

TOURISM IN THE PERIPHERY: AN EXAMINATION OF THE IMPACT OF RESORT
TOURISM ON THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION OF A RURAL MAYAN
VILLAGE

by

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Tourism in the Periphery: An Examination of the Impact of Resort

Tourism on the Socio-Economic Organization of a Rural Mayan Village

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ABSTRACT

This thesis discusses how planned resort-based tourism in Mexico's Yucatan peninsula has radically transformed communities even on the periphery of such developments. These demographic and socio-economic changes include centre-periphery migration and increasing economic differentiation in both the Maya and non-Maya population. Such changes have resulted in increasingly unequal access to resources such that migrants have assumed control over the emerging tourist enterprises while the Maya are subsumed as unskilled labour on the fringes of this service sector.

This thesis, based on nine months of participant observation field work in Tulum, Quintana Roo, contributes to the expanding literature on the anthropology of tourism. However, it deviates from the dominant cost-benefit orientation by focusing on the historical evolution of Maya marginality as expressed in evolving ethnic and class relations.

The conclusions show that while tourism is bringing increased employment opportunities to the peripheral areas, an increase in the standard of living of the Maya is not a necessary concomitant. In fact, the Maya seem to be suffering from intensified exploitation and pauperization. This results not from any intrinsically "anti-developmental" characteristics of tourism per se, but rather is consequent on the ongoing marginalization process which has effectively made the Maya peripheral to the centre since the colonial era. For this

reason, this thesis argues that any analysis of the impact of social change (particularly tourism) on the Maya, at the community level, must address a complex of factors (colonial, ethnic and class relations) which have contributed to their progressive underdevelopment. Tourism has simply accelerated this marginalization process by intensifying and perpetuating the peripheral position of the Maya vis a vis changing national, regional and local power loci.

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DEDICATION

To Mercedes, Antonia and the rest of my friends in Tulum

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CHAPTER I

TOURISM ON THE PERIPHERY

Introduction

This thesis examines the role of tourism in the social and economic development of contemporary Mexico and discusses the effects of resort-based tourism on towns and villages in the peripheral or fringe areas of designated tourist zones. Resort tourism, first established in Acapulco in the 1920's, was characterized by spontaneous, unplanned development. Not until the 1960's was tourism an integral part of national development policy. In 1961 a tourism ministry was created called El Fondo Nacional Del Turismo (FONATUR, National Tourism Development Agency). This had two important implications for subsequent tourism policy. First, tourism was acknowledged as a viable development strategy and second, future tourism in Mexico would be controlled through direct government intervention (Jud, 1974; Lee, 1977). Ixtapa-Zihuatanejo, situated on the Pacific coast and Cancun, situated on the Caribbean coast were targeted as Mexico's first planned tourist resorts. This emphasis on development through tourism represented a new orientation for the Mexican government, but not a surprising one, for in 1961 tourism was fast becoming a major world industry and a major source of foreign exchange for Third World economies (Turner, 1976).

This thesis will trace the effects that Cancun's government planned tourism industry has had on the indigenous Maya

population living in Tulum, a village which lies on the periphery of Cancun's tourist zone. This is an important focus because one of the assumptions behind tourist-dependent development is that economic benefits will "spill-over" into the periphery (Noronha, 1979). To date there has been little conclusive evidence in the tourism literature which supports or disproves this assumption. In fact tourism studies have tended to ignore areas peripheral to major tourist centres, in favor of studies which deal with dramatic effects and changes in the centre.

Tourism: An Anthropological Perspective

The study of tourism encompasses a wide range of concerns ranging from the role of tourism in modern industrial society (MacCannell, 1973), to the consumption of leisure as a conspicuous status symbol (Turner and Ash, 1975), and the study of tourism as culture contact (Ashton, 1964). The latter theme is particularly relevant to anthropologists who are concerned with the impact effects of tourism on the host society and the wider processes of modernization, industrialization and economic development in the Third World.

Tourism is an important anthropological subject for a number of reasons. With the combination of improved transportation systems and a growing 'tourist class' even the most remote societies are experiencing a profound new form of contact, and in many cases socio-economic transformations. The scope and

nature of the tourism industry is intensifying the process of modernization. For many Third World countries "culture contact" involves face-to-face interactions with people from all over the world. This is bound to affect not only the 'host' society, but also the society from which the 'guests' originate (Cohen,1972). For these reasons it is important that we understand and study the impact of tourism on the socio-economic organization of 'host' areas as well as on the society of origin.

Mass tourism has been described as the largest service industry in the world (Lee,op.cit:38). It is made possible by a transportation network that can carry millions of people each day to the farthest reaches of the globe, and by the existence of a growing middle-class affluent society which has surplus time and surplus money available to be spent on travel. In terms of scale and reach, mass tourism is a phenomenon of the twentieth century, a far cry from the 18th century pilgrimages made to religious centres and the 19th century Grand European Tour described as early forms of tourism (Turner and Ash,op.cit.) Tourism has undergone a process of democratization in developed countries where it is enjoyed by a wider cross section of the population than ever before. In recent years market surveys show that no locale is too isolated or too distant to be incorporated into the tourist market, and that any locale with natural scenic attractions and/or man-made attractions is a potential tourist site (Smith, 1977).

The Impact of Tourism on Traditional Culture

In the anthropology of tourism literature there are two main approaches: "the impact of tourism on traditional culture", and "tourism as a development tool". In Tourism, Blessing or A Blight, George Young discusses the destructive effects of tourism on 'primitive cultures' (Young, 1973). Young's thesis is based on a dualistic view of the world which is divided into 'primitive' and 'modern'. For Young, modernity is a process which necessarily implies the destruction of all that is pure and pristine. Thus, tourism is a 'blight' because it accelerates the process of modernization. Young foresees the day when, through international tourism, the world's distinct cultures have been melded into one homogenous culture (ibid.,). Dayvid Greenwood looks at tourism as "an agent of change" responsible for the "commoditization" of culture in a Basque fishing village in Spain (Greenwood, 1972). He concludes that the packaging of cultural events for tourists results in the "commoditization" process which inevitably debases the event, in this case a ritual procession (ibid.,). Other authors have looked at tourism's destructive effects on indigenous arts and crafts and it has been suggested in the literature that mass tourism encourages the production of "fake art" (Noronha, op.cit.) Forster uses the term "phony-folk" to describe the negative effects that tourism has on traditional culture (Forster, 1964).

Not all tourism studies agree on the destructive effects of tourism on traditional culture; Swain, McKean, and Van den Berghe highlight some of the positive effects. Swain found that

amongst the Cuna women in the Panama, tourism has reinforced and revitalized the production of ethnic art (Swain, 1977). It has provided a viable market for these goods which has had the effect of stimulating local production. McKean's data from Bali shows that tourism has encouraged the production of ethnic art also, as well as the performances of ritual dances (McKean, 1977). The significant change which he found was that before the advent of tourism these activities were carried on for a religious audience. Today the audience has expanded to encompass the tourist. He found no indication that these activities had "lost their meaning" for the local population despite the fact that they were earning income from the tourists. Van den Berghe, working in Peru, has found that tourism has helped to promote ethnic cohesion amongst the native Indians (Van den Berghe, 1980). It is generally recognized in the literature that tourism will impact societies differently, and that this will depend to some extent on the values and beliefs of the host population) (Noronha, op.cit.) For example tourism's impact on the culture of the people of Cyprus is mediated through the existence of Cypriot values about the host-guest relationship.

In Cypriot culture the concept of "stranger" has an important role to play in group interaction and involves a set of prescribed host-guest relationships based on exchange. In fact the Greek word for foreigner is Xenos which means a "guest-friend" and someone who is looked upon as a sacred person (Andronico, 1979: 247) Tourists who visit Cyprus are pleasantly surprised to find themselves part of this host-guest

relationship which also involves gift-giving and the sharing of food. As a result Cyprus is a popular destination resort for European tourists and many of the visitors continue to visit this friendly island on their holidays and may not realize that the hospitality they receive is in fact an integral part of Cypriot culture.

→ There are two main weaknesses in the impact of tourism on traditional culture approach. First of all, these studies do not specify how it is possible to separate the influences of tourism on traditional culture from the wider changes of modernization, and how to determine whether these alleged changes are particular to tourism, or if they inevitably accompany modernization. Second, an underlying assumption in this approach is that we can separate "traditional" culture from "non-traditional" culture. Ethnographic studies reveal that many of the features in native societies which were assumed to be "traditional" by outside observers, are in fact a result of external influences and culture contact. Freidlander discovered that the 'traditional' features in the culture of the Hueyapan Indians of Mexico were in fact modifications of indigenous rituals and beliefs which were transformed to conform with the cultural system of the dominant colonial elite (Freidlander, 1975:xv). Eric Wolf discovered that rituals amongst the Iroquois which had been described by earlier ethnographers as 'traditional' were in fact created as a reaction and defense against Europeans (Wolf, 1982). In light of these findings the concept of 'traditional culture' is misleading.

Tourism as a Development Tool

A second approach in the anthropology literature is the concern with the practical applications of tourism as a development strategy in the third world. The relative ease with which a tourism industry can be transplanted cross-culturally (due to the relatively few requirements for local infrastructure) makes it an extremely attractive development option for Third World countries whose resources are limited to sand, sun and sea. A number of studies deal with tourism in this developmental context.

One of the most useful books is John Brydens' A Case Study Of The Commonwealth Caribbean in which he takes a critical look at the impact of tourism on the Caribbean economy in the context of the region's colonial history and continuing dependent position in the world economy (Bryden, 1973). He found that the island economy is increasingly dependent on tourism which is promoted at the expense of other industries and agricultural self-sufficiency. Bryden notes that severe problems include the diversion of land-use from subsistence agriculture to the production of luxury and export crops for the tourist and overseas market. At the same time land prices and food prices are found to escalate at inflationary rates, out of the reach of the local population. In short, Bryden concludes that for the Caribbean, development through tourism benefits the modern industrial sector at the expense of the local peasantry.

In the Mexican context Donald Jud traces the development of tourism from the 1950's. His findings demonstrate that tourism

can be a viable development strategy in Mexico because of the participatory role of government (Jud,op.cit.). According to Jud, government intervention has provided a climate conducive to tourism growth because it has invested heavily in physical infrastructure (i.e. the expansion of transportation routes), it has fostered development policies which encourage tourism and it has been directly involved in the management and planning of the industry. Positive results directly attributed to tourism include the creation of a substantial number of jobs which absorb the rural population released from agriculture, and the increased revenue from tourism receipts. Both of these factors have allowed the government more flexibility in their overall development policies (ibid.,).

Jud's analysis assumes that the paternalistic role of the Mexican government is a positive factor in the development of the tourism industry. In Mexico this paternalistic tutelege is often more constrictive than permissive. Evidence for this is provided by Nancy Evans who has analysed the development of tourism in Puerto Vallarta, Mexico (Evans,1979). She finds that despite Jud's optimism, the local population, in particular the peasants, have no part in the decision making process of tourism planning, and more significantly they are they are losing control over their land. Land is released from agriculture and sold to developers for hotels and condominiums. A result is that land prices escalate and are out of the reach of the peasantry and at the same time the local peasantry are encouraged to

"sell" their ejido land which is illegal.¹ Jud suggests that those peasants "released from agriculture" may be absorbed by the new jobs tourism creates, however the number of unemployed continues to surpass the number of jobs available in contemporary Mexico (Jud,op.cit.)

A second case study from the resort town of Ixtapa-Zihuatanejo, on the Pacific coast half way between Puerto Vallarta and Acapulco, shows that despite careful planning and development, the local population of peasants and fisherman has been dislocated by tourism. They cannot pay the price for new services such as lights and telephones and increased taxes, which are part of the tourism development package, and as a result they have moved away from their old community into the hills (DeRegt, 1979).

As for tourism's effect on the employment structure, Jud's findings are congruent with Bryden's in the Caribbean and Samy's in Fiji (Jud,op.cit.; Bryden,op.cit.; Samy,1976). According to Jud, tourism-generated employment in Mexico is concentrated in the service sector of the economy such that the wages are higher in the service sector than in the agricultural sector. In this way tourism generated employment may lead to upward mobility. It also increases income levels which has the important long-term effect of creating a stronger consumer base.

¹The Ejido is a unique system of peasant land tenure involving usufruct rights to land worked individually or collectively which originated as part of the post-revolutionary land reform after 1917. The title of the land remains vested in the state, such that land cannot be sold, however there are loopholes permitting long-term leasing etc.

We have no directly comparable data from Mexico with which to compare Jud's findings and conclusions (Jud,op.cit.). Jud's statistics are confined to the formal service sector which includes employment in hotels, bars and restaurants. If we look at the informal sector of the economy, (for example, street and beach vending) which is also directly affected by tourism, we find that incomes are reduced drastically. With reference to domestic crafts production (an activity often greatly stimulated by tourism) Gormsen found that in the Mexican state of Oaxaca artisans organized in the home through middle-men brokers earn one third the wages earned by agricultural workers (Gormsen, 1982). In otherwords tourism may generate economic activity but it does not guarantee higher wages. While macro-level studies like Jud's are useful for looking at general trends and patterns over the long-term, these discrepancies in the Mexican tourism literature highlight the importance of micro-level, sub-regional analyses.

Rosemarie Lee has attempted to bridge the gap between the macro-and micro-level approach in her study of the structure and control of the tourism industry in the Yucatan (Lee,op.cit.) Her findings show how the local bourgeoisie are forced to compete with international monopolies which dominate the tourism industry. Thus, while the Yucatecan bourgeoisie have managed to retain control they have done so by creating alliances with foreign companies at the expense of the local population. The result is that only a fraction of tourist earnings stays in the region: the rest is exported to the foreign and national

metropolises. It appears that we have to re-evaluate the role of the state as these findings suggest that despite its strong impact on tourism, state interests are often incongruent with the interests of the rural population.

Key Conceptual Issues in the Anthropology of Tourism Literature

Two basic concerns in the anthropology of tourism include the definition of tourist, and the clarification of tourist types. The most widely used definition of the international tourist is that proposed by the United Nations conference on International Travel and Tourism held in Rome in 1963 as "temporary visitors staying at least 24 hours in the country visited and the purpose of whose journey can be classified under leisure and business" (Noronha, op.cit:2). This definition is problematic as it so broad almost any visitor could be labelled a tourist, while at the same time it omits important types of domestic tourists and groups different types of tourists together without distinguishing how the host will perceive them.

Cohen defines a tourist as a "voluntary, temporary traveller, travelling in the expectation of pleasure from the novelty and change experienced on a relatively long and non-recurrent round trip" (Cohen, 1974:533). Cohen has also created a typology of distinct types of tourists (Cohen, 1972). Cohen's distinctions include the a) institutionalized tourist who generally travels in charter groups, b) the individual mass tourist who travels singly but allows his travel arrangements to be made, c) the drifter tourist who travels to unchartered

destinations, and d) the explorer tourist who travels to unchartered destinations. His central thesis is that the type of tourist determines the host-guest encounter which has important consequences for the direction tourist development will take.

In Mexico these distinctions are only nominally important. In the past ten years there has been an increase in drifter-type tourists as well as mass tourists. Drifter-tourists are lured by the tropical climate, the archaeological and historical sites, and the favorable currency exchange. We find that drifter-tourists, whose travel patterns by definition are unorganized and spontaneous, have in fact become "routinized" in their travel pattern. Throughout Mexico one can find drifter-tourist enclaves in which a wide range of services have developed to cater to this population of travellers. One can find vegetarian restaurants, yoghurt milkshakes, and a variety of "alternative" lifestyle products that until the advent of the drifter-tourist syndrome, were virtually unknown to the indigenous population.

The process referred to as "routinization" can be partly attributed to the growth of the travelogue and guide-book industry which has managed to standardize many aspects of budget travel, as well as draw budget travellers together. For example, information on hotels, campsites, restaurants and even shopping tips pave the way for the drifter-tourist. Thus even though this type of traveller may be drifting alone, there are thousands of others sharing the same path. In Mexico this phenomenon has earned a name, "The Gringo Trail".

For Cohen, the impact that the drifter-tourist has on the host society is significantly different from the impact the mass tourist will have (ibid.,). This is because the drifter-tourists travel alone or in small groups, their goal is to seek "authentic" native experiences and to experience meaningful interpersonal encounters with individuals from the host society. The implication is that their impact will be less disruptive than the impact of a bus load of mass-tourists. ²

In view of the "routinization" or institutionalization of drifter-tourism, Cohen's tourist typology should be revised to allow for this process. Clarifying tourist types is important not only in terms of host-guest interaction, but in understanding the economics of tourism. One most pronounced distinction between the drifter-tourist and the mass tourist is their spending pattern.

The drifter tends to travel on a tighter budget, therefore is apt to patronize third class buses, stay in cheap hostel-type accomodation and eat in family run restaurants. In this way the drifter-tourist directs tourist dollars into the small, local service industries, and even the informal sector of the economy. This spending pattern contrasts significantly to that of the mass tourist whose money may never enter a Mexican village as it

²One disruptive impact of drifter-tourists that is not mentioned in the literature is drug usage. This is particularly prevalent in areas such as the Oaxaca region of Mexico where one finds groups of drifter-tourists living among the locals and openly involved in the usage and trafficking of narcotic drugs. It is highly offensive to both local inhabitants and official policy. In Guatamala the drug problem has extended to include the widespread transmission of communicable diseases such as hepatitis.

is confined to spending in international hotels and resort enclaves (Dekadt,1979:12). Further studies on the distribution of tourist dollars in Mexican resorts and villages are necessary to form a more complete picture of tourism's presumed spill-over effects on Mexican villages.

This brief review of the general theoretical approaches in the tourism literature, the substantive work on Mexico, and a few conceptual issues, reveals that tourism is a complex phenomena. Studies suggest that tourism leads to the commoditization of culture, destroys native art, while in other cases it bolsters ethnic activities and revitalizes native crafts production. We also have to consider the types of tourist encounters suggested by Cohen in terms of how host-guest interactions impinge on development plans (Cohen,op.cit.). One point that this review raises is the limitations of an overly narrow framework. The discussion has revealed that the impact of tourism on the host society is multi-faceted. In addition, it is important that tourism studies recognize the wider society of which the host society is part. The socio-economic impact of tourism in the small Maya village of Tulum begins to make sense when it is looked at in the context of regional development.

Theories of Development and Underdevelopment

The concepts of "spill-over", "trickle-down effect", and "diffusion" have been used to describe a process of economic development in which it is assumed that the development of a dynamic centre will "spill-over" into the periphery. These

concepts find their roots in modernization theory. Modernization theory conceives economic development as a linear evolutionary process with 'undeveloped' or 'traditional' societies at one end, and modern industrial society at the other. Walt W. Rostow's "take-off model" epitomizes this linear approach to the conception of development in positing five stages which societies had to pass through to achieve self-sustained growth (Rostow, 1953).

Rostow's five stages consisted of 1. traditional society, 2. pre take-off society, 3. take-off, 4. the road to maturity, and 5. the society of mass consumption. Rostow assumed the level of technology to be so low in traditional society that economic growth was impossible without external inputs. In the second stage, traditional obstacles would be removed and replaced with effective infrastructure and new societal values would be encouraged to develop. The third stage was considered by Rostow to be the most crucial for take-off. During this time capital accumulation occurred, industry and production would accelerate and the society would "take-off" and development would be launched.

Modernization theorists maintain that undeveloped societies are backward because they have lagged behind modern industrial society in their technological advancement (Smelser, 1960). Their economies are described as 'stagnant' and 'backward'. Rostow argued that development was best brought about through external stimulus in the form of capital in-put (Rostow, op.cit.) Others have favored foreign trade as an external stimulus and

believe that a country may raise its level of consumption by specializing in the production and foreign sale of commodities which have relatively low production costs. In other words, the world is structured into an international division of labour in which nations specialize and export only those commodities which they can produce cheaply in a system of comparative advantage at the global level. Therefore, a country with an abundance of cheap labour should export labour intensive commodities and import capital intensive commodities from countries with an ample supply of capital.

The indirect advantages of external capital in-puts and free trade include the transfer of goods, knowledge, machinery and the increase of competition (which is seen to increase levels of efficiency and lead to faster growth). These advantages would then "spill-over" into other, less dynamic sectors (i.e. agriculture), accelerating economic growth. In terms of Mexico's planned tourism development model, Cancun is an example of the "spill-over" approach insofar as it has been developed as the growth-pole for Quintana Roo and is dependent on the injection of external (in this case national) capital. In other Latin American countries the same plan has been attempted, but through the injection of foreign capital. This had led to strong critical responses from Latin American development theorists and a search for alternative models and explanations of underdevelopment.

Raul Prebisch, first secretary of the United Nations Commission for Latin America expressed Latin America's

development problems in terms of the centre-periphery model in which the periphery is conceived as providing productivity for the centre at its own expense. The Economic Commission For Latin America (ECLA), under Prebisch, proposed that Latin America's solution was to build up her own strong industrial base, behind protective barriers, lessening the dependence on foreign centres for capital goods. An import substitution policy was put into effect and a Latin American Common Market attempted (Prebisch, 1970).

The focus of the import substitution program was industrialization through the creation of domestic industry. It was hoped to offset Latin America's foreign debt, lessen Latin America's dependence on external fluctuating world markets and stimulate internal market growth. Despite these attempts, ECLA failed to provide an alternate to the modernization model of development as it was unable to rectify the centre-periphery imbalance. The reasons which are cited to explain the failure of ECLA include the strong role of foreign capital in Latin America's industrial sector despite nationalistic rhetoric. This has created an alliance between the local bourgeoisie and foreign capital; secondly, there has been no "trickle-down" effect from industry to agriculture.

The modernization approach has been criticised for its ethnocentric bias which assumes that the path towards development is unilinear and evolutionary and that the Third World must pass through the same developmental stages as did industrializing Europe. This approach has been particularly

unpopular in Latin America where intellectuals living in a part of the world labelled as "simple" and "backwards" by the modernizationists were surrounded by evidence which testified that "diffusion", "take-off" and "trickle-down" effects" simply did not work. Their need for an explanatory tool which could analyse Latin America's past development from a nationalist perspective paved the way for the dependency perspective.

The failure of ECLA to alter the economic conditions in Latin America together with the emergence of a new left in Latin America resulted in an intellectual climate oriented to radical change. Paul Baran, in the Political Economy of Growth stated that advanced industrial nations of the West are fundamentally opposed to the industrialization of the underdeveloped countries since the latter provides them with raw materials and investment outlets (Baran, 1957). According to Baran, underdevelopment in Latin America is a result of the the appropriation of surplus from the colonies by the European economies. This process thwarted capital accumulation and industrialization in Latin America.

The active process of underdevelopment and the concepts of 'centre' and 'periphery' were elaborated on by Andre Gunder Frank, in Capitalism in Latin America (Frank, 1967). Frank stressed that 'underdevelopment' is a process distinct from 'undeveloped' because it is not due to some innate 'original state' but to colonial and industrial expansion and exploitation. Frank maintained that the process of underdevelopment is a logical outcome of the expansion of

capitalism to colonial areas. He firmly rejects the dualistic notion which argues that the pattern of external domination produces a modern, partly industrialized sector, alongside a traditional, backward peasant sector. He argues that the sectors are well integrated in terms of a structure of satellite-metropole relationships which result from the penetration of capital (Frank, op.cit:146-147).

Critiques of the dependency model are levelled predominantly at the work of Andre Gunder Frank. One of the best known critiques of Frank comes from Ernesto Laclau (Laclau, 1971). Laclau opposed Frank's theory that capitalism had been present in Latin America since the time of Spanish conquest and argues that different modes of production co-exist within the dominant economic system. For Laclau the claim that feudal-type relations survive in the modern capitalist system is not the same as adhering to a dualistic formulation. Critics of the dual sector model emphasize the functional linkage of the modern and backward sector. According to Laclau, the weakness in Frank's argument is due to his definition of capitalism which emphasizes exchange relations rather than relations of production and which allows him to assert that Latin America has been capitalist since colonialization. Laclau stresses the necessity of distinguishing between capital and capitalism (ibid: 27).

The work of the dependency school represented a significant turning point in the evolution of development theory. It offered a radical alternative to the modernization approach. It explains

that societies are underdeveloped not because of something intrinsic in their stage of development or in their culture but because of the constellation of global political and economic relations. As the powerful nations become stronger and richer they do so at the expense of the weak nations. Thus underdevelopment is an ongoing process necessary to the continued expansion of the powerful nations.

One of the most important non-Latin American critiques of dependency comes from Colin Ley in his article Underdevelopment and Dependency: Critical Notes (Ley, 1977). The key criticisms are that: the meaning of dependency is obscure; it is unclear whether it is the underdeveloped countries or the masses in these countries that suffer from exploitation. Social classes, the state, politics and ideology get little analytical attention, and finally the ultimate causes of underdevelopment are not identified apart from the thesis that they originate in the 'centre' (Ley, op.cit).

The Marxist perspective provides yet another alternative to the study of underdevelopment. It views the process of production (in contrast to Frank's apparent emphasis on exchange), as the point of departure of any analysis of society. The process of production contains two crucial aspects: the forces of production and the relations of production. The forces are assumed to be made up of the sum of the material conditions of production (ie..raw materials, tools) while the relations of production are those which occur between human beings during the process of production, exchange and distribution. Together these

form the mode of production which in turn constitutes the society's economic structure.

According to Marx the relations of production must change and adjust to the forces of production. All origins of historical change arise from the conflict between the forces and the relations of production, for structural change is not automatic and there may be a disjunction between the two. In a class society for example, there will always be those who will benefit from the old productive relations and will struggle to resist change. However, the conflicts within any given mode of production will eventually become so great that the existing mode of production will inevitably transform to incorporate new productive relations. The process renews itself, but this time at a higher level.

For Marx the development from one mode of production to another proceeds along an evolutionary continuum starting with feudalism and proceeding to capitalism, socialism and eventually communism. The neo-Marxist theory of the mode of production criticizes this evolutionary aspect of Marx's theory as unilinear and euro-centric. Neo-Marxists focus on the notion of 'articulation'. The theory of articulation is rooted in French anthropology and the work of Claude Meillasoux and Pierre Philippe Rey. It essentially means the hierarchical existence of different modes of production (Meillasoux, 1972). Underdevelopment is described as the functional maintenance of a pre-capitalist or non-capitalist mode of production, existing alongside, and linked to the capitalist mode. Marx identified

the feudal, Asiatic, and capitalist modes of production, however his concern was more to do with the origins and dynamics of capitalism and its implication for the European class struggle, than with the penetration of capital on peripheral formations (Goodman and Redclift, 1981:29).

Adherents to the articulation approach claim that contemporary capitalism in peripheral economies is distinct from capitalism which evolved in 19th Century England. Thus, why should it be assumed that the agricultural structures of less developed countries will be transformed in the same way. Samir Amin identifies two types of capitalism, dynamic capitalism and blocked capitalism. Both types are structurally linked. In the blocked capitalist system pre-capitalist modes may survive and be functionally necessary to the ongoing reproduction of the capitalist mode. Here Amin deviates from the notion of articulation for rather than articulation occurring, the real subsumption of labour is blocked, forming peripheral capitalism (Amin, 1971:35).

Critics of the mode of production approach argue that the notion of 'articulation' is voluntaristic and contrary to the Marxist concept of contradiction (Alavi, 1973). Banaji argues that those formations which 'appear' to be pre-capitalist modes of production are in essence capitalist as they are subordinate to the capitalist laws of motion. Banaji claims that it is important to distinguish between the social relations of production and relations of exploitation (Banaji, 1977).

The articulation approach is useful in understanding Mexican industrial development which has relied on the peasant sector to subsidize urban industrial development since the 1930's (Gates, 1988). Bartra notes that in Mexico, the subsistence sector supplies cheap labour power; wages do not have to cover the total necessary for their reproduction as they look after their own subsistence and commodities produced in the non-capitalist sector can be sold cheaply to urban workers. (Bartra, 1982) Despite attempts to modernize the peasant sector during the 1970's, subsistence-based small-holdings persist, particularly in the underdeveloped peripheral areas such as Chiapas and the Yucatan peninsula. At the same time it is incorrect to generalize the reasons for the peasantry's continued existence. In the Yucatan and in Quintana Roo, the reason for the predominance of the subsistence sector is related to the absence of economic diversification and exploitable resources. It would be misleading to imagine the Tulum peasant growing corn for an industrial market. The Tulum peasant grows corn for his family and even so, is not always able to meet his consumption needs. At the same time, it is important to recognize that the Tulum peasant is linked in a number of ways to the wider economy: as a migrant worker, an ejido member, and fisherman.

The Ethnic Factor in Mexico

Pablo Gonzalez Casanova coined the term "internal colonialism" to describe a process wherein a domestic elite colonially exploits its own masses (Casanova, 1965). Rudolfo Stavenhagen has since elaborated on this concept in his work on class and ethnicity in Mexico and it is a useful conceptual tool for understanding the process of marginalization of the Mexican peasant (Stavenhagen, 1965).

According to Stavenhagen the process of internal colonialism began in the colonial era, at which time closed-corporate communities were created by the Spanish crown. Their purpose was to limit the access of the colonizers to the Indians, thereby preventing the accumulation of wealth, and independence from the Crown by the colonizers. Indians became "wards of the state" with special tutelary legislation. Indian communities remained relatively undifferentiated as members had equal access to shared community resources. Economic differentiation was further inhibited by the existence of levelling mechanisms, in particular the "fiesta complex" in which wealth is redistributed through ceremonial spending (Foster, 1967; Wolf, 1967).

The process of internal colonialism accelerated in the second half of the 19th century with the expansion of the capitalist economy (Stavenhagen, op.cit). Changes in the European economy, coupled with a new trend of economic liberalism and independence from Spain, transformed the quality of inter-ethnic relations between the Indians and the settlers.

The tutelary protection which the Indians had received from the Spanish crown disappeared and a law called "Ley Lerdo", established in 1852, stipulated that all communal lands, including the formerly inalienable Indian community lands, could be sold (Tannenbaum, 1968). Ley Lerdo accelerated the appropriation of Indian lands by the land owning class. Many Indians were forced to leave the communities in search of work. In the meantime, these changes served to undermine the closed-corporate community (Wolf, *ibid*:238).

Not all Indian communities were destroyed and those that did survive were able to because of external as well as internal factors: geographic isolation was one factor which kept communities intact. Also the persistence of levelling mechanisms and endogamy served to reinforce community boundaries, as well as deter the transformation to class based relations.

In contemporary Mexico colonial relations continue to exist under the dominant capitalist economy (Stavenhagen, *op.cit.*). In those Indian communities marked by the absence of class relations, class relations take precedence only when the Indian leaves the community to participate in the wider economy. In other communities, such as Tulum, class relations are taking on greater importance as the community becomes subsumed by the wider economy (i.e. this is accelerated through migration) and economic roles become more differentiated. During one year an Indian may work in the fishing co-operative, as a salaried worker, and as an agricultural small-holder.

The Peasant Immemorial

In rural Mexico the Indian is an important figure in the social landscape. While the definition of who constitutes an Indian is ambiguous, we do know that Indians are generally peasants while not all peasants are Indian. Exactly who is a peasant? In attempting to answer this question we can see that the definition of peasantry has changed over time to reflect changing anthropological perspectives. In 1948 Kroeber wrote that peasants "constitute part-societies and part-cultures" (Kroeber, 1948:248). Firth used the term peasant to describe Malay fishermen despite the general assumption that peasants are agriculturalists (Firth, 1950:503). According to Firth Malay fishermen could be identified as peasants because of their small-scale production. "Many a peasant farmer is also a fisherman, or a craftsman by turn, as his seasonal cycle or his cash-needs influence him" (ibid.,).

Robert Redfield is known for his pioneering work on "folk societies" (Redfield, 1941). He described societies as lying along a continuum with "folk" at one end and "urban" at the other. Folk societies exhibit features such as isolation, the organization of conventional understandings into a single web of interrelated meanings, adjustment to the local environment and predominantly personal types of relationships. Redfield regarded folk societies as relatively static and change in such contexts was dependent on external/urban influences. Redfield's "rural-urban" continuum has since been criticized as unilinear

modernization theory, and the polarization between traditional and modern is unacceptable . However his work is important because he turned away from tribal studies to focus on the "peasant". In his early studies of Tepoztlan (1930) and Chan Kom (1934) he viewed peasant communities as viable units of analysis. In addition the folk-urban continuum was an attractive conceptual framework which provided a basis for comparative research. ³

In his later work, Redfield elaborated on Kroeber's conception of peasant society as one which constitutes a "part-society, part-culture" (ibid,1953). He specified that the larger society is urban society and the peasants

"long used to the existence of the city and its ways are in altered form, part of his ways. The peasant is a rural native whose long established order of life takes important account of the city."(ibid:31)

In other words Redfield sees the city as necessary for bringing the peasant into being.

Foster elaborated even further on the relationship between the village and the city (Foster,1960,1961). He emphasized that in speaking of peasants he was not discussing:

"simple communities of small-scale producers...but communities that represent the rural expression of large, class-structured ,economically complex, pre-industrial civilizations, in which trade and commerce and craft specialization are well developed, in which money is commonly used, and in which market disposition is the goal for a part of the producer's efforts" (Foster,1960:175).

³Redfield's idea of the rural-urban continuum was not so new; Tonnies' contrast between Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft, Maine's contrast between personal and territorial bases for relationships and Durkheim's mechanical versus organic solidarity contained the seeds of Redfield's continuum.

For the first time the structural dependence of the peasant on an external locus of power, and not just the city, is acknowledged.

In 1966 Eric Wolf defined the peasant in terms of his marginal position in the dominant society and sees the peasant as one who is at once producer, and at the same time dependent upon the wider society for the distribution and exchange of his product. The peasant's surplus is transferred to a dominant group of non-producers and he is subject to the demands and sanctions of the powerholders (Wolf, 1966:11). This definition of peasantry emphasizes the relative powerlessness of the peasants and their lack of effective political control. Given these weaknesses, peasants, according to Wolf seek structural strategies which permit them to expand their socio-economic horizons.

One strategy commonly employed by the peasantry to expand their horizons and create horizontal and vertical linkages is realized through patrón-client relations. Peasants seek out more powerful people who may be employers, religious leaders, or wealthy acquaintances who have social and economic resources. The tie is asymmetrical and has been described as a kind of "lopsided friendship" (Ibid:86). Patróns have also been identified in the literature as "hinges" (Redfield, 1956:43-44) and "brokers" (ibid;1956:1075).

The recognition of vertical and horizontal linkages present in peasant society has called for a conceptual and methodological re-evaluation of the peasantry. These linkages

illustrate that peasant society is not the static, isolated community that writers in the past "romanticized" about. Neither is peasant society a society in transition. Peasant societies have existed for over 1000 years as a viable form of social organization.

Redfield's concept of the rural-urban continuum described peasant society as "a half-way house, a stable structure along the historic road mankind takes between our imagined polarities" (Redfield, 1953:225) This view suggests that peasant society evolved from some previous form and is moving towards some urban form. Wolf writes that peasant society did not evolve but that in fact peasants were created when states came into being and the population lost their political and economic autonomy (Wolf, op.cit.). Wolf reminds us that peasants are not simply a unique expression of rural life but that they are an expression of power relationships in complex society (ibid.,).

Peasantry has been regarded as a transitory social form by adherents of the modernization perspective and classical Marxists. This can be partly attributed to the influence of the 19th century evolutionary view that the development of capitalism was universal and inevitable. Marx predicted the demise of the peasantry in the 18th Brumaire. Capital, according to Marx, would tighten its grip on family producers, feudal-dues would be replaced by other forms of indebtedness and the peasant would be "squeezed" so hard that he would ultimately have to join the working class (Goodman and Redclift, 1982:1). Engels argued that in France and Germany the peasant "like every other

survival of a past mode of production is hopelessly doomed. He is a future proletarian" (ibid.,). The persistence of the peasantry in the Third World poses some interesting questions regarding the nature of capitalist development and the role of agriculture. Roger Bartra argues that in Mexico proletarianization is inevitable (Bartra, op.cit.) Others argue that the peasant is already a proletarian and that he may appear to be involved in a non-capitalist mode of production, but is in fact fully subsumed by capitalist relations of production (Pare, 1982). A third view argues that the peasantry is functional to Mexican capitalism and that the process of semi-proletarianization, in which the peasant is involved in non-capitalist and capitalist relations of production may be a permanent feature of rural life (Gates, op.cit.).

The conceptual work on the peasantry raises important issues regarding the nature of peasant economic organization, and their role in economic development and the transition to capitalism. It raises yet another set of issues regarding the effect of planned rapid change on the peasantry. In Quintana Roo, tourism as planned development is presenting new and diversified economic opportunities for the peasantry. How are these benefitting the peasantry and what is the nature of their response? Do peasants in Tulum seek wage earning opportunities as alternatives to subsistence agriculture? Do they move to Cancun and become full-time waiters and chamber-maids? These are a few of the questions related to the theoretical issues raised regarding the nature of the peasantry.

Anthropological Inquiry: From The Library To The Jungle

The data collected for this thesis is derived from library research and field work conducted in Tulum, Quintana Roo from August 1981 to March 1982 and in February 1983.

Tulum was chosen as the location for field work for several reasons. Historically Tulum served as an important Post-Classic defense site for the ancient Maya. Although the site was abandoned in the 1400's this area was resettled in the 1870's by refugees from the Caste war, and later in the 1930's by migrants from the neighboring state of Yucatan who moved to Tulum in search of new lands.

The migrant Maya made a living from the sale of chicle sap (used for chewing gum and an overseas rubber market) and some fishing, but mainly they pursued milpa agriculture. " Today the descendants of these early settlers continue to pursue milpa agriculture but Quintana Roo has undergone profound changes. In less than twenty years government sponsored tourism development plans have managed to transform Quintana Roo from a virtually unknown region (previously known as Mexico's "last frontier") to one of Mexico's most popular tourist destinations. Cancun is Quintana Roo's tourism capital, located on the northeastern tip of the Yucatan peninsula in a region littered with Maya villages, including Tulum. Tulum thus provides an excellent opportunity to chart new tourist impact in this relatively isolated zone.

*Milpa refers to slash-and-burn agriculture which utilizes simple technology in the production of maize.

Tulum has two significant roles to play in the regional tourism plan. As the site of a major archaeological site it is marketed as an important cultural attraction. Tulum has become one of the most popular destination points for tourists wishing to go on a day-trip from Cancun. Secondly Tulum is an "authentic" Maya village and caters to the tourism industry's demands for "exotic" attractions. For these two reasons Tulum is an ideal vantage point from which to view regional development in Quintana Roo while at the same time providing a grass-roots perspective on the changing world of the Maya.

Field work was conducted between the months of August and March which contained not only the busiest tourist season, December-February, but also the quietest periods in terms of tourist traffic, August and September. In this way it was possible to observe the marked contrast between the high season and the low season in terms of economic activity and social organization in the village.

The first task carried out in the field was to meet with the Mayor and the town officials to obtain permission to stay in Tulum. They arranged accomodation with a Maya family. This facilitated field work in several respects: it provided an excellent opportunity to observe the "backstage" of family life and interpersonal relations, and it encouraged acceptance by the other villagers. At the same time a major drawback was that it placed the fieldworker unwittingly into the midst of an on-going family feud involving the family who provided the accomodation and their married children.

→ The village of Tulum is concentrated around a main square with new development moving out in a string-like fashion along the main road. At the time of field work the 1983 census listed approximately 120 households. A general household survey to determine residence patterns and occupation was carried out in August and September. It included all of the households situated around the village square and along the highway, as these constituted what the villagers identified as the village core. A second in-depth survey focused on fifty households. This consisted of interviews with family members in order to determine details regarding how they make a living and their daily schedule. Information was collected per household on the number of children, the ages of family members and educational background. More specific questions were asked to determine the main source of income, who were the family providers, their relationship to the land and finally their participation in the tourism industry. From this group of fifty, ten households were chosen in which intensive household surveys were conducted. They were chosen to represent the range of economic activities in Tulum, so that comparisons and contrasts could be made between households dependent on milpa agriculture for example and households involved in tourism or fishing.

→ A second technique used to gather qualitative information was through informal conversations with villagers on history and family life. These interviews were on-going over a period of several months. They were structured to appear spontaneous, however specific questions and topics were considered beforehand

so that the dialogues addressed contributed to the overall store of data and information collected. These informal interviews proved to be effective as they provided information about a wide range of topics. The response to obviously structured interviews, in which forms and questionnaires were used proved to be less satisfactory. Respondents were suspicious and refused to become involved. This response is not unique to Tulum and is a common experience of researchers working in Mexico. They have found that the villagers and rural population identify unfamiliar questionnaires and questions about land and economics immediately with "official, government inquiries". Villagers feel immediately threatened by anything that looks official because their dealings with the government in the past have generally been unfavorable. In light of this constraint informal interviews and conversations were preferred.

The quality and reliability of the information recorded has to be judged in terms of the specific situation. During the first month I was a curious anomaly in the village (not quite a tourist because tourists live in hotels) and inquiries were answered ambiguously. For example, in one of the first household surveys conducted, the female head of the household initially listed her husband as dead. A few months later, after I had established a friendship with this woman, she announced that her husband was coming home. Puzzled, I asked which husband and the woman laughingly replied the one that was dead had really been in jail for growing marijuana! After the first two months, there was a perceptible change in the villagers' attitude toward me. I

was frequently invited into people's homes as a visitor, to attend baptisimal ceremonies, to partake of freshly roasted pig (that had accidently been killed on the road by a car!), and I was given gifts of food, fresh lobsters and avocados.

Conversations became more spontaneous as the villagers realized that I was not a government official and they discussed most topics freely.

The problems faced by a single woman living in the field cannot be discounted as they affected my access to certain types of information. In the first few weeks after my arrival in the village, the women gave me enough coded information that I realized immediately that as a single woman living alone I was a potential threat to every woman in the village. After all, I might want their husbands, sons, boyfriends or fathers. I was forced to compensate for this built-in constraint by pretending to be married.

My first two months in Tulum consisted of carrying out my self-assigned field-work tasks including the household surveys and map drawing excercises. One surprising element in doing field-work was the increase in the amount of time and energy I spent in performing simple every day tasks. For example a daily shower involved not only finding a bucket of ample size, but drawing water from the communal well and heating it. This of course required that I make a fire, which required procuring fire-wood. In the rainy season damp wood proved to be difficult to ignite and showering and cooking took considerably longer than usual. My new way of life forced me to systematically order

my time in a way which I had never had to consider before. I looked to my new Maya friends for advice and followed many of their activity schedules which proved far more effective than mine.

In addition to the first hand information collected in Tulum, second-hand sources and statistics were obtained from the Municipal office in Cozumel and Cancun, and from Centro de Investigaciones de Quintana Roo in Puerto Morelos, which is a research institute dedicated to special topics relevant to the development of Quintana Roo.

In the following chapters we shall explore the ways in which the Quintana Roo Maya have been made marginal to the modern Mexican economy. Chapter Two will review the historical process in which colonial relations between the Maya and the Spanish were initially established. Chapter Three looks at contemporary developments in Quintana Roo, in particular the rise of tourism and the role of Cancun in regional and national development goals. In Chapters Four, Five and Six, the analysis moves into the village and proceeds to explore the dynamics between the Maya and non-Maya migrants. In this way we hope to show how on-going marginalization of the Maya continues and is intensified by the tourism industry.

CHAPTER II

YUCATECANS, SPANIARDS AND MEXICANS; THE MARGINALIZATION OF THE MAYA

Introduction

The population encountered in the Yucatan by the Spanish explorers Cordoba, in 1517 and Cortes in 1519, were Maya Indians. More than four hundred years later the ancient Maya civilization remains an enigma that neither historians nor archaeologists have been able to unravel satisfactorily. Codices and native documents have been uncovered, however many were burnt by the Bishop Diego de Landa. In addition, de Landa's eye-witness account Relacion de las Cosas de Yucatan is said to be replete with contradictions as are many of the native sources including the famous Katun Prophecies of Yucatan contained in the Books of Chilam Bilam. Scholars suggest that we proceed cautiously with these materials as they were often falsified by the Maya scribes themselves (Coe, 1966:30).

Despite the difficulty in obtaining accurate information, the study of the ancient Maya has come to constitute an important industry. This is fueled by the ongoing curiosity of scholars and by the growing Yucatecan tourism industry for which the ancient Maya and their archaeological remains have come to form the basis of marketing strategy.

The Yucatecan tourism industry has stimulated restoration work on the hundreds of temple and house mounds littered throughout the peninsula. The ancient Maya and their



contemporary descendents have an important role to play in tourism, as bearers of native culture. However information about the ancient Maya is important for scholars also;. through the further unravelling of their way of life we may learn more about the contemporary Maya. Archeological evidence supports the notion of cultural continuity between the pre-Columbian Maya and the present day Maya- they practiced the same agricultural technique of slash-and-burn agriculture known as milpa, the style of native dwellings which consists of thatch and pole huts organized around a kin-based compound is still used throughout the Yucatan today, and the old gods continue to be relied on (ibid). Despite centuries of political, economic and social upheaval, the modern Maya continue to validate the past.

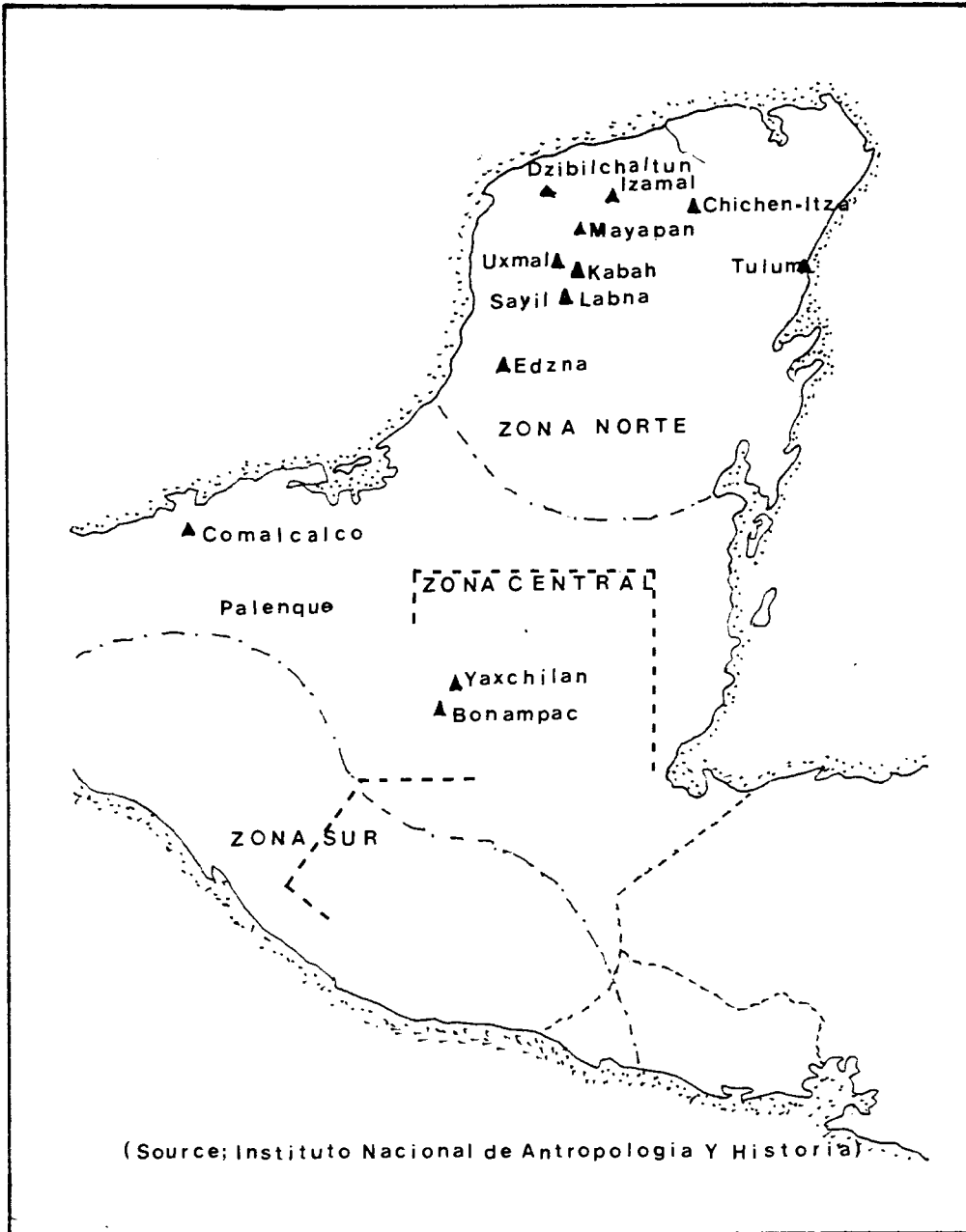
Information about the pre-Columbian Maya is important not only to establish the element of continuity between past and present, but to establish a balanced view of the pre-colonial and post-colonial history of the Yucatan peninsula and in particular the region forming present day Quintana Roo. This region was considered to exist beyond the pale of Spanish colonial administration and continues, by some, to be regarded as "Mexico's last frontier" inhabited by "uncontaminated primitives" (Farriss, 1983:5). This misconception has created an image of Quintana Roo as an untamed wilderness, separate from the larger modernizing Mexican nation and peripheral to pre-Columbian civilization and later colonial rule. Archaeologists and historians suggest that, on the contrary, the pre-Columbian economy of the lowland Maya was a complex,

inter-regional system, marked by a high degree of flexibility and mobility (i.e. out-migration), held together by an overarching trading system (Jones, 1974:72).

The Pre-Contact Yucatecan Maya

The chronological evolution of the Maya has been described according to region. According to Michael Coe's classificatory scheme the Yucatecan Maya who occupy the present day states of Yucatan and Quintana Roo were part of the Northern Yucatecans who inhabited the tropical lowland (Coe, op.cit.). The first period is the Early-Late Formative which occurred around 2000 B.C -150 A.D and was characterised by settled village life based on the cultivation of maize, beans, squash and chiles. From 150 A.D to 300 A.D the Proto-Classic period occurred at which time Maya civilization in the lowlands flourished as evidenced by the erection of stone monuments. During the Early Classic period which occurred between the years 300 A.D. and 600 A.D. literacy evolved and the Lowland Maya began to use the long-count system on their calendar and the mathematical concept of zero emerged. The second half of the Classic period 700 A.D. to 900 A.D saw the rise of a distinctive art style, corbeled vaults and the growth of monumental architecture which found expression in plazas, temples, ball courts and ritual chambers. Sites from the Classic period include Tikal, Palenque, Piedras Negras and Uaxatun and today form one of the important areas in the tourist zone (See Fig.1) (ibid.:134).

Figure 1: Map of Important Maya Archaeological Sites



The Post Classic began around 900 A.D and is divided into the Early (900-1230) and Late (1200-1530). In the year 920 A.D a group called the Itza moved to the site now known as Chichen-Itza. The cenote, an important source of fresh water supported the growing population and eventually the Itza became the most powerful group in the Yucatan. It is not known precisely where they came from but the phrase applied to them in Maya chronicles "those who speak our language brokenly", suggests that they were not Yucatecan in origin and may have been from Tabasco (ibid.,). In 987 A.D. after the Itza settled at Chichen a second group known as the Putun Itza accompanied by Kukulcan and Toltec warriors, conquered the Itza and took over the site. An entire new section, resembling building styles found in Hidalgo, Mexico, the original home of the Toltecs, was added (Nesbitt,1980:520).

One of the most significant events to occur during the Post-Classic period was the creation of the League of Mayapan in 987 A.D. The League was a loose political confederation which included the cities of Uxmal, Izamal, Chichen-Itza and Mayapan, and which dominated the political affairs of the Yucatan for over 200 years. The League was ruled by the Cocom lineage until the middle of the 15th century (ibid). Thompson believes that as many as one dozen Maya states were controlled by this lineage (Thompson,1966). It is also believed that the immense power of the Cocom rested on personal sources of wealth derived from trading and from a coalition of supporters from other states within the confederation (Freidal,1983:52).

Between 987 A.D. and 1007 A.D the Xiu migrated into the Yucatan and settled in the region of the abandoned city of Uxmal. They formed alliances with their neighbors, established the town of Mani as their administrative centre and began to challenge the Cocom supremacy. Apparently the Cocom were tyrannical rulers (they allegedly attempted to sell people from their villages as slaves in the markets of Laguna de Los Terminos) (Jones,1974). Before long the surrounding Maya cities allied with the Xiu and together, in the year 1441 they defeated the Cocom.

Archaeological work has revealed the links between the ancient sites of Tulum and Mayapan (Rubio,1985). Tulum shares with Mayapan a distinctive enclosing wall, only found in post-Classic sites, which has been described as a "fortress" wall. Within this wall stand a number of shrines and buildings. The architectural similarity between Tulum and Mayapan suggests the existence of a political and commercial alliance, and changing political conditions (ie.the need for defense).⁵ In view of this tie, the Tulum coastal area probably had an important role to play in the pre-Columbian socio-economic organization of the Maya (Jones,op.cit.).

⁵ Trade was a crucial factor in the consolidation of political and economic domination. For this reason, ports of exchange were strategic points of economic control and were protected by walls and other fortification (Roys,1972:37).

Social Organization of the Pre-Conquest Maya

The pre-conquest Maya in the Yucatan were divided into 17 provinces, each individually governed by families from the nobility such as the Xiu, Canus and Chel. The head of each ruling family was known as the Halash Unich (true man), a title which was passed down from father to son (Reed, 1964). The downfall of the Cocom lineage signalled the end of the League of Mayapan and the end of centralized government in the Yucatan. City states had warred against each other decimating a population already stricken by famine and a small-pox epidemic. By the time the Spanish arrived in 1527, the Maya socio-political system was in a state of chaos.

Each town in a province was administered by a Batab (leader) who was more often than not a kinsman of the provincial rulers. The Batab's functions included administration and tribute collection. The Batab and the Halash Unich and their families, together with priests and warriors comprised the Maya elite. The remainder of the population were called macehual (commoners). Apparently there may have existed levels of stratification amongst the commoners, but in general they were assigned usufruct rights to corporate village lands by the elite- in accordance with the Maya ideology of communal rights to land. There is evidence that notions of private ownership were emerging during the Post-Classic period but that it was confined to the small elite. Their holdings were larger than those of the commoners, labour was provided by slaves who had been captured during warfare, and holdings were passed down through the male

heads of the family (Redfield, 1941; Roys, 1966). The slaves comprised the lowest strata of the social pyramid and were used as sacrifices to the gods and for labour (Lee, op.cit.).

The Importance of Trade Amongst the Maya

Trade played an important role in the economic life of the pre-Columbian Maya and may have been integral to the overall socio-political integration of the Maya who at this time were divided into city-states (Jones, op.cit.). Evidence reveals that the ruling Cocom lineage from Mayapan had been well known traders and trading seems to have been an important source of wealth for the Maya elite in general, however trading activity was not confined to the elite, and itinerant peddlars, petty vendors and traders were commonplace (Roys, 1943:51). Market towns were not an important feature in the lowlands and trade between regions seems to have been more significant. Trade goods included the exchange of salt, fish, honey and tropical bird feathers for flint, game, copal, maize, cloth and cacao from the interior (Jones, op.cit.).

The Rio-Hondo basin, close to the contemporary city of Chetumal, was part of an arterial waterway system through which trade goods were transported, in canoes owned by the elite and worked by slaves and factors, between Belize, Southern Campeche and Central Mexico. Thus, access to waterways was a crucial factor in native political and economic organization. Groups that controlled the waterways were able to control the supply of trade goods and the access of other Maya traders. Jones has

noted that the Belize Maya who controlled the Peten river system were, after conquest, able to monitor Spanish entry into this region (Jones,op.cit.). While they managed to keep the Spanish out, they allowed a flow of northern Yucatecan Maya into the Peten beginning in the 1540's. Jones suggests that the seemingly rapid acceptance of northern Yuctecan migrants into this region may have been related to pre-existing political and economic ties (ibid:72).

The Maya trading network was interrupted in 1517 with the arrival of the Spanish and gradually the system was dismantled as the native political organization collapsed and the indigenous rulers and lineages disappeared into the mass of Maya commoners. In southern Campeche economic momentum was permanently dislocated due to depopulation, disease and internal chaos amongst the Maya. Maya settlements were abandoned and cities, hamlets and milpas reverted back to stones and jungle ending the post-classic stage of Maya civilization.⁶

The Spanish had no immediate interest in harnessing the labour and resources of the frontier population. Colonization was centred in the northeastern part of the Yucatan which was favored due to the agricultural and ranching potential. Many of the Maya who moved from this region into the frontier in the 1540's were escaping from the resettlement programs

⁶ It has been suggested that there is a correlation between areas where extensive trading occurred (i.e. southern Campeche) and higher than average humidity. The argument is that disease spreads more rapidly in humid conditions and may have been one factor contributing to the demise of the trading system (Jones,1984:72).

(congregations), and the Spanish missionaries. This refuge zone, now Quintana Roo, was an essential, albeit indirect, part of Spanish colonial policy, because it allowed the discontented Maya to migrate and "protest with their feet" rather than with weapons.

Indians and Spaniards

The colonization of the Yucatan was a long and arduous process due to the resistance of the native population, the scattered population distribution and the inhospitable terrain and climate. The first Spanish expedition arrived in 1517 but due to the absence of valuable commodities such as precious metals, colonization did not actively begin until nine years later (Reed, op.cit.). The attractions of the Yucatan peninsula were limited to two factors: it was strategically located between two important colonial centres of trade, Cuba and Vera-cruz, and it had a large population base from which tribute and labour could be extracted (Farriss, 1984:31).

The Role of Tribute

Tribute existed as a feature of pre-Columbian Maya economy prior to the arrival of the Spanish. The colonial authorities, anxious to leave the system intact, modified the political system by superimposing over it indirect rule. They made the traditional leaders responsible to colonial officers in Merida and Maya batab's were renamed alcalde (the Spanish word for mayor). The primary duty of the alcalde was to collect tribute from the community and channel it into the hands of the Spanish

officials in Merida (ibid:90).

In the early period of colonization, the main area of confrontation between the Spanish and the Indians had less to do with tribute demands - a system which the Indians were long accustomed to - than it did with land policies. For the Maya, the soil and its product not only provide the means for subsistence but also forms the basis of their religious beliefs. The soil is considered to be a sacred spiritual medium linking man to the spirit world. For the Spaniards land was a mere commodity to exploit both politically, to gain status and prestige, and economically, to gain wealth.

In order to minimize land confrontations between the Spanish and the Indians, the Spanish Crown recognized the collective milpa holdings of the Maya commoners and established tutelary laws to protect their rights. A Tribunal de Indios (Indian court) was established in Merida, however the legal procedure and litigation rules were so tedious and complex that many Indians chose to flee to the uninhabited bush zones of the south-east rather than use this available channel to try and exercise their rights (Farriss, op.cit.).

The Early-Colonial Period

During the early years following conquest the impact the colonizers had on the Maya was relatively minimal in comparison

to the experience of Indian communities in central Mexico.⁷ In the Yucatan, the Spanish relied on Indian production for most of what they consumed, and thus had an interest in maintaining the indigenous organization of production, especially as it provided their subsistence, and as long as competition for land and labour were not issues. In the beginning of the 1600's two-thirds of the colony's Indian population still lived as independent milpa farmers (Farriss, op.:cit). Chamberlain writes that, directly and indirectly, the Indians' production supported the colonial economy (Chamberlain, 1936, 336).

Among the first major economic transformations introduced by the Spanish were the large stock-raising farms known as estancias. Cattle was raised for meat and hides, both for export and domestic consumption. (Littlefield, 1976:36). As this was not a labour intensive enterprise, those Maya who worked on the estancias were given milpas on a tenant-farmer basis, which they were able to tend as well as perform their estancia duties. The milpa provided the workers with their basic food supply and surplus production was used to feed the servants and the estancia household members (Hunt, 1974:375-442).

The estancia provided an alternative to Maya families who did not live in the community and were not burdened with the obligations of community membership. These Maya, distinct from

⁷By the 17th century communities in central Chiapas experienced profound economic transformations due to the intensive imposition of taxes and tribute. Only a few individual families managed to continue with milpa agriculture. For more on the colonial impact in Chiapas see (Wasserstrom, 1983:117).

the community based macehuales were known as vecinos (town Indians) and had merely exchanged traditional patron-client relationships with their native leaders for ones with the owner of the estancia (Farriss,op.Cit.14).

The social relations between the Maya and the Spaniards from the 1500's to the late 1600's were of a sporadic nature. The Indians lived in their communities and the Spaniards kept to their estancias or lived in the cities. Interaction was minimal and the greatest change in the lives of the colonial Maya came not so much through Spanish presence, but from the modification of the political system and tribute exactions.

The most common tribute goods during the 1600's were maize, mantas (woven cloth), honey, beeswax and agricultural labour. There were several forms of tribute organizations: the first one was the congregacion (congregation), a resettlement program which drew the Indian hamlets and villages together to form nucleated villages. The congregacion program was carried on throughout the 1600's and was thought by the Spanish to facilitate not only colonial administration but also the the evangelizing work of the Franciscan missionaries, (the only colonial representatives living alongside the Indians in the Yucatan at this time) (ibid.,).

A second form of tribute collection was organized through the repartimiento system. Spanish agents sold goods in the form of trinkets and tools to the Indians who paid for them either in cash or tribute. Tribute payment in goods, especially woven cloths, were preferred to cash and often Indians would be

advanced raw cotton and cash and then be expected to exchange the finished product. However the terms of exchange were considered so unfavorable by the Indian producer that this system was most unpopular (Farriss,op.cit.).

The encomienda (land-grant) system provided another means by which labour and tribute could be acquired. It was a system of land grants initiated by the Spanish crown in 1523 to reward loyal conquistadores. These grants of land included the labour of Indians who resided in nearby communities, and while the labour was ostensibly to be used in public service, ie: building roads, it was increasingly exploited and used by the encomendero for his personal use (during this period the encomendero, estate owner and merchant were often the same person). The Indians on the encomiendas were taught basic Christian doctrine in return for their service and tribute. By the year 1549 it is estimated that 178 Maya communities were part of the encomienda system (Moseley,1980:87). The geographical penetration of the encomienda did not extended to the Indians in the frontier zone who had chosen to flee into the bushes and jungles to evade Spanish domination, and it remained concentrated in the northwest zones of the peninsula.

While the encomienda system and tribute and labour extraction were mildly disruptive to the native economic system, they did however create a set of social relations based on ethnic rather than class relations, a process which was intensified through the system of indirect rule. In Mesoamerica indirect rule led to the disappearance of the native elite who

were absorbed into the general Indian population (Farriss, 1984). In the Yucatan the disappearance of the nobility was not an immediate result of indirect rule. Through the manipulation of new rules, the nobility managed to maintain their authority and power within the Indian communities. They merely retreated behind the backdrop of colonial rule (ibid). Here they were able to use the new channels available to keep the traditional institutions intact. For example, the *alcade*, whose duty was to supervise the collection of tribute, was able to re-direct a portion of the tribute back into the community. Access to wealth ensured the continuation of indigenous rituals and fiestas, which in turn was considered by the community to be the responsibility of the *alcalde* (ibid.,).

At this time, the priests organized a religious brotherhood known as cofradia. The Maya transformed this into a community fund which they used as a 'front' behind which they maintained their indigenous beliefs. The *cofradia* became a spiritual group, responsible for the upkeep of the Cult of Saints, and to finance fiestas⁸. This transformation apparently went unnoticed by the Spanish. At the same time the *alcalde* increased the wealth of the community by directing a small portion of tribute into the *cofradia*.

As long as the Maya were able to retain some degree of political and economic independence they could cushion the external impact of the colonial regime and sustain a degree of

⁸According to Gibson in Aztecs Under Spanish Rule central Mexican communities spent three-quarters or more of their total income on church and fiesta supplies (Gibson, 1964:187).

cultural continuity. They were to eventually lose both and the nobility disappeared into the general Indian population. The fortunate ones were able to convert their traditional wealth into Spanish equivalents such as land and commerce, however they did so at the expense of the indigenous political system. ⁹In the Yucatan the appropriation of Indian land and the utilization of labour was not as severe as in the highlands. In fact Yucatecan communities throughout this early colonial period were markedly flexible, membership was defined by residence and not by birthplace as is the case in the highland communities which had to protect their lands from outsiders. In the Yucatan migration has been a fixed feature of Indian life and Indians can move in and out of established communities without losing land rights. The only danger they face is that as newcomers into a community they are forced to take the poorest lands. This open community type of organization proved a protective strategy, for the Indians were able to move away from the zones of Spanish influence into the Peten and the frontier zones of southern Campeche. For those who chose not to move, the continuity of native Maya beliefs helped to increase ethnic cohesion.

⁹Indian communities throughout colonial Mexico were forced to come up with corporate strategies to ensure their survival. In the highlands of Mexico Eric Wolf has shown how Indians, in order to protect their corporate resources (usually land) retaliated by modifying closed-corporate communities erected by the Spanish into closely-knit defense units (Wolf, 1967).

Liberal Reforms- The Bourbon Period 1777

The relative autonomy enjoyed by the Maya ceased during the Liberal Reforms. For the first time since the Conquest fully fledged Spanish administrators resided in the towns formerly inhabited by the Maya, a few vecinos (town Indians) and Catholic priests. From this close distance they were able to enforce laws and have complete control over the collection of tribute. The alcaldes were shorn of their fiscal and administrative power and Cofradia funds were expropriated by the Catholic Bishop. These changes had severe implications for the indigenous power structure which was dependent on the existence of a wealthy elite to maintain the religious rituals, and indirectly the economic independence of the Indian communities (ibid.,). ¹⁰

The elite had managed to survive in a modified form as long as they had access to tribute. ¹¹ The loss of control over tribute resulted in the demise of their economic power and inevitably, their independence. Many Indian communities were reduced to labour reserves.

In the meantime other drastic economic changes were occurring. The repartimiento form of tribute collection was formally abolished by the liberals as was the Tribunal de Indios, leaving the Indians without a formal channel of

¹⁰Macleod sees the cofradias as a broker or barrier institutions used by the Indians to generate income and to buy non-interference from the Spaniards (MacLeod, 1973:327).

¹¹According to Gibson the fiesta was a necessity for the Indian communities, for if the rulers failed to provide fiestas for their people their people would neither respect nor obey them p. 187

representation. Independence from Spain also meant the abolition of protectionist trade tariffs. For the first time Yucatecan merchants were able to trade freely and landholders could grow whatever crops they wished. The landholders turned to the lucrative production of sugar which demanded a large labour force and large tracts of land. The economy, once dependent on subsistence farming and stock-raising came to be dominated by the hacienda (landed estate) marking an important transformation in the social relations of Indian production. This period, referred to in the Yucatan as "La Epoca de la Esclaviatud" (The period of slavery 1860-1915) effectively managed to transform Indian communities from relative self-sufficiency to helplessness and dependency.

The hacienda system differed from the previous system of encomienda in that it was based on the private ownership of land. The encomienda had granted the owner rights to Indian labour only. The hacienda was also distinct in that it was labour intensive and social relations were based on personal-type paternalistic relations. There were two kinds of workers on the hacienda, acasillados who lived there year round, and eventuales who lived on the outskirts of the hacienda and provided temporary labour (Farriss, op.cit.). For the acasillados the haciendas were "total-institutions" providing economic and social security: they worked, ate, slept and lived for several generations on the property.

The Indians were tied in a number of social as well as economic relations to the hacienda owner known as the patrón.

These ties were important for they created allegiance to the patrón who in turn depended on the support of his workers for his economic success. It was not uncommon for the patrón to be a godfather to the Indian children in the system of compadrazgo or to have several Indian mistresses. For the Indian workers the patron was not only their employer but a part of their fictitious extended family, and in some cases their link to and protection from the external Spanish colonial authorities. These paternalistic relations were necessary to the maintenance of the hacienda system which depended upon a stable and full-time labour force.

There were other coercive mechanisms used to bond the worker to the hacienda. Laws were created to ensure a stable labour force. One such law declared that the worker could not marry matrilocally (Raymond, op.cit.) In addition a system known as debt-peonage, found throughout colonial Mesoamerica, helped to maintain the hacienda system. Money was advanced to the Indian which he then had to pay back at such high rates of interest that he could never hope to repay the debt in his lifetime, so that these debts were inherited by the sons of the family. Another mechanism was to provide a store called tienda de raya on the hacienda grounds in which the Indian could buy food and clothing. The Indian was granted credit but the usurious interest rates insured lifelong indebtedness to the hacienda master. (see interview with Don Salvador: Appendix A).

Sugar and henequen production affected the dynamics of Indian community life as well as the relations between the

landowning class and the emerging group of merchants. Both crops required large tracts of land which resulted in unrestrained appropriation of Indian lands. Indian communities for the first time took on the strict form of Eric Wolf's closed corporate community model in that communities were forced to turn inward to protect their rapidly dwindling land base. (Wolf, 1967)

Inter-community mobility was restricted, and those Indians who had lost membership rights in a community (through out-migration) were forced to live and work on haciendas due to a lack of alternative choices (Farriss, op.cit.).

The Indians were not the only group to be threatened by the new climate of economic liberalism. The hacienda owners who constituted the dominant class throughout the early colonial period found their oligarchy threatened by the growing number of merchants who had prospered from the liberal free trade policies. The merchants, representative of the growing entrepreneurial class, financed the lucrative sugar industry. It was simply a matter of time before their interests collided with those of the hacienda owners who vied for control over the economy.

Conflict broke out between the two groups in 1847 in the form of an armed rebellion. Hacienda owners armed their Indian "residents" with guns and the merchants recruited the "free" Indians to fight the landowners. The chain of events which followed took both merchants and landowners by surprise. The Indians led by Jacinto Pat and Cecil Chi, two Maya leaders, turned against both groups and what had begun as an embryonic

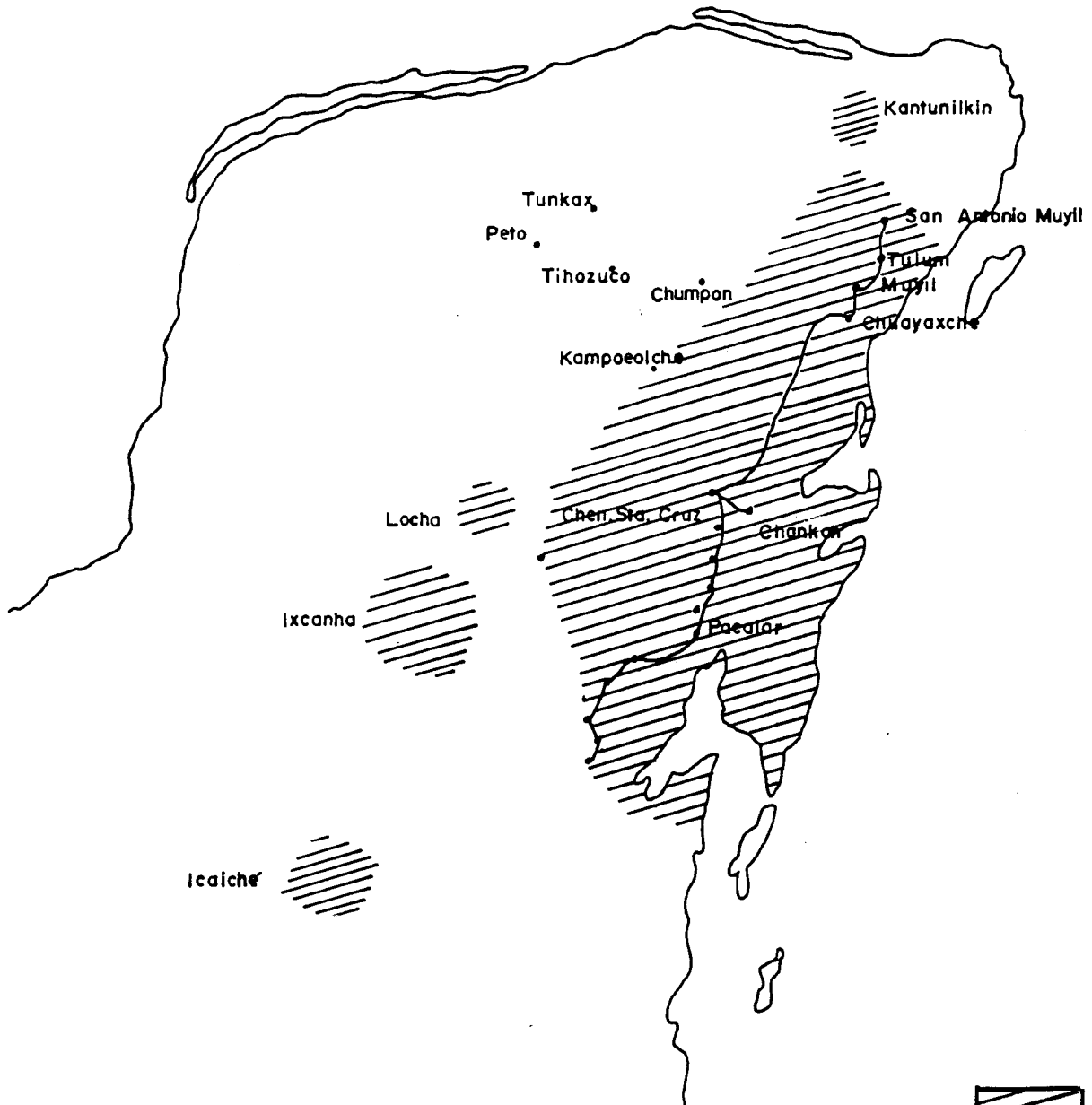
class war was transformed into a caste war with the Indians fighting against the dzul (white men or foreigners) (Reed, 1964).

In the first year of rebellion the city of Valladolid was under siege by the Maya rebels. In 1848 they occupied the neighboring town of Ebtun and by 1849 the city of Merida was under their control (See Fig.2). But in September of that year the Indians relinquished their hold over the city realizing that if they did not return to their milpa and harvest the corn, their families would starve. They went back to their villages without having taken political control over Yucatan. Despite this inglorious ending the war illustrated to all how unsuccessful the Spanish had been in their attempts to pacify the "rebel Maya".

The Caste War was to have long lasting effects on population distribution and economic development in the Yucatan. It created a flow of migration: Indians fled to the southeastern parts of the peninsula and Creoles fled for their lives to Cuba, VeraCruz and Cozumel. Furthermore the war destroyed the lucrative sugar industry. More than one-third of the state of the Yucatan was in the power of the Indians, and their neglect of the sugar industry resulted in its demise, so that the Yucatan became dependent upon henequen production. Henequen was a hardier crop, well suited to the dry climate and rocky soil conditions of the northern part of the peninsula (Lee,op.cit.).

The henequen haciendas were labour intensive and the decreased population in the northern zone forced the surviving

Figure 2: Region under Cruzob Control



CRUZOB CONTROL DURING THE CASTE WAR, 1855-86.

SOURCE: c q ro, 1980

haciendas to find new ways of obtaining labour. Although 20,767 Maya Indians were held in debt-peonage by 1880, additional labour was still required. Yaqui Indians from Sonora, political dissidents from central and northern Mexico (who resisted the oppressive regime of President Porfirio Diaz), criminals and unemployed workers from Mexico City were imported. These groups were preferred to the Maya, who were regarded with some fear due to their demonstrated rebellious nature (Reed, 1964).

The Maya who resisted incorporation into the hacienda economy protested against the dzul "with their feet". Entire villages migrated out of the state of Yucatan to the southeastern "refuge zone" preferring the peace of the bush to living alongside the dzul and adhering to dzul rules. The Indians who moved to this zone, now part of Quintana Roo, became known as the Chan Santa Cruz Maya, Cruzob Maya, or, Santa Cruz Maya.

By 1876 the landed elite resumed their economic and political dominance through henequen production which expanded significantly giving Yucatan a monopoly of the world henequen market (Moseley and Terry; 1980). For a fleeting instant Yucatan was to become the richest state in Mexico.

The Chan Santa Cruz Maya

The Chan Santa Cruz Maya were a direct product of the Caste War and so named because of their belief in the divine power of an oratory cross which appeared to them three years after the outbreak of the war, "The cross was in every sense the central

symbol of Santa Cruz culture " (Jones;1969:659). The talking cross gave military orders, appointed priests and officers, meted out justice and dictated foreign policy. Around the cross the town of Chan Santa Cruz was built, renamed in the 1930's by the Mexican government as Felipe Carrillo Puerto. The complex belief in the talking cross and the geographic isolation of Quintana Roo came to distinguish the Chan Santa Cruz Maya from their Yucatecan Maya neighbors.

The Chan Santa Cruz Maya brought with them an intense hatred of the dzul and it is said that they even tried to annex themselves to British Honduras, now Belize, in an attempt to sever ties with Mexico (Centro de Investigaciones de Quintana Roo, 1981). ¹² Although this was never accomplished, a strong commercial link was established between these two regions and until 1910 they remained tied together in the exploitation of chicle and hardwoods.

The Development of Quintana Roo

In the 1800's Quintana Roo was a sparsely populated frontier. Once the chaotic Caste War had ended, the Mexican government attempted to encourage immigration from the northern and central Mexican states. It was hoped that a larger population base would attract foreign investment which would lead to the subsequent development of the lumber industry. In 1896 The East Coast Colonization Company was formed under British control, ostensibly to generate jobs, attract immigrants

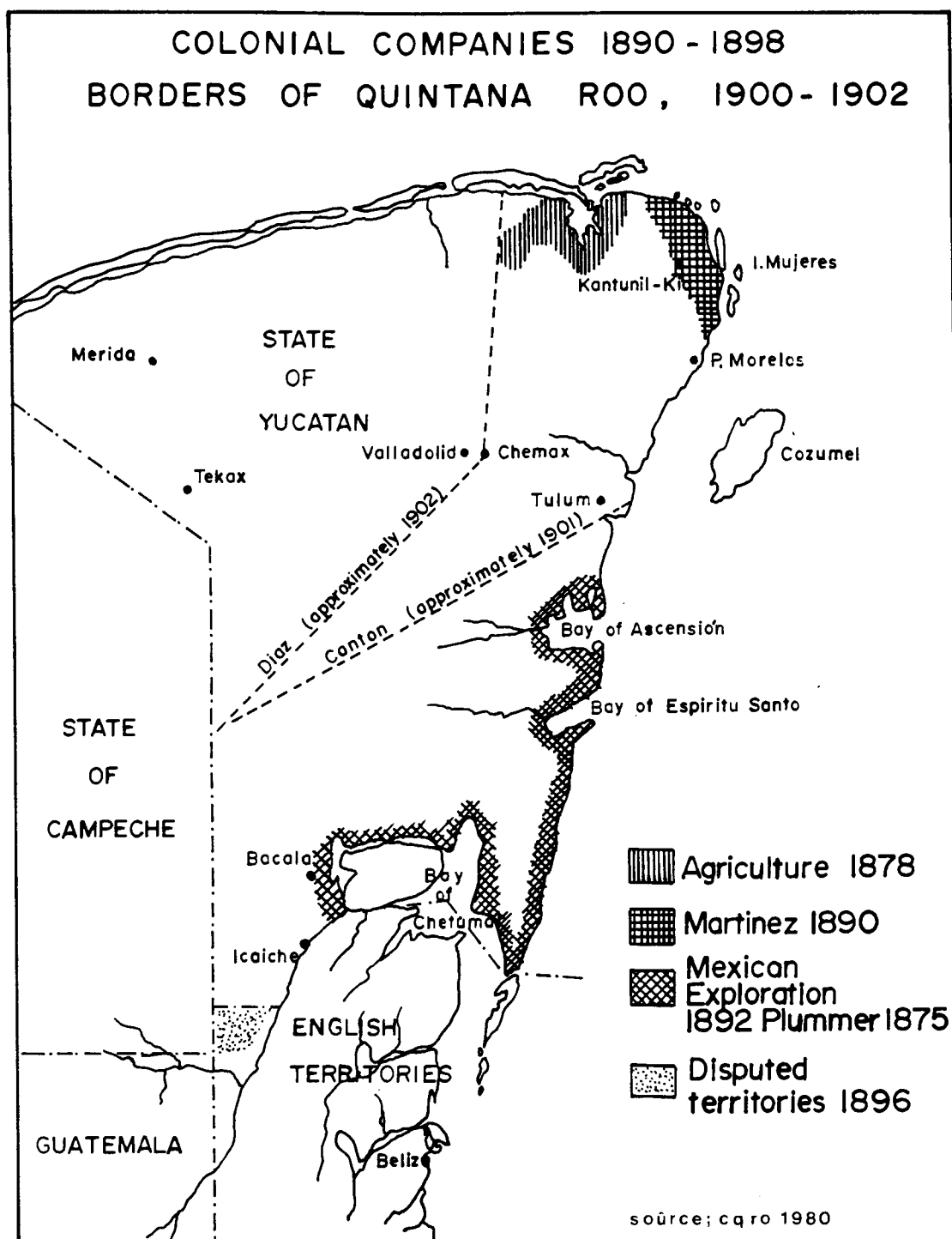
¹² Centro de Investigaciones de Quintana Roo will be subsequently referred to as CQRO.

and stimulate the stagnant economy with foreign capital. It was granted a concession of 673,850 hectares, an area stretching from Cabo Catoch to Belize, encompassing almost the entire coastline of Quintana Roo. With credit obtained from the Bank of Mexico and the Bank of London the company exploited chicle, lumber, vanilla, tobacco and cattle. Labour was still in short supply (the Caste War had cut the Maya population in the Quintana Roo zone from 10,000 down to 5,000) and Cubans, Koreans and Puerto Ricans were recruited to work. At the peak of its success the East Coast Colonization Company employed 2000 workers. These workers settled the coastal towns of Puerto Morelos and Las Vegas on the northeastern coast of Quintana Roo (See Fig.3). (CQRO:1980).

By the middle of the 1800's several foreign companies enjoyed land concessions granted to them by the Mexican government: Wrigleys, The Pennsylvania, and the Campeche Timber and Fruit Company comprised a few of the larger enterprises engaged in the exploitation of chicle (the sap from the zapote tree used to make chewing gum), lumber, cattle and vanilla. Political prisoners and convicts were employed to gather the chicle sap. Gradually they were replaced with Maya Indians who became the new breed of chicleros and have continued to collect chicle through to contemporary times.

The pre-Columbian Maya used chicle for religious purposes as incense and they may have chewed it. By the 1800's chicle had no

Figure 3: Colonial Companies in Quintana Roo 1890-1898



use-value for the Maya and was regarded as a newly marketable commodity from which they could earn a living. Their involvement in this industry is significant for they became wage labourers and through this role began to be integrated into the national economy as tax-payers and consumers. ¹³

Chicle production peaked in 1929 and began to decline rapidly in the following years. In 1929 one bale of chicle was worth 50 pesos; three years later that same bale was worth only 17.5 pesos (Reed, 1964). This downward swing, a result of world market conditions, was interpreted by the Maya as dzul betrayal. They stopped collecting chicle and the Mexican Secretary of War, fearing a violent outbreak by the Maya, ordered a battalion to keep guard in the area. There was no violence but the Mexican Army moved in permanently, marking the end of relative Maya independence in this region (ibid.,).

In the meantime the Maya communities were experiencing internal friction due to diverging religious beliefs regarding the "talking cross" and the central Cruzob group split into two factions. Seven hundred renamed themselves "Los Separados" (the separate ones). They represented the conservative religious faction and settled in the town of X-Cacel and the remaining

¹³According to Reed and Konrad who have written extensively on the Maya chiclero, the term 'wage-labourer' is misleading as the Maya did not constitute a free wage labour force, they alternated chicle gathering with milpa production, and recruitment was organized through mechanisms involving debt-bondage and usury (Konrad, 1981; Reed, op.cit.). Wages were advanced during the season to pay for supplies and were deducted at the end of each season. In this way, a steady supply of labour was ensured.

Cruzob resettled around the town of Felipe Carillo Puerto.

The present village of Tulum served as one of five sacred villages that held special significance to the Cruzob and their talking cross; the other four are San Anton Mayil, Chumpon, Chanka Vera-Cruz, and X-Cacel Guardia (Luxton, 1981:127).

Following the Cruzob split in 1929, Fransisco May led one group to Yokdznnonot while the others settled Juan Batista Vega, Cumpon and Tulum. Today few Maya identify themselves as Cruzob Maya and the lines of ethnic distinction that existed between the Cruzob and the Yucatecan Maya are not emphasized. No longer is there any recent evidence of the continuation of the belief in the oratory cross, which has been replaced by a synchronistic blend of Maya beliefs and Catholicism.

During the administration of President Cardenas (1934-1940), land reform aimed to distribute land among the peasants. The government cancelled the large land concessions given to foreign and national private companies so that land could be redistributed in the form of the ejido. From 1943 to 1944, 88.5% of the chicle in the states of Campeche, Quintana Roo, Chiapas, Tabasco and Yucatan was produced by private contractors. Only 11.5% of the chicle was produced by ejido workers. By 1979, the private contractors had largely been eliminated except in the state of Quintana Roo where private companies continue to produce the majority of the chicle (Konrad, op.cit:10).

Today the chicle industry is in decline. Synthetics have replaced the natural product and the foreign demand for it has decreased. Furthermore the opening up of the jungle regions for

highways and agriculture, combined with the formation of tourist resorts, has led to massive deforestation which has drastically reduced the number of chicle trees. It is predicted that within ten years, these factors, combined with the fact that alternative sources of employment are increasing, will signal the end of the chicle industry (ibid).

Summary

This brief survey of the history of the colonization of the Maya has examined the ways in which they were integrated into the colonial and post-independence economy. One dominant theme which has emerged has been the systematic appropriation of Indian labour and later, in the 1700's the appropriation of Indian land. The legacy of these colonial relationships which continues to shape Indian-Indian and Indian-Mestizo relationships in Yucatan today is the dominance and control of relations of production by non-Indians.

We might also ask what role the Indian has to play in the Mexican economy today? In the early colonial period the Spaniards needed food and goods for export, thus it was in the best interest of the colonial and metropole economy to leave the Indian economy more or less intact in most areas. The Spanish controlled the relations of production through the imposition of taxes, tribute and the repartimiento. In the 1700's the needs of the colonial economy changed: haciendas required large tracts of land for sugar production, and labour for the labour-intensive henequen production. Thus the Indians were forced off their

lands and into the service of the landowning class. Today the needs of the Mexican economy are much more complex. For example, the tourism industry in Quintana Roo depends on the beaches, archaeological monuments and contemporary culture to commoditize, but above all it requires unskilled and seasonal labour. What then are the implications for the Indians who live here and what future role will they have to play in the tourism based planned development of the peninsula?

CHAPTER III

TOURISM AS PLANNED DEVELOPMENT IN QUINTANA ROO

In the preceding chapter we discussed the processes which have led to the economic marginalization of Quintana Roo and its Maya population. We have discussed the role Quintana Roo played in Spanish colonial policy and how this region served as a refuge zone for the Maya. Modern Quintana Roo is being marketed as a new kind of refuge zone- a haven for individual and package-tour tourists who wish to experience an "adventure" holiday. Tourist promoters are quick to respond to the international tourism industry's demand for "unspoilt paradise" and travel brochures describe Quintana Roo's "exotic Maya culture" and archaeological sites as well as the miles of coral reefs and fine white sandy beaches. Tourism has become a key industry and the perceived pathway leading to economic development in Quintana Roo. On the national level it is also seen as one more strategy for Mexico's development policy.

Physical Characteristics

The region which we today call Quintana Roo failed to attract the first wave of Spanish settlers to the Yucatan in 1528 who found the dense rainforests and humid climate inhospitable. They preferred the arid plains of the northeast portion of the peninsula to the cloying humidity of the tropical lowlands (Farriss,op.cit.). The tropical lowland region has an average annual temperature between 25-26 degrees Celsius with little seasonal fluctuation. The rainy season generally begins

in May and lasts until October. According to the Koppen classification system the state of Quintana Roo is divided into three subregions according to the amount of rainfall. A small tip at the northeastern end of the state receives 1000 mm per annum; Cancun, the surrounding coast line and further south to the Bay of Ascension area comprises a second subregion which receives 1300 mm of rainfall per annum. The largest subregion is the central portion of the state which includes Tulum and the island of Cozumel and receives 1500 mm. the largest amount of rainfall per annum. (CQRO:1980).

Continuous high temperatures throughout the year and heavy rainfall during the rainy season have combined with the geologic structure to influence the soil type found in Quintana Roo. The most common soil type found is rendzina, a black, weak, infertile soil recently formed. It is composed of vegetable matter and is characteristically dense with extremely poor drainage qualities. Rendzina is not an ideal soil for cultivation, however it comprises the majority of Quintana Roo's soil surface (ibid.,). One way in which to counter the soil's infertility has been to utilize milpa, also known as swidden and slash-and-burn agriculture. The land is cleared, and the brush is dried and burnt. After one to three crops have been grown on a plot of land it is allowed to revert back to bush for a period of years before the cleaning and planting cycle is resumed. In recent years population increase and cash-cropping have greatly reduced the rotation cycle and in some cases led to the abandonment of milpa altogether.

The Yucatan peninsula is a low plateau region with an emergent coastline. It consists largely of porous limestone known in Maya as sakbeh and is characterised by an extremely thin soil cover and little surface water. Sakbeh (sahcab, sascab, sac-bes), a nearly pure calcium carbonate distributed throughout the peninsula in varying depths, has for centuries been an important building material for the Maya and continues to be used both domestically and publicly in the building of roads (Wilson, 1980:7). Quarries known as sacaberas have been identified at archaeological sites and the ancient Maya used sakbeh in the construction of buildings, plazas and for their raised roads known as sacbeobs (ibid:10). In the Northern and Central part of the peninsula there are no surface rivers or streams and the only source of water is provided by an enormous underground drainage system which results from the infiltration of rainwater into the porous sakbeh. This creates a structural system of sinkholes known as cenotes, as well as underground rivers, caves and lagoons (ibid:7).

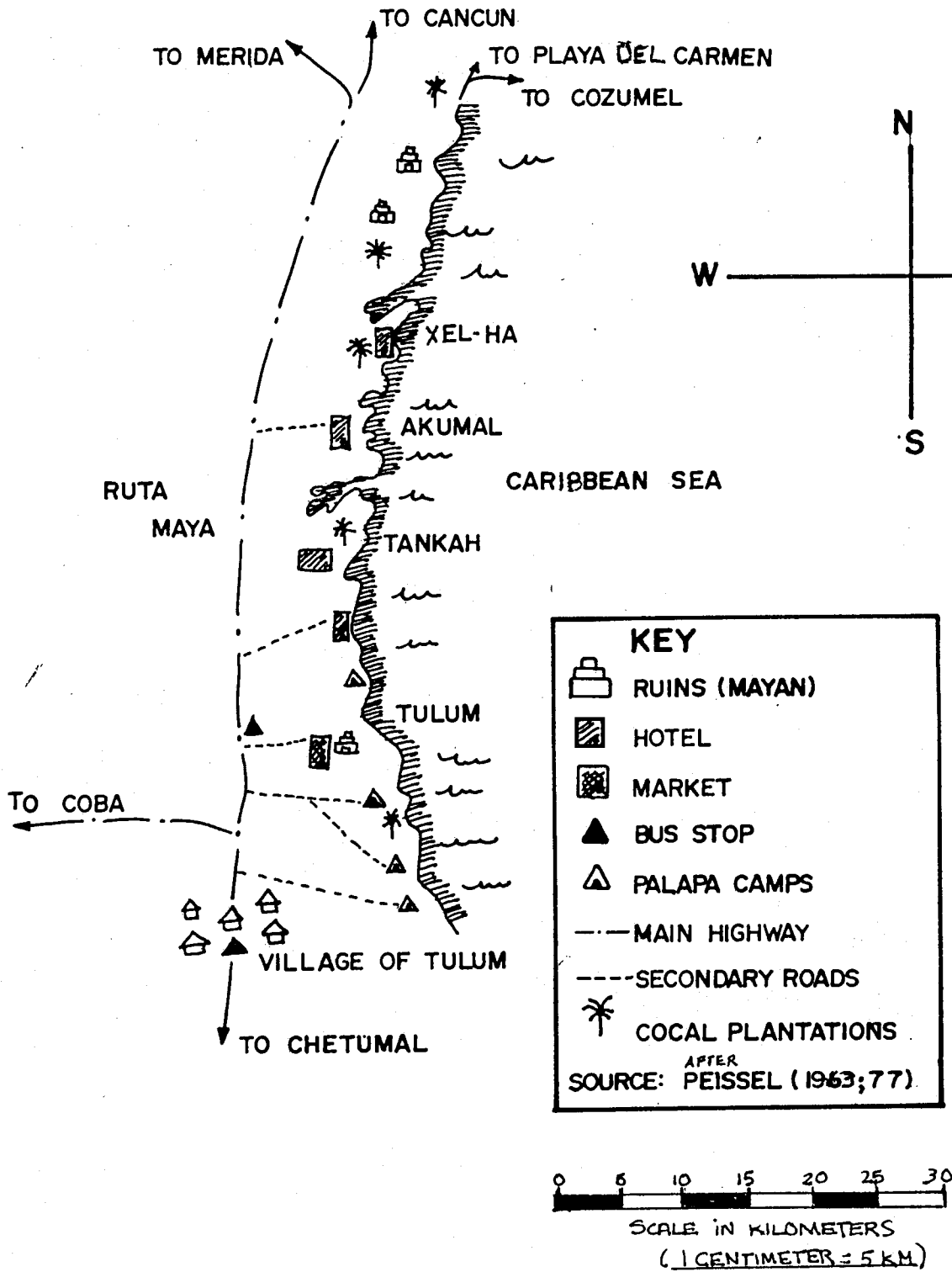
The cenote affected the pattern and distribution of pre-Columbian Maya lowland settlements for it provided the main source of fresh water available on the peninsula. Following the arrival of the Spanish and the introduction of new tools and technology, wells were dug using gunpowder and cisterns were constructed to collect fresh water and today new electric pumps provide access to fresh water, but water remains a limiting factor (ibid:17).

The natural resources of this southeastern zone have included chicle, the sap of the tree chico-zapote; hardwoods such as mahogany, tropical cedar, guacaste and chaca which are cut for lumber; and guana-palm, which is used for house building. The nine hundred kilometers of coastline provide ample marine resources and many varieties of fish and shellfish have been gathered by the Maya. Today fishing has become one of the most dynamic industries in the state.

Until ten years ago there was no paved highways to Tulum and the outside world was accessible only by a maze of trails running through the dense jungle and by the sea. Today a major highway weaves through the rainforest linking the scattered villages and ranchos to towns and cities. Tulum is situated on this new highway (see Fig. 4), which is part of the Ruta Maya highway system, so named because it links the archaeological cities of the ancient Maya to the tourist resort of Cancun, Merida, capital of the state of Yucatan and Chetumal, capital of Quintana Roo.

Tulum village is located four kilometers inland from the Caribbean coast and is linked to the Tulum ruins by a road north of the village leading east. A rough gravel road continues southward to the fishing town of Punta Allen. The highway, which goes through Tulum village, leads south to Felipe Carillo Puerto and Chetumal.

Figure 4: Tulum and Area



Settlement and Population Distribution

From the 1500's until the early 1900's Quintana Roo served as a refuge zone for Maya migrants. Quintana Roo's relatively isolated location also attracted bandits, criminals and political refugees from the north and centre of Mexico. In 1901 Quintana Roo was granted territorial status and an immigration policy was put into effect to promote widespread migration. The process of populating Quintana Roo through migration proved to be a slow ordeal, due to the absence of economic resources, the geographic distance from Mexico's main urban centres, and Quintana Roo's "wild frontier" reputation. Large scale frontier settlement and economic development schemes did not begin in earnest until after the Mexican Revolution.

One of the direct consequences of the 1910-1917 Mexican Revolution was the re-organization of Mexico's land tenure system. Private landholdings, in particular large haciendas and estates, were expropriated and the land was redistributed to the landless peasants in the form of ejidos. The pressure for land was greatest in Central Mexico, where the population is dense and the population of landless labourers increased rapidly. In 1931 a land distribution program was put into effect in the Chetumal-Rio-Hondo area. It was hoped that this program would attract migrants to Quintana Roo and at the same time alleviate the pressure for land in the land-poor states of central Mexico. The program did succeed in boosting Quintana Roo's population and agricultural ejidos were organized. Quintana Roo's main export crop, chicle, (formerly exploited by foreign firms) was

nationalized (CQRO:1980:26).

The Rio Hondo area saw an increase in population in the 1930's with the arrival of migrants seeking work as chicleros and woodcutters. Southeastern Quintana Roo, particularly the coast, did not experience population growth until the 1970's. At this time, Quintana Roo was granted statehood and the island of Cozumel was chosen as the municipal seat. This immediately created public sector jobs. Cozumel also saw a rise in population due to tourism. In 1960 there were two hotels and a thriving tourist-port industry created by the cruise ship trade (Gormsen 1982:52). ¹⁴ By 1972 Cozumel attracted fifty-percent of the total number of migrants to Quintana Roo (ibid.,).

Prior to the development of the tourism industry the growth of Quintana Roo's economy was hampered by the absence of a large population base and the lack of internal capital. In 1910 the population of Quintana Roo was 10,966. By 1950 the population had reached 26,967 with over half of the economically active population involved in subsistence agriculture (CQRO, 1984:117). Lumber and chicle, the main industries, were controlled by foreign interests who siphoned the profits out of Quintana Roo and into the North American and European economy. With the decrease in the world chicle demand there were no natural or valuable resources which attracted investment or economic opportunities.

¹⁴ In 1982 there were 30 hotels with over 1000 rooms. (Gormsen, op.cit.)

The state sponsored tourism program in Quintana Roo was initiated in 1972. At this time the Caribbean Islands had a successful and lucrative tourist industry aimed at attracting scuba divers, water sports enthusiasts and sun-seekers. With an increase in demand for new "sun-spots", it was the opportune time for government tourist planners to market Mexico's 900 kilometers of Caribbean coast. This coastal region, made up of unbroken white sandy beaches, clear blue water and a tropical climate is ideally suited to tourism.

The first major tourism project in Quintana Roo was the construction of Cancun on the Caribbean coast. It was a brand new destination designed by tourist planners in Mexico City which gained world recognition in 1981 when it hosted the North-South summit conference between a number of world leaders. Cancun is the key component in regional development plans. It has been designated as the regional growth-pole or "tourist magnet". This means that Cancun is the recipient of the majority of tourist related infrastructural spending (hotels, airport etc.) and is the entry point for tourists arriving in Quintana Roo. Visitors to Quintana Roo may notice a shortage of hotels in the outlying coastal villages, and while rustic accomodation is always available there are markedly few five star hotels outside Cancun's hotel zone. As a result the majority of visitors stay in Cancun and visit the outlying Maya ruins and villages on day-trips.

On the one hand this geographic segregation of touristic services may help to minimize many of the classic tourist impact

problems which arise when host villages are suddenly inundated with tourists and do not have the necessary infrastructure to cater to the tourists' needs. On the other hand, by limiting the role of the towns and villages in Quintana Roo to mere scenic backdrop, tourism planners have ignored local-level demands and extra public sector spending in the rural areas.

Mexico's Development Record

Tourism is regarded as a key strategy in Mexico's development plans for 1980's. In the past decades Mexico has sought various ways to stimulate the economy, find new sources of employment, and generally improve the relatively low standard of living.

Agrarian reform as manifest in the ejido system was a post-revolution attempt to improve the lives of the peasants and offer them land. Since the establishment of the ejidos, it has become clear that the standard of living for most rural Mexicans has not changed and still remains at a subsistence level (Gates, 1987).

Agribusiness was thought to be another solution and massive capital investment was directed to irrigation projects and to industrializing huge farms in the north. This saw the emergence of new export crops, (tomatoes, strawberries, feed, soya and sorghum) but the nature of this type of agriculture was capital intensive and did not act as an important source of employment. Basic crops such as corn and beans were not grown extensively and were government subsidized. This meant less profit and as a

consequence did not provide an incentive to large farming interests in the north (Hardy, 1982:503). The peasant continued to rely on his ejido to grow his own basic food stuffs.

Industrialization was seen as the answer to many of Mexico's ills. Throughout Latin America there was a drive to implement a strong industrial base. This led to greater capital investment but did not provide a solution for lack of employment among a growing population nor an increase in rural exodus. Again the government offered lucrative incentives to industry, (ie. it subsidized electricity, railways) and failed to include the rural population in its schemes (ibid.).

The huge oil deposits discovered in 1977 were seen as Mexico's pathway to economic development. The oil reserves gave the government misplaced confidence and at the same time increased Mexico's status among the world's bankers. In 1981 Mexico was sitting on the fifth largest national oil reserve in the world (Riding, op.cit:240). Although oil accounted for nearly 75% of Mexico's exports in 1982, it still had not become a great source of employment. Only two hundred thousand people were employed in the Petro-Chemical industries (ibid.).

Both Mexico and Petroleos de Mexico (PEMEX) embarked on an unlimited spending spree, ¹⁵ the latter to increase production and to further exploration. Mexico's population growth triggered increased spending in education, hospitals and social services. With the potential of wealth within reach, government spending

¹⁵PEMEX-Petroleos de Mexico, Mexico's National Petroleum Company, nationalized in 1938.

went unchecked. It was a time of both bouyant optimism and of serious attempts to raise the standard of living. The population went from 20 million in 1940 to 51 million in 1977. It jumped to 77 million in 1984. At this time 56% of the population was under the age of 20 (ibid:317).

With the vast oil resources and the concomitant support of the international banking community, Mexico began to borrow money at a rapid pace and at interest rates up to 20% (DeWitt, 1987:191). Expenditures began to exceed revenues and a deficit was building. Mexico owed \$8 billion in 1970 and that mushroomed to approximately \$60 billion by 1982. At the beginning of 1987 that debt had soared again to over \$100 billion (Looney, 1987:78).

In 1981 there was an unforeseen glut on the world oil market and a subsequent drop in prices. At this time PEMEX could do nothing to halt the decrease in oil revenue in the face of falling international prices. This drop in revenue resulted in yet another devaluation of the Mexican peso in February 1982 (Riding,op.cit).¹⁶ In 1982 oil did provide enough earning to cover the country's immediate debt obligations, but since then Mexico has been unable to meet the payments, nor manage to form a strategy to deal with the debt crisis alone (ibid:253). A new debt repayment plan was negotiated in 1986. This has been called the Baker plan and seeks to find ways in which Mexico can generate income. Options include the privatization of the 1000 state owned industries (including Mexicana, PEMEX, railroads and

¹⁶Mexico's first major devaluation occurred in 1976.

banks) and the development of new industries.

Mexico's debt crisis is a significant obstacle to continued economic development. It signaled the need for alternative sources of foreign exchange, and new means of creating jobs. Tourism provided one more development option for Mexico and had been stimulating the service sector in Mexico since the early 1970's (Jud,op.cit.). With an increasingly younger and relatively more educated Mexican, tourism proved ideal for this emerging group. While it does serve the needs of the more educated worker tourism offers little for the unskilled rural population.

Tourist locales like Cancun have relatively low unemployment and offer varied economic opportunities to those that have the know how (Gormsen,op.cit.). Planned tourism projects have been constructed in areas with a relatively sparse local population and have attracted the migration of workers who are semi-skilled and have some experience in the tourist economy. This has effectively blocked the rural population from moving into stable jobs that arise in such areas. The local population (such as the Tulum Maya) are unable to compete for jobs and occupy the lowest strata of occupations(ie., construction workers).

Ixtapa-Zihuatanejo saw the same type of development and the subsequent division of labour based on local/migrant groups (DeRegt and Valle,1979).

The new tourist destinations are an alternative to Mexico City, long the traditional destination for migrants abandoning the countryside. The Capital has become an overcrowded urban

area, unable to withstand the pressure of 18 million inhabitants. Therefore tourist destinations function as a safety valve checking rural-urban migration.

In a country where 50% of the economically active population remain under- or unemployed, it is apparent that Mexico's national plans for development are not succeeding in meeting Mexico's urgent need for change. Tourism has yet to prove that it can meet the challenge.

Development in Quintana Roo

The Yucatan peninsula has been defined as one of Mexico's marginal, underdeveloped regions too far away geographically to be included in the industrial developments of the Central area, and too distinct culturally to be regarded as an integral part of the Mexican nation. As a result Yucatan has developed a separatist attitude towards Mexico and the people who live here define themselves as "Yucatecans" not "Mexicans". Furthermore, Mexico's industrialization model has extended in theory to include the Yucatan, but in practice industrialization has remained a slow process. The production of henequen remains a major industry in the northwest part of the peninsula. Though a fragment of its former size, the henequen region constitutes 7000 square miles or 30.64% of the total land area of the Yucatan. Sixty five percent of the the state's population lives here and three quarters work with henequen (Raymond, 1968:463). In the past decade attempts have been made to diversify the economy through the modernization of the fishing industry, the

introduction of the cultivation of citrus fruits for export, beef ranching and the transformation of nascent tourism to a large-scale industry (Baklanoff, 1980). Nevertheless over half of the total population of the Yucatan is involved in agriculture made up of private or ejido smallholdings involved in the subsistence-level production of corn and beans (op.cit.).

Statistics show that of all of the recent economic projects, tourism is surpassing fishing and agriculture to become one of the most important industries in the peninsula. From 1973 to 1978 tourism has received 2000 million pesos of Federal investment compared to 170 million pesos invested in agriculture and 31 million pesos in industry (Huebe, 1980:361).

Tourism, The Motor of Development

By the 1970's tourism was regarded by many developing countries as one path towards economic development. In the Caribbean Islands, South Pacific, and the Mediterranean, tourism has provided jobs and foreign exchange earnings and attracted foreign investment. By 1977 tourism was the world's largest export earner next to oil generating (U.S)\$79 billion annually (World Tourism Statistics, 1973-1977, cited in Cultural Survival Quarterly, Vol 6, No.3, p.14). The World Bank has supported tourism as a development strategy by providing financial assistance to underdeveloped nations for establishing tourism facilities. M.D. Davis, from the World Bank, said in 1966 "For developing countries tourism represents the true motor of development, much like industry was for Europe in the 19th

Century" (Noronha,op.cit.). Today tourism is one of the focal points of Mexican economic development strategy.

Tourism in Mexico

Latin American development first focused on the economic potential of the tourism industry in the 1950's. At this time a tourism incentive program was established in Argentina and Brazil, loans were granted by the World Bank for further developments in tourism and the years of 1972 and 1973 were designated the "year of travel in the Americas" (Jud,op.cit:26). Tourism receipts steadily increased and between the years 1950 and 1972, Mexico alone earned 1.7 billion dollars (ibid).

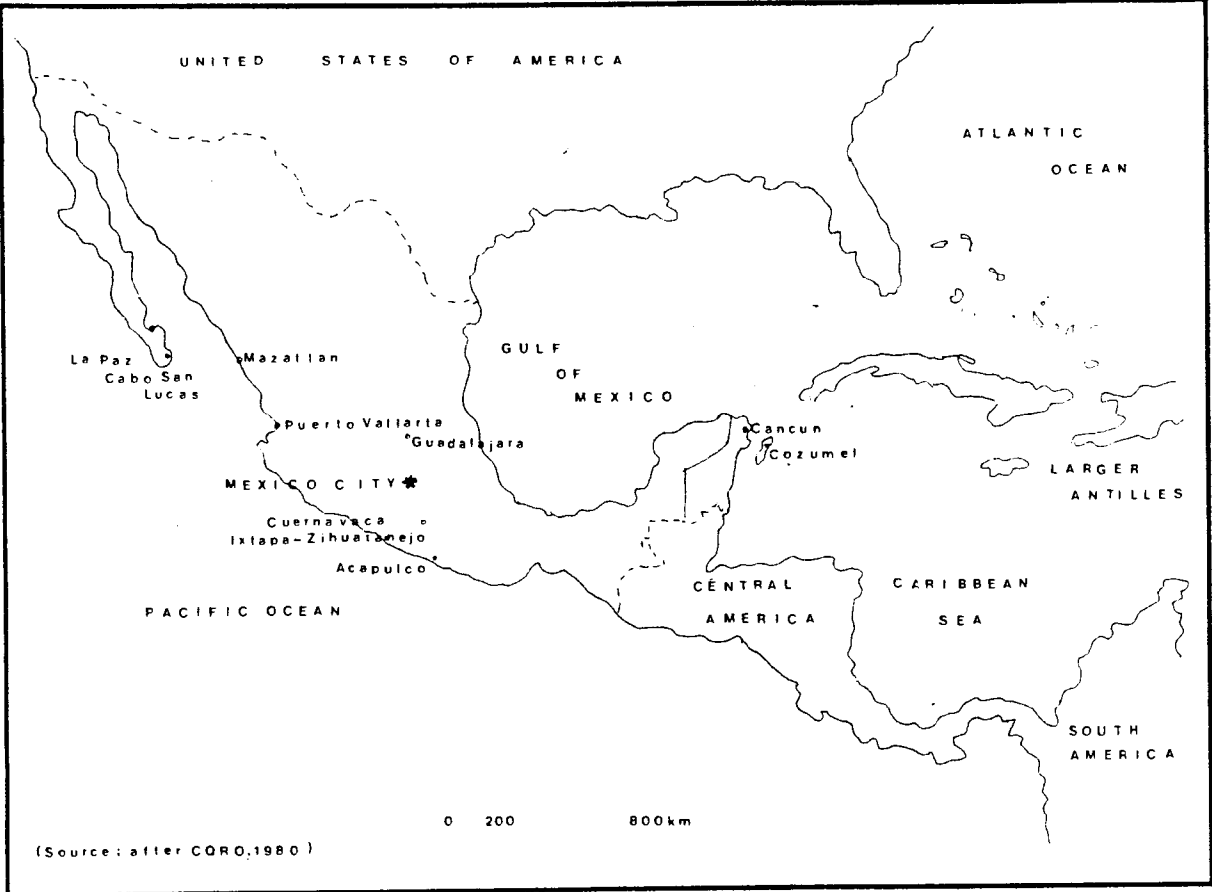
The growth of tourism in Mexico in the 1950's can be characterised as spontaneous and it was not until 1957 when the Federal government established a trust fund within the Nacional Financiera, (National Finance), that the role of the public sector increased appreciably (ibid.,). In 1974, a Tourism Development Act was passed with the aim of promoting tourism more intensively, through the aegis of a newly created Ministry (Secretaria de Turismo) than had been possible in the past through the tourism department of the Ministry of Industry (Gormsen,op.cit:1). The National Tourism Development Fund, FONATUR, (Fondo Nacional de Fomenta del Turismo), formerly INFRATUR, was established to seek out and develop new tourist regions, particularly in the underdeveloped regions such as the peninsula of Yucatan (Lee,op.cit.).

Established tourist resorts in Mexico include quaint villages and towns such as Puerto Vallarta, Cuernavaca, San Miguel de Allende, and Guanajuato. They were "discovered" by wealthy North American tourists as early as the 1920's and have become expatriate colonies for a semi-permanent population of foreigners, as well as popular destinations for "package-tour" tourism. Due to the strong participatory role of the public sector, spontaneous tourism development has been replaced with planned development. FONATUR's task is to seek out potential sites in marginal regions which are otherwise devoid of resources. Examples of planned resort projects which have been developed through FONATUR and with the help of the World Bank include La Paz and Cabo San Lucas in Baja California Sur, Ixtapa-Zihuatanejo in the state of Guerrero and Cancun in the state of Quintana Roo (ibid.) (see fig.5). Integral to this development strategy is the assumption that tourism infrastructure will significantly increase the standard of living in these areas (Jud, op.cit:30).

The role of the State In Tourist Promotion

In Mexico state intervention is a characteristic feature of the political economy. According to some writers, this can be attributed to the vacuum created after the revolution, due to the weak middle sector (Cockroft, 1984). The result was a high degree of government involvement in industry, agriculture and more recently, tourism.

Figure 5: Major Tourist Resorts in Mexico



In the realm of tourism, strong state intervention is seen as necessary, and even advantageous, as it is able to ensure political stability and foreign investment (Jud,op.cit:74). The tourism industry also requires physical infrastructure such as large tracts of land for hotels and beaches that are most easily available through expropriation by the state. It also requires well maintained roads, communication systems and sanitary standards from the developed world, and lastly, large capital investment, which is met by the public sector and increasingly through foreign investment.

Mexico strictly curtails foreign ownership of land and industries. The constitution of 1917 stipulates that foreigners cannot own land in Mexico and foreign investment is limited to partnerships with Mexican nationals with fifty-one percent Mexican controlled (Tannenbaum,op.cit.). However the strong role of the state in the tourism sector, and the importance of foreign investment capital has led to some rule-bending. ¹⁷ A government Fideicomiso (Government Trust Company) was set up in order to allow foreigners to acquire legal rights to land in Mexico. The system is designed so that the foreigner effectively leases the land from the Fideicomiso with the agreement that the land must be sold to a Mexican citizen in the event of a sale. Otherwise the land can be inherited by the leesee's kin (Lee,op.cit.). ¹⁸

¹⁷Rule-bending is an integral feature of the Mexican political system and exists in sectors other than the tourism industry.(Riding, 1984)

¹⁸One of the underlying concepts of planned tourism development

Another way to acquire land in Mexico is to gain citizenship either through birth or marriage and it may also be awarded to distinguished persons of merit. The latter is usually left to the immigration officials' discretion. Lastly, a common method of circumventing the land laws is through a system called presta-nombre in which the foreigner wishing to buy land, can for a fee use the name of a Mexican citizen in the land deed. This may lead to future problems for the foreigner if the Mexican chooses to claim the land for himself. However lawyers are available who specialize in minimizing the risks for foreigners choosing this method. The increasing ease by which foreigners can acquire land has created problems for the local landholders who are powerless against government agencies such as Fideicomiso. They are unable to fight against land expropriations, and many are finding that land prices have gone up beyond their reach, accelerating the unequal distribution of resources.

A study by Turner on the "International Division of Leisure" examines how the developed world monopolizes the tourism industry ^{creating unequal control} over tourism resources between nations (Turner, 1972). Turner's analysis showed that in the airline industry not one of the world's thirty largest airlines is owned or controlled by developing countries, but rather they are monopolized by the North American and European countries. Furthermore they are vertically integrated with the

¹⁸(cont'd) was that one agency should possess all the land to control development and limit speculation by individuals or groups. (DeRegt and Valle, 1979:118).

international hotel chains with the consequence that only a fraction of tourism earning stays in the host country. It has been estimated that the average "leakage" is 20 to 30 percent and it can be as high as 80 percent (ibid).

Lack of data on foreign ownership in the hotel industry in Mexico limits our analysis on this point, however Jud describes the procedure as follows: an agreement exists in the tourism industry that the local investor supplies the land and buildings under a long term lease to the international hotel chain. The foreign firm assumes responsibility for the management of the hotel and provides the working capital. The normal policy is for the local investor to retain fifty-one percent control. Of the major hotel chains, The Hilton, Holiday Inn and Westin International are some of the major hotel chains currently operating in this fashion (Jud, op.cit:37).¹⁹

The Cancun Magnet

The Cancun Project, administered by the Fondo Nacional del Turismo (FONATUR) and the Fideicomiso, was designed as a development or growth pole for tourism supposedly to generate economic development in Quintana Roo. Funding for the Cancun project has been in the form of a \$21.5 million U.S. loan from the Interamerican Development Bank, together with over \$100 million U.S which the Mexican government has invested. By 1975

¹⁹A study by the Mexican Department of Tourism established that the import content of tourism is a little over 18 per-cent, and that the variation is substantial within sectors (transportation, food etc) and that it ranges as high as 100 percent in aircraft (Jud, op.cit.).

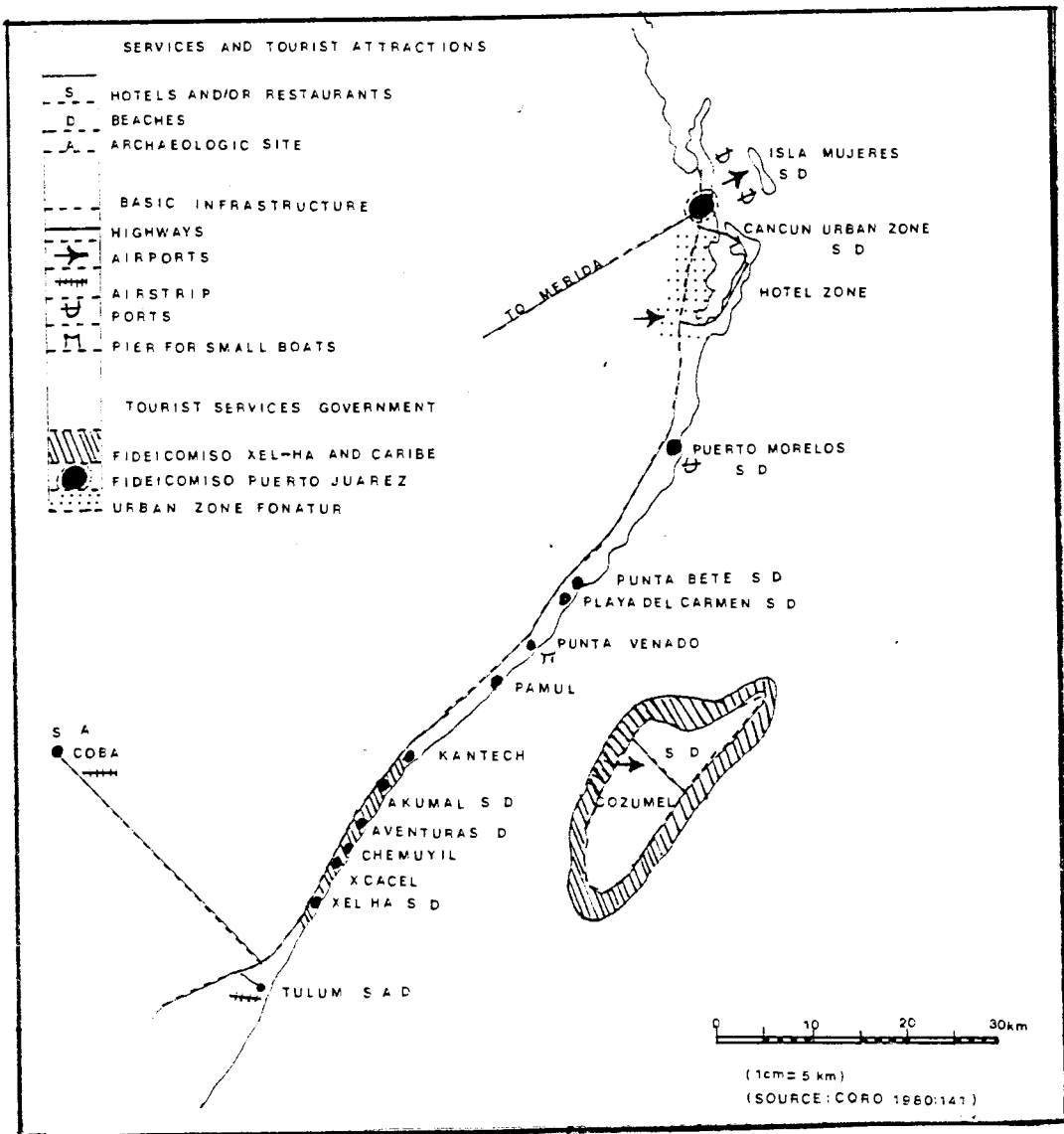
private investment had exceeded \$200 million U.S with Mexican capital accounting for 87% of this total (Lee,op.cit:232).

Construction began in 1972 to accomodate 800,000 people. The chosen site had no centralized village to build over, just a scattering of fishermen and their families. In the meantime Cancun has mushroomed in terms of growth. By 1975 over 100,000 visitors had passed through Cancun and spent the equivalent of \$10 Million U.S dollars (ibid.,).

The mature Cancun is a modern coastal resort with beautiful beaches and excellent watersports. The tourist interested in discovering the "real" "authentic" Mexico is directed to bus tours which has become another booming industry. Each day thousands of tourists clad in shorts and sun hats head off towards the ancient ruins of Chichen-Itza (200 km away), Tulum, the only Maya site located directly on a cliff, (130 km away) and Coba which is still under restoration (42 km away from Tulum) (See Fig.6).

Visits are also made to smaller places along the coast such as the palm beach at Akumal, or the lagoons at Xel Ha. These trips along the "Ruta Maya" have only been possible within the last 10 years following the expansion of the road network. The road-building activity is directly linked with the tourism development program (Jud,op.cit.,Gormsen,op.cit.). For those who choose to stay in Cancun, "staged" cultural performances are provided: nightclubs offer "live Aztec fire dances" or "Mexican Fiestas" with Mariachi bands from Acapulco, and restaurants offer the native pork dish called "cochinita pibil" served by

Figure 6: Tourism Development Zone, Quintana Roo



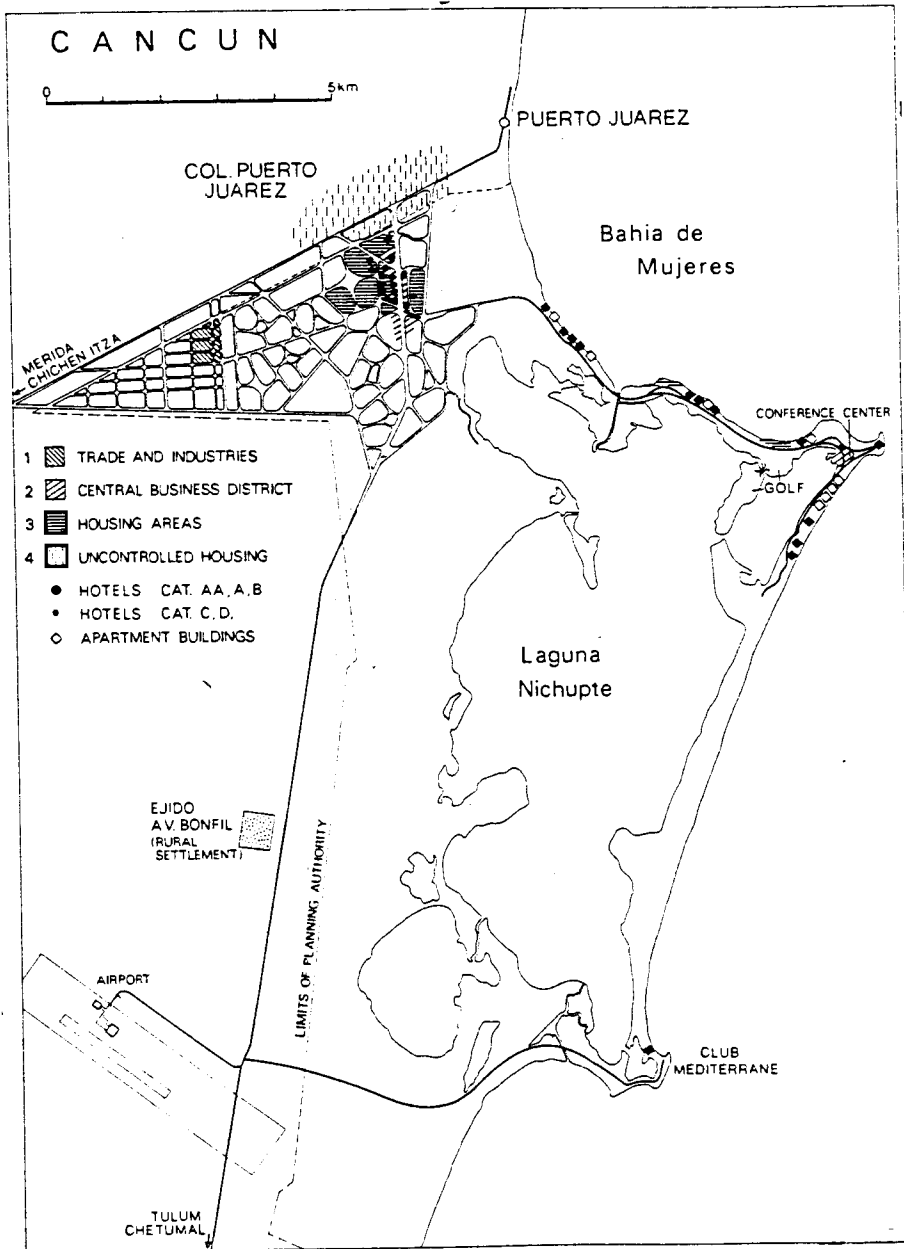
smiling dark Maya women dressed in huipils. For many tourists they may be the only Maya they ever see during their stay in Cancun.

The city planners designed Cancun in three separate sections: the first section known as "the hotel zone" is located on a thirteen mile long spit. The second part of the city is the downtown commercial centre where upscale condominiums and apartments stand beside designer boutiques and restaurants. The third section of the city is the one which most tourists do not ever see. Here, in Colonia Puerto Juarez, outside the area controlled by FONATUR, make-shift huts spring out of empty lots and behind garages and small factories. This is where the workers and their families live. (Fig.7 shows the overall plan in which three main zones are identifiable. Fig.8 shows the development status of Cancun in 1978.) ²⁰

Despite the planning that has gone into the creation of Cancun city, it has not managed to escape problems experienced in other Mexican and Latin American cities. These urban problems include inadequate worker housing and a steadily increasing population fueled by rural-urban migration. As a result the rents are high and food prices are better suited to the

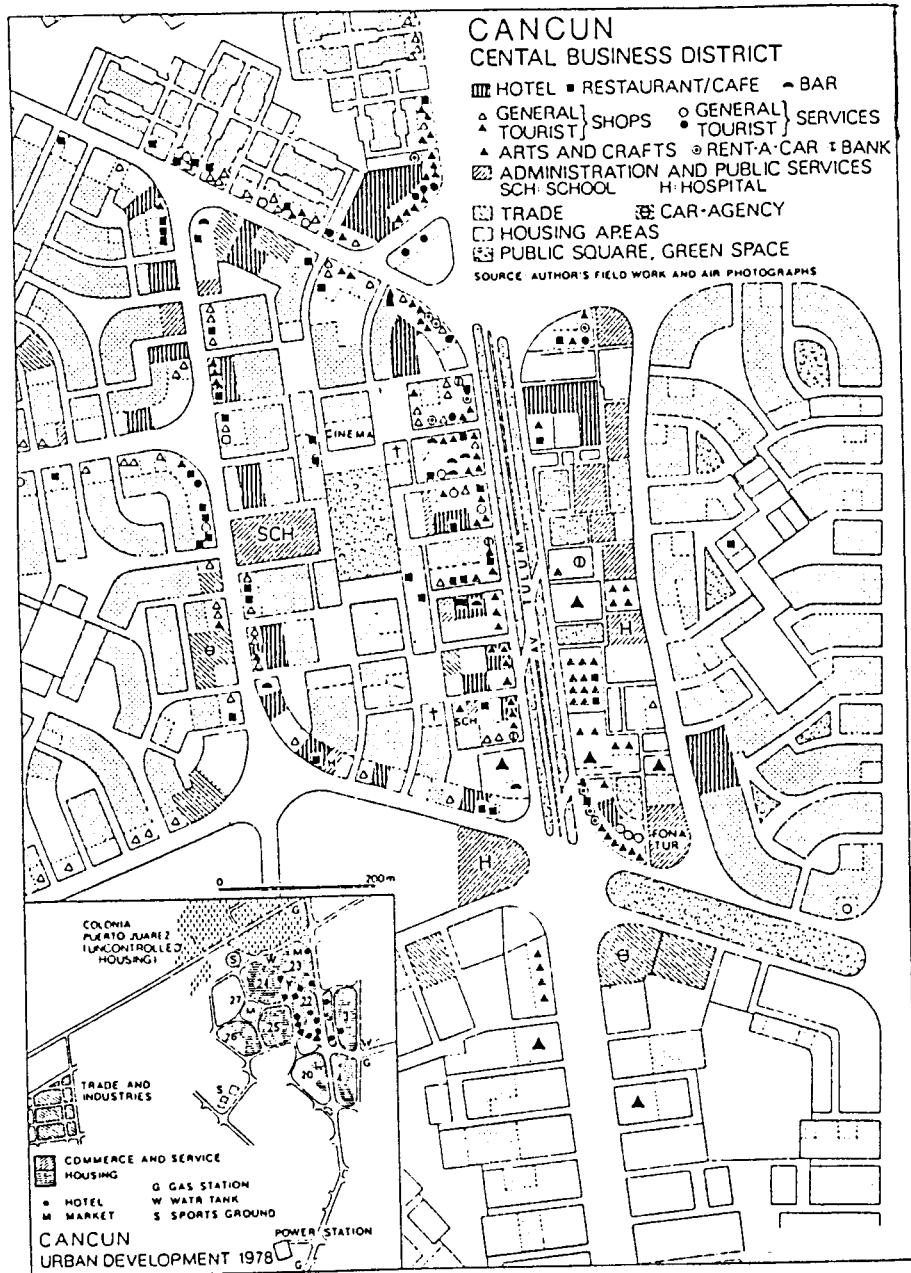
²⁰Acapulco is an example of a city which grew too quickly. Between the years 1950 and 1970 shanty towns mushroomed to accomodate the increasing population. Due to an absence of physical space and integrated urban planning these slums stand alongside five star hotels. There has been some decline in tourism as tourists are reluctant to be faced with extreme poverty and urban blight. The government has responded by relocating thousands of workers in government planned townsites behind Acapulco's hills, and out of the range of tourist eyes (DeRegt and Valle,op.cit:112).

Figure 7: Plan of Cancun



(SOURCE, GORMSEN, 1982:41)

Figure 8: Cancun:Development Status, 1978



(SOURCE: GORMSEN, 1982: 52)

tourist's pocketbook than the average workers salary. In 1980 Cancun workers were recorded as earning more than the average Mexican worker with only four percent of the population earning below minimum wage (CQRO:1980). In reality the Cancun worker has not much more earning power than the national average because the cost of living in Quintana Roo is the second highest in Mexico, (due to its remoteness and transportation costs), surpassed only by the state of Baja California.

Statistics show that in the initial development of Cancun, Mexican tourists outnumbered foreign visitors. This is surprising as Cancun was designed to compete with the Caribbean resorts for foreign tourists and foreign currency (Gormsen, op.cit.). The high numbers of Mexican tourists to Cancun can be attributed to a number of factors which include the massive advertising campaign on Mexican televisions, an increase in the number of bus trips along the "Ruta Maya", appealing to the middle-income Mexican, and is encouraged as "cultural tourism" by the state, schools and media. "Cultural tourism", and the awareness of historical roots, is one way in which reinforces sense of national identity. Table 1 shows the distribution of visitors to select tourist sites from 1975 to 1978. As is evident in Table 2., Mexican tourists spend substantially less per day than their foreign counterparts.

One of the reasons why less foreigners visited Cancun in the initial phases of its development was the lack of direct flights. It was necessary to change planes in Mexico City and then again, in Merida. Since August 1975, direct international

Table 1: Distribution of Visitors to Select Tourist Sites

	Mexico	Cancun	Zihuatanejo- Ixtapa	Total: Cancun + Zihuatanejo- Ixtapa
No. of visitors, 1975	3,217,800	27,286	12,484	39,770
Change, 1975/76	-110,700 -3.4%	+39,666 +145.4%	+448 +3.6%	+40,114 +100.9%
No. of visitors, 1976	3,107,100	66,952	12,932	79,884
Change, 1976/77	+140,000 +4.5%	+49,696 +74.2%	+3,988 +30.8%	+53,684 +67.2%
No. of visitors, 1977	3,247,100	116,648	16,920	133,568
Change, 1977/78	+495,600 +15.3%	+32,864 +28.2%	+12,786 +75.6%	+45,650 +34.2%
No. of visitors, 1978	3,742,700	149,512	29,706	179,218

Source: FONATUR (Fondo Nacional de Fomento al Turismo)

Table 2: Tourist Receipts from Mexican and Foreign Tourists

Amount spent	per capita	per capita and day	total (millions of pesos)
Mexicans	3,000	275.1	
Foreigners	4,365	880	458.3
Average total	3,729	853	733.4

flights have been available and there is an increase in the number of international and charter flights including daily flights from Miami, Houston, New York and Paris. FONATUR expects a steady increase in the number of foreign tourists. However the trend so far, which is far from conclusive, shows that Mexican tourists predominate in the summer months and foreign tourists predominate in the winter months.

Summary

Although The Cancun project is still relatively new and it is not possible to gauge its long term effectiveness as a planned development program, a preliminary study of the tourist destination of Ixtapa-Zihuatanejo, Cancun's Pacific coast counterpart, reveals some interesting developments that are relevant to Cancun. Ixtapa-Zihuatanejo was established under the direction of the Mexican government in 1972. It is located on the Pacific coast in between Puerto Vallarta and Acapulco (DeRegt and Valle, op.cit.). It shares with Cancun several common features: geographic isolation, and lack of exploitable resources. The main difference between the two is that Cancun was built on an unpopulated strip of beach while the Ixtapa-Zihuantanejo resort was superimposed over a pre-existing village of fishermen and ejidatarios. The two resorts were both established in 1972, but Cancun receives almost nine times the number of tourists that Ixtapa-Zihuatanejo receives. This figure points to Cancun's importance as one of Mexico's leading destinations. It also implies that the rapid growth of tourism

in Cancun may intensify and accelerate some of the problems experienced in Ixtapa-Zihuatanejo, where tourism is growing at a slower pace.

DeRegt and Valle discuss several of the immediate socio-economic transformations which have occurred since the implementation of the tourism project (ibid.,). These include the increase in the distinctions between rich and poor ejidatarios, which has come about through the unequal distribution of socio-economic benefits (credit facilities, land deals etc). There is a growing impoverishment of agricultural labourers who cannot afford to purchase land due to the inflated prices, and who now face monthly cash payments for utilities, and services which they can not afford. This latter group has not benefitted from increased employment opportunities. In fact, the increased employment opportunities through tourism have attracted migrants and job competition is a result. The population in Ixtapa-Zihuantanejo has doubled. The effects of this demographic rise are several: the migrants are semi-skilled labourers and construction workers. This group and not the locals benefit from the jobs arising from the construction boom. At the same time, the population rise has created a shortage in essential services (ie: drinking water, schools, medical care etc.).

Despite these "growing pains", related more to rapid modernization and social change, than to tourism specifically, DeRegt and Valle maintain that the disruptions to the local population were minimized through the presence of a community

development team made up of sociologists and urban planners. Many of the immediate concerns of the local population were dealt with as the problems arose. They conclude that once the project is underway, tourism will be an integrating force rather than a disruptive one (ibid: 132).

In Cancun, there was no existing population to displace, or existing socio-economic organization to disrupt, thus the presence of a community development team was not important. There are Maya villages situated throughout the tourism zone and while they are on the periphery of tourism development, they are experiencing similar kinds of "growing pains" as the Ixtapa-Zihuantanjo community. In fact, the problems of growing economic disparity between rich and poor, pauperization, and competition for jobs among migrants and locals relate directly to changes occurring in Tulum. The Maya in Tulum have had to face and counter these changes without the aid of a community development team. It appears that integrated, planned development stops at the centre, in this case Cancun. This policy is highly reflective of Mexico's urban or centre bias, which has historically favored the development of dynamic centres, at the expense of the marginal periphery.

CHAPTER IV

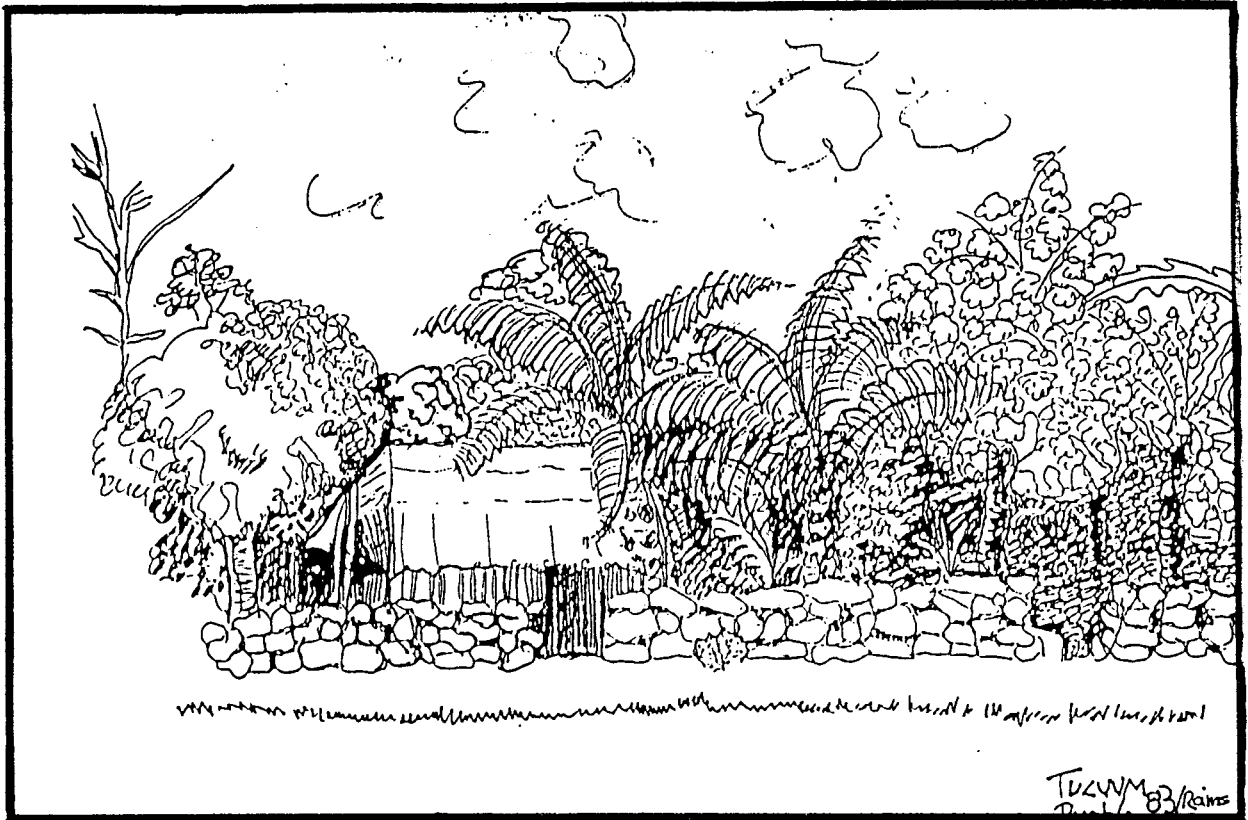
TOURISM ON THE PERIPHERY

Part One: Tulum Yesterday and Today

Tulum village lies buried in mangrove and rain-forests four kilometers inland from the shores of the Caribbean sea. The village appears desolate in contrast to the busy holiday atmosphere of Cozumel and Cancun, and apart from the stray dogs sleeping in the shade, the streets are empty. There are no fashionable five star hotels or "ethnic restaurants" to lure the tourists here and indeed guidebooks recommend that the tourist bypass Tulum pueblo (village) which is no more than "a collection of thatch-roofed huts" (see Fig. 9). To the casual observer Tulum appears a world apart from the hustle and bustle of the coastal resort towns and indeed there is no perceptible indication that the Tulum villagers participate in the surrounding tourism milieu.

Four kilometers away thousands of visitors have come from every part of the globe to visit the Tulum ruins. Most of these visitors never see the village hidden in the bush and those that do wonder how it is that the contemporary Maya live in stick huts (casas de palos) while their ancestors constructed the palatial stone structures that now lie in ruins throughout the peninsula. The Maya who inhabit the stick huts only appear to be part of another slower paced, simpler world. They are in fact fully aware of the tourism bustle which is affecting their

Figure 9: Tulum Village Street



social organization and how they earn their living.

Tulum Ruins: History by the sea

The ruins of Tulum stand high on the cliffs overlooking the Caribbean sea below. The most characteristic feature of this site is the fortress wall which encloses the inner buildings. The fortress wall has been linked to Mayapan and dates to the late Post classic period (Jones, op.cit:52). Inside the walls stand a number of small palace buildings and shrines.

During the Late Post Classic Tulum appears to have been an important trading centre and religious place of worship (Thompson, 1966; Stephens, 1897) It was situated in one of the seventeen Maya provinces of Ekab (Roys,op.cit.). However little information exists on the Maya who lived here. By the 1400's Tulum and the surrounding cities of Tankah, Pole, Mochi and Pamal were in a state of collapse due to disease and famine (Thompson op.cit:49).

In 1527 General Montejo and an expedition from Merida stopped briefly at the Tulum site. He found the area deserted except for a few small and widely scattered hamlets in the jungle which he noted in his log-book (Luxton,op.cit.). In the 1700's the number of settlements increased throughout Quintana Roo due to the gradual wave of migrant Mayas from northern Yucatan. As the Spanish did not manage to extend their colonial administration this far eastwards Maya migrants came here to escape Spanish domination, and later as refugees from the Caste War of 1847. The jungles of Quintana Roo, crisscrossed with a maze of footpaths and raised limestone roads (sacbehs) functioned as an important "zone of refuge" during the colonial and post independence period of Yucatecan history.

Tulum: A View From Inside A Maya Village

Visitors to Tulum village soon discover that the rhythm of daily life is dictated by the steady chore of making a living. The pattern has remained constant for several hundred years: the men make milpa and pray to chac (the rain god) for timely

precipitation and a good harvest; others are deep in the monte (jungle) gathering the resinous sap from the chicle zapote tree which they will sell for cash. The women stay behind in the family solars (living compounds) grinding corn for tortillas (corn bread), washing clothes, looking after the children and the domestic pigs and chickens; other women are busy weaving cotton threads into bright colored hammocks which they use instead of beds. Everyone except for the very young and the old or infirm, is busy working. The elderly population have an important task also- they are the abuelos of the village (literally meaning "grandfathers" in Spanish but has come to connote the possession of wisdom and experience). The abuelos are highly cherished and respected for their sagacity and are also important repositories of culture. They teach their sons and grandchildren, and it is ultimately their duty to keep the past alive through the hoarding and transmission of "folk-tales" and "knowledge of the old ways".

"The past" is not so distant in the memory of the Tulum villager; it can refer to the uprising of the Maya in the 1800's as well as to "the time before the highway was built" in 1968. The events of yesterday and yesteryear have merged into a tangible segment of time that is frequently used to contrast and compare to the present. We know from the Maya and from historians that the "past" was dynamic and forever changing marked by conflicts, rebellions, and migrations but we also know that an element of continuity was maintained through the making of milpa and the pursual of the same economic activities for

hundreds of years.

The practice of milpa is central to the spiritual and secular life of the Maya. Their terrestrial world is made up of four key elements: the bush, the cenote, the village and the milpa. The bush and the cenote represent two elements which are provided by the gods. The village and the milpa are man-made but only with the permission and protection of the gods.

The Maya believe that man's claim on the milpa is temporary and that after he has finished using the milpa, the planted fields will return to their natural wild state. Therefore man must at all times be aware that he is an invader in the bush and that his actions must reflect respect and devotion to the gods. Milperos work in close communion with the gods and to show their respect they make offerings which include the first fruits of harvest called the "dinners of the milpa" (Redfield, op.cit.).

Today change means that the Maya have more economic choices than they have ever had before, but these choices demand new skills. The young Maya men find that their skills as milperos do not have a place within the tourism industry. For many change means choosing between remaining Indian or becoming a Mexican.

The Household

In peasant society the household is the hub of everyday life (Redfield, 1941; Friedman, 1980). In Tulum the household consists of up to three generations of patrilineal kin. They share a spatial area known as the solar. This is an enclosed compound comprised of a thatch-roofed house per nuclear family, a well,

fruit trees and a kitchen garden (see Fig.10). The solar is the predominant residential unit in the Yucatan.

Rights to solar property are passed down through the male line and divided equally among brothers. Ideally each brother has his own hut which he occupies with his wife and children, however the residential grouping varies and is flexible to include widowed parents and extended kin.

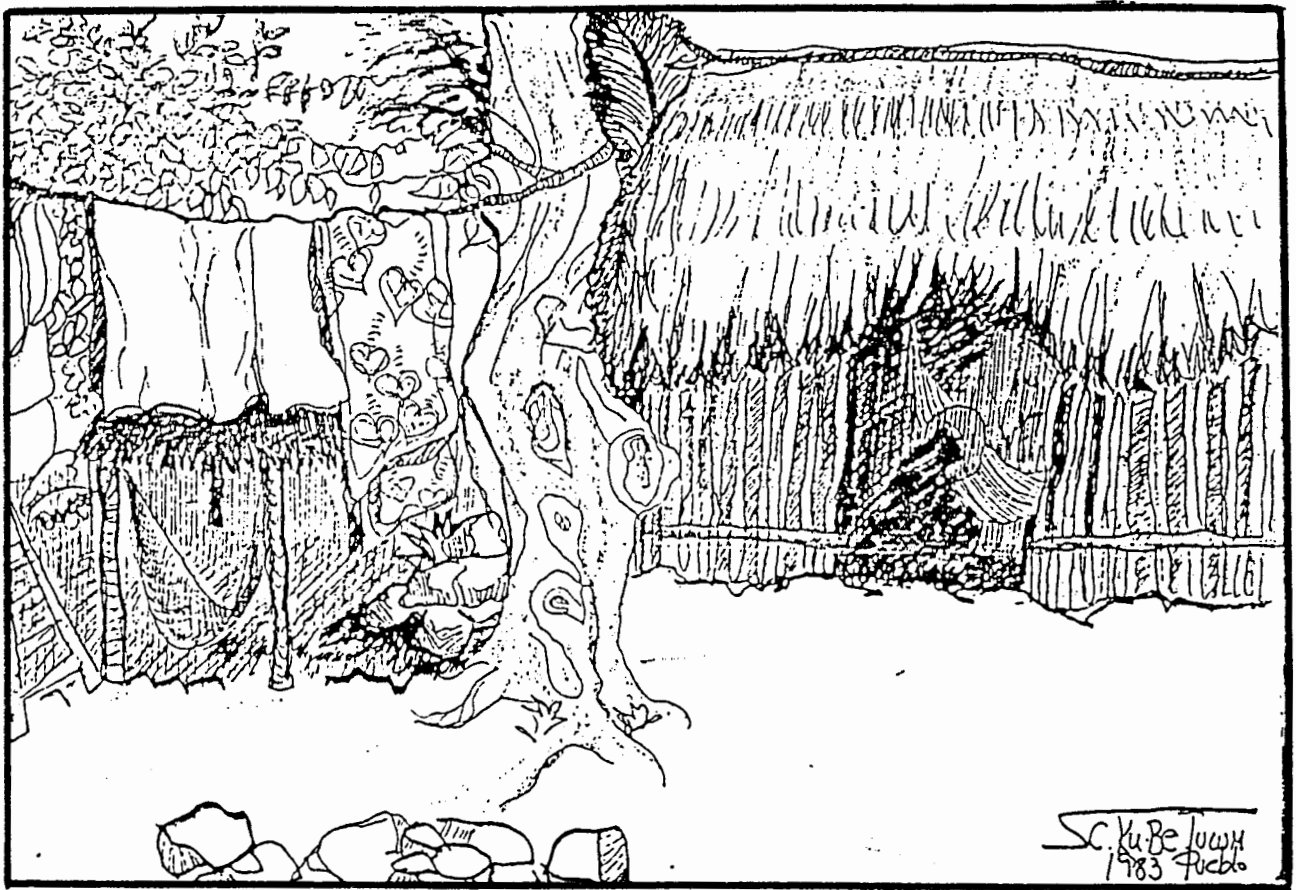
During the daylight hours one finds primarily women in the solar as the men are at work either in the bush or in neighbouring villages. The women leave the solar boundaries infrequently claiming that moral women are never seen on the streets unless they are shopping or with their husbands. This attitude effectively constrains the participation of women in public and often children are sent to do whatever errands need to be accomplished in the village. The women keep busy washing, cooking, cleaning and visiting amongst themselves.

The streets and village square which constitute the public domain are by contrast the domain of the village males. When they are not working they can be found standing in small groups exchanging gossip and cigarettes, retreating to the "woman's world" of the solar only to wash, eat and sleep²¹

The family dwellings consist of stick huts with thatched roofs corresponding to Maya house-types found throughout the Yucatan. The main difference is in their shape; in Tulum they

²¹ This division of territorial space between the sexes corresponds to the Hispanic attitude found throughout Mexico which divides space into male and female domains; the casa (house), belongs to the female and the calle (streets), belong to the male.

Figure: 10 A Typical Maya Solar



are rectangular structures rather than oval as found in the northern part of Yucatan. ²² They are constructed of thin poles which are cut in the monte (forest) and lashed together, in an upright position with string. They are formed into four walls and roofed with leaves woven from the guano palm. Except for the richer families who can afford a cement floor, the most common

²²According to Robert Wauchope, the rectangular shape of the dwellings is characteristic of the southern Maya (Wauchope, 1938:24).

floor is simply hard packed dirt.

The huts are nearly always one room and within the same four walls, the Maya are born, sleep, visit and here eventually die. The most important corner of the hut is the simple cooking hearth surrounded by three smooth stones. The fire is fuelled by wood gathered by the women who go on regular wood-cutting expeditions with their female kin. In most of the Maya homes, furniture is limited to one or two tables used for eating and working. On a low table placed beside the fire the women sit and make tortillas. Mesh bags hanging from the rafters with the families' supply of dried foodstuffs and hammocks, used for sitting and sleeping, complete the interior furnishings of the Maya home (see Figs. 11 and 12).

Several nights each week the town reverberates to the sounds of American rock and roll and reggae music blasting relentlessly from a loud speaker outside the local cinema. The music stops only when the seats in the cinema are full. In addition to this form of entertainment, once a month the delegado (town council) sponsors a dance and a live band is brought in from Tizimin, Yucatan or Chetumal. At this time the basketball court becomes a festive stage set up with balloons and lights, local Indian women set up taco stands and the delegado sells beer. On these nights, men and women, young and old mingle together and even the rancheros (farmers) come to town to join in the festivity.

The national Mexican fiestas are also acknowledged, in particular the Dia De La Independencia which marks the independence from Spain in 1821. Families make special tamales

Figure 11 and Figure 12: Maya House-Types



(corn cakes) for the Dia de Los Muertos (Day of The Dead) in November, and there is also a celebration for the Virgen de Guadalupe, the patron Saint of the Indians, in December and a large annual fiesta in March marking the beginning of the new agricultural cycle. And so life in Tulum goes on with the months marked by the fiestas and dances and the passage of the rains that are sent by chac, the Maya rain god.

The rains last from September until December. During that time the chicleros traditionally would pack up their machetes and move deep into the jungles in search of the illusive chicle sap. Today fewer men each year go into the jungle and it is up to them to keep alive the tales of encounters with the deadly snake known as the cuatro nariz from whose bite no man would ever recover.

Change has come very quickly to villages such as Tulum and promises to continue to accelerate. Up until very recently they were able to withdraw from the pull of modernization by seeking out the sanctity of their milpas which can be viewed as an extension of the "refuge zones" sought out by their forefathers. The possibility that in a few years time this choice of "making milpa" will no longer be available to them is a consistent theme amongst the elders.

Class and Ethnicity amongst the Maya

The state of Quintana Roo, the traditional "zone of refuge" for the Maya is distinct from the henequen growing regions of northern Yucatan in that there was an absence of organized

Spanish colonial administration and an absence of the encomienda and hacienda economic institutions. Instead Quintana Roo consisted of small scattered villages of Maya refugees, and a transient population of foreign workers and smugglers. Within the villages themselves, the literature indicates that there was very little social differentiation amongst the Maya (Redfield,op.cit.; Farriss,op.cit.) as they all worked as milperos, and part time chicleros. In the small villages such as Tulum there were no full-time professionals or artisans.

Today the majority of Maya living in Tulum and in the Yucatan are part-time ejidatarios. They maintain their ejido lands and continue to plant their maize which they depend on for their basic subsistence. At the same time, they supplement their agricultural production with part-time wage labour procured either in Tulum, or in one of the neighboring villages.

Another feature shared by the Tulum Maya and their neighbors in the Yucatan is a cultural identity which is distinct from the mainstream mexicanized culture. The Maya have retained a strong sense of ethnic identity and were thus never as completely assimilated into the dominant culture of the Spanish colonizers as the Indians living in northern and central Mexico. One other factor to take into account is the economic backwardness that characterized the Yucatan peninsula. Industrialization lagged behind the rest of Mexico with the result that the Maya were not incorporated into the national economy as wage-labourers until late in the twentieth century. They remained a rural, subsistence based economy with minimal economic differentiation

and specialization. This has changed with the advent of tourism and the increasing diversification of the Yucatecan economy.

In Mexico the population is divided into two main categories mestizo and Indian. The term mestizo has its roots in the Spanish verb mezclar which means to mix and it literally means the mixture of Spanish and Indian blood. Today it is used to refer to the non-Indian population in Mexico. In the Yucatan non-Indians are called Mexicanos, gente de vestido, (people with fine clothes), and dzul, (foreigner).

In the Yucatan, the term mestizo has an entirely different meaning- it is used to denote a type of Indian, rather than to distinguish Indians from non-Indians. The Yucatecan version of a mestizo is an Indian who dresses and acts according to expected 'Indian behavior'. It is applied to Indians by other Indians. Non-Indians refer to the native population as 'Indios' or 'Mayitos'. They in turn are referred to by the Maya as ojos claros (clear-eyes) by the Maya.

The term used to designate a female Indian who deviates from expected Indian behavior is catrin. A catrin lives in an Indian community but chooses to adopt western-style clothing. It appears to be a purely superficial transition insofar as it requires simply an alteration in appearance. A closer look at this change in behavior and dress pattern suggests that the process of 'catrinization' is an important aspect of interpersonal relations (see Fig. 13 and 14).

Changing from mestiza to catrin allows the woman greater personal freedom within the village. She is able to exempt

Figure 13 and Figure 14: A Mestiza and a Catrin



herself from 'traditional' expectations which may be confining, without rejecting existing standards of behavior entirely. In other words- a mestiza woman is obligated to act according to a strict set of prescribed rules and is under the constant scrutiny of the village males and elders (both male and female) who can be described as "cultural watchdogs" of the village.

A catrin woman is less easily judged by her elders and female counterparts because by stepping over the boundary from mestiza to catrin she has already declared herself different from the rest. In addition, traditional attitudes and expectations used to gauge correct behavior no longer apply.

In the village it is customary that women signal their status through the display of wealth in the form of gold jewelry. A mestiza woman is not completely dressed without her earrings, bracelets and necklaces. She is careful to display portions of her wealth at all times whenever she is in public otherwise she and her family will be regarded by others as Los Pobres (the poor ones). By adopting western style clothing, a catrin automatically excludes herself from this form of internal ranking. The categories of mestiza and catrin are relevant only among other Maya. Thus when a woman moves, for whatever reason, away from her village and into a city such as Cancun, where the population is more heterogeneous, the importance of the distinction fades and she generally adopts a catrin mode of dressing to "fit in" more easily.

The mestiza/catrin dichotomy is rarely used to define male status. Amongst males the significant criterion for

differentiation is occupation. Amongst the Tulum Maya the males are referred to by their occupation; The most common ones are 'milpero' (agricultural small-holder), 'ejidatario' (agriculturalist working ejido land), 'peascador' (fisherman) 'campesino' (peasant). Occupations differ in the amount of prestige allotted them: in Tulum the majority of the economically active male population are subsistence farmers, fishermen and wage-labourers. Until recently most of the male population had equal opportunities and equal access to resources. This is changing with the advent of tourism and as new migrants move to Tulum. For the first time there are full-time professionals living in the village, such as a doctor and an engineer.

The Pre-tourism Economic Activities Of The Tulum Maya

Milpa Agriculture

Agriculture has always played a vital role in the life of the Maya. Early settlers to Tulum who came from villages and towns in the Yucatan in the 1930's brought with them maize seeds and digging sticks for establishing their milpas, and in essence their community. Land was in abundance and the Maya were not faced with the problem of land shortage common in the central states of Mexico. ²³ Their task was to find sources of water, (cenotes) and to keep the land cleared from the dense jungle

²³A family consisting of 8 to 10 members might keep 100 mecates (1 mecate =20 square meters) and one person can clear 2 mecates a day (Luxton,op.cit:146)

growth. Much of the land surrounding Tulum is made up of marsh and swamp and the bush has regrowth more rapid than normal. In 1930 the village was granted rights to 22,600 hectares of ejido land for approximately one hundred beneficiaries.

For those who continue to "make milpa", maize is the main crop.²⁴ It is interspersed with squash, beans, chile peppers, bananas, sugar cane and watermelon. The agricultural cycle consists of four major activities: felling the bush, burning, planting and harvesting and is referred to as slash and burn or swidden agriculture. The milpa cycle begins in March at which time the bush is cleared with machetes and coas (small iron sticks attached to wooden handles). The average plot of cleared land is 15 to 20 acres. The first sowing commences in April. Towards the end of April, maize begins to appear and a typical conversation amongst the milperos is "how is your maize doing" and a common response is "well mine is like a parrot's tail" or "like a crouched rabbit"(Luxton,op.cit.).

After two to three months the maize turns yellow and the earliest variety is harvested. The larger maize will take six more months before it is mature. The harvest time occurs in September. This is the time of waiting and hoping that the gods will be benevolent. Sometimes a hurricane sweeps through and destroys everything. Thus the milpero waits and prays. The act of "making milpa" has been described by one author as "prayer making of the highest order" (ibid.,)

²⁴96.7% of the total population of agriculturalists in Quintana Roo cultivate maize(Centro de Investigaciones de Quintana Roo;1980:60)

Chicle gathering

Gathering chicle provided the Maya with the seasonal work needed to supplement their subsistence milpa agriculture and to earn cash. Seasonal work was necessary prior to the population pressure on milpa in order to earn the cash needed to pay taxes and purchase tools. Chicle camps, in which the men lived during the duration of the gathering, were close enough to the village that men could visit their families and their wives could visit them with food.

Chicle is the resinous sap from the Achras Zapote tree . It was used as incense amongst the pre-Columbian Maya and was a trade-good. In the 1900's the Europeans created an overseas demand for chewing gum and soon chicle, which is the main ingredient, was converted to an export commodity. The largest chicle company was based in Chetumal and each September they would recruit in Tulum and other coastal villages. This system of recruitment is referred to by the Maya as enganchar which literally means to "hook". The recruiter was able to "hook" the Maya by advancing him wages at the beginning of the season; this advance would enable the Maya to pay off debts from the year before and buy provisions necessary for the upcoming season. The money was paid back bit by bit out of each subsequent cheque. Wages were paid on a piece work basis- the chicle sap when boiled down is formed into rubber blocks called marquetas- the men were thus paid according to how many marquetas they produced.

By the 1960's the chicle industry was on the decline as synthetics replaced the natural product. In addition the number of chicle trees had suffered a drastic reduction as the jungles were cleared to build highways, airports and hotels (Konrad,op.cit.). The demise of the chicle industry has meant the end to an important source of cash which had allowed the Tulum Maya to supplement making milpa. The search for alternate avenues of employment has meant that men go further afield in search of work and in many instances they have been forced to forego milpa plantings.

Part Two: Tourism and the Quintana Roo Maya

The development of the Cancun resort in 1972 effectively marked the advent of "institutionalized" tourism in Quintana Roo.²⁵ While this date serves as an important benchmark in terms of economic transformations in Quintana Roo, the building of public highways in 1968 linking the territory to major highways in the central Mexican states and ultimately to the United States border was to have immediate and significant repercussions on the Maya. These new roads pulsed the first wave of economic change through the small Maya villages which for the first time had direct and efficient access to the rest of Mexico. More important for the Maya was the fact that they were able to travel longer distances to find wage-labour which a few

²⁵Institutionalized tourism refers here to mass tourism in which the travel tour is sold as a package, standardized and mass produced (Cohen,op.cit:169).

years prior would have necessitated temporary migration or extended walking trips. The abuelos and even young men remember going to Merida on foot and by horseback. On foot the trip took seven days. Today the trip can be made in five hours by bus or car.

The improved transportation system combined with the development of the tourism industry has contributed to a number of changes in the social and economic organization of village life. Three of these changes include 1) an influx of non-Indian migrants to Tulum 2) the diversification of the local economy and 3) the movement away from agriculture towards wage labour.

1. Population redistribution and the influx of migrants

In 1980 the population of the state of Quintana Roo was 88,000 and it is estimated that by 1975, forty-five percent of this total number (39,678) were migrants originating from the Yucatan, Acapulco and Mexico City (CQRO, 1980). Migration from the Yucatan is not a new process as we have seen in the preceding chapters. Quintana Roo's role in the colonial and post independence as a "zone of refuge" to Maya Indians attracted migrants. In addition, the habit of migration was forced on the Maya by the nature of the soil and rainfall. As the arable land around villages becomes depleted due to slash and burn agriculture, families would move further and further away from the original core until a new town eventually became established (Redfield, op.cit.) The biggest change is that the largest proportion of migrants are non-Indian migrants who come here

attracted by job prospects advertised on national radio and television. They come from areas of high unemployment such as Mexico City, and Acapulco where hyperurbanization has forced them to seek work elsewhere. ²⁶

A study of Cancun's development by Edward Gormsen traces this process of migration (Gormsen, op.cit.). He found that new arrivals to Quintana Roo are drawn directly to Cancun, the tourist capital. The majority of migrants are typically impoverished and find that they can not afford to stay in Cancun. ²⁷ As a result, migrants are forced to relocate in smaller, less developed coastal towns. The most popular destinations include Puerto Morelos, Playa del Carmen, Cozumel and more recently, as these towns become saturated, Tulum (see Table 3) Those migrants who are fortunate enough to find accommodation in Cancun eventually find jobs as waiters, janitors, and vendors. There are numerous possibilities depending on the skills and resources of the migrant job-seekers.

As a group these migrants share several common characteristics; they speak fluent Spanish and have the minimum of an elementary school education. Also these migrants have had previous and prolonged work experience in the wage-labour market often directly related to tourism. These characteristics distinguish the migrants from the Maya who are bilingual and

²⁶In Mexico in 1972, 2 million people, out of an economically active population of 17.5 million were unemployed (Russell, 1977:119)

²⁷In 1983 Mexico's subsidized housing board INOVIT was in the process of constructing a housing project for workers however the demand still outnumbers the supply.

speak Maya in their homes and Spanish as a second language, have had little experience as full time wage labourers and have had minimal exposure and limited participation in the tourism industry.

Table 3: GROWTH OF COASTAL TOWNS 1970-1980

Town	1960	1970	Annual Growth	1980	Annual Growth
1. Cancun	n/a	n/a	n/a	34321	n/a
2. Cozumel	2915	5888	10.2	18000	20.6
3. C.Puerto	1249	2052	6.4	7160	24.9
4. I.Mujeres	107	2663	-	4620	7.3

(source CQRO:1980)

Migrants in Tulum

Tulum is one of many of the small coastal towns whose boundaries have grown to accomodate the increasing number of migrants. The permanent migration of non-Mayas is becoming a feature of village life. In Tulum the population has swelled from 160 inhabitants in 1960 to 643 inhabitants in 1982. Out of this total number of inhabitants, sixty-four percent are Maya, and thirty-six percent are non-Maya. ²⁸ In 1979 there were 18 recorded births in Tulum clinic, but this figure had doubled to over 32 in 1982. This population increase in such a relatively

²⁸There are also an additional 300 persons living in the outskirts of Tulum on ranchos.

short period of twenty years is due to in-migration which is related to the construction of the highway in 1969, and the expansion of the Yucatecan tourism industry in 1972.

The population increase has several implications for the social organization of village life. The most obvious change is that the village boundaries have expanded to make room for these newcomers. There is also a high frequency of "spontaneous colonization" outside the village proper in which one or several families may settle and establish ranchos, a process similar to the North American phenomena called "homesteading".

The population increase has had more subtle effects on village life relating to the organization of class and ethnicity. Earlier we have discussed how occupational categories overlap with class in Tulum and in the Yucatan in general. The influx of migrants and tourists has created new situational definitions for ethnic boundaries. Ethnic designations have increased to include migrants and resident tourists. They are referred to as "Los del Mercado" (from the market) and "Los de la Playa" (from the beach) consecutively. The Maya refer to themselves and are defined by others as "Los del Pueblo" (from the village) (see Fig. 15).

"Los del Pueblo", who constitute sixty-four percent of the total population, live in Maya-style houses (thatch and pole), and bear Maya surnames. Male members are either peasants, fishermen or day labourers (jornaleros) who make milpa part time. The women are either catrins or mestizas and work in the home. The differentiation of wealth between members in this

group is very subtle, for example a wealthier family has a cement floored house rather than the more common dirt floor and the women have gold chains, earrings and gold teeth.

"Los del Mercado" refers to the thirty-six percent of the total population which consists of families who have migrated to Tulum in the past twenty years. The majority are Mexicans, in that they speak Spanish, bear Spanish surnames and identify with the dominant mainstream culture. They are all merchants by occupation and operate the craft shops at the Tulum ruins, tourist restaurants and small hotels, as well as the local taxi business. ²⁹ "Los del Mercado" all live in Tulum village, however there is marked economic differentiation within this group: several families rent Maya-style houses, while other families have purchased house-lots and have built large Mexican-style houses. Even the poorest family in this group is not as poor as the poorest Maya.

These two groups are the most significant because they live alongside one another although at the same time their interaction is limited. The Maya remain largely endogamous and social gatherings such as hetzmek, (Maya christenings) weddings

29

In Mexico taxi-drivers occupy a relatively low position on the social ladder. In Tulum they have come to constitute a unique group closely allied, and in some cases, part of the merchant group. They are non-Maya migrants. Many have become linked to the Tulum Maya through the institution of compadrazgo. They are respected by the local male population as conduits of information (ie: politics and regional news). In Tulum there is no telephone system, newspaper readership is low, thus the two most important sources of information are the radio and word of mouth. By virtue of his job, the taxi-driver is in an optimal position to receive and deliver news between villages.

and Maya rain ceremonies are exclusively Maya. They also worship in separate Catholic churches. In 1983 the migrants, "Los del Mercado" sponsored a series of fund-raising events to build a new church. They felt that the Maya Catholic church was barbaric because there was no full-time priest in attendance and worshippers were requested to remove their shoes before entering the church.

The Catholic church schism is only one example which illustrates the cleavage between "Los del Mercado" and "Los del Pueblo". In recent years the cleavage between the two groups has taken on a spatial expression as well. The migrants have built their homes along the main highway while the Maya families continue to occupy the centre core of the village. ³⁰.

While the migrants and the local Maya manage to live apart they are brought together through the institution of fictive kinship and in a contradictory way, politics. In the realm of fictive kinship, otherwise known as *compradrazgo* the common pattern is for the "Los del Pueblo" to choose a *compadre* or a *comadre* from the more affluent migrant population but not vice versa. The latter group prefer to create these important kinship ties with friends and kin from larger towns who have more in the way of resources than the Maya.

Fictive kinship is an important institution in Tulum. It was brought by Europeans to the New World and has since flourished

³⁰ This is significant in terms of the local economy because the migrants have exclusive control over the booming high-way trade. They have capitalized on this by opening up loncherias (cafes) and mini-supers (grocery shops) which cater to highway travellers.

in Mesoamerica. The fictive kinship tie is formed when a family selects a compadre (godfather) and a comadre (godmother) for a child's baptism. These godparents are prepared to partake in a series of obligations to aid the child. At the same time they are tied into a highly formalized relationship with the child's real parents. For instance the adults address each other as comadre and compadre.³¹

The parents of the child owe gratitude and respect to the godparents. These obligations are expressed in a variety of social and economic relations in which both sets of kin have implicitly agreed to aid each other in whatever way. Godparents are frequently chosen with this factor in mind and it is common practice for a poorer family to attempt to create fictive kin ties with families who have better financial resources (Redfield, op.cit.).

Between the years 1970 and 1980 the role of the local political system has been forced to change to accommodate an increasingly diversified population. Pre-tourism Tulum can be characterized as an Indian village whose inhabitants were solely concerned with the day to day business of wresting a living from the milpas, the chicle forests and whatever migrant work was available. The population was relatively undifferentiated - made up largely of peasants involved in the same range of economic pursuits. Excluding the two Maya merchant families who own the village stores, they all shared the same standard of living and

³¹There is a stronger bond between compadres than between the godparent and child.

the same economic opportunities.

A second institution which brings the Maya and the migrants together is politics. At the village level the chief political task was to ensure the rightful allocation of house-lots and to mitigate conflicts to do with land boundaries, disputes between individuals and families. It was also the responsibility of the village officials to represent the interests of the Maya at the regional level, and to obtain social services for the village.

Before the Mexican Revolution (1910-1917) Indian villages had their own officers who exercised political authority. One local chief, elected by the villagers represented the village and with the advice of the village abuelos (elders) settled internal disputes. Since 1925 the village leader has been replaced with a delegado (Mayor).

The present day administrative structure in Tulum is comprised of a mayor, secretary and treasurer. These offices had been filled on a rotational basis by the male household heads of three prominent families. There is also a group of informal advisors who are the elderly abuelos. A separate organizational structure, the Agrarian Committee, which was created under the post-Revolution Agrarian Reform Law, exists to represent ejidatarios and to supervise the local distribution of ejidal lands. It is also responsible for collecting taxes for public improvements. The Committee is headed by an ejido president who are chosen from the male Committee members. Each ejido president presides for three years before an election is called.

By 1975 the diversification of economic activities, immigration and the subsequent emergence of competing interest groups had changed the nature of local politics. The task of village administration has become more complex and the mayor has to represent the interests of not only the local peasants, fishermen and labourers but of the migrants involved in the tourism industry whose interests are at a variance with those of the Maya. For instance the Maya are opposed to many development schemes which they fear will take over their land and further reduce their control. The migrants welcome these developments which mean more tourists and more sales, and they are encouraging new projects. One result is the boundary between the two groups has become more clearly defined and the conflicts of interest are interpreted by the actors as ethnic conflict, Indian versus non-Indian, when in fact one of the real basis of the conflict lies in the unequal distribution of resources and increasingly disparate opportunity structure.

In the 1981 local village mayoral elections, a merchant, one of the "Los del Mercado" was elected by the voters. He ran against one of the traditional Maya candidates, however as he was a compadre to several Maya families, and the owner of the Tulum tortillaria (tortilla factory), he was able to gain a majority of the votes. ³² The Maya elders, who had traditionally controlled village politics, and who had rotated the office of Mayor amongst themselves in the past announced that the election

³² In Mexico, the tortilla is the basis of a family's diet and the factory where they are made is one of the most important features of any village.

had been rigged. They formed an emergency delegation and went to the state capital of Chetumal to see the governor. They threatened to remove the non-Maya usurper by force if he were allowed to remain in office. The outcome was that the elected non-Maya was offered a position in the larger town of Cozumel. He accepted. The office of Mayor was designated to a Maya merchant who had recently moved to Tulum from Playa del Carmen. He had not lived in Tulum long enough to establish friends or enemies but was reputed to be a good businessman. This compromise was designed to appease both the merchants and the Maya.

The Maya and the migrants are brought together in yet another significant way, through tourism. Tourism is an important key in the overall dynamic between these two groups insofar as it is the reason why many non-Maya migrants chose to come to Tulum. It has also created the conditions which have since prompted the emergence of the merchant class and the ensuing shift in the local power relations in Tulum.

In the past twenty years migrants have come to Tulum attracted by the promise of entrepreneurial opportunities created by the growing tourism industry. Indeed the government sponsored Mercado de Artisanias (Crafts Market) has provided the ideal base from which to establish themselves. In the meantime these merchants have expanded their interests to include control over a variety of tourist related services (ie: hotels, cafes, an ice-cream shop), with the result that they are the dominant economic group in Tulum. They have consolidated their economic

power in other facets of village life as well. As we have seen they are involved in local politics, and have established their own Catholic church. They have been able to dominate these spheres through the utilization of traditional mechanisms such as compadrazgo, in which they establish links with the Maya which serve to create and reinforce the dependence and powerlessness of the Maya. In addition they have been able to utilize scarce resources (ie: capital and skills) to consolidate their economic power. The merchants constitute a direct link to the tourism sector, at the local level in Tulum as well as the regional level, for it is the merchant class, not the Maya, who are in a position to meet with FONATUR representatives in Cancun. Consequently they know and understand about ongoing tourism development plans long before the Maya.

The Maya elders resent the intrusion of the merchants but the same time recognize that the merchants are valuable "brokers". The way in which the Maya and merchants are brought together in Tulum is not unique, but is reflective of the traditional power relations between the Indian and non-Indian throughout Mexico.

"Los de la Playa", form the third significant group in Tulum. They are foreign or national drifter-tourists who rent cabanas (huts) at the beach and form a semi-permanent community from November through until May. ³³ The "Los de la Playa" have

³³According to Cohens definition drifter tourists are distinct from mass tourists in the extent to which they purposely avoid traditional tourist attractions preferring to experience the native way of life.(Cohen,op.cit:164-182).

minimal interaction with the Maya but some interaction with the migrants who operate the beach restaurants, campsites and bar.

It is possible to divide Tulum into three distinct Tulum separated spatially, culturally and economically. The significance of three Tulum is in the way which the three groups interact. Tulum pueblo remains the civic centre and is also main arena in which the exchange and distribution of food supplies takes place: the playa population buys its staples in Tulum pueblo from the local shops. "Los de la Playa" are also dependent on Tulum for social recreation in the form of village dances. Meanwhile the Maya from the pueblo are dependent on the cash flow brought in by the beach customers for food and other sundry supplies.³⁴ As we have illustrated the relations of interdependence between the merchants from the Ruins and the Maya from the Pueblo are far more complex and more significant for the social organization of the village than the sporadic encounter between the tourist guest and the host population.

2. Diversification of the Economy

The construction of the highways has proved far more successful in aiding settlement throughout Quintana Roo than the early government settlement programs at the beginning of the 1900's. The population growth combined with the development of

³⁴The importance of this group of tourists is more significant in established resort towns such as Cancun, Puerto Vallarta and Mazatlan. Here permanent tourists have become an integral part of the artistic community and are involved in sponsoring concerts, and community activities. A village on the outskirts of Mazatlan owes its upkeep to an American who finances the annual white-washing of the village streets and public buildings.

tourism has created a larger domestic market than ever before and with it the demand for new industries and services. In 1960 agriculture and chicle gathering combined employed 69.1% of the Economically Active Population and by 1970 only 53.6% (CQRO: 1984:235). (See Table 5). This decline parallels a growth in the number employed in the service industry and developing sectors of the economy including fishing

While these figures reflect state-wide trends they also reflect economic changes at the village level. Since the 1930's the service industry has grown more rapidly than any other economic sector in Tulum. This is due to the migrants who constitute the merchant class, responsible for establishing local businesses. There is a concomitant growth in industry, commerce and transportation, which can be directly and indirectly attributed to tourism. The most significant difference is that agricultural activities appear to be on the decline.

In Table 4 the most significant change to be noted at the regional level is the decrease in the number of agricultural labourers from 1960 to 1970. In the municipality of Cozumel (which encompasses Tulum) the number has dropped from 65.8% of the Economically Active Population to 45.2% with a corresponding rise in the percentage of non-agricultural labourers, 11.3% to 17.1% (CQRO:1980:235). These figures reflect a movement away from agriculture to other sectors in the economy.

Table 4.--ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION 1950-1980

QUINTANA ROO

Activity	1980	1970	1960	1950	1930
Agriculture					
Silviculture}	29.2	53.6	69.1	63.8	44.7
Fishing					
Industry	11.8	11.6	9.3	10.0	2.9
Commerce	12.5	6.1	4.9	5.5	3.5
Transport	4.1	1.8	2.2	3.1	1.7
Services	17.6	22.3	13.8	15.5	4.9
Misc.	24.4	4.2	.1	1.9	41.8

(Source: CQRO, 1984:235-240)

Table 5.--BREAKDOWN OF ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION

QUINTANA ROO AND COZUMEL

a)OCCUPATION	1960		1970	
	Quintana Roo		Quintana Roo	
	Numbers	Percent	Numbers	Percent
TOTAL E.A.P	16 436	100.0	25 019	100.0
Prof./Tech.	429	2.6	1 154	4.6
Supervisors	123	.7	511	2.0
Administrators	927	5.6	1 219	4.9
Vendors	754	4.5	1 265	5.0
Ag.Labourers	11 285	68.6	1 311	52.4
Labourer(non-ag)	1 912	11.6	3 269	13.1
Insufficient data	1 006	6.1	3 081	12.3
b)OCCUPATION	1960		1970	
	Cozumel		Cozumel	
	Numbers	Percent	Numbers	Percent
TOTAL E.A.P	2 232	100.0	4 021	100.0
Prof./Tech.	56	2.5	159	3.9
Supervisors	40	1.7	116	2.8
Administrators	93	4.1	198	4.9
Vendors	99	4.4	211	5.2
Ag.Labourers	1 469	65.8	1 829	45.2
Labourers(non-ag.)	253	11.3	689	17.1
Insufficient data			100	2.5

(Source CQRO:1980)

Fishing

Quintana Roo is bordered by 900 kilometers of Caribbean coastline stretching from the northern most tip of the Yucatan Peninsula to the border of Belize. Cancun resort marks the most northerly end of the longest barrier reef in the Western hemisphere which continues southward to Zapotillos Cay in the Gulf of Honduras (Wilson, 1980:10). Large reefs dotted with crystal clear lagoons are located off the southeastern shores of Quintana Roo and abound with marine life (ie: shark, lobster, crab, conch and a variety of deep sea fish), providing one of the richest offshore resources in Mexico.

The Maya who settled Tulum and the coastal villages along the Quintana Roo shoreline migrated from the interior of the Yucatan peninsula and were agriculturalists with no previous fishing experience. Interviews with the abuelos (elders) and their sons reveal that it is the sons that have been responsible for teaching fishing skills, diving and boatsmanship to their fathers rather than the other way around. The growth of this industry has increased annually due to state impetus and by the late 1970's fishing had developed from a part-time activity to constitute one of the main economic activities in Tulum.

The Tulum fishing cooperative was officially established in 1980 as part of a regional economic program organized by La Direccion General de Pesca (The General Fishing Agency). This program included the establishment of cooperatives in Isla de Mujeres, Cozumel, Viglia Chica, Puerto Juarez, Playa del Carmen, and Punta Allen (See Table 6). At the same time four fish

processing plants were constructed in Punta Allen, Puerto Morelos, and Cozumel. There were future plans to construct an ice-making plant in Tulum village which would allow the fishermen to process their catch locally rather than truck it to the nearest plant in Puerto Morelos. A government credit bank established in Cancun extends credit to the cooperatives and to individual fishermen.

In Tulum the cooperative is made up of sixty fishermen, three local-level administrators, the president, secretary and treasurer and one engineer. The administrators are elected by the membership and are chosen from the local Maya, "Los del Pueblo". It is their duty to not only administer the daily running of the cooperative but also to liase with other cooperatives throughout the state. The rest of the staff include a salaried engineer from Veracruz and a salaried driver whose job it is to transport the fisherman daily to the marina- four kilometers away from the village. It is also his job to transport the catch twice each week to the central marketing depots in Puerto Morelos and Cancun.

Table 6.--FISHING COOPERATIVE
INFRASTRUCTURE (QUINTANA ROO), 1978

LOCATION	ENERGY	REFRIGERATOR	ICE
	ELECTRIC	CAPACITY	CAPACITY
Holbox	12 hrs/day	5 tons	5 tons
I.Mujeres	"	150 tons	10 tons
P.Juarez	"	n/a	n/a
P.Morelos	"	25 tons	5 tons
Punta Allen	5 hrs/day	5 tons	3 tons
Chetumal	"	30 tons	1 ton
XCalac	6 hrs/day	5 tons	5 tons
Tulum	"	n/a	n/a

(Source:CQRO:Federation of Fisheries,1980:166)

The impact of tourism on the development of this industry cannot be downplayed. Today the restaurants catering to tourists constitute one of the largest local markets for fish in the state. Fishermen in Tulum found that they have no problems in disposing of their lobster catch and in 1983 it is estimated that lobsters accounted for 50% of the state's total catch (CQRO:1980:166).

Table 7.--QUINTANA ROO 1978

PRODUCTION OF FISH

<u>PRODUCTION 1978</u>	<u>KILOGRAMS</u>	<u>VALUE IN PESOS</u>
Fish	619,005	13,098,368
Crustaceans	849,653	65,464,253
Shrimp	584,177	22,438,335
Lobster	132,372	28,678,350
Molusks	84,114	3,025,639

(Source: Dirección General de Pesca; 1978)

Several fishermen have chosen to remain independent rather than join the cooperative. These are men who have continued to gather chicle and make milpa and fish only on a seasonal basis. These independent fishermen who constitute the minority in Tulum are faced with restrictions and do not share advantages enjoyed by co-operative members. Independent fishermen are not allowed to catch the profitable lobsters for commercial sale. In addition they are faced with the risks of locating their own private market. They are also responsible for transporting their catch to the processing plants. For the members the co-operative has added advantages; by pooling their funds and skills they have more capital available with which to buy new equipment and repair the old; they also enjoy easier access to credit through

the co-operative bank and are encouraged to take training courses at the marine school in Puerto Morelos. The long-term implications suggest the increasing importance of fishing as an industry and as a way of life in Quintana Roo. It offers the population of Quintana Roo a viable economic alternative as long as the market price for fish remains stable. It also offers them a chance to earn an income which supercedes the income of an agriculturalist or unskilled day labourer. The growth of the fishing industry, directly attributable to tourism, offers economic potential for the Maya, now and in the future.

The Service Industry: Buying and Selling

The presence of a tourism population in the Tulum area has opened up the way for the establishment of service industries that cater to the demands of the tourist population. In Tulum village the changes have not altered the economic profile drastically, in fact, at first glance there appears to be no attempt made by the villagers to cash in on this exploitable resource. A closer look shows the existence of informal services developing in response to the needs of a stable tourist population and increasing migrant population.

In the village strangers and tourists alike find themselves in "Ricardo's Tienda" which is the largest shop in the village.³⁵ Ricardo, a Maya offers to sell you gouda cheese, ice-cold soft drinks and freshly dressed venison, products that "Los del Pueblo" rarely buy (except for the soft drinks) but

³⁵All names have been changed to protect the anonymity of the villagers.

which tourists are all too happy to purchase. The exotic products such as gouda are a legacy from Quintana Roo's smuggling history at which time goods were smuggled from British Honduras, now Belize. Today they can still be acquired in Chetumal and Cancun which are duty free zones. Ricardo also tells you which cenotes you must visit and is able to direct you to a friendly cheap campsite at the beach run by his uncle. If you encourage him to continue talking he may suggest that you visit Doña Maria who can make you a hammock such as you will never find in the tourist shops. Ricardo is the local tourism middle-man who enjoys direct contact with the touristas who in return sell him gringo t-shirts, cassettes and authentic Adidas running shoes. The possession of these items elevates his prestige among the village youth.

The hammock maker he refers you to is breastfeeding her child, but welcomes you warmly nevertheless. "You want a hammock? What color and how big?". The transaction is over in a few minutes. This example is to illustrate that in Tulum pueblo while the commercial transaction between Maya and tourist is carried on at an informal level, it does exist. The important distinction between Cancun and Tulum is that in Tulum there is no highly sophisticated infrastructure which mediates and controls tourist-host interaction. Economic exchange takes place between individuals in an informal setting- usually in the host's home and the tourists are directed by a local middle-man like Ricardo or through word of mouth. The type of tourist who commissions a hammock from Doña Maria or uses the laundry

services provided by Doña Leni is the drifter-type tourist who has the time to spend in the village talking to Ricardo and the other locals. The organized tour groups who are on a strict time schedule are not the ones seeking out local services and may not be aware of their existence.

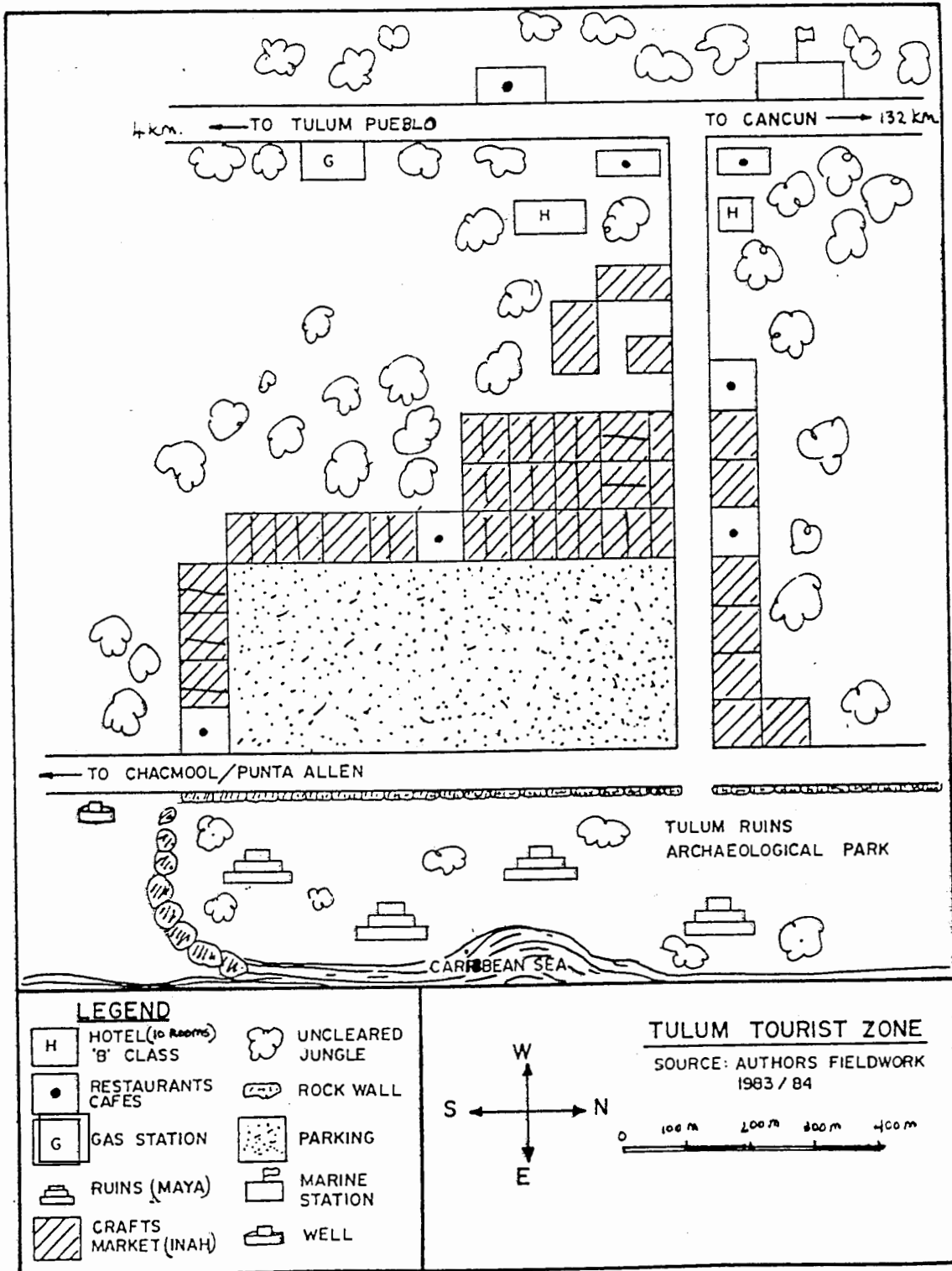
The tourist-service scenario is very different at the site of the Tulum ruins where we find tourist-host economic interactions conducted along the classic merchant-client relations found in every Mexican tourist resort. The merchants sell souvenirs from many Mexican states, and little outdoor restaurants provide lunches and cold beers. This market known as the "Mercado de las Artisanias" (Market of the Artisans) is the entrepreneurial arena in which tourists and "locals" (ie:migrants) interact in the game of bargaining and selling. For the majority of the tourists who come to the Tulum ruins this is the only Tulum they will visit. ³⁶

The market is made up of thirty separate stalls, four restaurants and a general store. The market provides work for over 100 people from the Tulum area (see Fig.16) Of the forty merchants comprising "Los del Mercado", sixty-five percent of these came from the state of Guerrero and had previous experience in the tourism industry in Acapulco. ³⁷ It is

³⁶Tourists perceive both Maya and non-Maya migrants as one group they call "natives" or "Mexicans". They make no distinctions between the interethnic groups; similarly all "natives" make no distinctions between Japanese, American and Canadian, they are lumped into the category of "tourist".

³⁷Interviews with shopkeepers in Isla Mujeres, Cozumel and Playa del Carmen revealed the dominance of migrants from Acapulco. All cited competition in the job market as the main reason for

Figure 16: The Tulum Tourism Zone



significant that only one of the merchants is a Maya from the village. There were five other Maya, all women working at the market at the time the survey was conducted. Two worked as cooks in the restaurant and the remaining three as sales clerks.

The Service Industry: Eating and Sleeping

The visitor to Tulum can purchase pretty handmade crafts, visit the Maya ruins of Tulum and enjoy a simple lunch at one of the several restaurants. If a tourist wants more than this, he has to go to Cancun or to one of the specially designated tourist resorts to be found along the Quintana Roo coast. One of these resorts is Akumal, situated twenty-five kilometers from Tulum.

Akumal represents a Mexican luxury resort that could be found in any tropical location. The primary features of this resort are that it is built at a distance from existing towns, it is self-sufficient, and it relies on migrant labour.

Akumal resort consists of ten separate cabin-type accommodations and 15 hotel rooms with kitchen units. There is also a restaurant which offers fine dining, and a taco stand on the beach, a beach bar, disco, Bank of Mexico, dive shop, crafts shop, and a 'gourmet' grocery store selling imported food.

In 1983 the population of workers totalled one hundred and twenty-five full and part-time employees. Twenty five (20%) of these were women employed as chambermaids. The men were employed as janitors, gardeners, waiters and caretakers. There were

³⁷(cont'd) moving to Quintana Roo.

twenty migrant workers from Tulum, Chemax and the distant ranchos of the surrounding countryside. The average wage earned was five hundred pesos a day, slightly above minimum wage, and the workers were entitled to five consecutive days off each month enabling those that wished to visit their kin.

The workers receive free accomodation during their employment at Akumal and there is an elementary school with two teachers providing education for their children. In addition to these job benefits, there is a store for the workers providing them with food products at subsidized prices. For example in 1984 a can of powdered milk which costs 175 pesos in the tourist shop next door costs the worker 140 pesos. They can also ask for credit terms when they need food and have no money.

The resort is privately owned by an American married to a Mexican woman. The majority of the clientele are American and the busiest season is the months of November, December and January. This pattern only changes during the Mexican national holidays at which time the majority of the tourists are Mexicans. In 1984 the nightly rate for a room at Akumal was 150 dollars (U.S).

The workers who were interviewed felt fortunate to work at Akumal. The non-monetary benefits provided to the workers subsidized the otherwise low wages and some were able to save a percentage of their monthly salary. The resort also has a positive reputation amongst the Tulum villagers. Several women had worked as chambermaids and felt that it was a good place for young girls to work. They felt that it would be an even better

opportunity if the girls had some knowledge of English and knew how to count because then they could work in one of the shops on the site.

In terms of the broader implications of this enclave type of tourism development several points are raised. Firstly, Akumal does provide employment opportunities for men and women. In fact the working conditions are viewed by the employees as excellent due to the benefits provided, in particular the school and company store. The main weakness in this type of insular resort development is that it fails to benefit the nearby villages with "trickle-down" effects from tourist spending. The resort provides tourists with a wide-range of services including car-rentals and crafts shops and in doing so confines the largest portion of their spending to the resort.

Secondly, the lack of locally produced goods, including handicrafts and items for domestic use has forced entrepreneurs and hoteliers to bring in the supplies needed for their businesses from the larger urban centres of Chetumal, Merida and even Mexico City. Fish and lobster are among the few products purchased locally.

3. The Changing Role of Wage-Labour

The Maya were involved in the cash economy long before tourism swept through the peninsula. However, there has been a significant change in emphasis regarding the role that wage-labour plays in the economic organization of the Maya. Today it is no longer a supplement to the full time pursuit of

milpa agriculture but is a full-time pursuit in itself. Milpa agriculture has become a supplementary activity and in many ways it has been transformed from a subsistence activity which was the focus of household production to a mere symbolic gesture.

In Tulum it is difficult to discern the exact number of Maya who make up the full-time wage labour force. They define themselves as ejidatarios with the proviso that they have not made milpa for five years but that "God willing", they will next year. This typical response has to be understood in the context of Mexico's agrarian reform laws. Rights to land are contingent on community membership and according to agrarian law once the Indians cease cultivating their ejido plots they revert back to the community. In this sense the category of ejidatario exists as long as the law exists. Furthermore, the state has a vested interest in keeping this category alive for the ejido has played an important role in the overall Mexican economy. It keeps a percentage of the peasantry tied to the land.

In Quintana Roo the ejido has had a qualitatively different role to play than in the more fertile regions of Central Mexico where the ejido was used to produce cheap foodstuffs to feed the industrializing work-force (Edelman, 1980:29). In south-eastern Quintana Roo where ejido production is lower than the central plateau regions, it has provided the Maya with basic subsistence and in this way checked rural-urban migration into over-populated cities. It has also balanced the inability of the Mexican industrial sector to absorb a full-time wage-labour force. This is particularly relevant in the Yucatan which is

relatively undeveloped industrially. The continued existence of the ejido functions as a "holding tank", particularly in regions with a large rural population, escalating population growth and a low level of labour absorption in industry. In this way the ejido serves to diffuse social tensions (Bartra, 1974:19). ³⁸

In terms of the implications for the peasantry we find contradictions emerging as the peasants' role as consumer is intensified, which in turn demands their continued participation in wage labour. At the same time industry can only provide seasonal or part-time work so that the remainder of the time they have to fall back on their milpas. In this way the Maya peasantry have come to constitute a semi-proletariat who are not fully separated from the means of production and not fully dependent on the sale of their labour power (Bernstein, 1978).

In the village of Tulum, made up of approximately 120 households, fifty ejido families were interviewed to determine how many make milpa and what their economic strategies were for making a living. Out of the fifty, five families continue to make milpa, fifteen belong to the fishing co-operative and the remaining thirty-five are examples of peasantry dependent on various adaptive income generating strategies. This latter group maintain their milpa lands discontinuously, moving back and forth from producers to consumers who are dependent on the village tortilla factory for their tortillas. This is a significant point because in the not so distant past the

³⁸In 1980 Industry employed 11.8% of the economically active population of Quintana Roo.

household's main function revolved around the process of transforming seeds of corn from grain to tortillas. Today this process is reserved for special occasions such as a hetzmek (a baptism) or the first maize harvest. The net result is that more Maya are forced to go out of their home to sell their labour-power in order to buy the basic staples of corn and beans.

Despite the increasing need to earn cash, underemployment and job uncertainty constrain full-time participation in the labour market. Workers are faced with the boom and bust nature of the construction industry which employs them one week and sends them home without pay the next. One result has been the increased participation of women in the work force. In order to counter the risks of unemployment women have expanded their domestic activities, many of which (such as laundry services) have been transformed into income generating activities. One Maya woman purchased a second hand refrigerator and sells coca-colas out of her home. Other women sit on their doorstep selling oranges and small fruits called nance, roasted pumpkin seeds, and Mexican corn-cakes called tamales. Dependence on cash has forced men, women and children to come up with new ideas and to become increasingly entrepreneurial.

It is significant to note the general characteristics of commercial establishments in Quintana Roo.³⁹ In 1980 ninety-two percent of all commercial establishments in the State sold

³⁹ Many are not included in the official census due to the ambiguous definition of what constitutes a commercial establishment.

clothes and domestic products four and a half percent of all commercial establishments employed more than six people. Ninety five percent employed less than six people and were dependent on unpaid family labour. (CQRO:1980:115) These figures indicate that small, family run establishments operating on a minimum of capital are the norm and that the emergence of small-scale commercial enterprises in Tulum is a necessary part of the economic landscape of Quintana Roo.

Ironically the Maya have been unable to tap into this sector and family-run businesses remain the domain of migrant non-Indian families who have the necessary capital needed to operate such a venture. This process will be looked at more closely in the following chapter where we shall look at the economic constraints faced by the Maya.

CHAPTER V

TOURISM IN TULUM: ECONOMIC DIFFERENTIATION AT THE HOUSEHOLD LEVEL

In the previous chapter we discussed the growing schisms between the migrant and the local population in Tulum. The two groups are separated by language, customs and belief systems. As noted in the preceding chapter these cultural distinctions overlap with occupational categories. The population depending on subsistence agriculture and part-time wage activities are Maya and the population involved in the tourism sector as self-employed merchants and operators of small hotels are migrants. The expanding opportunity structure has stimulated the process of economic differentiation between households and within occupational groups. As a result the economic profile of Tulum is changing and schisms are emerging not only between the Maya and non-Maya but among the Maya themselves. This process of internal differentiation among the Maya will be discussed in the following analysis of household surveys.

A household survey was conducted during residence in Tulum with the aim of clarifying further the distinction between Maya and non-Maya households. Fifty households out of a total of 120 were surveyed between August 1981 and March 1982. From this block of surveys one in-depth survey per occupational category was conducted in order to provide not only an overview of the different types of economic activities but also to identify the variations in the standard of living between households.

The household survey include Maya and non-Maya households, a division which corresponds closely to the "Los del Pueblo" and "Los del Mercado" categories. ⁴⁰ In addition to the household surveys two separate biographical sketches are provided to illustrate the strategies employed by two migrant families who are representative of the successful migrant entrepreneurs in Tulum.

General Characteristics of Survey Households

The fifty households surveyed contained 250 persons with an average size of five persons per household. The dominant pattern of residence is of one generation nuclear families. This contrasts to data in the Yucatan where families are larger and tend towards three generational extended families (Redfield, 1941:194-195, Littlefield, 1976:182). Two households consisted of three generational extended families; in both cases there were elderly parents residing with their married sons and their children. There were no cases of widows or widowers living alone.

In Maya and non-Maya households the 'head of household' is defined as the adult male member of the household. An exception to this is found in the case of widowed women living alone. If she has sons the eldest assumes this role as soon as he is old

⁴⁰The "Los de la Playa" (tourist) category are external to the survey as this population of semi-permanent tourists are living on income earned previously in Europe and in North America. They do not constitute part of Tulum's Economically Active Population.

enough to take on economic responsibility for the family.⁴¹

Education

In the fifty households surveyed it was found that educational levels are distributed along gender lines. A greater number of men than women, regardless of their ethnic background, have attended formal school. At the same time the educational level attained by the men is generally low. While all males under the age of thirty had attended primary school, none had attained a secondary or post-secondary training. The pattern changes in regards to the younger children in the village. The trend is for village children to complete a secondary education. This finding corresponds to regional statistics for the state of Quintana Roo which show an increase in the educational level between the years 1960 and 1970 (see Table 8).

⁴¹It must be noted that the definition of household head reflects the strong male bias found in Mexican and Latin American society. It is assumed that the male household head bears the economic responsibility for the household while the wives and daughters stay at home doing "unproductive" domestic tasks. This study is only one which reveals the fallacy of this point of view. In Tulum there are several households which are dependent on the sole earnings of wives whose husbands are perennially unemployed due to drinking habits. Even though these men do not work they are socially defined as the "head of household".

Table 8.-- EDUCATIONAL LEVELS-1960 & 1970

Level	Quintana Roo	Quintana Roo
Year	1960	1970
(Age 6 and above)	39128	68383
No instruction	40.4%	33.9%
Primary incomplete	50.2%	51.4%
Primary complete.	6.1%	8.2%
Secondary	2.8%	6.2%

(source CQRO;1980:185)

In the sphere of education both Maya and non-Maya households have similar expectations regarding their children's educations. The biggest difference is in the value placed on educating young women. Young Maya women are taken out of school at the age of thirteen as they are needed at home to help their mothers. Young non-Maya women are expected to complete secondary school. At the same time, they are also expected to spend their "spare" time working in the family business as unpaid family labour, essential to offset labour costs and maximize profits.

Land Tenure and Control over Resources

The general household survey revealed that the type of land tenure varies between the Maya and the non-Maya. All Maya households in Tulum have rights to ejido land as do Maya migrants who leave their own villages to come to Tulum. However they do not own the land outright and in fact they "own" only the fruit of their labour (i.e. a dwelling built on ejido is

considered to belong to the ejidatario and he can sell it if he wishes even though he cannot sell the ejido). In contrast the non-Maya merchants are starting to buy land on which to build their homes. This land (controlled by the village) is considered private property once it is bought and is distinct from the ejido form of land tenure which denies the ejidatario exclusive control over the land.

Occupational Categories'

Each of the following household's surveyed represents one of four major occupational categories found in Tulum. These were 1.)ejidatario 2.) fisherman 3.)merchant 4.)jornalero

Ejidatario: Ejidatario households are defined as those households which are involved in local ejido organization and have active claims to ejido land by which they support themselves. Ejidatarios are all Maya; they are either part-time or full-time agriculturalists depending on their cash needs and agricultural production. In Tulum the average ejidatario is involved in agriculture on a part-time basis.

The ejidatario household consists of the husband, wife and children. Their houses are typically constructed in the thatch and pole fashion, situated in a compound occupied by two or more sets of patrilineal kin. The ejidatarios have no formal education. They have specialized roles which include shamans (priests) and curanderos (herb doctors). The ejidatario households represent those households which are most typically Maya.

Among those ejidatario families surveyed it was found that all were dependent on outside income for their livelihood. The wives and daughters earn cash in a number of ways which include producing hammocks for sale, cooking special food dishes to sell along the roadside to travellers, and providing laundry services to the tourists and local bachelors. The males from this group earn cash income in a number of ways also. The population increase over the past twenty years has created a variety of labouring jobs, and ejidatarios find that they can hire themselves out as carpenters, housebuilders, janitors and labourers.

Ejidatarios are defined through their rights to ejido lands. These rights are usufruct and while they can be passed down through inheritance, land cannot be sold or mortgaged. The ejidatario is free to sell a building he builds on ejido land if he chooses. In addition he owns his basic tools. Other assets typically found in ejidatario households include a sewing machine, bicycle, domestic animals (pigs and chickens), family cooking utensils and clothing.

Fisherman: Fishing households are those whose head of household is involved in fishing as the primary economic activity. In Tulum full-time fishermen are all Maya; they belong to the regional fishing co-operative. The average age of the fisherman is between 19 and 30 years of age. Their families are young and small (2 children). They live in huts of thatch and pole construction organized in family compounds.

The fishermen are sons of the ejidatarios. They continue to have ejido rights through inheritance; however at the time of the survey none of the fishermen pursued agriculture as they felt they could earn more money fishing. Other general characteristics in this group include an even distribution of education- all had attended and completed primary school.

Amongst fishing households, income levels were found to be variable. This can be partly attributed to the nature of the fishing industry, for example, a fisherman's income depends on skills, (knowing where and how to dive for valuable lobster), resources (access to scuba diving gear, nets, motors) and climatic conditions. Fishing skills are not evenly distributed amongst the men; some are "better" fishermen than others- those who have an "instinctive" ability to seek out new fishing areas or are able to dive deeper and for a longer period of time than their mates. In addition, access to resources is also unevenly distributed. The co-operative supplies all the fishermen with the basic equipment necessary, however individual members are beginning to buy their own private gear. Often they travel to tourist resorts where they can buy second-hand gear from foreigners who come to Quintana Roo to dive.

A skilled fisherman can earn three to four times as much money as a less skilled fisherman with poor gear. The poorer fisherman share a standard of living similar to the ejidatario households. The richer fishermen own stereos and household furniture and enjoy a varied diet.

As a group the fisherman do not share the same economic insecurities that the ejidatario households face. They are guaranteed a degree of security through co-op membership and an insurance fund which cushions the lean periods. The fisherman represent the "sons of Maya" who are successfully making a transition into the modern economy as skilled labourers. They continue to control their means of production, yet all of this has come about as a direct result of government intervention and the development of the cooperative. They provide a positive example of how external forces can also be beneficial to the local population.

Merchant: This group consists of those households whose economic base is dependent on buying and selling goods. Merchants provide some of the goods and services required by the village Maya (ie: meat, tortillas) however their largest market is comprised of the visiting tourist population for whom they provide food, drink, accomodation, and crafts. The businesses are small, employing up to four people, they rely primarily on unpaid family labour, and the bulk of the merchants are non-producers. They buy goods from travelling salesmen or travel to Merida, Cancun or Chetumal on specific buying trips. Merchants who do produce their own goods are the minority.

As a group the merchants are non-Maya, they range in age from twenty years of age to sixty years old, and have a maximum of secondary education. In addition they all speak Spanish as their first language, live in Tulum village either in rented accomodation or cement block houses, and they have had previous

work experience in the tourism industry, either as vendors, artisans, or waiters.

Income levels amongst this group are the most varied, reflecting the diversity of education and social background. The wealthiest merchants live in houses that are up to five times bigger than the Maya's homes. They maintain a high standard of living in relation to ~~the~~ other local occupational groups.

Day-Labourer: The households which fall into this occupational group are comprised of young Maya families who have recently migrated to Tulum. The average age range of the heads of household fall in between twenty-five and forty years old. All of them have been involved in agriculture but have been forced to seek supplementary forms of employment in order to meet their cash needs. Day-labourers are defined as unskilled manual labourers employed on a daily basis.

In Tulum day-labourers, or jornaleros as they are called, move back and forth between milpa agriculture and full-time seasonal work in the construction industry. They work as unskilled labourers, earn wages on a daily basis and often have to migrate to neighboring villages to find work. The temporary nature of their paid work is reflected by the fact that the household's total income is dependent on contributions from their spouse. All of the women from these households were involved in some form of income-generating activity. This included domestic services, odd jobs and hammock making.

As a group day-labourers have low levels of formal education, of the group surveyed none had completed elementary

school. They live in Maya style, thatch and pole dwellings, maintain small kitchen gardens, fruit trees and chickens.

In Tulum the day-labourers constitute the most underpaid and impoverished occupational group. They have access to only the most basic resources- a few tools, chicken and fruit trees comprise their material wealth. In addition they have few marketable skills, and because of the temporary nature of their work they have been unable to weld themselves into significant support groups intra-locally. In this sense the day-labourer occupies a precarious economic position and must be ready to move himself and/or his family at a moments notice when employment opportunities arise.

Five Families: Changing Strategies

Table 9.--AVERAGE RETAIL PRICE OF BASIC COMMODITIES 1983

<u>Product</u>	<u>Pesos</u>	<u>Product</u>	<u>Pesos</u>
Milk (powdered)	100/500grams	Sugar	.40/kilo
Beans	.48/kilo	Eggs	120/doz
Minsa(meal)	.40/kilo	Bread	.15/loaf
Tortillas	.25/kilo	Coca-cola	.25
Oil	130/liter	Coffee	100/250grams
Milk(Alpura)	.80/liter	Tomatoes	128/kilo

#1. Household Budget of an Ejidatario Household

Doña Evalina and her husband Don Pablo were among the first wave of Maya who settled Tulum in the 1930's. Don Pablo, fifty-five years old, was one of the best chicleros on the coast. Today a back injury prevents Don Pablo from working in

the jungle collecting chicle sap. He divides his time working on his milpa of 30 hectares and working in the village as a watchman. The family has two sons who have since joined the Tulum fishing co-operative. They continuing to live at home and contribute a small portion of their earnings to the family pot. Two younger sons live at home and attend the elementary school in the village. Doña Evalina supplements the family income by taking in washing from the "gringo tourists" and the local bachelors in the village. The milpa supplies the family with fruit and vegetables which are all used for domestic consumption, and a fruit called nance which is sold by Doña Evalina locally. (See Table 10 for budget details).

Table 10.-- Income and Expenses of an Ejidatario household

Average Monthly Income	Pesos	Percent
Part-time Wage	8,000.0	56.73
Other-sale of fruit	600.0	
-laundry	3,000.0	
-rental income from palapa	2,500.0	
total other income	6,100.0	43.26
Total Income	14,100.0	99.0
Average Monthly Expenses		
Food	9,088.0	68.9
Non-Food		58.4
clothes	500.0	
animal feed	2,500.0	
miscellaneous	500.0	
electricity	100.0	
total non-food	4,100.0	31.1
Total Expenses	13,188.0	100.00
<u>Average Difference</u>		
(income less expenses)	- 88.0	

In this family Doña Evalina's contribution is necessary to the ongoing maintenance and subsistence of the family. Extra income earned through laundry services allows the family to deviate from a tortilla and beans diet; it also means that there is surplus cash at times which is invested in gold jewelery, gold teeth, radios, tapedecks and watches.

#2. Household Budget of a part-time Ejidatario

Household

Betty and Daniel Balam have been married three years. They have one daughter who is two years old. The couple were born in Tulum and Daniel's family were among the first wave of migrants to Tulum. Betty and Daniel live alongside Daniel's parents and uncle, in a Maya-style house which they recently built. Daniel works on his uncle's milpa, growing maize and squash for domestic consumption. Bananas, avocados and mangos are also grown; these "luxury" crops are sold in the lean-to shop built on the side of the couple's house.

While Daniel is away working at the milpa, Betty looks after their daughter and runs the small shop. She sells cigarettes, soft-drinks, canned milk, canned vegetables, candles and a small supply of dry goods. The capital used to purchase the stock is supplied by Daniel's uncle who in return receives all of the profit from the sales. Betty receives a daily token wage of 150 pesos a day. This is subsidized with canned goods from the shop.

The token wage received by Betty is the only source of cash this family has. If the family needs medicine for the baby or an article of clothing or furniture, Daniel will work as a

day-labourer helping a neighbor to build a house or will go fishing as an independent fisherman, selling his catch to tourists on the beach. Otherwise Daniel and Betty are dependent on the milpa for their basic foods (maize and squash) and on her small income to purchase things not available in the shop. An income and expense chart is not included because Betty does not shop. All of the goods that they consume come from the milpa or the uncle's shop.

The Balam family provide an interesting example of the increasing economic disparity between Maya families. Tourism and increased highway traffic have allowed the uncle to open a small shop. He has become merchant on a small-scale. At the same time, profits are minimal and the shop suffers from under-stocking and under-capitalization, thus Betty's under-paid labour is necessary to the survival of the enterprise.

#3. Household Budget of a Fisherman

Alejandra and her husband Lucas Pech were born and raised in Tulum. Lucas' father is a Maya ejidatario who lives nearby. Lucas has been a member of the fishing cooperative for five years. Before this he did jornalero work. Lucas and his three cousins own their own panga, which is a banana-shaped skiff with an outboard motor.⁴² They fish for bottom fish and dive for lobster every day, weather permitting. The nets and diving apparatus are supplied by the cooperative although the individual fishermen may own their own snorkels and fins.

⁴²In Tulum it is common that fishing crews are recruited on the basis of kinship

Alejandra stays and tends the solar while Lucas is away. She has four children; two are pre-school and the other two attend classes at the village elementary school. Susanna, the daughter will attend school one more year, after which time she will be needed at home by her mother to look after the younger siblings and assist in household chores.

Lucas has a brother and sister who are both married with children. They each have their own house within the solar. The houses are typical Maya dwellings, one room with a dirt floor and thatch roof. The three families share a communal well, a hammock loom and a wringer washing machine. The solar also contains fruit trees (plums, oranges and bananas) and all three sister-in-laws have their own flocks of chickens.

Alejandra and Lucas enjoy a relatively consistent standard of living. Lucas earns a steady income from fishing which is supplemented by the fish and lobster he brings home. His father contributes food gifts of maize and squash.

The family own a second hand bicycle, sewing machine, and shares in the wooden boat and outboard motor. In terms of village standards amongst the Maya, Lucas and Alejandra are "doing well". They hope to enlarge their house, finish the dirt floor with cement, and expand their household furnishings. Additional purchases are made on credit. Recent credit purchases include a chest of drawers and a set of pots and pans. Both credit purchases were made with travelling salesmen who come to Tulum weekly, from Chetumal. (See Table 11 for budget details).

Table 11.--Income and Expenses of a Fisherman's Household

Average Monthly Income	Pesos	Percent
Fishing Income	16,000.0	100.0
Total Income	16,000.0	
Average Monthly Expenses		
Food	5,826.0	50.5
Non-Food		49.5
soap	720.0	
clothes	2,000.0	
medicine	2,000.0	
furniture payments	1,000.0	
total non-food	5,720.0	
Total Expenses	11,546.0	100.00
<u>Average Difference</u>		
(income less expenses)	4,454.0	

#4. Household Budget of a Merchant Family

Doña Maria and Don Ramon's household consists of eight family members. The two elder sons attend the state secondary school in Felipe Carillo Puerto and are at home only on weekends and holidays. The stable household consists of Doña Maria and Don Ramon, their youngest son who is six years old, and their daughter who is fourteen years old. Both attend the village

elementary school. A married daughter and her husband live in a separate cement house next door to the main house. The family receives frequent visitors from their hometown of Acapulco, including two married sons and their families who come on working holidays during the busiest tourist months.

The Gonzalez family moved to Tulum from Acapulco six years ago. There they worked as beach vendors. In Tulum they operate three stalls at the Mercado de Artisanias. They sell crafts, which are imported from Acapulco, and dresses, which are made at home by the women. Each adult family member looks after a stall. Additional help is supplied by the children after school, and by two Maya girls whose duties include cooking the family meals, washing laundry and helping at the ruins when it is busy. (See Table 12 for a budget details).

Table 12.--Income and Expenses of a Merchant Household

Average Monthly Income	Pesos	Percent
Income from three stalls	140,000.0	100.0
Total Income	140,000.0	
Average Monthly Expenses		
Food	26,874.0	51.71
Non-Food		48.30
rent for shops	6,000.0	
raw materials for dresses	5,000.0	
wages (1 helper)	4,100.0	
animal feed	3,200.0	
total non-food	25,100.0	
Total Expenses	51,974.0	100.00

Average Difference

(income less expenses) 88,086.0

The Gonzalez family is considered wealthy by Tulum Maya standards. They have plenty to eat, are able to travel back and forth to Cancun, Merida and Acapulco and still have money left over to re-invest in their businesses. Re-investment is in the form of new stock, and tools, (i.e. sewing machines). Also included are the repairs made to the stalls, (last year they

enlarged one of the buildings) and maintenance costs.

The Gonzalez family are benefitting directly from tourism's "spill-over" effects. The money they earn comes directly out of the tourist's pocket. And although the tourist does not venture into Tulum village, the tourist dollars flow into it through the merchants themselves who live in the village. Whenever they make a local purchase they pay for it with tourism-generated income. However the merchants make few local purchases. They buy their meat and vegetables from travelling green-grocers who come to the ruins each day from Cancun and Felipe Carillo Puerto. In fact the merchants can purchase all of their consumption goods from other travelling salesmen and generally do as it is so convenient for them. The few goods which are purchased in the village include bread, tortillas, beer, and miscellaneous items such as candles and batteries. This is one example of how tourism dollars can and do by-pass local villages despite the fact that the merchants themselves live in the village.

#5. Household Budget of a Jornalero Household.

Pedro and Malia migrated to Tulum from a town on the Quintana Roo/ Yucatan border five years ago where Pedro worked as a milpero. They had cousins in Tulum who said that work was plentiful so they decided to leave their hometown and move to Tulum.

Pedro manages to secure work as a day-labourer on the average nine months out of twelve. He is working in the seasonal construction industry. The majority of construction jobs are in towns such as Playa del Carmen, fifty kilometers north of Tulum,

where extensive tourist construction is underway.

Pedro leaves home early each morning and Malia stays behind to look after their three small children and their solar. She plants corn around her house and raises chickens. She also weaves hammocks to sell when she is able to save enough extra money to buy the thread.

Pedro and Malia left their milpa behind in the Yucatan and as migrants do not have rights to Tulum ejido lands, they rent their house-lot from the municipality at a fee of \$2,000 pesos a month (20.00\$ U.S) and are hoping to be able to save enough money to buy it. They have built their own thatch and pole dwelling. This cost them 25,000 pesos (100.00\$ U.S).⁴³

Pedro and Malia are both Maya. In the village Pedro is "Pedro the jornalero" and his wife is considered a mestiza because she continues to wear the indigenous cotton dresses and wears her hair long and pulled back by combs, into a bun. They interact easily with "Los del Pueblo" and are in fact related through Pedro to one of the local Maya families. Malia misses her kin but adds with a shrug that in their hometown there is no work and no future for their young children. (See Table 13 for budget details).

⁴³In 1983 ten American dollars was worth one thousand pesos.

Table 13.--Income and Expenses of a Jornalero Household

Average Monthly Income	Pesos	Percent
Jornalero Wage	9,900.0	100.0
Total Income	9,900.0	
Average Monthly Expenses		
Food	4,200.0	41.6
Non-Food		58.4
rent for land	2,000.0	
clothes	200.0	
medicine	200.0	
animal feed	3,000.0	
miscellaneous	500.0	
total non-food	5,900.0	
Total Expenses	10,100.0	100.00
<u>Average Difference</u>		
(income less expenses)	-200.0	

In this family there is no extra money to buy meat or chicken but eggs are supplied by their eight chickens. Malia says that the animals are the only form of insurance that they have in case of sickness in the family or if her husband is out of work. About the move to Tulum she says "In Sotuta (her hometown) the wages were low but so were the food costs; in Tulum there is work and the wages are higher but so is the cost of living"

Conclusion and Implication of Household Survey

The Maya families who depend on agriculture and day-labouring jobs fall into a similar income range which is between 9,000 to 13,000 pesos a month (\$100-130.00. U.S.) After their basic clothing and food needs are met there is little surplus cash left over. This contrasts strongly to the merchant family. They earn almost ten times more money each month than a day-labourer or agricultural worker.

The Maya households spend the bulk of their income on basic foodstuffs. From the budget charts the amount ranges from 49% to 70% of their total income on food. This contrasts to the merchant family who spend only 20% of their total income on food. The most obvious implication this has for the Maya is that they cannot save and they are plagued by a cycle of indebtedness.⁴⁴ From the surveys conducted, after meeting all the necessary expenses the maximum amount of money that a Maya family has left over is 9.4% of their total income. Sudden emergencies, a family illness or several days of unemployment reduce this figure even more. There is also a marked difference in the consumption patterns of Maya and merchant households: the Maya diet is limited to beans, tortillas, fish and bread which is supplemented by chicken on festive occasions. The merchant

⁴⁴This is typical among peasant families and is referred to by Bernstein as "deteriorating rates of exchange" (Bernstein, op.cit.).

families are able to eat meat every day and they supplement their diet with fresh fruit and vegetables.⁴⁵

Interviews with the family members revealed that the Maya households' domestic production had decreased. Clothes which were once made at home are now purchased. Tortillas and beans, the basis of their diet, are purchased, as are soft-drinks and milk. The household has almost ceased to function as a production unit. The one item which continues to be produced in the household is the hammock. The Maya households in Tulum have moved a long way from the self-sufficient peasant households which Redfield describes in Chan-Kom (Redfield, op.cit.). They are inextricably linked to the cash economy.

In the state of Yucatan, hammock production has become a booming business fuelled by the demand of the tourist market and the export market overseas. (Littlefield; 1976,1978). The crafts market in Tulum stocks hammocks which are transported from Merida and sold to tourists. When asked why the merchants did not buy the hammocks from the Tulum women the reply was that the Yucatecan women can provide a hammock cheaper than a local woman from Tulum who must go to a major city to buy the supplies.

⁴⁵Conclusive information on the general standard of health among the Maya was difficult to obtain, however discussions with doctors and health care workers in various coastal villages revealed that malnutrition and gastric diseases (related to diet and contaminated water) are widespread.

After deducting the cost of the raw materials, transportation and labour, the Tulum women have no incentive to compete. They simply lack the economic resources needed to harness this potentially marketable skill.

B) Two Migrant Families: Strategies for Success

The preceding pages have looked at the development of the tourism industry in the Tulum area and the most significant feature is the lack of Maya economic participation. The migrant sector of the population dominate this dynamic sector to the exclusion of the Maya.

The Instituto Nacional de Antropologia y Historia (INAH, The National Institute of Anthropology and History) designed the crafts market with local Maya participation in mind. The relatively low over-head and accessible tourism market which were to encourage emerging Maya entrepreneurs have instead attracted migrant entrepreneurs. The Maya participate in this venture not as entrepreneurs but as part-time clerks, cooks and janitors.

The following case studies provide a step-by-step account of how two migrant families, using different strategies, have managed to tap into the Tulum crafts market. They are representative of the migrant population in Tulum who have come to dominate the lucrative tourism sector in the village.

The Gonzalez Family:Tulum 1983

The Gonzalez family migrated to Tulum from the crowded barrio of San Ignacio, one of Acapulco's overpopulated slum districts. The dream to move away from Acapulco had taken shape years before in 1952 at which time Acapulco was still a sleepy tourist resort full of charm and potential. Don Ramon Gonzalez worked as a jornalero and his wife, Doña Maria had miscellaneous jobs.

As Acapulco gained in tourist popularity the possibilities for employment increased also. The local artisan shops flourished and tourists clamoured for souvenirs to take home. Doña Maria was unskilled but managed to find work selling souvenirs on the beach. Hundreds of women like Doña Maria paraded the beaches each day selling armloads of tablecloths, carvings and Mexican dresses. Doña Maria sold cotton dresses. She was hired by a middle-man who bought dresses in bulk from local producers, he then farmed them out to his women employees. Each night they would turn over the day's earnings and the unsold dresses in exchange for ten percent commission.

Doña Maria's wages alone were not significant but as her children grew old enough to work, their total pooled income grew to a substantial amount. They were eventually able to put some money aside in the form of savings and dream about having their own business. Tired of the small commissions and the increasing

competition amongst the vendedoras, (vendors), Doña Maria decided that she would buy a second-hand sewing machine and make her own dresses. She would then distribute them to her children to sell and in fact would be competing with her old boss.

In this way, Doña Maria turned producer and was able to increase her family's income. In the meantime Acapulco was becoming more and more crowded and the amount of competition was making it harder to sell the dresses.

Within the Gonzalez household living conditions had improved. The children all had shoes and good food and were educated. In 1974 the two eldest children, a male and a female in their late teens heard on the radio that Cancun was advertising for workers. Though it was a three day journey by bus from Acapulco, they decided that they would try their luck.

Once in Cancun they found that work was available and that workers were indeed in demand. Pedro found work on a construction site and Alicia as a clerk in a new department store. The wages were better than in Acapulco but they found the rents high.

Once the Gonzalez children had settled into their new life Alicia learned about the new crafts market in Tulum. Stalls were for rent, she heard, and life was cheaper in the villages than in Cancun. Alicia's mind worked quickly. She was tired of the department store and wanted to taste real money. She knew that

combined, her family had sufficient resources for a small business in a relatively low-cost locale. She knew that in Cancun starting a business would be difficult but felt that the opportunity provided in the Tulum market would be perfect. On her next day off she investigated, gave a deposit for the first month's rent on a stall and wrote her mother immediately commanding her to come with the smallest children, a bundle of dresses and her sewing machine.

Doña Maria arrived shortly after. She recalls the shock she experienced moving from the cosmopolitan city of Acapulco to the backwaters of Quintana Roo. Six years later she still insists the tortillas have a strange taste and that the Maya are primitive. However the family has adapted. Both her daughters married Maya fishermen. The two sons married girls in Acapulco and they now live in Tulum and the two youngest children attend elementary school in the village.

Three years after their initial entry into the Tulum crafts market the family has expanded their holdings to include two more stalls. In addition Doña Maria owns two house-lots in the village and lives in a modest Mexican-style house. Lety and her husband live in his family's solar. Alicia and her husband bought a house-lot in town and have just completed their two-room home.

The hand-sewn dresses which inspired the Acapulco based family cottage industry continue to form the bulk of the merchandise sold. Family connections in Acapulco have enabled the Gonzalez family to venture into the jewelry business and Alicia sells silver jewelry and trinkets in her store; Pedro the eldest son has made connections with blanket (sarape) producers in Acapulco and he makes occasional trips there to bring merchandise.

The majority of the merchants that make up the crafts market in Tulum are not producers. They are entirely dependent upon travelling wholesalers for their stock. As the handicraft production in Quintana Roo is confined to black-coral carving, wholesalers come from Oaxaca, Michoacan, Taxco and Chiapas, regions famous for their crafts.

The lack of local production among both the non-Maya and the Maya means that the retailers are dependent on the same suppliers for their merchandise. A walk through the crafts stalls in Tulum, Playa del Carmen, Cozumel, Cancun and Acapulco shows little variation. The same goods are available in each stall and in every tourist resort. For the Gonzalez family, who produce their merchandise at home, this factor offers several distinct advantages: as they are not dependent on middle-men retail prices can be kept lower and thus more competitive than their neighbors. Also, as producers they have creative designs

to offer in response to tourist tastes.

The importance of geographical networks cannot be downplayed. In the crafts business original merchandise is very much in demand and the more successful tourist shops are those which have "something different" to sell. The Gonzalez family has used their Acapulco connections to search out new producers and to find different items that they can sell to tourists. Entrepreneurs who are completely dependent on the standardized tourism goods supplied by travelling wholesalers and who do not have extended networks and connections for procuring goods find themselves at a disadvantage. The local Maya merchants find themselves in this latter group insofar as they have not developed the social capital needed to become successful entrepreneurs.

Don Paredes:Tulum 1983

Don Paredes, a non-Maya who is married with three children, divides his time between Tulum and Chetumal, and is the most powerful entrepreneur in the village. Don Paredes was employed as a policeman in Chetumal and was actively involved in the national government party Partido Revolucionario Institucional(PRI). In the 1970's Don Paredes expanded his interests to include Tulum, which he knew from his official sources was to become a thriving tourist attraction.

By 1975 the restoration of the Maya ruins on the coast was in full swing and the crafts market was under construction. Except for two straggling coconut plantations owned by local Maya the beachfront was undeveloped. Don Paredes leased a strip two kilometers south of the ruins.

Don Paredes built a campsite for recreational vehicles as he decided that he wanted to attract tourist campers with money and not the drifter-types. He installed a generator for camper hook-ups (the only one at the beach), built ten small bungalows to rent and a large open air restaurant. In 1983 Don Paredes acquired a licence to operate a taxi and promptly purchased a car. Shortly after that he began to build a liquor store in the village proper. Don Paredes does not live in the village, preferring to stay in his bungalow at the beach when he is in Tulum. The rest of the time he spends in Chetumal with his family. The campground employs fifteen people hired directly from the village. They assist in cleaning, cooking and maintenance. The taxi is operated by a Maya from Tulum and a young Maya couple have been installed to look after the liquor store.

Don Paredes is an outsider and spends little time in Tulum. While he lives among "Los de la Playa", he is so intertwined in local affairs that he enjoys a special status in the village as a powerful patron. His success in social terms is due not only

to his demonstrated business sense but in his ability to recognize the importance of cultivating local networks. He has not ignored the villagers and has in fact gone out of his way to "become part of the community".

Unlike the majority of the migrant entrepreneurs, Don Paredes recruits his labour from the village locals. He has also established fictive kinship ties with "Los del Pueblo" and is compadre to as many as five local children from different families. In 1982 he graciously offered his restaurant free of charge and catered the meal for the wedding of the daughter of a Maya family.

Exchange is the basis of patrón-client relationships, but it is typically asymmetrical, profiting one party more than the other. The villagers who participate in this form of exchange perceive it to be as valuable a relationship as it may be for more powerful individual such as Don Paredes.

Don Paredes constitutes a potentially valuable patrón because he has control over a range of resources. He can provide jobs, loans, and knowledge. In fact much of this individual's power, as perceived by the villagers, is derived from his previous job as a police officer. Despite the fact that Don Paredes retired early from the police force, his associates assume correctly that he knows how the government and bureaucracy work. Don Paredes "knows how to get things done" and

has the necessary array of official connections needed to facilitate this procedure.

For example, In 1982 the state government together with FONATUR, proposed to turn the scenic Tulum coast into a national park which would contain a luxury hotel. This development would arrest any spontaneous, unplanned tourism development in the future. The area designated for this project would include the coastal area beginning five kilometers south of the archeological ruins, up to and bordering on Don Paredes' campsite business. While his property will not be affected, two local Maya will not be so fortunate if the project goes ahead. Their properties, which include two small coconut plantations and two budget-type campsites, will be expropriated. The Maya themselves commented on the good fortune of Don Paredes, and several wonder if it is sheer coincidence that his property will not be affected, or if in fact, Don Paredes was able to use his connections and "pull a few strings" in Chetumal. To the ordinary villager, this type of knowledge is perceived as valuable. They consider themselves powerless and thus Don Paredes represents an almost god-like figure to them. Yet he is just an individual who is adept at mediating between the village and regional politics. This skill, combined with his economic resources, makes him an important and valuable link in

local-level networks.⁴⁶.

What does a village full of impoverished Maya have to offer Don Paredes? The establishment of non-economic relationships guarantees Don Paredes a certain amount of success in his economic relationships: he can depend on top-quality performance from his employees in his absence. In addition, Don Paredes has used his status and position to win local favour and to gain support for new business ventures. He was granted permission from the municipal office to open up a liquor store in Tulum even though the "outsider" before him who applied was rejected. That Don Paredes, a non Maya from Chetumal, should build a liquor store a few years later with the full support and cooperation of the town council reflects the extent to which he has managed to exploit local resources through the utilization of traditional power relations. These personal-type relationships (i.e. *compadrazgo*) serve to consolidate his status and prestige in Tulum.

A Comparison Between The Two Families

Don Paredes and the Gonzalez family are both migrants to Tulum and both operate successful tourism services. The similarity ends here. While Don Paredes has managed to integrate

⁴⁶See Riding, *op.cit.* for detailed account of how corruption is an institutionalized and recognized "way to get things done in the Mexican bureaucracy"

himself into the local "Los del Pueblo" community, the Gonzalez family have kept their interaction minimal despite the fact that they live in the village.

Don Paredes is dependant on local labour and cooperation; the Gonzalez family are not. Depending solely on family labour, they have no need to hire local Mayas. They had once hired a local girl to assist in cooking and cleaning. She proved unsatisfactory and was described by the family as lazy and unreliable. Several other young girls were successively hired to replace her but they too were unsatisfactory. Finally a young migrant girl from Merida was hired and she now lives with the family.

Doña Maria's daughters have married two village men but this has not integrated the two families beyond formalized politeness and visiting on Christmas Day. Interviews with the married daughters revealed two slightly different situations: Lety lives in her husband's family compound. Her in-laws are of the "Los del Pueblo" group. She has stopped visiting her mother and sisters because he will have nothing to do with them. Once, when the couple needed extra money, Lety's mother Doña Maria, invited her to work at the crafts shop. Lety's husband announced that their marriage would be over if she went to work "there". His reaction is perhaps extreme but stems from the general feeling that the Maya in Tulum have toward the merchants, which is that

the merchants are intruding in their economy and in their village.

Alicia also married a fisherman but she refused to live with his family. With her earnings from her business at the ruins, she has contributed to the purchase of land and a house. The couple work long hours and while the husband is relaxed and friendly amongst her family there is no visiting among the patrilineal kin. Alicia has demonstrated her independence through her business ventures, and she is adamant to stay clear of her affines.

The Gonzalez family have not needed the cooperation of the local Maya in their business pursuits. They have managed to carve a niche for themselves in the village and as long as they can depend on direct kin for support they have no need to develop sustained relationships with the "Los del Pueblo".

The interaction between other non-Maya families and the "Los del Pueblo" vary to some degree. The most consistent feature of inter-ethnic relations amongst both groups is the lack of social-interaction between them as displayed by the Gonzalez family. One of the results of this uneasy accommodation is a strong sense of "being Maya" versus "being Mexican". While our glimpse into the Maya past shows that the Maya have long derived strength and solidarity from ethnic cohesion, in the past they were able to "escape" and live apart from the dzul if they so

wished (via migration). Today the situation has irrevocably changed because firstly the Maya have no place to escape to, and futhermore their children have no desire to escape. The world of tourism and the presence of "foreigners" (Mexicans and tourists) are an integral part of their changing world.

CHAPTER VI

TOURISM AND ETHNIC RELATIONS

In underdeveloped regions such as the Yucatan peninsula tourism is seen to reinforce underdevelopment rather than alleviate it. Lee's study which provides the only empirical evaluation of the structure of control in the Yucatecan tourism industry concludes that tourism exacerbates the unequal distribution of wealth insofar as the rich get richer and the poor stay poor (Lee, op.cit.) In Tulum village, the household survey conducted in order to evaluate the standard of living of Tulum villagers reveals that this same process is occurring at the grass-roots level on the periphery of tourism development. Despite the influx of tourism dollars the Maya have not experienced any substantial change in their standard of living. They continue to bear the risks and uncertainties of a pauperized peasantry which can depend neither on the land for full-time subsistence nor on full-time wage labour. Their diet has not deviated from the standard Indian diet based on beans and tortillas and they have not experienced a rise in earning power from wages earned.

In the preceding chapter we have focused on three processes of change which have affected the internal social and economic organization of village life in Tulum. We have discussed the new wave of tourism-oriented migration and how it has exacerbated

inter-ethnic differences. This is most significant in the context of occupation where we find occupational roles organized along ethnic lines. Indians perform subsistence production and unskilled labour, and non-Indians control the small businesses which are part of the dynamic tourism sector. Fishing has provided one of the few entres into the tourism sector, and represents one way in which the Maya have been able to benefit from tourism dollars.

The second process we have discussed is the impact of tourism on the local village economy. An important point is that it has not affected the local economy directly. A plethora of tourism services has emerged but they are confined to the outlying tourist site. An analysis of the service sector in Tulum has shown that it is dominated by tourism related services. The growth of local services, ie. those catering to the resident population has been inhibited due to the nature of consumption patterns. The Maya do not constitute a sufficient market due to their limited income, and the merchants, who have the wealth, spend it in the main urban centres. Thus local services in the village are limited to the handful of shops owned and operated by Maya merchants which existed before the advent of tourism, and there has been little impetus for entrepreneurial expansion in the village. Tourism has had one significant effect on the local economy - it has created

conditions for the emergence of services generally considered peripheral to the economy.

The services which are part of the economy are characteristically small-scale enterprises carried out within the household and requiring little or no capital investment (Long and Roberts, 1978). In Tulum these activities include laundry services and the gathering of local oranges or berries to sell at the side of the road to tourists. ⁴⁷ The role of the informal sector is a significant one in Third World economies for it is this 'underground' sector which absorbs the millions of unemployed, particularly women and children. It has long been assumed by developmental planners that jobs in this sector are peripheral to the economy. However a study of unemployment and the under-utilisation of labour in the Dominican Republic and El Salvador concludes that these jobs are central to its operation (ibid.,). In Tulum these activities provide women with one way in which to earn money that is necessary to the overall maintenance and reproduction of the house-hold. They are able to participate in the service industry in this confined way (as self-employed entrepreneurs) despite their limited capital.

As more opportunities for earning cash present themselves to the Maya, so is the potential for economic differentiation

⁴⁷It is difficult to get precise statistics on the number of itinerant industries because of their tendency to "rise and fall" according to the evolution of the family's fortunes.

increased. It is significant that in Tulum there are emerging differences in consumption standards between households. Bernstein suggests that these differences between households are due to 1) the differential vulnerability of households due to natural disasters and 2) to the demographic differentiation in terms of the domestic cycle (Bernstein, *op.cit.*). In Tulum natural disasters-hurricanes and late rains- are expected risks that households attempt to insure themselves against. Those that can, keep domestic fowl and gold jewelry which can be sold quickly in times of emergencies. The less fortunate families have to borrow money from their kin and it may take them several years to get back on their feet. Our findings also agree with Bernstein regarding the domestic cycle. The larger Mayan families who are able to recruit the labour services of their teenage children have more wage-earning potential than a newly married couple with small pre-school children and one wage-earner. These factors explain the differences between the standard of living from one peasant household to the other, in the context of subsistence economy.

Income variation amongst the merchant families is important in terms of class formation insofar as this group, unlike the peasants and jornaleros, are able to invest their wealth productively in their means of production. By doing so they expand their profit and productive capacities. In Tulum there

are poor merchants (the Maya store-keepers), who can barely manage to keep their shelves stocked for lack of capital, and the rich merchants such as the Gonzalez family, who are able to purchase new sewing-machines and larger quantities of stock for their stores. Their interests are more closely tied despite the wealth differentiation, than those of the Maya merchant and the Maya peasant. This has manifested itself in the creation of cross-cutting compadrazgo ties, between Maya merchants and non-Maya merchants. At the time of the study the full extent of this "alliance" was not clear; the inter-ethnic relations between the Maya and the migrants have not become firmly established. It would be correct to state that in the future, class relations will become increasingly significant, and will take precedence over ethnic relations among the Maya themselves.

The third process which we have discussed is the movement away from agriculture towards wage-labour. The semi-proletarianization of the Maya is one of the inevitable results of Mexico's agrarian policy and an expanding service industry.

Critics have argued that tourism-dependent development creates conditions whereby the local population lose control over resources such as land. Studies by Lee, Gormsen and Evans suggest that the strong role of the state in the Mexican tourism industry has facilitated the appropriation of land (Lee, op.cit;

Evans, op.cit; Gormsen, op.cit.). To assert that population is losing their control over land is to assume that they had control in the past. In light of the contemporary land tenure system in Mexico one can argue that the Indian population has not had control over their land for over four hundred years.

In Colonial Mexico the Spanish attempted to regulate the Indian population by controlling their labour and their land. In 1917 most of the Indians were given back their rightful lands in the form of ejidos. However the very nature of the agrarian policy continues to deny the indigenous population real power over their lands and they continue to be manipulated through a variety of mechanisms by the non-Indian elite.

The individual ejido, as described in chapter three consists of an average plot of land varying from five to ten hectares per family. One of the recurring problems faced by small-holders throughout the world is that the plots are too small to farm efficiently. The farmers depend on simple technology using digging sticks and slash-and burn-methods of clearing. Ejidos in Mexico have been criticized by the successive governments in power as unproductive and inefficient. This assessment has developed into a self-fulfilling prophecy which has allowed the government to ignore the 'backward sector', (except for sporadic phases of social welfare concern) in favor of heavy investments in agribusiness and specially designed collective ejidos

earmarked by credit associations for agricultural modernization. In Mexico the ejido functions as a useful labour reserve which checks rural-urban migration, and allows the peasantry a basic level of subsistence. In Tulum there are several reasons which account for the movement away from the ejido related to agrarian policy and to the process of commoditization.

The peasants are not only by-passed by agricultural modernization because of the small size of their plots, but ejido legislation defines their rights to the land in such a way that the land is stripped of its monetary value and does not provide any form of financial security. Unlike private property, ejidos cannot be sold, mortgaged, leased or used as collateral. An ejido farmer who needs to raise money has to deal with the ejido credit institution BANRURAL (The Rural Agricultural Credit Bank). The procedure to obtain funds is so fraught with red-tape that the farmers, most of whom have had little or no formal education and no knowledge of bureaucratic procedure are deterred. Those who succeed in getting credit do so in exchange for their productive independence. The bank tells them what crops to grow and for how much to sell. The peasant is little more than a wage-labourer despite the fact that he has a piece of land.

If the peasant's control over his productive activities appears tenuous it is even more so in the spheres of

distribution and exchange. In 1961 the CONASUPO (Basic Foods Corporation) was established as a marketing and distribution centre for basic food goods. The peasant would sell his product to CONASUPO which would then sell directly to the consumer at government controlled prices. It was felt that this system would eliminate the middle-man, thus guaranteeing the peasant fairer prices.

This system has been more effective in subsidizing basic food products for the urban sector than it has in guaranteeing better prices for the peasant (Riding, op.cit.). CONASUPO is rife with corruption, stores are generally understocked and quality is inconsistent. Peasants complain that they do not always receive payment for their products and when they do the prices are still unfair. Even though CONASUPO stores were meant to subsidize food products for the poor, these shops can be found in urban middle-class neighborhoods providing subsidized goods to customers who can well afford to pay the commercial prices (ibid.,).

A CONASUPO store was established in Tulum in 1983. Although prices were more competitive than in the local stores, the customers complained about the inferior quality of the goods: weevils were found in every bag of flour. Customers soon stopped patronizing CONASUPO and it was forced to close. To the villagers, whose experience with planned government projects has

been dismal, CONASUPO represented yet another example of the government's inability to address their needs.

The loss of the peasant's control over his production has been regarded as a transition inherent to the development of capitalism. As we have seen in Mexico, even peasant production, considered to be the most 'backward' undeveloped sector, is subject to the penetration of capitalism. Capitalism enters and 'subsumes' relations of production in a number of guises. The peasant has no more control over his production than does a hired hand. Ties to a piece of land and to a community are among the few factors which distinguish the peasant from an unskilled worker living in Mexico City.

The peasant who continues to rely on agricultural production is finding that a basic level of subsistence is becoming harder to maintain. Peasants are "squeezed" by higher costs for basic foods, seeds and tools. The movement away from agriculture and these economic uncertainties is one avenue open to the Maya. Many are opting for wage-earning jobs, now plentiful in supply due to the tourism industry. One imminent danger is that the tourism industry, contingent on global economic and political conditions, can be described as "boom and bust". Mexico's unstable economy and fluctuating peso are capable of adversely affecting tourism. If this should happen, the repercussions would directly effect those industries in Quintana Roo which

employ the Maya (i.e. construction).

The loss of control over local resources is a recurring theme where development is dependent on tourism. Village elders cite "loss of control" as the one most negative impact of tourism. They perceive that tourism is alienating their lands, their forests and their beaches. These are their only resources and they claim that they are losing control over them. Objectively, tourism is partly responsible for the loss of local control over resources insofar as it legitimizes and provides the rationale behind land expropriations for hotels, and more recently in Tulum, a national park project. However the loss of control can be seen as a result of the increasing economic differentiation of the population, and differential access to resources which are inevitable accompaniments of modernization. Tourism simply accelerates this process. The elders also point out that in the past they (the Maya) sacrificed their daughters to the gods. Today they sacrifice them to Cancun. Their fear that Tulum will lose its youthful population to Cancun is at present unfounded. Mayan youths have not made the rural exodus on a great scale only because they are still deficient in basic skills and lack the confidence. But the numerous jobs to be found in the bars, hotels and restaurants of Cancun will inevitably draw the younger population, and to lose them would indeed be to lose a vital resource.

Tourism has contributed to the loss of control over local resources in yet another way. It has provided economic stimulus for entrepreneurial activity, and has attracted out-of-state entrepreneurs. The hotels, restaurants, bars, and other related tourist services are owned by out-of-state migrants. In Tulum the only three hotels were developed with non-local capital. They are relatively small establishments (ten rooms each), a far cry from the five hundred room hotels found in Cancun, but provide the owners with direct access to tourist dollars and a stable source of income. More important, small hoteliers are recognized by FONATUR as legitimate tourist businesses having a degree of participation in the overall state controlled tourism industry. They are expected to attend meetings in Cancun to discuss future developments. Their sphere of influence in the decision-making process is limited; however, as participants in tourism they are granted access. The Maya in Tulum, who do not participate directly as small businessmen in tourism, are completely excluded from this organizational structure. This is one way in which the tourism industry has been appropriated by the non-Maya and the Maya made marginal to the state's most dynamic industry.

The lack of Maya participation in the tourism sector, which, as we have discussed, is due to their lack of skills and resources, serves to reinforce ethnic discrimination. The

Indians selling berries by the roadside are described as 'backward' and 'ignorant' by non-Indian standards; "only an Indio would stoop to such a lowly position", a well dressed Mexican observes. In fact the Indian is forced into such lowly positions because he is Indian. Our brief foray into village life reveals the enthusiasm and ingenuity of Mayan entrepreneurs, from the woman who sells cold soft drinks from her ice-box to the man who rents beach cabins to drifter-tourists. These people have a sense of entrepreneurial vision that has enabled them to look beyond the confines of their solars and milpas for ways to make money. Their enterprises are on a very small scale, but the constraints come not from laziness or a lack of enthusiasm but from the absence of a financial support system which can allow them to weather the economic vagaries of small business.

The foremost consequence of the disparate opportunity structure in Tulum, in which differentiated access to scarce resources is the most pronounced feature, is the widening of the economic gulf between the Maya and the migrants. The migrants become richer as the Maya become poorer. The Maya are quick to attribute this process to ethnic rivalry between them and the dzul migrants. They perceive ethnic rivalry as the source of their economic and political subordination, when in fact it is one of the results. Rather than directing their anger at the

national political system, which has created and continues to perpetuate structural inequality, they direct it at their non-Maya neighbors. The resulting ethnic tension undermines the cohesiveness of peasant groups, diffuses anger toward the national system and thwarts any possible political action.

This thesis has attempted to evaluate the impact of tourism on the Tulum Maya from an anthropological perspective. And while the tendency in the anthropological literature has been to focus on the negative effects of tourism on traditional culture, this thesis has stressed the need to view tourism as only one aspect of modernization. It is too tempting to give the tourism industry a monumental "deus ex machina" role in which any negative "costs" to a host society are seen to be the result of tourism. Tourism can too easily become interpreted as the cause of such fundamental issues as unequal land distribution, urban over-crowding, and rural poverty, when in fact, dependence on tourism may be a result of structural problems that existed in the society in the first place. Our task as anthropologists and social scientists is to understand the process of tourism within the broader context of historical developments. The present-day Maya and their role in the contemporary tourist industry is best understood in the context of colonial and inter-ethnic relations.

The obvious question which has to be addressed is whether tourism as a development tool in Quintana Roo has proved successful. There are two parts to the answer. If we look at macro-level effects that tourism has had on Quintana Roo, then the answer is affirmative. Tourism has attracted external capital, which in turn has led to the diversification of the economy and created jobs. But there is more to development than jobs and capital. Meaningful and sustained economic development has to include the local population. As this thesis shows the local population in Tulum -the Maya- are not noticeably better off than before tourism invaded their forests and beaches. Their standard of living has not altered substantially and even though new opportunities have arisen the Maya are not in the position to take full advantage of these changes as is evidenced in our analysis of the Tulum crafts market. Maya economic participation is strikingly absent despite the fact that it was a government project designed to stimulate Maya entrepreneurial activity. Tourism has set the wheels for future development in motion, but for real development to take place FONATUR and the host of other government agencies involved in tourism planning have to continue their efforts in the villages. Until now they have orchestrated development efforts from afar, either from Cancun or Mexico City.

Millions of pesos are invested in the tourism industry each year to finance a range of expenditures- from the construction of five-star hotels to the importation of tropical shrubs and flowers for Cancun's boulevards. There has been a trickle-down of financial benefits in the surrounding villages and towns but these benefits touch only the surface of the lives of the villagers. Clean potable water is one example of an improvement that has come about through tourism dollars and while it benefits the local population -potable water is only one small step in the process of bringing about significant development for the Maya. There has to be an in-depth, integrative village-level program which works at bringing about social improvements such as education and health care, but which also follows up these improvements by illustrating the broader application of social and economic developments and articulating the needs of the local population with the overall goals of the tourism industry. Tourism is so monolithic in scope that unless development goals are operationalized at the local level- they become nothing more than fuel for political rhetoric.

It is perhaps time that a percentage of the money invested in Quintana Roo's new found resource be spent on its neglected resource- the contemporary Maya. They have proved their willingness to work in the industry and while a few will succeed, and become future owners of condominium developments

the majority will never get the chance to work as anything but unskilled labour. The fishing cooperative in Tulum provides one exception. It has proven thus far to be a viable, stable industry, in which the Maya participate as skilled workers with a degree of control over their productive resources. It is an example of an industry which is stimulated by the "spill-over" effects from tourism. But it did not develop spontaneously, it is a highly organized regional structure, with direct representation and participation at the grass-roots level. Future involvement of the Maya in the tourism industry, as entrepreneurs, or skilled labour will not develop spontaneously, but requires firmly grounded, local-level planning.

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APPENDIX A: LIFE ON A HACIENDA

An interview with Don Salvador November 1983

Don Salvador Castillo was born in 1905. He was five years old at the time of the Revolution and was living on a finca(estate) in the Yucatan. He recalls his experiences as a small boy living on the estate (also called a hacienda).

"My father was a slave on the finca. He used to cut wood. At 3:00 a.m every morning a bell would ring in the casa principal(main house) and up we would get. It was our job to take water to the house and to fetch maize. I would join my father and we would work until 7:00 a.m feeding and tending the animals. We would then eat breakfast and after resting one hour we would go back to work.

My father was a woodcutter. He would go into the monte (forest) to cut fire-wood and as a boy of four I would accompany him. After a day's work, chores would be done on the finca. Finally at 8:00 p.m. we had tiempo libre (free-time) . Then we would sleep, wake-up and it was time to start all over again.

It was common to change slaves- in order to do so, the prospective patron would have to pay the slaves debt off. This was ten to fifty pesos, a mountain of pesos at this time! At the time of the Revolution my father's debt was twenty pesos. It was impossible to get out of debt. If we needed shoes we had to buy at the Tienda del Rey and when a man died, his sons would inherit the debt.

Often the patron would arrange a marriage between the young children on the finca. He would pay for the wedding, and for the new clothes indebting the young couple to him from the start, the parents had no say. All they could say was "si senor" (yes sir) with their heads bent low. In this way the children of the young newlyweds would start their lives as slaves."

According to Don Salvador, it was the existence of "slavery" in the Yucatan that precipitated the

"revolution" (by which he means the Caste War of 1847). When the fighting broke out, the patron of the finca announced that the slaves were free and he released them of their debts. If they wished to stay on the finca they could do so as paid day-labourers, in this way the transition from the hacienda economy to a capitalist economy was not complete and the patron relations continued to characterise the social relations of production in the countryside.

APPENDIX B: A GLOSSARY OF FOREIGN WORDS

Abuelo - grandfather or elder

Acasillados - permanent work-force who lived on the hacienda property

Alcalde - village or town mayor

Batab - leader in a Maya community

Cenote - depression or sink hole through the limestone; used to collect fresh water

Centro de Investigaciones de Quintana Roo - (CQRO) Quintana Roo Research Institute, Puerto Morelos Q.R.

Chac - Maya rain god

Chicle - sap from the chico zapote used in the making of chewing gum and latex rubber

Chiclero - workers that collect sap from the chicozapote tree

Cofradía - a religious brother hood trust-fund established by the Catholic church in colonial Mexico

Comadre - godmother

Compadrazgo - a system of fictive kinship common throughout Mesoamerica and southern Europe

Compadre - godfather

Congregación - a resettlement program established in Colonial Mexico by the Spanish in an attempt to facilitate tribute and labour extraction, and colonial administration

Curandero - name given to a Maya herb doctor

CONASUPO - Basic Foods Corporation founded in 1961 to ensure subsidized food and fair distribution

Debt-Peonage - a labour system in which workers were tied to their 'employer' through personal, coercive ties involving obligatory debt repayments at usurious interest rates; also referred to as debt-bondage

Delegado - town council

Dzul - term used by Yucatecan Maya to refer to foreigners or 'white-men'

Ejidatario - name given to refer to the individual farmer

involved in the ejido system of land tenure

Ejido - system of land tenure established in Mexico after the Revolution in which peasants have individual rights to land, worked collectively or individually, but with the title vested in the state

Encomendero - the master of the encomienda

Encomienda - a system of land grants awarded by the Spanish Crown to loyal followers in the colonies; land grants included the use of Indian labour

Enganchar - means to "hook"; also a labour system in which employers would "hook" by advancing him wages

Estancia - large stock raising farms established by Spanish colonizers in the early colonial period in Mexico

Eventuales - temporary workers on a hacienda

FONATUR - National Tourism Development Agency established in Mexico in 1961

Hacendado - owner of a hacienda

Hacienda - large landed estates characterized by private ownership and dependent on a steady, permanent labour force.

Henequen - a plant which is part of the agave family, grown widely in the Yucatan, dried and used for hemp.

Huipil - white cotton dress with intricate embroidery, worn by Maya women

Jornalero - day-labourer

La Epoca de la Esclaviatud - period of slavery (1860-1819), used to refer to the brutal working conditions experienced by the Yucatecan Maya on the haciendas

Ley Lerdo - Law established in Mexico in 1852 after independence was won from Spain; It stipulated that all communal lands could be sold and was aimed at both the Catholic Church and Indian communal lands.

Macehual - commoners in pre-colonial Maya society

Marquetas - Spanish term for 'bale'; used to refer to the units of chicle

Mercado de Las Artisanias - a market established in Tulum which sells the regional crafts of Mexico to tourists

Milpa - slash-and-burn agriculture utilizing simple technology in the production of maize, the traditional milpa crop

Panga - Long narrow skiff commonly used by Mexican fishermen

Presta-Nombre - a system through which foreigners can purchase land by "borrowing" the use of the name of a Mexican citizen for a fee

PEMEX - National Petroleum Company of Mexico

Repartimiento - form of tribute excised by the Spanish from the Indian

Sacbeh - raised limestone roads built by the ancient Maya

Sakbeh - Calcium carbonate distributed throughout the Yucatan peninsula; used as building material by the Maya

Shaman - Maya priest believed to possess special visionary powers

Solar - family compound consisting of one or more single family dwellings, a well for water, and a garden

Tienda - small shop

Tienda de Raya - company store extending credit to workers; they were common features on haciendas

Tortilla - flat corn bread eaten throughout Mexico; traditionally made at home with home-ground corn, but today more commonly bought in a tortilla factory (tortillaria)

Tribunal de Indios - Indian court established by the Spanish Crown to settle land claims

Vecino - Indians who worked on haciendas but lived in town rather than on the property