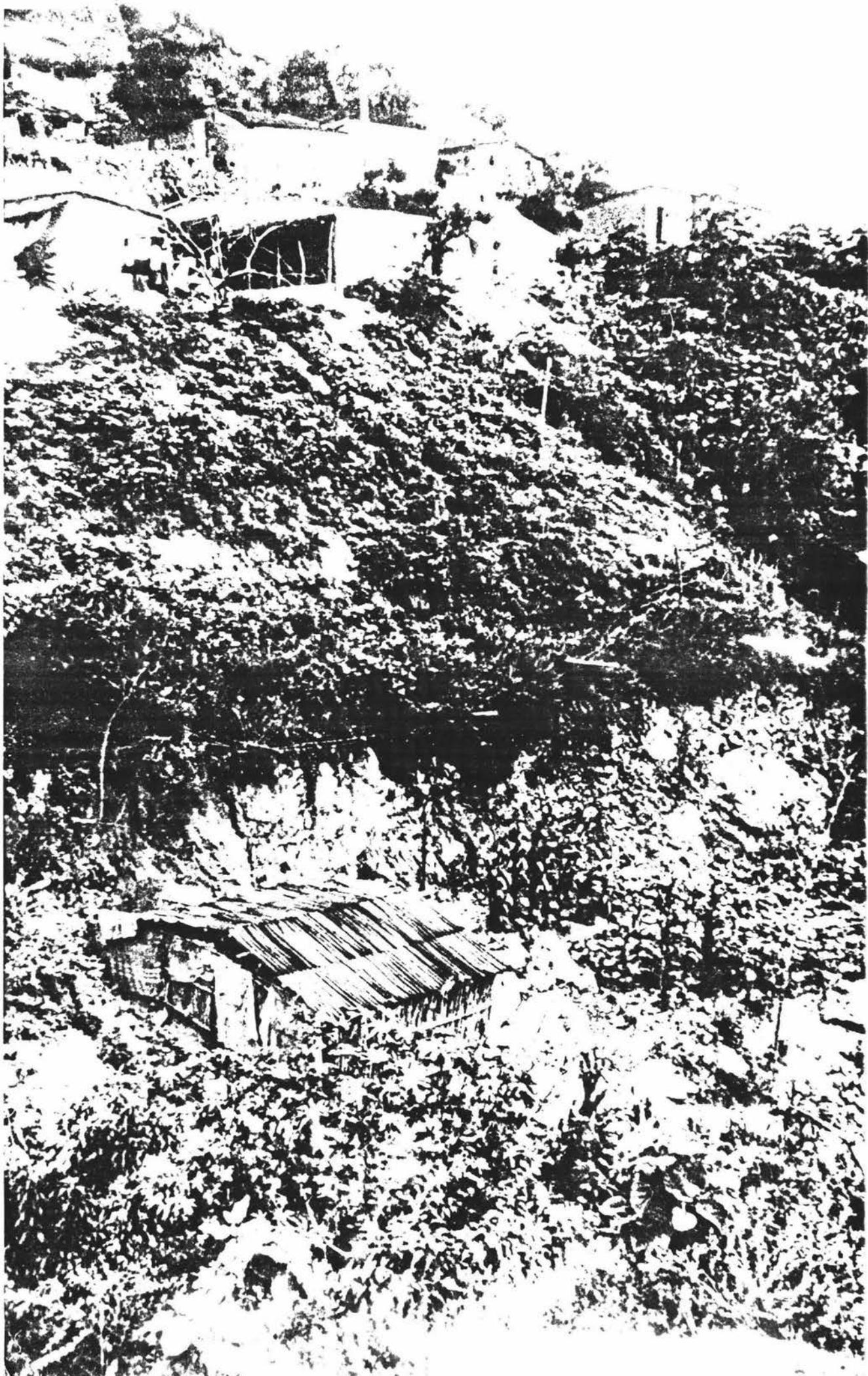
faucets) and included a meal. The meal was always a *barbacoa* (B.B.Q.) which centered on a pit-roasted goat. The goat would be stuffed with *masa* (ground corn flour dough), and in a separate container a litre or so of goat blood would be cooked into a thick consistency which was considered a delicacy. Large hand-made, corn tortillas as well as the shop made tortillas (the hand-made ones have higher status), a rice dish and home made chili sauce all accompanied the meat. Beer and *mescal* were the usual drinks, with mescal or tequila used for the toasts. It was a usual feature of these functions that a small band with *marimbas* or a few trumpets provided the music. Tables were made from long planks of wood and were arranged in rows, with the guests' table being in front. The preparation of the meals and arrangements involved most of the Colonia who worked in the *tequio*. The women were all involved in cooking (in some small way) although the direction of the feast was controlled by women of high status i.e. San Miguel's mother, or the wives of office holders. When the feasts began most of these women returned home, and those that were left ate separately from the men. Generally women did not sit at table with the men or the guests. The guests, who included a large political entourage, were usually late (from about 30 minutes to one hour). Upon their arrival they would be greeted by San Miguel and by the first two of his lieutenants. The remainder of the *Mesa* and the residents would tend to fade into the background and would take on the job of 'help'. While the city representatives were in Linda Vista the dominant political field would command while the local field of Linda Vista would shrink (almost visibly). At moments such as these it was visibly evident that San Miguel represented only a dominant fraction of a dominated group.

At the beginning of the fiesta, a welcome speech was always made. Then the main visitor would speak about the project, about the support that the city or his office had offered the locals and about further support that residents could expect. Then, there would be a toast, and the official would cut the ribbons (as was the case when the school toilets were opened). If the visitors should stay for the meal, (which was not always guaranteed), they would sit alone with San Miguel and perhaps one other Colonia representative. If they left immediately after the ceremony, the fiesta would become a Colonia party. The money for the goat was taken from the *Mesa Directiva*, and from the contributions of residents. Such occasions recreated the power base of the local political group and served to maintain their image in the Colonia. It was through these rites that their social image was forged, and people were assigned titles and given the power to represent. Such power and titles have made San Miguel and others 'what they ought to be'. In other words, they take their natural place within the Colonia through the recreation of their positions by cultural and symbolic means.

A major project which the *Mesa* worked towards was the incorporation of Linda Vista into the city and thereby to secure city services. Services such as paved roads and mail service started when the Colonia

Photograph, showing housesites as they are built into the hillside. Note the different types of construction. At the bottom, a house is seen constructed with a tar-paper roof and bamboo side. Top centre, a set of adobe and cement houses are grouped. Electrification from the city is brought out on the poles which are clearly indicated on the upper slopes and which were constructed by residents.

Photograph: author's collection



finally become part of the city in 1973. Access to potable water was also provided by the city. Pipes were laid through *tequio* labour under the control of the *Mesa*. However, most households could not take advantage of the potable water service because of the cost. Each household needed to invest approximately 700 pesos for the connection. Similarly, sewage pipes were installed in four streets but only a few houses could afford the connection and installation of facilities. During this time in the history of the Colonia (1973-74), community development moved from projects which were once dependent upon volunteer labour to projects which needed an investment of money by households, such as the potable water system and the sewage system. In a graphic transformation, rural dispositions, enacted in the very *production* of such systems through the agency of the *tequio* systems, were at the same time thwarted in *consumption*, by the inability of residents to pay with anything other than their labour. Prevented by a lack of capital from fully participating in the use of public services, some residents were left to sit on the edges of urban life, until they could make the transition to a capital-based livelihood. Such a transition was not made by all residents.

While the ostensible goal of community development is self-help for the community, one can not ignore the benefits that community leaders are able to obtain through their community work. Such benefits may signify a major change from the dispositions of village headmen to a western and urban approach that migrants moving into the city from rural areas experience. According to Foster's (1967) description of village leaders of Tzintzuntzan in a cooperative undertaking, the ideal man takes nothing from his neighbours and gains nothing in return. By such self-sacrifice, the head man gains in symbolic capital. The value lies in the very fact that symbolic capital is invisible. However in such work, the same man risks the exploitation by his associates, who may be less scrupulous than he (Foster 1967:136). In his monograph on Tepotzlán Lewis expresses the link between honour and duty to the degree of status and prestige that village leaders have. In the Colonia there was talk (increasingly as the years passed) about Colonia 'leaders' always gaining the benefits of knowing city bureaucrats and businessmen, and even being the ones to take home the remains of a community fiesta. The risk that these leaders took in loosing the esteem of the residents was never high enough to keep the political fraction of San Miguel from reaping the benefits of their position. While not necessarily self-conscious, dominant fractions did restrain crude unmediated economic advance in order to retain the symbolic and political capital which their altruistic positions afforded. This deferral of immediate gains in economic capital in order to sustain political capital, however, was transitory. In the end, when community projects branched out into creating a market and in buying the connection to the sewage system and potable water, the benefits to certain people were so obvious that the system of self-help began to disappear. By this time the contradictory positions of the dominant group also became obvious to everyone. Community leaders

were no longer the 'same' leaders nor were they engaged in the 'same' projects; they had become part of the city. The city was no longer outside. Those who were now 'outside' were the remaining squatters who were still living outside of the logic of the city.

Earlier in this chapter and in the Introduction to the thesis, it was suggested that migrants who are successful in the city can be seen to be recreating their lives through a process of disenchantment. The traditional world lies as if it were under a spell, so that one does not 'see' the obvious economic intent (for instance) of particular social or religious rituals. The transition referred to occurs when these divisions of the 'world' become apparent in a Western urban environment. Then, the uses of money (i.e. for personal use instead of communal fiestas) and the rethinking and recreation of time on the basis of the six-day labouring week of the city, instead of the seasonal variations of the village, combine to create a disenchanted world; informants begin to fashion strategies suitable for success in the city.⁷

Without the base of collective work and equal access to development projects, the community of Linda Vista became a suburb of Oaxaca, internally stratified along the lines which characterise other Oaxacan suburbs. One result was to minimize the communal identity of Linda Vista. Community volunteer labour could only be successful to a limited extent in any further development of the area. Because of the nature of private property and production based within the domestic group, each household was thrown back upon itself for amenities, as the logic of political practice changed from the collective emphasis of the village towards the individualist emphasis of the city, although neither logic was ever exhibited in its pure form.

The latest phase of community development has been the establishment of two markets. The first market was set up in 1974 through San Miguel's *Mesa Directiva*. The *Mesa* was given permission to have a market by the local government. This was due, in part, to San Miguel's influence with government officials, and because the Colonia was about to become part of the city. The *Mesa* argued that the market would be economically viable and that it was a much-needed community service. The residents most involved were those who were influential members of the Colonia, and those who could invest in its establishment. This event is a particularly good example of how those who possessed a considerable amount of cultural and symbolic capital were able to use their position in the political field to increase their economic capital. The market was organised so that each stall would offer only one type of merchandise, with the proviso that no new stall would duplicate the goods already offered. This eliminated competition. Initially, sale of goods on the pathway outside of the market stalls was also prohibited. This set of rules cut through traditional *compadrazgo* ties, so that no personal influence or

contact could get around the situation. Market activities were thus based on the ability to invest and on the amount of capital available, rather than the labour power base of the *tequio* or any individual resident. Later, these regulations were somewhat moderated, and women were allowed to sell tortillas on the street outside. This struggle for control of the market exemplifies a form of engagement between those espousing new urban forms of supply, purchase and sale, and the vast majority seeking to ensure that the old informal mechanisms of sale and purchase could continue. In their successful attempt to 'recover' at least part of the new market for the old market practices, the Colonia residents resisted the full transformation to the logic of capital. However, this was not the end of the struggle.

The first market was organised by Senor Rivera and Dona Chola, both from San Miguel's group. In 1975-1976, there was a split in the market group and Senor Rivera led a group to use land down the hill from the Colonia, next to a hotel. Another market was built and became successful. Rent was paid to the land owner, and people who were not from Linda Vista were allowed to set up stalls as well as the settlement residents. The old market remains under the direction of another of San Miguel's people, Senora Marta Canseco. The new market, of course, is yet a further move in which an urban rationality envelops life in the Colonia. However, in order to achieve this "success", the new stall-holders had to physically remove themselves from the Colonia, and establish themselves further into the heart of the city.

In 1981, there was still a Sunday *tequio*, but there was no compulsion to assist, and few people attended (only about ten or fifteen each week). Mostly, these were people from the upper Colonia sections who worked to improve the footpaths in their areas. The general trend in the Colonia's development has changed from an emphasis on collective work to an emphasis on individual endeavour through the new markets. What remained of the *tequio* system in 1981 was under the control of Senora Duarte, who began work with a cooperative support agency of the government, called the '*Procuraduria de Colonias Populares*'. The office disappeared in 1980 with a change in Governor. In spite of this setback, a vestigial *tequio* system continued into 1981. The original political field no longer existed, and those that once held the dominant positions in the field were no longer interested in accumulating the cultural and symbolic capital that the field once offered them. Their position vis-a-vis the city has moved from the sub-proletariat to the working class. The fields which they have found to be important were those which were connected to the upward movement of job status; their career trajectory began to be connected totally to the movement from one class to another. Their political field has moved to the market and many of the previous cargo holders have now become small shopkeepers and owners. They were no longer interested in reproducing their positions within the Colonia, but became intent on reproducing

and advancing their position and (by extension) that of their children in the market place, in keeping with Western practices and strategies.

During the early stages of development, the *Mesa Directiva* was instrumental in organising residents of the Colonia. Community development was substantial. The achievement of basic services has also meant that residents themselves felt confident of their community and its place within the city. *Colonos* often voiced the opinion that their community progressed further than neighbouring settlements, such as Benito Juarez. They often said that they might be '*gente humilde*' (humble folk) but they built what they had on their own. They believed that their initiative and hard work had finally paid off. The calculations involved in the reproduction of the positions of community leaders' within the political field, as well as the strategies used to gain and to convert the different types of capital into economic capital were at least partially hidden behind an ideological screen. Some families, such as the Cruz family (see the following chapter) would participate in the *tequio*, and were also *compadres* to San Miguel (albeit as clients) but they never gained any sort of position within the field, nor did they understand why. In fact, they did not even recognise the existence of the field until they were barred from the new market. This problem arose because they could not afford to set up a proper market stall and wanted to sell tortillas and other foodstuffs on the ground outside. The market vendors did not conceal their strategies and practices within the new economic and political fields from the rest of the Colonia by dressing them up as something else. Nor did they try to disguise them by rendering them invisible through a displacement of understanding. In the past this process occurred because the habitus of these people was so much a part of traditional 'enchanted' life, such a re-construction was something that was natural and 'went without saying'.⁸ New fields and new definitions of what constituted honour and prestige meant that the social relationships between *Colonos* were being generated in forms which were qualitatively different.

The self-help activities which characterised the early periods of Colonia development can be interpreted as a recreated style between traditional patterns of rural life, (as was exemplified by the *tequio* basis for community work) and the demands of the city (as demonstrated by the city's role as the provider of capital goods). The pre-capitalist or traditional patterns of work which were traditionally so strongly part of domestic life, were also reflected in their 'recreation' for the purposes of early community development, (such as in the division of labour for fiestas). The overall tendency is that of a collective self-fulfilling prophecy, dependent upon previous notions of community, and managed by a dominant faction that defined the community, and who guided the behaviour of those who made up the community through their daily practical life. The evolution of the new trends in development, such as

the market reduced collective patterns of work to a vestigial level. Further, services were developed primarily by the city using paid labourers, and provided services that only the relatively well-to-do could afford to use. The basis for development was no longer self-help, but individual achievement. Normative rules requiring collective activity for community development were gradually replaced by incorporation into the dominant structure, and the evolution of a market economy.

The day-to-day consequences of this change were also clear. Colonia people spent more and more of their energy seeking to become integrated into the more expensive services which the market economy provided. The sewage and water supply were the most obvious examples. Instead of basing these services on the mutual obligation of 'work for services', the market required cash payment for basic community needs. The Colonia itself, only made possible by creative reinvention, has dissolved into the city.

THE INFLUENCE OF LOCAL AND STATE GOVERNMENT ON THE FIELD

By 1981, Colonia residents judged local and state government as having been responsive to their needs. However by this later stage of Colonia development, government policy had not always had positive results for the settlement. The problems were largely the outcome of the government welfare agency INDECO, the National Institute for the Development of Rural Community and Popular Life. INDECO's programme was to raise the living standards of the poor through housing and community development. In the urban Colonias, branch offices were set up from 1975 to 1980 to offer medical, legal, technical and business help to urban poor residents. The control of these centres was separated from the indigenous *Mesa Directivas*. INDECO felt that such organisations would simply serve to further disputes and factions among what they termed the population of 'Indians' (a pejorative term signifying lack of education and civilization). Again, such action highlighted the struggle to 'represent' in the political field. In this case it was INDECO who struggled with the locals for the monopoly over the legitimate representation of the social world. Thus, while the goals of the two groups may have been the same, their patterns of activity were diametrically opposed. In part, the dissolution of the self-help group was a result of government interference. Before 1975, the activity by the *Mesa Directiva* was at a high level, and several basic services had been introduced.

The consequences of the division between government and community could have been predicted. While developments in the Colonia had been modest before INDECO's involvement, they had provided ready access for most Colonia residents. The social relations of work in the *tequio* system mandated,

through the normative rule, that services would be communally available. INDECO ignored these indigenously-based work relations, and provided two expensive services, sewage and water, neither of which were made available to the vast majority of Colonia residents. The obvious effect was to accentuate the formation of social and economic divisions between those who could afford to buy these services, and those who could not. Again, in the development of markets, the city intervened to offer sites and title, but this also emphasized the divisions between those who owned stalls and those who did not. Traditional work patterns and social relationships still continued to exist. However, more and more their function in the urban setting had become defined by economic circumstances.

THE LIMITS OF THE FIELD

Any field within the social space is limited by objective structures and by the historical moment. The field of politics in Linda Vista and the political manoeuvring for positions within the field can also be understood in this way. When the Colonia was originally settled, the *Colonos* were young and willing to work for the chance to establish themselves in jobs and in housing. In this 'golden period' of creative reinvention, such a merging of old and new ways in the effort to create solutions to problems was always possible. The need to domesticate the environment and the residents' needs to persevere meant that particular activities were inevitable. However because of their poverty the resources available to the residents were severely restricted. The manner in which the residents found solutions to these problems stemmed from their common heritage of village life, and their common life as members of the urban poor in the city. Ideas of community and communal work as well as the idea of the *cacique* or village head man were recreated to solve immediate problems. The boundaries that objective structures and the historical moment created limited the possibilities of action within the field and in fact made the ensuing practice inevitable, given the residents' dispositions and their individual abilities.

POLITICAL AGENTS

The experience of Linda Vista can be generalized to other squatter settlements in Oaxaca. For instance, the *Mesa Directiva* of the squatter settlement has been the avenue through which demands to the city are made. In Linda Vista these were channelled through San Miguel who acted as a traditional Mexican head man and a political broker. His influence within the Colonia stemmed from his personal charisma, his success against the school teacher Mendez, and from his continued successful relationships with city politicians. Such a pattern is common among head men and their supporters in other rural and urban Mexican communities. Of this phenomenon Cornelius writes:

"...in fact, numerous studies of both rural and urban communities in Mexico show that personal ties between local leaders and higher authorities are the key to success in petitioning for government benefits."

(Cornelius 1973:145)

Cornelius argues that *caciques* or head men also function as agents of political learning for new migrants to the city. This type of learning takes place in public meetings between residents for decision making purposes and through public meetings between residents and public officials. In other areas of Latin America such as in Peru, political and community groups have had to defend squatters territory from government and business interests (Mangin 1968). However in Linda Vista such defence has not been necessary. The city and state government was benign and, in fact, had been helpful to the residents. As needs were met and the economic advancement of Colonia leaders paralleled the advances of the community, community associations lost power and the community increasingly became part of the city.

Apart from voting in local and federal elections, political behaviour in Linda Vista has been limited to self-help community groups. The activities of residents has followed the general pattern observed in other squatter settlements and urban areas in Mexico and in Latin America in general (Cornelius 1975:233; Portes and Walton 1976:81; Perlman 1976:243; Whiteford 1976:177). Residents' understanding of national and international politics was almost non-existent, (as is apparent from the examples in Chapter Seven and in Appendix V). In Linda Vista there was no sign of political radicalism, nor were there affiliations with leftist activist groups. Political strategies in Linda Vista were aimed at achieving local and individual needs. The lack of political interest in a wider field other than Colonia politics can be explained in a general way by the fact that Colonia residents felt that they could only influence a narrow circle of self-determination and community development. In part this was due to the political realities of the Mexican government but of equal importance, (and in a direct relationship to government), were the perceptions that *Colonos* had of their future. The relationships which they conceived to exist between their daily lives and their lives in the future were rooted within the particular class of material conditions which structured the objective probabilities and the objective future of their lives.

CONCLUSION: THE RECREATION OF COMMUNITY

The community of Linda Vista was created by its residents over a period of twenty years, from approximately 1960 to 1980. The word 'created' is used because of the residents' mutual understanding that a piece of land, bounded by unseen boundaries was defined in common with a name and a group of

people, as well as in opposition to the rest of Oaxaca. Thus the land, this piece of nature, being claimed by a group of people, is now their territory. Within that claim were certain rights of access to control and use of resources which the community could use. This piece of territory, then, has been carved out of space and is defined by the residents as an area of land where resources essential to their community were located.

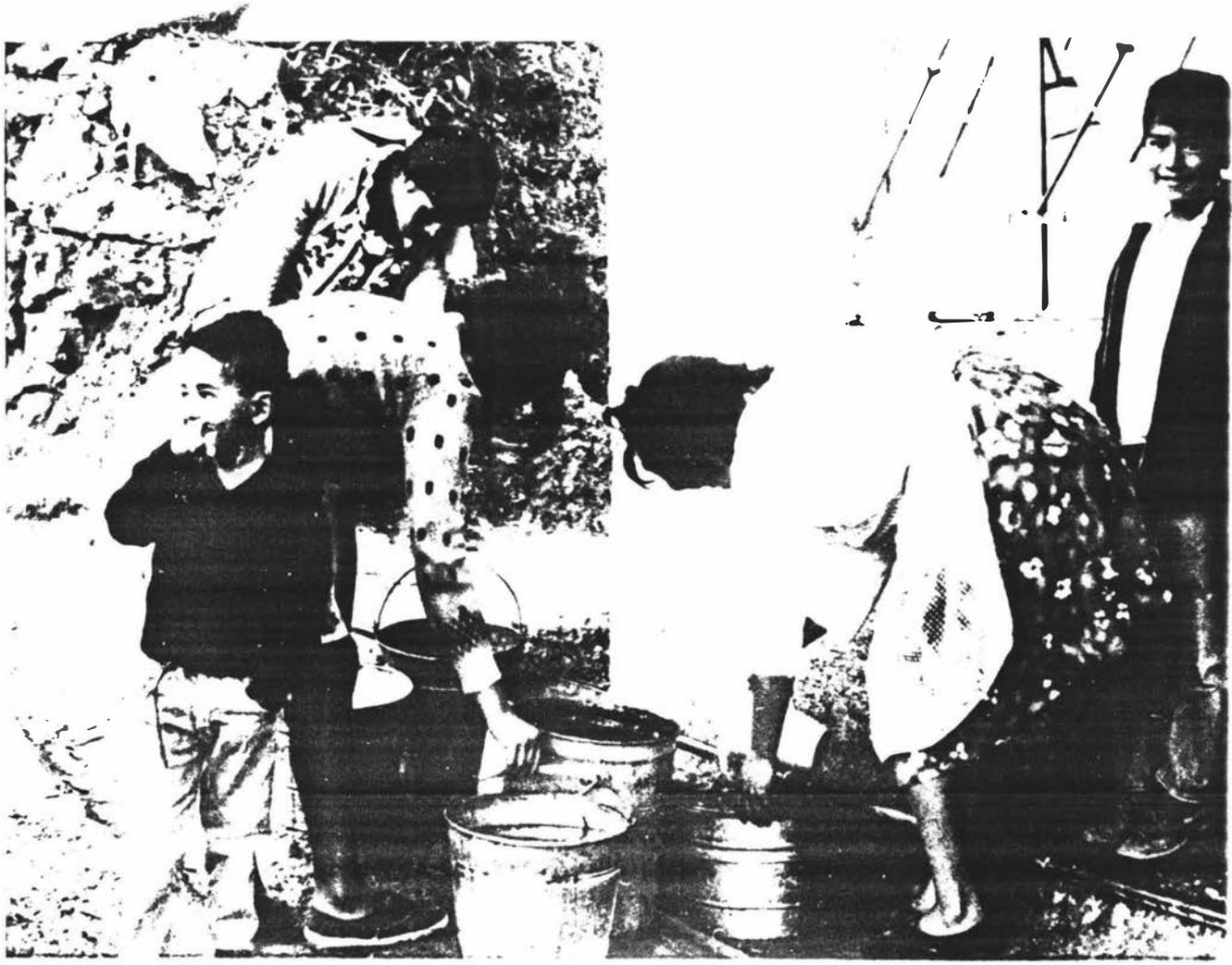
Within the boundaries of Linda Vista, residents have taken pieces of land as their own property and on them they have built their homes. Within this apparently straightforward use of land there have been problems for the community, because use rights to property became enmeshed in a series of rules which determined access, control, utilization, transfer and transmission of resources - all of which could have been open to dispute. While in some groups property takes the form of intangible goods such as songs and prayers, (as in some Indian groups), in Linda Vista the major elements of property has been land, house sites and services. One of the major disputes concerning rights to property divided the community for the first thirteen years and did not disappear until the quarrels became irrelevant to the community at large. It may be that one of the reasons why this particular dispute over land titles became irrelevant was due to the community's acceptance of the agreed-upon ideas relating to access and control of resources. Thus, after so many years it was clear that no one was going to give up their claim to their home sites. Indeed, communities like Linda Vista can only exist on the basis of communal acknowledgement.

In the Colonia the rules of property were defined as exclusive, and they determined the circumstances within which residents lived and to which they conformed. Linda Vista as a territory, provided the basis for the relationships between residents. For instance, Colonia residents defined the land which constituted house sites as private property, and as public that which provided community resources, such as water. Such conceptions of property stemmed from their use in village life and their usefulness in city life. The mutual goal of community integration into the city was possible because, despite the origin of migrants from many parts of Mexico, their idea of a community, city and services were similar. These perceptions were based upon what was happening around them in Oaxaca and in all Mexican urban areas. Thus the land did not represent only a space but embodied common associations and concepts having to do with life in urban Mexico. Use rights to property became the basis for the relationships between domestic units in the Colonia, as well as those between the Colonia and the city of Oaxaca. Within the Colonia these relationships were actualised through the networks of kinship, friendship, co-parenting and in the *tequio*. In the context of the domestic groups these networks provided the key to the fields of production and of politics in Linda Vista.

TOP PHOTOGRAPH: Women collecting water in tin buckets from the water-tap outside of San Miguel's house.

BOTTOM PHOTOGRAPH: Grandmother and grandchildren outside of their one-room bamboo house. Notice the cooking table and utensils outside.

Photograph: author's collection



The land was also part of the relationship which existed between the community and the larger Oaxacan society. This relationship was structured at various levels. For instance, through the personality of San Miguel, through the organisation of the *Mesa Directiva*, and through the formal institutional channels of bureaucracy we can see a complex network of political relations. The land provided the basis for those relationships.

During the first ten years of Colonia development, residents were able to complete major public works in their community. Through their efforts they constructed homes, and with the help of government materials, provided street lights, communal water, schools and public bathrooms. This activity was possible because of the labour-intensive structure of the *tequio*, which provided the 'revenue' and the 'return' to residents. The revenue was, of course, in the exploitation of their collective labour-power in the transformation of territory into property. The return was the development of community facilities for residents. Continued developments beyond this initial period, required capital investment (water, toilets, sewers, markets). At this stage development ceased for most residents because access to the factors of distribution was prevented by new investment patterns. Disruptions to the *Mesa Directiva* and conflicts over market stalls and water projects illuminate this transformation. In the early stages of development, normative rules of behaviour were widely legitimated by residents. Residents frequently discussed and came to agreement on the goals of the Colonia. To do this they met at regular meetings which took place at the school. In general the rank and file of Colonia residents listened to all of the ideas and arguments put forward and then tended to vote for any project favoured by San Miguel. At the level of domestic households (individual workers) and at the level of community, there existed a consistency in designating patterns of appropriation of natural resources.

The introduction of the INDECO agency provided the final blow to the old system of political organisation. The traditional system of work, the *tequio*, gave way to market patterns of production and government intervention which were more typical of modern capitalism. This was supported by the state at both the national and local level. Integration into the structure of the city transformed social relations in the Colonia. Fights for territory and the evolution of private property became individualised, as the collective basis of political organisation was diminished by market forces. The very shape of the political field itself was transformed.

The objective structures which existed in Oaxaca when the Colonia first appeared offered no social services and lacked adequate housing for migrants; at the same time there was an increase in rural migration to the city. The dispositions of the migrants themselves who came to the city for jobs,

education and city amenities combined to create the type of political field that was necessary for the initial settlement and development of Linda Vista.

This chapter has examined the political field with regard to the personal dispositions of the local leaders, and the types of cultural capital and symbolic capital that were the spoils in the struggle for political positions. The community activities during the first ten to fifteen years were all limited by the lack of economic capital that was common among the residents. Community activities were defined by a mixture of traditional expectations of community work and the place of community leaders. As these leaders gained in economic, cultural and symbolic capital, the Colonia itself underwent a transformation in terms of community activities. While the leaders were busy integrating themselves into the working class of Oaxaca, the community was integrated into the city boundaries and community activities gradually became individualized, based upon one's capacities to pay instead of one's capacity to work. While the idea of community was defined in a similar fashion by the residents, it was used, named and controlled by those with capital in the field of politics. The strategic use of patron-client relationships, gift giving, patronage and symbolic capital ensured that, in the city at least, community leaders were accumulating economic capital which would, (through their personal design if not overt calculation), ensure their movement into the working class and for their children, a doorway into the life of the urban middle class. The development of the Colonia was due to the mutual processes of individual habitus and the objective realities of society in Oaxaca at that time, that is, the mutual processes of the individual (within a socially determined system) and the social structure in which they exist. The social structure of the Colonia is an historical product, created from such elements and through the struggle between these elements.

FOOTNOTES

1. Patron-client ties are relationships between people in which one side (the patron) is dominant in terms of economic, cultural and symbolic capital. In Latin countries these sorts of relationships are used by the less powerful to secure financial transactions, employment or help with the state bureaucracy (i.e. paying taxes, filling out forms, dealing with prison officials). As payment, the patron can call upon the client for full labour, political support and other services. This type of friendship is explained more fully in Chapter Six.
2. *Compadres* are the god-parents of one's children. This is a relationship built upon Catholic ritual, transforming friends into fictive kin. The relationships can be very formal with *compadres* using the 'usted' form of you rather than 'tu'. While the godparents are supposed to have a special responsibility for their god-child, the significant relationship is between the parents and godparents who can request and expect varying degrees of economic and social support, depending upon the position of the godparents and the importance of the ritual (i.e. baptisms are more significant than a rosary). These social relationships are explained more fully in Chapter Six.

3. Cargo holders are those people who hold an office in the *Mesa Directiva*. The word cargo is derived from the Spanish form of office holders or those who "carry a burden" (metaphorically speaking) for the community. The *Mesa Directiva* can be likened to a community council.
4. Associations such as the *Mesa Directiva* in urban poor areas are ideal vehicles for exploitation by urban politicians, especially during political campaigns. As election time approached, the tempo of political activity heightened and candidates, along with their representatives began to identify themselves more and more with residential associations and community services. Promises for street repairs, water and sewage were made. By cooperating with such residential associations, politicians such as the governor or the local mayor widened their sphere of influence when elections took place. Such visits to the sites only took an hour or less, so the investment was worth the possible returns. Furthermore, since the residents frequently held no strong political beliefs (see Chapter Seven) their votes were for the person, not for political theories.
5. The *tequio* is a traditional village work group that met for neighbourhood and village fiestas, and other good works. For instance, they ensured that fiesta music and food was arranged, that neighbourhood streets were cleaned, wells were dug or that the work in communal agricultural sites was completed. In the Colonia the *tequio* was not so much directed by the season but by the urban work cycle (6 day) of service occupations. *Tequios* were held on Sundays.
6. The types of demands that were made by the residents of the Colonia were generally confined to small-scale necessities such as the light poles, fixtures and electricity. The parochial nature of these demands and the competitive atmosphere in which they were made vis-a-vis the other squatter settlements, indicated a low level of development in political action among the residents. Other researchers of such settlements in Latin America have made similar observations. See Cornelius 1973; Goldrich 1965; Usandizaga and Havens 1966.
7. For some, this may signal a different form of 'enchantment' in that such misrecognition is inherent in the social relations of capitalism.
8. The example that Bourdieu used in *Outline of a Theory of Practice* which is also true of Mexican life is that of gift giving. Between *compadres*, there is usually a dominant partner and while gifts are exchanged, the economics of the gifting are rendered invisible by defining them within such practices as family honour, generosity and so on. To recognise the gifts and help offered as symptomatic of the unequal distribution of economic wealth would destroy the exchange and the social relationship which both parties need for different reasons. Further, the power of each participant is reproduced and extended, and existing relations of power and the struggles for position are disguised. The word which Bourdieu uses to capture this phenomenon is *méconnaissance* (see Chapter Two).

CHAPTER FIVE

THE FIELD OF THE ECONOMIC: THE HOUSEHOLD SETTING

ECONOMIC CALCULATION

Walking up the wide ascending dirt path which serves as a "main street" in Linda Vista, one first passes the primary school on the left and San Miguel's mother's house and baths on the right. Further up, adobe and cement houses, each painted with different pastel colours, sit side by side until this proximity is made impossible by the steep hillside. In each house the door is open, whether it be the dry or rainy season, and the predominantly floral print window curtains are tied into a knot so that the light can enter. In a few of these houses a small *tienda*, or shop is established in the main room, which also serves as a bedroom at night. During the day it is mostly women and children who people the street and ascending paths, visiting back and forth between houses, schools and the communal water faucets. The household is the hub of daily activity in Linda Vista. It serves as the basic unit where the production and accumulation of capital occurs, and the unit through which the exchange of goods and services between people, (whose lives depend upon their relationships), takes place. The organization of households, residents' occupations and the products and resources which they produce is the focus of this chapter.

Among the urban poor, it is the household which acts as the nexus for the production and accumulation of capital, a capital which is not limited to economic capital. The field of household and family life for the urban poor is defined and therefore limited by two general constraints. These are first, the economic and material conditions of their lives which produce particular patterns of necessities and which offers only the possibility of certain types of solutions to those needs; second, the way in which the field of economics is defined by family and household responsibilities. These conceptualisations stem from traditional Mexican life, and have been recreated in the urban situation. Within these constraints Colonia families structure their households in their struggle to meet basic necessities of food, shelter and medical care. Those who are more energetic and who have more resources at their disposal jostle for positions of economic and social dominance in the field of social relations, and these positions are complementary to positions within the political field.

Given a certain volume of capital, persons from this group can expect their individual trajectories, in terms of career prospects, and the further accumulation of capital, to take them into the working class.

Once steady income is maintained in the working class, middle class trajectories are possible for children. The probabilities that specific persons or families have of succeeding or failing in the city, evidently enough, have their origins in their different personal histories. Migrant villagers differ in language facility, class background, educational level, and familial characteristics. In the Colonia, this personal and social history is put to the test in the task of 'creating' a future, and in attempts to realise its possibilities.

Economic capital is not primarily produced within the confines of the Colonia, but through the integration of the residents into the occupational and trading structure of the city, and through their accumulation of goods over time. The decisions which heads of households make with reference to jobs and money are based upon two dominant modes of perception which Colonia residents use to structure their lives. The first has to do with the conception of the future as being "up to God"; the main strategy of intervention involves the invocation of divine intervention through prayer. Calculations with respect to the future are of a different quality and substance than those appropriate to capitalist rationality. In the context of a "fully lived" traditional world, economic calculations are embedded within the framework of rituals aimed not only at setting aside enough corn for next year's planting, but also in negotiations with and thanksgiving to the spiritual world. The vulnerable position of the migrant without extended family or job security is thus strongly linked to 'present' time. They have neither the perspective nor the material conditions to forecast a future in the Western sense of the word. For them the future is often a matter of day dreams.

The second conception of the future is based upon the type of "rational" thinking that predominates in Western society. In this approach the possibilities of one's "life chances" of success focus upon the management of material resources and strategies, (quite separate from the spiritual world) to the increase of resources, including personal networks which presupposes a "feel for the game" in the setting of the city. In this instance, an informant's dispositions towards the world and "the future" are in harmony with the rationalization of economic calculation inherent in Western city life. Informants who have been raised in a traditionally rural world succeed in adapting to the city and the cash economy by creatively reinventing the kind of calculation and forecasting necessary to city life. Such a reinvention is acquired not through a passive accommodation to the economic world around them, but because the world *is* around them, and in any sense dictates daily possibilities to them that informants assimilate, learn and create through the implicit and explicit "education" of living in that world. Thus the planned and calculated future of the successful migrant is accessible because of their material conditions, the aspects of a future life that are at stake, and their individual dispositions and habitus. Money, skills and

education are inevitably tied to employment and the possibility of the freedom to choose work in contrast to those who have no skills and desperately seek work on a day-to-day basis as a labourer. The accumulation of economic capital by those who are by Colonia standards "successful" (meaning that they are successful in moving into the working class or even lower middle class of Oaxaca), leads in a logical fashion to the accumulation by the household of cultural capital in terms of the following: one, schooling and occupational training for children; two, a higher status marriage partner for children; and three, high status material items such as clothing, household goods and certain types of food. Such cultural capital is then transformable back into economic capital.

One's symbolic capital is dependent upon how the household is characterised in the community. For instance, it depends on whether or not the members of a household have a reputation for hard work and community participation or, in contrast, if the family is known as being lazy or commonly drunk. In one sense this is similar to traditional conceptions of an "honourable" life. However, in a more Western sense being "honourable" often means success in gaining full-time employment, in paying off credit and having important *compadre* ties with better families in the Colonia and in the city. In this situation symbolic capital can be read more directly from economic capital.

The field of economic activity, in its fullest sense, has its primary setting in the household. Accordingly this chapter has been organised in the following manner: after a review of the general issue, section two examines household structure, and section three looks at the organisation of economic and cultural capital through the ownership property, gardens, as well as the role of income and occupations. This leads to the final section, which concentrates on how these modest resources are consumed.

HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE

The household in Linda Vista is socially defined as a group of people, living together on the same house site, and who jointly contribute to the economic and social stability of that unit. The daily activity of the household is carried out through a particular set of consistent relationships. The following descriptions and analysis of households in Linda Vista was taken from the criteria which the informants used to define sets of domestic relationships, and from the anthropological literature on Mexican households.

In the literature, Latin American kinship relations have been described in two major ways. First, they have been characterised as dyadic relations, that is, social interaction between pairs of people who make up a biological family or between people who are treated sociologically as family members. Adams

(1960) suggests three basic dyads; the conjugal dyad, the material dyad and the paternal dyad in the construction of a matrix of family types. Foster (1961) includes colleague dyads and patron-client dyads.

A second type of structured social relationship that has also been used to describe social life in Mexico is ego-centered networks (see Lomnitz 1974). No two people are said to have identical networks, nor are these relationships bound by role expectations. This approach has been used to study migrant adaptation in order to "...take the individual as the starting point for analysis in a situation in which groups may be absent or not immediately apparent" (Butterworth and Chance 1981 p.93).

In Latin America, and more specifically in Linda Vista, family and kinship networks play a crucial role in adaptation to the city. The majority of Latin Americans participate in bilateral kinship systems which rest on the nuclear or extended family. In Mexican migrant communities the nuclear family is often embedded in a large unit that includes the parents and siblings of the married couple (Lomnitz 1974; Kemper 1974). In most cases these extended family units are made up of smaller units who are financially independent but near enough so that extended family links are still important. Family patterns in Linda Vista follow these general rules, and would not encompass more than three generations (see Table I and II).

Oscar Lewis, who pioneered urban poor family studies in Mexico found these families to be predominantly mother-centered and describes marriage ties as predominantly *de facto* rather than *de jure* (1959). In Linda Vista, as in other studies of migrant families (Butterworth 1972; Chance 1973; Kemper 1974), matrilocality however is rare and the Latin ideology of male domination is verbally acknowledged as the appropriate pattern. Nevertheless although matrifocal households are rare, women in Linda Vista can be said to have a nearly equal position in the management of household resources, when we look beyond formal statistics to the daily economic practices of families.

TABLE 1¹

Heads of Households (from a sample of 100 households)

Households with a male head-of-household	82%
Households with a female head-of-household	18%

TABLE 2

Average Age of Colonia Residents in Years*

Men	40.5
Women	36.5
Dependent Children	10.8

*In this sample of 100 families we found that 75 percent of the population were under the age of 15. This statistic confirms reports that a relatively young population live in squatter settlements (Leeds E. and Leeds A. 1967; Mangin W. 1968 pp.65-98; Turner J. 1970).

Women tend to work at home for wages doing private jobs such as laundry. Generally, women tend to have control of their husbands' earnings, or at least a portion of his earnings to support the family, although wives may not always know the exact amount of their husbands' pay. Further, it is the women of the household who complete all domestic tasks, and maintain food, clothing and social links. Unless the women are ill, men do not contribute to domestic tasks. Taken out of their traditional villages where they may have owned some land and been involved with local politics, men have very little control over available resources. In considering the relationship between urbanization and family structure Butterworth writes,

"...(1) the family serves as the primary point of reference in the migrant's social network; (2) the extended family is strong among first-generation migrants; and (3) in some cases the family is actually strengthened in the city. There is little evidence to suggest that urbanization inevitably selects for the nuclear family...The increased variety of economic alternatives available in the city does favour the nuclear household as the unit of production and consumption, for parents and children are not apt to have a common stake in a source of capital as they frequently did back on the farm."

(Butterworth and Chance 1981 p.97-98)

What are the traditional patterns of family and social relationships which figure in the adaptation to urban life of Linda Vista residents, and in what way have they been moulded by urban circumstances to the structure by which they are visible in Linda Vista? The following section reviews different patterns of household and family relationships as they exist within traditional peasant villages, among urban inner-city slum dwellers and in squatter settlements. It is important to note the differences between inner-city urban poor family structure and that of families in squatter settlements.

To begin, traditional Mexican families live within a framework of patrilocal residence rules with an agnatic bias to a bilateral descent system (Diaz 1966; Foster 1967; Lewis 1951; Parsons 1936; Redfield

1941, 1953). Kin networks are extended bilaterally through families of both parents in a horizontal and vertical fashion with the exception of a distinguishing kinship terminology of cousins by sex and age.

The family is structured through blood relatives with the point of reference being the birth place of the individual. Agnatic households are the most common form of extended or joint households. Usually a son and his wife will live within his father's house until they are ready to build their own. When married, youngest sons will stay in the home of their parents and usually inherit that home. With regard to the development cycle of the domestic unit a woman, for instance, may have begun life in a nuclear family, grown up in a joint or extended family, married into another extended family, moved into her own home as part of a nuclear family and, with the marriage of her own children, become part of an extended family again.

While most Mexican ethnographies give a similar view on what can be termed the peasant family unit, George Foster offers a very clear example of the structure of the traditional Mexican family in his ethnography of Tzintzuntzan (1967). Among the 376 families who lived in the community, he found that 333 were structured as nuclear families and 43 consisted of single persons. Those single individuals, along with the children of the 333 families lived in "...varying degrees of dependency on one another" (Foster 1967 p.56). 100 of these couples lived in 44 households which means that they belonged to joint or extended families. These families were composed of two couples (parents and married son), of three couples (parents and two married children), of parents and married daughters (two cases), and a few of distant single relatives such as elderly or widowed aunts and uncles. Within these extended families there was a varying degree of dependency, so that while some only occupied a plot of land, others would share household duties and expenses.

In looking at peasant families who have moved to an urban community urbanised, Oscar Lewis tells us:

"...we must distinguish much more carefully between the existence of the extended family as a residence unit and as a social group. In Mexico, the extended family is important as a social group in both rural and urban areas, where the nuclear family predominates as the residence unit...the persistence of extended family bonds seems compatible with urban life and increased industrialisation."

(Oscar Lewis 1973 p.134)

Butterworth reaffirms this view of family solidarity in his study of migrants to Mexico City.

Butterworth states that "Family ties appear to remain strong as they were in Tilantongo, and perhaps even stronger." (Butterworth 1970 p.106). This conclusion contradicts the stereotyped idea of family bonds weakening with urbanisation.

The essential structure of the household as a bilateral kinship system centered upon a nuclear family has not changed in the move from rural to urban areas. However, this is not to say that the peasant community is totally reproduced in the urban context. Because of the nature of economic life in the urban environment, many transformations to the bilateral family have taken place. Slum-dwellers have moved a step further into the city; they inhabit single rooms and since they rarely have land their agricultural ties are thus broken.

Consider Butterworth's characterisation of slum-based (rather than squatter) families:

1. Close residence among kin is not always possible or if it does occur, will be created within apartments of a *vecindad* (slum) or a shanty town and not on a family "plot of land".
2. Urban families also exhibit more female-centered families and families which emphasise mother's extended kin. Women's work outside of the home contributes to this.
3. The system of fictive kinship (*compadrazgo*) is used in urban areas to extend family networks on a much larger scale than they are in the village.
4. The nature of the extended family is also changed. For instance, younger siblings may come to live with an older brother or sister in the city and are supported by this person while he or she is educated or can begin work in the city. Often this is not a close blood relation but a distant cousin or godparent. The extended family then is used as a stepping stone to gain a foothold in the city, in the same way that parents help newly married couples build their own household in the country (Butterworth 1970).

While some squatter families share certain aspects of these characterisations, squatter settlements are much more expressly rural while, by necessity, distinctly urban in economic character. This preserves traditional behaviour in some areas of kinship and economic practice while also paving the way for other 'more economic' behaviour of the successful migrant. Those households can be differentiated from the family structure of inner city slums by the fact that female-centered households are nearly as rare as they are in rural villages. As well, squatters may very often take over a large block of land in order that the larger family may live as close as in the village setting. Village kinship ties are extended rather than constrained. Cousins, who would not share houses in the village, (because this was unnecessary), and do not do so in slums, (because there is nowhere for them), do find a place in a cousin's house in the

squatter settlement. Economic necessity and the pressure of the city, coupled with a transformation of village kinship ties leads to a new social practice, and a new form of family structure.

When asked to describe the families and family relationships in Linda Vista, residents naturally described themselves. In doing so, their description was constructed from a combination of their ideal type of residence and the economic reality of their daily lives. The former is a statement of dispositions and the other a statement about economic resources. The ideal type of marriage and family that emerged from informants' responses resembles a stereotypical image: a couple united by romantic love and formal marriage ties, living in their own home, with their children. The husband is the head of the household and as such provides adequate income for the family. The wife is obedient and chaste. She is the family's caretaker and represents warmth and nurturance. As is often the case, reality presents a different view. Forty-seven percent of Colonia marriages were free union, and the overwhelming reason for forming such a union was pregnancy. Such de facto marriages in the Colonia, as in other squatter settlements, were stable and did not carry any negative connotation. Although a church (Catholic) wedding might be the ideal choice, the money needed for the service, clothes, flowers and the wedding feast was not available to most Colonia families. In addition, the local Catholic church would not marry a couple unless they had been properly baptised, had attended the marriage classes and were not known to be expecting a child. Because of the necessity of obtaining proper school certificates for children from their schools, parents were increasingly becoming legally married. It was not infrequent that couples who had been in a de facto relationship would legalise their bond when their children became of school age. During the research period, the Mexican Government was urging couples to become legally married. The campaign was helped by two new items of social policy: first, by withholding school certificates from children whose parents could not show their legal marriage contract, and second, by insisting that low-level factory workers have at least a school certificate for the first 6 years of primary school. In an attempt to 'tidy up' squatter life, the government thus sought to restrict steady employment opportunities to those who had school certificates, and who were products of legal families.

The most common reason for a man and a woman to live together was pregnancy, and economic security for the family unit. Their relationships were maintained over time through the economic productivity of the household. Men were expected to bring in an adequate income for the household and it was by this criteria that men were viewed as being "manly" or not. Women did not conduct themselves so much along the lines of being obedient and quiet, but took a much more equal role in the household. They were expected to manage the household economy, using whatever monies their husbands brought in, as well as adding to the household income by developing their own business interests. In practice, men

were rarely able to provide for families on their own; women were therefore rarely 'just in the home', but commonly produced economic resources themselves. Stereotypical conceptions inevitably fell prey to the economic contingencies of squatter life.

Nuclear households were normally monogamous, although some Colonia men did have other women outside of the Colonia. There was a double standard, for women were never expected to have interests in other men. The only men who were criticised for their liaisons were those whose "first" family suffered because of their affairs. This was expressed quite clearly by Marta from Colonia Linda Vista, who said, "Mexican men are all pigs. All they want are more women, but they never take care of their children. They are pigs!" One of the wealthiest women in the Colonia, Berta, often complained that her husband had another woman at the truck stop outside of town. Other Colonia women did not accept Berta's complaints and felt that she had a good life. Why? She and her twelve children lived in a brick and concrete house with a patio, sufficient beds, clothes and food for everyone, a kitchen equipped with a stove and a washing machine. It was economic security, not romantic love, that kept this household unit together.

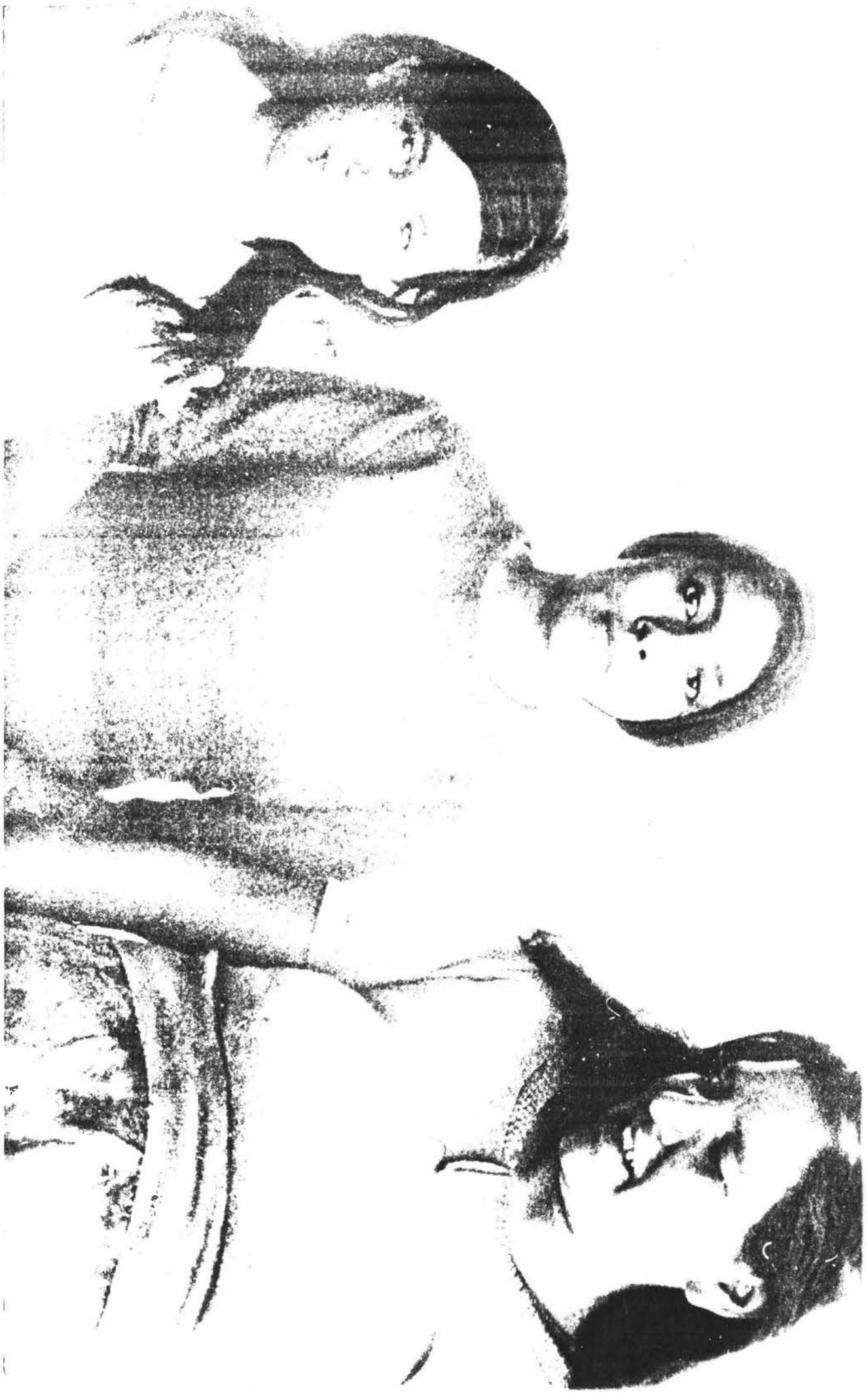
To briefly summarise, squatter settlement families are young; they come primarily from villages and because of their youth and economic position, they have the most to gain by "owning" their land through living in a squatter settlement. This enables them to have their own house, to hope for a good education for their children and to seek job possibilities in the city. While many plans are in reality dreams, in terms of household structure, the nuclear family fits their economic purpose. The three forms of family unit, nuclear, matrifocal and extended, are now further elaborated to extend the analysis of this pattern of economic calculation.

The Sosa's - A Nuclear Family Unit.

Senora Sosa, Maria Elena, is usually found leaning over her washing tubs. She is the most obvious person in the family because she is larger than everyone else, including her husband, Alberto. Her black hair is plaited and caught around her head (photograph). Her face is large, generous and friendly. Maria Elena is forty-three years old, and Alberto, a sparse mustachioed man is forty-five. He works as an independent carpenter. They live on a small plot of land in the upper half of the first section, with six of their eight children. Their oldest daughter is married and lives close by. Another daughter was married, but has since died in childbirth. Their house has two rooms and is made of wood and brick, with a pounded dirt floor and tar-paper roof. Next to this structure is a separate cook house made of the same material. Behind is an out-house with three walls, roof and curtain as a front wall.

Maria Elena Sosa and two of her daughters, Maria Isabel and Rosa.

Photograph: author's collection



The three Sosa daughters: Rosa, Maria Isabel and Teresa.

Photograph: author's collection



Maria Elena was born in a mestizo village on the coast of Oaxaca, near the town of Puerto Angel. Her original household was made up of her father and mother, her grandmother (mother's mother), her older brother and herself. She finished first grade and then left school to help with chores at home. These included shopping, laundry and making tortillas, which her mother and grandmother sold at the local market. She also cared for the few pigs and chickens that her parents owned, and she gathered wild fruit and greens for the family to eat. Her brother remained in school and later, when she was nine or ten years old, he left the village to work in the city of Monterey where he still lives. Because he was several years older than she, Maria Elena is not close to her brother and he does not figure as an important person in her family life. However, they do exchange letters at least once a year. When her father died during her early teens, the household became a matrifocal-extended unit with herself, her mother and her grandmother. Later, at the age of 15, her grandmother died and the household was made up of only herself and her mother; still a matrifocal household. At this time Elena was working full-time as a seamstress in the village and she would sew for local women. She also became pregnant by a local man, and because there was no male head of household, this man moved into Elena's house and began a free union marriage with her. This also had the obvious effect of changing the structure of the household, but the situation lasted only a year. Elena describes her first husband as a "drunkard and a bounder" and after 12 months he left the house and no longer contributed to its support. The structure of the household changed back to a female-centred household consisting of three generations; grandmother (Elena's mother), mother (Elena) and the daughter. Again, Maria Elena was the main support of the household through her sewing, while her mother cared for the child and sold tortillas and other homemade foods at the market. After four years, Maria Elena met Alberto who had come from the city of Oaxaca to the coast looking for work as a mason. Alberto offered financial support as a husband and Maria Elena became pregnant with their first child. They decided to move the entire household to Puerto Angel, a rather large village, where Alberto was working. At this time Elena gave up her full-time occupation as a seamstress and joined her mother selling at the market, or doing odd jobs for other households such as laundry or sewing. During their years in Puerto Angel five of eight children were born to Alberto and Maria Elena, none of them more than two years apart. During this time Maria Elena's mother died. In 1964, the Sosa family moved to Alberto's natal city, Oaxaca. They lived in a smaller inner city apartment with Alberto's mother. This again changed the structure of the household but not for long. Maria Elena did not get along with her mother-in-law who was demanding and short tempered with the children. Within a year, the family had heard the radio advertisements about the land in Linda Vista and they decided to move.

Maria Elena's eldest daughter married a village man from the valley of Oaxaca and, after a legal marriage, they lived in the village with his family, thus following the traditional village residence pattern

previously discussed. When that daughter died, her child remained with his father and father's parents. When Maria Elena's second daughter married a young man from the Colonia, she and her husband lived in his parents' house. The marriage was performed in a civil ceremony and took place because Isabel was pregnant. Neither husband nor wife could support the family, since the husband was a senior secondary school student who had ambitions to become a teacher, and Isabel was pregnant.

Soon after their child Cesar was born, Isabel's father built a two room cement house on a portion of the land next to his own. Payment for the house came from Isabel's wages from working as a clerk behind the counter in a pharmacy, and from her husband's wages. He had quit school to work as a mason. With the completion of the house a new family unit was established.

The three nuclear families of Isabel, Maria Elena and Isabel's in-laws live in separate residences but interact each day. Together, they comprise a system of exchange for the goods and services which are produced by each household unit. This system includes labour in the form of child care, money, food and medical care.²

Extended and matrilocal households are developments from the nuclear domestic unit. Their existence is dependent upon economic and personal circumstances of the members in nuclear households. For instance, one extended family in the Colonia is made up of parents, their children and their eldest daughter, her husband and their children. The group share child care and personal help such as cooking and cleaning duties, but each nuclear family takes care of its own expenses. They do not share money. Another extended family has been created by combining the previously nuclear families of two brothers. The merger was precipitated by the death of one of the wives. Their families share household expenses and chores including child care.

All matrilocal families began as nuclear families. They commonly developed after the death or abandonment of the husband.³ None of these households were set up on their own with the intention of being a matrilocal family. This is not a choice that the women have made freely.

Victoria Lopez - A Matrifocal Family Unit

Senora Victoria Lopez came to the Colonia with her second husband Carlos and their three children in 1965. Since that time Carlos has abandoned the family, so their household is now counted among the matrifocal types.

Victoria Lopez Bautista and her two youngest children, Gabino and Claudio.

Photograph: author's collection



Victoria was born and raised in a mestizo village located in the state of Puebla which lies near the Oaxacan state border. She was raised in a matrifocal household; supported by her mother and cared for by her grandmother. During her first 14 years, Victoria completed grammar school (through Grade 6), and was taught basic skills such as cooking, sewing and cleaning. While she was close to her grandmother, she had always felt that her own mother had disliked her. Later in her life this was in a dramatic fashion shown to be clearly the case. In 1968, her mother claimed a woman's dead body to be that of Victoria. She brought the body back to the village, announced Victoria's death and held a funeral and a *novena* for her. Symbolically this was tantamount to burying her real daughter and finishing all ties with her. The next year, Victoria returned to Puebla seeking a copy of her oldest son's birth certificate. On the way she stopped in her village to visit her mother. The local people were astonished to see her and some reacted as though they had seen a ghost! They thought they had buried her the previous year. When Victoria realised the actual sequence of events, she left the village without seeing her mother and has never returned.

When Victoria's grandmother died (Victoria was 14), her mother gave her to a wealthy family to work as a maid and baby-sitter. For this work she received no payment except room and board. She stayed for a year then, at 15, she met her first husband. She became pregnant by him and took up residence with him. This man was older than Victoria (about 25 years old) and had a steady income as a truck driver. Originally he was from Oaxaca. After their son Victor's birth, the three of them moved to Oaxaca city and set up their own household in a downtown city apartment.

In reminiscing over these years, Victoria remembers her husband as being energetic and that he wanted to raise their standard of living. She remembers him trying to teach Victor to read before kindergarten. She looks upon this time of her life as secure and upwardly mobile. Eventually they began to collect many material possessions such as radios, a blender, cooking utensils, beds, lamps, and other furnishings. After five years, Victoria's husband died suddenly. In order to sustain themselves, she began to do sewing for local market vendors. This situation lasted six years.

Victoria's second husband Carlos, worked for the Department of Public Works as a highway construction worker. When they met and began living together in Victoria's apartment, she hoped that they would have the same secure life that she had with her previous husband. Her decision to live with him was based on the promise of economic security rather than pregnancy. Within the first three years of their de facto marriage, Victoria gave birth to two children, a year and a half apart; Gabino and Claudio. When the two little ones were born the entire family shifted to the Colonia Linda Vista. They

built their house on the side of a small ravine. It was a large, wooden, two-room structure with plenty of land around it to expand. In it were all of Victoria's possessions from her first marriage and from her previous life alone. Although Carlos did have a steady income, he did not take the kind of care and responsibility for the household as did Victoria's former husband. He spent his money on drink and on other women, so that during their marriage Victoria continued to work in order to sustain the household.

In 1967 Carlos abandoned the family and left the city with another woman to live and work in a Oaxacan coastal town. Now with three children to care for, Victoria was left on her own as the main support of the household. Soon after this, during the rainy season, a heavy rainstorm loosened the foundations of the house directly above hers, with the consequence that it fell during the night and completely destroyed Victoria's home and nearly killed her youngest son. The effect was catastrophic. Victoria's home, all of her carefully planned and collected possessions, in short, all economic calculation had come to nothing. Very few items were salvageable. Even the land disappeared down the gully. With the help of her neighbours, she moved her family to a higher, more narrow piece of land. Victor and a local *compadre* built a one room wattle and daub structure. Two beds, a few pots and pans, a table and some chairs were all that was left. Even her sewing machine, her way of making a living, was lost. In 1984 Victoria still lived in this one-room wattle and daub house.

In 1968, Victoria's de facto husband, Carlos was still working for the Department of Public Works although he had not returned to Victoria and his children. Earlier in their marriage Carlos had claimed his two children as legal dependents, so that they and Victoria could receive the benefits of the government health care provided through his job (Social Security). On the advice of her *compadres*, Victoria went to the *Ministro Publico* (District Attorney) and filed for child support on the basis of Carlos having previously accepted legal responsibility for the two youngest boys. Because of this legal claim the district attorney was able to attach Carlos' wages before payment to him, and send 200 pesos to Victoria each month. With this money and her work making tortillas and doing laundry, she was able to sustain her matrifocal household unit. Unlike other Colonia children, her son Victor has never stopped school to work, although he has worked part time to help meet his own expenses. Victor's education and a career as an electrician has always been a family goal for their mutual advancement. Unlike Maria Elena, Victoria had no close kin relations or mutual family support although she did have *compadres* who helped in certain circumstances.

The Cruz Sisters - An Extended Family Residential Unit

The Cruz family discussed in this section is constituted by a group of people related through three sisters. Each sister has her own sleeping and cooking quarters which are shared by other members of their family. Each separate household shares the same plot of land; this forms a residential complex with their houses surrounding a central area. Two of the households are matrifocal and are headed by Juana and Josephina, and one is an extended household made up of Francisca, her husband Arnolfo, their three children, and Arnolfo's brother and his six children. This is an interesting family and illustrates the types of variations in household structures which can occur in an urban environment. While traditional agnatic patterns of residence were common in their natal villages, these families live in a somewhat different style. The sisters were born and raised in a highland Zapotec village. Arnolfo and his brother are from a Masatec village. Of the three examples in this section, these are the only residents from Indian villages.

Some years ago, Senor Cruz, the sisters' father, inherited a small parcel of land in his village through his father. However the land was not large enough to produce a wealthy farm. Although the Cruz family was not among the poorest, they were not wealthy and the land was not enough to sustain them in the village. In Mexico, migration to urban cities is a popular alternative to village life for those within this economic level (Butterworth 1962), and this family conforms to that trend. Senor Cruz was the first family member to make his way to Oaxaca to find work, in the market as a labourer carrying heavy goods. He began living in the centre of town with his *compadres*. Later, his wife Jovita, their three girls and their young son joined Senor Cruz and they all lived in the centre town apartment. Soon after this, Senor Cruz left the family apartment and took up residence in another city unit. He had decided that he no longer wanted to live with Jovita, although he did want to see the children. He has continued to visit his children in the Colonia, and to visit his village where his land is being farmed by a relative.

When their father left, the girls were in their teenage years and worked with Jovita in order to support themselves and their brother. All four of the women worked for a well-to-do Oaxacan lawyer's family doing laundry, cleaning, cooking and tending their children. During the period that this research was completed, Jovita and Josephina still worked for the same family. Additionally, Juana's two children were fathered by the young married son of the family. Though absent from their household, he is Juana's sole support.

Francisca met Arnolfo when she was sixteen. He had migrated from his village to Oaxaca where he worked as a street vendor selling ice creams for his *compadres* who owned an ice cream factory.

Francisca Cruz and two of her children. In the foreground is her sister Josephina.

Photograph: author's collection



Jovita, the mother of Francisca Cruz, and Juana, the third daughter with her son Roberto.

Photograph: author's collection



Francisca became pregnant and Arnolfo moved in to Francesca's family's apartment. In 1966, Arnolfo and Francesca moved to the Colonia. This changed the character of both households, one becoming matrifocal and the other nuclear. The couple set up household in the second section, high up on the side of the hill. They cleared a section of ground and built a one-room, bamboo and mud structure for sleeping, and an outside lean-to for cooking. Later, they replaced the house with adobe bricks which Arnolfo made. Next to this house and the cooking area another smaller room was constructed to accommodate relatives. Neither house was equipped with electricity nor water. For light a kerosene lamp was used. Water was drawn from a well close by. Soon after this household was established, Jovita, her daughters and son moved to the Colonia. Arnolfo built a bamboo, mud and tar paper house with two rooms to accommodate them along with a cook shack. The house was dug well into the hillside so that one wall of the interior was made-up of the hillside. Later, Arnolfo built another house a bit lower on the hillside and to the side of the patio. This was a bamboo, mud and tar paper room for Josephina and her children. From 1968 to 1973, Josephina gave birth to three children, each by a different father. She continued to work for the lawyer's family and brings her children to work with her. Her move from the matrifocal extended household was made because of the lack of room and because she was no longer getting along with her sister Juana. Josephina set up her own matrifocal household and is its sole support.

During the period that the research was completed the entire domestic unit consisted of three households; one vertically extended family, a matrifocal, horizontally-extended family, and a matrifocal household. The households helped each other with childcare, marketing, cooking and fiesta days, but they did not exchange money. If they did borrow from each other, they always repaid in kind almost immediately. Even in the matrifocal extended household, money was not exchanged between mother and daughter. Thus in respect to finances, these families live separately. In other respects they functioned as a unit and were bound by ties of kinship, friendship and cooperation.

THE ORGANISATION OF ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL CAPITAL

The practice of cutting house sites out of hillsides and constructing houses provides migrants with an objective space that not only conforms to the establishment of the community but provides a space to be used and filled with the cultural goods which make it comfortable, personal and which signify a future. At the beginning of the Colonia's history, one of the links of solidarity between residents was their mutual poverty and their mutual lack of goods with high cultural capital, such as a television and refrigerator. Nowadays, later in the Colonia's history, differences in consumer goods and behaviour

signify the gradually developing differences in economic capital which exists between those who are in steady, paid work and those who are not. For those who have been successful in the city, the transformation of their shanty-town homes (from squatter settlements to city section, and from mattresses on the floor to modern furniture) allows them to "live" their success.

The following section examines the production of economic and cultural capital. These are represented in the household resources, but include types of houses and property, livestock and money gained through work outside of the household. In a later section the consumption of economic goods is reviewed through an analysis of household budgets.

Forms of Economic Capital : Houses, Property, Jobs

The Colonia is divided by the residents into four sections: upper and lower, first and second section. These divisions refer to placements on the hillside. For example, the upper second section has been the last to be "settled". The homes in these sections also differ from others in that homes in the lower first section are closer to the highway, have electricity and water, are most usually made of cement and brick, and have enclosed patios. Throughout the upper levels of the Colonia, houses are most often made of adobe, wood or bamboo. In part, this method of construction is due to the difficulty of carrying supplies to the higher plots of land, and because the earlier settlers have had more time to construct their living quarters. Different construction techniques are also indicative of different income levels of Colonia families. Of the 300 houses in the Colonia, the average value was 5240 pesos (US\$419.20).³ The following are tables of housing types and the percentage of types of houses in the Colonia.

TABLE 3

Property Ownership in Households Sampled in Colonia Linda Vista

	%
Owners	92
Renters	6
Borrowed	2

	100

TABLE 4
Construction Materials Used In Dwellings Sampled in
Colonia Linda Vista

	%
**Brick and Mortar	35.0
*Adobe Brick	26.0
*Bamboo and Mud	9.4
*Wood (shingles)	9.5
Mixtures of Above	20.1

	100.0

*The adobe, bamboo and wooden houses have pounded dirt floors. Doors are made of wood and window coverings are simple pieces of cloth. In the smaller rooms there is only one window, or sometimes no window at all.

**Floors are cement. Doors are often glass with iron lattice as are the windows.

TABLE 5
Number Of Rooms For Each Dwelling Sampled in Linda Vista
(Not including cook house)

	%
Single Room Construction	48.8
Two Rooms	25.0
Three or More	26.2

	100.0

Most of the materials for these houses have to be purchased in the downtown markets. Floors can be pounded out of earth, adobe bricks can be made, but red brick, wood, bamboo and other materials must come from the city. The residence and its construction presents a problem, therefore, which can only partly be solved by the use of human labour; in the most basic of their needs-Colonia residents must depend of the market economy.

Gardens and Livestock

Residents in Linda Vista say that one of the nicest aspects about living in Linda Vista as opposed to a city apartment, is having the space to raise a few small animals (for food or market), and for growing vegetables and fruit trees. These investments are not large and by no means provide a daily food supply. However, the gardens do supply some vegetables, and the animals can be used for meat dishes on fiesta days, and for making food to sell in the market. Pigs can be sold in the market. Chickens are thought to be good value because they may furnish eggs. Since the amount of protein in the diet of Colonia residents is minimal, these additions are welcome. Colonia residents consider meat to be an essential part of their weekly diet, although vegetables and fresh fruit are not a priority. Perhaps because of this perspective, most families do not take advantage of the option to have their own gardens. Only one family in the Colonia had a major garden. The rest grew a few medicinal herbs in pots, perhaps a few rows of corn and some tomato plants next to the house. Most families raised two or three chickens and a turkey now and then, letting them range around the house and feeding them corn dough at mealtime. From the families sampled, only 20 were raising their own pig, and over the research period only two well-fed pigs were taken to market. Animals were fed from mealtime left-overs and from time to time, special market feed. The women who raised animals, especially pigs, felt that they were a good investment because they could be sold for cash. Animals destined for the market were treated as a "savings account" that could be transformed into money at the end of a term. This is similar to the treatment of other household goods like sewing machines, which could be pawned for cash. In one of the following household budgets Francisca Cruz listed her pig as an investment even though she sold the animal for less than she spent raising it. The purpose of such 'rural' activity is only superficially tied to food production which, on any calculated basis, does not succeed. Far more importantly this type of activity acts to provide an anchor in village economic practice. Thus the superficial value of such activity in economic practice is transcended by its cultural value in mediating city experience for those whose world-views still depend strongly on traditional ways.

Income and Occupational Structure

The state of Oaxaca offers little in the way of business or industrial employment for its residents. Economic problems are generally attributed to insufficient development capital within the state and to the shortage of completed access ways to many parts of the region (Waterbury 1970). The major organisations around which jobs are constructed are small farms and land holdings, coastal commercial fishing industries, small mining and mineral industries, coffee plantations in coastal mountains, tourism

and service oriented occupations (Waterbury 1970). In the urban centre of Oaxaca city, occupations are much more varied. They range from professional careers in medicine, law, and government to petty bourgeois career levels such as shop owners, hoteliers and restaurateurs. There are also trained service staff such as nurses, secretaries, workers in the soft drink bottling plant, the plywood factory and the limestone factory. Finally, there exists a range of service staff who are not highly trained, but without whom the city could not survive. These are the hundreds of jobs done by skilled and unskilled labourers errand boys, shop clerks, "helpers" on buses, *stevadores* in the market place, construction workers, street-side food vendors and home based contract labourers, such as women who take in laundry, those who sew clothing for the market vendors, street side ice cream vendors on street corners and those who run small food shops etc. Most Colonia occupations can be grouped into this last category. The lack of highly skilled city labour is common to the entire nation of Mexico. Underemployment in such nominal activities is generally the normal situation of those who work in paid employment. Low wages, part-time and irregular employment are common characteristics of this work. The local economy is thus labour-intensive. As members of the sub-proletariat, they have few of the advantages of the regularly-employed working class, which has a modicum of security, some medical services and stability of income.

In general, the migrants to the Colonia are young, in their late teens and early twenties (86 percent), and bring very little educated or highly trained labour to the city. Therefore, more than half of the workers in the Colonia are unskilled or have only manual skills. The economic field of Colonia life is reflected in its occupational structure.

Tables 6-10 indicate that while Colonia residents predominantly work in jobs requiring little skill, some residents are employed in steady jobs. For those in this category, the construction of a "future" and the measure by which they judge occupations is not so much by income but stability. For such reasons, Arnolfo Cruz will not leave his job selling ice blocks on the street corner, no matter how often he goes without lunch. And, for the same reasons, Victoria's son Victor, will desperately seek to stay in school in order to train as an electrician. Job stability in itself becomes a career aspiration.

Another important factor related to job stability has to do with the way one organises the day and how that relates to future plans. Regular work in the city supplies the reference point around which time is organised in a Western mode. The calculated future can not exist without the stability that such a reference point provides. The elite of the Colonia workforce are able to take advantage of the "extras" that seem to flow in their direction as a natural right. Among those extras are included medical care,

holidays and legal wages. Also, as soon as families are assured of permanent employment and an income which goes beyond basic requirements, informants rely less and less on improvised resources such as local credit, kin networks and alternative medical facilities.

The following tables provide a break-down of occupational categories for the Colonia itself. The categories used are: professional, skilled labour, home entrepreneur and unskilled labour. These tables give particular job status information for 192 workers from 100 households. Each section provides information about each job category on the sex, mean age, average educational level of the workers, the monthly salary range and average monthly salary. In addition, a detailed list of actual occupations with the number of actual workers in that job status is included.

TABLE 6

**Occupational Categories of the Residents of the
Colonia Linda Vista : The Professionals**

Job Title	Number
Teacher	15
Secretary	7
Military Personnel	6
Businessman	6
Accountant	1
	--
Total	35
	--

Notes: The professional workers in the Colonia are those whose education goes beyond secondary school. From the 35 persons in the sample, 13 are women and 22 are men. In 1971-1972 the average age was 37 years. The monthly salary level ranges from 450.00 pesos (US\$36.00) to 2,375 pesos (US\$190.00). The average monthly wage is 1,100 pesos (US\$87.00).

TABLE 7

**Occupational Categories of the Residents of the
Colonia Linda Vista : Skilled Labourers**

Job Title	Number
Chauffeur	13
Mechanic	7
Painter	5
Carpenter	5
Bottling Plant Worker	4
Factory Worker	4
Weaver and Tailor	4
Cook	3
Clerk	3
Seamstress	3
Stovemaker	2
Electrician	2
Plumber	2
Radio Announcer	1
Welder	1
Dispatcher	1
Laundry Supervisor	1
Glass Blower	1
	--
Total	62
	--

Notes: Skilled workers are those who possess a special talent which is relevant to that job. The average age in this category during 1971-1972 was 40 years. Of the 62 persons included, 10 are women and 52 are men. The average level of education is 5 years of primary school. Monthly salary levels for skilled workers are 120 pesos to 1,608 pesos (US\$9.60 to US\$128.64). Average income is 862 pesos (US\$68.96).

TABLE 8

**Occupational Categories of the Residents of the
Colonia Vista : Home Entrepreneurs**

Job Title	Number
Vendor	17
Tortilla maker	11
Laundress	11
Store Owner	7
Shoemaker	2
Leathersmith	1
Potter	1
Charcoal Salesman	1
Handyman	1
Piecework Seamstress	2
Babysitter	1
Campesino (farm worker)	1
	--
Total	56
	--

Notes: Home entrepreneurs are counted as those people who gain their income from home-based industries. Of the 55 people in this category, 38 of them are women and 18 are men. The average age was 40 years in 1971-1972, and the average level of education is 2 years of primary school. Salary range is 40 to 800.00 pesos monthly (US\$3.20 to US\$64.00). The average monthly wage is 425 pesos (US\$34.00). Because there are so many more women in this category than men, and because there is not a high rate of female heads of households, this type of income is usually a secondary income for the household.

TABLE 9

**Occupational Categories of the Residents of the
Colonia Linda Vista : Unskilled Labourers**

Job Title	Number
Peon (Labourer)	20
Public Works Personnel	4
Domestic	4
Cargador (Stevadore)	3
Store Worker	3
Janitor	1
Ticket Collector	1
Laundress	1
Bathhouse Attendant	1
Gas Station Attendant	1
	--
Total	39
	--

Notes: Unskilled labourers are those people who have no talent or special skill to bring to their work and therefore rely on menial tasks. Often this type of work is contracted on a daily basis such as the *peons*. The average age for this group is 41 years, and their education level is 2 years of primary school. Of the 39 persons counted, 8 are women and 31 are men. Salary ranges from 90 to 524 pesos monthly (US\$7.20 to US\$50.00). Average monthly wage is 363.00 pesos (US\$29.00).

TABLE 10

Summary of Occupational Categories for Workers in Linda Vista

	Average Age	No. of Workers in the Colonia	Range of Income (Pesos)	Percentage of Sample
Professional	37.8	13 female 22 male -- 35	\$450-2,375	19.2
Skilled Labour	34.7	10 female 42 male -- 62	\$120-1,608	28.6
Entrepreneur	40	37 female 18 male -- 55	\$40-800	30.2
Unskilled Labour	40.7	8 female 31 male -- 39	\$90-624	21.4
Unemployed	(37)	1 male --		0.6
Total		192 ---		100.0 -----

Notes: Table includes only those over 16 years of age categorised by those who are eligible to hold official work permits. Of course, children are involved in the economy of the Colonia, normally as aides to adults rather than as independent workers.

The average monthly income for these workers as a whole is 944 pesos or US\$75.52. In the table just presented, 73% of the workers are below this average and 26% are above the average. In Mexico, the minimum daily wage in 1973 for unskilled labour was 18 to 22 pesos or US\$1.50 to US\$1.76. Workers, such as the market stevedores, janitors and night watchmen are supposed to be covered by the minimum wage, though research has shown that the Oaxacan standard was less; about US\$1.20 in actual net pay. Wages for the more skilled labourers such as carpenters, plumbers, bus and truck drivers ranged from 20 pesos (US\$2.00) to 50 pesos (US\$4.00) daily. Aside from these low wages, the main problem that

unskilled and some skilled workers faced was that of finding permanent jobs, rather than short term contract work. Often the permanent work found by Colonia residents was with Government agencies such as working as secretaries, road construction workers and rural school teachers. An additional item, health insurance, was provided by national law to all workers who were covered by the minimum wage regulation. Unfortunately, there was no enforcement of these regulations and employers were often reluctant to pay insurance premiums. The majority of workers in the Colonia were also reluctant to accept insurance coverage because they saw it as a reduction in their real pay. They preferred to have the money in hand and depend on alternative resources during family health emergencies.

Another set of agencies which one might expect would increase permanency in jobs and which would provide benefits are unions. Unfortunately, the two major national unions in Oaxaca did not cover the majority of workers in the Colonia. The CTM (Mexican Federation of Labourers) was a union which encompassed state-employed skilled labourers. Occupations included in this category are butchers, plumbers, and soda-drink factory workers. CROM (Mexican Regional Federation of Labour) included industrial workers only. Benefits offered by the unions included health insurance, low cost housing, school scholarships for dependants, and guaranteed wages and working hours. Neither of the unions demonstrated a great interest in the remainder of the work force and they were of little interest to Colonia residents. A third union organisation was formed in 1972 which was called the FOR or Federation of Revolutionary Workers. It was their intention to unionise unskilled construction workers and provide them with health insurance and wage security. When the field research was completed in 1974, the union was making very little headway. There were two major factors which accounted for the lack of union participation. The first factor was the anti-union feeling among employers, and employees' scepticism of the efficacy of unions; the second was that the high rate of unemployment and underemployment had taken away whatever bargaining power a strike might provide. Workers who have had no future before them are unlikely to form a project which works for and anticipates a collective future. As was mentioned in the previous chapter, given the objective conditions of the squatters' life and their dispositions, very often the circle of self-determination which they create for themselves goes no further than their own doorstep. The relation between the material conditions of existence and an objective future constrains union and other collective activities.

ECONOMIC CONSUMPTION : CULTURAL CAPITAL AND CONSUMER BEHAVIOUR

The consumer goods that Colonia residents purchase (some of which can be considered cultural capital) serve three basic functions. They are practical items; they function as economic capital insofar as some

items are pawned for needed cash; and they are symbolic in that they reflect the position of the consumers in the economic and cultural fields of the Colonia.

The field of possible preferences in household goods for Colonia residents is completely restricted by their lack of money. Generally, the investments in goods that residents make demonstrate the relationships between the particular class of products and the economic field of the consumers who purchase those products. Further, the lifestyle and taste of *Colonos* as structured by their habitus and their relative poverty in the city combine not only to create a certain quality within the household but also to construct the entire Colonia itself as a quasi-rural settlement rather than as an urban neighbourhood (i.e. the adobe house, livestock and general rural outlook as evidenced by the photographs). However, as is clear from the occupational tables, not all families suffer the same degree of poverty. Therefore differences do exist between the quality and quantity of furnishings, dishware, clothing and jewelry found in Colonia homes. The cultural capital of families is, not surprisingly, in relatively direct relationship to their position in the economic field.

In order to demonstrate the types of goods and differences that exist within the Colonia, inventories of various Colonia households were collected and are detailed below. In the city this technique was first used by Oscar Lewis in his study of *vecindades* in Mexico City. From the data which he collected, it is obvious that the inventory gives us a picture of informants' living environment and also documents material resources which create cultural capital. It is of some interest to note that there are several common aspects to the inventories which Lewis completed in the late 1950's in Mexico City, and those done in the Colonia, even though they were collected some fourteen years apart. In both studies, families invested in the same types of furniture, i.e. bed frames, mattresses, wooden tables, chairs and stools, home altars with their candles, flowers, plastic-flowered glasses and doilies, straw mats, cement bags for bedding, and an assortment of thick pottery and metal pans for cooking, as well as a pottery griddle or *comal* for roasting tortillas. In the Colonia there is a higher proportion of home-made furniture, even though most families frequently purchase second hand goods and appliances.

In both studies, families buy goods through time payments from city shops and from travelling salesmen. Such payments account for about one-third of household expenditures. Another prevalent trend is that only "better off" families in these neighbourhoods owned jewelry or popular appliances, such as televisions or blenders. In part this is due to the money available and to the regular loss of goods to pawnshops when financial needs arise. The inventories which were collected for the Colonia were organised into five categories: furniture, appliances, kitchenware, jewelry and clothing. Furniture

includes anything from wooden stools to overstuffed chairs. Appliances cover items such as record players, televisions, blenders, irons and sewing machines. Below are the inventories which correspond to families which have already been introduced, the Sosas, Victoria Lopez, and the Cruz sisters.

The Sosa Family

If there were a graph detailing the economic status of each Colonia family, the Sosas would be located somewhere in the middle. They did not always have cash but they did have a certain number of appliances and they almost always had work, though the work was not well paid. However, in the area of community respect the family would be rated as low, except perhaps by their immediate neighbours. They are a large, noisy, messy and argumentative family, an anthropologist's dream, but a nightmare to would-be middle class residents. They have almost no loyalty to the community of Linda Vista. They do not participate in either of the *Mesa Directivas*, saying that "they are all in it for their own personal interests". They only partially participate in school functions, they shop in the centre of town and have *compadre* ties almost solely with city families. Senor Sosa is particularly despised for his weekly Sunday drinking bouts. In spite of their non-suburban attitudes, the Sosas have managed to accumulate a few items.

The value of their furniture is approximately US\$110.00. Alberto Sosa works as a day labourer in construction and Maria Elena Sosa works at various odd jobs such as home laundry, selling home-made food in the streets and selling fruit in the Colonia (often having brought it back from the coast). Their income is spent on their children, various appliances and repairs to their home. Their home is a two-room pounded dirt floor structure, with a tar paper roof and wattle and daub walls. Gradually the Sosas will replace these walls with brick. They also have a cook-shack made of the same materials, and an out-house with a pit toilet. As well, they have tapped into a water supply pipe that runs up the hill by their home and have running water in their yard. Their house is built in a yard which has been cut out of a hillside. The yard is not large and is used for growing a few fruit trees, some stalks of corn, an assortment of potted plants and a few chickens and turkeys.

The household furniture included a double bed frame with springs and a mattress, a home-made wooden dresser, a washing board, four home-made wooden chairs, two home-made wooden tables, home-made wooden stools and boxes for shelving, and various baskets and boxes for storage. Their home altar was, at various times, on shelves or on one of the tables. Stools and boxes were usually moved from the cook-shack to the house depending on when they were needed. By far the most expensive items of furniture

were the mattress (worth about 500.00 pesos on time payments) and the bed frame with springs (which was worth about 800.00 pesos). In 1973 the frame was a year old, and the mattress was nine years old. Sleeping quarters were cramped. The parents and the three youngest children shared the double bed while the three older children slept on empty cement bags and straw made on the floor.

In comparison to the other households, the Sosa's own several appliances. These items can be valued at approximately US\$320.00 and were often pawned at separate times when cash was needed. For instance, the radio has been pawned three or four times. More than once their eldest daughter has redeemed the radio with her income from small jobs. The appliances can be listed as the following: a radio, a treadle sewing machine, a blender and an iron. The radio, blender and iron were paid by monthly instalments to a store in the city center. The radio cost 100 pesos a month and the blender and iron cost 34 pesos a month. In total their time payments were 230 pesos a month. Usually they had trouble making those payments. Kitchenware was valued at approximately 320 pesos. These included a variety of clay pots, a meat grinder, a wash tub, two enamel pots and a frying pan, various dishes, cups and silverware, cans, buckets and straw baskets. The dishes were a prize from a raffle and the silverware was a gift. For cooking they used a charcoal stove and a kerosene stove. The kerosene stove was a gift, and the charcoal stove cost 12 pesos or approximately US\$1.00. The Sosa family owned no jewelry and for a family of nine, very little clothing. Most of their clothes were second-hand and were gifts from friends in the Colonia or from *compadres*. Only the eldest daughter bought herself an occasional dress or shoes from the market. Senor Sosa owned six pairs of pants, six shirts and two pairs of shoes. Senora Sosa owned four dresses and one pair of rubber shoes. There were an assortment of children's clothes, shirts, pants and dresses - all second hand and worn by anyone who could fit into them. They would be stored in boxes and could be easily mistaken for rags. The eldest girl's clothes were mostly gifts and were hidden away in a box for her own use.

Victoria Lopez

Victoria heads one of the poorest households in Linda Vista. She is also regarded highly by other residents. It is not usual that the poorest people are the most respected and so Victoria is special in this way. There are at least two reasons that account for this anomaly. The first reason is that after her second husband left her, Victoria did not become friendly with any other man nor did she become involved in any other de facto marriage. She has completely devoted herself to her children and has denied herself any life apart from them. As the ideology of the Virgin (the self-sacrificing mother) is strong in Mexico, Victoria is seen as coming close to that ideal type. A second reason for the respect

that others have for Victoria is that she participates in the community. She is particularly active in the school committee, she has many friends in her area, she trades with the local store and she always pays her debts at that store within the week. Hence, Victoria is seen as a hardworking person, a good mother and a good neighbour. In this saintly life, Victoria thus embodies the highest form of symbolic capital - the altruistic, self-sacrificing Virgin mother, a model of traditional virtue. In exchange she obtains credit, work and gifts.

Victoria's entire household goods were valued at 1,598.70 pesos (US\$147.89). Even in the context of the poverty of the Colonia, this is very low. It is important to remember that the inventory was taken at Victoria's second house after her first house had been destroyed in a storm. The major furniture items were replaced by the family who owned the home which fell on Victoria's home. Included were two single beds (frame and mattress), two wooden tables, four wooden chairs, and a second hand sewing machine. Victoria has added a radio, valued at 240.00 pesos, and bought on time payments in 1972, and an assortment of wooden shelves and stools made by her oldest son. All of the furniture was set in a small, one roomed house with a pounded dirt floor, tar paper roof, and wattle and daub walls. All activities, including cooking, took place within these four walls. The small yard around the house was kept for use as a garden. A few turkeys, chickens and an occasional pig lived on a bare patch next to her vegetables.

The kitchenware was made up of an assortment of enamel pots valued at 109.00 pesos, clay pots valued at 5.00 pesos, a fry pan, kitchen knives, a wash tub, *comal*, a stone grinder (*mano y metate*), baskets for storage purposes (corn and *masa* flour for tortillas) and miscellaneous eating and cooking utensils such as forks, spoons, plates, glasses, all valued at 21.00 pesos. The enamel pots and pans constituted Victoria's second time payment commitment. They were bought from a travelling salesman and cost 3 pesos a week or approximately US\$0.24.

Personal goods such as jewelry and clothing were limited. Victoria has had to pawn all her jewelry in order to buy food. The clothing for all of the family (Victoria and three sons) was worth about US\$20.00. This included five used dresses, a pair of women's plastic shoes, two ladies' blouses made by Victoria from scraps of fabric and a *rebozo* (shawl). Her eldest son, Victor, owned six pairs of pants, six shirts (all of which were gifts), and two pairs of shoes. Except for the shoes, the used clothing was given to them by friends in the Colonia.

The Cruz sisters.

In terms of the community of Linda Vista the Cruz sisters and family are interesting because they are of almost no consequence to anyone in the Colonia, even though they are staunch members of San Miguel's group, are *compadres* with officers in his group and always participate in *tequio* work groups. When they discuss the development of Linda Vista, they give the impression that they are highly integrated into San Miguel's group and are a part of Colonia public life. Others in Linda Vista, including some of their *compadres*, rarely acknowledge them. Without any kind of power, social or economic, the Cruz family clearly plays the client role in any patron-client relationship. This is due to what others would define as their 'Indian' dispositions which lead them to employ the wrong strategies for Colonia behaviour and allow others to categorise them as being 'just Indians'. As an example, when the first market was established the Cruz family was denied the right to sell tortillas on the street by the market by one of their *compadres*. Having been raised in Indian villages means that their first language is not Spanish. Furthermore Indians tend to presume a low profile, an almost cap-in-hand attitude when presented with a public mestizo gathering. This feeling that Indians were "naturally" inferior was extremely prevalent in the Colonia and indeed in the city itself. Upon first meeting, most informants would deny any Indian background because Indians were "ignorant" of civilized ways. Even the head medical doctor of the local Centro de Salud typified poor patients as being "ignorant Indians who wouldn't help themselves". Since the Cruz family is so obviously Indian, this may account for their being invisible.

Francesca and Arnolfo live at the upper most boundary of the Colonia in the second section. Like others, their house plot has been cut out of the side of the hill. Their one-room adobe brick house contains all of their furniture which was valued at approximately US\$54.00. Their entire material resource was valued at US\$387.00 or 4,827 pesos. Their furniture included a ten year old wooden table, a bed (also ten years old), six wooden chairs, an assortment of home-made wooden shelves and stools, a home-made table/altar and various straw baskets for storage of food such as corn, fruit and vegetables. Their bed was purchased with time payments of 50 pesos a month for two years. Since the value of the bed was 600 pesos at the time of purchase, Francesca and Arnolfo paid double the price. But due to their almost total lack of city-wise financial ability, they did not recognise this fact. This is a common mistake with hire purchase payments in the Colonia. All that is left of the bed is the metal frame and a few springs.

Appliances in the household were valued at 2,836.00 pesos or US\$262.00. The main appliance was a nine year old treadle sewing machine valued at 2,370 pesos. It was purchased with a down payment and

monthly instalments over a two year period. They also owned a portable radio valued at 450 pesos which was a gift from a *compadre*, and a flat iron worth 16 pesos. Kitchenware consisted of two kerosene stoves valued at 200 pesos, a set of dishes and silverware, clay cooking pots, a *comal*, mortar and pestle (*mano* and *metate*), a meat grinder and an assortment of storage jars. Jewelry consisted of a pair of earrings which were a gift to Francesca and two wedding rings valued at 20 pesos each. This was different from the Sosas, who no longer owned their rings, having pawned them several years ago. Family clothing was valued at US\$78.00. It consisted of: four pairs of pants, four shirts, two pair of shoes and one sweater bought on time payments for Arnolfo; six dresses (two bought on time payments), one pair of rubber sandals, one *rebozo* and one sweater for Francesca; four pairs of pants, six shirts, two pairs of shoes and one sweater for the eldest son; three pairs of pants and six shirts, one pair of shoes and one sweater for the second son; and a series of hand-me-downs and home-made clothing for the two youngest children.

Juana Cruz shares a house with her mother, her brother and her two children. Although they maintained separate food budgets, they did share furniture, at least in use if not ownership. They lived together in a two bedroom wattle and daub, tar paper roof structure with pounded dirt floors and one wall of earth from the hillside. They did not have a cook shack but cooked and ate in one room and sleep in the other. The household furniture consisted of two single beds which were gifts, seven wooden chairs, a wooden table, a wooden chest and assorted storage baskets. None of these items had been purchased with time payments. The only appliances were two radios. One was a gift and the other cost 240 pesos which was paid in cash. The beds and radios were gifts from Juana's boyfriend.

Household kitchenware was valued at 172 pesos. By far the most expensive item was a new kerosene stove worth 125 pesos. In addition to the stove, they had plates, spoons, knives, cups, clay cooking pots, enamel pans and a set of glasses which were a gift. Most of these items were purchased with cash at local department stores in Oaxaca. Juana's personal belongings consisted of one pair of earrings which were a gift, and clothing valued at 1,013 pesos or approximately US\$82.00. Of her twelve dresses, three were bought on time payments and two others were made from material bought with time payments. She also owned two pairs of shoes (one plastic) and two sweaters, one of which was bought on time payments and a *rebozo*. Juana's two young children owned five pairs of pants and five shirts (three of these were matching sets for boys), one pair of shoes each and one sweater each. Her daughter also wore old clothing which were gifts from other Colonia families with children.

Jovita owned six dresses, one blouse, one skirt, and one pair of plastic sandals. Juana's brother owned six pairs of pants, six shirts, and one pair of shoes.

HOUSEHOLD BUDGETS - RATIONAL AND ECONOMIC DISPOSITIONS

This section discusses the management of economic and cultural capital in meeting daily needs. For lack of a better term, the term "household budget" has been used, but here one must introduce a cautionary note. These are not budgets in the sense that a western accountant would use the word. There is no even flow of assets and debits. Payment for daily Colonia expenses is more of a "stealing from Peter to pay Paul" exercise or a balancing act where all household resources are used at one time or another to survive an immediate crisis. Families do not list their projected incomes and possible outgoings for the week. What is given here is a researcher's interpretation. Like Lewis' recorded families, Colonia families live and buy goods on a daily basis. A balanced allocation of daily and weekly expenses is not possible. Daily survival by the urban poor is not the sort of activity that can be easily planned on a balance sheet. Most Colonia families did not have the capital nor the dispositions to do so. However, there were the exceptions to this rule in Linda Vista. As an example of this, a mobile lower-middle class family, the Gutierrez family, has been included in the data.

When asked about the way they manage daily expenses, Colonia families responded with a three-part plan. This was:

1. *General*, which included household costs such as utility bills, medical expenses, instalment payments and clothing expenses.
2. *Household*, which included food and transportation allowances, and payment of small debts to local food stores in the Colonia.
3. *Business*, which included all home entrepreneur enterprises. Monies from these business ventures were used to cover the expenses incurred by the business. The benefit from this type of work appeared to be the social aspect of getting out of the house, and the left-over food for the family which made for a special occasion.

Family budgets and business budgets were usually confused together, in that profit and expenses were mixed so that a 'rationalized' business was non-existent. Most families were illiterate, particularly in the formal ways of business. Formal calculability in a business such as a small, home-based store, which runs on a large number of small transactions, was therefore almost entirely lacking. The lack of calculability however had the advantage that the modest income or loss involved was obscured.

Food is the most common household expense. Based upon a comparison of data collected from women of 16 different households, certain common features of the diet were systematically repeated.⁵

Stable items which were considered necessary for all meals, and which combined to make up the basic meal, were tortillas and beans. Chilli and salt were necessary condiments. Coffee and sugar were also basic foods used by children and adults during the breakfast and evening meals. Often in very poor households, adults would only have heavily sugared coffee for breakfast. The next level of foods most commonly eaten included rice, and bouillion pasta, vegetables such as tomatoes or onions and eggs or a small portion of protein (chicken, pork, beef or fish). In each of the households studied, women tried to give their families some form of protein during weekly meals. In poorer households meat dishes were made part of a stew so that the meal would feed more people. In wealthier families, eggs and meat were part of all meals especially during the midday and evening meals. Fresh fruit, salads, soft drinks, chocolate and milk were extras which most families enjoyed weekly but which were not staples. Very young children in the family were offered diluted canned Nestle milk if they were not breast fed.

The prices for the above items did not vary greatly from Colonia stores to downtown markets. The real savings were at the government *Conasupo* store which sells surplus items. However, Colonia women choose not to shop at the *Conasupo* and, as a matter of fact, the local *Conasupo* which was located in the Colonia failed as a business. When asked why they did not participate in the *Conasupo*, the women had no reason except that they "did not like it". Perhaps the answer lies in the fact that personal relationships and bargains for credit were not possible at the *Conasupo*. Even downtown stores, such as the small market stalls, provided an option of credit. Also, most women did not purchase foodstuffs in bulk, which is where the real savings were found in *Conasupo* stores.

Women bought their food daily. The pattern points to a lack of resources, a consequent lack of planning and hence a lack of ability to deal with formal institutions, such as the government store. However there was another sort of planning which existed and connected personal relationships and the reliance of friends and kin to one another as resources (see Chapter Six).

Food patterns were centred around the three meals of the day, and often purchases were made several times throughout the day as money or credit was available. Among the sixteen household budgets studied, only two women bought their food in weekly or bi-weekly patterns. Commonly, morning and evening meal commodities were bought at local Colonia stores. Food for mid-day meals was bought at the downtown market or in the Colonia. It is important to note that women did not have to buy a one

pound package of coffee or sugar, but could buy two pesos worth. Daily buying patterns typically followed these menus:

Early Morning: (For breakfast): Tortillas, coffee, sweet bread (sometimes), eggs and milk (for the children) and beans.

Mid-day: Purchases usually consisted of meat and vegetables, soup and tortillas.

Below are two case studies of Colonia families which detail eating habits for one week. In terms of the four families that are presently being discussed, the Cruz (extended) family, the Soza (nuclear) family and Victoria's (matrilocal) family can all be considered impoverished members of the sub-proletarian world, reflecting different forms of the general pattern within different household structures. But the Gutierrez family provide an opportunity to compare class differences. The Gutierrez family are a lower middle-class nuclear family; father is a low-status, poorly qualified rural schoolteacher. As such, he is in regular paid employment, but is little more than a white-collar worker who has some autonomy. He has no control of others nor does he have real power to influence decisions. However, as one of the wealthier households, their eating pattern contrasts strongly with those of the poorer families, (see Appendix III for additional data on household budgets).

The Cruz Family

Francisca and Arnolfo Cruz owned a refrigerator which contained old newspapers but no food.

In general meals followed this pattern:

- | | |
|---------------------------|---|
| Breakfast | - bread or tortillas and coffee with sugar; |
| <i>Comida</i> (main meal) | - tortillas, beans and rice or soup; |
| <i>Cena</i> (tea) | - lunch left-overs and eggs. |

There is a noticeable lack of fruit and vegetables. The weekly menu is as follows:

The Gutierrez Family Weekly Menu

Day	Breakfast	Comida	Cena
Sunday	Black Beans Tortillas Atole de Maiz (corn gruel with milk) Milk	Beef stew Black Beans Tortillas Soda	Bread & Butter Coffee with Milk
Monday	Bread & Butter Milk Coffee	Eggs Black Beans Tortillas Milk	Black Beans Tortillas
Tuesday	Bread & Butter Milk Coffee	Lentils Boiled Potato Tortillas Milk	Bread & Butter Coffee with Milk
Wednesday	Eggs Tortillas Atole de Maiz Milk Coffee	Chillies stuffed with bananas Tortillas	Bread & Butter Coffee with Milk
Thursday	Black Beans Tortillas Milk Coffee	Chicken with Soup Lentils Tortillas Milk	Black Beans Tortillas Coffee with Milk
Friday	Bread & Butter Milk Coffee	Lentils Tortillas Chilli sauce Milk	Bread & Butter Coffee with Milk
Saturday	Black Beans Tortillas Milk Coffee	Eggs Lentils Tortillas Milk	Black Beans Tortillas Coffee with Milk

The Gutierrez family's income allows them to budget and buy food by the week, rather than on a daily basis. All quality items such as meat, fruit and milk are provided on a more regular basis, and in more generous supply than in the other families. They expect to be able to send their children for training, buy clothes regularly, and to receive health care and hospitalisation through employment benefits.

The overall monthly budgets for the four families are presented below. They are given in peso amounts.

The Gutierrez Family

The Gutierrez family consists of five children and two adults. In contrast to the other three families, they have more than enough money to cover basic food needs. Senior Gutierrez married a Mixe (Indian) woman of high status but with no money. He works in the area where her family lives, in rural Oaxaca. His wife preferred the rural setting of the Colonia to the urban setting of an apartment so that she could keep chickens and grow vegetables. In spite of this disposition, the diet, and the overall budget are a clear example of Western rationality at work. Below is a typical weekly menu:

The Gutierrez Family Weekly Menu

Day	Breakfast	Comida	Cena
Sunday	Black Beans Tortillas Atole de Maiz (corn gruel with milk) Milk	Beef stew Black Beans Tortillas Soda	Bread & Butter Coffee with Milk
Monday	Bread & Butter Milk Coffee	Eggs Black Beans Tortillas Milk	Black Beans Tortillas
Tuesday	Bread & Butter Milk Coffee	Lentils Boiled Potato Tortillas Milk	Bread & Butter Coffee with Milk
Wednesday	Eggs Tortillas Atole de Maiz Milk Coffee	Chillies stuffed with bananas Tortillas	Bread & Butter Coffee with Milk
Thursday	Black Beans Tortillas Milk Coffee	Chicken with Soup Lentils Tortillas Milk	Black Beans Tortillas Coffee with Milk
Friday	Bread & Butter Milk Coffee	Lentils Tortillas Chilli sauce Milk	Bread & Butter Coffee with Milk
Saturday	Black Beans Tortillas Milk Coffee	Eggs Lentils Tortillas Milk	Black Beans Tortillas Coffee with Milk

The Gutierrez family's income allows them to budget and buy food by the week, rather than on a daily basis. All quality items such as meat, fruit and milk are provided on a more regular basis, and in more generous supply than in the other families. They expect to be able to send their children for training, buy clothes regularly, and to receive health care and hospitalisation through employment benefits. The overall monthly budgets for the four families are presented below. They are given in peso amounts.

Monthly Budget For A Matrifocal Family

Victoria Lopez (3 children, 1 adult)

Monthly Income

Child support paid through government office in bi-monthly instalments	\$200.00
Tortillas (10.00 daily)	\$300.00
Laundry	\$ 44.00

Total	\$544.00

Monthly Expenses (Household)*

Bulk food allowance	\$100.00
Monthly food allowance	\$ 76.00
Time payments	\$ 12.00

Total	\$188.00

Monthly Expenses (business)

Food and cooking items for tortillas and laundry soap	\$270.00

Total	\$270.00

Surplus Cash

From household expenses**	\$ 12.00
From business expenses	\$ 74.00

Total	\$ 86.00

*paid by child support monies

**Items such as utility bills, bus fare, clothing, and medical expenses were not part of the household budget. These would be paid out of the surplus cash fund.

Victor Lopez (Victoria's eldest son)

Monthly Income

Electrician's apprentice	\$132.00
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Monthly Expenses

Bus fare, school books, clothes, snacks	\$132.00

Surplus Cash	\$000.00
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Monthly Income Of A Typical Nuclear Family

Family Sosa (7 children, 2 adults)

Monthly Income (variable)

Good month - husband's salary (paid in weekly instalments)	\$862.00
Poor month - husband's salary (paid in weekly instalments)	\$362.00

Weekly Expenses

Food allowance	\$121.00
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Estimated Monthly Expenses*

Food allowance	\$484.00
Time payments	\$230.00

Total Monthly Basic Cost	\$714.00

Surplus Cash

Good month	\$148.00
Poor month	\$-352.00

*Important by their absence are bus fares, utility bills, medical costs, clothing. The basic family budget did not account for these items although they are expenses that must be met.

Maria Elena Sosa (Home Business)

Monthly Income (variable)

Good month - made in weekly or daily amounts	\$425.00
Poor month - made in weekly or daily amounts	\$300.00

Estimated Monthly Expenses

Cost of Laundry soap, food items	\$280.00
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Estimated Surplus Cash*

Good month	\$125.00
Poor month	\$ 20.00

*Note: Surplus cash is used for household needs.

Monthly Budget For A Typical Extended Family

Francisca and Arnolfo Cruz (10 children, 3 adults)

Monthly Income

Arnolfo	\$362.00
Brother	\$362.00

Total	\$724.00

Weekly Expenses

Food allowance	\$109.00
Utilities*	-
Time payments	-

Total	\$109.00

Estimated Monthly Expenses

Food allowance	\$436.00

Total	\$436.00

	\$724.00
	\$-436.00

Surplus Cash	\$288.00

Surplus Cash for the following:

medical, clothes, future time payments,
bus fare, misc.

*No electricity

Monthly Budget For A Wealthy Colonia Nuclear Family

Gutierrez Family Budget (5 children, 2 adults)

Monthly Income

Husband's salary paid in instalments

1st each month		\$750.00
15th each month		\$750.00

Total		\$1500.00

Weekly Expenses

Food allowance		\$112.00
Household utility allowance		\$ 55.00

Total		\$167.00

Estimated Monthly Expenses

Food allowance		\$448.00
Household utility allowance		\$220.00
Time payments		\$440.00

Total		\$1108.00

Surplus Cash for the following:

Bus fare, clothing, misc.		\$392.00
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Within these four sets of budgets, we can discern various forms of economic dispositions. Victoria Lopez, though impoverished, orchestrates her economic plan within a form of Western rationality. Her oldest son is educated, and supports himself through outside work as an apprentice to an electrician. This investment in the future is calculated and rigorous. None of his money is ever used for the household budget. Like the Gutierrez family, Victoria invests in the future of her children. She has little if anything for herself. All her resources have been directed towards the prospect of her son's steady job, and day-to-day survival. Her altruism is therefore worthy of high cultural praise in the community. Yet her poverty constrains attempts at rationality. She must buy day-to-day; she must use credit; she keeps to a basic diet. The Cruz family, ethnically Indian, evoke no such future directed rationality. Their budget is based on daily purchases; nothing is put aside, though their income is greater than that of Victoria. In the Sosa family, the father is a part-time carpenter, but though they have some regular income, they depend on a spiritualised rationality. They purposely refuse a Western type of future

orientation, believing that long term outcomes are in the hands of the Catholic saints. Instead of saving for investment, Senora Sosa prefers to undertake a pilgrimage to the coast, to the shrine of the Virgin of Juquila, in order to secure the well being of her family. This 'enchanted' conception of the world was reinforced in 1965, when one of her daughters died, as a result of too much anaesthetic in the hospital. The medical explanation was denied, the enchanted explanation of the neglect of religious duties, was preferred.

CONCLUSIONS

In the Colonia the household is the focus of the production of capital. This chapter has described the life styles of Colonia residents as they are reflected in the composition of the household, in the economic field of Colonia occupations, in their access to cultural capital of housing and consumer goods, as well as in their management of capital in the form of money and goods.

It is clear from the preceding information that kinship groups are organised along traditional patterns but that they also function as adaptive structures for urban migrants. Because the material base of city families is supported by wage-labour, migrant kin groups differ from traditional land based peasant groups, particularly with reference to a dependency on a broader kin group. Squatter families also differ from the inner-city *vecindad* (slum) kin groups. One obvious difference is that Linda Vista residents do not pay rent for their homes and land. Because of this feature, their residence patterns are stable and community networks can be maintained over a period of years. Another difference is that in Linda Vista the number of female-centered families is low as compared to inner-city *vecindad* households. Such family types are a widespread phenomena and are characteristic of urban ghettos in the United Kingdom and in the United States (see Stack 1974; Young and Wilmott 1957 and many others). The physical area of the Colonia functions as a buffer between the city and rural areas.

The Colonia can even be visualised as its own economic universe where people like Victoria, Francesca Cruz and Arnolfo Cruz can survive. The Colonia provides an environment in which very low income earners can maintain an equilibrium between basic necessities and expenditures especially in building and owning their own homes. It is an equilibrium that allows for better housing when residents can manage the expense. During the early 1970's the government, through the office of INDECO, built a low income housing estate on the other side of the city. They encouraged inner-city tenants and squatter settlement residents to purchase these houses through government loans. The estate had planned streets, lighting and all city services. Each house was suitable for a nuclear family and hence made impossible

the kind of collective economic power that is possible among extended families in the squatter settlements. It is also clear from the way many Colonia residents have organized kin networks that they do not visualize themselves as living in nuclear families like some middle class Mexican families. Linda Vista residents found the new area unappealing because of its isolation, its newness and obvious middle-class style and because they would have to pay rent. As this chapter showed, *Colonos* do not have to pay rent and any other payments that they make are relatively small in amount, and flexible as to deadlines. In addition to the fundamental economic disadvantages, there is the lack of confidence and self-esteem of those who, upon moving 'up', find that their furnishings, friends, family, clothes, food, in fact everything that makes their daily activity practical suits only the life in the squatter settlement. The necessary dispositions for a comfortable life on the housing estate are non-existent.

Workers in Linda Vista are generally in service-oriented occupations and reflect the phenomenon of under-employment rather than unemployment. Being in the service sector Colonia residents have a marginal income in terms of the larger society but are not marginal to the city structure, since the city is so dependent upon the service sector. In this situation the importance of steady employment and income can not be over-emphasized. All of the residents who became successful in the city began their ascent with a steady job and enough money for basic necessities. Mastery of the future was dependent upon the objective conditions which ensured at least a possibility of success. Unless this occurred the only possible attitude of Colonia residents to their lives was a *kind* of traditionalism. It was not village tradition, (because that life does not exist in the city), but it was the sort of traditional manner that has within it the possibility of different strategies and practice (given the correct conditions), while at the same time containing the impossibility of enacting that possibility. The tendency for families like Maria Elena and Alberto Sosa to see life experiences as a result of fate, God's will or the will of their favourite Saint is due to their inability to be successful in future plans and even to plan at all. Life for them is, in part, a game of patron and client string pulling, as well as a form of mystic reasoning.

The lack of Western strategies with regard to economic behaviour among some Colonia families was obvious (in a material sense) in their management of money, and in the types of household goods that were used for investment purposes, such as food or pigs. The inventories of household goods which constituted cultural capital and the strategies of reproduction and conversion of that capital indicates a preference for Western over traditional goods; for modern cookware over earthenware and an attempt to accumulate certain types of appliances such as blenders, radios and televisions. These appliances were used daily and served as a type of investment that could be realised in the pawn shop when extra cash was needed. It appears from the data that money was organized around a preference for cash in hand

and manageable hire purchase payments. Take, for example, the double bed for which Arnolfo Cruz paid at least double, or women such as Francesca Cruz who believed that they made a profit from a pig that has been raised, when in actuality more money had been spent than earned. Another example is Maria Elena who often sold *enchiladas* on the streets of Oaxaca to earn money. The money she spent to prepare the food was approximately 150 pesos. The money she earned was between 100 to 175 pesos. When asked she said that she earned 175 pesos because that was the amount of cash she had from the sale. The cost of supplies and labour was not included. Only in one case did the logic of accounts appear to exist and that was in the Gutierrez household. However this appearance of finance may be illusory. It may be that, relative to the others, they had sufficient monies for few necessities, thus giving the *impression* of a balanced monthly budget.

The economic dispositions of these families thus reflect a *series* of creative reinventions, none of which are wholly urban, nor wholly traditional. Even the Gutierrez family seek a life which is partly rural, even though their broad calculations are more directed towards the city. Victoria clings to the 'saintly' model of motherhood, a typical characterisation of traditional life, even as she prepares her son for the city. Alberto Sosa works at the edges of the market economy; his wife appeals to the Catholic saints for their long-term needs. The Cruz family, with their Zapotec and Masotec origins, both see the world in a traditional Indian manner, and are seen by the city as the inhabitants of that other world. Yet they both work as street-traders, making a living on the edge of an alien world. Each family has thus constructed a unique solution to a set of complex economic problems. These forms of economic practice constitute their adaptations to the city. Every scrap of clothing, every penny earned is necessary for day-to-day living in the Colonia. The household is the site of these struggles.

The domestic work relations among kin allows for the survival of Linda Vista residents, and makes available a labour force which is necessary to work in the service sector. However because the rate of exchange between their labour and wages is so low, Colonia residents resort to what can be termed subsistence activities. Such activities include certain types of occupations as well as social and kinship networks for exchanges. These activities take place in the neighbourhoods of the Colonia, which provide Colonia residents with a shanty town labour market and support networks that extend outside of the family unit. This is particularly important to women, since their domestic work and a large part of their paid employment takes place within the home. For many Colonia women the physical space between their homes is often an extension of the internal living space, so that a friend's yard, the store, or the wells and water taps become incorporated into the domestic space. This larger physical and social area is bounded by the activities and points of reference of women's activities. Thus paid employment

or what has been defined as the field of economic behaviour does not provide the full picture of social practice. Life would prove impossible to live without informal social networks. In terms of daily social practice these networks that exist are of primary importance to Colonia families and are developed for strategic reasons having to do with the accumulation and reproduction of economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital. These networks and their corresponding informal institutions are the subject of the following chapter.

FOOTNOTES

1. This and the following samples were completed during the first field session in 1968. Out of the 300 houses in the Colonia I and a fellow field worker, Michael Higgins, visited 150 houses which were chosen at random in order to reflect the variations which we felt were typical of the Colonia. The 100 households in these tables are taken from the original census data.
2. Since 1973 Maria Isabel has divorced her husband and remarried a bus driver. She continues to live next to her mother but neither she nor her mother see her ex-husband's family. The concluding chapter charts her downward trajectory.
3. Among the residents sampled in Linda Vista, there was not one case of a solo mother moving to the Colonia and setting up her house alone. The only example would be a solo mother who moved to the Colonia to live with members of her extended family.
4. This data was collected in 1971-1972 and was done in collaboration with Michael Higgins. All peso-dollar equivalents have been reckoned in 1972 U.S. dollar amounts.
5. During the course of the fieldwork I used approximately 20 individuals and their families as key informants. The 16 households here were chosen from those 20 and are a representative group of Colonia residents.

CHAPTER SIX

THE TIES THAT BIND: THE FIELD OF SOCIAL RELATIONS

The field of social relationships and social capital form the central focus of this chapter. The networks which constitute the social field are those which exist between the members of the household and those which exist between households. In addition to familial ties and relationships, this chapter looks at friendship, patron-client ties and relationships between *compadres* or godparents. Social relationships serve as a field within which capital can be generated. The relationships which household members have with one another are defined by the division of labour based upon age, sex and upon the income which adult members may provide. Relationships between households are defined by the amount and types of capital that a person or a family has accumulated. In particular symbolic capital, (status, honour and prestige) is of utmost importance to the creation and maintenance of the social capital which accumulates through one's social relationships. In fact, those who have no reputation may try to buy prestige through thinly veiled "good deeds". It is important to understand that symbolic capital matters on its own account. Someone like Victoria, who has virtually no income is much more respected and cared for by Colonia residents than are the Sosa's, who have no symbolic capital. In the field of social relations symbolic capital is more determinant than other forms of capital. Other forms of capital such as economic, social and cultural capital are important. However in order to have a position in the field of social relations and in order to be a patron one must have symbolic capital. By 1975 this field, like others in the Colonia, is changing to some extent. It appears that those who now live within 'the city' in terms of their construction of a future, are sometimes seen as taking advantage of their past positions on the *Mesa Directiva* for personal gain, as in the new market. Such behaviour is no longer 'dishonourable' as it might have been in the early days of the Colonia. For those who win it is good sense; for those who lose it is a matter of luck. More and more the dominant form of capital is economic, and reflects the interests of those residents who conceive of a Western future. Today economic capital can be converted into symbolic capital. For instance by 1983, (see Conclusion) the old field of Colonia politics had largely disappeared, and the economic advantage of particular social relationships became more powerful rather than traditional notions of prestige and honour. As a consequence of the change in the nature of capital which residents struggle for, the shape and composition of the social field has changed.

SOCIAL RELATIONS

The residents of Linda Vista look to kin and friends for help of a domestic nature. This includes goods and services such as food, money, medicine, child care, cooking and other household requirements. Personal relationships between people and households provide an economic reserve to their vulnerable position. As was evident from the preceding chapter, most households can not cover their daily or weekly expenses from the money that they earn. The special social relationships that people have with one another allow for the exchange of goods and services which is critical for their lives. Exchange activity takes place within and between households. Further, it is the women of those households who are generally responsible for making exchanges and keeping up friendships. The men of the Colonia spend most of their day away from home working or looking for work.¹

Throughout their lives, women have a constant responsibility for the welfare of their families. This domestic welfare system usually extends from the household members to other relatives who may live close by. As we have seen, the primary support external to the household comes from the male head of household's income, although the women in many families also work outside the home. Most commonly, a woman's activities in a job are integrated within the local community, so that the work setting can also be used to foster social ties within the Colonia. These in turn may be used to seek assistance when the need arises. In comparison, a male head of household is separated from the community in his place of work. In that setting, contacts are with the boss and with co-workers, but have little to do with the community and, more importantly, do not develop the sort of relationships which can be called upon in times of crises. Hence, woman's work has continuity and contact with the life of the community, while the man's work is frequently separate from that setting. Nevertheless in terms of men's views their jobs away from home are an important part of the ideology which defines them as 'supporting' the household. Even those whose jobs as street vendors (like Arnolfo Cruz) or peons (like Alfredo Sosa) began as temporary measures, continue in them as occupations rather than stay at home, unemployed and supported by their wife and family. It is this daily, repeated contact with the surrounding milieu which allows women, whether they work for money or not, to create various forms of social ties which are not open to most Colonia men. Those men who are lucky enough to work at regular jobs among colleagues who are equals, (for example Otilia's husband in this chapter), do make connections with their fellow workers. Often this is only important in terms of drinking behaviour and 'mate-ship' but, it can lead to the establishment of networks which become important to the household in the way that women's networks are important. However, those Colonia men who do not have these types of jobs will have much less of a chance of establishing long-term friendships. In this situation the

women's networks are of paramount importance to the household and its ability to cope with everyday problems. Thus while on the level of ideal behaviour men maintain the dominant role within the household, it is the women who maintain practical dominance of the household.

It has been suggested by some researchers (Butterworth 1981; Lamphere 1973), that modernization and industrialization have weakened women's status and power in Latin America. Traditionally in Indian villages the political and domestic domains of social life are merged. This allows for women to have some control over the family economy and work and in some cases to have "illegitimate" power (i.e. through their menfolk) within the political arena (Collier 1973). A modern village situation differs from the Indian villages in that there is a division between village political affairs and the domestic scene. Furthermore, village men often work as tradesmen, market vendors and agricultural labourers. This leads to a situation where men who are *caciques* or head men, dominate the villages as well as dominating the economic basis of the household. The balance of women's power and status is tied to political and economic structures outside the domestic domain. The system is so male dominated that others within the household may find themselves in a dependent position. In urban settlements such as Linda Vista, women are often in a more powerful position than men vis-a-vis the management of domestic resources. This occurs because in terms of state power and capital neither men nor women of this social strata are dominant. Ideologically, men and women still adhere to the theory of male dominance. However in real terms women also have access to the resources which they bring in, and are as equal as men within that economic setting.

Social relations typically follow certain systematic patterns in Latin America. Friendship relations are commonly of two kinds. The first form establishes itself on the basis of an equal horizontal dyad, such as the relationship which might exist between people of equal status either within households or between households. The second form, commonly found in the Colonia and of particular importance here, is termed the patron-client relationship indicating an asymmetry and an unequal social relation. It is usual for the patron to be a figure with high status and symbolic capital; often they are 'wealthy', and able to provide jobs, money and medical help in return for obligations from 'clients'. Such obligations are frequently paid through labour power; in provision of domestic help, or in the preparation for fiesta days for political friends of the patron. The patron-client relationship is commonly seen throughout Latin America, and is typical of all levels of society.

Compadre relationships provide a second type of social relation, most commonly translated as 'godparenthood'. Godparenthood turns friendship into fictive kinship, which means that the godparents

are considered co-parents of a child. This type of relationship is firmly embedded in Catholic ritual, which establishes the formal procedures for godparenthood. A religious ritual is performed to initiate such a relationship, while the obligations are varied. Baptismal godparents have enduring obligations; raising children should parents die, providing medical care, and buying clothes. *Compadres de Rosario* (Rosary godparents) may go through a much simpler ritual and subsequently take on fewer obligations, perhaps a birthday present now and then, and being available for occasional visits and gifts. The key to the relationship is not in the bonds between godparent and child, but in the social bond created between the two sets of parents.

The most fundamental relationship pattern, and a third form of social relationship, is based upon orthodox kinship ties of two primary forms. There are ties based on the division of labour connected with age and gender. There are also forms of kinship ties which are on a different basis than age and gender, such as relations between equals (mother and grown daughter, for example) or between quite unequal partners such as a grandfather, with high symbolic capital, and a son or grandson, who shows respect.

These forms of social relations are analysed more fully below. The first set which are examined are kin relations within households. The second set of social relations examines connections between households, invoking patron-client and *compadre* relations.

SOCIAL RELATIONS WITHIN HOUSEHOLDS: CASE STUDIES

The examples given below were chosen because they represented different 'types' of households in terms of class, household structure and above all, position within the field of social relations. Five families which exemplify considerable variation in the kinds of capital available to them are examined. Berta Ortega and Senora Rivera both represent examples of wealthy Colonia families, each economically secure, each with their own type of symbolic capital, each produced by a different pattern of social relationships. A third family, Socorro Rios, represents a middle-range example; a family with no symbolic capital, but with increasing economic capital, which is consciously directed towards the purchase of symbolic power through good deeds. Victoria Lopez has no money, but she is very well thought of and has a powerful 'respectable' position in the field. Consequently she can survive in the economic field through using her good name and converting symbolic capital to economic capital. In her circumstances symbolic capital is 'cashed in' to good effect. Finally, Maria Elena Sosa and her family have no capital in any field. They have nothing to do with communal activities, whether at

school, fiestas or political gatherings, and they achieve no social advantages. They pay no attention to the education of their children, they have little income and no capacity to plan to use what they have. They have little to depend on, inside or outside the house. For Maria Elena Sosa, as noted before, capital is orchestrated through a mystical future which is found to lie in the worship of a distant saint; the Colonia offers little.

Berta Ortega

Berta Ortega is 35 years old and the wife of a first-class truck driver.² Because the level of his income is high, she is seen as one of the "wealthier" women in the Colonia. Berta's income is totally dependent upon her husband, except for a pig which she keeps and sells to the market each year. Most of Berta's time is filled with caring for her home and eleven children (see Appendix III for a review of their financial situation).

Berta and her husband have an unequal relationship which can be likened to a patron-client model. Senor Ortega is rarely at home. He lives his own life separate from the household, and when he is home he assumes a domineering, although distant, role. The household routines, including food preparation and children's activities are all organised around his weekly visits. According to other Colonia families, the Ortegas live well and have a good home, with plenty of food and clothing. Thus Senor Ortega's distance from the home is perfectly acceptable. Each week Berta receives 300 pesos for food and small expenses. These are her resources to spend for the family as she sees fit. Other expenditures, such as large appliances and furniture, are undertaken in consultation with her husband, as it is he who pays these extra bills.

Other than the money from her husband and the sale of her pig, Berta is totally dependent upon her friends and kin for any friendship, support and credit that she might need. Unlike Socorro, Berta has no easy access to jobs or goods to offer in exchanges with her friends. She has a relationship with her children which allows them to take over certain household tasks when she needs help. However, none of the children are in the position of having to stay home from school to help, so their work in the household is quite limited compared to poorer families.

Berta is probably one of the most unhappy women in the Colonia. She is constantly worried that her husband will go off with another woman. She has twelve children to look after which she finds tiring and as a result she has no life of her own. She says that she is not unhappy with her children nor with

her material circumstances, only that she feels lonely and dependent. Unlike Socorro, Berta also lacks the social skills, energy and financial necessity to create employment opportunities for herself, although her position in the social field is much higher. Due to her husband's income, Berta can afford to purchase items of high cultural capital according to Colonia standards. These include a four-roomed house, its furnishings (a gas fuelled stove and oven, a refrigerator and washing machine), and her children's education, which means they do not need to leave school to work. While her Colonia friends admire her money and her things, their admiration is touched with more than a bit of envy (of her good fortune), and some contempt for her concern over her husband's wandering affections. Such negative attitudes are tempered by the considerable level of symbolic capital that characterises Berta's position. This is due not only to the transformation of different capitals into symbolic capital but also because she is thought to be a 'good' woman. Berta is a dutiful mother, an obedient wife and kind to her neighbours. Because her nature is so in-tune to the ideal pattern for Mexican womanhood, her symbolic capital is high (like that of Victoria Lopez).

Senora Rivera

Senora Rivera is another wealthy Colonia woman. She has a much higher profile than Berta has in managing her household as well as Colonia affairs. Senora Rivera has many of the same skills as Socorro Rios in finding opportunities to work and earn money. However, she is seen to be a more respected member of the Colonia because she is married to a rural school teacher, and is active in the Colonia politics and neighbourhood development of San Miguel's group. Unlike Socorro, Senora Rivera has had no affair with a married man, nor does she 'carry on' in public against her husband. In an old fashioned sense, she does not have 'a reputation'. Thus, her position in the social field is high, reflecting a substantial amount of economic, social and cultural capital. The measure of her symbolic capital is somewhat lessened by the view that other Colonia residents have of her actions in Colonia politics, since her activities have proven to be (conveniently) lucrative for her family. In this sense, she evokes some of the logic of the city in its rational economic dealings. So, while she and her husband may be sought after to become *compadres*, everyone knows that she takes food home from community fiestas, pays low wages to her helpers (like Victoria Lopez) who sew dresses for her market stall, and has engineered the Colonia's new market; so that she had the *only* market stall available to sell clothes. As her husband is away from home most of the year, Senora Rivera has complete control of his pay, which is given out in the city of Oaxaca at the Federal Office of Education. She started her business in the market stall with capital from her husband's wages, and contracts with other women in the Colonia to make cotton aprons and children's clothes which she sells in the Linda Vista market, and which are sold to other market vendors in Oaxaca.

All household bills, purchases, and additions to the house are the responsibility of Senora Rivera. She also makes the decisions about which fiestas to give and to attend, and which friends to take up. When Senor Rivera returns home, he assumes responsibility for payment of large bills, purchases and household repair work. He makes decisions regarding friendships and fiestas only insofar as they affect his own political status in the Colonia. He is respected in the Colonia not only for his income, but because he and his family have worked hard for the incorporation of the Colonia into the city and for the school. Thus when Senor Rivera is at home, he takes the "leading" role and Senora Rivera defers to him because he is her husband. This relationship is an example of how husbands and wives may ideologically support the traditional notion of the male role as being dominant, but function on a day-to-day basis as equals. Real relations of power and dominance are often misrecognised in order to maintain the veil of legitimacy over ideologically correct gender relationships which clearly place men in a dominant position. This occurs even when women control income expenditure and social networks.

The Riveras are an example of the sort of family which is a success in the city. Steady employment, regular income and political contacts explain why this is so. The determination that both husband and wife have to their 'project' of success and movement within the class trajectory is also an important factor to their success. Their mutual dispositions towards time and the future lead them to act in what can be defined as a calculated manner.

Socorro Rios

Socorro Rios is a twenty-six year old woman, married to a man five years her junior and has one child, a boy of eight years. The child is the offspring of a previous de facto relationship between Socorro and an older man. Socorro is the type of individual who always tries to dominate any social situation and usually succeeds. She is bright, energetic and able to manipulate others to her own advantage while making it seem that she is doing them a favour! Socorro's husband, Fidel, takes an unassuming and quiet profile at home which suits Socorro. In terms of the household domain, the only aspect that Socorro can not control is Fidel's labour time outside the house and any free time and money that he gives himself away from the household. Fidel often returns home late and will go out on a Saturday insisting that he must work. Socorro tries to control this activity by throwing tantrums and accusing him of adultery. Fidel responds by telling her that these demonstrations of her deep affection for him are unnecessary, because he is not doing anything "against her".

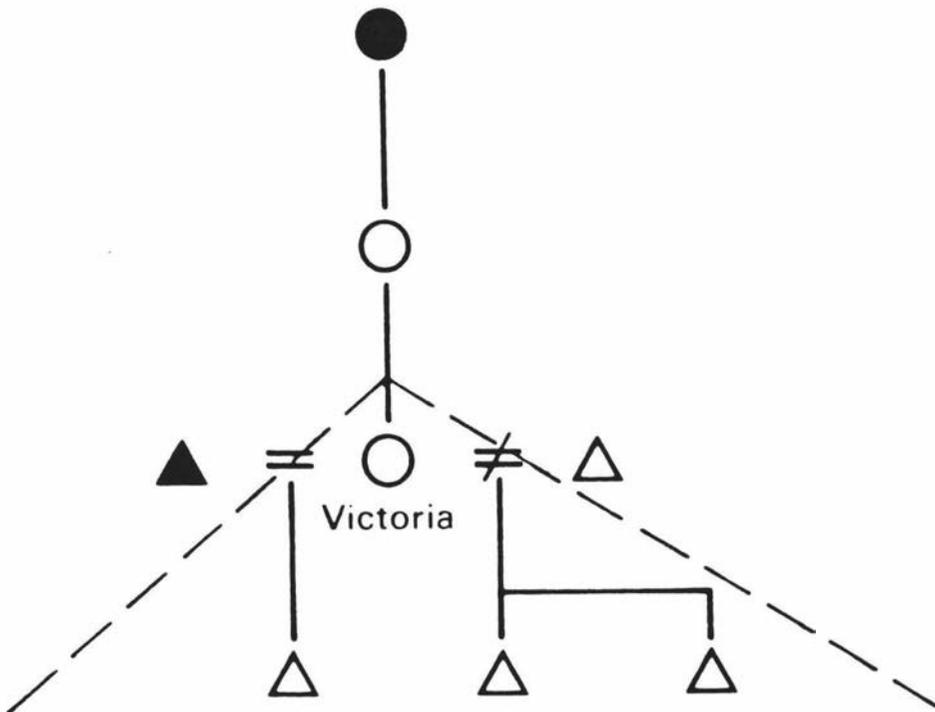
The household is Socorro's world. Here she controls all monies earned by herself and Fidel, makes all decisions on purchases, articles to be pawned, and any family obligations to be seen to. In the number of

years I have worked with Socorro, she has never been direct or consistent about her financial circumstances. She says that she maintains the household on the 10-15 pesos daily that her husband gives her, as well as what she earns herself. She is always vague about what exactly this amount might be (see Appendix III). She has the ability to always find work and to create a job for herself. For instance, she may contract with a city vendor to make coal stoves, to separate mica sheets or to sell clothes and jewelry. She lends money and acts as a go-between in financial matters for others. These skills give her tremendous manoeuvrability when it comes to running the household. Socorro also finds jobs for other family members and friends - on her terms - which allows her to manipulate them, because of their reciprocal obligations to her. She has the capacity to create patron-client ties. Thus we find Socorro giving fiesta dinners with labour and food supplied by others, but in *her* house and reaping the benefits of the production. Socorro continually plays the game of self-interest through her public avowals of generosity. These so-called generous acts are offered in a gracious manner, hidden under the guise of maternal or even sisterly concern, rather than named objectively as gifts for which an obligation of a counter gift then exists. This type of structuring of favours places Socorro in an ambiguous position in terms of the social field, because she has no symbolic capital through her family ties. This is due to the fact that her mother left the family when Socorro was young and her father spent an extended period of time in prison for growing marijuana. Further, she had a liason with the older man who fathered her son. Due to this background, she was cast in the negative role of mistress. However her lack of symbolic capital is balanced by her ready access to economic capital. Socorro, like San Miguel, is a person of enormous energy and charisma and is never lacking for money. As her ability to help others into jobs or loans increases and her parties become more frequent, we can see Socorro gradually transforming economic capital into cultural, social and above all, symbolic capital, thereby changing her position in the social field.

Victoria Lopez

As previously mentioned, Victoria Lopez is one of the few matrifocal heads of household. As such, all household decisions are hers to carry out. This includes money earned in domestic jobs, all expenditure, any involvement in Colonia affairs and in the choice of *compadres*. Her eldest son Victor takes the role more of a colleague than a dependent. For instance, he has his own part time job, and his wages are used only for his needs in school. However, he does not buy his own food. When Victoria decides to make a purchase and have a fiesta meal, she always talks it over with Victor and gets his opinion. She also asks his advice when her younger boys have problems in school. When her second home was built, it was she, Victor and her *compadres* who built it, and it is Victor who maintains it. Also, when her de facto husband tried to return home, she sought Victor's opinion before she decided to refuse his advances.

Victoria Lopez Bautista: This diagram represents the only recognised kin of Victoria. She has no contact with her mother or her husband. The dotted lines show the household as it existed from 1961 to 1974. By 1982 Victor had married and brought his wife and daughter to live in Victoria's Colonia with the other two sons.



a Lopez Bautista

agram represents the only recognised kin of Victoria. She contact with her mother or her ex-husband. The dotted lines e household as it existed from 1968-1974. By 1982 Victor ried and brought his wife and daughter to live in Victoria's house with the rest of the family.

Although Victoria is clearly the authority in the household, the relationship between herself and Victor is a good example of a horizontal or equal dyad between mother and child. The types of decisions made in the household and the advice sought by Victoria of Victor are based upon age and experience. But it is clear that they both agree upon general goals for the family, and are working toward those ends. Both see their future embodied in Victor's job opportunities.

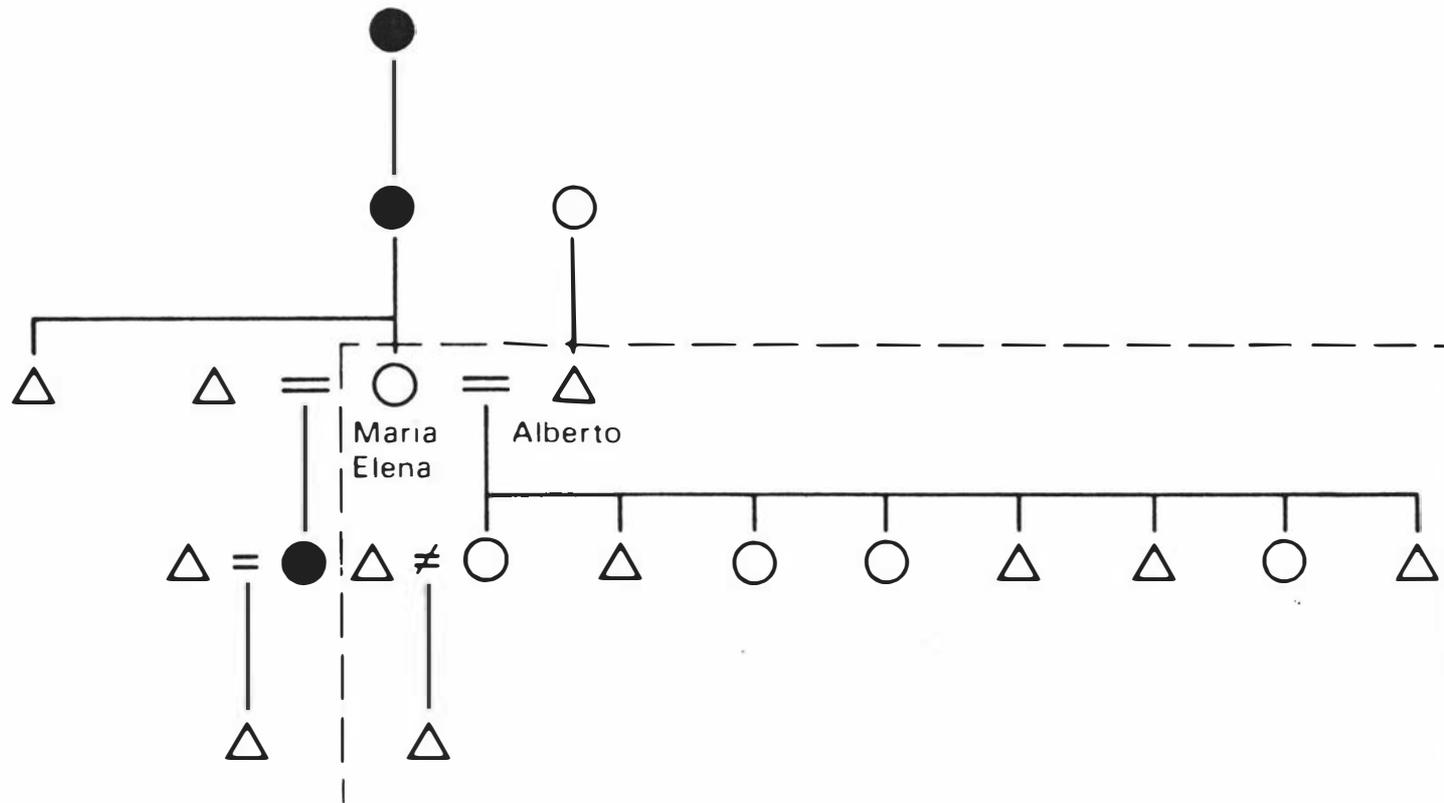
Maria Elena Sosa

Maria Elena and Alberto Sosa both work for wages to maintain the household and their children. Maria Elena does laundry, cooking and sells foods, and Alberto is a construction worker. According to both Alberto and Maria Elena, it is the responsibility of the male head of household to maintain the household. It is the wife's responsibility to support him. While Maria Elena contributes equally towards maintaining the family, they still voice a belief that the man is dominant because of his superior capabilities. Their acceptance of the traditional male-female relationship is evident in small ways during the day. The majority of the meals are made for and eaten by Alberto, who is always served first. If Alberto needs help in town with his work, one of the boys goes along with him. Any physical discipline that is necessary with regard to the children is done by Alberto. However aside from these small instances, the daily responsibility of the household rests squarely on Maria Elena's shoulders.

Maria Elena has control over all monies that Alberto contributes, as well as her own wages. She decides on food purchases and any major and minor purchases of furniture, clothes or medicines. She also controls the children's labour in that she asks them to stay home from school to care for each other or the home, to run errands, and to help Alberto. For her, running the household is more important than the children's schooling. In this way one could say that they fail to plan in a way consistent with logical management of their children's future. However to say this would be to fail to recognise that her choice is consistent with the objective chances of her family's future. Perhaps what Maria Elena has done is to make a 'virtue out of necessity'.

Both Maria Elena and Alberto travel to the coast of Oaxaca for business, and it is a mutual decision as to how and when they will go. They also decide together who to ask to become *compadres* when they are looking for influential patrons, although Maria Elena does determine when to ask a patron. Clearly, Maria Elena takes the major role in economic decisions within the household. While she will often speak about her husband as being the authority figure this relationship is one of equals. Whenever

The Sosa Family: This diagram describes the kin networks of Maria Elena and Alberto. The individuals enclosed by dotted lines are those who live in the same household in Linda Vista.



The Sosa Family

This diagram describes the kin networks of Maria Elena and Alberto. The individuals enclosed by dotted lines are those who live in the same household in Linda Vista.

something is out of kilter, it is left to Maria Elena to decide on the actions and resources which are available to help them.

The relationship between Maria Elena and her older daughter is a collegial one. Because the daughter is working outside of the home she is old enough to cooperate in household decisions with her mother. They are great friends and support each other by exchanging money, food, and daily help. The daughter will often get Maria Elena's goods out from the pawn shop, and will buy her items now and then for her home. Maria Elena also has an older son who also works and lives at home. He, however, contributes nothing to the household. He lives a separate and distant life, except for the fact that he expects to be given room and board at home.

Summary

Some key points are essential to an understanding of the domestic exchanges which occur within these households. Husband-wife relationships are built around the ideology of patron-client contracts with the husband being the authority figure and the patron while the wife plays the part of the client; at least in public. In private these roles temporarily overlap when the husband cares for the children (for instance, when the wife is ill). Even in instances where the wife is earning nearly equal amounts to her husband in terms of household income, the husband will take the role of patron rather than colleague. Most often this type of contract is characterised by an inflexible sexual division of labour which is complementary, but which highlights the segregated type of family organisation which has been discussed in many Mexican ethnographies. Men are expected to bring home the wages. Women are expected to cook, clean, care for the children, care for clothes, and to give sexual services. Embedded in these tasks is the responsibility to have food available for cooking (even when there is no money) and to have proper clothing for her family. Given that households are not self-sufficient for basic resources, the obligation to provide these items is the core of exchange relationships. In a strictly economic sense, Colonia women are in a weak position. However, exchange relationships based on other forms of capital give them a source of power in two ways, firstly because they are able to meet their household responsibilities apart from any dependence upon their husbands and secondly, in fulfilling their responsibilities they are seen to be living up to the ideal role model as expressed in the concept of *marianismo*.

The mother/child relationship can not be defined within Foster's two types of contractual relationships of patron-client or collegial dyads. This relationship has aspects of both in mother's and children's

reciprocal duties (Foster 1961,1967), which creates strong bonds of mutual dependence. Such mutuality is apparent at different times of their lives, and makes the relationship asymmetrical. For instance, mother is generous and responsible for her children while she is young and able. Colonia mothers believe that children have a deep loyalty and affection for their mother, because of her sacrifices for them. Such a notion is given symbolic legitimacy in the Catholic religion and the conception of the Virgin as the Holy Mother. Thus, when mothers are too old to care for themselves, it is hoped that the children will care for them. This completes the exchange, with the relationship still being asymmetrical, since it is now the child who is the provider. Further, it is expected that sons may contribute financially to their mothers' well being, and that daughters may contribute goods and services such as cooking, cleaning and care during illness. Collegial dyads do exist as evidenced by the relationships between Victoria and her eldest son and Maria Elena and her eldest daughter. Generally such relationships exist between mothers and daughters who form an alliance of equals, exchanging goods, services and confidences.³

Social capital is generated by altruistic communal action, and by the grace of economic power. The strategy to gain symbolic capital is sometimes expressed as a balance between economic favours and social position. Those who have no economic power must prefer the life of the saintly and giving individual. Of course, this purely symbolic power actually expresses itself in a direct economic sense through its capacity to establish credit and maintain the household. Social, symbolic and economic capacity thus constitute elements in a complex system of capital exchange within the field of social relationships.

SOCIAL RELATIONS BETWEEN HOUSEHOLDS

This section considers relationships between households, in particular, friendships, including patron-client ties, and the bonds between *compadres*. The examples chosen include the three main families introduced in the previous chapter which reflect dominant household structures. Further ethnographic examples demonstrate differences in the patterns of social relationships based upon the different positions which residents have within the field.

Outside the home residents draw upon help and support from kin friends and *compadres*. In the absence of stable jobs, income and a larger extended family to provide for daily household needs, residents reconstrue the traditional types of relationships to press into service any resources that are available. The system which makes sense from the residents' perspective is a reinvention of traditional types of

personal networks which are useful in the city. The string-pulling connections and favours between relations of kinship, friends and co-parents reduce the feeling of powerlessness as well as providing for immediate needs. The cultural traditions of Mexico favour the power of such relationships, and in the city these types of connections are further reinforced. In addition to their purely economic side, these relationships are best understood as strategies which help people gain positions in the social field.

The term kinship network describes those people who are related through consanguineal and affinal ties (Diaz 1966; Foster 1962; Nutini 1968; Wolf 1966). These ties function within the household and also connect separate residential domestic units. In Mexico, when one speaks of kin outside of the nuclear family and household, one is referring to their personal kindred. This is reckoned bilaterally from ego. One's kin are not thought of as a corporate group nor does 'my relatives' refer to descendants from a common great-parent within a set number of connecting links. Rather, one's kindred are defined as those persons who are related to ego and who have mutually reciprocal obligations. In Linda Vista, geographical distance is extremely important in determining whether or not a particular relation is part of one's kindred. Distance can be a major barrier in validating kin ties, if reciprocal obligations are not somehow maintained.

Friendship bonds are those which link residents on the basis of pure self-interest and enjoyment, and are outside of any kin or fictive kin structures (Wolf 1966). Two additional characteristics of friendship bonds are that they are achieved, and that they are reckoned from ego. As everywhere, friendship is formed on the basis of common experiences, sympathetic personalities and proximity; however the rights and duties involved are culturally determined. In Mexico, one exchanges goods and services without ever actually balancing reciprocal obligations. However while the value of the exchange of goods and services between friends may not be emphasized or even may be misrecognised in Bourdieu's sense of the word, these obligations should "even-up" over a period of time. Eric Wolf (1966) suggests that there are two types of friendship in Mesoamerica, one being expressive or emotional, and the other being instrumental. In the Colonia Linda Vista friendships embody both aspects. Friendships are created for mutual enjoyment and mutual benefit *and* participants become "sponsors" for one another. Since kin groups in Linda Vista are not corporate groups, as they may be in some highland indigenous Mexican villages, friendship bonds are more easily created and sustained. For a migrant to the city, friendships help to create a support system and a predictable social situation.⁴

Patron-client ties have been described by Julian Pitt-Rivers as "lop-sided friendships" (Pitt-Rivers 1954 p.140). As mentioned previously in this chapter, these ties characterise certain friendships and

compadrazgo bonds in the Colonia Linda Vista as well as throughout Mesoamerica. The patron provides security in terms of economic aid, jobs and support. Clients provide patrons with free labour as well as esteem and public loyalty. Eric Wolf makes the point that these ties are particularly strong where formal institutions in society are weak, and are unable to deliver a sufficiently steady supply of goods and services to the lower strata of that society.

The most formal of social relationships is the *compadrazgo* or co-parenthood (Foster 1953; Mintz and Wolf 1957). The relationship is centered around the sponsorship of various life-cycle rites of a child. The most important point about this relationship is that the bond between the godparents and the real parents is more important than that between godparents and child. The relationship is validated through rituals and sacred rites, which take place in the Catholic church. These ties are formal and create collegial dyads and patron-client dyads between individuals. The *compadrazgo* collegial dyads are established between social equals often found within the Colonia, and serve to formalise friendships and to secure basic daily exchanges of money, food and labour. Patron-client *compadrazgo* relationships are developed between a lower-income family and a higher-income family. They serve as a type of insurance or security against emergencies, such as when money or health care is needed for a child's illness or schooling. Often women will ask local store owners and curers to become *compadres* because of their economic status and their skills. For instance, one couple are *compadres* to the doctor who cares for their children. In times of urgent medical needs, such as when their youngest daughter needed to have dental work and medication, they will ask their *compadres* for help. However they are careful not to make a nuisance of themselves, nor to ask for too much help lest the *compadres* tire of them. In return they do odd jobs and domestic chores. This family has managed to build a wide array of *compadrazgo* ties which range from social equals to families with higher incomes, food vendors, doctors and construction bosses.

Within the Colonia, *compadre* relationships can be major or minor, depending upon the social event which bind the families. Major associations include baptisms, confirmations, weddings and funerals. *Compadres* for these occasions are expected to help out in major emergencies with their godchild and during family celebrations. Minor relationships occur for housewarmings or the ritual lighting of a candle, and saying a rosary in church for a child. These rituals codify friendship bonds.

As indicated previously, the Colonia is located in the foothills which lie outside of the city Oaxaca. The geography and ecology of the Colonia have a major effect upon the structuring of social visiting patterns. The houses begin at the highway and go up the hillside for about 65 metres. The highest street

in the Colonia is at this elevation. This settlement pattern creates a division in the Colonia between those who live up high on the hillside, and those who live on the lower, flat level. The Colonia is also divided into two sections. The northern end of the Colonia is referred to as the first section, and the southern end of the Colonia is referred to as the second section. The first section is larger in both area and in number of families. It is about double the size of the second, and the two are separated by a large ravine. Thus, the Colonia has a two-way residential division - one between those who live high up and those who live low-down near the highway, and another between those who live in the northern first section and those who live in the southern second section. This affects visiting patterns in the following way: If a person lives in the higher level of the second section, his or her visiting patterns will be bounded to a degree by that location. This also influences the guests who are invited to fiestas. Rarely is someone from the first section invited to a fiesta in the second section, or the reverse. Also, people who live higher up in the Colonia tend not to socialise with people from the lower section of the Colonia. There are two exceptions to this pattern: first, certain political leaders in the Colonia such as the heads of the factions, are invited to fiestas throughout the Colonia. Membership in the two political factions cuts across the residential divisions, but the majority of the members of both factions come from the lower first sections of the Colonia; the second exception is that teenagers in the Colonia attend any fiesta regardless of the residential divisions.

An additional aspect which influences friendships and *compadrazgo* relationships in Colonia Linda Vista is the method by which residents stratify themselves. Friendship patterns are structured in a similar manner as visiting patterns, but are slightly more restrictive. *Colonos* label very few people as friends. The standard response to socio-grams was "no tengo amigos aquí, nada más amistades" (I have no friends here, only acquaintances). This pattern of constricted or closed social networks has been previously reported for Mexico (Butterworth 1962:257-274; Foster 1967). There is little verbal stress on establishing friendship relationships among the residents of the Colonia and there is no evidence for male reference groups and gangs, (in *vecindades* these are referred to as *palomilla* or *amigos de confianza*). There are many statements made by the people of the Colonia about how one should be careful in establishing strong friendships with others, and they tend to be somewhat distrustful and suspicious of others. The hesitancy to claim friendships is due to the contradiction between the struggle over positions within the field (and the concurrent struggle to accumulate capital) and the trust that must exist between people so that friendship can exist. Within the fields of Colonia life residents struggle for recognition within the logic of the accumulation of capital. While daily practice is primarily focussed upon meeting immediate needs, one can also see in this practice the struggle for social recognition. In both instances one could not claim that residents consciously adopt particular strategies nor that they are

determined in any mechanical way through previous and present objective and ideological structures. What can be said is that customary personal relationships are reshaped for the contemporary city, so that the strategies basic to these relationships become practice through the residents' own understanding of the game and the rules for positions in the field. In his work on traditional village life Foster (1967) used the idea of the 'image of the limited good' to account for the suspicious and envious feelings that villagers had for those who were successful. Basically these people defined all goods, (including love and friendship) as existing in a limited quantity, so that one person's good fortune would be at the expense of another. While Foster did not analyse the behaviours of the villagers in terms of the struggle for positions in the field, one can see that the idea of strategy and struggle for positions makes sense of the peasant's 'limited' view. Foster suggests that he feels that this image of the limited good is maladaptive. That is, it is clear that the image prevents people from taking full advantage of new situations. However, given the nature of the resource base for the poor and the related social relationships to that resource base, the image of the world as being finite would seem to be appropriate.

In order to understand how Colonia residents categorised themselves according to their own notions of social importance (of position in the social field) and wealth (economic and cultural capital), twenty-two interviews with people from different households were conducted. Each informant was asked to rank forty-seven Colonia families according to their own criteria. The question was posed to rank Colonia families from high to low, rich to poor according to economic capital. Names of the families were written on separate 3 x 5 cards. Informants placed the cards in separate groups according to their own criteria.⁵ No one knew all of the names on the cards. The highest number of names known was 23. The lack of knowledge about other *Colonos* was probably due to the infrequent visiting patterns across the two sides of the Colonia. The interviews were considered to be a one-to-one affair. However, if an informant did not know a name he or she would ask other family members and friends. Personal interviews soon became household discussions.

This form of 'prestige' ranking provided a direct sense of the way residents conceived of the social field. In doing the interviews, residents used a constant set of criteria for stratification. Three basic explanatory models emerged. The first was a three level model which defined Colonia residents as being poor, regular or wealthy. Being poor was defined as those who are only living day to day, working as unskilled labourers, women living alone and all those having trouble in maintaining the household and family. The regular stratum was defined as those households which had an adequate living, a steady income, with a brick or adobe house and who did not always have to borrow food or money. The wealthy stratum were those with large houses and no financial problems. Fourteen

interviewees offered this three part explanatory model. In making their deliberations residents first stressed the importance of having a steady income and employment and later the importance of social goods such as a large house and its chattels.

The second explanatory model to emerge defined Colonia residents as being poor or wealthy. These strata were defined as above with most of the Colonia residents being categorised as poor. Four interviews offered this model. A third model, also offered by four informants, placed residents into two groups: poor and ordinary. Most of the Colonia was described as being poor. When a family was placed in a particular stratum, the position depended upon the amount of social goods that a person owned or controlled. In these two models residents were not ranked according to their type of job or educational level. In this way second and third models differed from the first. However the very fact of ownership appeared to assume steady employment and some education as job training. So, like the first explanation, steady employment and a steady basic income were prerequisites for success.

Senor Lopez is a good example to demonstrate how these ideas were lived by *Colonos*. Senor Lopez drives a dump truck and earns \$US120 a month. He had only one year of formal schooling, and was a Protestant (which was extraordinary). Those informants who knew his name always ranked Senor Lopez in one of the higher stratum. The reasons given were that he had a considerable amount of money and his family lived well. When I asked my informants how they knew this to be true, they answered that it was quite clear from what he owned. He owned a truck, he had a large house and his family dressed in nice clothes. Informants would also point out that Senor Lopez was a hard worker, and gave much of his time to help the Colonia. These are secondary factors but demonstrate how the levels of economic, cultural and symbolic capital are so closely tied together. Given his truck and his skill in construction Lopez was bound to be asked to help with the *Mesa Directiva* to ensure his continued support. From Lopez' perspective the *tequio* was a good thing given that his family lived high up the hillside in the first section. Help with the *tequio* ensured clear pathways and a water well for the families in his area. The fact that his occupation was a form of manual labour was not important. Since he owned a large quantity of social goods, Lopez was ranked equal to the schoolteachers and the one military officer in the Colonia.

There were several families in the Colonia who were economically well off, but for various reasons took no part in the social and political life of the Colonia. Informants would always place these families into the high economic stratum; however, they would also point out that these families did not have high symbolic capital in the community because of their lack of involvement in the Colonia's affairs. In

ranking Colonia families, people would usually discriminate between economic and cultural capital on the one hand, and symbolic capital on the other hand. This is interesting because *Colonos* appeared to misrecognise some of the obvious benefits to high-ranking families that came from involvement in Colonia politics. The concept of self-interest was only discerned as gossip by residents but not in their official (for the record) descriptions of Colonia families. Sometimes statements from residents turned out to be quite wrong and contrary to fact. This happened when residents described people who they knew only from appearance. The following is a good example. Senor Castro was a Mixe Indian, unemployed, and had lived in the Colonia for about four years. He and his wife had a small store in their front room (there were two rooms). He considered himself to be quite poor, and had little hope for the future. In fact he saw himself as a failure because he had no money, he drank (and was dishonourable) and was too much an Indian. However, informants who knew his name thought him to be more or less well-off because he ran a store. For them, the important fact was that he owned a store which contained goods that they did not have, but that he did have. Believing this to be true, they could not see him as poor as he saw himself. In this instance Castro's supposed economic capital became more important than his ethnic identity as a Mixe Indian. His position in the Colonia was due to a complex set of forces and juggling of capital - including his lack of symbolic capital. He was not 'important' in the field of Colonia social relations or politics, since he never gave money or time to Colonia projects, nor did he help his neighbours with credit. They also felt that he made his wife work too hard. Thus his symbolic capital was almost non-existent. What residents didn't know was that his shop was almost non-existent in that he had very few goods and that he had no money. While residents knew his name almost none of them had been to his shop.

To sum up, the institutions of social relations which exist between Colonia residents construct a recreation and elaboration of traditional ties which helps them to cope with the demands of the fields in the city. These comprise kinship, friendship (including patron-client ties) and the *compadrazgo*. In the Colonia these ties are often bounded by geographical location and one's position in the Colonia's social and political fields. These relationships are used in the squatters' struggle to maintain their households. Residents' strategies maintained and accumulated capital through their connections with people who had different positions within the social field. The 'use-value' of these different relationships will become more obvious in the examples given below. Relations of kinship and friendships provided both emotional and economic support at various times. More formal relationships like those with a patron or *compadres* also give this sort of support. In many instances such relationships are seen more openly as economic resources and as being dependent upon the symbolic capital of each person or couple. This is important since such economic thinking indicates a series of calculations and planning for the future in

terms of an informant's personal trajectory. So, with reference to the previous examples of Senor Lopez and Senor Castro, and the Lopez family, even though they are Protestant and can not be *compadres* as Catholics, they are more sought after for friendship and patron-client ties than are the Castro family who offer nothing and who have no symbolic capital. Both families inhabit the upper region of section one and both are thought to have economic capital. The difference between the two men is in the levels of their 'honourable positions' in the Colonia field of social relations.

CLASS POSITIONS AND THE FIELD OF SOCIAL RELATIONS : CASE STUDIES

In the section which follows, families representing wealthy, regular and poor social positions are illustrated (this is taken from the first of the three prestige rankings given above). Marta Canseco and Berta Ortega are both wealthy. Marta works with the *Mesa Directiva*, and has *compadre* ties with San Miguel and the Rivera family. But because of her dispositions which are crude and undisciplined, she and her family have little social standing. All their social relationships are predominantly as clients in patron-client relations. Berta is wealthy and her family has some symbolic capital. As mentioned previously she plays the motherly and wifely role, and sometimes acts as a patron. Thus the positions of these women in the field of social relationships are quite different, and can not be directly translated from their positions in the economic field.

Obdulia Nava and Otilia Durán represent members of regular families in their class positions. They differ in that Otilia's social relationships are orchestrated almost entirely through her husband, which is unusual in the Colonia. Obdulia Nava's husband earns the same income as Otilia Durán's husband but unlike the Duráns, the Navas do not calculate in what one would describe an economic way. Obdulia Nava's husband gets drunk every Sunday. The consequence is that they do not do collective work, and have little or no symbolic capital. In contrast the Durán family live an austere and, respectable life. Even though they keep their distance from collective activities, they manage to keep their position in the social field. Thus while they do not maintain a position of prestige, they are not dishonourable, which allows them some measure of symbolic capital.

The remaining families, Sosa, Cruz and Lopez are all poor-but their social relationships are quite distinct. Both the Sosas and the Cruz have little symbolic capital; the Sosas because of their crudity, the Cruz because of their ethnicity. As we have seen above, Victoria Lopez is able to escape this lowly social position by her use of 'virtue' as a social strategy.

The Wealthy Families

Marta Canseco

Marta Canseco is married to the plumber Memo, and lives in the first section of the Colonia. Marta keeps very close kin ties with her father and two married sisters who all live in the Colonia. She also has several *compadres* in the Colonia and two special *compadres* in town. What Marta does not seem to have are friendship ties or *amistades*. Her social relationships are confined to family or formal *compadre* ties rather than friendship ties. With her sisters and father, Marta exchanges all sorts of goods and services. There is not an article of clothing, a piece of food, support or money that is not open for use between the family. Some of Marta's children will even stay with her sister for two or three days at a time, which helps her own domestic arrangements. The main *compadre* contacts that Marta and her husband have in the Colonia are with the Ramirez family, San Miguel and his mother, and a local shop owner. The Cansecos and the Ramirez' are nearly of equal status in the Colonia in terms of the economic field. Both women have market stalls, and their husbands have similar high incomes, although Memo Canseco does not have the job security of Senor Ramirez. Both families are active in the *Mesa Directiva* and the school parent-teacher association. What the Cansecos lack is the sense of middle-class finesse and dispositions that the Ramirez couple have affected. The gradual change in the dispositions of the Ramirez couple can be explained in two ways. Firstly, over the last fifteen years as their living standards have improved, their style of living and their demeanour in the Colonia have changed accordingly. Secondly, they came from middle-class village families. This is significant because the income of Senor Ramirez' family was enough to allow him to go to secondary school and to make the move to the city (generally middle-order villagers migrate to cities leaving the well-to-do peasants and the very poverty stricken peasants at home). Given Senor Ramirez' position in the village and the calculation that we can presume to have been made beforehand to send him to school, one might suggest that his family background's habitus fostered the dispositions to make certain choices in a 'rationalised' way between the possibilities that the future offered. Thus when the Ramirez family moved to the Colonia they brought more with them than a steady job. They brought with them dispositions which supported their upward movement within their class trajectory.

The Canseco family history is almost completely the opposite to that of the Ramirez family. Both Marta and Memo came from city slums and only moved to Linda Vista when they heard the advertisements on the local radio. Neither of their families had any pretensions to an education or what might be called middle-class behaviour. Their dress, language, and manner of keeping house are more similar to inner-

city slum dwellers than to an upwardly mobile family. While they are active in Colonia politics and have been successful in business, their dispositions have never changed. Colonia residents tend to characterise the Cansecos as a rather coarse family, and the Ramirez as respectable. This attitude has consequences for the interaction between the two families and places the Cansecos in a subordinate position. Therefore, all visiting between the two takes place at Colonia events or in the Ramirez household, never on the Canseco property. Exchanges of labour and political support go from the Cansecos towards the Ramirez. From the Ramirez family came help in organizing the market stall, money when a child was very ill and the offer of odd jobs to the Canseco family when they might need work. The *compadre* ties between San Miguel and his mother on the one hand and the Canseco family on the other, are even more distant and are a good example of a patron-client relationship. The Cansecos give political support to San Miguel and visit his mother, as well as doing small jobs for her. In return they receive some measure of respectability and the social kudos of helping with major Colonia fiestas. Rarely do the Cansecos ask for money or jobs from San Miguel.

The other *compadre* relationships that the Canseco family have in the Colonia is with a shop owner, who extends credit to Marta each week. Because Marta sells cooked food in her market stall, both she and the shop owner gain from the credit he allows her, a form of collegial dyad. In Oaxaca, Marta's *compadre* ties are with the patron from one of her husband's past work contracts, and with women from the centre market. The market women are friends who have formalised their relationship to the Cansecos. The patron will lend money to the Cansecos in exchange for free labour from Memo Canseco.

Berta Ortega

Berta Ortega's social relationships are completely separate from her husband. Senor Ortega is usually working, driving first-class trucks to and from Mexico City, or is spending time with his mistress. He spends no time with their *compadres*, and within the period of one year they had no fiestas nor celebrations with their friends and relatives.

In other sections (this chapter and Appendix III), Berta's financial situation has been described and mention has been made of two important points regarding her weekly activities. First, she relies heavily on her friends and relatives for emotional support and for a social life, and second, she is always borrowing from the local store, and relies on the personal relationship between herself and the store owner to secure food when she has no money.

Like Maria Elena, Berta sees her friends every day and exchanges food, money and labour with them. Usually it is Berta, because of her better financial position, who offers food and money, although someone like Maria Elena will bring her special foods if she is cooking something nice. All of her friends live around her area. These are Maria Elena and her daughter, Isabel, Obdulia who lives by Maria Elena, her neighbours who live across the path, and the neighbours who live on the hillside above including Victoria. Berta is also often visited by her sisters or one of her younger brothers. Since Berta has so many children her relatives usually come to visit her, instead of making her visit them. The relationship between the siblings is one of friendship, a further example of collegial dyads. For instance, Berta and her sister exchange any manner of goods and money. As well, her sister shops for Berta in the city and cares for the children.

In Oaxaca, Berta has two main *compadres* whom she visits as friends. One is a doctor. Berta feels more equal to her than Maria Elena feels with her doctor *comadres*, and therefore Berta asks for medical help more often, and does not seem embarrassed or worried that the *comadre* will get tired of her. Berta and her children are also covered by Social Security insurance through her husband's employer. The fact that she is not totally dependent upon charity is another reason why she does not worry about asking for help. The difference between these two women on this particular matter is obvious. Maria Elena has no economic, cultural or symbolic capital with which she can claim a position in any social field. Furthermore, her early home life as a poor girl in a small matrifocal village family did not equip her with the dispositions to be successful in the city. An examination of her finances, work habits, curing strategies, personal relationships and a knowledge of her reliance on prayer (to provide for the future) indicates that she is far removed from the world of Western urban calculation. Berta, however grew up in a working-class home and finished primary school. Both she and her sister married working-class men with steady employment and incomes which allowed them to indulge in visits to the hairdressers, clothing and make-up for themselves. Since they both read, they buy soap-opera type comic books and fashion magazines. These sorts of connections mean that Berta feels more comfortable in the city and has taken on the dispositions of the city in a way that is not possible for someone like Maria Elena. Berta's income and background have assured her some success and ease.

Berta's other *comadre* is a primary school teacher who knew Berta when they were growing up in Oaxaca. They are friends, and not involved in a patron-client relationship. They exchange small gifts and food, but the relationship is not used for daily support. In case of emergency, if her family was not enough, Berta says that she would turn to these *comadres* rather than to her Colonia friends. The reasons for this have to do with the lack of resources among most Colonia friends, and because these Oaxacan women more closely resemble Berta and her lifestyle.

The Regular Families

Obdulia Nava

Obdulia's friends in the Colonia live in houses that are clustered around her own home. Because her husband earns a steady income, (as a second class bus driver) and because they have only two children, Obdulia does not have to work to help support the family. She is not a popular woman and in spite of her Colonia friendships, no one is a *compadre* with her. All her *compadres* are located in the city and all of Obdulia's kin live in a highland Mestizo village. Only her husband's relatives live in Oaxaca, and they do not get along with her. She strikes people as being too opinionated, too much of a grouch and too critical. The family itself owns nothing, which is unusual in a squatter settlement. Rather, they rent a room in someone else's house and use a cook shack. They have very little furniture and have neither economic nor cultural capital. Since they play no part in Colonia public life and since they are not generous to their friends, they also lack symbolic capital. Obdulia's husband gets drunk every Sunday and does not help with the *tequio*. This sort of behaviour is disapproved of by many Colonia families and is seen as the mark of a failure. Obdulia's networks of friends, who she calls *amistades* or acquaintances, are Maria Elena Sosa, Berta Ortega, Otilia and her mother Maria. With these women Obdulia exchanges food, medical advice, medicine and child care. She also helps Maria with her laundry job, because she feels that Maria's daughter Otilia is too selfish to help her mother. Obdulia is often seen standing in the middle of the path with her youngest child gossiping with her neighbours. Because she has no real kin ties, she is dependent upon her friends for support and goods. Usually these women exchange their friendship for her goods in terms of tortillas, fruit and child care.

Obdulia has two favourite *comadres* in town who she visits on a regular basis. One is the wife of a bus driver who works for the same company as her husband. The other is the wife of a school teacher. These *comadres* have an equal relationship with Obdulia and her husband. In times of emotional stress, Obdulia will confide in these women, but they do not directly help her with daily economic activities. Because she sees herself above the women in the Colonia she rarely confides in them.

Otilia Durán

Otilia lives between Berta Ortega and Obdulia. These are her only friends in the Colonia in addition to her mother and sister who also live in the Colonia. All of her *compadres* live in Oaxaca and have been introduced to her through her husband's work place. Otilia is 22 and has three children. Although she

does not leave home in order to work, she does enjoy going to Oaxaca or just walking around the Colonia to visit her mother. If her mother or sister are not available, she will ask Obdulia to stay with her children. Obdulia will visit in Otilia's house, but Otilia will not go to Obdulia's house because she says it is "inconvenient". Actually, this is due to the disgraceful conduct of Obdulia's husband (his drinking) and because of the poor surroundings of Obdulia's house. Such an insult infuriates Obdulia, although she still maintains her friendship with Otilia. Otilia rarely asks Berta to mind her children although she will visit Berta in her home. In fact Berta almost never visits Otilia's home which is a small measure of their relative positions in the social field.

Otilia exchanges money, food, help, child care and clothes with her mother and sister. These women have more of a friendship than a hierarchical relationship, and are an example of a common pattern between mothers and their adult daughters. Otilia is the only woman in the sample who maintains relationships with *compadres* that she does not choose herself. Her husband dominates these relationships, so they are all made through his place of work, which is a soda bottling factory. He also decides on the fiestas which will be celebrated and the guest list. Since Otilia's husband has a steady income and health insurance, they are less likely to turn to *compadres* in emergencies. It is only with daily emergencies that Otilia turns to her mother, sister and sometimes Obdulia or Berta.

The Poor Families

Maria Elena Sosa

The Sosa family's social relationships are constructed around Maria Elena. She has a close circle of friends who live nearby and whom she sees everyday. She has two *compadres* in town who are medical practitioners, and *compadres* on the coast of Oaxaca who she visits two or three times each year. Kin ties are limited to her mother-in-law, and to the husband and child of her late daughter. Maria Elena and her friends all live in the same area of the Colonia. One of these friends, Berta Ortega, has just become a *comadre*. They visit daily and exchange small amounts of money, food and child care, and are mutually supportive in times of trouble. Above Maria Elena's house live the Garcias and the Portillo families. From these women, Maria Elena borrows tortillas, *masa* (corn flour) and other assortments of food when her own food supplies are low. Another friend, Obdulia, stops in to chat each day, although they both gossip about each other. Obdulia thinks the Sosas crude. The Sosas think her pretentious, with middle-class aspirations to which she has no right. Like Obdulia's husband, Elena's husband Alberto drinks on Sundays and also like Obdulia's husband, Maria Elena's son works for a bus company. The difference is that the son is only a 'helper' and not a driver.

Maria Elena's *compadres* in town are medical practitioners. One married couple are doctors and the other (a woman) is a *curandera* or folk healer. Maria Elena uses both types of medicine for family illnesses, so these networks are extremely practical. The relationship between the Sosas and the doctors is a patron-client relationship. They exchange medical help and money for domestic work done by Maria Elena, such as cooking a fiesta meal or doing laundry. The relationship between the *curandera* and Maria Elena is not quite so formal, and they often visit with each other as friends.

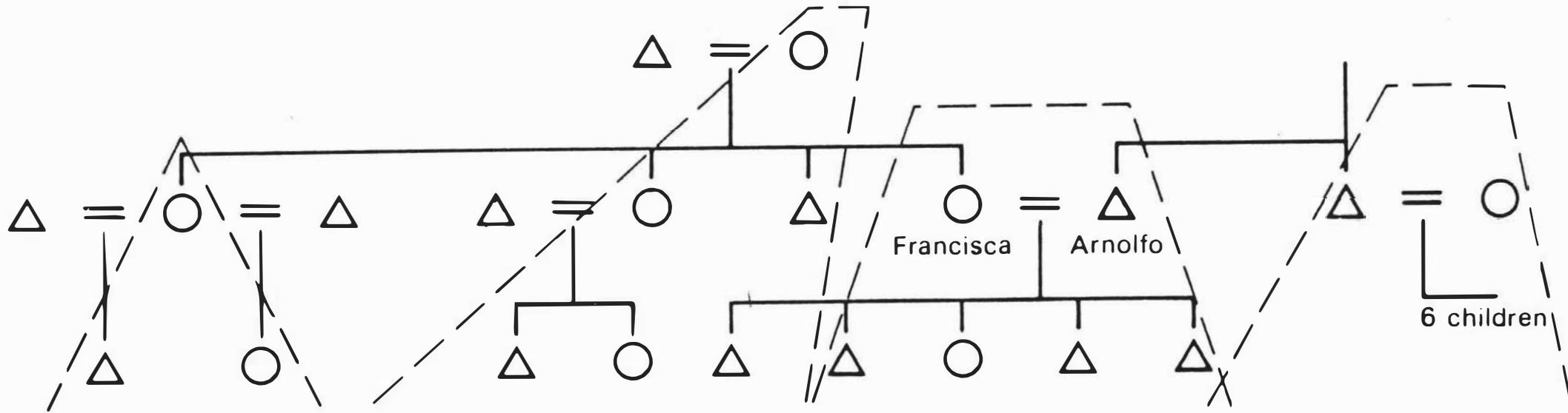
Maria Elena and her husband are still close to the husband of their late daughter. He visits from his village three or four times a year with their grandson. Aside from friendship, the only items exchanged are gifts for the family and food for the son-in-law. Maria Elena's mother-in-law visits the Colonia quite often, about once a month, to see her grandchildren and her son. She appears to hate Maria Elena, although she does accept the food and hospitality given to her. She gives nothing in return, and is never asked for help by Maria Elena or Alberto. The *compadres* who live on the coast of Oaxaca are visited by both Maria Elena and Alberto during their business trips. They always offer food and lodging, and help Maria Elena to buy fruit to take back to Oaxaca to sell. The only other supportive relationship that Maria Elena has is with her newly-married daughter Isabel. Their relationship is one of friendship and constant mutual support consisting of money, food and family care. Although Isabel's in-laws (by her first husband) live in the Colonia there is no contact between the two families, since the divorce. This is because the Sosas have little status, prestige or economic capital. The other family are rural school teachers (both husband and wife were trained to secondary school) and have pretensions of being better than most Colonia residents.

Francisca Cruz

Francisca Cruz and her husband Arnolfo live on the top half of the second section of the Colonia. They live very close to her two sisters, mother and brother. Arnolfo's widowed brother and his six children live in the house next to the Cruz family. Both Francisca and Arnolfo come from highland Indian villages, although they are from different ethnic groups.

The networks which connect the household to others, and which help support the household are made up of *compadres* within and outside of the Colonia, as well as their immediate kin and friends in the Colonia. The most influential *compadre* relationships that Francisca and Arnolfo have are with his employers, who own an ice-cream factory; her previous employers who are city lawyers; the Ramirez family in the Colonia; and San Miguel, the Colonia political leader. They established ties with Senor

The Cruz Family: This diagram describes Francisca and Arnolfo's extended family unit in the Cc
The dotted lines show the three different households of the sisters and a fourth consisting of Arno
brother. This household was established in 1973.



The Cruz Family

This diagram describes Francisca and Arnolfo's extended family unit in the Colonia. The dotted lines show the three different households

Ramirez and San Miguel by becoming part of their political faction. Arnolfo and Francisca may borrow money from their *compadres* in the city for emergencies and Francisca may work for them by doing laundry and cooking for them. When Arnolfo's father was killed by a bus on an Oaxacan street, they went to both sets of *compadres* for funeral money and advice on prosecuting the driver. In the end, instead of prosecuting, Arnolfo took the advice of the diviner from his Masatec village who advised him to leave retribution to God.⁶

Francisca often works for Senora Ramirez making clothes. She also sells tortillas at the local market. In return the Ramirez get political support from the family in the *tequio*, and call on them to help with any household job. San Miguel also receives political support from them in exchange for money and advice. For San Miguel, the Cruz family are completely unimportant. This situation is due to their poverty, their ethnicity and their corresponding lack of economic, social and symbolic capitals. As a result they have no position in the field of Colonia social relationships except at the very bottom. All of these *compadres* are in a patron-client relationship with the Cruz family, and are only asked for help in real emergencies. Another *compadre* that the Cruz family depends upon is a local healer. The woman is a friend of Francisca as well as a *comadre*, and often cures the family of any difficult illness.⁷ This relationship is much more of a collegial relationship.

Within her kinship networks, Francisca exchanges child care, food, clothing, medicine, odd jobs and gives mutual support. Her sisters, mother and brother have a reciprocal relationship, exchanging the same items but never worrying about "equalising" the situation. The only item not usually exchanged is money because it is so scarce. Arnolfo's brother gives Francisca a daily allowance for the household. In return, she cares for his six children and cooks for the entire family. Arnolfo found his brother a job selling ice-cream through his *compadres* who are also his employers.

Francisca has three friends from separate households who maintain an exchange relationship with her. These women live in her area of the Colonia. On a daily basis they help each other with their work while they gossip. They cook for each other when there is something special around, and bring parcels back from town to each other. Her 'Indian-ness' and its associated nominal Catholicism mean that she is shy and marginal to the activities of the Colonia. Displaced by her father's lack of land which forced the family to the city, she gets by through her own domestic labour and the marginal job of her husband. Her ethnicity is a visible barrier to her attainment of symbolic capital, even though her personal life is exemplary.⁸ Unlike Victoria, she does not tell people how she suffers. This is a direct result of the shy and retiring dispositions that Indians embody when living in the city. Such an approach to city life is

characteristic of those whose first language is not Spanish, and who feel that they are naturally inferior to other city residents.

Victoria Lopez

Victoria has very few strong *compadre* ties, no kin ties and a few friends. The relationships that she does have, however, are extremely important. In the Colonia, Victoria has one set of *compadres* who live on the hill above her and who she depends upon for work. They employ her to do laundry and to cook tortillas for them daily. In return she earns her only wages. These people have a patron-client relationship with Victoria and when she needs advice she asks the wife, her *comadre*. In town, Victoria has another set of *compadres*. When Victoria is particularly short of money, or when she needs an extra job she will ask this couple. With both sets of *compadres* Victoria maintains the role of client and does not visit with them as friends.

Victoria's friends in the Colonia all live in her area. A particular friend is Berta Ortega, whom she is fond of, and whom she often visits in the afternoon. Next to Berta and below Victoria is another woman, Ana, who is also Victoria's friend. These women exchange child care, food and medicinal help when it is necessary. Now and then Ana will also help Victoria find an extra job making clothes to sell in the market.

Victoria has one other ally in the Colonia, and that is the local store owner. He extends credit to Victoria each week until her *compadres* pay her. Victoria has such a high reputation in the Colonia for hard work, honesty and as a "respectable" woman that the vendor does not mind that she is poor, and has problems paying him back. It is important to again stress the point that Victoria is seen as an excellent woman because of her chastity in no longer living with a man, her hard work for her sons and her help with the Colonia projects. Like Berta, she lives the role of 'mother' and is therefore highly regarded by others. As a result Victoria converts her symbolic capital (which is derived from her honourable behaviour) to economic and social capital in terms of money, goods and social networks.

CONCLUSION : FORMS OF HABITUS

This chapter has focussed on the practice of social relationships in the field of symbolic and social capital. These relationships are used as strategies for coping with short-term daily survival and household maintenance, as well as in the long-term struggle for position within the social field. The

Colonia, as a squatter settlement, can be likened to a buffer zone. It offers the social space within which the economic practice of the squatters is adequate to ensure survival. The social relationships as described in this chapter as well as the information on occupations and budgeting in Chapter Five are fundamental to an understanding of how this 'buffer zone' works. A clear example is afforded by the role of credit. Colonia residents do not use banks because they have little or no money, and because the written contracts and logic of banking are too alien, and present too abstract an idea of the future to be of practical use. Thus, when a family needs extra money they do one of two things (or perhaps both). First, they may borrow from someone like Socorro Leon at the rate of 10 percent monthly. Second, they may borrow from a patron or a *compadre*. In this relationship, it is the person and the personal relationship that acts as the 'collateral' since the relationship will outlast the transaction. Mutual aid is often a misrecognised form of calculation aimed at securing a position in the social field through honourable behaviour. While these same kinds of relationships are used by different Colonia families their calculations and ideas of the future may differ. For example, Maria Elena's relationship with the Virgin of Juquila is like a patron-client relationship and takes for granted an 'enchanted' future. Maria Elena is thus enchanted; her position in the social field is very modest, with little community work, little interest in education for her children and no economic capital. Her dispositions suggest that her social relationships do not provide her with social capital. The Virgin of Juquila offers her only salvation.

The Ramirez family demonstrates opposite characteristics in that their creation and use of various social relationships are within the purview of a future calculated to move them upwards in terms of economic worth, social position and cultural capital. The Ramirez family and Marta Canseco, both wealthy, contrast strongly in their capacity to generate social capital; the Ramirez family have very considerable social position, deeply embedded in collective work, and above all, their personal dispositions allow them to embed themselves in middle-class life; the Cansecos are wealthy but crude. They work socially but their incapacity to deal graciously with residents, as well as their personally crude habits prevents them sharing the symbolic power of the Ramirez family.

While they are part of the 'regular' group of Colonia residents the Duráns and the Navas remain aloof from community work. Given their similar economic positions, one might imagine their positions in the social field also to be similar. However, Senor Durán has the dispositions of the city; he is formal and withdrawn; he has social position. Senor Nava drinks, and his dispositions make him unrespectable; their positions in the field are lost.

The most impoverished families display a greater variation in their strategies and in their positions within the field and accumulation of capital. Victoria is perhaps the most successful in that she has used

her symbolic capital to gain access to economic capital as well as a position in the social field. For her, the strategy of a traditional 'mother' has proved to be advantageous beyond price. Maria Elena Sosa has relied upon the strategy of prayer and a few close neighbours for help in any economic crisis. In addition to the Virgin of Juquila her closest ally in day-to-day living is her daughter Maria Isabel. She has no time for Colonia politics and has no social position with which to gain social or economic capital. Quite opposite in her approach is Francisca Cruz and her husband who are *compadres* with important Colonia families and who participate in Colonia affairs. However due to their ethnic background she and her family must rely upon themselves, close neighbours and family for daily needs. The more influential Colonia residents do not regard them highly nor do they figure highly in the field of social relations.

Within the Colonia it is generally the women who create and maintain social relationships because of their work in the home. It is only the men who have stable jobs with steady incomes and work mates who create similar bonds outside the home. However the use of these relationships for domestic purpose is rare. While the majority of these relationships exists between Colonia households it is important to note that they are often influenced by the geographical location of the house site in the settlement and upon the position of the household in the social field.

One of the reasons why residents need this buffer zone of economic practice is that the city and governmental structures are completely inadequate to meet their needs. The objective structures of the city which necessitate their lifestyle are described in the following chapter.

FOOTNOTES

1. The use that women made of social relationships for purposes of 'gathering' credit, food and support might be likened to the contemporary and historical roles of women as gatherers. The subsistence gained from 'gathering' is a major foundation of household survival - then and now. See *Woman the Gatherer*, edited by Frances Dahlberg, 1981, Yale University Press.
2. Trucks and buses are categorised as being first or second class. This determines the wages and benefits that drivers receive, and the cost of the transport. First class trucks are large company vehicles such as those owned by Coca Cola. First class buses are similar to Greyhound buses. Both vehicles correspond to those typical of wealthy Western countries and are maintained in excellent condition by the businesses involved. Second class buses and trucks are more characteristic of third world countries. They are invariably decorated with bright paints, inside and out, usually with a 'name' for the vehicle or with the name of a patron saint (perhaps for luck). Often, a little homily is painted on the outside over the windscreen which might say 'Gracias a Dios' (thanks be to God) or something similar. Because transport is cheap the cargo is massed high on the trucks. On the buses, which are also overcrowded, people often bring their chickens and other small livestock to and from the market. One second class truck that I saw was coming

brightly painted towards me (on the road) at an angle. The body was almost sideways to the direction of the road but the wheels went straight ahead!

3. In *Algeria, 1960* Bourdieu comments, "The breakup of the extended family is both the precondition for the rationalization of the domestic economy and of economic conduct in general, and also the product of that rationalization, as is shown by the fact that the married couple tends to become the basic economic and social unit as the degree of adaptation to the economic system increases and incomes rise. This break-up is held back by the housing shortage, which keeps together households which are destined to go their separate ways as they have the opportunity." (Bourdieu 1979a p.46). During the early years of Colonia development, the families studied all had young children and were generally nuclear families. In the later years (in the late 1970's and early 1980's) many grown children were still living with their parents and siblings, even if they had married and had their own children. This new phase of extended family development is contrary to what we might expect since each segmented 'nuclear' family had at least one income earner. The situation has arisen in part because squatter families have room to build extra housing on their original house-site, but also because of the problems in the Mexican economy which make multiple incomes necessary to survive, even among some of the 'successes' in Linda Vista. This question is explored more fully in the concluding chapter.
4. There is no denying the existence of friendships based upon altruistic feelings that people have for one another. These relationships however are also useful in the sense of covering daily needs and in accumulating capital. So, in the exchange of goods and services, generosity is expressed openly but it is only in some patron-client ties that the need for economic and cultural capital are openly tied to the relationships. Such a convenient misrecognition of the economic side of the relationship constantly expresses the symbolic side. In the Colonia, those people who become successful appear to express more openly the economic purpose of personal relationships, while others (like Francisca and Arnolfo Cruz) do not understand why their *compadres* have left them out of the market complex.
5. All informants who took part in this exercise were partially or completely literate and could therefore read the names presented to them on the cards. The informants who participated in the study were representative of the Colonia families and lived in different sections of the Colonia.
6. From what I understand, the Masatec diviner went into a drug induced state (probably from psilocybin mushrooms) in order to see into the future. From this exercise he could advise Arnolfo on the most appropriate response that he should make to the man who killed his father.
7. In an earlier publication I have set out some of the more characteristic aspects of medical behaviour. See 'Integrative Aspects of Folk and Western Medicine Among the Urban Poor of Oaxaca' in *Anthropological Quarterly*, vol.48, Jan. 1975, no.1. Also see Appendix IV for additional data on curing strategies.
8. One might say that her self, as it is projected through her physical being, embodies her habitus.

CHAPTER SEVEN

OBJECTIVE STRUCTURES AND RELATIONS OF DOMINATION

The idea that the Colonia Linda Vista can be likened to a buffer zone within which certain types of economic practice take place, designed to help residents survive, is a direct consequence of the logic of the Mexican economy in creating and defining city-wide institutions. To the extent that they take a capitalist form these institutions, (banks, medical facilities, schools and the occupational structure), exist as formal bodies which reflect the interests of economically and politically powerful groups. As such, their main objectives are not the transition of the poor into mainstream urban life (for the benefit of the poor) but the reproduction of their own class interests. This complex and incomplete process includes (although the dominant class may not recognise it as such) the perpetuation of symbolic domination through institutions like schools. An examination of the interaction between Colonia residents and certain city institutions thus demonstrates the manner in which the cultural forms of interaction generate, and above all legitimate, the relations of domination which exist not only in Oaxaca but throughout Mexico. The intention of this chapter is to describe and analyse this interaction. These largely negative relationships reinforce the need for Linda Vista residents to transform traditional practices and to invent new urban practices in order to secure daily support for household needs. Although residents may be motivated to become part of Oaxacan city life through the hope of steady employment and the desire for educational qualifications for their children, contacts with the city are often destructive, confused and frequently directed against their best interests. While the squatters generally misrecognise symbolic domination, they do realize that they can always fall back upon each other for necessary support.¹ Unless the resident 'makes sense' of city institutions within the logic that underlies them (calculation and rationality), obtaining medical help, an education or even a church wedding may be impossible.

The representation of the social world that Colonia residents thereby create for themselves is a product of both their personal habitus and dispositions and of objective socially structured agents and properties.² Their world is not the product of an intellectual theory but "...the essential part of the experience of the social world and the act of construction that it implies takes place in practice, below the level of explicit representation and verbal expression" (Bourdieu 1985a p.201). Such experiences are completely embedded in one another. In the Colonia the experience of residents varies (within a

limited degree) and produces not only negative feedback but also positive feedback which may present itself as (beneficial) possibilities for the future. We can return, for example, to the different experiences and benefits accrued by the Ramirez family as opposed to the Cruz family from their work with the *Mesa Directiva* and the *tequio*. On the objective side, the capitals which are associated with particular groups and institutions are structured socially so that patterns emerge and the perception by groups of themselves tends to be based upon the probability of patterns repeating themselves. This is exemplified in the pattern of wealthy people attending certain schools, going to the Cathedral for Sunday mass or using certain well-known doctors. Residents of the Colonia Linda Vista will deny themselves these particular excursions because people 'like themselves' do not do these sorts of things.³

Habitus and dispositions structure perceptions and appreciation, though not in any mechanistic way. At a particular moment, perceptions are shaped by language and by previous experience of the symbolic struggles which express relations of power. Thus the representations of the social world are structured by dispositions and practice depending upon an objective historical conjuncture, and variation of meaning within the language of symbolic domination, as well as from past experiences of struggle. What this means is that the interaction between Colonia residents and larger societal institutions is not only dependent upon that particular moment and set of people but carries with it the "weight of history" and cultural tradition which also informs that moment. The perception that the Cruz family has of city life will not allow them to consider buying into the new Colonia market, any more than does their household income. This lack of 'forward thinking' with respect to their failure in the market is the sort of behaviour which others will use to condemn their 'Indian' lifestyle. For instance, the medical director of the local health centre characterizes all squatters as 'hopeless Indians' who insist on reproducing a life of poverty. He also accuses them of not trying to 'fit in' to the city. The past relations between people of his class and the poor tell him that this is so. However such symbolic domination does not mean that there can be no change. A meeting between the Doctor and the Ramirez family or San Miguel will bring no scorn and no pejorative 'Indian' stigma because they will work within the same logic that the Doctor follows. In fact, San Miguel will criticise the Cruz family on the same basis that the Doctor uses. In all of these cases the individuals involved have a 'sense' of their place, which is demonstrated through their practice in the social structure. The history of "Indianness" and the history of the city are played out in the dispositions of those who struggle for symbolic dominance.⁴

The urban poor (meaning both squatters and slum dwellers) in Mexico are described by the federal government as being a 'marginal' population. One of the major functions of the public welfare institutions is to facilitate an increase in the rate of incorporation of the urban poor into the national

scene (Casanova 1970). The government workers I interviewed were Oaxacan professional people; doctors, nurses, lawyers, and government representatives. They all put forward the idea that the poor (including residents of Colonia Linda Vista) were marginal to city life, and needed to be incorporated into the structure of Oaxaca. They generally felt that the attitudes and behaviour of the poor were not conducive to their participation in city structures. What was needed, they said, was not material help such as higher wages, but a change in squatters' attitudes, beliefs and lifestyles. These interviews suggested that the urban poor had been stereotyped in the following way: that they were uprooted rural villagers and families who were not adapting well to the city; that they were isolated groups who chose to live only among themselves in unsanitary and depressed enclaves in the city; that they were individuals whose personality traits involved pessimism and fatalism about their future; and finally, that they were persons heavily involved with crime and who produced little for the general good of society. As a group the urban poor were viewed as depleting local, state and federal monies, and as people who had little or no interest in participating in the community and the political life of the city and state. Thus the problem of poverty was reduced to the idea that the poor did not want to better themselves. This reduction to intentionality and individual responsibility is at odds with the enormous work that Colonia residents have given to their homes, community and daily work. As has been already made clear, the residents of Linda Vista have organised themselves into a highly structured community. The community has physical boundaries and sections created by the residents which for them, provides a place "to be from" which is in opposition to the world "out there". The residents themselves have developed both the community itself and a degree of mutual pride through the work they have done in providing themselves with water, electricity, housing, roads, stores and a school. Far from being an unorganised mass of rootless migrants, the material reported in this study shows that the residents of Linda Vista are there with a purpose and with an intent to stay.

Furthermore, rather than being pessimistic, the *colonos* have extremely optimistic goals for the future. According to informants, they migrated to Oaxaca city for what they termed a 'better life'. To them, this meant a better education for their children, better paid jobs for themselves, and more city services. The fact that residents have struggled year by year to improve their homes by rebuilding and enlarging them, is one of the more obvious examples of their anticipation of a positive future. An even greater testament to this future is the work which residents have contributed to the development of their own households, community and city by providing basic services for themselves. Before its incorporation into the city of Oaxaca, Linda Vista was a well developed, organised community with a stable population which was already partially incorporated into the city structure in terms of markets, employment, education, health care and entertainment. Through their own hard work and tenacity the residents were able to carve out a place for themselves to survive within the city.

A major factor in the way Linda Vista articulates with the larger society is that the residents aspire to the same mainstream, bourgeois norms and goals which are supported by the structure of Mexican society. And, as is clear from families like the Ramirez or San Miguel, some are successful. They are not a "hot-bed of revolutionary activity". They want to be part of mainstream society, but they are prevented from doing so by structural constraints, a lack of opportunity, positive support from institutions, too little money and by their own dispositions. Colonia residents did not develop a revolutionary critique of Mexico. The successful households chose to use the system for their own benefit whenever and however it could be managed. In relation to this question Mangin writes, "Probably not many inhabitants of the squatter settlements would have regrets if someone else took the latter action (revolution), but they themselves are too busy" (Mangin 1967 p.33). In their work on similar settlements Lomnitz (1977), Peattie (1968), and Perlman (1976), also take the view that squatters are so busy managing day to day, that political action is not contemplated. However this does not entirely account for the lack of politically revolutionary behaviour on the part of squatters. What is critical to an understanding of their conservatism is the fact that they have no calculative definition of themselves as a class, (fundamental to any class-based revolutionary action), and because individually they have been at the 'top' of the 'bottom' for such a short time that they would not be likely to forfeit their gains in the various fields of capital.

Their class habitus is determined by first, the material conditions of existence which in the past has denied them the luxury of a permanent job and a steady income and second, their dispositions which include not only the desire for economic and cultural capital but, for some, the possibilities of success. When it comes to their position in the larger field of urban economic life residents of Linda Vista are profoundly realistic, a characteristic of the world view of the dominated (Bourdieu 1979a). Such knowledge of the social world predisposes them to conservative life. Residents' experience with city structures reinforces their reactive tendencies to provide for themselves and to expect nothing.

In previous chapters, areas such as housing, occupations and social relationships have been described. The following section looks at the institutional areas of education, medical care, and political behaviour.⁵ What becomes apparent from an examination of the practice of residents is that those who are able to live within the logic of economic rationalism will always have the benefit of more positive interactions with city institutions. For those who are not successful, negative interactions are the norm and are in fact attributed by them to 'fate' which can be read as a gloss of a future unplanned by calculation.

EDUCATION

Institutions such as schools serve to reproduce class positions in society though they rarely do so simply.⁶ Through the practice which occurs in schools like Linda Vista one can appreciate the sort of symbolic violence which maintains the position of dominant and dominated groups through the legitimation of dominant cultural practices. In part Colonia children understand the legitimacy of dominant structures through the household. However in the schools the entire force of dominant ideology is a full part of the educational process. The Linda Vista school is part of a national system and would appear to be a logical link between national goals for the development of Mexico and the individual goals and aspirations that Colonia families have for their children. However, this has not been the case for at least half the Colonia's children.

The school is a federal primary school which has grades one to six. The staff consists of eight teachers and a director who all hold certificates from normal schools. Students number about 420 and all come from the Colonia, apart from the few who come from a neighbouring squatter settlement. There are eight classrooms which are furnished with desks, chairs, work tables and bulletin boards. In the lower grades (1-3) children are separated into groups of boys and girls. The original school building and the toilets were constructed through the *tequio*. The local mayor and state governor came to cut the ribbons for both buildings (on two separate occasions), and to have a fiesta meal (see Chapter Four).

The building of the school has played a central role in Colonia history since it was the largest task that the *tequio* completed. It is used as a meeting place for the *Mesa Directiva* as well as the parent-teacher committee. It also provides a venue for Colonia social activities and is a major focus in the site of social relations between Colonia families. In this way the school features as an important element within both the formal and the informal structures of Colonia life. The school and its activities constitute a social space in which symbolic capital can be accumulated. This works in two ways: first in terms of social events (like fund-raising) to which residents can contribute and gain in social position (through honourable behaviour); and secondly, through the education process itself and the successful completion of a primary school diploma. However, only about fifty percent of Colonia children manage to graduate.

School fiestas (as fund raisers) act as a mechanism of social cohesion in that these gatherings cut across factions and include people who generally do not participate in Colonia work, but who can gain in symbolic capital through this type of good work. Fiestas include songs, dances and dramas as well as

food. The cooking is done by women who hold the position of *madrina* for the school fiesta. *Madrinas* are mothers of school children who agree to act as god-mothers to the school. This position has typically been linked to the traditional *cargo* system in Meso-America because it is a position which gives service to the community (see Chapter Four and Higgins 1974). The school committee which organises the fiestas consists of six positions which are not linked directly with the *Mesa Directiva*, although San Miguel's group tends to be the most active. Thus, the school as a venue for Colonia social and political activities is extremely important because of its connection to the accumulation of symbolic capital. However the school as an institution dedicated to the education and occupational advancement of Colonia children is less successful. This is because many children do not complete primary school, due largely to problems of poverty, and the necessity of child labour to help within the household. Without the certificate of graduation, there can only be the perpetuation of the sub-proletariat position of some Colonia families.

TABLE 11
Attrition Rate for the Primary School in Colonia
Linda Vista During the Years 1969-72.

Grade	Number of Students		
	1969-1970	1970-1971	1971-1972
1	110	100	113
2	113	63	86
3	63	71	81
4	37	46	57
5	16	42	38
6	32	37	35

The problem of school attendance is affected directly by poverty, and the need for children to help at home, so that mothers are free from childcare obligations in order that they may work. Young boys typically accompany their fathers (labourers) to work and help carry construction tools (for instance, loads of cement are carried by hand, not in wheelbarrows which are almost non-existent on construction sites). Another problem, which is also due to familial poverty, is that many children do not attend school on Mondays and special fiesta days, because they do not own the proper uniforms that the school insists they wear on these occasions. The uniforms consist of white shirts, white shorts or skirts and

white socks. Thus a Colonia resident actually needs a certain amount of economic capital in order to complete the requirements which would allow them to accumulate the cultural capital represented by a primary school certificate. In some cases children are priced out of attending classes on a normal basis because they can not buy supplies. For these reasons they may miss graduation. The fact that many industrial jobs are not open to workers without a primary school certificate places these students in a vulnerable position. So, for the parents and children in the Colonia who have aspirations to higher education, their goals are often frustrated by lack of money for clothes - as well as the necessity for children to help out at home. During interviews with Colonia families and school officials, I inquired into the reasons for such high rates of absence and attrition. Both parties felt that the over-riding problem was poverty and not a lack of personal initiative. Although education in Mexico is free, and is meant to be dedicated to the economic, social and cultural improvement of the nation (Padgett 1966), there are many hidden costs. In addition to the cost of uniforms and the necessity of helping at home, children are expected to supply materials for class projects, and parents are expected to make donations to the school for its upkeep. Although the federal government pays the school teachers, other expenses such as building maintenance, recreational materials and electricity bills are the parents' responsibility. Money for these projects is raised by holding school fairs and showing films, and by family donations given every other month. These donations vary from one to ten pesos depending on the families' economic circumstances.

Formally free and equitable education institutions are neither free nor available in practice for most inhabitants. Even though the very buildings which house the institution were built by the labour of inhabitants, their extreme poverty means that the few formal economic demands made on residents effectively prevented their participation in the school system. One could not therefore conclude that any simple transition to city life was possible in the Colonia; nor could one agree with government workers who viewed these failings as individual weaknesses or as a failure to come to grips with city reality. Quite simply, extreme poverty was a direct obstacle to the upward class trajectory pattern offered by education.

HEALTH CARE DELIVERY

As with education, the availability of institutional health care is problematic for *Colonos*. When beset by illness, they must consider alternatives and weigh the costs, in every sense, of one strategy against another. Traditional curers or herbal remedies are available to them. Pharmacies offer drugs. Beyond that, they have the possibility of formal institutions such as doctor's surgeries or hospitals, though at some cost.

In choosing a medical strategy, people first try home cures of which there are a great range. This first step in curing is taken with all but the most serious illness. Because of their position at the bottom of the economic scale, the people in the Colonia prefer home cures. This preference may be seen as making a virtue of necessity, and unlike education, they do have some measure of control over home cures which allow a buffer between themselves and the immediate payment for medical help. This is particularly true in relation to private curers or medical doctors since they are the most expensive. If the home cures are not successful, a specialist is used. The time allowed for success ranges from one night, to two to three days or to one week, depending upon the illness and the patient (see Appendix IV). The practice of health care is always a mixture of past and new methods. This may be due to necessity (i.e. using herbal remedies because they are not expensive) or because of the comfort inherent in old routines. New methods are usually rationalised, combining the disparities of one's habitus and the circumstances of forced rationality and calculation. In some cases curers are not successful. When this happens another diagnosis is made from the viewpoint of the opposite medical system, and another treatment programme is started.

Curers can be divided into traditional and Western categories. However, the city of Oaxaca has other types of curers who cure both folk and Western illnesses, and who can care for supernatural causes of illnesses. These are the spiritualists and hypnotists. This category of healer is important since some Colonia residents feel that these curers are more efficient because they manage all types of illnesses.

Traditional Curers

Traditional specialists are *curanderos* and herbalists who cure folk rather than Western illnesses, and do so by the use of massages, herb teas and plasters. Often there are curers who specialize in illnesses, such as women's diseases or *ojo* (evil eye) and *susto* (fright). Within the Colonia Linda Vista, there are many women (not *curanderos* or specialists) who claim to be able to cure certain folk illnesses. These illnesses are usually of the more common variety such as *mal aire*, *mal de ojo*, *caida de la mollera* (fallen fontanel) and uncomplicated cases of *susto* (rather than cases which involve witchcraft and the complexities of dealing with spirits). If these illnesses become complicated and a home remedy is not effective, or if the illness is initially more complex, then a *curandero* may be used. The *curandero* may be chosen from one's home village, from the city or from another surrounding colonia. In the Colonia Linda Vista, there are two women *curanderas* and one Zapotec man whose family claims that he is a curer. Both women curers are old and while one is quite senile, the other is very open and talkative about her work. The first woman, according to neighbours who have been cured by her, can cure all

types of folk illnesses but does not specialize in any one form. She also describes herself in this way. The second curer also cures all folk illnesses but she is most well-known for being able to practice witchcraft, and for curing specifically female illnesses such as sterility or "cold womb". *Curanderos* most often cure their patients in the patient's home. If herbs or alcohol (or *mescal*) are needed for the cure, the *curandero* tells the family that they can make the necessary purchases.

The services of witches are also available in Oaxaca. They may treat witchcraft or be paid to use sorcery on another's behalf. The belief in witchcraft is equivocal in the Colonia. Most people say that if a person believes in it, he or she is subject to its power. Although few admit to a strong personal involvement with witchcraft, almost all have stories from what they consider to be reliable sources, which attest to the existence and power of witchcraft. The type of sorcery which they describe as existing in the city has a definite Western feel to it in that sympathetic magic, devil worship and black magic textbooks are used. It bears little or no relation to sorcery as it has existed in the past among indigenous groups.

Another specialist which can be included as a traditional curer is the *huesero* or bone specialist. Although a *huesero* does not investigate the spiritual causes of the illness, he does use traditional methods of treating bone fractures and sprains. There is one particular *huesero* in Oaxaca who is well known among Colonia residents, even though his home and practice are across town. Within the Colonia itself, there is no one who specializes in this area of medicine.

Spiritualists

A second category of "medical" specialist is the spiritualist, and includes a man who considers himself to be a hypnotist. The spiritualists, who cure both folk and Western illnesses, receive their power from God and from their tutelary or brother spirit, who guides them in their remedies. When performing cures, they use consecrated water and cologne, and preparations of herbs as well as some pharmaceutical potions. Spiritualists claim that they can also perform operations, and there are stories about the dead soul of a doctor performing operations through the mediation of the spiritualist, while the patient sleeps. In Oaxaca there are two main temples. One is on the outskirts of the city, the other is in downtown Oaxaca. I visited the temple in town, which was a back room in a poor urban tenement. The room was darkened and only lit by the altar candles which adorned the altar along with images of Catholic saints, flowers and holy water. My visit was not welcome because I was so obviously an outsider and not a believer. In order to show good faith I was requested to kneel at the altar and greet the "brothers of

light" who I assumed to be the souls on the "other side". Until I did this I was not allowed to ask questions. Around the other walls of the room were chairs and benches, and it was here that curing and divination took place.

Similar to the spiritualists are the hypnotists or, more accurately, a man or woman who is hypnotized by a helper so that they can use their powers to cure. A local Oaxacan spiritualist also treated folk and Western illnesses through prescriptions of herbal and pharmaceutical remedies. His primary technique was to "see" into the mind of the patient in order to determine the illness. He also claimed to have the ability to control the minds of others. Such control could be exercised over the mind of the patient or over the mind of someone who might be making the patient ill through witchcraft. This curer also decorated his room and altar with Christian saints and pictures, and statues of Christ. But unlike the spiritualists, he sat behind a desk, giving a more formal appearance, almost like that of the Western medical practitioner.

Western Medical Facilities

The relationships between Colonia residents and formal health care institutions cover a broad spectrum of available specialists but often involve humiliating experiences for the *Colonos*. Health centres such as the Centro de Salud and the Hospital Civil, both in the city of Oaxaca, are funded by the federal government for the benefit of the poor. Staff in both institutions do not encourage patients because of the already heavy case load. Nurses from the Centro de Salud who do make house calls feel that poverty, not personality traits, is responsible for the high rate of illness in the Colonia. However, in my interview with the director of the Centro de Salud, who is a medical doctor, he characterised the residents of Linda Vista and the poor in general, as being very "Indian". By that, he meant that the patients were 'ignorant' of how to live what he would consider to be a normal, healthy life. Furthermore, he said that squatters 'insisted' upon eating foods low in nutrition, in sleeping in the same room, and that they did not want to take care of themselves. In short, they were a drain on the rest of the society. This 'perception' by a member of the dominant class was represented in a more symbolic way in the decorations which lined the clinic walls. As if to bring the point home to patients, the clinic walls were decorated with posters which illustrated the 'right' and 'wrong' way to live. The 'right' way showed a family of four, dressed in a standard middle-class outfit (father in a suit) with a home which included a kitchen (with a refrigerator and a stove), a living-room and separate bedrooms (with beds) for parents and children. The illustrations of the 'wrong' way to live included a large, dark-skinned family in ragged cotton clothes, in a one-room house without benefit of modern conveniences: in short, just like

housing in the Colonia Linda Vista! Such symbolic violence by the Western medical establishment is a continual part of the relationship that it has created with patients from Linda Vista. This violence may express itself in the form of pictures in the clinic, indifference by the medical staff and in the language which is used to characterise the poor. Domination through symbolic violence is never recognised for what it is by *Colonos*. The right of the medical establishment to 'dismiss' them is never questioned. For instance, Maria Elena's eldest daughter died in childbirth at the Social Security Hospital. Since her husband was covered by insurance they had decided to have their first child in hospital. One of the most common ways for women in hospital to give birth is not by natural childbirth but with gas, so that the entire process is meant to be painless. As it turned out, the daughter was administered too much anaesthetic and died in the delivery room. The child was born live and was normal. At that moment when the Doctor explained to Maria Elena that her daughter was gone she could only say, "Well, I hope it never happens to one of your children". In the midst of her grief and rage at such tragedy that simple phrase was the sum total of her expression about the Doctor's responsibility for her daughter's death. Later she told me that the death was really her responsibility and that her daughter had been taken by the Virgin of Juquila. Years ago Maria Elena had promised the Virgin that she would take her daughter on a pilgrimage to see her. The years passed and they never went. This, says Elena, was the Virgin's justice because all those years ago she had granted Maria Elena's prayer and had given her what she had asked for. The repayment was to be in the form of a pilgrimage with her daughter. Therefore she reasoned that since she neglected the Virgin, the Virgin took her daughter. Maria Elena still prays to this Virgin and has never lost faith in her.

Western-style medical facilities are generally government-supported, or are private businesses of physicians and pharmacists. Among the first type are the Centro de Salud and the Hospital Civil, which are government health centres that provide low-cost medical assistance. Also in this category is the Social Security Hospital. This is open to everyone whose jobs are covered by government insurance. It covers many middle-class and some working-class people. Unfortunately many people who should, (by government law), be covered by social security are not because they or their employer do not pay the necessary fee, and choose not to be covered. Finally, the hospital is open to all federal employees.

The three hospitals and the Centro de Salud receive different shares of federal money according to the class position that hospital and clinic patients occupy. The hospitals which care for the best paid workers received the highest grant. At the bottom are the Hospital Civil and the Centro de Salud, then the Social Security Hospital and finally ISSTE (Federal Employees' Service Program). For the patients, this means that the services which are available vary in the level of equipment, number of staff members,

the quality of the meals, whether or not the pharmacy medicine is free (as in ISSTE) and the types of outpatient clinics available.

The ISSTE Hospital, which is for federal employees, is the most modern and best equipped hospital. The Social Security Hospital, which is specifically for insured patients, also has good facilities and a relatively high staff-to-patient ratio. This is especially evident in the out-patient clinic. In both these hospitals, there is a definite feeling of pride or *esprit de corps* between the doctors which seems to be lacking in the Civil Hospital and in the Centro de Salud. During interviews with doctors at the ISSTE and Social Security hospitals, the care-givers continually spoke about the quality of health care delivery and what their specific institution could provide. Keeping a high standard of professional care was extremely important to them.

The clientele of the ISSTE hospital and of the Social Security Hospital are the middle-class school teachers and working-class store clerks of Oaxaca. The poorest of the clientele are the day labourers who are employed by the federal government on jobs such as road construction crews. For some reason, perhaps because the patients pay a premium from their monthly paycheck, these hospitals are given more funds by the federal government than the Hospital Civil and Centro de Salud, which cater for the poorer inhabitants. With these funds come obviously better equipped hospitals and pharmacies that dispense free medicine.

The Centro de Salud and the Hospital Civil, are poorly equipped. Further, their patients may pay 50.00 pesos daily for hospital care. Additionally, these patients who have the least amount of money available must pay for the pharmacy medicine. In a precise reversal of the 'each according to their need' principle, it is the poor that pay for the essentials. In the Hospital Civil and the Centro de Salud, the focus of the discussions that took place between myself and the doctors, nurses and social workers emphasised their attempts to educate and cope with their patients (see Appendix IV). They felt that education was important because their patients were lacking in basic knowledge on hygiene and personal care. The majority of these patients were poor, belonging to the urban lower classes and village poor.

At each of the hospitals I was able to visit wards, operating rooms, consulting rooms and pharmacies. The ISSTE hospital could have been located in any Western city. The Social Security hospital was much the same in the wards. The out-patient clinic had a much more working-class feeling because of the population that the clients came from, and because the furnishings were getting old and looked their age. The physical plant of the Hospital Civil was run-down, old and depressed. There was a section for

private patients which had private rooms and offered a better menu, but this was shut off from the public wards. In these public places, space was cramped and perhaps because of lack of staff, rooms and bedding were not clean. Rooms were crowded with beds and patients. Often these patients were not separated by different wards so that cases of severe burns injuries, which necessitated frequent medication and which filled the air with a putrid smell, shared the rooms with infant surgical cases. The childbirth delivery room was open to the hall and had not been cleaned from its last patient. The afterbirth still lay in the bucket under the delivery table. The entire demeanour of the hospital was at odds with the confident pose that was projected by the ISSTE both in terms of staff and of physical plant.

Another category of Western institution which offered medical care was the pharmacy. Using pharmacies was one of the most popular ways of treating an illness, since the price of the consultation and medicine were less expensive than going to a private doctor. Also available but seldom used in the Colonia were church-supported dispensaries, which give out low-cost medicine and free medical consultations. Church-based institutions did not find favour for two reasons. First, the church itself had little part to play in Colonia life. While people were overwhelmingly Catholic in a real sense, with domestic altars and saints in their houses, they had no relation to the institution of church. Nor did the church feel these inhabitants were part of its activities. There was little or no attendance at church by squatters and the priest was never seen in the Colonia. They were thus quite unconnected to the practice of the church. While in an abstract way the church had powerful symbolic capital, it played no part in residents' daily life. As a consequence, they failed to understand that the church could act in a medical sense to deal with day-to-day problems. Only parishioners, who were usually outside the Colonia, take advantage of this service. Secondly, there was no dispensary in the Colonia itself; people would have had to travel across town, and no one cared to make the journey.

Many families used to forego their right to the government health centres and used private doctors (see Appendix IV). All of the informants interviewed felt that they had received the best treatment from private doctors because they had *paid* for the treatment. Some doctors in Oaxaca have two medical clinics; one for higher income patients, and one (in a different part of town) for low income patients. In these poorer clinics equipment is also poorer, although the medical fees remain the same. Most of the clinics are small (14-20 bed) and have one or two operating rooms. These are always associated with a particular doctor. The nurses working in these clinics are usually not formally qualified. The quality of the clinics fluctuates with the clientele it receives. Although there are people in the Colonia who have gone to the most exclusive clinics, the majority of the people go to the lower quality places which are situated in the poorer sections of town, around the market and in the red-light district.

The ordeal that the Conseco family endured is one of the more hair-raising examples of medical neglect and malpractice. In spite of their relatively good position within the economic field of the Colonia they remain part of the sub-proletariat and as such attend a poor clinic. The following account provides a brief description of the treatment which they received in such a private medical clinic.

At 9.45 on a November morning, Marta Conseco gave birth to her sixth child, a severely deformed little boy who was born with a perfect body, but whose head lacked a crown (partial anencephalia). Marta herself suffered from the birth and needed blood transfusions. By early afternoon the child had been taken home from the clinic in a box by his aunt. A box was used because of what neighbours might say about such an ugly child. Meanwhile, Marta lay in her room in the clinic. Her blood-stained clothes were still in the corner, her blood transfusion bag was hung on a coat rack. No one wanted to tell her about the little boy for fear that she suffer *susto*.

Later that afternoon, a group of Marta's family went to visit her and, although they still did not tell her about the child, they discussed it among themselves outside her room. The child was still alive and was being given tea. Some of the family members argued to let him die. Others argued that their responsibility was to life. To do anything intentionally to hurt the child would be counted by God as a mortal sin. At this moment the Doctor came for a visit to his clinic, and he discussed the child with the family. He said that for five hundred pesos he felt sure that he could "fix" the boy. Again, the family argued about the kind of life the child would have since he was deformed and had been born into a poor family. Others argued that not to do everything possible would be a sin in the eyes of God. The problem solved itself since the child died shortly after the conversation. After a look at Marta, who still needed blood transfusions, the Doctor demanded five hundred pesos for her to remain in the clinic. Not to stay in the clinic would have endangered her health. The family borrowed the money that night from *compadres* and paid the bill.

When Marta was ready to come home, her sisters and her other children had cleaned the house and burned *copal* (incense made of pine sap) to make sure that there was nothing left of the *cangrena* or "bad air" left by the child's corpse. If there had been something left, Marta in her weakened state would be vulnerable and could become very ill.

After a time, reflecting on this crisis, the family agreed that the Doctor was an excellent doctor because he had cured Marta. They did not expect anything more in terms of his behaviour to the child, or in terms of kindness towards the patient and her family. The family believed that the child was born

deformed because during her pregnancy Marta had suffered from hepatitis which, she says, she contracted from a dirty needle at the Centro de Salud during a vaccination. The fact that the doctor at the private clinic demanded so much money in such a short time did not shock them. Although they felt that the doctor was not a good person, they did feel that he was an excellent doctor. They also said that they would probably return to his clinic if a future need should arise. Thus the Doctor's actions were not recognised as cruel or even as mal-practice but were viewed by the Cansecos as legitimate. Such misrecognition serves to maintain symbolic forms of domination between the classes. In addition to this type of symbolic domination there are three additional aspects of the case which are also common among Colonia residents. First, residents commonly expect poor treatment from doctors and some residents even expect to get sick from visiting the Centro de Salud. Second, their dispositions towards health matters involve both spiritual dependence on traditional medicine, while at the same time a dependence on Western medicine at other occasions. Finally, in traditional settings, the respect shown to each other (by curer and patient) facilitates the healing. However with western practitioners this is not usually the case because the patients are not often respected. Furthermore, *Colonos* have learned to expect systematic degradation and high costs from clinics and hospitals. But in spite of all this, these barriers do not completely prevent *Colonos* from using Western doctors.

The logic of the city means that institutional health care is only realistically available to those who work in full-time paid employment within the economy of the city. Those whose dispositions do not conform to the pattern of rational calculation can only expect marginal acceptance in orthodox medical institutions. Accordingly, *Colonos* are exploited by private doctors and receive only partial help from the city hospitals. Thus their health strategies fall back on what they know best; local help and traditional medicine, which allow them to 'be themselves' in their attempts to keep healthy.

POLITICAL ACTIVITY AND IDEOLOGY

Political behaviour in Linda Vista is, in the main, confined to Colonia activities. Within this context political manoeuvring, gossip, Sunday *tequios* and the like have meaning. Interaction with political groups outside of the Colonia is limited to the Colonia *Mesa Directiva* and its attempts to gain city status and services from local government. Government representatives visited the Colonia during the local and federal election campaigns of 1971 and 1972 (elections are held every 6 years). Usually, these visitors included the governor of Oaxaca, the representatives to the state House of Representatives and the mayoral candidates for the city of Oaxaca. The visits provided the *Mesa Directiva* of Linda Vista with a chance to lobby for city status. While the internal politics of the Colonia make sense in terms of

residents' lives, residents have no power outside of Colonia fields. Therefore state politics are less important and often have no perceived relation to daily life. This lack of connection to basic political institutions as well as a deep conservatism is evident in residents' opinions about larger political questions.

Those who actually vote in Linda Vista overwhelmingly support the PRI (*Partido Revolucionario Institucional*). In Mexican politics, a pluralist form of democracy is said to dominate. Party elections are held systematically, but the PRI has held power since the end of the Mexican Revolution in 1917. In addition to national levels of control, the PRI also dominates local politics in most areas. While the PAN (the conservative Catholic party) holds local control in some northern locations, in the south it is the PRI who win election after election. It is not surprising then that Colonia residents have a limited interest in being involved in political institutions. Linda Vista and the neighbouring colonia constitute a voting precinct. In the 1971 election for senators to the national congress the PRI candidates received 124 votes, PAN received 24 votes and the PPS (the Socialist Party) received two votes. This reflects the national voting patterns for Mexico, (see Casanova 1970), and also demonstrates the lack of alternative political activity in the Colonia. When asked who would win the election and who they would vote for, residents usually said the PRI because "...the PRI always win". In general they were not interested in being involved with politics, although they were critical of some government institutions, such as the schools, hospitals and the police. Interviews also indicated that residents had no idea of themselves as a social class apart from being '*gente humilde*', a humble people. They are not a potential revolutionary group since they are not aware of themselves as a class whose possibilities are defined by objective structures. Nor do they feel that they are an exploited class of people. Their poverty is explained by them as a matter of bad luck, and as being the result of a scarcity of opportunity due to the lack of industry in Oaxaca.

Given their success with city services, annexation and markets one could not characterise Colonia residents as being naive when it comes to political wrangling. However, in a larger sense their grasp of Mexican history and the political terms and references which have been important in Mexico is extremely limited. As an over-arching mechanism which shapes their connections to all other institutions, their relation to politics is thus of paramount importance. Their responses to a series of questions on government and general political questions (see Appendix V) indicated both that they had general impressions about political matters, but a disinterestedness about fundamental issues of political concern. They simply did not make the connection between their daily lives and the political institutions around them.

The questions asked focussed upon definitions of key political concepts and expressions such as democracy, fascism, totalitarianism and the like. The term democracy appeared to be part of informants' political lexicon, but fascism and totalitarianism only evoked four responses of a fairly confused nature. While the notions of liberalism and conservatism are discussed throughout Mexico in the press, neither concept was particularly well understood by informants. Concepts such as socialism and communism elicited both positive and negative responses. In the Colonia, there were two socialists who voted for the PPS (Socialist Party). However, partiality to socialist views was not widespread even though the material conditions of life were poor. There was no place for activism in the Colonia. The trials of daily struggle for existence mitigated against spending time on politics. Since political parties did little for residents, they felt no obligation to political parties. The two socialists in the Colonia were members of the Doctor's group (the Doctor being the leader of the second *Mesa*), which was ironic in the sense that this group did not organise collective work (*tequio*) or work on behalf of the community. Communism, capitalism's antidote, provoked a lot of comment. Here, they were asked what they thought of communism and of Castro. In Mexico, the government rigorously criticised Castro and his policies which they saw to be an obvious threat to their own political system. Communist parties are illegal, and the propaganda against communism is rigorous. In the main *Colonos* gain their political insights from the radio, and from "scandal-sheet" newspapers. Interestingly, newspapers are independantly owned. However, the newsprint on which papers are printed is a government monopoly. It therefore becomes highly unlikely that a left-wing press could develop! Thus it is surprising that there were pro-Castro sentiments in the interview responses. Clearly, in the larger scheme of things, apart from the self-help *tequio* politics of the Colonia, local political affairs held little interest, and *Colonos* were treated with parallel indifference, for the most part, by the city and its political patrons.⁷ Political slogans offered an immediate message to residents, and their interpretation equally offered an opportunity to discover how far politics penetrated into Colonia thinking. The famous slogan "*Neither to the Right nor the Left, but Onward and Upward*" (PRI Slogan) was used everywhere on TV, billboards, posters and during speeches during the elections. Echeverria, the past Mexican president, used this campaign slogan for the election of 1970. During his term it was the official government slogan. Echeverria sought to diminish political differences between right and left by evoking nationalistic responses aimed at pulling people together for the sake of the country. Even here there was an unclear reaction by Colonia residents. However, Echeverria was enough of a politician to know that a majority of people *would* understand and that his election would be, as always, unproblematic.

CONCLUSION

With respect to the fields of education, medical care and state politics where the ties of Linda Vista residents and dominant structures overlap, three central points can be made: we can point to the power of symbolic violence which maintains the interest of the dominant classes and, on the reverse side, one can point to the total misrecognition of this form of violence on the part of Colonia residents. This produces a legitimization of the social formation. Second, there is a systematic lack of support and services by state institutions for the poor. Third, the strategies presented in preceding chapters arise, in large part, from the lack of support found in the structures of urban society. Failure to be helped by institutions is, clearly enough, not simply a matter of having the right habitus or subjective dispositions, but also reflects the objective structures of the economy. It is not enough to want institutional help; if this were the case, the *Colonos* would be well-served, since they uniformly seek the support of formal institutions at some time in their lives. But their objective poverty prevents them from educating their children or keeping their families healthy. In politics, their subjective alienation is a result of a detachment which is a testimony to the slight effect of large-scale political structures on daily practice.

While Linda Vista does have a primary school, data from 1962-1972 indicate that only half the children originally registered finally graduate. Thus, many children will not be able to choose their occupation but will be in the position of having to compete for jobs at an early age without job skills. Although Colonia residents idealise education as a means for their children to move into steady employment and to 'take on' the appearances of city life, the structure of objective conditions condemns a majority of them to failure. Insistence on special uniforms and materials by the school authorities ensures this to be true. Parents do not recognise that the school is denying their children an education and that it perpetuates, by means of symbolic violence, the legitimization of the interests of other classes. In the area of medical care the problems are the same. The structure of hospitals, doctors' offices and so on is such that Colonia residents must look elsewhere for help but do not conceive of the political reasons why they must do so. In this situation of misrecognition *Colonos* do not perceive themselves as being an exploited class - only unlucky. Again this results in the marginalisation of institutions in daily practice.

Other institutions are similarly marginal to the daily life of Colonia residents. The church, in an overwhelmingly Catholic country, might be expected to play a major role. But it is a church of the respectable. Its buildings are close by, but the church officials do not visit the Colonia, and no-one visits the church. The Colonia is not a focus for liberation theology. On rare visitations, as in baptisms and confirmations, *Colonos* visit a central city church. The local church has no part to play. Banks,

insurance companies and other financial institutions require their customers to have money which is not directly spent on a daily basis by consumers. *Colonos* have little or no money, and don't use banks; these institutions have no use for the *Colonos* in return: they are too poor to return a profit.

Many Colonia residents have no future in a Western sense. Without the cushion of steady income and employment, they lack the control over their lives which is necessary to transform the social world. To change one's perception and position in this world is an individual project. People like San Miguel and the Ramirez family are successful and therefore understand the strategies and the stakes which have allowed them to move from a sub-proletariat position in the city to one which is successfully urban. People in this position are "...at the peak of a negative career" (Bourdieu 1979a p.62) and have everything to lose by revolutionary activity.

FOOTNOTES

1. In the preface of his book, *The Children of Sanchez* Oscar Lewis makes a similar point. Although the residents of Linda Vista are not considered to be part of the culture of poverty as Lewis' informants were, they do possess many of the traits listed below. To quote Lewis:

"Many of the traits of the culture of poverty can be viewed as attempts at local solutions for problems not met by existing institutions and agencies because the people are not eligible for them, cannot afford them or are suspicious of them. For example, unable to obtain credit from banks, they are thrown upon their own resources and organise informal credit devices without interest. Unable to afford doctors who are used only in dire emergencies, and suspicious of hospitals where "one goes only to die", they rely upon herbs or other home remedies and upon local curers and midwives. Critical of priests "who are human and therefore sinners like all of us", they rarely go to confession or Mass and rely upon prayer to the images of saints in their own homes and upon pilgrimages to popular shrines...Finally, the subculture of poverty also has a residual quality in the sense that its members are attempting to utilise and integrate into a workable way of life the remnants of beliefs and customs of diverse origins." (Lewis 1961:xxvii)
2. This includes both the objective conditions, which engender aspirations and practice, as well as the socialisation practices that occur between the child, and the older generation of the primary group. This double structuration creates habitus anew in each generation. Also see Anthony Giddens, *Central Problems in Social Theory*, 1979, pp.79-95. Of particular relevance is Giddens' discussion of the duality of structure in which he argues that while institutions result from human agency, they are the outcome of action in so far as they are involved "...recursively as the medium of their production" (p.95).
3. Symbolic violence has already been defined in Chapter Three. However to reiterate, symbolic violence is any power that disguises real relations of power and dominance as the 'legitimate' social world. Symbolic violence thus adds its own 'force' (a symbolic force) to relations of power and masks class struggle and inequality due to race or gender.
4. The term 'Indian' is used by residents of the Colonia as a term which represents someone who is ignorant of modern ways of life and who is 'backwards'. Almost everyone in the 150 households

sampled stated that they were not Indian but that they were modern people and looked forward to a 'modern life' in the city.

5. Although employment opportunities and income levels for Colonia residents have already been examined, one might add that due to the restrictive nature of the economic structure in Mexico, it is extremely difficult for these people to achieve any degree of social mobility. Thus, although they come to the city with personal aspirations of better jobs and incomes, they often get backbreaking and demeaning jobs, the lowest pay, without health insurance or retirement pension. Thus their interaction with this sector is no more positive than with others. The same is true for relations with the Church. The majority of Colonia residents are Catholic and baptise and confirm their children. However almost no one attends the local Catholic Church. Instead, altars are part of the home and prayer, ritual meetings, and funeral services take place in the home. During the field stay Catholic priests and nuns never visited Colonia families, nor did they encourage interaction between Colonia families and the Church. Since children from de facto marriages were not allowed to marry in the Church many young families were effectively left out and pushed aside. This situation has changed somewhat. By 1982 the second section of the Colonia had finished building a small chapel which is visited by a local priest for baptisms and confirmations (Michael Higgins, personal communication, 1985).
6. The importance of schools to further political ideology has a long history in Mexico. After the 1910 revolution, the new minister of education, Vasconcelos, expressly viewed the educational process as being directly relevant in carrying on the goals of the revolution and he openly followed that policy. Much of his philosophy is available in published versions of his public speeches.
7. For a broader view of the Mexican political process see the section entitled 'The rules of the Mexican game' by Gary W. Wynia in his book *The Politics of Latin American Development*, 1984, Cambridge University Press.

CONCLUSIONS

The focus of this study has been on two sets of dialectical relationships; that which exists between economic practice and objective structures, and that which links individual practice and habitus. To facilitate examination of these relationships the Colonia Linda Vista was likened to a buffer zone between the sub-proletarian world of migrants and the modern city. In this zone migrants constructed a social space within which they worked to establish basic support systems that would enable them to contend with daily necessities. This thesis has argued that it was the reinvention or transformation of traditional structures of individual and community within the new social space that accounted for the overwhelmingly economic character of migrants' strategies for success in the urban context. This argument differs from the literature of migrant adaptation in its theoretical and methodological approach. The use of the key concepts of habitus, the field, capital and strategy which were derived from Bourdieu, permitted a conceptual integration of structure and agency as they are dissolved within the everyday practice of migrant families. Such an approach has not been possible within the paradigms of interactionist and systems (or structural) theories. This final chapter is organised to provide three levels of analysis. The first level offers a summary of the main ethnographic conclusions drawn from the data presented in Chapters Three to Seven. The second section relates the thesis to the field of Latin American migrant studies. The third section sets forth a critique of Bourdieu's method in relation not only to the present study but also to the ethnographic enterprise of anthropology.

Since the period of fieldwork in Linda Vista I have been able to maintain contact with Colonia residents through mutual friends and correspondence. The class trajectories of Colonia residents and the now total integration of the Colonia into the city mean that the initial fields of politics, economics and social relations which once acted as a buffer zone for all Colonia residents, now only exists for some. The patterns which were beginning to emerge in 1974 are much more obvious by 1986. The residents have little of the commonality which once tied the early group of *Colonos* together. With the discrepancies in education and training among various groups of Colonia children there is now an even wider gap in the structures of economic practice and survival. These developments serve to consolidate and corroborate the findings which have been central to the thesis, and demonstrate the strength of the methodology.

SUMMARY OF ETHNOGRAPHIC CONCLUSIONS

The ethnographic data presented in the preceding chapters endeavoured to describe and analyse household maintenance and economic survival strategies over a period of ten years from 1965-1974. The data also described how some Colonia residents became successful within the Colonia as leaders, as well as succeeding within the economic structures of the city as members of the urban proletariat. To do that it was necessary to investigate the fields in which such activity took place and the way that the fields were structured and altered by habitus and the dominant urban system. The data also presented a review of the elements of the objective city structures which most directly defined daily economic practice, the structures of occupations, medical care, education and political activity.

The data itself focussed on individual decisions and behaviours as mediated by the household, which was the fundamental unit of production and transformation of capitals. In using the household as the basic unit of analysis it was possible to study the different responses of individuals to the general conditions and the specific changes which have occurred in Linda Vista. The method of presenting data can be visualised as one of concentric circles. First, a history of the original organisation of Linda Vista as a community was reviewed; second, the field of economic practice and the organisation of households was described; third, the field of social relationships was delineated and finally, an account was given of the interaction with city institutions which influenced the social and economic practice of *Colonos*. The following sections set out the main conclusions derived from the ethnographic data.

THE FIELD OF POLITICS

The structure of economic and social practice of Colonia life is a product of the historical process which combines the mutual processes of individual dispositions and the objective structures of urban Oaxacan society. This process of dual structuration is perhaps most concretely demonstrated in the field of Colonia politics which framed the creation and structure of the Colonia as a social space. The early political development of the Colonia, during the middle and late 1960's was orchestrated around three key factors; the role of particular dominant individuals; a series of specific political tasks, such as the need for water, electricity, and pathways for transport; and the traditionally derived *tequio*, or workgroup. By 1978 the original community interests no longer existed; the successful migrants worked for Colonia projects which would be of direct benefit to themselves as individuals (i.e. sewerage, potable water, markets) and the Colonia became part of the city. During the period of 1965 to 1978, the field of politics changed from one which was primarily bounded by the Colonia, to one which had

merged into city interests. This occurred in parallel to the changes in residents' lifestyles and calculations of their future. The field of politics was no longer bound by the social space of the Colonia. Capital and positions within the field also changed, from domination by various forms of symbolic capital to a logic dominated more narrowly by economic capital. In fact one could argue that those who successfully connected one form of capital to another, (however un-self-consciously), were those who moved ahead. The use of capital in the right form was the key to an upward trajectory.

POLITICAL ACTORS AND POLITICAL CAPITAL

The individuals who succeeded in dominating Colonia political life were those who had the capacity to 'represent' and to 'speak' for the Colonia. In taking such a position within the political field, individuals accumulated symbolic capital as well as gaining the possibility of transforming this capital into economic and cultural capital.¹ These were the spoils to be gained from the struggle over positions. However, in order to take part, individuals had to have a position, a certain minimal amount of status and prestige and have represented particular interests which the group considered to be central. Furthermore, such individuals had to have the correct dispositions; that is, those which qualified a person as a leader, including their identification with the group. The cases of San Miguel and the Doctor were used to exemplify the attributes which resulted in success or failure during the formative years of Colonia Linda Vista.

This analysis indicated that if an individual was to achieve a position of leadership within the political field their personal dispositions must merge with the material and political necessities of the group. On the one hand, San Miguel epitomised the ingredients for success because he embodied both urban and *recreated* traditional dispositions which allowed him to succeed in the Colonia and, in part, in the larger field of city politics. On the other hand the Doctor failed in the Colonia because he embodied personal dispositions which were contrary to those of the migrants; moreover, he was seen politically to favour those with land titles as opposed to squatters' rights.

Being able to name and to represent the group was the basis from which high symbolic capital was generated. Individuals who struggled for positions of power within the Colonia sought authority first, which then allowed them the right to 'speak' for the Colonia. The transformation of symbolic capital into other forms of capital was also part of the rewards for leadership. Those who spoke to the urban field on behalf of squatter residents gained entry into urban networks, thereby gaining access to jobs, social networks, and resources which increased the likelihood of personal success in the city. Within the

settlement, leaders gained prestige and status from fiestas, completed work projects and loyalty from followers. These processes were revealed in San Miguel's success in the Colonia as well as in Oaxaca City. This success was translated into other forms of capital, both symbolic and economic, which allowed him to marry into a middle-class family and to buy a water-bottling plant.

However, Colonia residents typically did not recognise that the power generated from a leader's symbolic capital also enhanced the patron's personal life. The behaviour of the patron was, in those early days of Colonia development, understood as honourable in the way that traditional village leaders had been defined. Such self interest that might have existed was misrecognised by residents, hidden by a mask of symbolic capital. Later, as certain individuals developed the first market place, such leadership was understood more cynically as self-serving. At this later date economic, rather than traditional symbolic, capital became the potent factor in the struggle over political positions, a shift which brought about a corresponding change in the field. Because the very nature of capital had changed its composition, the analysis showed that criteria defining success became largely economic. The fact that unsuccessful individuals no longer gained symbolic capital from their Colonia positions was irrelevant.

THE CHANGING NATURE OF CAPITAL AND THE NEW POLITICAL FIELD

While San Miguel was never defined as one who gained personally from his leadership role in Colonia politics, the original members of his *Mesa Directiva* were categorised in that way. Through the use of the market, they had attempted to openly trade cultural and symbolic capital. In the new market, participants dealt not with the old field of the Colonia, but with the larger urban structures of government and business. From their previous Colonia-inspired networks and their personal dispositions ripe for success in the city, the ideological screen which had previously masked their self-interest was no longer a necessary part of the struggle for position. Economic rationality alone sufficed.

As for development of the Colonia, no longer was the *tequio* necessary or even able to fulfill the current projects which were concerned with obtaining potable water and sewage. These were dependent upon government and the householder's ability to pay. And in this wider dimension, economic calculation had prevailed.

As the Colonia became part of the city, the local government agencies took on the major role of community development, thus transforming the nature of politics. By 1981² the two earlier factions in

the Colonia had disappeared. The Doctor's small group lost interest and the original San Miguel group concentrated their energies in their market businesses. The original market organisers from San Miguel's *Mesa Directiva* had split into two groups. The first group was led by Marta Canseco and was engaged in profitable businesses, a second market was organised by the Rivera couple who rented land from a local hotel owner. Their new market was constructed on this land and was open to anyone who wished to set up a stall and pay rent. Formal political leadership for traditional projects no longer existed. But, while the Colonia was part of the city in 1981, its streets remained unpaved and there was only a small number of water and sewerage pipes because only few households could afford the connection. There was still a Sunday *tequio* but very few people attended. In general the projects were concerned with improving the pathways in the upper sections of the Colonia in anticipation of the rainy season. The work group was organised by a Senora D. who considered herself to be the unofficial *presidente* of the Colonia. She was given this position by a now defunct government self-help organisation. But she lacked the credibility of San Miguel; the local residents viewed her unfavourably as someone who was interested in promoting her own self interests and position.

THE ECONOMIC FIELD

In the squatter settlement the household was the centre of economic life. The data revealed that the strategies which served in the accumulation of economic, cultural and symbolic capital were determined by three factors. The first two comprise the composition of the household and the division of labour. The economic dispositions which characterised households which were constituted from recreated traditional households were modified to suit life in the squatter settlement and to suit the types of labour which were possible for household members. The third factor pertained to the economic and material conditions which determined the jobs and resources that were available.

Economic capital was not primarily produced within the confines of the Colonia, but through the integration of residents into the trading and occupational structure of the city as well as through the accumulation of goods (cultural capital) over time. Those who had become successful were those whose perception of the future was dominated by Western thinking and calculation. Others who were unsuccessful perceived a future that was 'up to God' or luck. For them, the main strategy involved the invocation of divine intervention through prayer. Calculations of this type differed in quality and substance from the future envisaged through capitalist rationality.

The analysis established that in its fullest sense economic capital consisted not only of income generated through jobs but in other resources such as household goods (like radios) which could be pawned if

necessary, as well as chickens, pigs and gardens which generated food and income, as well as their houses for which no rent was paid. These served three basic functions. First, they were all practical items; second they could be pawned for needed cash; and third, they were symbolic in that they reflected the position of the household within the economic and cultural fields of the Colonia. Types and composition of houses, ownership of electrical appliances and the clothes and jewellery which household members had were all important elements in these fields. Access to credit was also critical to everyday practice. It was available from the pawnshop or within the Colonia to those who had a good enough reputation to use in exchange for personal help with money matters. This type of exchange was particularly important to the sorts of social relationships which existed in the settlement.

Most of the jobs held by Colonia residents fell within the classification of service occupations and included both skilled and unskilled positions, such as errand boys, construction labourers paid and hired by the day, 'helpers' on second class buses, food vendors and domestic home-based workers; these were generally women, who took in laundry, made tortillas and sewed clothes on contract for market vendors. Low wages, no social security and part-time irregular employment were the common characteristics of this type of work. These characteristics prevented residents from gaining access to the steady employment which was essential if they were to ever build a future based upon Western calculation.

Finally, the squatter settlement also comprised its own economic universe, in that its physical area, the types of living conditions and the ownership of their own homes served to create a 'buffer zone' between the migrants and the city. Even rural activities such as raising small stock or growing a few plants allowed, in a superficial way, traditional comforts and activities to be reconstituted in the alien world of the city.

Economic Dispositions and Economic Rationality

Squatter households typically followed traditional kinship patterns in reckoning kin, in the types of jobs that were taken on by individuals, and in the management of money. However, because the material base of squatter families was supported by wage or contract labour, often without the benefit of large extended families, Colonia household groups differed from traditional types. In fact the study revealed that squatter households in Linda Vista represented a type of household which existed between the extremes of the rural village and the slum households of the inner city. The resultant patterns were ambiguous and reflected the continuance of certain traditional behaviour in terms of kin and economic roles, as well as transformed patterns of calculated behaviour which had greater survival value in the city

economy. Unlike city slum households, female-centred households were rare in Linda Vista. Kinship ties tended to be extended, rather than nucleated. Indeed, some Linda Vista families lived close to relatives within the Colonia. For example, cousins who would not normally have shared homes in traditional village life, and who could not do so in the houses of the inner city, were able to live in the Colonia setting. Economic necessity and the pressure of the city, coupled with reinvention of village kinship ties resulted in different social practice.

The ethnographic data reported in the present research showed that different households used various strategies to survive within the economic field. Victoria, for example, maintained her family on an extremely limited budget by making tortillas and sewing to enable her son to continue his electrician's apprenticeship. Both she and her son planned a future for their family based upon the rational calculation of matching school with job possibilities, and through her good reputation within the Colonia which allowed her easy credit from the local store.

But the strategies of the Sosa family lay not in the education of their children, but in 'fate' and in particular, Maria Elena's faith in the Virgin of Juquila. Both husband and wife interacted with the labour market through their own contract labour, which necessarily meant that their income varied from week to week.

The Cruz family also relied on the income of both husband and wife. While the pittance Arnolfo earned selling ices on the street corner meant that he could not afford lunch, Francisca worked as a seamstress at home from time to time, and raised a pig each year for market. Like the Sosa family they claimed their children needed an education; however, they did not usually send them to school. Also, like the Sosa family, their strategy had (in the Western sense) powerful elements of economic counter-productivity. Selling food and raising their pig for sale, realised less money than it *cost* to produce these items. Their adherence to Indian dispositions meant that they did not enter the game of economic struggle within the calculus of the city.³

Members of the Ramirez family were specifically calculating in their determination to improve their social trajectory. Because they had been wealthy in the village they had been able to attend school. This education proved invaluable in Linda Vista because it enabled them to obtain a steady job and income. Dominance in village society led to a positive trajectory in the city for Senor Ramirez. On the basis of the steady income, the family could take part in the new market, and thereby made a successful transition to the city.

By 1981 the precise field of economic practice for Colonia residents expanded for those families and individuals who were succeeding in city life. For those like Maria Elena who continued to live in an 'enchanted future' it remained the same. Those families who had successful businesses in the market, continued to live in the Colonia and even continued to use contract labour from Colonia women. However, if they could not fulfill these labour needs from the Colonia they filled them from the scores of unemployed men and women who populate Oaxaca City. The point is that the production of economic and cultural capital was no longer based within the Colonia. Instead it had become part of the city's working class life. In general the children from these families had been able to take up the family business or had completed some sort of technical training which enabled them to compete successfully for steady employment. However, these families were a small minority of Colonia residents. For the majority the struggle for individual and family success was much less straight-forward.

The children of the original residents were a varied group. It is in the analysis of the structure of their lives that the predictive power of the methodology can be both exemplified and appreciated. In 1981 most of them were in their twenties and were still living at home. They were not building new houses, although a small group from Linda Vista were part of an 'invasion' of land close to the second market place. There, the group attempted to set up another squatter settlement by building temporary shelters. Shortly afterwards, in the middle of the night, the army arrested the group and burned their houses.⁴ Some of the children have been able to continue their education into secondary training. Some have been employed in the service sector and others "se dedican al pandellerismo" (are unemployed, raising hell and taking drugs, a phenomenon unknown in earlier times). Within household groups some members have been successful with their employment and income, while others from the same family have had little success. In some cases the successful child has been able to help the entire family. In other cases the success of the upwardly mobile individual had little impact on the family, save for a contribution of money and presents to the parents now and then. For example, by 1985, Victoria's son, Victor, was a successful electrician in Oaxaca and had moved his mother and two brothers, along with his wife and baby daughter, into a house in the city of Oaxaca. Their previous section in Linda Vista was too small to build additional rooms although they lived there together until 1983-84. Victor is currently the main support of the family while his younger brothers are working as automobile mechanics. The long years of Victoria exchanging her high symbolic capital for credit, and the battle to help Victor continue his education has reaped substantial reward for her. For Victoria, the importance of the economic dimensions of her investment of symbolic capital should be emphasised. Victoria was, in fact, rationally calculating the economics of virtue.

Maria Elena Sosa's children have had different experiences. By 1985 Alberto Sosa and the eldest son Melicio had both died. Melicio had previously worked as a 'helper' on a second-class bus and was killed when it overturned on a country road. Alberto died from ill health caused by poor food, too much drink and arduous working conditions as a labourer in the construction industry. The eldest daughter Maria Isabel divorced her husband who had trained as a school teacher, and married a second-class busdriver. Her previous aspirations of becoming the wife of a school teacher were not successful. She now has had five children who are cared for by her mother, while she works in the city in part-time employment at a pharmacy. Today, she still lives in the house next door to her mother and siblings. Her brothers and sisters continue to be underemployed and unemployed except for the youngest sister who, by virtue of not having had domestic responsibilities when young, finished school and trained as a nurse's aide. Maria Elena has continued to make food to sell on the street and to do laundry. She has continued to pray to the Virgin of Juquila, who she says, helped her through her grief over her son's death.

In 1985 Senor Cruz continued to earn a living by selling ices on a downtown street corner. Other members of the family began to produce the ices as well as selling them. Whether or not they have transformed their previous Indian dispositions into the sort of calculating dispositions necessary to succeed in business is conjectural. However with their older children becoming part of the business, the attitudes which they developed while growing up in Linda Vista may be enough to help the business to success.

THE FIELD OF SOCIAL RELATIONS

Social relationships provided *Colonos* with strategies for daily needs as well as with networks to use in their struggle for position within the general field of social relationships. How individuals and households coped with the choices open to them depended on their dispositions and the objective resources that were available to them. The following section reviews the questions of dispositions, social capital and the types of social relationships which were all so crucial to Colonia life.

Analysis of the ethnographic material indicated that the formal relationships which dominated the social field in the Colonia were those of kinship, friendship and co-parenthood. These ties allowed for an exchange of goods and services among people who used them for daily support, as well as to secure a position for themselves within the field. These relationships, then, functioned strategically in both situations. Within the household kinship ties can be described as functioning in either a horizontal or

vertical fashion. For instance, in the Colonia it was generally accepted that the husband or eldest male was the authority figure and that the wife or mother was subordinate to his position. However, in practical terms Colonia women often earned a substantial portion of the household income, and took charge of daily household activities, including those concerned with children and outside social relationships. Thus while proffered ideological statements supported the unequal relationship between men and women characteristic of traditional Mexican life, in practical terms the relationship was one of equality. Between parents and children there were bonds of mutual dependency which changed in emphasis throughout the development of the household. Thus while mothers acknowledged their responsibilities to their children, they also felt that their present sacrifices would be rewarded through the care and loyalty that their children would give them in old age.

Within the households of the Colonia, women's positions as care givers with responsibilities to everyone for food, clothing, and medical care was shown to be a patent source of power. While their labour was exploited, the role of mother was demonstrably full of possibilities for gaining symbolic power. This power, derived predominantly from the tradition of Marianismo (the opposite of Machismo), which idealised qualities from the Virgin Mary: suffering, humility and nurturance as the model for proper mothering. Given this symbolic power, women like Victoria and Senora Rivera became powerful in more practical ways within the household. Their symbolic capital was also transformed into other types of capital. While the power of symbolic capital was recognised by residents to be crucial in maintaining social relationships among households, it was completely unrecognised as contributing to women's position within the household. The expectations for them to be responsible for family members allowed them access to their husbands' pay, control over their own economic projects, scope to pawn household goods and access to their children's labour. From the perspective of Oaxaca City these resources were negligible but for Colonia women they were crucial.

Social relationships between households were primarily based on friendship and *compadre* ties. The support which helped households to survive under sometimes impossible material hardship was drawn from these ties. In the absence of stable jobs, sufficient income and a large extended family, residents reconstrued traditional types of relationships in order to press into service the available urban resources. Such constructed bonds between individuals and households reduced the feeling of powerlessness and often provided for immediate needs, such as food or medical help.

Among both friendship and *compadre* relationships, bonds between equals were formed on the basis of common experience, proximity of house sites within the Colonia and sympathetic personalities. The

exchanges that took place were based upon a reciprocity, which was never overtly 'balanced'. In this way residents were able to misrecognise the practical necessity of friends. For the migrant, friendships helped to create support systems and a more predictable social situation. The unbalanced friendships characteristic of patron-client ties were distinct in that the exchanges were of different social goods. The patron could help provided security by giving money, jobs, medical help and sometimes food and clothing. Clients typically provided patrons with loyalty, esteem and prestige for their 'good works' and free labour. Both types of relationships were crucial to Colonia residents, since they were central to survival and because sources of ways to enhance symbolic capital within the Colonia.

Friendships in the Colonia, existed either as relationships between equals or as patron-client ties. *Compadre* ties were usually considered to be more formal and were created through ritualised activity specific to the Catholic Church. There were gradations of importance in *compadre* ties. The most important ties were those of baptism and the least important were those connected with saying a simple rosary or lighting a candle for the child. One of the most important aspects of the *compadre* relationships was that between the two adult couples. This social fact emphasised the ties of exchange between economic and social goods which was inherent in the relationship. Additionally, like Colonia friendships, these ties of fictive kinship occurred both between people of equal positions within the field and between people of unequal status as patron-client ties.

As with the fields of politics and economic practice, the struggle for position within the field of social relationships in Linda Vista was shown to be dependent upon a person's habitus as well as the volume and composition of the necessary capital. In this case it was symbolic capital that most determined position in the field. Individuals such as Socorro Rios who had economic capital but little symbolic capital were infrequently asked to be 'patrons'; moreover, they did not command positions of social importance. Thus while the main scheme of prestige ranking initially offered by Linda Vista residents was clearly based upon ownership of economic and cultural capital, informants' elaborations of this pattern revealed that symbolic capital in the form of honour and prestige was also crucial. A household's position in the field of social relations was not simply a direct function of its position in the economic field.

While the data indicated that in the early years of Colonia development, prestige and status only came from what were adjudged to be honourable deeds, informants would misrecognise the obvious benefits which high ranking families derived from their work in Colonia politics. Although self-interest was only a small part of local gossip in the early days of development, it became more salient as the two new

markets were built. By 1979 when both markets had been built, Colonia residents spoke openly about how the leaders of these developments had benefitted from them. At this time there was a discernable change in the composition of capital in the social field. Ten years previously such obvious self-interest would have made the accumulation of symbolic capital impossible, which, in turn, would have prohibited a position of honour in the field of social relations. By the middle to late seventies, however, it was clear that the field of social relations had changed. The leaders of the *Mesa Directiva* emphasised integration into the city and community projects which were based upon the household's ability to pay rather than give labour through the *tequio*. These moves reflected the interests of Colonia leaders in succeeding as marketeers and city vendors. The previous emphasis on symbolic capital was thus no longer as important as the accumulation of economic capital. This latter form of accumulation was essential if leaders were to sustain their individual projects and realise a future which was at once, calculated and dominated by a Western, urban mentality. The crucial factor in this conjuncture was the inter-connectedness of the structure of the field and the composition of capital. As the field of social relations changed from one based upon the community, the mutuality of needs and certain traditional dispositions, (albeit recreated appropriate to the historical situations), to one which was increasingly informed by urban economic practice, the dominant capital changed from symbolic to economic. Indeed it could be argued that the nature of 'symbolic capital' changed to incorporate wealth as the basis for a new definition of symbolic capital. Such an interpretation appears to be instructive particularly in the case of young adults who had found a better place in the city through the 'success' of their parents. Honour and prestige to this younger generation derived not from traditional values but were generated from within a new structure as a change from the 'fully lived' to the economic became dominant.

OBJECTIVE STRUCTURES AND RELATIONS OF DOMINATION

Data from the fieldwork indicated that powerful (if ambiguous) class interests were embodied within the structures of education, medical care and the larger field of city and State. It was also clear that the residents of Linda Vista did not expect nor did they receive, adequate support for daily needs and healthful living. Their lack of 'proper' middle-class Mexican dispositions, allied with their poverty usually ensured that the responses of persons working in these institutions would be negative and demeaning. Nevertheless, *Colonos* were predisposed to conservatism, and rejected any notion that they constituted an exploited class. Rather, they were inclined to see themselves as unlucky and Oaxaca as a place with few opportunities. This collective categorisation as 'humble people' provides a way of understanding their acceptance of dominant ideology and their complete misrecognition of the symbolic violence which wreaked upon them each day.

The circumstances of most residents was made worse by the fact that teachers, Western medical practitioners, even some local priests served to legitimate the Mexican class structure by suggesting that the problems and poverty of *Colonos* were due to the failures and inadequacies of individuals rather than the structure of Mexican society. These perceptions of individual key people had permeated Colonia life and ironically legitimated the exploited position of most of the hapless residents.

Education

The construction of the school in Linda Vista was one of the first and largest projects carried out by the *Mesa Directiva*. Their children's education represented one of the most frequently verbalised goals for Colonia parents. The school, which was part of the Federal system of education, appeared to be a logical link between the national goals for the development of Mexico and the individual aspirations that *Colonos* had for their children. During the late 1960's and early 1970's approximately half of the Colonia children who entered school actually graduated from primary school. There were two general causes for this high rate of attrition. First, school projects were costly and some households could not afford them. Second, children were often expected to help their mothers at home or to help their fathers in their jobs in town. These requirements made it well nigh impossible for children to regularly attend classes. Thus while Colonia residents provided the labour to help build the school, poverty made it difficult for some of their children to benefit from the fruits of their labour. Households, then, had to have a measure of economic capital if their children were to aspire to complete primary school and begin to accumulate the cultural capital that was vital to their subsequent success in the city. The basic structures of the school, and the fact that some Colonia children were denied access to education demonstrated how education helped to reproduce class positions. The symbolic violence inherent in blaming educational failures on poor parenting and a lack of individual effort helped to maintain the structure of dominant and subdominant groups, while allowing for the upward mobility of some residents. Young adults who had not finished primary school were increasingly disadvantaged in the occupational structure of contemporary Oaxaca. Now even menial factory jobs require a primary school education.

Health Care Delivery

Colonia residents could choose among several alternative sources of health. These ranged from self-administered treatments of herbs and pharmaceutical products, to traditional healers and private medical doctors in the city. There was also a range of health centres and hospitals in the city which some

Colonia residents visited. But unlike education, *Colonos* did have a measure of control and choice of treatment which as the data have revealed reinforced the idea that the Colonia was a type of buffer zone for city migrants. Nevertheless it must be recognised that poverty severely curtailed the choices of some residents. For them a cure was usually a matter of making a virtue of necessity. The Colonia residents who were fortunate enough to be covered by insurance could go to the Social Security Hospital or to the Federal Hospital. Such coverage was a benefit which resulted from steady employment with a large company, factory or the government. Since access to these centres was based upon employment, this implied certain dispositions (on the part of the residents) towards calculation and a rationalised or planned future. In general, as their medical requirements became embedded into city structures and the logic of Western medicine, the sorts of illnesses which occurred in their households were usually not diagnosed as traditional but as Western. Traditional illness 'disappeared' to be reinvented as a Western disorder.

Colonos who were not covered by insurance could have chosen to go to the Centro de Salud or the Hospital Civil, which were funded by the State or they may have chosen to go to a private doctor. By all accounts residents felt that they got the best medical treatment from private doctors, because they paid for the consultancy. At the government centres residents were often insulted and treated rudely by staff. However, the reason that *Colonos* gave for not wanting to go to these centres was their claim that they actually would 'catch' illnesses there. The uncaring attitude of health care staff was misrecognised by the *Colonos*. Again, the symbolic violence which maintained the legitimacy of the dominant position was reinforced. The logic of Western medical practitioners, which relate proper treatment with payment received, had completely penetrated the practice of Colonia residents. But for the *Colonos*, a double injustice was experienced. Not only did private medical care prove extraordinarily expensive in terms of the daily household budget, but they were subjected to second-class treatment and insults. Western rationality took their hard earned money, but it did not provide quality health-care.

Political Institutions

Beyond the field of Colonia politics, residents had neither the position nor capital required to struggle for position in the political field of the city. Within the boundaries of the squatter settlement some residents had accumulated the capital which allowed them to take the position of patron and, accordingly, to represent the Colonia to outside agencies. But their domain of power was, as has been shown, circumscribed far beyond the Colonia, these same individuals were reduced to 'followers'. The Colonia's only connection to the wider political forces was as a 'client'.

Because the economic position of Colonia residents meant they were either members of a subproletariat or a new part of the working class, they were not predisposed to revolutionary activity. Their blighted daily lives did not dispose them to comprehend the relations of power and domination which were inherent features of the Mexican class structure. In a fashion that can only be described as cruel and ironic residents felt that the city had been responsive to their projects, and completely misrecognised the fact that, rather than the city giving benefits to them, the city had profited from their free labour and self-help projects. Rather than being a dependent population, they were clearly and necessarily independent. While they were not independent of the city entirely it was their self-reliance and hard work which had created services, not the benevolent actions of the city. Perceptions such as these imply the mediation of dispositions by objective structures and habitus.

The ethnographic data presented in the study clearly demonstrated that certain material conditions of existence for the squatter settlement generated, in a complex and mediated way, particular structures of an objective future which in turn generated and were incorporated into the habitus and dispositions of the people. On the one hand, it was clear that steady employment, adequate financial and material resources were important preconditions for the generation and successful utilization of the habitus and dispositions of a future. On the other hand, the opposite is equally clear, that those squatters who lacked the resources necessary to develop Western dispositions, were not only unable to accumulate the economic and cultural capital necessary to move from the position of sub-proletariat to proletariat, but continued to conceive of the future as if they and it were controlled by supernatural forces. With no real future before them, rationalisation through hope rather than economic calculation was the only path open to them. Bourdieu expressed this situation in the following quotation:

"The effort to master the future cannot be undertaken in reality until the conditions indispensable for ensuring it a minimum chance of success are actually provided. Until this is the case, the only possible attitude is forced traditionalism, which differs essentially from adherence to tradition, because it implies the possibility of acting differently and the impossibility of enacting that possibility."

(Bourdieu 1979a p.73)

In both cases, the dispositions of residents structured their daily economic practice as well as their political behaviour and interaction with government institutions.

The logical consequence of these two types of dispositions, (the economic and the enchanted) was that as the relationship between individuals and material conditions changed (or remained the same), then dispositions and economic practice would so change to allow a move in an upward trajectory or to

simply survive. By focussing on both objective structures and habitus the study has attempted to account for the variable rates of economic success which have emerged from the Colonia Linda Vista after fifteen years of development.

REFLECTION ON METHODOLOGY

In the sections which follow, some conclusions regarding the methodological framework used in this study are explored. The first section consists of a review of Bourdieu's method as it relates to the ethnographic data and the broader field of migrant studies; the second involves a brief critique of the method itself.

Methodological Issues

Many researchers would agree that one of the most striking aspects of squatter settlements populated by poor rural migrants is the discrepancy between people's economic dispositions and the economic world in which they live. Surviving day-to-day is an extraordinary achievement for some residents. The inventiveness of daily practice in survival and partial integration in city life is another aspect of squatter life often remarked upon by researchers. These two features were part of the field experience in the Colonia Linda Vista. Indeed they delineated the primary purpose of the present research: to explain the transformation from the 'fully lived' to the economic.

Generalised ethnographic techniques were used to collect data on individuals, households, the community and city institutions. The analysis of these rich data required a method that, in aiming to illuminate the squatters' lives, was neither crudely determined by material and structural conditions nor based solely upon individual achievement and caprice. Bourdieu's method provided a means whereby the daily practice of squatters could be conceptualised and studied as a process of creative transformation. The potency of the method is derived from such a conceptualisation of migrants' lives, and insists that the focus of study are the migrants' dispositions in making certain material choices which later proved to be crucial to their success or failure in the city.

Thus, to summarise, the method as used to study the lives of migrants illuminated three classic problems in the field of migration studies: the constant interplay of structure and agency; the creative transformation of daily life from traditional to urban structures; the integration of the lived experience between individuals, households and community. Both interactionist theories and systems theories

afford partial explanations of economic practice, although the more extreme of these theories are severely flawed. The idealism which often permeates interactionist theory, and which takes as its focus the study of individuals' goals within the culture is bounded by the rationale of *homo economicus*. Within systems theories problems can arise from two perspectives which are embedded within the structuralist approach. The functionalism inherent in some systems theories which uses the historically flawed logic of modernisation to account for the growth of cities. Finally the crude marxist approach which looks to the logic of capital provides an overly-deterministic view of all social practice. However, even the more modest attempts within these theories to conceptualise and investigate the lives of urban migrants are still bedevilled by problems of analysing and connecting various levels of the social formation, and of spanning the area between structural properties and the actions of social agents.

The method proposed in the present research involved a synthesis expressed in the general formula: [(Habitus) x (Capital)] + Field = Practice. Within this broad framework, data gathered from the field were conceptualised in a particular way. First, the Colonia itself was defined as a social space, or a space of life styles. As such it was conceptualised as an area with which the squatters had a particular relationship and within which existed several social fields, with the social field being defined as a 'multi dimensional' system of coordinates whose values correspond to the values of different capitals. Such a conceptualisation allows for an understanding of different institutions (like kinship and its varying functions) as related fields of social practice.

Because these conceptualisations are incorporated into the method they are better construed as metatheoretical than theoretical in that they are designed to integrate, methodologically, the levels of both structure and agency. A corollary to this argument is the suggestion that arguing that social reality exists between the material and symbolic. Given the fields of social and economic practice that were important in the Colonia and the types of capital and positions which made-up these fields, the concept of habitus as a set of dispositions made possible the integration of class practice with individual practice. As indicated in the present study, habitus involved three distinct sets of relations: first, the conditions under which it was formed; second, the immediate situation of action; third, the practice which resulted. Stated concretely, any analysis of households in the study had to take into account personal history, current circumstances (economic and social) and the strategies and daily practice that were lived by Colonia residents.

There were several areas in the ethnographic data where the corresponding influences of class and individual practice could be seen to work. To begin with, the re-creation of the traditional styles along

with the formation of a new urban-based logic were appropriate to both individual dispositions and to the specific moment of Oaxacan urban history. In addition, the notions of fields, and the struggle which took place in those fields, made it possible to examine not only the ways in which the power relationships of the city impinged upon *Colonos* but how they were manipulated within the Colonia itself.

The notion of capital as a social relation brought together all of the culturally valued resources, status and prestige, and offered a holistic way to understand an entire range of struggles and jockeyings-for-positions which were a major part of the lives of Colonia residents. Calculations of self-interest were extended to all goods which presented themselves as having material and symbolic worth. In fact, the most powerful sort of capital was constituted by symbolic capital, which functioned to bestow legitimacy. Symbolic capital was the primary form in which the different types of capital were perceived and recognised as legitimate. It was the form of capital with the highest form of exchange. Under certain conditions, then, purely economic capital would be powerless. The transformation of capital, which implies a distinctive lifestyle and investment of time, functioned in the Colonia as a gate-keeping mechanism through which only those with the correct dispositions and enough income could pass.

The discussion of capitals as stakes in the struggle for position within separate fields, implies that one must take into account two other major aspects of Bourdieu's method. These included the role of misrecognition and the connection between employment, dispositions and the future. In the struggle for position, particularly in the accumulation of symbolic capital, it is crucial to understand that the reproduction of dominance is not recognised for what it is, but glossed as a 'legitimate' right. The knowledge and perceptions through which the *Colonos* lived their lives must be seen as products of the internalisation and incorporation of objective structures and of the power relations which were reproduced there. For example, the inhabitants' perception of 'honourable' head men of the Colonia was as misrecognised as was their assumption that the local school would make it possible for their children to finish the primary grades; even though the contrary was often the case. Misrecognition thus allowed the social world to be structurally misrecognised. An understanding of the connection between steady employment and income, personal and class trajectories and conceptions of the future is crucial to an understanding of economic practice. In order to account for the transition from the "fully lived" to the 'economic' and the inability of the members of certain households to make that transition it was necessary to use a method which could translate personal choices and what *Colonos* described as 'luck' into an anthropological account of how changes in economic practice could happen.

Methodological Conclusions

While one would argue that Bourdieu's method asks and aims to answer more important questions than has previously been part of migration studies, there are specific problems with the method which need to be aired. As they apply to the analysis of field data in the present study these problems fall into the following spheres.

First, Bourdieu insists that economic practice stems from both the constraints of material conditions along with the influence of the symbolic and cognitive aspects of individual lives. Most anthropologists would agree that both must be taken into account; however, it is the manner in which these social facts are used and categorised that may pose a problem. Although they possess a dynamic quality which enables him to deal with changes in class and individual trajectories, Bourdieu's arguments sometimes read as tautologies. This is due to the repetitive terminology employed which can lead one to conceive of Bourdieu's method as a tightly closed circle, constantly referring the world to a handful of conceptual categories. It is too easy to account for human social behaviour as simply a process of individuals and groups only interested in advancing themselves. The concrete analysis of ethnographic work must be accomplished in order to break this circle. Indeed the circle is perhaps conceptualised as a spiral, in which old terms are reshaped and rebuilt through the intervention of concrete analysis. To be fair, this problem of reading Bourdieu perhaps says more about the 'readers' (particularly Anglo-American) than it says of the method.

The sometimes ahistorical character of Bourdieu's work is another source of difficulty, at least in reference to anthropology. Although there is a certain acceptance of a marxist-influenced conception of history, this is never stated in an obvious way. In the present study, an historical overview of the development of the city was included with particular reference to migrant urban groups. This was drawn from the general marxist tradition rather than from Bourdieu's method. An historical perspective was found to be essential to the task of showing how the contemporary functions of squatter life had their antecedents in pre-capitalist Oaxaca. Again this criticism may tell us more about the Anglo-American reader than it does about the method, since in the French tradition such 'historical' arguments are often taken for granted.

As with the effects of history (in the long-term) Bourdieu appears to *assume* the significance of the State with regard to symbolic violence and the reproduction of dominant interests, but does not, in any obvious way, incorporate the State into his methodology. The State possesses the power to designate

and to impose as legitimate the view of the social world promulgated by the dominant class. It also strives to bridge the gap between different fields which operate between different social classes. Instead of being quite clear about the role of the State, its role in terms of 'structuring structures' rather than as the power of 'the State', Bourdieu leaves this structuring activity largely undiscussed. Again more concrete analysis of social life using these concepts would probably go a long way to clarifying the general method.

Finally, while one could make the point that one does not need Bourdieu to write ethnography reflexively, it is clear he does enrich the overall discussions that exist in anthropology, especially in terms of the relationship between fieldwork and the subsequent writing of ethnography. One could argue that while questions of reflexivity and the problem of the relationships between researcher and informants have exercised the minds of several contemporary anthropologists, (Clifford 1983,1985; Geertz 1983; Clifford and Marcus 1986; Rosaldo 1984), none of them have been able to manage more than an interpretive account of the problem. While Bourdieu also offers an interpretive as well as materialist account of the ethnographic endeavour, his analysis is significant because it incorporates an all-embracing conceptualisation of power and the politics of a capitalist mode of production which are an inherent part not only of the urban lives of migrants but of the ethnographic project itself. Since academic life is also a field of struggle, with stakes and its own particular type of capitals, Bourdieu reminds us to reflect upon our own positions and stakes as we write in the larger field of science. Within the field, some ideas are possible; others are not. Bourdieu himself had the grace to see his own rise in the field of French sociology as a process of 'institutionalised crystallisation' which is making his own methodology 'legitimate'. Bourdieu argues that we are all the product of class habitus and that our science reflects those interests. In order to unmask our own ideologies, we must have as much insight into our own lives as we try to have into the lives of our informants (Bourdieu 1982, 1984b).

Bourdieu has sown the seeds for a formidable general theory of economic practice. For all the problems that Bourdieu's method poses for Anglo-American readers, it is enormously insightful. In fact one can argue that Bourdieu provides a novel and persuasive alternative to a series of major problems that beset the work of contemporary Anglo-American ethnographers, in allowing for a 'critical' reflexivity of ethnographic method, for providing the dynamic application of habitus and field which enables researchers to come to grips with an over-determined concept of culture, and in creating a method which strips away the problematic traditional approach to ethnography and reveals the fundamental political and symbolic power which are part of the traditional and modern worlds. While both structural anthropologists (such as Lévi-Strauss) and interpretive anthropologists (à la Geertz) are reluctant to

acknowledge the political implications in informants' lives, concepts such as habitus and field require that we take into account the political implications of materialist arguments and the question of class trajectories. Quite opposed to the usual object of ethnographic study, which we can call the 'authentic group' (Lévi-Strauss 1962; Rabinow 1985), Bourdieu presents us with the concept of the field and the social space; a truly 'new ethnography'. What is now needed is the continuing refinement of the method through concrete ethnographic analysis. Since this is already occurring in France one would hope that those in other fields of research will not be too far behind.

FOOTNOTES

1. While these individuals could be termed 'cultural brokers' I have rejected the use of that term because it tends to reduce the process of transformation to the individual entrepreneur. The method that the thesis uses allows for a much deeper interpretation of the social process, answers more questions and therefore is more powerful in analyzing the data.
2. Personal communication from Cecil Welte, Oficina de Los Estudios del Valle de Oaxaca, October 16th., 1983.
3. The fact that being Indian is generally devalued in the Colonia and in the city has already been discussed in previous chapters.
4. Personal communications from Cecil Welte and Fidel S_____, resident of Linda Vista, October 16th., 1983.

APPENDIX I

THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF MEXICO : AN OVERVIEW

THE GROWTH STRATEGY

In the *Partido Revolucionario Institucional*, the ruling party of Mexico, the bourgeoisie have come to dominate Mexico. The major fractions of the ruling class comprise industrialists, bankers, businessmen and large landowners. These are the people who populate the higher echelons of Government and whose interests and associations lobby successfully for government funds and policy decisions. The development policy which the PRI has followed since 1940 has promoted the interests of the bourgeoisie and their overseas capital interests and partners (Brandenburg 1970; Casanova 1970; Hellman 1978). A review of the development of the Mexican economy suggests that social welfare has been sacrificed for the goal of capital accumulation.

An analysis of the theory behind economic development in Mexico as well as an overview of the Mexican agrarian policy, the role of rural-urban migration and the situation of the urban poor and working class in Mexico is essential to fully understand the problem at hand. For the residents of the Colonia Linda Vista the historical consequences of the development of Mexico are of obvious importance, in both providing a context for the growth of the Colonia and in their daily lives.

From the years 1940-1970, Mexico has had an impressive record of economic growth of 6.5% yearly average, with the year 1969-1970 being 7.4%. During this period, Mexico has also had a spectacular growth in population; as of 1973 the population numbered 52 million. By the 1970's, Mexico became a net exporter of food and was self-sufficient in the production of petroleum goods, steel and consumer goods. Due to the impact of the rural-urban migration there had been a shift away from agriculture towards urban jobs for workers in Mexico. In 1970 less than one-half of the population were agricultural workers. The majority of working Mexicans worked in the fields of industry, commerce, finance, transport, communication and services, (see Hellman 1978).

The strategy for this rapid rate of growth was based upon what economists called the 'trickle down theory'. This suggested that as the industrial sector expanded and economic output increased nationally

the benefits of development would, eventually, reach every sector of the society. The word 'eventually' is critical, because profits are not invested or used for higher wages or better working conditions but must be reinvested back into industry. In order to build the industrial base, wage increases have not kept pace with the cost of living. As a result workers face a decrease in real wages (Hansen 1971). However, the income of industrial entrepreneurs has increased considerably (Hellman 1978 p.57). This increase is partly due to the fact that the nation of Mexico has not limited profits as expansion of industrialisation increases. Further, the tax structure favours the high income strata. For instance, public taxes are of equal weight for the wealthy as well as the poor. Thus the burden of tax is squarely placed upon the middle and working classes. Incentives are given to industrialists and overseas investors in the form of tax credits and credit loaned with low interest rates. Although there is, in some circles, a strong sense of nationalism and there are restrictions placed upon overseas investors, there appear to be several ways to circumvent the restrictions. Thus some firms are totally owned by overseas interests such as General Motors, General Electric and Monsanto (Hellman 1978 p.61).

Production in the last 40 years has been based upon capital rather than labour. Foreign investment has input capital as well as advanced technology. Highly mechanised production has been profitable for Mexico, allowing for higher rates of capital accumulation and higher rates of growth than elsewhere. The negative factors are that the monies brought into Mexico from its sale of raw materials do not equal the payments the country must make for the cost of machines. Further, a labour-intensive economy may, in many respects, be a better structure for the whole of Mexico in that employment would have a better chance of keeping up with economic growth, which would raise the standard of living in general for Mexico's population. As it is, the number of workers far exceeds the number of jobs available. This makes for lower wage levels and an overall decrease in the standard of living.

AGRARIAN REFORM

In 1917 agrarian reform was central to the new Mexican government and was incorporated into the constitution. The distribution of land to landless peasants was carried out only on a token basis in the 1920's and early 1930's. Little land was awarded to *municipios* and much of it was not in the form of prime agricultural sites. During the administration of Lázaro Cárdenas in 1934-1940, land was distributed on a large scale. The idea was that each family would be awarded enough land sufficient for the family needs. Over five years, the Cárdenas administration awarded 45 million acres of good quality land in prime locations. Since 1940 only 19 million acres have been allocated. This land is marginal in quality, being generally steep, arid or rocky as well as being far from market centres and roads. Larger

productive estates were left intact (Casanova 1970; Hellman 1978). By investing in the traditional agrarian society, Cardenas hoped to build a broad economic base of support for Mexico. He envisioned *ejidal* holdings as productive collectives. Banks and credit institutions were to help provide the funds for the irrigation, machinery and marketing that would make the collectives become competitive with private businesses. By the end of the Cardenas administration it was apparent that there were several problems with his land reform (Brandenburg 1970; Hellman 1978). First, there was not enough water and irrigation projects to make the land productive. Land had been given away without the necessary support structures. Second, the government did not anticipate the growth of the population. Third, in spite of the new laws there were still 'loopholes' by which large landowners could keep their landholdings or share it within their families. As a result of poor planning, collective farms could not compete with private producers. During the next administration monies were taken from collectives and funnelled into private agri-business ventures. This swing to the political right was not only a reaction to the Cardenas administration but to World War II. Mexico urged its population to pull together, to support the nation and to increase the production of raw materials for the Allies (Hellman 1978).

Government spending reflects priorities for the growth of the industrial and commercial agricultural sector. The highest percentage of government spending is in developing the necessary facilities to establish an environment for business. Thus, road construction (in certain areas of the country), electrification projects, lines for transportation and communication are being built. Further, the government spends monies to subsidise business and for credit to industries. Owing to these expenditures as well as the low tax bases, there is very little public investment in social welfare. Thus facilities such as housing, education and medical centres suffer. According to Hansen (1971) in the 1940's and 1950's less than 15 percent of total government spending was given to social welfare. By 1960 the figure was still only 20.5 percent. As of 1987 Mexico is embarking on a policy of privatization of state-owned firms to the private sector. This has occurred through pressure from international banks for Mexico to apply free market theories to its economy. This move penalizes the Mexican companies that have kept their assets within the country over the last 10 years as the peso moved from 25 to the US dollars to 120 to the dollar. The government is now seeking to attract multi-national buyers by offering them a discount of up to 30% if they buy state-owned corporations, (The Dominion June 16 1987).

Since the 1940's, and especially after World War II, Mexico's priorities have been industrialisation and development (Brandenburg 1970). These policies could not be said to be part of the agrarian reforms passed twenty years previously. In fact they were established in contradiction to the lip service which had been paid to the ideals of the Mexican Revolution. Thus, in rural Mexico today we find a situation

of high unemployment and underdevelopment. The landholders of the rural population are, by-and-large, so small that families are not self-sustaining. The average rural worker works only 135 days each year and the income level is the lowest in Mexico. The average income is 64.00 pesos per month. In 1970, 30% of rural families' income was less than 24.00 pesos per month. In many instances where workers have no land or too little land, they will contract their labour to employers on larger farms, and to merchants. Such work is so crucial to these people that they accept less than the minimum wage. The minimum wage in Mexico was established by a national commission. Wages are attached to jobs according to the type of work performed, local conditions, the cost of living index and the availability of other work (Hellman 1978 p.88). In general, the increases in the minimum wage from 1965-1975 have gone up 7% yearly which is a good deal lower than the increase in the cost of living. In 1981 the rate of inflation was over 30 percent.

APPENDIX II

SUMMARY OF ETHNOGRAPHIC METHODS AS USED IN THE STUDY

The essential task of ethnography is the concern with the meaning of actions and events to the people that the ethnographer seeks to understand. Meaning may be directly expressed through language or indirectly through practice. 'Doing ethnography' implies a theory of culture since culture is the acquired knowledge that people use to interpret and generate social behaviour. Systems of meaning along with ways of behaving constitute a group's culture (Spradley 1979; Wax 1971). The key experience for anthropologists is doing fieldwork and trying, as much as possible, to understand the 'insider's' point of view through living in the world of their informants.

On the one hand there are distinct ethnographic methods used to gather specific kinds of data. On the other hand, the ethnographer grapples with the more personal and informal procedures of fieldwork and tries to systematise that knowledge and understanding into a form which is able to be 'written up' and passed on to others. During the course of my field studies I used various techniques for gathering data. For the first session (1968) most of my time was spent filling out census questionnaires, making maps of specific areas in the Colonia and making contact with the residents, trying to get to know them. Census questionnaires were completed for each household. The maps helped us to record the spatial relationship between friends, relatives, stores and water wells between households. Because of the intensity of emotions with regard to land tenure, the maps were usually done at night and not out in the open where they could be misinterpreted. Over the following three field sessions (1969-1974) I collected data through several methods; genealogies, inventories of occupations, income levels, material goods; event analysis of significant social and public events; network analysis of the interconnecting individual relationships and reciprocities; life histories of 10 residents; all within the larger structure of participant observation. I also interviewed and collected data from outside of the Colonia. This task was focussed on those people, such as doctors or teachers, who were important to Colonia families. Social institutions such as hospitals, schools, INDECO, were also investigated with reference to their connections to Colonia families.

In working with Colonia residents I found, not surprisingly, that the most successful interviews occurred when I took the time to socialize with the household before I began speaking to one of the adults. The

best insights into Colonia life usually came from the times when I was not doing an interview but when an informant and I were just chatting over the kitchen fire or out in the yard. The first rule of thumb, then, to find out about people was to invest myself in the relationship, and to maintain a non-hierarchical relationship with informants. This, I found, was not as easy as I thought since I was often junior to my informants in age and in life experience. For a while I was a 'student' and they were prepared to be my 'teachers'; I was only considered to be a grown woman when I had had a child. When I interviewed the local school teachers and principal, I found that they treated me as a colleague, because I had been initially trained as a teacher. However when I spoke to local doctors I was again placed by them in a 'junior' category. These interviews had by necessity a more formal character than those in the Colonia. Throughout the years that I spent in Oaxaca I used many types of data gathering techniques, often at varying times during fieldwork rather than following a strict interview schedule. My interviews with teachers and health practitioners were much more specific and followed a series of descriptive questions. The following section gives an overview of the types of specific ethnographic methods that were used in this study.

ETHNOGRAPHIC METHODS

In *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (1922) Malinowski discussed the importance and central role of participant observation in effective fieldwork. Participation may vary a great deal between fieldworkers but Malinowski and others stress the importance of residence in the research community (Agar 1980; 1986; Bell and Newby 1977; Richards 1939; Spradley 1979; Beteille and Madan (eds.) 1975). Residence ensures that the fieldworker observes daily life repeated over and over again. Ethnographic knowledge becomes imbedded in one's own routines. In addition, the preliminary data provides the fieldworker with information and clues to organise appropriate interviews and questionnaires. Within the culturally-rich (though informal) framework of a community's daily life other methods or research tools can be used. Initially, a *census* and *map* are extremely useful. These tasks allow the fieldworker to meet families and to get a feeling for the community without having to have an extensive language facility nor a great deal of rapport with informants. In some areas census data is held by local authorities but it is a worthwhile effort for the fieldworker to create the information anew, and crucially, to establish first contact with many people. Later on in the research the data may be useful guides to map out the spatial relationships of particular social groups, as well as to aid in rechecking data collected in the early phases of research.

A different kind of map is produced by the collection of *genealogies* and *personal networks*. Genealogies are usually collected and added to throughout the research period. After the initial phase of

the information that the informant thinks as important in regard to his or her kin. The family may mean one thing to the researcher but something completely different to the informants (Barnes 1967; Chagnon 1968). Genealogies are important sources of data with reference to property rights, marriage rules, residence rules and rights of access to power and material resources. Genealogies are not always straightforward (Chagnon 1968:10), and many people feel threatened when asked about their families especially in cases where ancestors are taboo and in cases of property disputes.

Personal networks are another sort of map designed to delineate the social world of the informant and how that person is connected to others in the community. In the study at the Colonia personal networks were completed for 20 key informants. Knowledge of ties of friendship, kinship and work give some insight into personal strategies and mutual help which is crucial to survival in urban poor neighbourhoods. In general personal networks are not completed for all informants but only for key informants. These are people who the researcher feels represent a good sample of the community. In general these key people are knowledgeable with regard to their community, and are able and willing to cooperate with the researcher. These informants are the source of a great deal of information but their relationship with the researcher can also be a source of problems for the analysis. This occurs because the informant begins to learn the 'rules' of behaviour and analysis that seem important to the fieldworker and thereby shape their discussions in a form of data interpretation. Fieldworkers can attempt to check this kind of data through their own observations and through careful structuring of *interviews* and *questionnaires* (Malinowski 1922; Pelto and Pelto 1978; Spradley 1979).

There are several types of *ethnographic interviews* ranging from *descriptive questions, structural and contrast questions* to *life histories, taxonomies* and *domain analysis*. In the study presented here, the first four were used over and over with regard to different areas of interest such as health, household resources, kin ties and ties of friendship, politics and community development. The following is a brief summary of these types of interviews. *Descriptive questions*, according to Frake (1964:143), "...take advantage of the power of language to construe settings". Thus, by knowing one setting in which informants act, the fieldworker elicits information about that setting. For instance, questions can be structured around the following: "Could you tell me what _____ is like?", or "Could you describe _____?", or "What do you do in your job?", and "Can you describe a typical day?". These types of questions aim to elicit a large sample of data expressed in the language of the informant and form the 'backbone' of all ethnographic interviews.

There are five major types of descriptive questions. These are 'grand tour questions' which encourage informants to ramble on about every aspect of a particular environment. They provide a rich source of

data and clue the researcher into important domains of cultural experience. 'Mini tour questions' are identical to grand tour questions but they investigate a smaller unit of experience. 'Example questions' are more specific and refer to a particular act or event. They can also be used to discuss experiences. 'Experience questions' recall an informant's activities within a particular setting. Because they are open-ended questions such as "Can you tell me about some experiences that you've had while _____?", informants have a more difficult time in answering them. They do, however, elicit special events rather than routine ones. 'Native language questions' ask informants to use the terms and phrases most commonly used by them in a particular setting. By inserting native language questions into interviews the researcher is able to learn more of the language bringing him or her closer to the 'native view' of the world though this is clearly not an end in itself. The form of descriptive questions depends upon the immediate environment and the topic under investigation. The key point with descriptive questions is that the researcher must learn to expand each question so that the length of response will also expand.

Structural questions are adapted to informants, as well as being combined with descriptive questions for context, and are repeated (in different ways) over and over again to make certain of the data (Spradley 1979:120). Questions of this type might have the following sort of framework: "What are all the different herbal teas that you use to cure _____?" or "Do you call a curer to help you in this circumstances?", or "I know about these cures for the evil eye, can you tell me if I've left any cures out?" and finally, "I saw that _____ went to the pharmacy for medicine to cure _____. Do you also go to the pharmacy when someone in your family is suffering from that illness?"

Structural and contrast questions help the researcher to learn the meaning of particular cultural symbols by the way they either relate or contrast with each other. In order to find out how different one thing, such as a cure, might be from another cure, contrast questions along with structural and descriptive questions are used. As with structural questions, repetition is important. There are at least seven types of contrast questions, which range from verifying differences to rating questions which can be done with the help of cards, if the informant is literate. For instance in Linda Vista, key informants separated a range of twenty or so cards with residents' name on them and put them into an order of social stratification within the Colonia. After repeating the same exercise over and over certain commonalities began to emerge within the neighbourhood. The important point about contrast questions is that the meaning of particular symbols can be discovered by finding out how they are different from other symbols in a variety of ways.

Life histories are gathered from key informants and supported by information gained through participant observation. This includes the day-to-day participation of the ethnographer in community events and gossip, as well as other field techniques such as kinship and personal networks, interviews and census data. These histories focus upon one individual within a cultural context and often take four or five interviews of one hour each to complete. Life histories use a methodology which lies within the general headings of personal documentation and oral testimony (Shaw 1980:226). In general life histories have been secondary to other methods in the social sciences but it is of prime importance to culture and personality studies (Langness 1965; Lewis 1961; Simmons 1942).

The use of life histories in anthropology (and I suspect other disciplines) poses two particular problems: There is no agreement on a valid frame of reference for interpreting life history data; and the potentialities of the life history as ethnographic text have yet to be realised. If we agree that these are goals to be achieved, then I think that the problems with the life history method can be specified. These centre on classical questions of understanding and interpretation. The first is concerned with bridging the gap between oneself and one's informant. The second is concerned with understanding the nature of the subjective experience within the context of the society in which that person lives. During my fieldwork I collected the life histories of key informants. They were people from households that I felt were somehow representative of the settlement. I also collected a series of interviews, made notes about local gossip, and accumulated information about the larger political and economic context in which these people lived. However, in writing all of this up, there was always something missing. I found that I could write quite a lot on the sociological level but I never got over the feeling that it was trivial and self-evident. I did not have a way of allowing the informant's life, and all that made it unique and special, to show through. There was no place in the usual ethnographic format, for me to give expression to the emotion and the bond which had developed between myself and the people I worked with. I realise now that what should have gone into the text was a discussion of how the life histories, and indeed all of the data, were created in the dialogue between myself and these people. On both sides we had expectations of one another. The problems of biographical reconstruction is complex, and (at least partly) mythical, and provides a particularly difficult problem for the ethnographer (see especially Bourdieu 1986d, 'l'illusion Biographique' in *Actes de La Recherche en Sciences Sociales*, 62/63).

The first three-month field session in Linda Vista gave me time to establish myself in the Colonia Linda Vista and allowed time to gather a good sample of census data. Questionnaires were approximately 10 pages long, and usually took an hour to complete. The questions revolved around the household. For instance, we asked who lived in the house, age, schooling, birth place, age of family members, etc.

During the field session I and another researcher completed questionnaires for 150 households. At the same time, I was also able to make friends with various families and to establish informal visiting patterns with them. The sample of households covered all four areas of the Colonia and included all types of families, as well as past and recent arrivals.

The second field session lasted 6 months, from June 1969 to December 1969. During that period I lived in the Colonia Linda Vista. I had arranged to rent the only house available and were located in the middle of the first section. I should add that the house was shared with another family who lived in the kitchen. They used the kitchen as living space and they cooked in a shed outside. The fact that I had returned to the Colonia demonstrated to the residents that I was serious in my interest in them. My ties to them became much closer. Living in the Colonia gave me the advantage of being able to exchange gossip and daily conversation at all times of the day and on a much more personal basis than the previous field session. Frequent topics of conversation were money, food, social status and illness. Many of the women whom I had conversations with were vendors and home entrepreneurs who were particularly astute in using 'exchanges' with *compadres* and friends to maintain daily life. These conversations gave me some insight into the dichotomy of domestic and public life, as well as the access to resources which women did have and did use. During this field session I investigated the specific problem areas of family structure and the system of social stratification which was at work in the Colonia.

The final field sessions extended from November 1970 to January 1971 and from June to August 1974. The particular object of study was that of household maintenance and factors related to it; work, exchange networks, spending patterns, illness and coping strategies for illness, and family planning.

One of the most important changes that dramatically changed my access to personal information occurred during the process of having a child in Mexico. In the eyes of my informants, this rite-de-passage transformed my status from student to an adult female. It was only at this time, after sharing my first pregnancy and birth of my son, that I was accepted as an adult woman, not as a student. Because of this change in status I was then party to most intimate conversations between women, and male informants considered my studies to be of a much more serious nature than before.

APPENDIX III

HOUSEHOLD BUDGETS

The following data on household budgets (U.S. dollar equivalents 1972) and food consumption were gathered from a representational group of Colonia families. Following the description given in Chapter Six of how Colonia residents regard the position of other residents, those listed here can be defined as poor, middle or wealthy. The chart outlined below indicates categories.

Family Name	Stratum (constructed according to informants)
1. Mendez	poor*
2. Rios	middle
3. Canseco	middle
4. Nava	middle
5. Hernandez	poor
6. Sanchez	middle
7. Ortega	wealthy
8. Diaz	wealthy

*While the Mendez family earns close to the amounts of the Rios family and the Canseco family, it is interesting that their 'economic' position is poor while the others are in the middle stratum. This is a good example of how a family's position in the economic field is heavily influenced by the amount of social and cultural capitals which they are *seen* to have. In this instance the dispositions (the shyness, lack of confidence and visibility) of the Mendez family in Colonia life coupled with their paltry possessions leads them to be categorized as 'poor', while the Rios family is in a 'middle' category, not because of their income but in how they are seen to use their money and in their profile in the field of social relations.

THE MENDEZ FAMILY

Senor Mendez works as a carpenter. He and his wife have five children whose ages range from three to eight. At the time this survey was completed, Senor Mendez earned 40 pesos daily or approximately \$US3.20. He was engaged in constructing a house in the Colonia for his cousin. His income was dependent upon his skills in contracting available construction jobs. Generally he was seen by Colonia residents as being "slow". Thus he did not always have work. At these times the family would depend upon Senora Mendez' income. During the period that the budget was completed Sr. Mendez had steady employment and income. To cover household expenses he gave his wife 30 pesos daily except Sunday. His other financial responsibilities to the household were to pay the electricity bills, to provide the children with clothing and to provide medical care when needed. Senora Mendez supplemented their income by selling metal coal stoves in the market downtown. This was not a permanent job but one which she did when she had the extra cash to buy the necessary materials and to pay for the labourers to make the stoves. Occasionally Senora Mendez worked for her sister in various odd jobs. One such project was to separate sheets of mica for sale.

The Mendez family live in a one-room brick house which they built themselves. There is a water tap in the yard and a cook shack off to the side of the house.

Monthly Income

960.00 pesos

Expenses

Food	464.00
School Expenses	10.00
Transportation Costs (Bus)	20.00
Water	15.00
Electricity	15.00

TOTAL	524.00

Surplus for Miscellaneous Goods	436.00

Sample Food Purchases for One Week at the Mendez Household

	Food Item	Cost
1.	Vegetables	6.60
2.	Bread	23.00
3.	Coffee	6.20
4.	Tortillas	18.50
5.	Beans	2.00
6.	Eggs	3.00
7.	Rice	1.50
8.	Meat	22.50
9.	Fruit	11.00
10.	Vegetables	9.00
11.	Lard	4.00
12.	Pasta	-
13.	Coca Cola	1.40
14.	Cheese	2.00
15.	Sugar	1.30
16.	Chocolate	3.60

	Total	115.60

THE RIOS FAMILY

Socorro Rios is the younger sister of Margarita Mendez. She lives in the same section of the Colonia but a bit further down the hill. Socorro Rios was previously provided with a home by an older man who was her lover in the early 1960's. Although they no longer have a relationship, Socorro kept the house, furniture and her clothes. Her father now lives in the house. Socorro and her present husband have built a second home, which is constructed of brick, consists of one room divided by curtains, a kitchen area with a stove (butane gas), an enclosed patio and an out house. Senor and Senora Rios were married to ensure that she was covered by his health insurance.

Living in the house with the couple are her son from the previous relationship, her niece (who works as a maid in the house) and, now and then, Senor Rios' mother. Fidel Rios paints coffins and receives 22 pesos a day (\$US1.76). Socorro claims that she receives only 10-15 pesos a day for household maintenance. However, she has the reputation for being extremely adept at creating jobs for herself and manipulating the local population to provide herself with an income. When she can get them, she sells used clothing, furniture and costume jewelry on commission. When she has money, she will lend it. If she has no money she acts as a "middleman" finding loans for people who need them. At other times she does laundry and cleans houses.

Monthly Income

440.00 pesos month (husband)

200.00 pesos month (wife)

Monthly Expenses

Food	314.80
Electricity	15.00
Gas for Cooking	30.00
Monthly Bills - Credit	100.00

Total	459.80

Surplus for Miscellaneous Goods	180.20

Sample Food Purchases for One Week at the Rios Household

	Food Item	Cost
1.	Milk	2.20
2.	Bread	6.00
3.	Coffee	3.00
4.	Tortillas	16.00
5.	Beans	3.00
6.	Eggs	5.40
7.	Rice	-
8.	Meat	20.00
9.	Fruit	3.00
10.	Vegetables	12.50
11.	Lard	3.00
12.	Pasta	1.00
13.	Soft Drinks	1.60
14.	Cheese	-
15.	Sugar	-
16.	Chocolate	2.00

	Total	78.70

SEÑOR AND SEÑORA CONSECO

Senora Marta Consecó is the oldest sister of Senora Rios and Margarita Mendez. She lives at the bottom of the first section in the Colonia. Senor Consecó works as a plumber. They live in a one-room adobe house. The cooking and eating area is attached to the house as a lean-to. Next to that section is a patio covered by a wooden frame and tar paper roof. They live with their six children, two of whom are from Marta's first de facto marriage. During her teenage years, Marta worked as a domestic servant in order to help support the younger children in her family. Her mother had died, and when she was twelve, her father was sent to the federal prison in Oaxaca for growing marijuana. During these years the family

lived in a city *vecindad* which is where she met her first husband. Their time together was very short; Marta gave birth to two children within two years at which time her husband abandoned the family. When her father was released from prison he and his children moved to Linda Vista and bought land through the school teacher who was selling land titles. By this time Marta had married Memo Conseco and they built their house in the Colonia.

Memo works in the city and often employs one or two helpers in his work. Like Socorro, Marta is always looking for ways to earn money. Some of her jobs include doing laundry as well as cooking and selling food. Her eldest daughter sells snow-cones, and her son works for Socorro or Margarita when they have work making metal coal stoves. In 1974 she started a restaurant in the Linda Vista market. At the time this budget was completed, she did not have the market stall.

Monthly Income

960.00 pesos (Memo)
 150.00 pesos (Marta)
 100.00 pesos (Children)

Expenses

Food	1028.00
Electricity	15.00
Credit Payments	80.00

Total	1123.00

Surplus Cash	87.00

Sample Food Purchases for One Week at the Conseco Household

	Food Item	Cost
1.	Milk	11.00
2.	Bread	23.00
3.	Coffee	9.00
4.	Tortillas	65.50
5.	Beans	11.00
6.	Eggs	15.00
7.	Rice	-
8.	Meat	55.50
9.	Fruit	17.40
10.	Vegetables	35.70
11.	Lard	16.50
12.	Pasta	1.00
13.	Coca Cola	-
14.	Cheese	15.00
15.	Sugar	3.40
16.	Chocolate	3.00

	Total	282.00

THE NAVA FAMILY

The Nava family is one of the few families in the Colonia who rent their home. They rent one room of a five room cement house owned by San Miguel, the previous president of the Colonia *Mesa Directiva*. The room has an outside door which allows them access without going through the house. In the yard, they have built a cook shack and a small patio area. Senor and Senora Nava live with their two small children. Senor Nava is a driver of a "second-class" bus between Oaxaca City and the coast. Senora Nava, Obdulia, receives 20 pesos daily for household expenses. A major expense is food. Since one of the children has suffered from infantile paralysis, Obdulia is extremely anxious to provide them with

meals which are high in protein. Because Senor Nava's job is steady and because they only have two children, the family does not have to depend upon much credit from stores, nor does Senora Nava have to work for pay.

Monthly Income

800.00 pesos (husband)

Monthly Expenses

Food	384.00
Rent	20.00
Electricity	15.00
Installment Payments	20.00

Total	439.00

Surplus cash is used for miscellaneous goods including Senor Nava's expenses while away.

361.00

Sample Food Purchases for One Week at the Nava Household

	Food Item	Cost
1.	Milk	18.70
2.	Bread	9.00
3.	Coffee	-
4.	Tortillas	13.00
5.	Beans	6.00
6.	Eggs	12.60
7.	Rice	-
8.	Meat	18.00
9.	Fruit	6.00
10.	Vegetables	4.50
11.	Lard	3.00
12.	Pasta	1.00
13.	Coca Cola	-
14.	Cheese	1.00
15.	Sugar	1.30
16.	Chocolate	1.50

	Total	95.60

THE HERNANDEZ FAMILY

The Hernandez family live in the lower portion of the second section in the Colonia. Senor Hernandez works at home doing laundry. They live in a one-room adobe house built close to the hill which forms one wall of the house. The family includes four children.

Because of their extremely poor wages their daily allowance is approximately 12 pesos. The Hernandez family relied heavily upon credit for food purchases.

Income

300.00 pesos per month (Senior Hernandez)

60.00 pesos per month (Senora Hernandez)

Monthly Expenses

Food	334.00

Total	334.00

Surplus	26.00

Sample Food Purchases for One Week at the Hernandez Household

	Food Item	Cost
1.	Milk	
2.	Bread	12.50
3.	Coffee	0.90
4.	Tortillas	12.00
5.	Beans	1.45
6.	Eggs	4.00
7.	Rice	3.00
8.	Meat	4.00
9.	Fruit	-
10.	Vegetables	3.50
11.	Lard	3.00
12.	Pasta	-
13.	Coca Cola	-
14.	Cheese	-
15.	Sugar	0.60
16.	Chocolate	-

	Total	44.95

THE SANCHEZ FAMILY

The Sanchez family home is located at the top of the second section in the Colonia. Juan is a painter for the local bus line in Oaxaca. The bus line sells advertising space on the back of its buses and Juan does the painting. He works through one of the local appliance stores in Oaxaca and receives a relatively good salary averaging at least 50 pesos a day (\$US4.00). Juan grew up in the state of Vera Cruz where he had lived until eight years previously. He left when he discovered that his wife was having an affair with another man. He came to Oaxaca to be with his father, who was stationed at an army base in the valley of Oaxaca. On the train to Oaxaca he sat near a young woman who turned out to be from the village where his father was stationed. Lucia made such an impression on Juan that they have been living together ever since. They now have four children.

They have a one-room wooden frame house with asbestos siding. It is sectioned into a cooking area and a sleeping area. There is an enclosed patio and garden, and for the last three years Juan has been working to expand the house. The household membership keeps changing. Sometimes Juan's father lives with them, or one or two of Lucia's brothers stay with them. At the time this budget was recorded, Lucia's two brothers were staying with them.

The Sanchez family represents the middle stratum in the Colonia; they are not as poor as the Sosa family but not as well off as the Gutierrez family who lives below them, (see chapter Five). Lucia receives 20 pesos a day from Juan to maintain the household and sometimes receives a little money from her older brother who also has a job.

Monthly Income**1000.00 pesos (husband)****Monthly Expenses**

Food	440.00
Household Goods	40.00

Total	480.00

Extra expenses paid for by husband from surplus:

Clothes	
Medical Care	
Husband's Daily Expenses	
Radio Batteries	
Bus Transport for Husband	
Surplus Cash	520.00

Sample Food Purchases for One Week at the Mendez Household

	Food Item	Cost
1.	Milk	14.10
2.	Bread	14.00
3.	Coffee	3.00
4.	Tortillas	24.00
5.	Beans	4.00
6.	Eggs	6.00
7.	Rice	2.00
8.	Meat	19.00
9.	Fruit	-
10.	Vegetables	11.50
11.	Lard	6.50
12.	Pasta	2.00
13.	Coca Cola	-
14.	Cheese	-
15.	Sugar	3.30
16.	Chocolate	-
	Total	----- 109.40 -----

THE ORTEGA FAMILY

Senora Berta Ortega is married to a first-class truck driver who has a regular route to Mexico City. He gives her 300 pesos a week to maintain the household. With her allotment she is expected to purchase all the household needs, make the time payments on some personal items such as jewelry, and to provide the children (there are 10) with spending money and school money. It is the husband's responsibility to pay the light and water bills, and to pay for the children's clothing. Their medical costs are covered by government health insurance.

Although Berta receives a larger allotment than most women in the Colonia, she still has to depend on credit to cover her weekly purchases. She is generally three to four days behind in her credit payments. By the time she gets her weekly allotment, she already has bought about three days' worth of goods on credit. In some cases over half of her allotment is used to pay past debts. The family is building an upper storey to their house and the work is being done by contracted labourers.

Senora Ortega's husband has left her money to buy materials for the job and to pay the workers. This money is separate from her daily allowance. Thus, if she uses it for any other purposes, she has to pay it back out of her household money.

Although Senora Ortega did not have to depend upon a daily cash allowance from her husband, she would shop daily for each meal. The only staples kept in the house were rice and sugar. She made larger purchases, such as buying a full kilo of beans daily, but this had more to do with having a large family and available money. The food was always consumed in one day. Berta made 56 purchases of basic food items, 42 of which were made in the Colonia. She spent 263 pesos (\$US21.04) on the basic food which was 83 percent of her budget.

Many women in the Colonia envied Berta for the money that she received for household expenses, but an analysis of her buying patterns suggests that envy was misplaced. Her purchasing patterns were totally within the norm of the Colonia; she shopped daily, buying the items around each meal of the day, and had to depend on credit to finish the week. She was able to provide more protein for her family such as milk, eggs and meat, but she also had to feed ten children. Berta did not share the opinion that she was better off than others in the Colonia, and she saw herself as being not much different from other women. This was due more to her financial dependence upon an often absent husband than her real position in the fields of Colonia social and economic life.

Monthly Income

1600.00 pesos (Husband)
(1200.00 pesos Household Allowance)
400.00 pesos Surplus belonging to husband)

Monthly Household Expenses

Food	1042.00

Miscellaneous items such as school expenses, spending money for children, bus fare to town, soap powder, pig food.	
Surplus Cash.	158.00

Sample Food Purchases for One Week at the Ortega Household

	Food Item	Cost
1.	Milk	38.50
2.	Bread	32.00
3.	Coffee	11.70
4.	Tortillas	31.50
5.	Beans	25.50
6.	Eggs	15.00
7.	Rice	-
8.	Meat	44.00
9.	Fruit	0.80
10.	Vegetables	16.00
11.	Lard	8.50
12.	Pasta	16.00
13.	Coca Cola	-
14.	Cheese	4.50
15.	Sugar	-
16.	Chocolate	16.50

	Total	260.50

THE DIAZ FAMILY

Like the Guitierrez and Ortega families, the Diaz family is considered to be among the "better off" families in the Colonia. They live in the first section of the Colonia about half way up the hill. They have a large two-roomed brick house which is divided into a bedroom and sewing room, and a cooking area. Gonzalo, the husband, is a dump truck operator (he owns his truck). He is also a past president of the Colonia's *Mesa Directiva*. Senora Diaz earns money by sewing aprons which are sold in the market place. It is common in families that are somewhat better off economically than others for the wife to have some kind of small enterprise that has a higher profit margin than the food vending projects, such as those of Senora Conseco or Maria Elena Sosa. There have been times when the Diaz family has had to live on Milka's sewing income. What allows Milka's business to be more profitable is the fact that because of Gonzalo's income, she is better able to finance her own business. She owns three sewing machines and often hires other women to help in her work. Without the steady income of her husband she would not be able to do this.

On the average, Milka receives 50 pesos a day to feed, clothe and maintain the whole household. In addition to Milka and Gonzalo, the household includes their seven children (ages from 3 to 16), and a young man who works with Gonzalo.

Monthly Income

1600.00 pesos (Husband)

300.00 pesos (Wife)

1400.00 pesos for Household Allowance

from Husband's Wage

500.00 pesos Surplus:

**Truck maintenance, wages for
helper, sewing items, medical
bills.**

Monthly Expenses

Electricity		15.00
Credit payments		80.00
Food		748.00

Total		843.00

Surplus Cash: for miscellaneous items such as bus fare, spending money, monthly installments, electricity.		
		659.00

Sample Food Purchases for One Week at the Diaz Household

	Food Item	Cost
1.	Milk	22.00
2.	Bread	29.00
3.	Coffee	-
4.	Tortillas	29.00
5.	Beans	8.50
6.	Eggs	10.00
7.	Rice	-
8.	Meat	36.00
9.	Fruit	9.00
10.	Vegetables	14.50
11.	Lard	13.00
12.	Pasta	2.00
13.	Coca Cola	3.50
14.	Cheese	3.50
15.	Sugar	7.00
16.	Chocolate	-

	Total	187.00

APPENDIX IV

THE CURING STRATEGIES OF FIVE FAMILIES

THE MARTINEZ HOUSEHOLD

This is one of the poorest households in the Colonia. Senior Martinez is an ice cream vendor in the city of Oaxaca. Presently the Martinez family have 5 children. When someone in this household is ill, the following are the strategies which are tried in order to cure the illness.

- 1) Household remedies: These consist basically of herbs and teas. They are believed to be successful in curing traditional illnesses such as *ojo*, *susto* and *aire*, as well as some Western illnesses such as colds, measles and stomach problems. The cures are viewed as weaker when performed by a close relative.
- 2) If the home cure does not affect the illness in some positive manner, or if the patient becomes worse and especially if the patient is a child, he or she will be taken to a doctor. If the patient is an adult, he will continue with home remedies until he feels better. If the patient cannot work or if his condition worsens, he will at last resort go to a medical doctor or folk specialist.
- 3) Depending upon the monetary resources available at that time, a doctor at one of the church-sponsored dispensaries will be chosen. The cost of medicine and consultation at a church dispensary is low although clients are often left waiting for hours.

THE SOSA HOUSEHOLD

The Sosa family, who number nine, depend upon the income of the father, Alberto Sosa, a construction worker, and the income of Senora Sosa which she collects from her independent small businesses (these include selling tamales, selling fruit and snow-cones in the Colonia, and doing laundry). Like others in the Colonia, once a diagnosis of an illness is made and is not considered an emergency, it is treated with home remedies. Home remedies consist of herbs used in baths, massages and teas, pharmacy medicine such as aspirin, cold tablets and alcohol (for baths). Senora Sosa can cure some folk illnesses such as

susto, aire and the like. In opposition to the Martinez family she does not believe that the medicine coming from her is weak because of her position as a relative. The differences in their beliefs can probably be accounted for by the differences in the regional variations of curing strategies which abound in Oaxaca. As a matter of fact, she cured her son - eight year old Arturo - of *susto*, which he suffered when he saw one of the Colonia boys shot and killed by a drunk.

Senora Sosa has also taken charge of other illness in her household and tries to keep all members of her family from going to an outside curer unless she is absolutely sure that she cannot cure the illness. Most of this activity is prompted by economic reasons. For instance, her oldest son Melicio (16) was bothered by his teeth. A home diagnosis of an infected molar was made and a curing treatment of home remedies and pharmaceutical medicines was chosen. Because there was no extra money to pay a private dentist or to go to the dentist at the Centro de Salud, and because Melicio (who worked as an assistant to a truck driver) was not covered by health insurance, home remedies were a necessity. The home remedies consisted of herb teas (for their soothing effect on the body), aspirin and newly purchased pharmacy medicine, which consisted of pills and an injection of penicillin. Melicio's older sister gave him the injection since she learned the technique when she worked in a pharmacy.

Another example of Senora Sosa's home cures which eventually did not work, occurred when her oldest daughter Maria Isabel complained of being thin and extremely tired and weak. Senora Sosa gave her home remedies of herb teas and special foods to build up her strength, but one day at home, Maria Isabel collapsed. She was taken by ambulance to the Social Security Hospital. At this time she carried Social Security Insurance, since she worked as a clerk in a pharmacy. She stayed in the hospital for a few days and was treated for anaemia and "animales" (intestinal amoebas).

Unlike Francisca Martinez, Maria Elena does not immediately send her children to the doctors. For instance, her youngest daughter, Alma (aged 5), complained of an earache and had a certain amount of discharge from her ear. Since there was no money for a doctor, Maria Elena cured Alma's ear with medicine bought from a pharmacy. However, the cure took several weeks. At first Maria Elena tried to cure the ear with Vicks vapor-rub (which gave a "hot" feeling so it was spread all around the ear to relieve the pain). After trying several remedies the ear still did not heal. Then on the advice of her daughter, she brought "aciete de palo" (a special vegetable oil) and she put a few drops in the child's ear. With this, Alma's ear was cured. If, however, the remedy had not worked, Maria Elena says she would have taken Alma to her *comadre* whose husband is a doctor. But she does not like to take the children too often and be a bother, and so she relies generally on her home remedies.

THE CANSECO HOUSEHOLD

The Canseco family is in a similar economic position as the Sosa family. Memo Canseco is an independent plumber, and Marta earns extra money through her own small business. She sells food or does laundry. Sometimes their eldest son (aged 16) will bring in extra money when he sells a home-made stove, and the oldest daughter (who is recently married) used to help sell food with Marta. During the end of the field stay, one of the daughters developed what her family called an "intestinal illness" which the doctor later labelled as typhoid.

The pattern of treating the illness followed the general lines of what has been outlined previously. It included a home cure of foot baths and a herb tea of *malva* with sugar. Then, after two or three days when the cure did not take effect, Juana's father and brother collected 80.00 (pesos) to send her to the medical doctor. Herb cures and a *curandero* or herbalist were not used because the illness was not defined as a folk illness.

In the end, Juana's cure consisted of a doctor's medicine, vitamins and a specialist diet. If one of the parents had been ill instead of Juana, a doctor would not have been used except in a case of extreme emergency. If this had occurred, money would have been borrowed for the doctor's fees. In this case, the adults would have attempted to cure themselves with teas, perhaps lemon water and pharmacy medicine such as Entero Vioforma or Sulfa Diacina.

THE GUITIERREZ AND GUZMAN FAMILIES

Not everyone in the Colonia, however, is presented with these same kinds of difficulties in obtaining proper medical care and medicine. There is a stratum of economically better-off residents who are covered by Social Security, ISSTE, or who have the extra cash to pay for private medical treatment once in a while (this includes Western as well as traditional practitioners). For instance, the Guitierrez household and the Guzman household are both covered by insurance. Senora Guitierrez's husband is a rural school teacher and Senora Guzman's husband works in the Pepsi Cola Bottling Plant. Whenever someone in these families is ill, a home cure is usually tried for the first days of an illness. Then, if necessary, a visit to the out-patient clinics of ISSTE or the Social Security hospital is made. If for some reason the treatment at these hospitals is not satisfactory, these families can usually afford to see a private physician. As a matter of fact, it has been reported by people in the Colonia that doctors who work in the out-patient clinics will often tell their patients that they will not be cured at the clinic and they should see the doctor at his private office, thus ensuring patients and money for the private practice.

This is the pattern that is followed in the Guitierrez family:

For three days Senora Guitierrez gives the patient home remedies. These usually consist of foot baths, teas, and assorted pharmaceutical medicine. If these fail, she goes directly to ISSTE.

Senora Guzman has a slightly more elaborate strategy. If she can diagnose a simple or common illness, such as the flu or stomach problems, she tries pills (pharmaceutical medicine) and teas. If she or her husband do not get better, they go to the Social Security Hospital. During one period, Senora Guzman suffered from what her doctor labelled as being a liver illness. The symptoms (for her) were that her joints in her knee and feet would swell, that she was always in a bad mood, that she couldn't eat and that any food would make her ill. She went to the Social Security Hospital immediately, but she only returned there once after her first visit. This was because their medicine did not make her feel any better, and she believed as do others in the Colonia, that private doctors are more successful with their cures. She went to a private physician (not the same doctor that she went to in the Social Security Hospital). The treatment continued for four months and consisted of medication and vitamins.

SUMMARY: CHOOSING A STRATEGY

Before a curer is chosen, the illness must be diagnosed and there are certain areas which are taken into consideration (i.e., physical appearance, emotional states, recent events). Once the problem is diagnosed as an illness (usually by family or a close friend), it is treated with home remedies which may be herbs and/or pharmaceutical products. If a diagnosis of the problem is not possible, or if the diagnosis is one of a serious illness, then a specialist is consulted. Often, difficulties in diagnosis may lead a person, the family or others involved to believe that some sort of supernatural cause is involved. In these cases a traditional specialist or a spiritualist will be sought. All of the specialists have some kind of magical or spiritual powers. Thus, through spiritual guidance or through witchcraft, the trouble is divined and identified as being a physical or emotionally unbalanced state, which may have been induced by the bad will, witchcraft or the overt actions of someone towards the patient. For instance, Juana Lopez reported that she would find burnt crosses in her yard in front of her house and that her children were constantly ill. She was sure that the trouble came from a neighbour who was jealous of Juana's friendship with the neighbour's husband. In order to counteract these actions on the part of the neighbour, Juana needed a diagnosis, as well as some supernatural or spiritual help and power to defend herself and her children. To do this Juana sought the aid of a local spiritualist who had a radio programme in Oaxaca.

Unfortunately, the woman left town as fast as she had arrived. Finally a hypnotist diagnosed the problem and gave Juana prayers (which were Catholic) to counteract the witchcraft and advice on which pharmaceutical remedies to buy for the children.

There is a logic behind choosing a particular specialist, and it appears that the reasoning is based upon four main considerations:

- 1) The type of specialist depends upon what the illness appears to be. Is the problem thought to have supernatural or a psychological basis? Or, is it a Western or a traditional illness?
- 2) The type of medical specialist is often chosen on the basis of the informant's medical insurance;
- 3) Sometimes two specialists may be used if the problem or illness involves both traditional and Western medicine and, more frequently, if the patient does not feel that the first specialist is effective, he or she will go to another curer. Sometimes this is the same *type* of cure, but another individual;
- 4) If a family has had good relations and luck with a particular specialist, they most often return directly to that person. Sometimes this specialist is a pharmacist.

After having been to a particular specialist, there are criteria which Colonia residents will use to re-select and judge the services which they have received at each medical facility. There are four such criteria:

- 1) whether or not the cure is effective;
- 2) the cost of the consultation and the medicine;
- 3) the time spent for an office call and,
- 4) the treatment which the patient and the family received by the medical staff and doctors.

The most important of these aspects is whether or not the cure is effective. The people in the Colonia would overlook all of the negative aspects of the consultation if they were cured of the illness. This was the main reason given for patronizing particular doctors and health centres.

The second most important aspect is the cost of the office call and the cost of the medicine. Often this is prohibitive to the patient so that they are not able to seek medical attention where they feel that they

should receive effective treatment. The next important aspect is the time spent in consultation. Often people would refuse to go to the government health centres, because they would spend their whole day waiting to see a doctor without feeling that the doctor would cure them. In reference to the Centro de Salud, the people would often feel that the cost of the medicine was too expensive.

The responsibility for diagnosing and caring for illness is considered to be part of women's work in traditional Mexican culture. As a part of their socialization, young girls are informally educated about types of illness, cures, causation, and about the best people to consult for curing. Illness and medical care are some of the most frequently discussed topics among Colonia women. The reason is obvious. Health problems are a major source of anxiety to the Colonia household. It follows therefore, that women who have special expertise in curing illness are much sought after. Medical help from other Colonia women plays a large part in the exchanges between families. Medical skills, then, provide a source of power to women, both within the household, and in contacts with other families. Health care, and skills associated with it, are viewed as having a mystical, spiritual quality. This mystical dimension provides the adept woman with a further source of influence, since illness is commonly seen as reflecting the spiritual "balance" of the household; thus those who maintain healthy households, and who can help others to do likewise, do much for the spiritual health of the families and communities, as well as their own physical health. In the first stages of illness, Colonia women begin treatment by attempting home remedies. Only if these cures fail over a period of time do they seek outside help from other women or from specialists in traditional or Western medicine. It is only in these latter highly specialised occupations that men have control.

Illness in the Colonia is often viewed as one type of misfortune which can threaten the well being - viewed as a state of balance or peace - of an individual and her family. Such a view is consistent with what has previously been described as a 'fully lived' traditional life and a future calculated by means of prayer and spiritual assistance. However even middle-class and upper class Mexicans believe in some social and spiritual influence in certain illness and are not above buying magic charms at the market. In these instances illness is a specific kind of misfortune and does not only deal with physical problems but is often correlated with unhappy social relationships between the patient and something or someone in the environment. This interrelationship between social relations and illness is documented throughout the Mesoamerican literature.

The most common reason behind a heaven-sent illness or misfortune occurs when a person has prayed to his or her saint and promised that if the saint helps with a present difficulty, that that will be rewarded

with various offerings, prayers and perhaps a pilgrimage to the shrine. If the difficulty is overcome, but the promise is not completed and if an illness or some sort of misfortune sometime after the promise was to be experienced, the cause would be labelled as supernatural and heaven-sent, because of the broken promise.

APPENDIX V

POLITICAL ATTITUDES

The following outline is an account of the political views which were analysed in Chapter Seven. The questions that I asked were purely descriptive questions designed to elicit a definition of a word or concept. Eight sets of questions were asked to ten major informants who were chosen on the basis that they reflected the main types of occupations in the Colonia and the spread of income from the very low to what *Colonos* considered to be 'well-to-do'. Often informants did not offer an answer because they could not identify the concept or name in question. Thus some questions had ten responses while others had only four or five. The following material provides the complete list of their answers to the political questions.

Democracy is:

1. "When all the people are united to elect a government." Juana Leal - rural schoolteacher.
2. "It is liberty, rights that allow the country to function." Juan Perez - janitor.
3. "Liberty for all people." Juan Sanchez - sign painter.
4. "Democracy is a very beautiful and unique thing. It is a person working with his heart for others. A person has to represent others, he cannot hide things. Democracy is not a few people, but it is an assembly where people vote. This is democracy; people choosing." Memo Canseco - plumber.
5. "If you have a problem with your family or house, you have a meeting where you can explain your problem to the *junta* (group). They will give you advice on how to solve your problems. Democracy is a form of meeting with a lot of people." Obdulia Nava - wife of a second-class bus driver.
6. "It is a study of government; it allows one to demonstrate something." Francisca Cruz - wife of a street vendor.

Democracy made sense, but when we discussed totalitarianism, it was less obvious they knew what was meant.

Totalitarianism is:

1. "When all the country is united." Arnolfo and Victor Cruz - two brothers who are street vendors.
2. "It is the government." Francisca Cruz de Casanova - wife of the above street vendor.
3. "It means liberty." Juan Sanchez - sign painter.
4. "It is when the President has all the power. All things are dependent upon him. He has the last word and total power. If he says no, a smaller agency cannot do anything because all the power is with the President. It is always, 'Let's go see the Presidente'." Memo Canseco - plumber.
5. "It is a government that is superior. It is a very important thing. It is different from democracy because one type of government is superior to another." Obdulia Nava - wife of a second-class bus driver.

Even fascism did not evoke an unambiguous response.

Fascism is:

1. "A fascist government is very bad. Very little is accepted - bad. I have heard this word little, but a fascist is a bad, bad man. They say a lot, but do nothing." Memo Canseco - plumber.
2. "Easy to help." Maria Lopez - wife of a weaver.
3. "I think it is a government; a big thing where you need more money, prices are higher and it costs more to eat." Francisca Cruz - wife of a street vendor.
4. "It is a government that does not do anything or provides little for the poor." Obdulia Nava - wife of a second-class bus driver.

Liberal and Conservative mean:

1. Liberalism: "Free, independent, no controls."
Conservatism: "The rich not interested in the poor."
Juana Leal - rural schoolteacher.
2. Liberalism: "When things are free."
Conservatism: "To conserve, to hold on to."
Alberto Sosa - carpenter.
3. Liberalism: "I don't know."
Conservatism "To conserve something, an agreement."
Moises Mendez - carpenter.
4. Liberalism: "It is like communism. It is united. If you ask for information, they inform you or help you."
Conservatism: "If you have something to say to someone, it is said as a secret between you and the other person. You conserve your secret. It is different from liberalism because the secret is not made public."
Obdulia Nava - wife of a second-class bus driver.
5. Liberalism: "Books to study."
Conservatism: "To conserve, to guard for a long time."
Maria Lopez - wife of a weaver.
6. Liberalism: "We do not know."
Conservatism: "To conserve."
Arnolfo and Victor Cruz - two brothers who are street vendors.
7. Liberalism: "A book of Law."
Conservatism: "To conserve."
Francisca Cruz - wife of street-vendor.

8. Liberalism; "Liberty to think, have property, and the religion of my choice."
 Conservatism: "It means to conserve one's ideas, not to share your views with others."
 Juan Sanchez - sign painter.
9. Liberalism: "It is for example, if I have five pairs of pants, and I have a friend who has none, I would wish to help him. If I say that I am a liberal, I give him some pants. This is liberalism, helping each other."
 Conservatism: "Before the revolution there was a party called the conservative party. It was the party of the church. Juarez was against the conservatives."
 Memo Canseco - plumber.

Political Slogans: "Neither to the Right nor the Left, But Onward and Upward" (PRI Slogan)

1. "You know, I don't know! I have seen that all over the place. What the hell does it mean anyway?"
 Maria Elena Sosa - wife of a carpenter.
2. "It means that there is no distinction. The President is a friend of all the people, and that he has been everywhere, small and large towns. That he wants to help all people: farmers, workers, industry workers, and the poor people. Onward and upward means that things are going to progress. He wants to work for all Mexicans."

 "However, we should be willing to work for ourselves, also. The Colonia could be pretty, but we will have to work for it ourselves. If we wait for only the government to do something, nothing will happen. We have to be willing to work for ourselves."
 Memo Canseco - plumber.
3. "He does not belong to one side or the other. He takes problems from the center. The left doesn't go well in this country and the right is with the military."
 Juan Sanchez - sign painter.
4. "Things are going to be better and the right is the campesino (country people) and the left is bad politics."
 Arnolfo and Victor Casanova - two brothers who are street vendors.

5. "He can fix everything, the right is the right thing and the left is the thing he does not accept."
Maria Lopez - wife of a weaver.
6. "It means a lot. Neither the right or left informs us that he is neither of the right or the left.
Right and left symbolize the arms of the country."
Obdulia Nava - wife of a second-class bus driver.
7. "Progress for all Mexicans."
Alberto Sosa - carpenter.
8. "Progress, for all Mexicans. He will work for all the people and will work so that all the people
have the same rights."
Juana Leal - schoolteacher.
9. "I think that it means the government is to improve the lives of all the people of Mexico in work,
in progress, and in their personal lives. It means a better life; it is not city or village, not one side
or the other. It is with the knowledge we have, to help the children of tomorrow. Progress for
all."
Juan Perez - janitor.
10. "Not to be for one group over another."
Victoria Lopez - domestic worker.

Socialism is:

1. "It means united; there is a political party that represents this view but I do not know the name."
Victoria Lopez - domestic worker.
2. "A group of men who think and work alike. It is many heads working together. All share
equally. It is a cooperative."
Juan Perez - janitor.

3. "For example, it is a society that helps. If you are looking for someone like yourself, the society will help you. Being social is part of socialism."
Obdulia Nava - wife of a second-class bus driver.
4. "A group, society, or club."
Maria Lopez - wife of a weaver.
5. "An association."
Arnolfo and Victor Casanova - two brothers who are street vendors.
6. "Socialism is being sociable; for example, in small *pueblos*, they may want a little business or factory, but they have no money to start it or keep it going. They would look for people outside the villages to help them. That would be socialism."
Memo Canseco - plumber.

Capitalism is:

Capitalism, for *most* people, made sense:

1. "A capitalist is a man with a lot of money. He can do many things such as lead a grand life. He can also do many positive things for the country such as finance factories, thus giving people more jobs."
Memo Canseco - plumber.
2. "It means the capital of the state. A capitalist is a person who lives in the capital."
Arnolfo and Victor Casanova - street vendors.
3. "Capitalism was part of the government of Porfirio Diaz. The government was only for capitalists. It still is for capitalists; however it now appeals to the middle worker."
Juan Sanchez - sign painter.
4. "A person with lots of money."
Juana Leal - school teacher.

5. "Rich persons."
Maria Elena de Sosa - wife of a carpenter.
6. "A capitalist is a very bad person. He is a *capatz* (overseer on a farm)."
Obdulia Nava - wife of a second-class bus driver.
7. "Groups of people with lots of money who run businesses."
Juan Perez - janitor.
8. "Well, it is those men with lots of money."
Victoria Lopez - domestic worker.

Communism is:

1. "It is a group of people who are united. Who work and participate together; it is like socialism. The difference is that in socialism you can work apart from the government. Under communism you work with the government. Under communism the government controls all the money and people. Communism would not work in Mexico because we are a democracy."
Juan Perez - janitor.
2. "Communism is for example if a person comes to my house and needs something; like if I have two plates or two beds and he has nothing. I would give up one of my things. Everything is communal. Communism can be seen in many different forms. For example, if I were a communist, and if I were sick and needed to go to the hospital, they would help me. Communism and democracy are the same thing. The church is against communism because they are envious. Communism is good; the only problem is that it is against the law."

Castro is a bad man; he only helps the government. He helps the powerful and not the poor. He says that he will help you, but later he will have you killed."
Obdulia Nava - wife of a second-class bus driver.
3. "Communism is a system where the poor get an equal share of the wealth. This is good, except that it is against the law and the church opposes it."

"Castro - I have heard that he is a bad man, but I do not know for sure, nor do I care."

Maria Elena Sosa - wife of a carpenter.

4. "Communism is where one man rules everything. It is like slavery. It is all right if you want it."

"Castro is bad. He rules everything. He does not help the poor. The President of Mexico is different. He helps both the poor and the rich. He also shares power with the state governors; in Cuba there are no state governors, only the president."

Arnolfo and Victor Casanova - street vendors.

5. "They say that communism is, for example, if I am by myself, then I have to look out for myself. However, if I have children, they belong to the government. The government will take care of the children for me. Also, there are no poor people or rich ones; everyone is equal."

"Communism is against the law because the rich do not want to help the poor. Also the church is against communism because communists are atheists. If it is true what they say about communism, then communism is better! Fidel Castro, good or bad, who knows?"

Victoria Lopez - domestic worker.

6. "Communism is bad. It is against the law in Mexico. Under communism people do not own anything; they have to take orders from the government. The government owns the land, tells you how much you can earn to support your family. It puts a limit on how much money you can make also."

"Fidel Castro is a very bad man."

Memo Canseco - plumber.

7. "Communism is when everything is the same and no one works. This is wrong. Everyone should work for their money."

Juana Leal - rural schoolteacher.

8. "Communists are troublemakers. The students of 2 de Octubre were led by communists.
Communists always make trouble. Batista was very bad. The people had no power. Castro gave them guns. Things are much better in Cuba under Castro."
Juan Sanchez - sign painter.
9. "They say it is when there are no poor persons or rich ones; everyone is equal. Though it is against the law and the church, I think it is a good thing."
Sra. Basilia - wife of a rural schoolteacher.
10. "Communism is the religion of the evangelists, but I do not know for sure. Castro is a good man. He has done many good things."
Alberto Sosa - carpenter.

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GLOSSARY

The interviews which provided the data for this study were entirely conducted in Spanish. While specific Spanish terms are used and defined within the context of the thesis, it was felt that a glossary might be helpful to the reader who is unfamiliar with Mexican concepts and words. The only word from Bourdieu's methodology which is included is the word *méconnaissance* because he habitually uses this in the French. With regard to the other methodological concepts taken from Bourdieu, I have used his English translations. In fact one will often find English terms embedded in Bourdieu's French publications. While every effort has been made to give exact translations, it must be said that not all Spanish concepts have their exact duplication in the English language. The definitions given here are the most approximate translations.

Barbacoa	Barbecue - cooked in an earthen pit dug into the ground.
Cacique	A Spanish derivation from the Nahuatl word for village headman.
Cena	The light supper usually eaten in the evening.
Colonia	The neighbourhood or the settlement.
Colonos	The residents of a Colonia.
Comadre	Co-mother or godmother.
Comal	Clay griddle which is used over an open fire.
Comida	The main meal of the day usually eaten around 2 p.m.
Compadrazgo	Co-parenthood or godparenthood.
Compadre	Co-father or godfather.
Corregidores	Local political administrators.
Curandera/o	Traditional curer.
Ejido	Common land attached to a village for its use.
Favelas (Portuguese)	Squatter settlements (used in Brazil).
Gente Humilde	Humble people; the term of self-definition used by the Colonos in Colonia Linda Vista.
Hacienda	Large farm or land holding primarily owned by one family. Such farms have their origins in the early Spanish settlement of Latin America.
Jacale	Shacks typical of squatter settlements and rural villages
Machismo and Marianismo	These terms indicate an ideological domination of women by men through presenting as natural certain characteristics of both men and women. These characteristics result from the division of labour but are not to be confused as being a principal cause of

	the division of labour; even though both men and women may believe it to be the case. As a result of this division, men are believed to be natural decision makers, who have more rights than duties over women and children. Such male superiority presents itself within intellectual physical and psychological domains. The feminine opposite of machismo is marianismo, taken from the worship by women of the Virgin Mary. Within this ideology women are defined as humble, chaste, giving and obedient to their husbands and fathers.
Madrina	Godmother.
Mal Aire	Medical term (traditional) which suggests that a particular illness is due to negative or evil influences alive in the atmosphere.
Mano y Metate	Cooking implements made of volcanic stone used for grinding and kneading corn flour.
Méconnaissance (French)	Misrecognition and reconstrual.
Mesa Directiva	Community Council for Linda Vista.
Milpas	Cornfields.
Ministro Publico	Public defender.
Municipios	Municipalities.
Nahuatl	Traditional Aztec language.
Oaxaca	Capital city of Oaxaca and the name of the state in Southern Mexico.
Oaxaqueños	Citizens of Oaxaca.
Ojo or Mal ojo	Medical term (traditional) for the evil eye which can produce illness by a person's covetous or jealous look at another person or object.
Peon	Day-labourer.
Plaza	City square.
Ranchos	A small farm or, in some cases, a hamlet.
Rebozo	A shawl worn by women and girls.
Susto	Medical term (traditional) meaning fright. One can be ill with susto or become ill because of a susto.
Systema de Castas	Traditional Spanish system of social stratification based upon race and wealth.
Temazcales	Traditional Mexican Indian sweat baths.
Tequio	Traditional Mexican communal work groups.

Tienda

Shop.

Villa

Town.