

**Chapter 1 : Traditional Mexican Clothes and Modern Dresses | Culture x Tourism**

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Although some of the classic figures from which the science traces its descent--Maine, Maitland, and Fustel de Coulanges--were concerned with peasant life, the research focus of the men who actually set its course--Morgan, Tylor, Boas, Malinowski, and Radcliffe-Brown--was overwhelmingly upon tribal society. Even in regions almost totally dominated by peasant culture, anthropologists searched out tribal peoples: Only since World War II, with the entrance of the major peasant-based nations of Asia, the Middle East, and Latin America onto the stage of international politics, has any notable shift of interest toward the study of peasant life occurred. Yet, characteristically enough, in this lone paragraph Kroeber managed to formulate most clearly and exactly what has turned out to be the recurrent theme in subsequent anthropological studies of peasants: Peasants, he said, are definitely rural, yet they live in relation to market towns. They form a class segment of a larger stratificatory system, within which they are far from being the dominant group. They lack the isolation, political autonomy, and self-sufficiency of tribal populations, yet their local units nevertheless retain much of their old identity, integration, and attachment to soil and cult, to parochial custom and folk art. The nature of the larger whole of which the peasantry is a part, the definition of the peasant as such within that larger whole, and the relations between the peasantry so defined and other subunits of the wider society--the gentry, the clergy, the trading classes, townsmen, and the like--have been the major analytical concerns of the hordes of researchers who, in the last decade or so, have turned to this by now extremely popular field of investigation. Although Redfield, an incurable eclectic, was nothing if not catholic in his approach, he mainly stressed the cultural dimensions of the issue. To peasantry he opposed gentry, defining this difference largely in terms of his concepts of great tradition and little tradition, in turn an outgrowth, revision, and even partial retraction of his earlier and more famous contrast between folk and urban cultures. It is an aspect or dimension of the civilization of which it is a part", p. And so he contrasted the systematized and abstract great tradition of the reflective few with the irregular and concrete little tradition of the unreflective many, the "high culture" of the whole of India, China, or Mexico with the "low culture" of the individual Gangetic, Yellow River, or Yucatecan village. The essential problem is to discover how these two sorts of tradition interact--how they communicate with and modify one another and how sophisticated and folk culture are interrelated within the larger culture that composes the civilization as a whole. Its most distinctive features lie in the realm of world-view, of value, of style of life--features which, again, need to be seen against the background of the related gentry culture in order to be clearly outlined and properly defined. For Steward, the major emphasis is ecological and economic. In his system, the various part-societies of a complex or compound society are divided into vertical segments, horizontal segments, and formal institutions. Vertical segments are local units of various sorts, such as villages, neighborhoods, households. Horizontal segments are special subsocieties, occupational, class, ethnic, and the like, which, like local units, may have a somewhat distinctive way of life, but which cross-cut localities. And formal institutions include the monetary system, the law, education, and organized churches, which run through the whole society, "binding it together and affecting it at every point. The peasant is said to be: Similarly, the external relations of the peasant with the wider society tend also to be phrased in economic terms, in particular in terms of his relation to the market and to outside capital. For Steward and Wolf, then, "peasant" is fundamentally an occupational status, only derivatively characterized by a more or less specific way of life. Its defining elements lie in the realms of technology, land use, property holding, and trade, and the main axis of the peasant-nonpeasant contrast is not between folk and sophisticated, but between the agricultural producer and the landlord, government official, businessman, or wage worker. Wittfogel, whose magnum opus, *Oriental Despotism*, has been both extravagantly praised 96 and sharply criticized 33b, 69 by anthropologists, is mainly concerned with the differences in power that result from unequal access to the governmental apparatus in agrarian societies, so that the fundamental social contrast appears as the one between the rulers and the ruled. His own work is dedicated to establishing the supposed

absoluteness of this contrast in irrigation-based societies, which he opposes to what he takes to be the much greater diffusion of power in feudal Europe. From this perspective, the ties of the peasant to the outside world are traced along the lines of his political obligations to lord, bureaucrat, priest, or king that are usually, though not inevitably, implicit in the system of tenure under which he gains access to land. Of course, the cultural, occupational, and jurial views of the peasant are not in irresolvable conflict with one another, nor have they been taken to be so by those who have adopted mainly one or another of them. They are interrelated dimensions in terms of which the boundaries of both the part-society and part-culture of the peasantry can be demarcated, and the relation of the peasantry to the wider civilization within which it exists can be delineated. In attempting to face the problem, vexing to some, of whether or not there are peasants in Africa, Fallers 35 has, in fact, argued that Dahomean, Ashanti, and Baganda cultivators may be said to be peasants in the economic and political sense of the term, but not in the cultural. Owing to the absence of literacy, of a sharp social contrast between town and country, and--until recently, anyway--of critical and systematic religious and philosophical thought, the bifurcation of culture into high and low, sophisticate and folk, has been very weak. In view of their cultivating activities and relations to an interlocal monetized market system, and in view of their subordinate political status with--in a comprehensive, hierarchical, and relatively centralized traditional state, some Africans are, by any reasonable definition of the term, peasants. But with respect to their cultural status, to the degree to which they are participants in a differentiated little tradition clearly set off from a similarly differentiated great one, they are at most proto-peasants. Most of the rural people commonly referred to as peasants in Western Europe, Japan, and much of Latin America stand in complementary relationship not to a classical great tradition, a bazaar-type market system, or a traditional hereditary elite, but to modern mass culture, a highly industrialized economy, and a thoroughly bureaucratized government. Banfield 5, for example, attributes the extreme weakness of social ties which he found in a southern Italian village to the fact that the larger society, centered in the industrial north, has prevented the peasantry from developing or, presumably, from maintaining locally based moral, political, or economic institutions of any real vigor. There is evidently no way by which these folk-like people can relate themselves meaningfully to a Roman bureaucracy they encounter mainly in the form of the *cabinieri*, an absentee landlord class whose attitude toward agriculture is narrowly capitalistic, and a national culture whose avatar is neither the priest nor the nobleman but the movie star. And so they are reduced to what Banfield calls an "amoral familism," by which he means that aside from concern with the material, short-run advantage of the nuclear family, there are no solidly institutionalized normative guides to action. Reporting on a similar village somewhat nearer Rome, Pitkin describes a comparable pattern: In Japan, for example, Beardsley and others 6 report that their village in the Okayama plain has not only maintained but may even have increased its already high degree of corporate unity and cultural definition within a rapidly industrializing and modernizing nation. And the reverse, "peasantizing" process may also occur; in parts of the Caribbean, particularly in those highland regions into which capital-intensive plantation agriculture has not been able to penetrate, a thin sort of peasantry has arisen as a secondary development since the end of slavery in the nineteenth century. But, in general, an alteration toward modernity in the larger society naturally tends to destroy or prevent the emergence of a stable balance between a traditional peasantry and a traditional gentry, priesthood, trading class, or whatever, and so inevitably to produce in the countryside more modern, at best quasi-peasant, rural types of the sort described by Steward and others for Puerto Rico: The effort to define a type construct of "peasant" or "peasantry" has thus moved simultaneously along two lines: In the first instance, there has been general agreement on the partii: In the second instance, questions about the applicability of the type have been raised with respect both to politically developed nonliterate peoples and to traditional agriculturalists enclosed in an otherwise modernized society. Next to these still quite unresolved issues of simple definition, however, the most worrisome problem for anthropologists who have turned from tribes to peasants has been to determine the proper methods of study. With increasing frequency, both anthropologists and other social scientists looking at the work of anthropologists have raised a disquieting question: In a review of Japanese studies by American anthropologists, for example, the ethnologist Sofue complains that when Americans have used their findings from a particular, closely studied village as a basis for discussing the wider range of Japanese culture or

general aspects of Japanese society including the nature and role of the peasantry , serious mistakes of interpretation have occurred. He pleads for a greater use by American anthropologists of historical, quantitative, and distributional material presented by Japanese scholars in Japanese, rather than sole reliance on field work in specific communities. And, from yet another perspective, the development economist Higgins 60 , frustrated by the extreme difficulty of determining how far the results of community-based studies of economic change in one region of rural Java may be generalized to refer to Indonesia as a whole, complains impatiently: If anthropologists are to be genuinely helpful to economists seeking to understand the relationship between culture and economic behavior, their scope and method must be substantially changed The traditional methods of the anthropologists confine them to intensive and prolonged study of small geographic regions. If their scientific standards are to be met, that cannot be helped. But some training in statistical methods, and particularly in sampling techniques, might enable them to distinguish the strategic variables which correlate highly with everything else in the culture and thus characterize it. Thus armed, anthropologists would need less time to find out whether neighboring [communities] are different or the same. If they are the same, the anthropologist can move on; if they are different, more prolonged study may be necessary p. Similar complaints have arisen from within anthropology as well, although naturally enough they have been rather more equivocal and their proponents somewhat more torn. In a general consideration of the methodological problems involved in the study of "intermediate societies" a term the writer employs as a "more neutral" equivalent of "folk" or "peasant" society , Casagrande 17 points out that anthropology has by now pretty much given up the "rather naive" view of the community as a microcosm of the whole, and is at present in the process of abandoning the more tenacious idea "that we can somehow arrive at a complete description of even a very complex society if we can only make enough intensive studies of representative communities and place them side by side. Yet, perhaps with the uncomfortable sense that some rather eminent ancestors are beginning to stir in their graves, Casagrande hastens to reassure us as to his loyalties: Both can be instructive, but our distinctive research contribution and our particular strength lies in the intensive study of small groups and I assume that our work will continue to be anchored to the natural community. On the one hand: Communities which exist in isolation from other communities certainly demand different conceptual tools and methodological techniques of analysis than do those [such as the Caribbean] which are in contact with or dependent upon a larger social, economic and political universe than is comprised within the area of their "daily" contacts Every community study in the area My comments should not be construed as in any sense demanding an end to community studies as such. I believe the relatively small local community unit What would happen to community life in Puerto Rico if the United States suddenly decided to drop tariff preferences on Puerto Rican sugar, or suspend coastwide shipping laws, or allow Puerto Rico to buy rice in the world market without payment of import duties I am not, of course, advocating that each community study undertaken in the Caribbean begin, for example, with an analysis of the American tax structure, or patterns of alcohol consumption in large urban centers east of the Mississippi, or child-rearing in an Israeli kibbutz. Manners, Arensberg says, fails to realize that the anthropologist is after all a specialist, that the community-study method is not a method of analysis but a method of gathering data, and that it is not the only such method known to cultural science. The anthropologist can no more be expected to study all aspects of the particular problem with which he is directly concerned than can any scientist; the "holistic" approach in anthropology involves an attempt to see the phenomena that are selected for study as an interrelated system, not an effort to study "everything. But this is no reflection on the validity of the community-study method, which rests on the fact that it unearths indispensable data that cannot otherwise be obtained, and not on the supposition that the data so unearthed are the only ones that count and are theoretically sufficient unto themselves. The analysis of peasant life will inevitably lead the anthropologist into all sorts of ancillary investigations and force him to attempt all sorts of novel methods of research; but nevertheless with community study so deeply entrenched in our science as to be one of our chief methods, and with community studies justifying themselves repeatedly in their successful application to countries in the swim of modernity such as India, the United States, England, Wales, Germany, Belgium, France, Italy, Brazil and the Caribbean islands, it is good to remember that this method, to which we owe so much of the new and deeper

understanding of culture, both simple and complex, is continuing to permit us to operate our science-even away from the small tribes where it was born. The special complexities of cultural and social organization encountered in the investigation of peasants and the societies in which they are found, has, however, tended to lead to a greater number of experiments in method than has been characteristic of tribal studies. On the "hard data" side, Ryan has used a questionnaire approach to the determination of the attitudes of Sinhalese peasants toward modernization, surveying some household heads in a village near Colombo, with respect to their opinions concerning both traditional practices and possible innovations. The Youngs, have administered a "structured" questionnaire to community officials in twenty-four Mexican villages in connection with their study of rural reactions to the growth of a government-planned industrial city in one of the states of the Central Plateau. They then use the results--as well as various types of census data--to construct items for a Guttman scale of economic contact between various villages and the factory center, to set up indexes of absolute and relative social change in the villages, and to obtain an objective measure of village "morale. And Skinner has supplemented the usual sort of work with informants by sociometric and other ingenious quantitative techniques in his study of the Bangkok Chinese, which although not in itself a peasant community is a more or less typical example of the sort of ethnic-minority, "bazaar-economy" trading group endemic to peasant societies in so many parts of the world. The use of documentary materials is also increasing, as is--at last skill in handling them. Beidleman<sup>7</sup> relies wholly on published sources in his comprehensive description and analysis of the Hindu jajmani system, coming to rather more realistic, less sentimental judgments concerning the balance of rewards in the system and the supposed organic harmony of it all than have many who have studied it at first hand in the field. Although three important studies are by anthropologists and employ anthropological concepts as their interpretive frame, they are purely historical in method: On a larger scale, Skinner has written a full-length "analytical history" of the Thailand Chinese as a background to his previously noted synchronic study of them, commenting that "it was the need for historical depth in analyzing field data on contemporary Chinese society in Thailand that prompted me to undertake a diachronic inquiry. Finally in the area of what might be called the case-in-point approach, Lewis<sup>72</sup> has presented a description of peasant life in Mexico in the form of a day in the life of a single family in "Azteca," a village near the capital, this "day" then being placed next to similar ones of various sorts of urban families to give a synthetic picture of what he calls "the culture of poverty. In his fitful, personally unrewarding, yet boldly nonconformist political activity in first the Socialist and then the Popular parties is reflected the social revolution of the still continuing Puerto Rican "New Deal. Those for whom the first task has been uppermost have tended to engage in microsociological studies, focusing on one or more local units in an attempt to present a rounded and circumstantial picture of the major aspects of everyday life in the countryside. Those who have been mainly concerned with the second task--often, of course, the. The first approach involves an intensive investigation of the specific pattern and immediate quality of peasant life; the second, an extensive investigation of its general form and broader setting. Where for the first the primary object of study is the peasant community, for the second it is peasant society. In the first place, he finds two parametric conditions to be necessary to the continuing existence of a largely closed community: Given these two conditions, the other repeatedly noted characteristics of the closed peasant community would seem to follow: In Europe today, Pitt-Rivers sees much of this as changing. Formerly closed peasant communities are "opening up," owing to improved transport, communications, and the like, with the result that allegiances are coming to be defined not only, or even mainly, in terms of local attachment, but occupationally, politically, religiously, or whatever. The distinctiveness and homogeneity of the culture of the closed community is engulfed by the generalized heterogeneity of the national culture, and the "wevillagers-against-the-world" pattern of social solidarity dissolves into local factionalism: Other writers, using other dichotomous concepts, have examined this problem of the ability of some peasant communities at least to maintain intense social unity and marked cultural distinctiveness against the background of a nationally centered society. A high rate of village endogamy, elaborate intra-village work patterns see also, great enthusiasm for village fiestas, and a general reciprocated indifference toward the national government all aid in this perpetuation of the dominance of internal over external ties in the face of the existence of welldeveloped intercourse with the wider Philippine

world. In a Peruvian highland village, Stein [] found that even temporary migration outside the community to work in the lowlands was "acculturally irrelevant" and served to reinforce rather than undercut internal ties. Geertz 47 has similarly employed the concepts of centripetal and centrifugal forces implicit in diHerent types of village institutions in her attempt to account for the greater resistance of Balinese as against Minangkabau peasant life to the nationalizing processes in Indonesia. The commercial orientation of the Minangkabau, which grows naturally out of their traditional customs of marriage and landholding, impels the young men to try themselves in foreign market places, so that today they may be found in every city and town on the archipelago, and have consequently tended to be disproportionately represented in the cultural, economic, and, until the recent civil war, political elites of the nation. On the other hand, Balinese institutions, particularly ritual institutions, hold their members close to their villages, or periodically draw them back, with the result that the Balinese are as underrepresented in the national elites as the Minangkabau are overrepresented. And so, in contrast to the Minangkabau, who as often as not never get around to returning home permanently, "until the essential forms of local social organization change, the primary reference for personal and social identity for mose Balinese will be their local communities, not the Indonesian nation. I suggest that the answer to this dilemma lies in the fact that the dilemma itself accurately represents the true empirical character of peasant village communities. Such communities are to a very real extent both centripetal and centrifugal in their manner of operation with the result that they can be made to look "self-sufficient" or "interdependent" depending upon which aspect of them the observer consciously or unconsciously chooses to emphasize. Given the continued persistence around the world of a great many well-bounded, self-centered, culturally distinctive peasant communities, we are bound to find studies of them continuing.

*PEASANT CULTURE IN INDIA AND MEXICO, A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS [Oscar Lewis] on [calendrierdelascience.com](http://calendrierdelascience.com) \*FREE\* shipping on qualifying offers.*

Prevailing practice includes analysis of peasant behavior at the levels of whole social systems, nations, sectors, villages, households, and individual cultivators. Peasants are usually seen as forming part of a structured society, within which they fall between the aristocracy or great landholders, on the one hand, and the landless, on the other. However, this definition has been stretched at both ends. Some writers include among peasants groups of cultivators with no class of landlords above them; others refer to landless peasantry. Again, peasants are normally conceived of as settled agriculturalists. Yet in tropical Africa, Central and South America, and parts of southeast Asia, there are groups of peasants who rely on shifting cultivation of the slash-and-burn type. With regard to the land which they till, the legal status of peasants may be that of proprietors, tenants, or crop sharers. They may or may not be free to leave the land. In a broad sense, the peasantry has constituted the most numerous social group in all organized states, from ancient to modern times, that have rested on traditional forms of agriculture. Even in western Europe during the throes of nineteenth-century industrialization the peasant population constituted the largest segment of society. The progressive emancipation of the peasantry from serfdom and other forms of bondage has furnished favored themes for discourses by politicians and treatises by historians. Most recently, however, the characteristic differences between urban and rural economic activity and social life have faded, and the peasantry as such has been in the process of disappearing. Meanwhile, in other areas—for example, sub-Saharan Africa—there are some indications of a movement from tribal to peasant societies. This literature is primarily of an applied nature and is concerned with efforts to modernize peasant agriculture. Among the chief subjects are reforms in systems of land tenure and other prerequisites for rapid economic development. There are also a number of examples of fundamental research aimed at a comprehensive understanding of the structure and functioning of peasant society in these countries. Rather than trying to define peasants or peasantry in any restrictive sense we shall indicate the main lines along which significant work on peasants has been carried forward since the 1950s. We shall quickly survey the issues which have been raised in relation to the peasantry in the following geographic and historical order: One of the richest sources of literature about peasant societies continues to be the study of the agrarian aspects of feudalism in Europe from the eleventh century to the fifteenth century. Another important body of research in recent years is that devoted to the position of the peasantry in Europe since the coming of the industrial revolution. Interest has centered on such subjects as the differences from country to country in the timing and the manner in which serfdom was brought to an end. In one way or another the medieval system of agriculture, based on relations between the manor and the village community, gave way to individual farming. Large-scale cultivation with hired laborers came to predominate in certain regions, notably England and eastern Germany. France and western Germany, by contrast, continued to be lands of smallscale peasant agriculture up through World War II. The application of modern biology and chemistry to farming led to what has been called an agricultural revolution, with unprecedented increases in productivity. The education, scientific training, technical knowledge, capital equipment, and financial resources required for carrying on the new agriculture were obviously more accessible to the large farmers than to the petty peasantry. A question which has been much discussed is how so large a number of small peasants managed nonetheless to remain in existence. The evidence suggests that they owed their survival to long hours of back-breaking toil and minimal levels of living. The small-scale peasant agriculture of the Low Countries was distinguished for its specialization and high technical proficiency. Denmark became famous for its rural education and cooperative movements. Rack rents, poverty, crop failures, depressed prices, crowding on the land, and subdivision of holdings have been cited as factors in the great peasant migrations from Ireland, Germany, Scandinavia, and Italy. Russia and eastern Europe. In eastern Europe the progress of industry was slower and its impact on peasant society less. The aristocracy and large proprietors held on to enormous estates until the Russian Revolution in 1917, while the peasantry remained illiterate and backward in its agricultural

techniques. The historical background to collectivization, the campaign itself, and its consequences for Soviet society and economy may be studied in a vast literature of absorbing interest, under such heads as: After World War n the advent of socialist regimes in the countries of eastern Europe initiated a series of campaigns designed to collectivize peasant agriculture. These attempts were less drastic than those in the Soviet Union but have nonetheless been pushed very far in Bulgaria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Rumania. By contrast, they have been abandoned in Yugoslavia and Poland. Recent studies of Asia have largely emphasized the present and the immediate past. The most reliable data and the widest range of studies of any peasant society in Asia pertain to Japan. The attraction of the towns for the country youth, especially the young men, has become very powerful. As they leave, the average age of the farm population moves up steeply. To hold his laborers at the busy season the employer has to feed them well and speak to them politely. Even for small farms of barely one hectare peasant families in central Japan have been buying many small machines—multipurpose two-wheel tractors, chaff cutters, polishers, tiny pickup vans. Also, these families are each likely to have a transistor radio, a television set, a washing machine, and a refrigerator. These items are acquired not solely for economic reasons but as part of a determined effort to lighten labor and make farming more attractive to young people. What is happening is the industrialization of agriculture and the modernization of rural life. Peasant agriculture and peasant society, in central Japan at least, are disappearing. In southeast Asia, Indonesia is the area which has been studied the longest and the most systematically. He held that the peasants zealously guarded their own values, institutions, and way of life. He believed that this situation was desirable on grounds of imperial policy and urged that it be encouraged as much as possible. In this way Furnivall proposed a framework for the relations between the Burmese peasants, the British rulers and businessmen, and the Indian laborers and moneylenders in Burma; or, for Indonesia, between the Dutch, the Chinese, and the Indonesian peasantry. The compartments into which the main elements of society are divided turn out, in practice, to be much less watertight than Boeke or Furnivall would have us believe. What is more, almost all of the great societies that have existed in history have been composed of a number of principal elements among which economic or social relations may have been severely restricted. Of all the countries in the nonsocialist world, India has the largest peasantry and the most deep-rooted social obstacles to agricultural development. The mixture of ancient Indian, Muslim, and British notions and practices about landholding has given the country a peculiarly complex structure of land tenure. There are no significant reserves of good land to be brought under cultivation, and a number of regions are already very densely populated. Agriculture is largely dependent on the monsoons, which are fickle. Many areas are chronically short of water. All economic and social institutions in the villages are deeply affected by the divisions and sense of hierarchy connected with caste. This gives a low value to manual labor. Whatever the success of these various endeavors, there can be no doubt of the interest in the discussions generated at each phase of development. Since India can boast a number of first-class economists, there are a great many high-level analyses of peasant problems and suggested solutions. The proliferation of factories and workshops and an immense building program—new factories, government offices, schools, housing, roads, bridges, dams—have given jobs or supplementary income to millions of peasants. Villagers are more aware of what is going on in the outside world, and they enjoy the spectacle of the city people coming to solicit their votes at election time. The hegemony of the upper-caste families within the village has been challenged. In parts of south India the Brahman landlords have been humiliated and forced out of their holdings. The foundations of traditional peasant society in India are being shaken. Peasant economics Most of the studies of peasant economic behavior have been carried out by persons trained in the classical and neoclassical economics developed in England, on the Continent, and in the United States. Quite naturally, the economists brought along with them the tools of their trade, the categories and concepts which they were used to working with. The underlying assumption—made explicit by a considerable number of writers—is that the prevailing economic theories and methods of the Western world are universally applicable. With suitable modifications, the argument goes, they can be utilized to explain the behavior of individual economic units in any society that has ever existed. Nonetheless, in default of any other suitable terms, he proceeds to analyze the behavior of the Tikopians as though they were entrepreneurs engaged in undertakings. If one man gets his neighbor to help

him build a house, the first is taken as an entrepreneur who is employing the second. Accounts are drawn up for the agricultural year. Receipts from the sale of farm products, including an estimate of the value of food kept for the family, are totaled. Against these are set the costs incurred for agricultural purposes, which have been carefully separated out from the expenses of the family as a consumption unit. These costs of production include working expenses, rent actually paid or calculated from the value of the land owned, interest that could otherwise have been earned on the capital invested, and wages imputed for family labor. If these costs turn out to be greater than the receipts, the farm is said to be operating at a loss. If this situation goes on year after year, it is said to be an uneconomic farm. The primary aim of the peasant family is to feed itself and somehow manage to make whatever payments are due to the landlord, the moneylender, the merchant, or the state. The members of the peasant family have to eat throughout the year, whether or not they work. The actual work which they perform cannot be measured in money. Similarly, the peasant family may rent or buy land at a very high price which would not be justified, according to normal business standards, by the value of the output they could hope to obtain from it. The peasants do this in order to be able to use the surplus labor of the family, which is freely available without any extra cost. Chayanov and his colleagues insisted on treating the total returns garnered by family labor as indivisible. They analyzed the decisions of the head of the peasant household in terms of a balance between his judgment based on experience as to the total needs of the family and his subjective evaluation of the drudgery involved in agricultural work. After the work of this school was cut short in Russia, and it seems to have had little influence elsewhere except in Japan. Peasants who produce wholly or mainly for their own consumption are characterized as subsistence farmers, in sharp contrast to agriculturalists who produce for the market. Groups of villages, regions, or even whole countries particularly with reference to the past are presented as subsistence areas or subsistence economies. Sometimes we read of modern and subsistence sectors often identified with different ethnic elements within a country or an economy. It is also common to find discussions keyed to a threepart scheme: Subsistence tends to be denned negatively, by the complete absence of markets and accordingly of all commercial relations or incentives for increased production. But examples, of this purely subsistence agriculture are hard to find. Semisubsistence fills in the gap as a transitional form between pure subsistence and the most advanced industrial economies. In practice, the largest number of historically known societies fall into this essentially teleological middle category. Criteria of peasant societies The present author has suggested another possible framework for studying peasant economy and society at the macrolevel. My interest is to identify whole states either current or past which can usefully be classed as predominantly peasant in nature. The next step, and one I believe would be fruitful, is to examine the process by which such societies have come into being, their life history, and the manner in which some have passed out of the ranks of peasant societies.

### Chapter 3 : Chihuahua - HISTORY

*Peasantry. Peasant economics. Political role of the peasantry. Folk society and folk culture. bibliography. Studies of the peasantry in different places and in different eras have been made by historians, sociologists, economists, anthropologists, and other scholars, all of whom use a wide variety of definitions and concepts.*

Barnett, distinguished colleagues, and friends. Let me say at the very outset that I consider it an enormous privilege to have been allotted the very pleasant though for me formidable task of reading the keynote address to an audience consisting, as it does, of colleagues with large reputations. As I endeavour to rise equal to the task, let me also say how happy I am to be among friends and with Walter and Rosemary Hauser. When Walter Hauser wrote his Chicago thesis, peasant studies hardly existed, peasant movements were almost unknown to the academy, and agrarian structures were expressed solely in the reigning idiom of British policy or economic history. The very face of social science history has itself changed since the early sixties, in some cases and it must be added not necessarily to our advantage entirely beyond recognition. But the history then inaugurated abides. Rajendra Prasad, Jawaharlal Nehru, Mahadev Desai and tens of other nationalist leaders had written accounts directed at the iniquities of the Indian agrarian social order but mainly directed at the fact of British rule. Simultaneously, in those very years of the Indian nationalist movement, peasant movements had arisen that weakened the symbiosis of the power of the landed elite with the contingencies of the requirements of British rule. In a word, peasant movements and nationalist politics pressured policy making towards, first, modifying and then ending the era of landlordism in colonial India. Agrarian power at Indian Independence stood redefined. But, as students of history would know, class struggles are never simple if at all they are, when they are, what, purportedly, they are: Let us first consider how the history of rural political mobilization had been written, mainly in the sixties. In one significant area of scholarship peasant movements were seen to have been peasant wars. Within each of the six major upheavals of this century the middle peasantry was supposed to have played an initially revolutionary role. Modifications of this idea, whether in empirical refutation or as a qualified redefinition, were applied to India. Usually the answers sought were to affirm or deny this middle peasant thesis. Thus the major question, implicit in such a treatment of the subject proved to be: If so, how did the mobilization actually occur? This question had a longer and more lasting impact as over the years it was modified, to assert the case, albeit in structuralist terms, of, as it were, peasant insurgency against the social order as a whole, of which social order it was itself a part. To this theme we shall return. The questions that became dated pertained to the role that peasants played in the transformation of the social order. As a political peasantry must be led from the outside, it was also asked: Was it a revolutionary movement which heralded the consolidation of the bourgeois state Zapata in Mexico under an urban leadership? Or did the peasantry serve through rebellions to break up the existing state polity The Russian Revolution? Or did the peasants provide the social basis and an area for tactical retreat for a working class revolution Cuba, China? Were peasant movements millenarian? The theoretical armoury of social science scholarship on rural political mobilization began to be reconstituted. By the nineties the questions had indeed changed. But the anguish remained: Their cultures are dominated, never dominant, their futures always at the mercy of an unrelenting progress in which town dominates country, burghers rural folk, the bourgeoisie the peasantry. We can neither undo the past nor alter the course of the future in this regard. Yet, within social science concerns, we can try and reformulate some of our questions on lines which do not presume pace all social-historical scholarship a preordained social reality To do this we restrict our reflections to an outline of peasant movements in modern India, and examine this outline anew in light of existing scholarship. Beginning at the middle of the nineteenth century, which also corresponded with the end of the stage of direct plunder, British policy in India increasingly became one of support for landlords through whom the officialdom of empire sought to protect their dominions. Every now and then there was a deviation from this policy to accommodate the pressure generated by an unequal agrarian society which, under the impact of the market, produced peasant movements. Between and , with the exception of half a decade between and when prices of agricultural produce did indeed fall, there was a rise in prices over this entire period. The single greatest impact which

such a rise in prices produced was manifest in a developing struggle between landlord and peasant for control over the increased value of agricultural surplus. The landlord raised rents. The landlords asserted their proprietary rights, by emphasizing their power to evict tenants while the latter claimed, and were occasionally and with increasing frequency granted, occupancy rights. It is hardly necessary to state that our preceding remarks present an oversimplified picture of the background to the emergence of peasant movements. Many of those peasants who won tenancy and property rights against the landlords themselves became rent-receivers. They rented out the land rented in or acquired after a struggle from superior proprietors. Many others became rich cultivators. In the various peasant movements which emerged, we find that the actual mobilization was carried out in a hundred myriad forms. Some of these maybe reproduced as an elementary typology thus: The Blue Mutiny, Poor peasants and small landlords opposed indigo planters in Bengal. In this they were helped by moneylenders whose own credit resources stood threatened by the structure of the monopsonistic rights of the planters. The Pabna and Boora Uprisings, Rich cultivators, benefiting from the commercialization of agriculture and producing cash crops, protested to secure further their occupancy rights granted nominally in In this they succeeded by when the Bengal Tenancy Act was passed. Later, by the middle twentieth century, such tenants were transformed into rent-receivers. This was granted in and But only a rich tenantry benefited from these movements. Peasant protest fed into the assertion of rentier claims of one section of rural society against another. The Deccan Riots, Up against a heavy land revenue demand of the state, ,cultivators lost their lands to moneylenders from the towns. The symbiosis of peasants with rural moneylenders was upset as the dependence of these latter on the moneylenders of the towns developed. The protest against the structure of legal authority which allowed such land transfer took the form of antimoney lender riots. Punjab Agrarian Riots, The state intervened to prevent alienation of land from peasants to moneylenders in but urban middle classes protested, in nationalist idiom, against government intervention. Riots broke out against moneylenders. Landlords we might recall were over the long term supported by British rule. Peasant Movements in Oudh. Small landlords and the rural poor supported and led the movement. Statutory rights of occupancy were secured in The movement marked a phase of retreat for landlordism. Planters of indigo were put to rout by the rural hierarchy was left undisturbed. The movement signified the emergence of the peasant as a symbol in a nationalist ideology. Agrarian Unrest in Uttar Pradesh, When prices slumped, peasants could not pay rents to landlords nor landlords revenue to the state. The Indian National Congress launched a no-rent no-revenue campaign of middle and rich peasants, supported by the rural poor, and small property holders. The movement marked a simultaneous retreat for landlordism and an attrition of the political domination of the colonial state. Peasant Struggles in Bihar, When prices fell in , the rents to which tenants had agreed in a period of rising prices became too heavy to bear. Peasants were evicted by landlords as the latter attempted to increase their power and control. The tenants movement that developed sought to regain control over the lands from which the peasants had been evicted. The popular basis of these struggles was provided by rich and middle peasants and occasionally poor peasants. Agricultural labourers were not even formally included in the programme of the Peasants Association till Share-croppers Agitation in Bengal, The share-croppers were mostly poor peasants with very small holdings who fought landlords for security from eviction and aright to at least two-thirds of the produce. Share-croppers were joined in their movement by small peasants with occupancy rights, small impoverished landlords and a few rich peasants. In legislation in and in these rights were recognized and pushed through despite landlord opposition by various governments in Independent India. The Telengana Rebellion, Hyderabad, A movement involving sustained armed struggle of rich peasants and the rural poor. The political consequences of the movement may be appraised at two levels. The popular unrest provided the basis for the absorption of Hyderabad State into the Indian Union. A glance at the preceding synopsis suggests two ideas that are of relevance to our discussion: While each of the movements, and all together, may well be said to be in some way representing anti-landlord tendencies in the colonial agrarian society as a whole, any single one of these movements does not exhibit any such features. Among the more remarkable conundra of our schema, poor peasant protest has strengthened rentier structures, anti-moneylender riots have stood opposed to the nationalist political idiom and movements under a communist leadership have served however inadvertently this may have come about; here we are not

concerned with intentions to strengthen the domination of the rich peasantry, and, at a remove, even the post-colonial state. Even when the Kisan Sabha in Bihar or the Communist Party in Bengal and Telengana did formulate demands for the peasantry, demands that would have an all-India character, the very specificity of each local variant of the agrarian structure as well as the sheer diversity of peasant communities in India prevented any generalized acceptance of their programme. Consequently, while it may be possible for us to say that in the colonial Indian economy a backward capitalism emerged plagued with all evils characteristic of under-development, and in the nationalist struggle against British rule representatives of the Indian middle classes as the urban counterparts of the peasantry came ultimately to dominate and even determine the politics of peasant protest, the gap between this statement and another with which one might highlight the cultural dimension of the mobilization process would still remain. In order to move towards a more credible version of the political mobilization process we need to disaggregate our story of peasant struggles. We might use the same sources but our focus would have to shift towards one main aspect of the problem: This leadership had little link, and a highly tenuous one when it did, with the over arching spread, control and domination of the modern state as that came to evolve, in its institutional form during the period of British rule and in its political expression in the decades since. Yet, it stood on the rural-urban continuum in its many manifestations and while it aided the process of mobilization through its strategic relevance to the peasantry, it simultaneously reinforced these self-images of culture and community which served to widen the distance between town and country and further the ideological disarticulation of Indian political society. The process of political mobilization among the Indian peasantry did not, as may be expected, respond to secular formulae of class struggle while the latter was indeed carried on and developed in some of the forms of the social class alignments we have just described. Instead, much of this mobilization was the consequence of those features of Indian society which, in their customary rooting did not share the modernity of the urban "social contract. In Champaran Bihar, and northern Oudh U. The use of religious beliefs and symbols in the mobilization process overlapped with the social identity of the community, strengthening thereby caste and communal identities. In Malabar, the Islamic religious identity of the Mappillas was a source of cohesion among the poor peasantry and for the linking up of this community with the urban-based sabhas of the richer Muslims. There is no evidence in this latter experience of any rift or tension between poor peasant protest, born of and in identification with the Islamic community to which they belonged, and their subservience to and acceptance of their richer, socially dominant, counterpart. The necessity of preserving Patidar Gujarat, and Kurmi U. The propensity of many a peasant movement leader to be peripatetic, a fact hardly explicable in the simple-minded terms of wanderlust, was a remarkable feature of political mobilization. Baba Ramchandra of Oudh, Swami Sahajanand Saraswati, Rahul Sanskritayana and Yadunandan Sharma of Bihar, Motilal Tejawat and Vijay Singh Pathik of Rajasthan, Janardan Sharma of Gujarat and scores of others roamed the Indian subcontinent, in and out of sects, religions, towns and villages, schools and monasteries, but hardly ever from one peasant movement to another. Each of such individuals experienced multiple identity crises - the stories are too many and the space too little for us to narrate any - as they protested against the social process from which they had all emerged: They looked for answers to the mysteries of life in holistic terms, moving as they did between the world and its renunciation, often several times in a single lifetime. Several of such leaders who knew as many languages as they did their many worlds could be observed in swarms, dotting the political landscape in

Cultura mexicana sometimes referred to as mexicanidad Orientation Identification. The word "Mexico" is derived from Mexica pronounced "Me-shee-ka" , the name for the indigenous group that settled in central Mexico in the early fourteenth century and is best known as the Aztecs. Mexicans make several cultural subdivisions within the nation. The most common one identifies northern, central, and south or south-eastern Mexico. The extensive and desertlike north was only sparsely populated until the middle of the twentieth century, except for some important cities such as Monterrey. It has traditionally housed only small indigenous populations and is generally regarded as a frontier culture. Densely populated central and western Mexico is the cradle of the nation. Highly developed Indian cultures populated this region in pre-Columbian times and it was also the heart of the colony of New Spain. Many prominent colonial cities are major urban and industrial centers today. Southern Mexico has a tropical or subtropical climate and some rain forest. It is characterized by a strong indigenous heritage and is also the poorest part of the country. Another relevant cultural division is that between the central temperate highlands the altiplano and the much more humid mountainous regions the sierras and coastal plains. In many parts of Mexico this division parallels the relative presence of indigenous populations, with the sierra regions being the most indigenous. On a smaller scale the Mexican nation has traditionally been characterized by strong provincial and local cultural identities. People identify closely with their own state; stereotypes about people from other places abound. Strong regional and local identities have given rise to the idea that there exist "many Mexicos. Mexico is situated in North America, although culturally, it is identified more closely with Central and South American countries. The national territory measures more than , square miles nearly two million square kilometers and contains a wide range of physical environments and natural resources. East and west of the mountain chains are strips of humid coastal plains. The national capital is Mexico City, situated in the heart of central Mexico. In pre-Columbian times it was the site of the capital of the Aztec Empire and during the three centuries of colonial rule it was the seat of the viceroys of New Spain. Mexico City today is the second largest city in the world with 17 million inhabitants as of Most administrative and economic activities are concentrated in Mexico City. Other major cities are Guadalajara in the west and the industrial city of Monterrey in the north. In the late twentieth Mexico century, major urban centers developed along the border with the United States. The preliminary results of the population census calculated the total number of Mexicans as 97,, In , the total population amounted to approximately 25 million, with the figure reaching nearly 50 million in These numbers demonstrate the rapid rate of demographic growth that was so characteristic of Mexico during the second half of the twentieth century. The growth rate has slowed, but the population is still very young. The average life expectancy in was estimated at sixty-nine years for men and a little over seventy-five years for women; the infant mortality rate was almost twenty-five per one thousand. In the late twentieth century, emigration to the United States mainly of the illegal variety became a significant phenomenon. Depending on the definition used, the total number of Indians varied from 6. Spoken by more than 95 percent of the population, Spanish is the official language of Mexico and was introduced through conquest and colonization. Mexican Spanish has its roots in the Spanish of Spain. In terms of grammar, syntax, and spelling there are no important differences between the two, but the pronunciation and sound are different. Certain words from the principal Indian language Nahuatl are incorporated into Mexican Spanish, especially in the domains of food and household. The national culture of Mexico boasts sixty-two indigenous languages. In at least 5. The level of bilingualism, however, was high at 85 percent. The most prominent symbols that express and reinforce national culture belong to the domains of state, religion, and popular culture. As a product of the Mexican Revolution "â€” , the Mexican state has been an important point of convergence for national identity. The postrevolutionary state has been very active and effective in nurturing national symbols and heroes. Children who attend public schools honor the national flag and sing the national anthem every Monday morning. The flag consists of three vertical strips in the colors

green representing "hope" , white "purity" and red "blood". In the central white strip is the image of an eagle standing on a cactus plant and eating a snake. The most important icon of Mexican national culture is the Virgin of Guadalupe, which illustrates the pervasive influence of Roman Catholicism in the national culture. She is viewed as the "mother" of all Mexicans. The dark-skinned Virgin is the Mexican version of the Virgin Mary and as such represents national identity as the product of the mixing of European and Meso-American religions and peoples. Her image was used in the struggle for independence against the Spanish. This sense is also expressed in numerous elements of popular culture such as food and music.

**History and Ethnic Relations**

**Emergence of the Nation.** Mexican national culture slowly emerged from a process of accommodation between the indigenous cultures and the Spanish colonial domination that lasted three centuries. Mexico gained independence in 1821. In the nineteenth century, the formation of the national culture and polity remained a difficult task mainly due to political instability, military uprisings, and foreign invasions. In these years Mexico lost large portions of its original territory. Most important in this respect was the war with the United States between 1846 and 1848, which broke out when the United States attempted to annex independent Texas. The war ended with U.S. victory. Despite this tragic loss, the war did contribute to the development of a genuine nationalism for the first time. In 1848, in a contradictory decision, the Mexican government sold present-day southern New Mexico and Arizona to the United States in order to solve budgetary problems. The relationship between Mexico and the United States has remained difficult and ambivalent ever since. Mexico was invaded again in 1862, this time by the French, who installed a monarchy in coalition with conservative Mexican elites. Civil war ensued until the French were defeated by Mexican liberals in 1867, which inaugurated a new republic that was finally becoming a nation-state. These were years of nascent economic, infrastructural, and political modernization. These processes fostered the political, economic, and social integration of different groups and regions within the nation and strengthened state and nation building. These profound transformations, however, also created many tensions and conflicts between rich and poor, peasants and large landowners, Indians and non-Indians, and the politically influential and the aspiring middle classes. It is estimated that 1 million people were killed during the revolutionary period of a total population of a little more than 15 million in 1910. Armed struggle formally ended with the adoption of a new Constitution in early 1917, but it still took several decades more before a new nation-state consolidated. Postrevolutionary reconstruction affected all domains of society and gave an entirely new meaning to the nation. The development of Mexican national identity has occurred through distinctive positioning in the international arena and through internal strides towards unity and homogeneity. Especially after World War II, the nation sought ways to project itself onto the international scene. For example, Mexico hosted major world sporting events on three occasions: The Olympic Games in 1968, the World Cup in 1970, and the World Championship in 1986. The dominant religion in Mexico is Roman Catholicism. Mexicans resent this situation but at the same time admire the achievements of their northern neighbors. Internally, the forging of a national identity always revolved around the issue of race. The adoption of liberalism in the nineteenth century implied that all racial groups in Mexico were made legally equal in the framework of the incipient nation-state, although not in social practice. The dominant ideology actively sought to eliminate racial heterogeneity. It was believed that only a racially homogeneous population could develop a national identity, which led to the promotion of racial mixing, or *mestizaje*. After the revolution, the emphasis shifted from racial to cultural differences. The grandeur of pre-Columbian Indian culture was incorporated into the national imagery. At the same time, the ideas and policies that stressed cultural uniformity and homogeneity persisted. In the ideology of the revolution, the opposition between Indian and European had given rise to a synthesis, the *mestizo*, who was considered the authentic Mexican. In the middle of the twentieth century, the elaboration of the national identity increasingly concentrated on the supposed psychological character of the quintessential Mexican *mestizo*. This gave rise to the mythology of *mexicanidad*, or "the essence of being Mexican. Although the absolute majority of the population is *mestizo*, there is a renewed attention to and appreciation of cultural differences and diversity. The rethinking of the role and meaning of indigenous peoples has given rise to the notion of a pluricultural national identity. Social policies aimed at the emancipation of Indian groups and the elimination of profound socioeconomic inequalities have been employed since the 1930s. Nevertheless, indigenous populations are among the poorest and most marginalized groups in Mexico. Prejudice among broad sectors of the population toward Indians persists.

Elites in provincial towns in predominantly indigenous regions are often openly racist. This situation has strained ethnic relations and there has been a rise of indigenous movements in recent years that demand a new space in the national culture. Most significant has been the outbreak of armed indigenous rebellion in the state of Chiapas, where the Zapatista Army for National Liberation declared war on the government in January. In recent decades, Mexican cities have grown at a pace surpassing the capacities of urban planning. Urban growth has been accompanied by squatter settlements and uncontrolled commercial and industrial expansion. This growth has also consumed extreme amounts of space, because low-rise buildings prevail and because priority is given to new and prestigious projects in the outskirts as opposed to urban renewal. Mexican architecture was heavily influenced by Spanish and French traditions. Nevertheless, local traditions and indigenous crafts always mediated European influences. In the twentieth century, Mexican architecture developed a proper style. Public buildings constructed in the latter half of the century breathe a monumental atmosphere, reminiscent of the great pre-Columbian pyramids. The houses of well-to-do Mexicans have been inward looking, towards a patio, since colonial times.

**Chapter 5 : adhiprasetyo: STUDIES IN PEASANT LIFE: COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY by Clifford Geertz**

*Mexico possesses an extensive and sophisticated culinary culture, with a great variety of regional dishes. Three products constitute the heart of most Mexican dishes: corn, hot peppers (chiles), and beans, products that stem from pre-Columbian times.*

From the peasant to the president, magical powers and potions are part of the daily lifestyle. Sonia says she needed help because her husband left her with a year-old son and a baby on the way. The term witch is generic in Mexico, covering a wide range of people who serve as doctor-counselor-confessor, treating illnesses and personal problems with a mix of religion, herbal medicine and folk psychiatry. Witches are sought to help solve problems ranging from colds and migraine headaches to getting a raise or finding a husband. Many witches claim darker powers that can harm enemies. Almost every neighborhood market has its share of herbarios , stands that sell tools of the witchcraft trade, from crowns of garlic, plastic skulls and black candles to magic powders used to restore lost love, rein in philandering spouses or wreak havoc on a romantic rival. The central and southern states of Veracruz, Oaxaca, Morelos and Michoacan also are famous for witches. Although they may claim to be skeptical, many Mexicans, from presidents to peons, have had some contact with witches and their practices. They usually prefer terms such as curanderos healers , hechiceros sorcerers , mentalistas mind readers , medios mediums and videntes clairvoyants. Patients tend to come from the lower and middle classes, but witches have their richer followers as well. Even President Carlos Salinas de Gortari submitted to a ritual limpia , or cleansing, during a recent visit to Morelos. Many Mexicans consider illness not so much a physical problem as an emotional or spiritual one, Murray says. A sluggish or nervous person may blame his condition on mal de ojo evil eye or susto scare. These maladies are treated with herbs that have medicinal properties known since pre-Columbian time and rituals such as limpieas that at least help a patient believe he will get better. Murray says the university teaches its medical students to respect these practices so they can treat the community more efficiently. With the arrival of the Spaniards, witches began mixing it with European traditions, such as Catholicism, to the dismay of the Roman Catholic Church. On a busy downtown Monterrey street, vendors hawk herbs by the pound, along with rows of colored oils guaranteed to bring luck and love, soaps to grow hair and pills to cure infertility. At the nearby Colonia Market, a young girl sits behind the counter of a shop filled with books on magic, framed pictures of saints, candles, perfumes and charms. A customer complaining of insomnia is given two bags of herbs to mix as a tea before bedtime. Another whose boss is bothering her is told to light a candle and repeat a prayer for nine nights to "get rid of him. Avelina Reyes de Guerrero agrees. The year-old woman has been providing trabajos , or works, for 30 years from a room behind her small convenience store in Linares, near La Petaca.

**Chapter 6 : Culture of Mexico - history, people, clothing, traditions, women, beliefs, food, customs, family**

*In India, a peasant, for ages, has been getting the services of barber, washer man, carpenter, blacksmith, potter, priest, etc. on the basis of jajmani, that is, giving a share in the produce fixed by tradition and custom.*

Technically, these two are different concepts with connotations of their own. Strictly speaking, a peasant is one who has the right to cultivate the piece of land he has in his possession. The main aim of production is to satisfy the needs of his and his family, to have sufficient cattle-feed and to provide seeds for the next sowing. Since he cannot produce all the requisite goods and services to meet all his needs, he has to sell a portion of his produce to get money in order to buy goods and services he needs so that his consumption is enriched. Thus he indulges in simple commodity production and the formula for this is commodity-money-commodity. The function of money and market here is just to facilitate exchange. Normally, he does not produce anything that he does not consume. In India, a peasant, for ages, has been getting the services of barber, washer man, carpenter, blacksmith, potter, priest, etc. From time immemorial, the peasant had been paying rent to the feudal lord or some other representative of the supreme ruler in the form of a fixed proportion of the produce. In India, it had been known as bhawali produce rent. Before the introduction of new land systems by the British, cash rent was not prevalent at all. As a result of the prevalence of bhawali rent, the state was also made to bear risks arising from drought, excess rains, floods, earth quake, attacks by locusts, etc. In old records one finds that the ruler was under obligation to provide irrigation and other requisite facilities to peasants. He was rarely aware of the happenings outside his locality. He used to go only to local markets, not very far from his village and, a few times, on pilgrimage. Most of his relatives were in or around his village. Obviously, his outlook and values of life remained narrow. Agricultural activities remained dependent largely on nature. He was always troubled by worries such as: Would the rains be properly spread during the season so that sowing and ripening of crops could take place without any difficulty? The uncertainties associated with these questions made him superstitious and a staunch believer in astrology, religion, rituals, etc. It is needless to add that, in the olden days, there were neither meteorologists nor agronomists. He had to depend on the almanac and conventional wisdom. Most of the festivals were connected with various stages of crops. Gods and goddesses too had connections with agriculture. For example, the Hindus worshipped Indra for rains. Since the rate of growth of population was extremely slow and the average life span was very short, certain gods were especially worshipped for children and their long life. The struggle against nature was so difficult and prolonged that he did not have time to think of other things and be bold and brave. Generally, peasants did not take much interest in the struggles to grab state power or the foreign invasions because they were busy eking out a living. The change of rulers did not affect them or their pattern of life in any significant way. One may recall what the maid servant Manthara told her mistress, the queen, in *The Ramayana* of Tulasidasa translated into English by F. Shall I cease to be a servant and become a queen now? They went undisturbed with their chores. There is a story connected with Lord Buddha that illustrates this point more vividly. It is said that, after achieving enlightenment, Buddha proceeded towards Varanasi, the most important cultural centre of the day to spread his message. Just before crossing the Ganges, at dawn, he found a peasant hurrying with his oxen and plough. Buddha hailed him and told him that the world was full of sorrows and sufferings and there was a way out of them and that way he had discovered and was eager to reveal to him. The peasant bowed to him and told him with great humility that he had no time to spare because his first priority was to plough and sow his plot before the moisture disappeared. In the evening he would come to him and listen to his sermon. Buddha crossed the Ganges and the Varuna and went to Sarnath where he got the only son of the richest trader of Varanasi as his disciple who was eager to listen to him. Peasants tolerated the increasing burden of taxation only up to a point and beyond that they either rebelled or fled to some other kingdom or forests. It must not be forgotten that, even after the establishment of the British rule and introduction of new agrarian systems, for a long time, land was not a commodity, that is, it could not be sold and purchased. In the course of time, the situation changed and Bhawali produce rent gave way to cash rent and this freed the state and its agents from bearing any portion of risks connected with agriculture. Peasants had to find requisite

amount of cash to discharge their rent obligations and pay for other goods and services, which were no longer locally produced or available. They had to produce such crops that could not be wholly or partially consumed by them and had ready markets. They began growing poppy, indigo, cotton, etc. The quantum of demand and the prices for them came to depend on international market. Thus ups and downs there had far reaching impact on their life. In Bengal and Bihar European planters secured zamindari rights and forced peasants to grow indigo on a fixed proportion of their land holdings. Consequently, during , the rural areas of the then Bengal Presidency remained disturbed. In north Bihar, peasants remained agitated till Both poppy and indigo cultivation vanished because of the developments in the international market. During the mid 19th century, as a result of the American Civil War, the supply of American cotton to British textile mills fell and the prices rose. The British millowners turned to the purchase of Indian cotton. Increasing demand as well as prices induced farmers here to divert more and more land to cotton. They increased their consumption spending and incurred debts to finance them, hoping that the future would be equally rosy. As ill luck would have it, both demand as well as prices for Indian cotton slumped when the American Civil war came to an end and the supply of cotton from the USA was resumed. Consequently, a large number of cotton growers in the Deccan region of India failed to discharge their debt obligations and moneylenders began grabbing their land and other possessions. This led to widespread riots that came to be known as Deccan riots. Again during the Great Depression, peasants could not pay up their rents because their produce failed to fetch sufficient cash. Their land was auctioned off to realize the arrears of rent. This led to widespread peasant agitations in Bihar and UP. From the last decade of the 19th century onwards, it was found that traders, lawyers, doctors, teachers, bureaucrats, etc. They engaged servants to manage their holdings and labourers to cultivate and grow crops mainly for the sale in the market. After Independence most of the tenure holders, exploiting the loopholes in land reform laws, transformed themselves into farmers. There were others who leased in land from small and marginal cultivators and began farming. Agri-business corporations induced farmers of all sizes to go in for genetically modified seeds, chemical fertilisers. Insecticides, pesticides, tractors, etc. When the crops failed or market was down, these farmers could not discharge their debt obligations and went under. Some of them committed suicide. This phenomenon is still on. Rural India is fast undergoing such rapid changes that it is just a matter of time that peasant will become an endangered species. The fall in the numbers working in agriculture is obvious in the developed world. Today, the figure is 4 per cent of the occupied population in OECD and two per cent in the US; and it is evident elsewhere. In the mids there were five states in Europe with more than half the occupied population working in this area, eleven in the Americas, eighteen in Asia and, with three exceptions all of Africa. The situation today is dramatically different. Even Pakistan has fallen below the 50 per cent mark, while Turkey has moved from a peasant population of three quarters to one third. Even the major fortress of peasant agriculture in south-east Asia has been breached in several places. By even China, with 85 per cent of its population peasants in , was down to 50 per cent or so. In fact, with the exception of most sub-Saharan Africa, the only solid bastions of peasant society left say, over 60 per cent of the occupied population in are in the former South Asian empires of Britain and France India, Bangladesh, Myanmar and the Indochinese countries. But, given the acceleration of industrialisation, for how long will this continue to be the case? The traditional parameters and paradigm of economics and sociology are going to become less and less relevant. The entry of big capital, whether Indian or foreign, through contract farming and retail trade is going to hasten the process of making peasantry redundant. The author, a well-known economist, used to teach Economics in Kirorimal College, University of Delhi before his retirement a few years ago.

**Chapter 7 : Mexican Dress | eBay**

*And so he contrasted the systematized and abstract great tradition of the reflective few with the irregular and concrete little tradition of the unreflective many, the "high culture" of the whole of India, China, or Mexico with the "low culture" of the individual Gangetic, Yellow River, or Yucatecan village.*

Several peasant movements rose over economic questions all through the British period but with limited results. The 20th century saw some of the most violent and widespread peasant movements with far-reaching consequences. The main demands of these movements centred on reduction of excessive rent or revenue on produce and land redistribution from the rich to the poor. Many of these movements have provided the stimulus necessary for land legislation in India.

**The Santhal Insurrection Tribal Movement:** The Santhals are an agricultural tribal group who are mainly concentrated in Bihar. The first peasant insurrection took place in , which arose due to the establishment of the Permanent Land Settlement of . Following this settlement the Britishers took away all the lands from the Santhals. The zamindars took these lands on auction from the Britishers and gave them to the peasants for cultivation. Though the Santhals tolerated the injustices to some extent, later on they decided to raise in revolt against the zamindars, moneylenders, and traders. The following were some of the main causes of the revolt: The Santhals had no option but to pay all the taxes and levies. They were abused and dispossessed of their own property. The rich peasants confiscated all the property, lands, and cattle of the Santhals. The moneylenders charged exorbitant rates of interest. For the railroad construction, the Europeans employed the Santhals for which they paid nothing to them. The Europeans often abducted the Santhal women and even murdered them. There were also certain other unjust acts of oppression. The oppression by the moneylender, zamindars, and Europeans became unbearable by the Santhals. In such a situation, they did not have any other alternative indeed and they rose in rebellion. The leading Santhals began to rob the wealth of the moneylenders and the zamindars, which was ill-earned by exploiting the Santhals. Later on in early , the Santhals started to build their own armies who were trained in guerilla fighting. This was totally a novel experience to the people of Bihar. The Santhals can be praised with great honor for building such an organized and disciplined army without any previous military training. The large army, which exceeded about 10, assembled and disassembled at a short notice. The postal and railway communications were completely broken down by the Santhal army. Thus, the revolt was suppressed. Despite the suppression, the rebelhon was a great success. This was because the Santhals gave a message to the whole country to resist the oppressive activities of the moneylenders and zamindars. Not only the Santhals but the other agricultural tribal groups also got united. The Britishers took appropriate measures after the Santhal insurrection. Earlier to the insurrection, the settlement areas of the Santhals were divided into several parts for administrative convenience. Due to the insurrection, the Britishers recognized the tribal status of the Santhals and now they came under the uniform administration.

**Peasant Movements in Bihar**

**Champaran Movement:** Champaran is a district in the state of Bihar. Under Colonial era laws, many tenant farmers were forced to grow some indigo on a portion of their land as a condition of their tenancy. This indigo was used to make dye. The Germans had invented a cheaper artificial dye so the demand for indigo fell. Some tenants paid more rent in return for being let off having to grow indigo. However, during the First World War the German dye ceased to be available and so indigo became profitable again. Thus many tenants were once again forced to grow it on a portion of their land- as was required by their lease. Naturally, this created much anger and resentment. At the persistent request of a farmer, Raj Kumar Shukla, from the district of Champaran, in Gandhiji took a train ride to Motihari, the district headquarters of Champaran. Here he learned, first hand, the sad plight of the indigo farmers suffering under the oppressive rule of the British. Alarmed at the tumultuous reception Gandhiji received in Champaran, the British authorities served notice on him to leave the Province of Bihar. Gandhiji refused to comply, saying that as an Indian he was free to travel anywhere in his own country. For this act of defiance he was detained in the district jail at Motihari. From his jail cell, with the help of his friend from South Africa days, C. Andrews, Gandhiji managed to send letters to journalists and the Viceroy of India describing what he saw in Champaran, and made formal demands for the emancipation of these people. When

produced in court, the Magistrate ordered him released, but on payment of bail. Gandhiji refused to pay the bail. Instead, he indicated his preference to remain in jail under arrest. Alarmed at the huge response Gandhiji was receiving from the people of Champaran, and intimidated by the knowledge that Gandhiji had already managed to inform the Viceroy of the mistreatment of the farmers by the British plantation owners, the magistrate set him free, without payment of any bail. This was the first instance of the success of civil-disobedience as a tool to win freedom. It also made the British authorities recognize, for the first time, Gandhiji as a national leader of some consequence. What Raj Kumar Shukla had started, and the massive response people of Champaran gave to Gandhiji, catapulted his reputation throughout India. Thus, in 1920, began a series of events in a remote corner of Bihar, which ultimately led to the freedom of India in 1947. After the Champaran Satyagraha in 1920, Bihar became an important centre for peasant movements. These activities had addressed the problems of share croppers such as abolition of customary non-rent payments, regulation of eviction, and fixation of fair rent. The main centre of the movements was north Bihar. In North and Central Bihar, a peasant movement was an important side effect of the independence movement. Gradually the peasant movement intensified and spread across the rest of India. This movement aimed at overthrowing the feudal zamindari system instituted by the British. Hunkar later became the mouthpiece of the peasant movement and the agrarian movement in Bihar and was instrumental in spreading the movement. The peasant movement later spread to other parts of the country and helped in digging out the British roots in the Indian society by overthrowing the zamindari system. With passage of Zamindari Abolition Act, 1956, the movements disappeared. In 1929, the peasants in Bihar, under the leadership of the Yuva Chhatra Sangharsh Samity, organized a long drawn out struggle in Bodhgaya to secure land rights from the Shankar Math. The Mahants religious heads of the Buddhist monasteries in the area had amassed huge tracts of land under the exemption given to religious and charitable institutions in the ceiling laws of the state. The situation erupted in violence. Towards the end of 1929, between 30 October and 7 November, a large-scale massacre of Muslims in Bihar made Partition more likely. Begun as a reprisal for the Noakhali riot, whose death toll had been greatly overstated in immediate reports, it was difficult for authorities to deal with because it was spread out over a large number of scattered villages, and the number of casualties was impossible to establish accurately:

**Chapter 8 : History of Mexico - Mixtecs and Zapatecs of Oaxaca**

*Daily life and social customs. Daily life in Mexico varies dramatically according to socioeconomic level, gender, ethnicity and racial perceptions, regional characteristics, rural-versus-urban differences, and other social and cultural factors.*

Home Culture of Mexico Mexican Clothing Mexican Clothing Just like any other developed country, modern Mexican dress has similarities to popular styles and garments worn around the world today. However, the deep cultural roots in Mexico uncover unique traditional outfits found nowhere else. Traditional Mexican clothing combines native and European elements. The fibers of choice across the country are cotton, bark and agave which were known and used by native Mexican pre-Hispanic civilizations to make their clothes, as well as wool and silk introduced by the Spanish later. In the past, Mexican clothing was dyed with natural components found in local plants, but as soon as aniline dyes were brought from Europe they became the first dyeing choice. Aztec Clothing Aztec clothing of ancient times was often loose fitting and colorful. The array of colors was due in part to the extensive trading network. While in their teens, Aztec women were taught to weave by hand, and primarily used cotton or ayate fiber. Huipil These ornate tunics are traditional garments that date back to the indigenous women of central Mexico and Central America. It is not uncommon to find a Huipil adorned with ribbons, lace, and other intricate designs. Ichcahuipilli A form of military armor, this Mesoamerican garment was comprised of multiple layers of thick braided cotton, usually made stronger with brine. An effective Ichcahuipilli would slow and stop arrows. What makes this item so unique is that it functions as a number of different garments. Simply by tying, folding, or orienting it in a different way, a Rebozo can act as a shawl, blouse, shroud, or a cape if desired. Use of the Poncho dates as far back as B.C. Initially designed out of materials such as wool or fleece, Ponchos were intended to keep the wearer warm and dry even in the wettest of climates. Their exceptional effectiveness at this task led to a cheap plastic adaptation as they have quickly become a must in wetter climates. Although most Ponchos today are practical in function, more expensive manufacturers have gone the route of creating fashionable statements through elaborate and unique designs. Originally worn by farmers and shepherds in highland regions of the country, the Serape was woven with bleak browns and grays from wool or fleece. However, with a growing market of tourists in recent years, Serapes come in a variety of brightly colored materials. Many of the designs marketed towards tourists not only have multiple colors but also designs resembling those of Mayan cultures, likely because most of the Serapes sold are hand-woven by local Mayan families. Even though the Baja Jacket was made popular in the United States, its roots trace back to Mexican clothing where they were initially hand woven in the early 20th century and earlier. Similar in style to Serapes, Baja Jackets come in striped and intricate patterns. They include softer reds, greens, and grays, made from wool, cotton, or polyester. Due to their popularity, Baja Jackets are likely one of the most cost effective pieces of Mexican clothing for purchase. The China Poblana gets its name from Puebla, a country in Mexico, where the style of Mexican clothing emerged. However, the inclusion of "China" in the term is still disputed. The name of the dress is not the only thing about it to draw controversy. During its introduction, many women in the upper class were scandalously labeled because the Poblana was considered too provocative for traditional clothing at the time. Huarache A sandal that found its genesis and grew in the early tribal groups of Mexico, even before the colonization of Europeans, is the Huarache. Initially a simple leather-woven sandal, it could be found throughout Southern Mexico, but then gave way to more protective footwear. The traditional Mexican sandal found a resurgence in the early 20th century, when it was made popular and frequently crafted in poor communities from rubber tires and cloth. Some companies have brought the Huarache style into mainstream settings adapted for the average consumer, and as a result, it has been widely adopted. Mexican Pointy Boots Despite their gimmicky title, Mexican Pointy Boots, also known as "Tribal Boots", are a popular addition to the traditional and party wardrobes of many Mexican men. With good reason too, these boots can reach upwards of three feet in length. Charro Boots are a more traditional style of boots, and resemble stereotypical cowboy boots, but are usually less ornate and around half as tall. Charro-style shoes can trace their origins to members of the Mexican upper-class who pioneered the low-cut boots. The Sombrero Perhaps one of the best known pieces of

traditional Mexican clothing is the Sombrero. It is a tall and wide-brimmed hat designed to shade one from the harmful rays of the sun. Traditionally reserved for cowboys vaqueros and mariachis, Sombreros are now worn by many and have influenced a variety of hats, from baseball caps to beanies.

Chapter 9 : Colonial mentality - Wikipedia

*Workers, Peasant and Tribal Movements in Bihar* The peasant movements for agrarian reforms in India have always been centred on the issue of land ownership and land distribution. The term 'peasant' includes tenant, sharecropper, small farmer not regularly employed, hired labour, and landless labourers.

As the fifth largest state of Mexico, Oaxaca is characterized by extreme geographic fragmentation. With such a large area and rough terrain, Oaxaca is divided into municipios almost one-quarter of the national total. Because individual towns and tribal groups lived in isolation from each other for long periods of time, the subsequent seclusion allowed sixteen ethnolinguistic groups to maintain their individual languages, customs and ancestral traditions intact well into the colonial era and - to some extent - to the present day. The two largest linguistic groups in this large collection are the Zapotec and Mixtec Indians, whose roots stretch very deeply into the early Mesoamerican era of Oaxaca. Living in their mountain enclaves and fertile valleys, many of their pre-Hispanic ancestors harvested corn, beans, chocolate, tomatoes, chili, squash, pumpkin and gourds. It is no surprise that the Mixtecs and Zapotecs were neighbors as they both belong to the Oto-Manguean language family, which remains the largest linguistic group in the state of Oaxaca and in the Mexican Republic, represented by approximately languages according to Ethnologue. The author Nicholas A. Hopkins, in his article "Otomanguean Linguistic Prehistory," states that glottochronological studies of the Oaxacan Indian groups indicate that the first diversification of this group of languages had begun by B. It is believed that nine branches of the Oto-Manguean family were already distinct by B. It is widely recognized that the Mixtecos and Zapotecos are actually kindred peoples, looking back to a common origin several thousand years ago. These two groups are not only the largest indigenous groups within this part of Mexico; they also exhibit a wide range of diversity within their own ethnic populations. The Zapotec ethnic group is so diverse that there are actually 64 separate Zapotec languages that have evolved over the last few thousand years, each language diverging as the Zapotec communities became isolated from one another over time. The Mixtec ethnic group is also very diverse, speaking approximately 57 different languages. Almost four centuries after the conquest, at the time of the Mexican Federal Census, , inhabitants of Oaxaca were still speaking Indian languages, representing Most archaeological evidence indicates that the Zapotecs were one of the earliest ethnic groups to gain prominence in the region now called Oaxaca. The implication of this terminology is that the Zapotecs believe that they are "The True People" or "The people of this place. Instead, their legends claim that their ancestors emerged from the earth or from caves, or that they turned from trees or jaguars into people. It is, therefore, not surprising that they would refer to themselves as the rightful original inhabitants of their lands. When the Spaniards arrived, they took this word and transformed it into Zapoteca. In their art, architecture, hieroglyphics, mathematics, and calendar, the Zapotecs appeared to have shared some cultural affinities with the ancient Olmec and the Mayan Indians. The Zapotecs developed a calendar and a basic form of writing through carvings. Politically and militarily, the Zapotec Indians became dominant in the area around B. Sometime between the third and eighth centuries A. However, soon after, the Mixtecs began to dominate the region, displacing the Zapotecs in many areas. This architectural wonder is a complex of pyramids and platforms surrounding an enormous esplanade, where there is also an extraordinary astronomical observatory. For reasons still not entirely clear, the site was gradually abandoned after A. However, the Zapotec culture itself continued to flourish in the valleys of Oaxaca and the Zapotecs moved their capital to Zaachila. The Mixtecs originally inhabited the southern portions of what are now the states of Guerrero and Puebla. However, they started moving south and eastward, eventually making their way to the Central Valley of Oaxaca. In their newly adopted land, the Mixtecs became prolific expansionists and builders, gradually encroaching onto the territories of the Zapotecs. By the middle of the Fifteenth Century, a new power appeared on the horizon. In the s, the Aztec armies crossed the mountains into the Valley of Oaxaca with the intention of extending their hegemony into this hitherto unconquered region. Soon, both the Zapotecs and Mixtecs would be struggling to keep the Aztecs from gaining control of their trade routes to Chiapas and Guatemala. After a series of long and arduous battles, the forces of the Aztec Emperor Moctezuma

Ilhuicamina triumphed over the Mixtecs in . This location would become the seat of an Aztec garrison that enforced tribute collection from the Mixtecs and Zapotecs. The ascendancy of the Aztecs in Oaxaca would last a little more than a few decades. In , as the Zapotecs, Mixtecs and other vassals of the Aztecs worked the fields and paid tribute to their distant rulers, news arrived that strange invaders with beards and unusual weapons had arrived from the eastern sea. As word spread throughout Mesoamerica, many indigenous groups thought that the arrival of these strangers might be the fulfillment of ancient prophecies predicting the downfall of the Aztecs. Word of this conquest spread quickly, causing the inhabitants over a large area to speculate on what was to come next. When the Zapotec leaders heard that the powerful Aztec Empire had been overcome by the strangers from the Gulf of Mexico, they decided to send a delegation to seek an alliance with this new powerful force. When the powerful Aztecs were overcome, the Zapotecs sent delegations seeking alliances with the Spaniards. Pedro de Alvarado explored the Oaxaca region in search of the source of the Aztec gold and find a waterway to the Pacific Ocean. A wide alluvial plain of about square kilometers, the Valley of Oaxaca had a native population of about , at this time. Thus, writes the historian William B. Taylor, "Peaceful conquest spared the Valley of Oaxaca the loss of life and the grave social and psychological dislocations experienced by the Aztecs in the Valley of Mexico. In the course of the next decade, dramatic changes took place in the Valley. Starting in , Dominican friars established permanent residence in Antequera. After the Bishopric of Oaxaca was formally established in , Catholic priests arrived in ever-increasing numbers. Armed with a fiery zeal to eradicate pagan religions, the Catholic missionaries persevered in their work. Settlers arriving from Spain brought with them domestic animals that had hitherto never been seen in Oaxaca: In the decades following the Spanish encounter, a series of devastating epidemics wreaked havoc on the native population of Oaxaca and other parts of Mexico. Before the first century had ended, some nineteen major epidemics had come and gone. The exposure of the Oaxacan Indians to smallpox, chicken pox, diphtheria, influenza, scarlet fever, measles, typhoid, mumps, influenza, and cocoliztli a hemorrhagic disease took a huge toll. As a result, Ms. Romero has written that the native population declined from 1. But, over time, the population of Oaxaca rebounded. On February 3, , the state of Oaxaca was founded within the newly independent Mexican Republic, after years of Spanish rule. According to the census, the population of persons five years and more who spoke indigenous languages in Oaxaca amounted to 1,, individuals, which represented Today, the Mixtec Indians are one of the most important linguistic groups of southern Mexico, occupying an extensive territory of about 40, square kilometers municipios in western and northern Oaxaca and extending into Eastern Guerrero and Puebla. The Mixtec territory is divided into three subregions: For most of Mixtec history the Mixteca Alta was the dominant political force, with the capitals of the Mixtec nation located in the central highlands. The valley of Oaxaca itself was often a disputed border region, sometimes dominated by the Mixtec and sometimes by the neighboring people to the east, the Zapotec. The Lower Mixteca Mixteca Baja or Lowland Mixtec region takes in another 31 municipios to the north and west of these highlands in northwestern Oaxaca. In the census, the Mixteco Indians in Oaxaca numbered ,, or If you count the various subsidiary Mixtec languages, the total Mixtec-speaking population of the Mexican Republic in included , individuals. Today, the Mixtecs are spread throughout the entire nation, in large part because of their good reputation in the agricultural industry. The chart below illustrates the population of Mixtec speakers in both Oaxaca and the Mexican Republic.