

Pinola was really "far along on the road to acculturation" and every trace of Indian government was lost as a result of needs to accommodate to new situations. The religious hierarchy had disappeared as well and people would even give exact dates as to when they had alfereces the last time. (However, time proved that the real situation was different and it was by mere chance that we hit upon it.) On the same day Al and I set out in different directions to take censuses, and he came across a former mayordomo and I found a living principal. After that it was easy to complete the picture of the dual division and of the authorities in each part of town.

*expansión
de los límites
de perso con
otro finis.*

The dividing line for the dual organization runs from the main church plaza and cabildo in a general east-west direction. The two sides are on the north and south of this line. The "downtown" acts as a neutral place where anybody can go. The names for each section are reciprocal in Tzeltal, hechluwal meaning "the other side." No other name seems to characterize the sides. Coupled with this are the names of the barrios in Spanish and the two oldest ones are San Jacinto to the south and San José to the north. Al has pointed out that as a result of population growth there are new barrios, which blur the distinctions; the most widely used term remains, as before, "el otro lado."

*1/2 de
milit.*

reforma

As the census figures may show, each section appears to be almost endogamic. There are minor exceptions, which do not alter the statement made above. Interaction with the other side is reduced to a minimum and even the civil officers in the Indian hierarchy get together with their people separately. It appears that meetings of the hierarchies from the two sides are reduced largely to instances in which the order comes from outside and related to specific tasks, namely: from the presidencia or from the comisariado. Examples of such meetings are: (1) on January first when new officers are confirmed by the Presidente Municipal, and (2) when combined action is needed to do repair work on roads or the irrigation system.

*OTC: no ilotales
guarandines*

The hierarchy of each side is composed of the Alcalde, the highest position, after which men function automatically as principales. Below the Alcalde are four regidores and five mayordomos.

The term of office for these officials is twelve months. Elections are held each year on All Saints' Day (November 1st), in the house of the outgoing Alcalde. At this time a new Alcalde and his four regidores are appointed, while the selection of mayordomos seems to be left to the last moment. According to informants the last night of the year regidores go to the houses of possible candidates for mayordomia and propose the cargo to them.

Special tasks of the hierarchy are, according to informants, the maintenance of roads and irrigation ditches, cleaning up the cemetery for the day of the dead, and some minor communal tasks. Specific tasks of mayordomos are to notify people--going from house to house--of meetings, contributions, and other needs which may imply combined action. Concerning other mechanisms of control in the hands of the Principales and other officials of the hierarchy it is difficult to say. Apparently no personal matters are brought to them. On the other hand they keep a watchful eye on certain parts of land directly under their jurisdiction and on the "old papers" kept in trust by the Alcalde.

Land in Pinola can be classified in the following categories: big ranchos owned by rich Ladinos, small property owned privately, ejido lands, and communal lands. The communal lands extend in an easterly direction from the center of town towards and including the hill which runs in a general north-south direction. These lands are known as Zoetic and are under the direct control of the Alcaldes with the exception of the northernmost section which borders Aguacatenango lands and which, under the name of San Isidro la Cuchilla, has been administered by two representantes since 1955. The Zoetic is sparsely cultivated and most of it is used for collecting firewood and building materials such as wood and vegetable fibers.

About seven years ago a Ladino-sponsored movement was started to cultivate coffee in these communal lands, but Indian authorities opposed it strongly on the basis that it is the only place where they can get good wood. While we were in Pinola the Presidente Municipal was trying to promote again the cultivation of coffee in the same portion, but it appears that he never succeeded.

*Cultivo de
cafe*

The division of the community is closely paralleled by that of lands. No individual who belongs to the south side has milpa on the north side and vice versa. In one instance a man who lived on the south side said that it was not convenient for him to go to the north side to work in the fields because it meant too much walking. It is unnecessary to stress how futile this excuse is, considering the walking habits of Indians in the community. There does not seem to be any penetration by people from one side into plots of land on the other side, and this reinforces the vitality of the dual division. Maybe it can be explained also on the grounds that most of the lands cultivated are inherited by children of former users and this could justify the perpetuation of divisions. But we mustn't forget that Pinola is growing, with newcomers from Aguacatenango, Teopisca and that there also is a nucleus of Paraiseros which seems to follow the pattern.

The dual division is not airtight, as there are certain people who do cross the boundaries. Of these we could mention the following: (1) leaders, (2) curers, (3) revestidos, (4) old women and married men, and (5) men on special missions. By leaders we do not mean the men in the hierarchy but those described above, such as the president of the comisariado. Curers--and this has not been proven--seem to be mostly residents of the north side of town but attend patients on the opposite side. The revestido, to all accounts, is freer to go. Of old women we personally saw a few and one male informant said that he could go to the other side because everybody there knew that he already had a wife. Men on special missions include those who have errands from the church or presidencia. This would seem to leave few people who actually do not cross the boundaries. In fact, if we take notice of the categories mentioned, they boil down to a small section of the population. The largest section keeps to its own side; as they put it, "cada quien a su lado."

The (principales) as a body, act as (guardians) of traditions and in some decisions they are backed by the general (consensus) of the Indian population. An interesting example of this occurred

Guardianes de la tradición

*pequeños
mezclados*

*oposición constante
de decisiones*

a few years ago. The two representantes for Bienes Comunales decided to select young enterprising men to fill the posts in the hierarchy. They felt justified in this since their meetings of the administration of Bienes Comunales are always held with the hierarchy and therefore there is an apparent close relation. They never realized, however, how far they were stepping into forbidden ground, especially since they nullified the ranking by appointing as Alcalde a man who had never figured before with the required previous cargos and chose as second regidor a man who had been fourth in his previous term. The pressure exerted on the representantes by the group was strong enough to invalidate these appointments and in a short time everything went back to normality, with each member of the hierarchy in his corresponding step of the ladder.

That the officers of the hierarchy are not giving up their functions entirely, but rather are sticking to their positions was clearly shown by our own experience, when we tried to obtain the "old papers" which are kept for each side by the corresponding alcalde. On the side of town where we lived and conducted most of our work, and where most of our friends lived also, it was decided that the papers could not be given to us to use in our investigations. On a Sunday morning I happened to meet the Presidente of the Comisariado in the Plaza and told him that apparently we were never to see those papers. He reassured me that since he was the boss next Sunday we would have the papers in our hands. Needless to say, the following Sunday he came to my house and said very meekly that anything he could do for us he would. This offer was an excuse to cover up for his inability to override the decision of the majority.

This brings me to another situation in the dual community which is interesting from the point of view of the dynamics of change. On the south side of town there are two men who stand out as Indian leaders. One of them has never gone through the hierarchy but has prestige derived from other things. He is a Pinolteco who went to school and therefore knows how to read and write. According to general opinion this man knows well how to defend causes and is a useful agent for contacts with the Ladino

*# Bienes
Comunales
El 24
Español*

secret

world. He devoted himself to the struggle and risked his life for the defense of land-right under the Cárdenas regime, and since then he has been respected by Indians and asked for advice. This man has been president of the Comisariado several times and works in close collaboration with members of the hierarchy. He is called by some Indians a principal. Two years ago when the election for Presidente Municipal was held in Pinola, he supported the candidate who had a Ladino majority, but was overridden. Since then some of his prestige has been weakened, from the Indian point of view. When asked who the members of the new civil Indian hierarchy would be for 1960, he answered that on account of his participation in the municipal elections supporting a candidate sponsored by Ladinos, he had not been notified of the results of the election of officers on All Saints' Day. As for this decline in prestige not everything is clear. Many times we saw him dealing with Ladino authorities, acting as mediator for the Indian section and, when the matter of being allowed to read the "old papers" came up, he was a very useful intermediary between us and the hierarchy of the south side. *part 10*

The other man on the same side has gone through the hierarchy and acts in close relation with the church. This would account for a double support, emanating from legitimate status in the Indian group and from his connections with the priest. *NO*

brokers

Both of these men have forceful personalities, are men of action, and are very rich. Also belonging to the south side are two other men with very much the same characteristic behavior. The four constitute a nucleus which, while being identified as Indians, and possessing a clear understanding of and ability to defend what is good for the Indians, yet they have bridged the gap with Ladino ways.

The north side of town, too, is led by a group of principales which adheres more to the traditional patterns of behavior. In looking for personalities which could parallel those mentioned above for the south side we find none. The conspicuous personality in this side is the presidente of the Comisariado. He is related to this side because he lives in it and helps some people by giving *NORTH SIDE*

advice in personal matters. Yet on account of his position he is connected with the two sides of town. M. C. is not a native Pinolteco although he was born in Pinola. Because of his Paraisero parents everybody calls him Paraisero. This term applies to all second generation members of Paraiseros. He has a forceful personality, and has travelled outside the community when land problems required his presence. During our stay he went as far as Mexico City with the Presidente Municipal and the representatives of other land units. He consistently denied the existence of elders or principales and only when he realized that we knew the hierarchy well did he finally acknowledge it. From the point of view of the Ladino Cabildo, M. C. is the most influential man among the Indians. From his own point of view he is boss of everything and everybody, and he as the head of the agraria "decides." Both of these factors, his being taken as the most powerful man by Ladinos and his personality, make him a useful intermediary. When Indians get in trouble with the local authorities, M. C. intervenes to get smaller fines. (The gossip goes that he pays them sometimes in order to obtain the allegiance of his people.) He also cooperates overtly with Ladino authorities to keep order. We witnessed three cases in which individuals went to him with marital problems. M. D. promised to help and in each case when the people left he announced, "So and so better behave, otherwise I will put him in jail." This use of force was typical of him. We had further proof of this when a questionnaire loaned us by Harvard was given to him. To every question pertaining to control he twisted the answer so that he himself was in the center position of any situation which called for authority.

Why has M. C., being a Paraisero, been appointed to the Comisariado, especially since everybody is conscious that he is a Paraisero? And how does his authority combine, overlap or dominate that of the elders of his section? He is a climber; he has always been able to act in defense of his interests and worked hard to get what he wanted. After all, the Ejido situation is tied to state and national politics, and a person like him can be useful.

As for his relations with the elders, he talks derisively about them; but in matters pertaining to the defense of things

Cabilde

Excerpt

bec. he doesn't matter!

?

! todos mas

which are deeply imbedded in the traditions of the Indian section, decisions seem to be made without his consent--witness the issue of the "old papers."

About his attitude relating to the division of the community he disclaims it heartily and then adds, "I walk wherever I please"--which is true, but does not nullify the status quo.

The preceding description of the various authorities could lead to a graphic representation of several institutions or groups with overlapping areas of jurisdiction, which arbitrate behavior in a variety of partially overlapping areas of social life. The traditional ayuntamiento, in Cámara's terms "a centripetal structure," appears to be a stable mechanism for the maintenance of the Indian community and the majority of its population. Documentary evidence shows no basic change in its organization during the last 300 years and suggests, more sketchily, that there has been little attenuation of its functions in modern times. In modern times this organization has been confronted with a co-resident Ladino minority which holds the upper hand with respect to, at least, economic sanctions. The necessity to relate to the Ladinos who operate through a centrifugal form of government and to compete successfully, yet with the support of the Indian population, in their "games" poses a dilemma for the members of the centripetal community. The alternatives are basic readjustment of the traditional political framework, or improvisation of a mechanism adapting the two communities to each other. I see the Indian community as having chosen the latter course of action. Above their political structure they have added yet another level of political interaction in which individuals who can play the competitive game close to the Ladino authorities and also in the wider circle of state officials are allowed to act in those areas in which the outside world impinges most. These officers are given positions, such as Comisariado president, which is valid both in terms of the Ladino and Indian organizations. Their validity thus established, they are allowed ad hoc jurisdiction in matters outside the limits of their offices. In effect they represent a highly mobile political force which may act as a buffer between the two relatively inflexible political monoliths.

True but
works
otherwise

Obviously the ramifications of this level of political action, plus demands on the part of Ladinos with which it is unable to cope, will affect the traditional Indian organization to some degree. The criteria for selection of civil officers and the type of personality valued in hierarchy posts may be a relatively flexible area in which we might anticipate change. Yet the demands of the Indian majority for outward defense to cope with new situations and an inward control to maintain integration may be hypothesized as relatively constant. A situation in which the hierarchy would disappear would, in my opinion, threaten the integrity of the Indian group as a whole and conflict would set in, creating an unbalance difficult to arrest. This is not the case now and it does not seem that it might necessarily occur in the near future.

Not this one

IV.

In the above mentioned forms of strain in Pinola we have avoided a list of overt manifestations of conflict like the ones Metzger mentions in his article on "Conflict on Chulsanto". In this he lists types of tension and conflict such as: adultery, murder, fighting while drunk, theft, murder by witchcraft, and others; which are also present in the community in which we worked. The reasons for selecting the more subtle types of strain, although the material is not lacking on these others, is that Pinola attracts the eye of the student for the aspects described in previous pages. The sum total of strain and overt conflict would lead those present to wrong conclusions. Mechanism for accommodation in conflictual situations are not absent in this town, as they cannot be in any society? Some of the solutions offered by the same group were mentioned before when the particular lines of strain were described.

not new obvious.

