The development of Guatemalan society, like that of several other Indo-American states, has been unequal, and the integration of the state into nationhood has been precarious as a result of discrimination against the indigenous half of the population and their socio-cultural hermeticism within the values of their own historical traditions (Torres Rivas 1971). These traditions cannot be said to have developed independently of the colonial and neo-colonial relations that exist between the two populations, and they bear the imprint of their imperfect and forced integration into the national system of production.

The formation and evolution of indigenous ideological systems from the colonial period to the present and their articulation to metropolitan structures which reproduce exploitative relations between the centre and periphery is the central problem in the work of the first series of authors to be discussed. The second section examines a recent work by Bossen (see below p. 241) which is concerned with the effects of socio-economic integration and dislocation on gender relations at different junctures within Guatemalan society. Both types of study are important in understanding the relationship between the state and indigenous communities - which during the 1970s and the early 1980s was heavily repressive - and in demonstrating the political relevance of anthropology and its responsibility towards the people it studies.

The indigenous population of Guatemala has been displaced from the rich coastal lands that bound the Pacific Ocean and the southeast of the country, and concentrated in the western highlands and the North Transversal strip, the 'new frontier', which has progressively changed from representing an underpopulated land reserve where untitled peasants could be given rights to land without threatening the large estates elsewhere, to being the 'land of the Generals',

237
where the military have claimed huge tracts because of their mineral wealth and for cattle-farming, and where genocidal violence has characterised their relations with the newly settled population.

The western highlands contrast markedly with other parts of Guatemala due to the presence of a large indigenous population concentrated on small subsistence plots or *minifundias* and the minority presence of *ladinos* (people of mixed Indian/Spanish blood). According to Torres Rivas, it is the structural relation between the *minifundias* and the large *fincas* (capitalist landholdings) or *latifundias* (landed estates) of the coastal plains that regulates the labour market, by encouraging conditions which force the indigenous populations to migrate annually to work on a temporary basis at the coast while maintaining themselves throughout the remainder of the year by subsistence activities in the highlands. At the same time the *fincas*, which are administered as capitalist enterprises integrated into the world market, maintain a considerably smaller permanent semi-skilled work-force whose treatment is different from that given to the migrants. The indigenous displacement from land and the vociferous and erratic demand for labour within rural areas has stimulated the growth of urban centres. According to Rojas Lima (1967) there was a 9% increase in the total proportion of the population living within urban areas between 1950 and 1964, which, in terms of actual numbers, indexed to the growth of the population as a whole, represented an increase from 696,456 to 1,433,020. Urban growth has been influenced by the exponential increase in the size of the population, which stood at 2,790,868 inhabitants in 1950, exceeded four million in 1964, and is at present approximately seven million. Increasing scarcity of land and the near-paralysis of government efforts to colonize the Peten and the North Transversal Strip have led to a further movement towards the capital, where the landless peasantry have been transformed into an industrial labour reserve living in *ciudades perdidos* (slums, literally 'lost cities').

These processes, which have created a peculiar geography of misery by the distribution, separation and concentration of population according to the integration of the region with the centres of capitalist production, are what has made Guatemala such an appropriate area for the work of Warren (1978) and Hawkins (1984) on the (trans)formation of ethnic identity and Bossen's study (see below, p. 241) of the effects of particular economic conditions and the growth of the economic dependence of the family on gender relations.

However, these conditions were hardly reflected in the early history of anthropological research, which was dominated by local community studies. This tradition has seriously distorted our view of indigenous communities by ignoring their integration into a regional market and a national economic political and administrative organisation, disregarding the effects of colonial and later history on their development and separating out the indigenous from the Ladino aspects of their social and cultural life. At the level of ideology, indigenous concepts of cultural relations were confused by adherence to the Tylorian view that culture was constituted by behavioural patterns rather than structured sets of symbols (Hawkins 1984: 4; Hewitt 1984: 20).
A careful concern of many of these earlier researchers was to document the persistence of survivals of religious, ritual and social beliefs and institutions from pre-conquest times, with the intention of increasing the comprehensiveness of our knowledge of the pre-Hispanic civilizations which inhabited the area. Monographs such as *The Year-Bearers People* by La Farge and Byers (1931), La Fage's *Santa Eulália* (1947), Bunzel's *Chichicastenago* (1952) and Oaks's *The Two Crosses of Todos Santos* (1951) emphasised continuities over disjunctures by insulating indigenous ideas and practices from those of non-Indians and outside institutions. Their exclusive interest in the indigenous elements of the culture resulted in the projection of their isolationist perspective through colonial history to minimize the effect of Catholic proselytisation. Spanish colonial history was largely disregarded in the interest of establishing the persistence of authentic native religions which were either described as pure and untainted or as folk derivations of orthodox Catholicism where saints were merely substituted for pre-Hispanic deities. Religion itself was seen as concerned only with the 'other worldly' and its ideological role in social reproduction was not considered.

A number of more recent studies have begun to reverse this trend by focusing attention on the construction of the indigenous world-view during the colonial period and its subsequent reformulations. What has come to be emphasised is no longer the continuity of Indian history (and with it the inviolability of the category of the 'Indian') but the imposition of religious structures on Indian communities by the non-Indian elite and their arbitration, negotiation and encapsulation by Indian populations. The extrapolation of these ideological structures has provided a rich source of primary data which, with historical archives, have stimulated discussion of the problems of class, ethnic and gender relations and returned the problem of exploitation to its central position.

Three of the most fruitful points to have been developed by recent writers were first raised by Friedlander (1975) in her study of Hueyapan in Mexico. She argued that Indian identity is a response to colonial society and described the ways in which the indigenous population had constructed cultural forms which rationally and coherently expressed the terms of their subordination to the dominant society. She noted that ethnic identity was not an ahistorical category but one capable of changing, even though this may be independent of concomitant transformations in the group's socio-economic position in society.

These points have been taken up by Warren (1978) in her study of the Guatemalan village of San Andrés Semetabaj. She confirms the atomisation of Indian communities and argues that the separation between Indian and Ladinos is effected in indigenous cultural categories whose terms do not necessarily correspond to social and economic divisions within the local or regional society. In San Andrés the indigenous belief system juxtaposes the work of the Devil with the plantations and city and their Ladino overseers
while the Indian political and ritual organisation and the village subsistence economy and its members are associated with the law of God and the saints. Warren (1973: 48-9) argues that one of the Indian responses to subordination is to acknowledge the presence and power of Ladinos but to ignore their relevance in indigenous affairs in the belief that if the Devil, and the works associated with him, are treated with respect, they need not fear their intervention.

The construction of Indian identity by the indigenous population through this separatist and bipolar view of social relations, which is buttressed by the political and ritual organisation necessary for its reproduction, was constructed from outside the community and is a product of colonial Catholic religion. In this argument, contemporary Indian identity has a non-Indian origin.

In contrast and opposition to the traditional religious beliefs of the community the recent influence of Catholic Action, and orthodox religious movement, has succeeded in attracting a substantial following which has eroded the political base of former Indian institutions. Underlying Catholic Action is an ideology whose central contention is allegiance to God and a distinction between the spiritual and material world which is reconciled in the authority of the former over the latter. Catholic Action has questioned the separatist thought underlying the ideology of the traditionalists by identifying it as a manifestation of the same phenomenon which gives rise to the Ladinos' racism. Traditionalists and converts to Catholic Action each adhere to a particular idea of Indian ethnic identity which, Warren argues, is neither related to changes in their socio-economic position nor to a decline in the consciousness of being Indian. In contrast to many earlier writers, she seems to see traditionalists as stubborn defenders of an identity imposed on them during the colonial period, while those members of Catholic Action are more aggressive and assertive of an identity which emerges from their contemporary struggles. As a solution, the organisation emphasises religion over ethnic identity and encourages the integration of Indians into universalistic institutions which it believes ought to function under spiritual law.

Falla (1978) has traced the political implications of religious conversion (which are largely absent from Warren's study) in the community of San Antonio Hotenango and draws conclusions which are of relevance to understanding terrorism in the country as a whole. The separatist attitude of the Indian traditionalists to the Ladinos underlines the symbiosis between the two segments of the population which works to the advantage of the latter. This has resulted in Indians giving support to reactionary political parties which legislate against them. Warren and Falla both note that the members of Catholic Action are active in secular institutions and more likely to support welfare and reform issues. The connection between the dissolution of the traditional block and the ruling Ladino elite, and the rise of class-based local organisations and reform movements in the late 1970s and early 1980s, still has to be documented, as does the relationship between the politicalization of large segments of the indigenous population, the emergence of a radical theology and the organisation of guerrilla activity.
during the same period. Falla's hypothesis - that secularisation and the fragmentation of the base of traditionalist authority within communities produced a power vacuum which was conducive to the violence which later decimated many communities - needs to be examined in the light of subsequent history.

Recent critics of the school of anthropological thought which treated Indian communities as separate from their Ladino neighbours and unconnected to regional and metropolitan economic and administrative organisations have not sufficiently acknowledged the dominance of the type of view examined by Warren within traditionalist Indian thought. Whereas Warren presents ideology as determining social forms, Hawkins (1984) presents social and economic forms as decisive conditions of ideology. Hawkins's argument that the indigenous world-view of the inhabitants of San Marcos and San Pedro Sacatepéquez juxtaposes a repertoire of images which define Indian identity as the inverse of that used to characterize Ladinos rests on a synthesis which is articulated by an outside observer.

His discussion of colonial history produces germane comparisons between the Spanish treatment of the Moors after the reconquest of the Iberian Peninsula and that of the Indians in the New World: both had their movements restricted and were unable to change their residence; they shared in the policy of enforcing endogamy within the community while prohibiting access to Spanish females but tolerating men having sexual relations with non-Spanish women; both were forcefully converted to Christianity but were marginalized and insulated from metropolitan thought; and both were seen as enthusiastic agricultural workers providing a reserve of labour. Hawkins (1984: 39), in supporting the view that the conquest of America was the continuation of the Medieval reconquest of the Iberian Peninsula, locates the origin of the Indian corporate community in Spanish colonial policy and finds the source of its collective representations in the inversion of the dominant ideological categories of the governing elite.

Although the historical perspective is important in the understanding of Guatemalan society, Hawkins's insistence on the dominance of post-conquest history merely reverses the prejudices of a particularist historical determinism and substitutes a modernist interpretation for a classical one. There is no analysis of the encounter between the two conceptual systems, and discussion of their relations remains inscribed within deterministic discourse.

The atomisation of indigenous communities and the preferential treatment given to certain of their aspects over others in the anthropological literature continues to make any general picture of their articulation with regional and metropolitan Guatemalan society difficult to secure and an interpretation of exploitation and state terrorism an onerous task.

The works discussed so far have been concerned with the first problem we mentioned, that concerning the debate between the ethnic and class determinants of Indian identity and the problem of ideological reproduction. Bossen's The Redivision of Labour* is

another example of the new approach which relates communities to national institutions and the processes they engender. Her work raises issues in the second set of problems relating to ethnic division, class and gender as principles of stratification.

2. The International Division of Labour and the Transformation of Gender Relations

Bossen has concentrated on areas already well documented in other respects to provide historical depth and complement social structural data. The unequal pattern of development in Central America, resulting in a dependent articulation of specific community types to the metropolitan centre (Gonzalez Casanova 1968), has concentrated each socio-economic group within a particular geography. Bossen studied peasant gender-articulation in the northern highland province of Huehuetenango, the subliminal proletariat in a ciudad perdido in Guatemala City, the proletarianized work-force in a large finca in the southern lowlands and the new affluent middle class in a community within the capital.

Taken together, her comparison between genders at each of these vertical junctures takes us away from the community to its articulation with other districts and the national society, a relation that has escaped most analyses of Mesoamerican communities.

Bossen rightly contends that the position of women within the class structure is not necessarily consistent with that of the men to whom they are married, as is often assumed. Their integration into a mode of production is differential, and dependent upon the pattern of social relations necessitated by the productive process. This unequal integration explains the sometimes different awareness and understanding held by women of the conditions of their life and of the world.

In each of the four communities, Bossen describes gender relations by reference to structural integrations within different grades of Guatemalan society. She uses three criteria: the sexual division of labour, the distribution of rewards, and the control of strategic resources.

Toj Nam, in the predominantly indigenous state of Huehuetenango, has a largely young population (53% under 18) with a high illiteracy rate (89%); 92% of its inhabitants are of Mam origin. The traditional marginalized conditions of the indigenous population in relation to their subsistence activities on the land (discussed previously) prevail here and lead to Mam seasonal migrations to the coastal fincas. Bossen estimates that the average size of landholdings is enough to supply only one-third of a family's subsistence needs, perhaps less, a generalization that could be applied to much of the highland area; the dependence on plantation work is high.

In the subsistence sphere, men and women dedicate themselves to different areas of work but complement each other's efforts. Together, they form an interdependent unit with clearly defined spheres of responsibility. Interestingly, it was found that men, when they were away from the coast and forced by circumstance to
duplicate the work of their absent wives, would do so in different forms, thus making their incursion into the female sphere of labour distinct, and separating them from it. The absence of traditional prohibitions denying female participation in plantation labour complements the rough equality between the sexes in the traditional division of labour (25% of labour is female). Within the community, women assume particular importance through their role in the biological reproduction of the family. As Lewis (1961) demonstrated, the economic fortunes of a marginalized family depend on the number of children reared and the support they dedicate to the family as an economic unit. Family size is a basic resource which is dependent on the female, the importance of which is held in high esteem by the male and leads him to distribute control of resources equitably between himself and his wife. Bossen suggests that it is not gender about which conflicts are most pronounced but generations, anticipated in the subordination of the younger members of the family to senior heads of households.

The payment of brideprice to the parents of a girl in marriage is not interpreted as an economic transaction, but as one which indicates the social value of the girl. It is a repayment to her family for the debts she has incurred during her upbringing and offsets the lost value that might have been realised through her labour in the domestic sphere, or in weaving for the external market. The view that interprets brideprice as a firm commitment which binds the female to the husband is considered impermissible. In a society which does not prohibit sexual activity before marriage, the female continues to maintain her value as a means of providing family labour through her reproductive capacity. If treated badly by the male, she is free to take this service elsewhere and to establish a new household. Bossen argues that the female's ability to produce children complements the male's ability to acquire land which provides the economic bases for the family's survival. Their mutual dependence ensures equality in the distribution of activities and their small rewards.

The situation between the sexes changes considerably when the indigenous peasantry become transformed into full-time proletarianized workers through their greater integration into the relations of the national and international economy. The situation of workers in El Cañaveral, a large sugar-cane plantation, illustrates well how the external conditions of capitalist production modify changes in gender relations. The corporation employs only 6% women, markedly discriminating between the sexes and obscuring the woman's role in unpaid domestic labour to maintain her husband as a salaried labourer. Because of her restriction in the labour market she is made dependent on her husband. In the context of their economic integration her reproductive role is minimal, assisted by the company clinic, disseminating the idea of birth control, thus further increasing her dependence on, and arbitrary treatment by, her husband.

A large reserve of women in the towns and those working in interstitial positions in the plantation create a demand for salaried men who are willing to support them at a minimal economic level. This causes competition between women for men, and generates
hostility among them. In this environment women endure perceived inequalities and injustices in their relations with men to a degree unimaginable in traditional rural communities. 20% of women in El Cañaveral are divorced and 44% of households include stepchildren from previous marriages.

San Lorenzo is a marginalized barrio of Guatemala City where four-fifths of the houses have only one room, more than half are without sanitary facilities, half have electricity and 90% are without running water. Unlike the proletariat of El Cañaveral, the inhabitants of such communities are only marginally integrated into a capitalist division of labour and provide a huge labour reserve, who survive principally through their activities in the interstitial areas of the economy. Within this economy of poverty and uncertainty, 83-88% of women participate in sales and service activities while men are predominantly concentrated in craft industries. Their differential integration into the material economy prejudices the women, who between 1974 and 1975 earned on average 35% less for their work than the US$53-60 brought home by their husbands each month. This made an average total income of US$73-81 per household per month and established interdependence between the sexes. The contribution of a woman is crucial and grants her relative independence from the wishes of her husband. There is an accepted division of labour on the basis of gender, which equates women with domestic activity and men with the improvement and maintenance of the home. However, because of lack of formal ownership the squatter community must organise to protect itself from the predations of an arbitrary national government, and the organisation of this has been assumed by inter-barrio associations of women. Their political activity in this sphere compensates in part for their unequal incorporation into formal organisations. Restrictions on their social activities are inconsistent with their political role in defending the community and their economic position as wage-earners. This loosens their dependence on men, allowing them to ignore male interjections and to establish for themselves a relatively high level of social autonomy without rifts emerging.

These marginalized or proletarianized communities are compared with an urban middle-class community where the inhabitants have undergone the greatest assimilation into the capitalist economy and its corresponding division of labour. Women are discouraged from work, and where they do work they receive only 43% of the average male wage. Continuity of employment is restricted to men, while the sexual division of labour results in women interrupting their careers before childbirth and confines them to the home. Unlike Toj Nam and San Lorenzo, liaisons are formalised by marriage, which together with the high value placed on the virginity of the bride, gives the family status. The control of pre-marital and post-marital female sex is considerably relaxed in the case of the male, who is given differential preferability in law. The removal of women from productive and educational achievements exaggerates the importance of motherhood. However, the tensions generated by women's lack of fulfilment in the productive and educational spheres, their dependence on a male income and the existence of a dual system of morality creates the familiar tensions characteristic of an
occupational structure which transmits Western gender stereotypes. Bossen concludes that it is not a cultural tradition, not even that of machismo, which has conditioned socio-economic inequalities, but rather the reverse. By first attending to the relative equality based on complementarity and interdependence of the male/female dyad in the community that is the most structurally distant from the metropolitan centre, she has convincingly demonstrated that inequality between the sexes is an index of the family unit's integration into the world capitalist system of production and consumption. Female dependency increases with the family unit's greater participation in the capitalist system.

However, the comparisons she most often draws are those between the traditional community and the proletarian economy, and between the marginal community and the middle-class estate of the capital. A comparison of the dyads traditional community/marginalized urban community and plantation/middle-class community would have more clearly tied changes in gender relations to proletarianization and the growth of the middle class, determined by the increasing integration of the population into a world capitalist mode of production. The rural, traditional community and the urban, marginal community are characterized by marginal, structural integration and by the subjection of their economies to the fluctuation of demand occasioned by the dominant mode of production. The relations between these two pairs is one of internal colonization, which is perhaps obscured because of insufficient attention being devoted to the encapsulation of gender by class. This further affects, in the case of the rural proletariat and urban middle class, the apparent dominance of gender over class as a means of stratification where the hierarchical dyad of male/female transcends conflict between classes. Undoubtedly male dominates female in these instances, but at another level, represented most dramatically in Guatemala by the terror of the state, it is a landed oligarchy and ascendant industrial bourgeoisie which exploits both men and women of the subordinate classes.

Unfortunately, and as is common in most sociological interpretations, ethnicity is also depreciated. While Bossen employs objective criteria in her definition of gender relations and socio-economic indexes of structural integration, ethnic differences and affiliation is marked by subjective criteria, such as language and costume. Thus relations within the indigenous community and between ethnicities are not defined by their integration into a mode of production, as is class, but by ascriptive cultural traits. This results in the strange paradox that while it is the men in Toj Nam who dominate the political and religious offices which reproduce the cultural identity of their subordinate community, a higher rate of monolingualism and the use of indigenous dress among women cause the latter to appear more 'Indian' than the former. Once the ethnic dimension is considered as sociologically pertinent, one cannot but wonder at the existence of ideological contentions within the community which operate to structure gender differences. Bossen's extensive use of concepts based on economic rationality may well be correct in this instance, but they cannot be assumed when comparing different ethnic groups who identify with different cultural traditions.
Conclusion

The works discussed here are critical of earlier works and mark a disjuncture in the history of anthropological perspectives on Guatemala. Without exception they emphasise the historical determination of Indian identity and interpret its imposition by a dominant elite as the means by which it reproduces the set of exploitative relations established by the Spanish. Bossen, Falla and Hawkins further emphasise the importance of the role of national and international forces in the contemporary development of rural communities.

However, there are important differences between the authors, not only in the focus of their studies, but also in the emphasis they give to ideological or socio-economic determination within history. Both Bossen and Hawkins read the cultural indexes of ethnic identity from secondary sources and on the whole prefer a materialist interpretation. Warren, on the other hand, is more concerned to extrapolate cultural indexes from the indigenous view and to use a historical model to interpret change. Regardless of the general problems of causality and the different emphases on emic and etic approaches, all these texts portray a picture of Guatemala's Indian population that differs from those of many earlier works and is more relevant to understanding its position within a hostile international division of labour, where the fundamental contradiction seems to be not so much between Indians and non-Indians as between different classes belonging to distinct and dislocated historical periods.

ANTHONY SHELTON

REFERENCES

LA FARGE, O. and D. BYER 1931. The Year-Bearer's People, New Orleans: Toulane University of Louisiana.


