

YÀAN U K'ÉEŠO'OB, BA'ALE' MA' K K'ÀAT U TU'UBSO'OB U KUŠTAL
MÀAYA'O'OBI', "THEY MUST CHANGE, BUT WE DO NOT WANT THEM
TO FORGET THEIR MAYA LIVES": CROSS-GENERATIONAL
CHANGE AND CONTINUITY IN A SINGLE MAYA
FAMILY FROM XOCÉN, YUCATÁN, MÉXICO

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To my father, mother and grandmother.
Thank you all for your love and support.

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PREFACE

I have had a long-standing goal of conducting ethnographic fieldwork in Maya communities in the Yucatán Peninsula, and building an anthropological career on that basis. I originally chose this cultural group because my interest in Maya culture began at a young age during my Global History class in junior high school. My teacher spoke of an ancient civilization that inexplicably disappeared, the Maya. Enchanted by the idea that a large civilization mysteriously vanished, I began researching the culture and found that it never disappeared. In fact, many contemporary Maya still lived in and around the ancient cities hidden in the rainforest, and until recently, they predominantly subsisted on slash and burn, or *milpa* agriculture. I decided to continue my research on Maya culture and hoped to travel to the Yucatán Peninsula to speak with Maya people.

As an undergraduate student, I was fortunate to take Maya language classes with my undergraduate professor, Dr. John Sosa, a Maya scholar, who is a fluent speaker of Maya. I also recently completed the first and second levels of the Yucatec Maya Language Program, offered through University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, and I have acquired an ability to converse in Maya and Spanish.

Maya is predominantly a spoken language and only recently has been documented in writing. Because of this, there are several orthographic representations used by different scholars (Blair and Vermont Salas 1965; Briceño Chel 2006; Bricker 1981; May 2010; Montgomery 2004). In terms of representing spoken Maya, I will use the

orthography utilized by Blair, Vermont Salas and Bricker. Some of the symbols that are used for consonants in this system are depicted below with their Latin-based equivalents (For a more extensive list, refer to Bricker 1981: v-vi).

' = glottal stop

č = tz

č' = dz

č̣ = chh

č' = ch

k = c

k' = k

š = sh

In Maya, vowels are indicated for both length and tone. Short vowels are depicted with a single letter (a, e, i, o, and u), while long vowels are designated with double letters (aa, ee, ii, oo and uu). Tone is represented in long vowels with low or high accents on the first letter of the double vowel set or a glottal stop in between the vowel set. A low tone is written as àa, whereas a high tone is marked as áa, and a glottal stop is shown as a'a.

My research interests are on the effects of migration and globalization in Maya communities. In particular, I wanted to meet individuals in the community who migrated to work in tourist epicenters located on the Maya Riviera, but still have family members remaining in their home communities. Through my participation in the Maya language program offered through University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, I was brought to the community of Xocén. After six intensive weeks in the program, I asked the program director, Sharon Mújica, to help me find a family to stay with in Xocén. She took me to

several families' homes, and she asked one family if I could spend a month with them. They agreed, and I began my first ethnographic experience in the community in July 2010. The following summer (2011), I completed the second level of the language program, and afterwards returned to Xocén to complete an additional month of ethnographic fieldwork.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In the times of Redfield and Villa Rojas, Maya studies were a predominantly andro-centric field, explicitly concentrating on men's role in Maya society, while women were essentially overlooked (Redfield 1950; Villa Rojas 1945). It was not until Elmendorf conducted her fieldwork in Chan Kom that lives of Maya women became ethnographically documented (Elmendorf 1976). In the present state of Maya studies, many female ethnographers have traveled down to the Yucatán Peninsula to record their interpretations of Maya women's lives. However, a large majority of these ethnographers did not speak Maya and relied on Spanish to communicate with their participants. In my opinion, to properly represent any indigenous culture, the ethnographer must speak the participants' native language. Therefore, for my ethnographic research, I conversed with my participants in Maya. The data that I collected for this project add to the ethnographic literature on Maya culture and offers a unique perspective because of my ability to speak Maya.

For my project, I set out to document the effects of migration and globalization in the Maya community of Xocén, Yucatán. I also did not want to concentrate solely on one gender group or age group. Thus, to reach that goal, I utilized a multi-generational analysis of a particular family that engaged both genders. This thesis seeks to document

the economic changes that affected the cultural practices of Mayas who live in the Yucatán Peninsula. As a case study, this thesis illustrates how the three generations of a single family and that family's friends in Xocén were affected by these economic changes, and how they were trying to preserve their cultural heritage for future generations.

In the next chapter, I will discuss the history of economic changes and migration in the Yucatán Peninsula during the 20th century, and their influences on Maya cultural practices, particularly concentrating on gender relations. In chapter 3, I will introduce the three generations of Floridalma's family and discuss how economic changes affected the family's work patterns and perceptions on education and language. In chapter 4, I will expand my analysis from chapter 3 and present how economic changes and migration affected the family's experiences with technology, material culture and their behaviors. In chapter 5, I will present and discuss certain cultural beliefs and practices that Floridalma's family considered integral to maintaining their cultural heritage. Furthermore, I will discuss how they felt that transmitting these beliefs and practices to their children would help preserve their cultural heritage in a changing economy. Finally, chapter 6 is the conclusion in which I will review and summarize the main points from the previous chapters.

The Maya language and culture area that this thesis discusses spans across the three Mexican states of Campeche, Yucatán and Quintana Roo in the Yucatán Peninsula and northern Belize. The community of Xocén is located about twelve kilometers southeast of Valladolid and is one of the thirty-six commissaries of the municipality of Valladolid in Yucatán. Xocén has its own *ejido*. An *ejido* is a "unit of land that the

federal government expropriated from a private owner, and then granted to a specific group of individuals to be held and worked in common” (Climo 1978: 192). Many male residents choose to make milpa on a portion of the ejido. Forest and milpas line both sides of the road that leads into Xocén.

At first glance, Xocén is similar to other small Maya communities. Many older people speak Maya as a first language, while younger people are bilingual in Spanish and Maya. However, unlike other communities in the area, the residents of Xocén have many resources available to them, including a library. The Dr. Victor Flores Olea library houses thousands of books, many of which are about Maya culture and has a computer that is available for the community’s inhabitants (Mujica 1997: 76). Recently, a computer café, with at least ten computers, was also created in one of the side rooms of the Comisaría Municipal building near the library. Although there is no access to the internet in the computer café, this allows residents to have access to computers. The computer café and library provide the opportunity to practice or learn how to type and offers the students, who attend schools in Xocén, a place to complete their homework.

Within the community, there are three schools, a preschool, an *escuela primaria* and an *escuela secundaria*. The Antonio Mediz Bolio preschool was founded in 1981 (Terán Contreras and Rasmussen 2005: 105). However, the construction of the present school building was in 1990 (2005: 108). Prior to the building’s construction, teachers taught classes in the center of town at the Comisaría Municipal building and at a designated house in Xocén (2005: 108). Generally, children attend the preschool at four years old (2005: 109). However, many parents do not enroll their children because they consider four years old too young to attend school. Furthermore, parents feel that their

homes offer better protection for their children than a school. For the children that do attend preschool, classes cover material that will assist them with their integration into the escuela primaria.

The first school in Xocén was created in 1901 when the teacher, Severo Chazareto, who was one of the butlers on the hacienda of *Dzantunch'en*, opened an escuela primaria (Terán Contreras and Rasmussen 2005: 105). Then in 1946, responsibility for education was transferred to the *Sistema de Educación Indígena*, and they founded the Manuel Alcalá Martín escuela primaria in the center of Xocén (2005: 105). In the past, the school building only had one classroom and an office for the director (2005: 106). Today, the building has expanded to twelve classrooms. The curriculum at the school supports bilingual education. Therefore, teachers need to be bilingual in Maya and Spanish. Children attend the school for six years.

Students who continue their educations attend the Secundaria Técnica # 69. This school was founded in 1992 and is located on the right of the main road when entering Xocén (Terán Contreras and Rasmussen 2005: 105). The curriculum also supports bilingual education and employs bilingual teachers. However, there is a stronger emphasis placed on Spanish. Children attend the school for three years. The accessibility of these schools lends itself to the large amount of children in the community receiving a formal education, which is a critical component to attaining a higher wage position in the contemporary economy.

Located on the southern outskirts of Xocén, in an abandoned school lot, is a large open-air theater. María Alicia Martínez Medrano founded the outdoor theater in August of 1989 (Terán Contreras and Rasmussen 2005: 109). She and five other young teachers

taught theatrical classes and the *Jarana*, a type of folk dance, and presented shows that depicted the importance of preserving Maya culture and heritage. According to Terán Contreras and Rasmussen, the theater attracted fewer students and closed in the mid-nineteen nineties (2005: 112). However, in 2001, the theater group returned to Xocén to organize classes to learn the *Jarana* and present shows that depicted the *Jarana* and sacred Maya ceremonies, such as the *Č'a' čàak*, or ceremony for rain. The theater's students performed the shows for Mexican tourists and other foreigners (2005: 112). Residents of Xocén have ambivalent feelings toward the theater. Some individuals consider the theater group to be a beneficial aspect in the preservation of the *Jarana* and other aspects of their cultural heritage, while others deem imitating sacred ceremonies for tourists and foreigners to be sacrilegious (2005: 112).

The daily lives of many residents in Xocén reflect the importance of their religious beliefs. Most of the residents are Catholic and only acknowledge two churches. One church, the Downtown Church, is located in the center of Xocén (See Figure 1 for Picture of the Downtown Church). Attendees refer to the church as the Church of Jesus and Mary because the church houses two saints Santo Cristo de la Transfiguración and Virgen María de la Asunción. Each year the community holds a weeklong event commemorating each saint. The event is filled with prayers, bullfights, dancing the *Jarana*, drinking and *bailes*, or dance, that continue until the early hours of the morning. However, some churchgoers also refer to the church by another name, the Church of the *Itzás*. The *Itzás* were a Maya “group of elite lineages who dominated the eastern half of the Yucatán Peninsula in the post-Classic and colonial periods” (Edmonson 1982: xvi).

Terán Contreras and Rasmussen believe that this name may suggest that the church is of Maya origin, instead of being built by the Spanish. They think this because some of the



Figure 1: Picture of the Downtown Church

people they interviewed explained that all barrel-vaulted churches, like the church in Xocén, were built by the Itzás (Terán Contreras and Rasmussen 2005: 239-241). This belief indicates that some residents may consider themselves the descendants of the Itzás, or that the church was built on an older Maya sacred site, which indicates the inhabitants' powerful hold to their cultural heritage. This association with Itzá identity merits additional investigation.

The second church, the Church of the Blessed Stone Cross, is the main symbol of Xocén's self-image (See Figure 2 for Picture of the Church of the Blessed Stone Cross). The church, located in the southeastern part of the community, is considered the most sacred location in Xocén and its environs, and is referred to as *U čumukil yóok'ol kàab*, or the “center of the world.” Terán Contreras and Rasmussen reported the same name in

their studies (2005: 241). The church houses *La Santísima Cruz Tun de Piedra*, the Blessed Stone Cross. The Blessed Stone Cross is a sister cross to the famous Talking

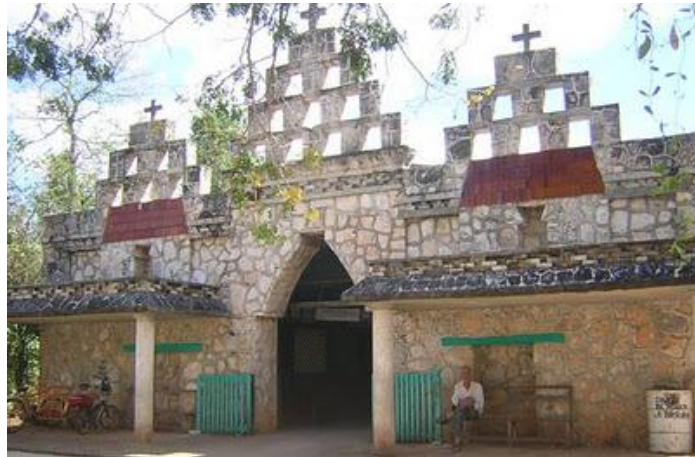


Figure 2: Picture of the Church of the Blessed Stone Cross (<http://bicycleucatan.blogspot.com>)

Cross that surfaced during the beginnings of the Caste War, and whose followers led the Maya rebellion against the Mexicans in the nineteenth century (Terán Contreras and Rasmussen 2005: 161). Many Mayas from other Maya communities, located throughout Yucatán and Quintana Roo, acknowledge the importance of the Blessed Stone Cross and make pilgrimages to Xocén to worship the cross.

The religious significance of Xocén is very important to the inhabitants of the community and other Mayas located throughout the Yucatán Peninsula. Furthermore, the resources the community offers and the close proximity to Valladolid add to the allure of Xocén and are the main reasons why many residents of Xocén choose to remain there even though they or some of their family members may have taken jobs elsewhere. The

family that I worked with told me that the sacredness of Xocén motivates them to remain residents as well.

While I conducted my ethnographic fieldwork in Xocén, I stayed with Floridalma and her two daughters, Evita and Consuela. I spoke with individuals, who lived either in or outside the community, and my participants were connected, by blood, marriage or friendship, to Floridalma (See Appendix A for kinship charts). My primary means of data collection was participant observation. I also conducted unrecorded informal interviews, where I took notes during the interview. I always carried around a small notebook to write down notes and Maya words to look up later in the day. At the end of the day and during downtime, I reviewed my notes and typed my field notes in my computer. I chose to utilize these methods because of my beginner's status with both Maya culture and language. I found that if I let conversations develop naturally towards my topic of interest, I could understand more what was being said to me, and my participants would not shut down, as they would when I abruptly asked questions that were unrelated to the topics they had been discussing. The information that I gathered is unique to my experience with Floridalma's family, and I have used pseudonyms throughout the thesis to protect the identity of the people I worked with.

CHAPTER II

RECENT HISTORY OF THE YUCATÁN PENINSULA IN MAYA ETHNOGRAPHIC CONTEXT

Migration has been an essential feature of Maya life for the past one hundred years. Patterns of migration are related to local economic conditions and the development of infrastructure. Recent research concentrating on different areas of the world has recognized the process as dynamic and varied depending on time and space (DeGenova 2002; Geisen et al. 2004). The migration studies revealed that there are different approaches used to understand migration (Alvarez 1995; Brettell and Hollifield 2000; Lewellen 2007).

A principal distinction found in migration studies are between macro and micro-approaches. A macro-approach concentrates on the larger perspective such as entire populations, ethnic groups, social classes, political systems, economic systems and so forth (Brettell and Hollifield 2000: 3). A micro-approach focuses on the individual level such as a person, households or groups (2000: 3). Researchers who used these approaches also recognized that migration occurred in various patterns.

There are many different migratory patterns included in the process of migration. The main three that my analysis discusses are the patterns of internal migration, step-migration and circular migration. Internal migration refers to individuals who travel,

generally for work and often from a rural to urban area, for long periods within their home country (Lewellen 2007: 130). Step-migration occurs when a community or family migrates in stages with people from each generation forming network connections to the new location (2007: 130). Circular migration includes a consistent migration away from and back to the home community, such as agricultural work.

Although I would have liked to devote this chapter to the history of Xocén, there is simply not enough literature to do so. Therefore, in this chapter, I will briefly describe the history of economic change and migration within the Yucatán Peninsula to help place Xocén into a larger context. I will utilize a macro-approach to explain the economic processes that led to the various aforementioned migratory patterns of several Mayas in the Yucatán Peninsula in the twentieth-century, and how this migration influenced gender relations. In later chapters, I will use a micro-approach to describe the particular affects the changing economy and migration has had on the three generations of Floridalma's family.

The Early 1900's

In the early 1900's, examples of Mayas internally and circularly migrating to different communities in the Yucatán Peninsula is documented. Most Mayas migrated to seek better resources to support their family. For instance, American anthropologist, Robert Redfield, recounted the experience of Mayas from Chan Kom, a Maya village. In Redfield's work, he explained that around 1900 the first residents of Chan Kom originally migrated from Ebtun, located about thirty miles north of Chan Kom. Redfield stated that one of the reasons why the inhabitants of Chan Kom left Ebtun was because land became scarce and poor (Redfield 1950: 2). At that time, Chan Kom was only a

small settlement with a few wattle houses located around a *cenote*, or a large sinkhole typically filled with water (1950: 2). Other men of Ebtun followed a pattern of circular migration. They went to Chan Kom to make milpa and returned to Ebtun to be with their families (1950: 3). Over time, these men built houses in Chan Kom and, following a pattern of step-migration, moved to the village.

As the years progressed, the residents of Chan Kom began to resent the authority that Ebtun had over them (Redfield 1950: 8). In order to gain autonomy, the village needed to become a *pueblo* recognized by the Mexican government. They invited engineers into their community and allowed them to survey the land that the city registered as their communal property (1950: 9). Chan Kom also started a planned course for self-improvement. They already built their own school, but they also needed to build all the amenities the Mexican government associated with a pueblo, such as a plaza. Furthermore, to be fully recognized by the government and gain autonomy, they needed to attain an ejido.

The years following the Mexican Revolution, Alvaro Obregón assumed presidency. He supported the idea of agrarian reform, which he and his supporters believed would address the long-standing land-tenure inequality, and to promote economic development and modernization amongst Mexico's oppressed indigenous populations (Juarez 2002; Perramond 2008). Eight days after Obregón's inauguration, he issued a proclamation on land reform, which was designed to put into practice the Law of January 6, 1915 (Hall 1980: 216). The Law of January 6, 1915 promised that the Constitutionalists would give land to individuals who needed it (1980: 216). Obregón also put into practice Article 27 of the Mexican Constitution, also known as the *Ley de*

Ejidos, or Law of the Ejidos, which provided land distribution to villages (1980: 216). *Ejidatarios*, or individual members of ejidos, held usufruct rights to the land (Climo 1978; Perramond 2008). Ninety-five percent of the communal land was divided and distributed to the individual members, who farmed their allotted piece of land and kept the harvest for their families (Climo 1978: 192). They could give their allotment to an heir, but they could not sell, lease, rent, mortgage or let the land remain fallow for two consecutive years (1978: 192). For the remaining five percent of land, all the individual members collectively farmed the land (1978: 192). For a community to attain an ejido also meant recognition by the federal government as a pueblo, which signaled the admittance of the community into the free and progressive socialist state (Redfield 1950: 11).

Thus, the residents of Chan Kom filed their formal petition for an ejido in 1923 (Redfield 1950: 11). Then, in 1926, they attained formal possession of their lands and achieved pueblo status (Redfield 1941: 45). Chan Kom became a free community where everyone had their own house, yard and private farmland (Elmendorf 1976: 19). The village population then began to grow, because Mayas from other villages migrated into Chan Kom to create a better life for their families.

The main reasons why most Mayas migrated into Chan Kom and other communities were to attain more land and share the benefits of living in a federally recognized pueblo. In the past, several Mayas were mainly subsistence farmers, who worked on their milpas. The men were typically the main caretakers of the milpa. Men traveled long distances to their milpas. Redfield noted that men, who were fortunate to have land in their community, walked an average of nine kilometers to their milpas

(Redfield 1941: 45). In contrast, other men, who were not as fortunate, followed a pattern of circular migration and trekked to another community to work their milpas. For instance, as abovementioned, before the recognition of Chan Kom as a pueblo, some men from Ebtun made their milpas in Chan Kom, about a seven-hour walk from their homes and families. At times, women and children would accompany the men to their milpas to help with weeding and the harvesting of the crops. However, in many situations, women and children, especially daughters, had their own tasks to fulfill within the home. The women took the crops that the men produced in the milpas and transformed the plants into food. Women also raised animals and tended to home gardens, which were also used as food. These additional food sources supplemented the milpa's harvest. In addition, women needed to take care of children, clean their homes, and both create and wash clothing for their households. Each gender performed "particular roles associated with that gender," and that made the two genders complementary and interdependent, which insured their family's self-sufficiency and survival (Sosa et al. 2004: 648). Thus, when a family decided it was more economically beneficial to move to another community, the entire family followed a pattern of step-migration and tried to create a better life for themselves in a new community.

The 1930's to 1940's

In the nineteen thirties and forties, more families internally migrated into new communities. With the insurgence of new people, many communities experienced an increase in population. Generally, Mayas were still subsistence farmers, and relied on the interdependence of men and women's roles to support their family. However, the population growth caused a decrease in the availability of cultivatable land that was a

respectable distance away from families' homes (Faust and Bilsborrow 2000: 83). The first method some Mayas used to deal with this problem was to cultivate more distant land (2000: 83). When this was not an option, sons and daughters migrated to new areas with available land to cultivate in order to establish new communities (2000: 83).

The out-migration of several individuals to new areas allowed for the formation of new communities. Once these communities met the appropriate requirements set by the federal government, they were able to attain communal land. Unlike the previous decades, where acquisition of communal land moved slowly, President Lázaro Cárdenas sped up the process. He undertook "a massive agrarian reform program that redistributed forty-five million acres of Land" (Dwyer 2002: 375). In 1937, in Yucatán, the agrarian reform created two-hundred ejidos and provided land for more than 50,000 farmers (Peña Chapa et al. 2000: 108). The growth of communal land helped various Maya communities located throughout the peninsula manage their increased populations.

With the newly acquired ejidal land, communities chose to use their land in different ways depending on ecological and economic circumstances. For instance, in northern Yucatán, some farmers harvested *henequén*, or agave, because of unpredictable seasonal rainfall and poor soil quality (Climo 1978: 192). Furthermore, in the late nineteenth century, henequén was a large export industry (Faust and Bilsborrow 2000: 81). When the federal government granted communities ejidos, many individuals chose to continue farming henequén because of the revenue it brought. This was typically the only income that families earned (Climo 1978: 195). Alternatively, in southern Yucatán, some individuals practiced a form of mixed farming, which supplemented their small wage incomes with subsistence agriculture (Climo 1978: 198).

Some of the ways men chose to supplement their harvests included *chicle*, or chewing gum, collection and work at an archaeological site. During this time, chicle was a multimillion-dollar industry, and harvesters made more money from chicle compared to subsistence farming. For instance, some Maya men traveled to the village of Cobá, which was a “campsite for workers in the exploitation of chicle” (Brown 1999: 298). Another way men could make money was working at archaeological sites. For example, the Carnegie Institution that funded archaeological research and the reconstruction at Chichén Itzá employed almost all the men from Pisté (Juarez 2002: 39). Both of these examples required men to follow a pattern of circular migration to make money for their families and continue to tend to their milpas.

Maya women generally remained in the home, while their husbands were away at their milpas or wage positions. They stayed in the community because, like the women in the decades before them, they needed to complete tasks within the home that insured their families’ livelihood. However, because money was becoming ever more important for the maintenance of a household, some women also monetarily supplemented their husbands’ income by participating in the informal economy. For example, some women sold various herbs, fruits and medicinal plants from their kitchen gardens to neighbors (Kintz 1998: 595).

The 1950’s to 1960’s

During the nineteen fifties and sixties, similar to the nineteen thirties and forties, Maya families were under more pressure to find different ways to make money as the Mexican government shifted its focus away from agricultural subsidies. Land reform progress made in previous decades decreased, and the government made minimal

investments in ejidos (Gates 1988: 280). Distribution of ejidos continued slowly after President Lázaro Cárdenas's agrarian reform program, but the rate of distribution could not keep up with the steadily increasing population (1988: 280). Additionally, the government began to rent portions of communal land to private owners. Consequently, men, who were landless or had poor harvests, chose to become laborers for the private owners. These men migrated dedicating "several weeks, sometimes entire seasons to wage work" (Castellanos 2007: 7). For instance, in northern Yucatán henequén production, some private owners owned a henequén-decorticating factory and hired men to work in their factories and on remaining henequén fields (Climo 1978: 195). In other parts of the peninsula, other men worked for agribusinesses, whose owners typically farmed on rented land as well. The workers harvested an export crop (Kray 2007: 18).

With the steady decline of henequén production and other agricultural crops, the government began to concentrate on the industrialization of urban centers (Castellanos 2007: 7). This caused an increase in construction work. Instead of working for private owners of farms, some men supplemented their poor harvests with construction positions in larger cities, such as Mérida and Valladolid (Castellanos 2007: 7). For example, because of the accumulated capital associated with henequén production, out of the three peninsular states, Yucatán experienced a greater amount of industrial development (Peña Chapa et al. 2000: 114). Furthermore, Mérida, its state capital, was already an economic center that had a largely urbanized and wealthy population. In contrast to the lower economic classes, this population of individuals possessed increased wealth and leisure time, and some individuals had an increased interest in the usage of beaches for pleasure (Meyer-Arendt 1987: 46). This led to the development of recreational areas, such as

hotels, summer homes and resorts, for the wealthy located along the beaches of northern Yucatán. Some men from neighboring communities chose to supplement their poor harvests with circular migration to these newly developing recreational areas to participate in the newly created construction work and other wage positions created by increased development and the economic shift towards domestic tourism (1987: 46).

In the late nineteen sixties, the Mexican government wanted to stimulate tourism in Mexico and generate an income in foreign currencies through international tourism (Kandelaars 2000: 175). The Yucatán Peninsula was a superior location for tourism because of the “ancient Maya ruins, elegant and imposing Colonial architecture, spectacular beaches along the east coast, and the large Maya population with its distinctive culture” (Kray 2007: 18). Cancún, which tourist developers built from the ground up, is a good example that illustrates the economic change to tourism (2007: 18). In the nineteen sixties, “Cancún was one of six Mexican beaches (including Cabo San Lucas, San José, and Loreto in the state of Baja California, Ixtapa in Guerrero, and Bahía de Huatulco in Oaxaca) identified as potentially lucrative tourist developments” (Juarez 2002: 40). The government chose Cancún for two reasons. One was that the location was “physically pleasing and suitable for leisure activities” for tourists (2002: 41). The second was that the site was in an “underdeveloped” zone, where labor for the construction of mega-resorts was easily accessible and cheap (2002: 41). In 1969, the future president, José López Portillo, selected Cancún to be the “nation’s top economic priority” (2002: 41). Thus, construction began in 1970, and within two years, more than five thousand individuals migrated to work there (2002: 41).

While there were those men who circularly and internally migrated for work, women still tended to remain at home. They maintained their homes, but also needed to manage their husbands' household affairs, particularly with the milpa. For example, one of Re Cruz's participants, the husband of María, was away from Chan Kom for his construction job in Cancún (Re Cruz 1998: 583). While her husband was away, he paid his uncle to take care of the family's milpa. However, one day, the uncle approached María because her husband did not pay him for a month of work (1998: 583). Additionally, the uncle needed to collect money to buy fertilizer (1998: 583). Typically, María's husband dealt with matters concerning the milpa, but since he was at work, she needed to take over his role and make decisions concerning milpa matters. Although Re Cruz conducted her fieldwork in 1989 and 1990, this example is comparable to several situations during the nineteen fifties and sixties.

Since the primary wage labor market was for men, some women supplemented their husband's income with small jobs and with participation in the informal economy. One of Elmendorf's participants, Anita, sold "atole (a drink made with ground corn), tacos and aguardiente (a cheap alcoholic drink)" at a village party in Chan Kom to make extra money (Elmendorf 1979: 419). In addition, Kintz noted that some Maya women "worked as seamstresses, using non-electric pedal Singer sewing machines" (Kintz 1998: 595). The women produced *hipiles*, or traditional embroidered dresses, for "their own household or for sale to their neighbors" (1998: 595). Thus, women also contributed to their husbands' wages and harvests, and both sexes supported their family.

The 1970's

In the nineteen seventies, henequén production was no longer a profitable source of income (Peña Chapa et al. 2000: 116). Instead, the focus of the Mexican government concentrated on international tourism in Quintana Roo as the main source of economic growth (2000: 116). For instance, as stated in the previous section, the future president, José López Portillo, selected Cancún to be the top economic priority, and when construction began in 1970, there was a massive internal migration to the area (Adler 2008; Juarez 2002).

With an already unpredictable milpa crop, men typically migrated to find work in developing tourist centers. When the men migrated, they obtained exposure to western European ideals from tourists, which accentuated men as the primary wage earners (Sosa et al. 2004: 650). Congruent to their cultural perceptions surrounding gender roles, several migrant men wanted their wives to remain in their home community. Wives could manage their households, while their husbands were away. This also helped men remain connected to their home communities, which helped to maintain their extended-kin networks. According to Castellanos, extended-kin networks allow consanguineal, affinal and, at times, fictive kin to exchange resources, money and social support amongst their kin in times of need (2010: 4). However, with their wives at home, men could face an economic challenge. Male migrants, such as the ones traveling to Cancún, needed their wages to cover their households in their home communities, and their “rent, eating expenses, laundry, ironing and other domestic requirements in the absence of their wives,” while they were away (Re Cruz 1998: 585).

Naturally, some women did not idly sit at home and manage their absent husbands' affairs. They also took advantage of the rising tourist industry and continued to participate in the informal economy. For example, some women produced hipiles for the growing tourist industry. In Re Cruz's fieldwork, one of her participants, Juliana, created hipiles for Don José. Don José was "the owner of a store near Chichén Itzá," and he brought "materials to many women in the village to embroider the colorful" hipiles (Re Cruz 1998: 582-583). Once the women embroidered the dresses, Don José took the "merchandise to major tourist centers, like Chichén Itzá and Cancún," and sold the product to tourists (1998: 583). Although men were primarily the ones who migrated, the money some women made from selling hipiles in tourist centers revealed that both genders participated in the growing tourist industry and added to their households' incomes.

The 1980's

In the nineteen eighties, as the economy focused more towards tourism, migration of several Mayas to the developing tourist centers increased even more. At the same time, oil production along the coast of Campeche significantly increased (Peña Chapa et al. 2000: 116). In 1976, PEMEX (Petroleos Mexicanos) accelerated its work in Campeche with the confirmed presence of commercial quantities of oil and gas after the drilling of two exploratory wells (Grayson 1947: 146). In the following year, PEMEX announced an unparalleled exploratory program to extend its drilling area (Paoli Bolio 1982: 71). This included the exploration of more than eight thousand square kilometers on the ocean platform of the Gulf of Campeche (1982: 71). By the nineteen eighties, Campeche held the majority of Mexico's nineteen offshore oilrigs (Grayson 1947: 147).

Although oil production increased in Campeche during the nineteen eighties, the oil industry had a negligible impact on both Campeche and the rest of the Yucatán Peninsula's economies (Batllori et al. 2000: 44). PEMEX typically employed individuals and bought goods and services from companies located outside Campeche (Peña Chapa et al. 2000: 112). Furthermore, by the middle of the nineteen eighties, Mexico experienced a national economic crisis triggered by a steep decline in oil prices. One major consequence of this crisis was that government officials withdrew agricultural subsidies for corn cultivators (Kray 2007: 18). Thus, several corn growers could no longer sell their harvest at government guaranteed prices, and there was a dramatic increase in the cost of basic commodities. Additionally, as in the nineteen thirties and forties, as the population grew, ejidal lands were no longer sufficient to support people by subsistence agriculture alone. Consequently, some Maya men were forced to abandon agriculture and migrate to find work to support their family.

As the Mexican government continued to shift its economic focus towards international tourism, the migration of Mayas to the developing tourist centers steadily increased. Since some men chose to work permanently in wage labor, they faced an issue that was similar to the dilemma in the nineteen seventies; their wages needed to pay for their house in their home communities and their rent and other expenses while they were away. Thus, some families chose to step-migrate to the developing tourist cities. This change was economically beneficial to the family because the women satisfied the domestic demands that the male migrants initially needed to pay for in the receiving community (Re Cruz 1998: 586). Furthermore, it eliminated the need to support two households.

With numerous women living in tourist epicenters, they had many new avenues to make money that added to their households' incomes. For instance, in the hotel industry women could take jobs as hotel cleaners (Castellanos 2007: 5). However, some men did not want their wives to take a wage position in the tourist economy. Thus, some women contributed in different ways to their husband's wages. For example, in Re Cruz's fieldwork, one woman, Dolores, participated in a pattern of step-migration from Chan Kom to Cancún to reunite with her husband (Re Cruz 1998: 583). When she and their children arrived in Cancún, her husband was between jobs. Her husband did not want her to take a wage position because he wanted her to tend to their household. Thus, Dolores sold Avon cosmetic products to some of her friends. Her income supplemented her husband's, when he had a job, and without her work, her family might not have had enough money for food (1998: 584).

Some women also participated in the tourist industry by selling sewn products directly to tourists. Many tourists traveled to the Yucatán peninsula to experience the distinctive, and exotic, Maya culture. In the past, Maya women typically wore hipiles. Therefore, tourists considered a hipil as the "traditional" and exotic dress for Maya women (Tolen 1998: 648). When Maya women traveled to markets to sell goods, including hipiles, to tourists, some wore a hipil to increase the purchases made by tourists. In Kray's fieldwork, in the community of Dzitnup, she recorded sixty percent of the village's women sewed and sold embroidered dresses to tourists (Kray 2007: 18). Another way other women made money from tourists was converting "their garden produce into tapas, snacks, and sold these items" to tourists (Kintz 1998: 595).

Consequently, tourists' purchases helped several women to generate an income, which supplemented their husband's wages and added to their households' incomes.

The 1990's

In the nineteen nineties, work in the tourist economy shifted from hiring men to women. In the nineteen seventies and eighties, much of the work in tourist areas involved construction, road building and so forth. However, by the nineteen nineties, tasks such as caretakers and housekeepers began to predominate. The increase in employment for women caused an increase in Maya women migrating to tourist epicenters. In Castellanos' fieldwork, some of the young women who lived in the community of Kuchmil migrated to find work in the tourist industry (Castellanos 2007: 12). In the past, young women typically did not leave their community until after they married, but in the nineteen nineties, it became more common for unmarried women to take jobs as caretakers, domestic servants and as housekeepers in hotels (2007: 5). Additionally, *maquiladoras*, or assembly plants, which first started to transform the Yucatán Peninsula's economy in the nineteen eighties, became a significant source of jobs in eastern Yucatán in 1992 (Kray 2007: 18). Owners of *maquiladoras*, similar to the tourist developers of the late nineteen sixties and seventies, chose to build their factories in Yucatán because of the large indigenous population, where labor was easily accessible and cheap. The owners also specifically desired to employ Maya women, which created more opportunities for women to make money.

Employers also preferred to hire Maya women for different reasons than Maya men. Many companies hired women because "they cost less to employ, are considered more docile, and are presumed to be "natural" caregivers" (Castellanos 2007: 2).

Additionally, since women tended to not have a lot of education, managers felt that women were easier to control and train (2007: 3). In Castellanos fieldwork, she interviewed a hotel supervisor, who said that “hotel employers actively sought out employees who were of Maya descent because...they were considered to be *muy trabajadores* (hard workers) and less antagonistic—that is, less likely to question authority—than workers from other regions of Mexico” (2007: 6). Thus, even though women had more opportunities, they were still in a subordinate position compared to men.

On the surface, several Maya women had more avenues to make money in wage labor to support their families, and this gave the appearance that the imbalance between men and women, created by the tourist economy had lessened (Castellanos 2007: 21). However, compared to the men’s positions, women’s work as domestic servants, caregivers, housekeepers and at maquiladoras offered very little social mobility. Men’s typical wage labor positions such as janitors, dishwashers, stewards and assistant bartenders offered some mobility. For example, “a steward can become head waiter and a dishwasher can become head chef” (2007: 6). Additionally, women typically earned less than men. Therefore, although some Maya women entered the workforce in increasing numbers, their opportunities in the tourist economy still fell below those available to men.

Since working women did not have to rely so heavily on men’s income, they had some economic freedom. Women typically still used their money to supplement their husband’s income. However, they also bought items for themselves such as clothing, jewelry and makeup (Castellanos 2007: 18). In fact, economic freedom was a reason

why many single women chose to migrate to tourist epicenters and communities close by. For example, another of Castellanos' participants, Mariela, chose to live with her aunt Luci in Tizimín, instead of her parents in Kuchmil (2007: 18). She initially made this decision, because she wanted to contribute to her family's income. However, "she spent her first few months' wages on purchases for herself," and once "she had collected a suitable wardrobe; she began to send money home to her family" (2007: 18).

The economic freedom that some women attained from migrating, coupled with more job opportunities, has caused a shift in the economic roles between men and women. Since employers started to hire more women instead of men, new positions for Maya women have been created in Maya society. Some Mayas still held their past cultural conceptions surrounding gender roles and considered men to be the dominant wage earners, despite the fact many women earned the majority of the household income (Kray 2007: 21). For instance, in Kray's fieldwork, she documented that most of the households in the community of Dzitnup depended on women's generated income (2007: 18). One tenth of the community's older single women worked in factories, and younger girls learned how to sew and sold mini-embroidered dresses for Barbie dolls to tourists to support their households' income (2007: 18). Thus, several Maya women and even young girls made the majority of the money to support their families.

Conclusion

It is clear that in the last one hundred years, some Mayas adapted to changing economic times by following the patterns of internal, circular and step-migration. For example, some Maya men initially practiced a form of internal and circular migration, in order to continue farming their milpas. This also helped to maintain ties to their home

community. However, when the government withdrew agricultural subsidies and focused on international tourism, farmers could no longer sell their harvests at a guaranteed price. Some then chose to abandon agriculture and work exclusively in the labor market. This was very economically burdensome on some migrant men because their incomes needed to support their households in their home communities and their lifestyles while they were away. Thus, families reunited through step-migration and became permanent additions to the labor market.

The analysis presented here only demonstrates a generalized view of Maya migration in the twentieth-century. In fact, different communities have experienced various forms of migration at different times. Furthermore, even individuals within the same Maya community might experience migration differently. Thus, migration is not a static entity. The definition of migration is complex and changes depending on the time, space and individual. In the proceeding chapters, I will present and discuss my findings from my fieldwork that focused on how the changing economy and migration affected the lifestyle of three generations of Floridalma's family and friends in the Maya community of Xocén.

CHAPTER III

EFFECTS OF ECONOMIC CHANGE CROSS-GENERATIONALLY IN FLORIDALMA'S FAMILY

Over the last hundred years, the economic shift from a largely agrarian to a predominantly wage-based economy has increasingly affected the lives of Mayas living in the Yucatán Peninsula. As shown in the previous chapter, the changing economy is causing more Mayas to migrate internally to other cities to work. However, unlike other Maya communities, where there is a steady progression towards both sexes entering the labor market, most members in Floridalma's family still hold the cultural belief that only men should migrate for work, while women need to remain in Xocén and maintain their family homes. Furthermore, the general trend of eventual step-migration, which is very common in the Yucatán peninsula as a whole, is nearly non-existent in Floridalma's extended family.

When I was conducting my fieldwork, I stayed with Floridalma. The individuals mentioned in my thesis were connected, by blood, marriage or friendship, to Floridalma (See Appendix A for kinship charts). I was able to work with three generations of this family and their affinal kin. Members of Floridalma's family illustrated the economic changes that have affected the whole area.

Exploring the lifetimes of each generation reveals a pattern of economic change that is affecting the family's lifestyle and their behaviors associated with each sex's gender roles. Similar to other residents, this family shares the cultural value that women need to stay within the home completing their designated gender roles and not pursue a wage position in the labor market. However, the increasing reliance on a monetary income and the resulting move away from subsistence agriculture is currently pushing both sexes to enter the wage labor market to support their families. In this chapter, I will use a micro-approach to examine some of the cultural changes in relation to work, education and language across the three generations. I will also specifically concentrate on the transition of the family's behaviors surrounding each sex's prescribed gender roles that have resulted from the changing economic situations.

Work

As depicted in the previous chapter, the change in the economy affected the subsistence practices of Mayas located throughout the Yucatán Peninsula. This section will describe the type of work that was typical of each generation, the economic changes that resulted in the adoption of other subsistence practices and the affect that these economic transitions had on the family's behaviors surrounding each sex's gender roles.

First Generation

In the nineteen fifties, the Mexican government began to limit support for small farmers and shifted its focus to international trade. This caused some Maya men to migrate to other cities for wage labor, as well as maintain a milpa. However, within Floridalma's family, the changing economy did not immediately affect their subsistence practices. They continued to tend to their milpas and depended on the labor of both men

and women to provide for their families. In this period, the typical tasks of men included maintaining a milpa, hunting, collecting firewood and handling business affairs within the community. In contrast, women predominantly tended to life within the home. They transformed the milpa's harvest into food for their families, took care of children, raised animals, cultivated their small gardens, and created and washed clothes.

The only living members of the first generation of Floridalma's family are her parents, Agustino and Estella who have been married over fifty years. They live in a large cement house with an attached thatch roof addition and a separate stand-alone kitchen. Agustino explained that throughout his marriage his wife has always been good to him and fulfilled the proper gender roles associated with being a Maya woman. He said that while he was away, sometimes for entire days, working in his milpa, she remained in the home taking care of their children, cooking, washing clothes and cleaning their home (See Figure 3 for Picture of Corn and Squash in a Family Member's Milpa). Regina and Sonoma (cousins to Floridalma) described a similar situation for their parents. They explained that while their fathers were away tending to their milpas, their mothers stayed at home and tended to their households. However, at times, their mothers joined their husbands to help with clearing, weeding and harvesting in the family milpas. The families relied on the interdependence of men and women's gender roles and the crops that they harvested from their milpas to support themselves.

Agustino explained that in the past they did not need a lot of money to pay for items their family needed because they were self-sufficient. Nevertheless, situations arose when the family needed money. Therefore, Agustino also worked as a *hmèen*. Work as a *hmèen* is different than work in a wage position. *Hmèeno 'ob* (pluralized form

of hmèen) are shamans and curers, who are deeply respected throughout their community. Individuals, typically men, are called to become hmèen in their dreams.



Figure 3: Picture of Corn and Squash in a Family Member's Milpa

Residents hire hmèen to solve personal and community problems. These problems can range anywhere from an individual's health to conducting important religious ceremonies, such as the Č'a' čàak (Burns 1983: 11). Like tending to a milpa, Agustino's work as a hmèen did not require him to leave Xocén and travel to a larger city. Therefore, although Agustino might be away from his home for a day, he was never far away.

Some of the other male residents of Xocén did work in the labor market in other cities. However, they also maintained a milpa. They typically followed a pattern of circular migration and returned to Xocén during the planting or harvesting seasons. Similar to the situation with María's husband in Chapter 2, when the men were away

from Xocén, they either had a male relative or hired someone to tend to their milpas, while their wives took care of the household and other affairs.

Even though it was more typical for women to remain in Xocén and, more importantly, within their homes, circumstances forced some women to look for wage work. For instance, Ramon's father (Ramon is Floridalma's adopted cousin) left his mother when he was a small child. Because his mother had no living male relative who could make milpa or provide money from his paycheck, she made the decision to commute to Valladolid each day and work in the fruit packing industry. The job paid very little, but it allowed a steady income for her to purchase food and other items that her small family needed. Eventually, when Ramon was older, he began to work with his mother. This situation is unique because it demonstrates that women seeking wage work is not new. Rather, there have often been circumstances in which Maya women have had to seek wage work outside their homes.

In this generation from the nineteen fifties, the economy was predominantly agrarian, and each sex's gender roles reflected the interdependence between the two sexes. The men typically worked outside the home in the milpa or at a job in another city, such as construction and street cleaners, while the women remained at home. Although certain situations forced women to work outside their homes, they normally decided not to do so. In part, this was because of the fear of gossip. If a woman chose to pursue a job in another city, this would run contrary to many residents' behaviors surrounding gender roles and would typically generate unwanted gossip about the woman and her family. However, as the economy shifted towards a mixed economy in the second generation, so did their subsistence practices and certain cultural conceptions.

Second Generation

During the nineteen seventies, when most of the members from the second generation were still children, the Mexican government shifted the majority of their resources to the development of international tourism in Quintana Roo. This affected many Mayas' lives throughout the Yucatán Peninsula. Instead of finding a job in a city close to their home communities, it was necessary for many people to migrate to growing tourist epicenters, primarily located on the Maya Riviera. Some Mayas chose to abandon subsistence agriculture and supported themselves only through wage work, while others preferred to participate in a mixed economy. This latter group continued farming their milpas and took seasonal jobs. During the nineteen nineties, when many members of the second generation reached adulthood, they subsisted in this mixed economy. Following a mixed economy allowed the family to adapt to the changing economic conditions.

Some men in the second generation of Floridalma's family chose to maintain a milpa and participate in the wage economy to provide stability and security in difficult economic times. These men recognized that maintaining a milpa was both hard and unpredictable work. In addition, milpa work did not generate a lot of money. Benicio (Floridalma's cousin) and Javier (Floridalma's brother) explained that their milpas only produced food for their family. They said they did not plan to sell their harvest. To pay their bills, they also needed to work in a wage-paying position. Typically, Benicio and Javier commuted to Valladolid for work. Benicio worked as a taxi driver and Javier worked as a street cleaner. When the men had secure incomes, they did not make their milpas, but when they had no work or decreased hours, they made their milpas to alleviate the strain of a low or nonexistent paycheck.

The brothers, Alejandro, Jeronimo and Celio, (affinal cousins to Floridalma) maintained a milpa for similar reasons. However, unlike Benicio and Javier, the brothers did not commute daily to Valladolid. Instead, they migrated to participate in the labor market. Alejandro and Jeronimo migrated on a weekly basis to Playa del Carmen and returned to Xocén on the weekends (See Figure 4 for Picture of Playa del Carmen, Quintana Roo). Celio worked in Cancún as a *ranchero*, but in contrast to his other brothers, he did not return home every weekend. The maintenance of their milpas required a combined effort from all brothers because their jobs took away much of the time that in the first generation was devoted to maintaining a milpa.

Presently, many jobs are unstable, and most members of Floridalma's family believe that the Yucatán Peninsula is currently experiencing a severe economic crisis. Ramon and Javier, for example, expressed their concern for the current economic situation. They explained that the crisis began about 2008. They said that work became



Figure 4: Picture of Playa del Carmen, Quintana Roo

unstable and many people lost their jobs. When I asked them if they knew why, Ramon said that there are many problems with the government now, and the increase in drug violence causes fewer tourists to vacation at the Maya Riviera. I asked if there was work available in Xocén or Valladolid, and they both said that there were no jobs anywhere in the Yucatán Peninsula. It will be important in future ethnographic work to document whether this pattern continues and whether this results in an increasing return to milpa work for men.

Floridalma's other cousin, Santiago, was fortunate enough to find a job in Cancún as a street cleaner. At first, similar to Alejandro, Jeronimo and Celio, he practiced a similar pattern of migration and maintained a milpa. However, with time, the demands of his job grew, and he decided to concentrate solely on his career. Santiago continued to migrate on a weekly basis to Cancún, but the cost of transportation, maintaining a household in Cancún and his family's home in Xocén rose too high for his income. Thus, he and his wife made the decision to move to Popol Nah, a small community on the outskirts of Cancún, where he currently commutes daily for work. The migratory pattern of step-migration was very economically beneficial to Santiago's family because it eliminated costs of transportation and maintaining two households.

Santiago's choice to become a permanent resident of Popol Nah did come at another price. He lost the connection to Xocén. Because of the demands that his job placed on him, he found it difficult to visit his family members in Xocén. Floridalma explained that Santiago never returned to Xocén and, due to the distance between them, she and the rest of her family in Xocén did not know much about him or his family.

Ultimately, Santiago's decision to become a permanent resident of Popol Nah negatively affected his extended-kin network in Xocén.

Unlike Santiago, the men in Floridalma's family who continued to practice circular migration remained tied to Xocén and their extended-kin networks. Nevertheless, their jobs did take them away from the community for a certain amount of time. Therefore, another way that they stayed connected to the community and extended-kin networks was through fulfilling religious responsibilities. One way was becoming an *interesado*. This was where a group of male family members chose a day during the weeklong event honoring Santo Cristo de la Transfiguración or Virgen María de la Asunción. They combined their money to pay for tribute to one of the saints. They purchased food, drinks, fireworks, bulls and bullfighters for the bullfights, a DJ for the dance held at night and so forth for the guests attending the event (See Figure 5 for Picture of a Bullfight). Becoming an interesado allowed men to gain social capital within



Figure 5: Picture of a Bullfight

their families and community. Interesados also reflected their culture's conception of "good" men. Floridalma's family and other Mayas in Xocén considered a "good" man, as a man that could support his family economically. Interesados made enough money to sustain their families' lifestyle, as well as satisfy the religious requirements associated with being an interesado.

If a man did not work and could not support his family, Floridalma's family and other residents of Xocén eventually considered him a disgrace. For instance, brothers, Antonio and Placido (Floridalma's cousins) did not have jobs or land to make milpa. Antonio's wife, Perpetua, explained that in the past, her husband had a good job working in the tourist industry in Cozumel. He worked in that position for over twenty years, but with the changing economy, he lost his job. Once home, he did not have any land to make milpa because for those twenty years, his family relied on his paycheck to survive. He struggled to find another job, and after repeated failures, he started to drink heavily. His wife explained that she did not want to leave him because he periodically found work and provided support for his family. In contrast, his older brother Placido also lost his job. However, he had always been an alcoholic and always struggled to find work. He also had no land to maintain a milpa, and because he was not fulfilling his family's cultural conception of a "good" man, they considered him a disgrace. Over time, Placido's wife, Somona, grew impatient with him, and she took their kids and left him.

When a woman no longer had a prominent male figure in her life, this sometimes forced her to fulfill both sexes' gender roles. Similar to Ramon's mother in the previous generation, Floridalma's husband left her, and she needed to find a way to support herself and her two daughters, Evita and Consuela. She explained that her family members

wanted her to find another husband, but she did not want to because her small family's life had been very difficult with her alcoholic and physically abusive husband. Although she had other prominent male figures in her life, namely her father, for one reason or another they did not offer her enough financial support. Furthermore, she wanted to create her own life without reliance on a man. Thus, she chose to migrate internally and circularly. Similar to the men in her family, she migrated weekly to Playa del Carmen to work as kitchen staff in a restaurant. She returned home on the weekends to maintain her home and to be with her daughters. She also said that she returned home to teach her daughters the proper gender roles associated with becoming Maya women. Many times, she explained that her life was very difficult because not only did she need to fulfill her roles as a mother; she also needed to work in Playa del Carmen to make enough money to support her small family.

Floralma's situation is atypical from the other women in her family. She was the first woman in her family to make the decision to migrate to a tourist epicenter. Typically, other women in her family remained in Xocén for security because if a husband lost his job in another city, they could return to be with their families in Xocén. With a home in Xocén, men could also maintain a milpa, which would also lessen the affect of difficult economic times. Furthermore, having a wife who remained in Xocén helped to maintain extended-kin networks. These networks also offered additional support in troubled economic times.

Floralma's family wanted to remain in Xocén to alleviate economic difficulties in an unpredictable economy, but also because of its religious significance, the multiple available resources found in the community, such as schools, a library and so forth, and

its close proximity to Valladolid. By maintaining a home in Xocén, women in Floridalma's family fulfilled their culture's gender role expectations. Each day they made food for their families, cleaned the house, washed clothes, took care of children and fed their animals. These roles took up a large portion of their day and were one of the reasons why the women did not pursue wage work outside their homes. However, with an economy that was becoming ever more reliant on wage labor, women in Floridalma's family, similar to other women in the Yucatán Peninsula, found other ways to make money to contribute to their household and husbands' income.

Women in Floridalma's family supplemented their household's income by sewing *serviettes*, *hipiles* and *piiks*, or the skirt that a woman wears underneath her hipil (See Figure 6 for Picture of the Creation of a Hipil). They sold their work to family members and other women in Xocén and neighboring villages, students and tourists. Because of



Figure 6: Picture of the Creation of a Hipil

Xocén's nearness to Valladolid, some women would take their finished products to Valladolid, where they walked the streets, and sold their creations to passersby. Other women like Regina and Somona, took their work to an artisan shop and had other women sell their creations. During the summer, when students visited the family during University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill's Yucatec Maya Language Program, most women in the family had finished products ready to sell to the students. In addition, because Floridalma migrated to Playa del Carmen on a weekly basis, she took her handiwork with her and attempted to sell it to tourists. Most women in the family agreed that there was not much money generated by selling their sewing, but the money earned helped their household incomes.

Other ways that women in the family added to their household incomes was by selling Fuller Cosmetics and working a part-time wage position in Valladolid. Floridalma chose to supplement her income by selling Fuller Cosmetics to family members, residents of Xocén and other neighboring communities and individuals in Playa del Carmen. Regina complemented her husband's income through working a few days out of the week within a family's home in Valladolid washing and ironing their clothes. As with selling their sewn products, these occupations did not accrue much money and only added to the income produced by another job, in Floridalma's case, or her husband's work, in Regina's case.

Unlike Floridalma, many women in the family chose to participate in the aforementioned trades and remained in Xocén because of the social stigma associated with women who work outside of the home, far from the community, particularly in tourist epicenters. Nevertheless, a woman in Floridalma's situation, who desired to

create her own life without relying on a man or other prominent male figures, needed to work to support her small family. A woman, like Floridalma, who chose to work away from Xocén in a tourist town, might suffer many negative consequences from family members and other residents of the community who disapproved of her behavior.

The first summer I stayed with Floridalma, she weekly migrated with her cousins, Alejandro and Frances, to Playa del Carmen, where she worked as help in the back of a restaurant. While away, her two daughters stayed with her mother and father. When she returned on the weekends, she stayed at her cement house with her daughters in Xocén. Her house neighbored the home of Jemsa (Floridalma's cousin, but whom she called sister), and the homes of Jemsa's in-laws. Because Floridalma did not have a kitchen at her house, she used the kitchens of Jemsa or Leosia (Floridalma's cousin, but whom she also called a sister), who lived further down the street. She continued to travel weekly to Playa del Carmen, but due to the unpredictable economy, Floridalma lost her job in Playa del Carmen in May and remained unemployed over the year.

Over the year, she searched for work and remained at home in Xocén. She explained that Jemsa and Leosia never liked her leaving Xocén and working in a city away from her daughters. She said that Jemsa and Leosia wanted her to find another man and believed that she needed to stay within the home and fulfill the proper gender roles associated with being a Maya woman. She said that when her sisters visited her, they argued with her about her life choices. They told her that she was a terrible role model for her daughters, and she needed to stop looking for work. Floridalma argued against them and explained that she needed to work because she was the "*nohoč màak*," or head

of the household, and she did not want to find another husband because of how poorly her first husband treated her and her daughters.

Her sisters still disagreed with her decision. Then in October 2010, the verbal arguments escalated into a physical altercation. Floridalma said that her sisters hit and kicked her. They tore off her gold necklaces and ripped her hipil. She said she no longer could handle the abuse, and she and her daughters moved in with Regina and Somona.

When I returned the following summer, Floridalma had recently found a housecleaning position in Tulum, and she no longer lived in her house (See Figure 7 for Picture of Floridalma in Tulum). Instead, she and her daughters lived with the family of Regina and Somona. Floridalma explained that her and her sisters no longer spoke to each other, and she was currently building a cinderblock wall that separated her land from her sister's land.



Figure 7: Picture of Floridalma in Tulum

Although, Floridalma and her sisters are no longer on speaking terms, this does not exclude her from the negative gossip that her two sisters spread about her. They spread rumors that she is an alcoholic, and when she travels to Valladolid to run errands, she is actually getting drunk. They say that when she is in Tulum at her job, she is drinking and having sex with numerous men. They state that she is a horrible role model for her daughters and that she is a disgrace to their family. They think her daughters will grow up to be just like her and dishonor their family's name.

The social stigma created by Floridalma choosing to fulfill both sexes' gender roles is very real. Even though Floridalma believed that she was doing what was best for her small family, she still faced her culture and family's perceptions surrounding the proper gender roles for each sex. Furthermore, as the economy kept pushing toward a solely wage-based economy in the third generation, it has become more difficult to rely on only a man's income. The second generation tried to counteract the changing economy by participating in a mixed economy and maintaining their behaviors surrounding proper gender roles, but in many instances, they still struggled to support themselves. Similar to the economic transition from the first to second generations, the economy was changing again as the members of the third generation matured. This transition influenced the family's subsistence practices and cultural beliefs.

Third Generation

As mentioned in the previous chapter, during the nineteen nineties, there was a shift to a largely wage-based economy that pushed both sexes into the labor market. Unlike the second generation, where there was a mixed economy and jobs desired male workers, in the new millennium, as the second generation grew older and members of the

third generation grew to adulthood, employers began to desire female workers, which upset the established gender roles. In other parts of the Yucatán Peninsula, instead of women remaining in the home and relying on their husbands' incomes, a new idea began to fluctuate about women also working outside of the home. However, as depicted in Floridalma's experience, Floridalma's family did not welcome that idea. Although the current economy is forcing both sexes to enter the labor market, past cultural conceptions surrounding each sex's gender roles remain strong and sometimes create conflicts within the family and community.

Similar to members of the second generation of Floridalma's family, many of the older sons of the third generation have jobs in cities outside of Xocén. Fidencio, Carlos and Mateo (Floridalma's cousins) all work in large cities located on the Maya Riviera. Their jobs require them to spend more time away from Xocén. Thus, to accommodate to the demands of their jobs, they decided to abandon subsistence agriculture. This move away from maintaining a milpa and spending more time away from Xocén is significant because it shows the economy transitioning into a solely wage-based economy.

Furthermore, instead of returning home on the weekends, like the men of the second generation, Fidencio, Carlos and Mateo spend weeks, sometimes months, away from Xocén. Although they still practice a form of circular migration, the longer time they spend away from their family and Xocén the greater the potential of a negative influence on their extended-kin network and ties to the community. To counteract this trend, they send a portion of their paychecks to their parents and request time off from work to return to Xocén for important events, such as religious ceremonies, weddings and birthdays.

Edgardo (Floridalma's cousin), Mateo's older brother, also chose only to work in a wage position and stopped working in the milpa. However, unlike Mateo, Carlos and Fidencio, Edgardo commutes daily to Valladolid. As previously mentioned, Benicio, the head of Edgardo and Mateo's household, also commuted to Valladolid and maintained a milpa. When I asked Edgardo why he did not follow Benicio's example, he explained that tending to a milpa was difficult, and the result was unpredictable and unrewarding. He said that he preferred a steady paycheck to the little money other men made with milpa work. In addition, he stated that unlike Benicio's and other men from older generations, he bought many of the commodities needed for his family. Therefore, he needed to devote more time to his career in order to make more money and adapt to the changing economy.

The changing economy is causing a heavier reliance on a monetary income and is pushing both sexes to enter the labor market to accommodate to this change. However, unlike other Maya women from other parts of the Yucatán Peninsula that were discussed in the previous chapter, women in the third generation of Floridalma's family remained in Xocén because of the cultural values held about women's gender roles. When I asked Floridalma what she wanted for her two daughters' futures, she explained that she wanted them to find good men and uphold her culture's values surrounding gender roles. She said she experienced too many negative reactions for her decision to work in another city, and she did not want that for her daughters. Javier and Ramon also acknowledged the social stigma that many women received for their choice to work outside of the home. They explained that even though the economy is changing, people's beliefs are slow to change. This is significant because Floridalma, Javier and Ramon reaffirmed that even

though the economy is forcing both sexes into the labor market, many people prefer women to maintain their past gender roles and remain within the home.

Thus, many women in the third generation of Floridalma's family followed their mothers' examples. At a young age, mothers taught their daughters the appropriate gender roles and certain trades, such as sewing, that eventually contributed to the household income. For the older daughters, Julieta, Dolores and Alma (Floridalma's cousins), their mothers taught them how to maintain the household and how to sew. Once they graduated from the schools in Xocén, they remained in the home and contributed to their household incomes by selling their sewn products. This was the case for the younger daughters, as well. They were also learning their appropriate gender roles. Some mothers also taught their younger daughters how to add to their household incomes. For example, Perpetua taught her younger daughters how to create friendship bracelets and small beaded lizards, which they ultimately sold. However, most mothers withheld teaching their younger daughters moneymaking tasks because they wanted their younger daughters to concentrate on achieving a formal education.

Many members in the third generation were too young to devote all their energy to jobs or contribute in other ways to their households' incomes. All of the younger children were still in school. Parents of the third generation regarded the attainment of an education as more important than learning many of the skills, such as maintaining a milpa and sewing, taught by their parents in the previous generations. Of course, members of Floridalma's family did not always hold this belief. The next section will discuss how the changing economy helped alter their perception of education and language within Floridalma's family.

Education and Language

As shown in the previous section, economic shifts in the Yucatán Peninsula affected the lives of all three generations of Floridalma's family. These changes significantly altered their subsistence practices from a largely agrarian based to a solely wage-based economy, and influenced the family's idea of education and language. Individuals in the second and third generation sought jobs in larger cities. Some bosses desired their employees to have some form of formalized schooling. Thus, to meet the requirements of the changing economy, parents sent their children to schools. Once there, the academic curriculum included one of the most important components to achieving a job in the labor market, the Spanish language. This section will describe the education and language of each generation, the economic changes that caused the family to desire to gain more of an education and learn different languages and the affect that this desire had on the thoughts encompassing each sex's gender roles.

First Generation

As discussed in the previous section, during the first generation, members of Floridalma's family were self-sufficient. They maintained their milpas and depended on both sexes to provide labor for their families. Because there was less of an emphasis on a monetary income, parents did not depend on sending their children to a school to receive a formalized education. Instead, members of the community taught children certain trades. In the case of Agustino, he learned to become a hmèen from another hmèen in the community. Education of children also relied on parents and other family members. For instance, sons learned how to cultivate a milpa, and daughters learned the tasks

associated with tending to a home. Agustino and Estella both explained that their parents taught them everything they needed to know to maintain a home.

Agustino and Estella also stated that their parents taught them to speak Maya. Members of the first generation in Floridalma's family predominantly spoke Maya and some Spanish, although men typically spoke more Spanish than the women. Agustino explained that his parents only knew Maya and that was his first language. However, as he learned to become a hmèen, his instructor spoke Spanish, and many of the prayers that he learned were in Spanish. Alternatively, women typically only spoke Maya. Estella only understood Maya. She did understand some Spanish, but she only knew simple responses, such as "yes" and "no." Ramon commented on how his mother also only spoke Maya. He explained that although she worked in Valladolid with a boss who spoke Spanish, she worked with other Maya speakers, and she never had any problems. However, as the economy shifted towards a mixed economy in the second generation, parents from the first generation began to realize the importance for their sons to attain a formalized education that included learning Spanish.

Second Generation

As presented in the previous section, the shift from a largely agrarian based to a mixed economy in the second generation influenced the subsistence practices found within Floridalma's family. Instead of self-sufficiency, the family had bills that they needed to pay, and there was a greater desire to purchase items for the home. To accommodate these desires, many men chose to take wage-earning positions. Many of the jobs required a certain amount of formalized education and the ability to speak Spanish.

When individuals of the second generation were younger, they had the opportunity to attend the Manuel Alcalá Martín escuela primaria. Parents of the second generation typically chose to send their sons to school because of the cost. Since the family was largely self-sufficient, relying on the harvests from their milpas, they did not have much money. They also realized that as the economy changed, their sons had a better opportunity to obtain a job if they went to school. While at school, boys received a formal education with an academic curriculum that included learning to read, write and speak “proper” Spanish. This ultimately better prepared them to find work in other cities, where Spanish was the main language.

In accordance with the perceptions about gender roles held by members of Floridalma’s family, they wanted their daughters to remain in the home to protect their virtue. Parents worried about their daughters’ safety if they left home. If their daughters went to school, parents believed girls were at risk for harassment by intoxicated men, which might affect how the community viewed a girl’s virtue. Thus, most of the women in Floridalma’s family received no formalized schooling.

When women from the second generation were children, they stayed within the homes with their mothers. There they learned rudimentary Spanish speaking skills from their fathers. As the women grew older, those skills developed. However, most, if not all, the women in Floridalma’s family agreed that their language skills were not “proper” Spanish because they never attended formalized schooling. Jemsa and Leosia stated that Floridalma was the only women in their family that could speak “proper” Spanish because she was fortunate to receive an education.

Unlike the other women in the second generation of Floridalma's family, Floridalma did receive a formal education. She explained that her *padrinos*, or godparents, who were Mexican anthropologists, gave her parents money to let her attend school. Floridalma not only attended the primaria escuela in Xocén, she also went to an escuela secundaria in Valladolid, which some men in her family also attended. Once finished with her education, she married, had children and decided to remain within the home. Later in life, after her husband left her, she was able to use her education and language skills to her advantage, and she found a job to support her small family.

As some of the men in Floridalma's family grew older, they pursued jobs in larger cities oriented around tourism. As previously discussed, Antonio took a position in Cozumel working within the hotel industry. He explained that his job not only demanded proficiency in the Spanish language, but to receive higher wages he needed to learn English. Because his family relied on only his income, he made the decision to learn English in order to better support his family. His situation reflected how the changing economy influenced individuals' decisions to learn different skills to increase their income. Furthermore, parents, from the second generation, began to recognize the importance of education and learning different languages. This has encouraged them to send their sons and daughters to schools where their children would receive a formal education and learn the proper use of the Spanish language.

Third Generation

Most of the men in second generation of Floridalma's family attended the escuela primaria when they were younger, which qualified them for certain jobs. However, the jobs that they took generally paid low wages, and to support their families, they still

needed to tend to their milpas. The positions with higher wages required more education and a stronger command of the Spanish language. As money became more of a necessity to the family's livelihood, and the economy shifted from a mixed to a solely wage-based economy in the third generation, parents from the second generation recognized the importance of their children receiving a formal education and stronger Spanish speaking skills in order to secure a higher paying job as adults.

Within the home parents predominantly spoke to their children in Maya because they wanted their children to retain the Maya language. However, they also recognized the importance of their children having a proper command of the Spanish language. Thus, they wanted their children, both boys and girls, to receive an education. This was strikingly different from the previous generation because this revealed a change in the family's perception of gender roles. Parents still taught their children the gender roles that their parents, from the first generation, taught them, but, as many of the members of the second generation commented, attaining an education was very important in today's changing world. For instance, Javier and Esteban explained that they did not want to teach their youngest sons how to make milpa because they considered school more important. Mothers also withheld teaching their daughters certain tasks associated with their gender roles. For example, Jemsa did not want to teach her daughters how to make serviettes, hipiles, or pìiks until her daughters finished attending the two schools in Xocén. She explained that she wanted her daughters to receive an education because her parents had denied her that privilege.

Although both sexes attended the schools in Xocén, members of Floridalma's family chose to send only their sons to schools of higher education that are located in

Valladolid and other cities. Sending children to schools outside of Xocén was a large investment. Parents needed to pay for transportation to the school, school supplies, food and housing, if the location of the school was in a city far away. Parents thought that investing that money in their sons would assure a greater return investment. They also realized that as the economy changed, their sons had a better opportunity to obtain a job if they went to school.

Alternatively, the beliefs of Floridalma's family surrounding women and education still reflected past gender roles. Although girls in the family received an education, their parents knew that their daughters would eventually marry and have children. Several parents considered taking care of the home and raising children was more important for a woman to do than working in a wage position. Furthermore, the family and other community members still perceived women, who chose to work outside of the home and Xocén negatively and socially stigmatized those women for their choices.

Although both sexes were receiving a formal education, girls were still at a disadvantage. They were not learning Spanish at the same level as the boys. Ramon explained that most, if not all, jobs in other cities required that their workers have a high level of education and speak proficient Spanish. He said that within the schools in Xocén, children began to learn a basic education, and they started to understand how to speak Spanish. However, if the children pursued a job without furthering their education at one of the higher institutions, where courses were only taught in Spanish, then they would not be able to attain a good paying job. Furthermore, he stated that it is becoming ever more difficult to support a family on a man's income as the current economy is

becoming ever more reliant on the tourist industry. Many bosses' were desiring workers who spoke different languages, such as English and French. Sons, who attended higher institutions located outside of Xocén, had a greater opportunity to learn English or French than the daughters who remained in Xocén.

Conclusion

In the three generations of Floridalma's family, there were dramatic shifts in the economy that affected work, education and language. In addition, these transitions affected the family's perception surrounding each sex's appropriate gender roles. In the first generation, the economy was predominantly agrarian based. The family was largely self-sufficient and relied on both men and women to fulfill their interdependent gender roles to support the family. Education of these gender roles greatly depended on the teachings from parents and other residents of Xocén, and everyone predominantly spoke Maya.

As the economy shifted towards a mixed economy in the second generation, some men continued to tend to their milpas, while others chose to supplement their harvests by attaining a job in the labor market. Many jobs sought individuals who had some formalized schooling. This created an increased importance of gaining an education, and many men were fortunate to attend the escuela primaria in Xocén. There, they learned to speak "proper" Spanish. Alternatively, most women in Floridalma's family did not have the opportunity to receive a formalized education, and thus, claimed that they did not know how to speak "proper" Spanish. They also did not want to go against their prescribed gender roles and seek work in another city. Instead, they contributed to the

household income in other ways, such as selling their sewn products and Fuller cosmetics to other family members and residents in Xocén and other neighboring communities.

Finally, in the third generation, the economy transitioned to a solely wage-based economy. Men chose to abandon subsistence agriculture and pursued a wage labor position, typically within the tourist industry. In most cases, these jobs required their workers to be proficient in the Spanish language. Parents, who recognized that this change was occurring, chose to enroll their children, of both sexes, into the two schools in Xocén. However, the schools in Xocén only taught Spanish up to a certain level, and to become more proficient in the language, students needed to pursue education at higher educational institutions located outside of Xocén. Because of the cost and the location of these schools, parents chose to send only their sons. At these schools, their sons learned different skills and to be highly proficient in the Spanish language, which better prepared them for their entrance into the labor market. They also had the opportunity to learn English or French, which many of the higher paying jobs in the tourist industry required.

Alternatively, daughters stayed within Xocén after they graduated from the escuela secundaria in Xocén. They, like their mothers, contributed to the household's income by selling their sewn products and Fuller cosmetics. However, as prices increase, it was becoming increasingly difficult to rely solely on a man's income. The economy was pushing both sexes into the labor market. The education that women received compared to the men's education placed women at a disadvantage when entering the labor market. In addition, Floridalma's family, along with other residents in Xocén, still upheld past perceptions surrounding gender roles, and preferred if their women remained in the homes. Furthermore, if women chose to attain a job in the labor market, this

increased the risk of them receiving social stigma from other family members and residents of the community.

From this discussion, it is clear that economic changes had a direct influence on work, education and language. Additionally, these transitions affected the family's values encompassing each sex's appropriate gender roles. The economic changes also influenced family members' material culture, specifically dealing with technology, their behaviors and beliefs about alcohol consumption. In the next chapter, I will discuss these influences in further detail.

CHAPTER IV

THE INFLUENCE OF MIGRATION ON TECHNOLOGY, MATERIAL DESIRES AND BEHAVIORS WITHIN FLORIDALMA'S FAMILY

After the last chapter's discussion, it is clear that the most dramatic shift that affected the subsistence practices of Floridalma's family has taken place between the second and third generations. The economy transitioned from a mixed to a solely wage-based economy as the tourist industry expanded in the last few decades. Several parents from the second generation placed less of an emphasis on their children learning milpa work. Instead, parents wanted their children to attend schools to receive a formal education and attain a stronger command of the Spanish Language. Some parents expressed that this would better prepare their children for a wage position, particularly in the tourist industry. As more individuals entered the labor market in the tourist industry, the family's material culture and behaviors changed. In this chapter, I will build off the analysis presented in the previous chapter and discuss how the family's perceptions of technology, their material desires, behaviors and beliefs about alcohol consumption have been affected with the intrusion of new ideals from the tourist industry, and how some of these ideals run contrary to the family's behaviors surrounding their gender roles.

Technology

Individuals of the second generation generally had a job in a city outside of Xocén. With this job, they had exposure to the different lifestyles found in larger cities. The lifestyles in larger cities typically incorporated advanced forms of technology that the members of Floridalma's family brought back with them to Xocén. Of these forms of technology, computers and cellular phones had a direct influence on Floridalma's family and their work patterns.

Although parents were often not knowledgeable about computers, they recognized the importance of their children learning computer skills in an ever-advancing technologically oriented economy. Contiguous with parents' desires to send their sons to higher institutions, parents typically wanted their sons to have advanced knowledge of computers. For example, Cortez, Javier's oldest son, was pursuing an education in computer science at a university in Valladolid, and he hoped to one day become a professor in his field of study. Javier and Ramon saw the potential of Cortez achieving a high paying job within his field and desired that outcome for Javier's two youngest sons.

Alternatively, some parents would like their daughters only to learn basic computer skills, such as typing. For instance, Floridalma explained that she wanted her daughters to learn to type because she could not afford to send them to a higher institution outside of Xocén. She realized that typing would only benefit her daughters in the future. If they were to fall into difficult economic times, their typing skills could aide them in finding a job, if they chose to search for work.

Although computers acted as a way to integrate both sexes into the labor market, computers also perpetuated past gender roles between the two sexes. Men, who had the

opportunity to learn advanced computer skills, would ultimately achieve a higher paying position, such as professors and businessmen. While women, with their typing skills, might attain lower wage positions, such as secretaries and data entry positions.

Therefore, a man's income still would act as the main source income for the household, whereas a woman's income would still be supplemental to her husband's wages.

Like computers, cellular phones were also a direct consequence from migration and participation in the labor market (Castellanos 2010; Thompson 2009). Many of the jobs currently available in the labor market required their workers to remain away from Xocén for a longer amount of time. Similar to Castellanos's findings in her ethnographical work about migrants from Kuchmil, I also found that many family members purchased a cellular phone to limit the expenses and time associated with traveling back home (2010: 107). Most, if not all, family members of the second generation and the older children in the third generation owned a cellular phone. Owning a cellular phone allowed individuals to stay connected to their friends and family members maintaining family ties and extended-kin networks, thus creating a "sense of community across time and space" (Castellanos 2010: 107). For example, husbands that were away working in another city, called their wives to keep informed about events in the family and community.

Cellular phones were also an integral component to maintaining migrant networks that were created through, what Wilson termed, network-mediated migration (Wilson 1993). Network-mediated migration is largely based on the idea that kinship and friendship connections "are the migrant's main source of information about the receiver area prior to migration" (Ritchey 1976: 392). For instance, when Floridalma lost her job

in Playa del Carmen, she was able to stay connected to her friends in the city with her cellular phone. This helped her keep informed about job opportunities. She explained that when she did not own a cellular phone her migrant friends would tell other migrants from Xocén about a job opening. Once those other migrants returned home, which could take anywhere from a week to a month, they told Floridalma of the job opening. In many of these situations, the job had already been filled. If she did not have a cellular phone, instantly connecting her to her migrant friends abroad, she would not have found her current job in Tulum. Furthermore, the quick notification of open positions from migrant friends with cellular phone also aided members of the third generation in finding work.

The emergence of computers and cellular phones within the lives of Floridalma's family members reflected the intrusion of new ideals from the tourist industry. Parents acknowledged the value of their children learning computer skills in an economy that was becoming more reliant on technology. However, congruent to the family's conceptions of prescribed gender roles, parents desired their sons to learn advanced computer skills, while they wanted their daughters to learn typing skills. Alternatively, cellular phones revolutionized the way both genders remained in contact with each other and friends while at home or abroad. Additionally, the instantaneous connection created by cellular phones allowed members of Floridalma's family to find out about job opportunities for themselves or for the future migrants in the third generation.

Material Desires

With more individuals entering the labor market and education oriented towards teaching the skills needed to get a job, second and third generation families were becoming more oriented towards a wage-based economy. Unlike a family whose

livelihood was based on making milpa, wage-earning families had an income that they could devote to material goods that their parents could not afford. Thus, there has been a generational change in consumption patterns, particularly in the quantity of items that each household owns.

In the past, members of Floridalma's family were self-sufficient. They relied on their milpas to support their family. Regina explained that her parents were very poor by the current standard of living. She said most of the tools and other objects found within her parent's home were handmade and oriented towards milpa work or upkeep of the home. However, in the second generation more men entered the labor market in nearby cities and encountered household electronics and appliances that were not widely available in their home villages. For example, households today will generally own at least one television, stereo, CD player, attachable speakers, DVD player, washing machine, electric stove and electric sewing machine. Children of the third generation, who were growing up with these items in their homes expected to have them too.

The type of items that each household owned also reflected their occupants' activities. For example, Jeronimo and Alejandro both worked in Playa del Carmen. Their homes had manufactured furniture, such as a sofa. The homes of Alejandro and Somona, whose sons worked in Cancún, had a refrigerator. Regina and Somona also had a toilet and shower in a separate cement structure next to Edgardo's home. Floridalma said that she wanted to turn her closet into a bathroom, similar to her friend's, Rodas, bathroom in Playa del Carmen. Households that still survived by milpa work did not enjoy these same amenities.

The type of occupations individuals had also influenced family members' desire for new space and forms of storage to accommodate their furniture and electronics. In the past, the family would hang their household belongings from the beams in their thatch roof homes. However, most family members had constructed or were constructing new cement block homes with the construction materials, cement and cement blocks, the Mexican government issued to families in Xocén during the first decade of the new millennium (See Figure 8 for Picture of Construction Materials Given to Families in Xocén by the Mexican Government). These homes did not have beams to hang objects.



Figure 8: Picture of the Construction Materials Given to Families in Xocén by the Mexican Government

Instead, the houses included a small closet area, for the storage of large objects. Individuals also purchased large armoires and television stands, where they stored the majority of their clothing and smaller items.

These examples are relevant to the changing material desires of Floridalma's family because they reflect objects found within homes in larger cities. This reveals the

influence the lifestyle of a solely wage-based economy found in larger cities has on the material desires and lifestyle of Floridalma's family in Xocén, who have one foot in the wage-based economy and the other in their milpas.

Behavior and Alcohol Consumption

The changing consumption patterns associated with material desires and working in larger cities were also affecting individuals' behaviors in Floridalma's family. The first generation participated in a largely agrarian based economy and typically did not have much money. However, as more men entered the labor market in the second generation, family members' consumption patterns changed to include objects typically found outside of Xocén in larger cities. As the economy transitioned to a solely wage-based economy in the third generation, not only did it affect consumption patterns of Floridalma's family, but also their behavior and beliefs about alcohol consumption.

The change in behavior was most evident with the older male members of the third generation. The older males, who migrated to larger, more tourist-oriented cities for work, stayed longer in the cities and gained more exposure to the city lifestyle. Many members of Floridalma's family agreed that some men's attitudes changed about money. For instance, Ramon said that some young men migrate to cities, like Cancún and Playa del Carmen, for work. Instead of saving their money or sending it home to help their family, they chose to spend their paychecks immediately on themselves. They spent their money frivolously on new clothes, personal electronic devices, alcohol, partying and so forth. He stated that they did not understand the importance of saving their money or that money was temporary because their jobs were temporary.

I witnessed how this new mentality with money affected some migrant men during my first summer in Xocén at the weeklong event honoring Virgen María de la Asunción (See Figure 9 for Picture of a Weeklong Event Commemorating One of Xocén's Patron Saints). As I noted in chapter 3, many male migrants of the third generation returned home for these events. When they attended these events, they wore their nicest western-style clothing that they purchased in the larger, tourist-oriented cities. By wearing this style of clothing, they were promoting their status as migrant workers, who had jobs and access to the western commodities found in larger cities (Castellanos 2010; Re Cruz 1996).



Figure 9: Picture of a Weeklong Event Commemorating One of Xocén's Patron Saints

Alcohol consumption also reflected the change in economic structure and the influence of the lifestyle found within larger more tourist-oriented cities. Drinking alcohol was not a recent behavior for Mayas of the Yucatán Peninsula. Alcohol consumption has been an issue plaguing many individuals, particularly men, for many

years. Some scholars accredited the rise in alcohol consumption in men to the change in work patterns (Faust and Bilsborrow 2000; Gaskins 2003). For example, in Gaskins's research in a small Maya community in the eastern part of Yucatán, she observed that most men were primarily subsistence farmers in 1980 (Gaskins 2003: 262). However, within twenty years, the majority of men abandoned milpa work and became wage laborers. The change in lifestyle brought new challenges, such as longer hours at work and a greater amount of time spent away from the community. Additionally, many men admitted that this new lifestyle created stress because they found it hard to earn a living and make ends meet. Gaskins believed that this stress might attribute to increased alcohol consumption of men in the community during this time (2003: 263).

Other scholars ascribed the increase in alcohol intake amongst men to the drinking lifestyle associated with life in larger, more tourist-oriented cities. Although migrant men consumed alcohol to alleviate stress levels, they also typically used alcohol as a social bonding mechanism with other male migrants. Re Cruz noted in her fieldwork that on the weekends in the *colonias populares* in Cancún, the street corners were full of migrant men with cases of beer (1996: 152). The origins of these migrants ranged from different parts of Mexico, but they all felt unified over their common migrant condition and lifestyle (Re Cruz 1996: 152). Adler also observed a similar pattern of drinking with Yucatecan male migrants in Dallas. However, she further described men's alcohol consumption as a highly masculinized behavior. She explained that there was a social taboo against a man who did not drink while in the company of other men who were drinking (Adler 2005; Dietler 2006). If a man broke this taboo, he would be teased and peer pressured by his friends to drink with them (Adler 2005: 238). In my research, I

also noticed a highly masculinized behavior surrounding drinking habits within Floridalma's family. For example, Esteban worked on a ranch in Cancún. He returned home every weekend and drank with his male friends until he lost consciousness. Although his wife complained about his behavior, she understood that if her husband did not drink with his friends then he could become socially stigmatized amongst his male group of friends.

In contrast, the women of Floridalma's family were expected to behave differently around alcohol. Instead of consuming alcohol until intoxicated, they were expected to abstain from alcohol completely or drink less than the men. Most women also shared a general disgust for drinking, but when they did consume alcohol, it was in a ritualized setting, where the alcohol had been blessed. Furthermore, men typically served the women the alcohol at these events. On these occasions, women drank only one or two beers and did not get fully intoxicated like the men. If they did get drunk, they were not allowed to draw attention to themselves. For example, at an event, Prudencia (a godparent of one of Floridalma's cousins) accidentally became intoxicated after ingesting at least eight bottles of beer that the men served to her. Fellow event-goers realized she was severely inebriated, but she maintained her composure and patiently waited for her husband to finish drinking with his friends, so they could return home.

For women in the family, alcohol consumption remained a stigmatized behavior, and they typically did not partake in any drinking. However, with the developing wage economy pushing both sexes into the labor market, women have been introduced to a different kind of drinking style that was commonly associated with men and the lifestyle in larger, more tourist-oriented cities. When I traveled to Playa del Carmen, I saw Rodas

(Floridalma's friend) openly serve herself unblessed alcohol and drink until she was intoxicated. This drinking style reflected the change in behavior associated with some female migrants, who worked in larger, more tourist-oriented cities.

Floridalma was the first woman in her family to work in one of these cities. Therefore, she gained exposure to this different type of drinking lifestyle, which her family associated with men. Floridalma explained to me that she liked to drink alcohol because she enjoyed it. However, she said that even though her sisters joked with her about her drinking habits, they ultimately disagreed with her decision. For instance, prior to an event, Leosia joked with me that I was going to need to carry Floridalma to her hammock and take care of her because Floridalma was going to get extremely intoxicated. I dismissed what Leosia said as a joke, but as the event progressed, I noticed that Floridalma was getting very drunk. When I went back into her house, she rushed inside and told me that she was leaving to be with her friend in Valladolid. She did not want me to tell anyone where she went. She returned home later that evening, still intoxicated. The next morning, I awoke to her older sisters and father knocking at her door. I overheard her father scolding her for her behavior the day before. He told her that she should not act the way that she did because that was not appropriate for how a Maya woman should behave. He also told her that her behavior was not a good model for her daughters to follow.

Despite Floridalma's independence, having a job and migrating to Playa del Carmen, her family still expected her to fulfill the appropriate gender roles that her culture attributed to Maya women. If her behavior strayed too far from those prescribed

roles, she faced retaliation from other family members. In addition, other family members and residents of Xocén also might socially stigmatize her.

The change in family members' behavior and their beliefs about alcohol consumption illustrated the shift to a solely wage-based economy and the influence of western ideals from the tourist industry. Instead of regarding money as vitally important to a family's livelihood, some male migrants from the third generation considered money expendable and enjoyed frivolously spending their incomes on western styled goods for themselves. These men typically promoted their migrant statuses by displaying their purchases at community events. Alcohol consumption also reflected the change in subsistence patterns and lifestyle found in larger more tourist-oriented cities. Most members of Floridalma's family found it acceptable for men to engage in the drinking style associated with migrant life in tourist epicenters, but deemed it immoral for women to partake in such behavior.

Conclusion

As illustrated in this chapter, the economic changes that each generation experienced influenced conceptions of technology, their material desires and their behaviors. Within the first generation, the economy was largely agrarian, and there was not much exposure to the lifestyle in larger cities. However, in the second generation, men migrated to larger cities to find jobs. This experience exposed them to new forms of technology and affected their material desires. Families began to acquire more household objects. Some of the new items mimicked the lifestyle enjoyed by many of their friends from work, who lived in the larger, more tourist-oriented cities. The lifestyle found

within these cities also impacted the way that some members of the third generation perceived money. It also affected the family's beliefs about alcohol consumption.

As seen in the reaction of Floridalma's father and sisters to her drinking habits, members of her family still maintained many of the past cultural values upheld by previous generations. Many members of Floridalma's family wanted to pass on these values to the younger generations and disagreed with some of the new lifestyle choices that the solely wage-based economy brought. During my stay in Xocén, I observed a few of these cultural practices that family members considered a crucial part of their cultural heritage, such as the Maya language, milpa work, hipiles and the Jarana. In the next chapter, I will discuss some of the beliefs and practices that Floridalma's family identified as important.

CHAPTER V

MAINTAINING MAYA LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

The three generations of Floridalma's family experienced a transitioning economy. Family members adapted to these changes in different ways, affecting their work, language, education, use of technology, material culture, individual behaviors and the family's perception of gender roles. Members of the third generation no longer followed many cultural practices that members of the first and second generations observed. Many individuals in Floridalma's family understood that their lifestyle needed to adapt to the changing economy in order to support their households. However, they also expressed sorrow when they reflected on how the older male members of the third generation were leaving Xocén for longer amounts of time, and they worried about the younger children's futures. During my stay in Xocén, they explained that certain cultural beliefs and practices were integral components to maintaining their cultural heritage, and they noted the importance of transmitting these beliefs and practices to their children in order to preserve their cultural heritage in a changing economy. In this chapter, I will discuss the significance that members of Floridalma's family attributed to preserving their language, certain gendered styles of work, the wearing of hipiles and the Jarana.

Other Maya scholars have recognized the critical importance of speaking Maya to their participants (Armstrong-Fumero 2009; Brody 2004; Burns 1998). Güemez Pineda

noted the predominance of the Maya language in Ticul, which is one of the third largest cities in Yucatán (1994: 7). Eighty-four percent of its residents spoke Maya (Güemez Pineda 1994: 7). Burns further discussed the positive value that the language held for all social classes and the pervasiveness of the language in many contexts, such as in the home, during religious ceremonies and at political events within the community, for many of his participants in Ticul (1998: 378). Members of Floridalma's family explained to me that the Maya language was also pertinent to maintaining their cultural heritage.

Members of the family took pride in their children learning and speaking the Maya language, whether in school or at home. The family prided itself on the youngest generation being able to speak Maya, and typically compared their children to children raised in other Maya communities, who were unable to speak Maya. For instance, Somona's daughter, Neida and Bacilio, Neida's husband, lived in a small community near Cobá in Quintana Roo. They explained that their community did not have a strong emphasis placed on children learning Maya. Similar to the parents in Xocén, they spoke to their children in Maya and Spanish, but they generally found it easier to speak Spanish. Thus, their children did not understand the same amount of the language as their cousins, who were of the same age and lived in Xocén. In addition, Floridalma's family proudly explained that their children were receiving a bilingual education at the two schools in Xocén, which added to their children's language development with Maya.

Many family members also agreed that integral components to their cultural heritage were transmitted to younger generations in Maya, in particular religious ideals. Agustino stated that many of their culture's religious ceremonies, such as the Č'a' čàak and *Hèeç' mèek'*, were conducted in Maya. Agustino and Regina said that many Maya

words did not translate well into Spanish and the meaning became lost with the translation. Similarly, Maya folk practices were typically discussed in the Maya language. For example, when Regina taught Reyna how to dig a *pib*, or earthen-oven, she spoke in Maya (See Figure 10 for Picture of Regina Digging a Pib).



Figure 10: Picture of Regina Digging a Pib

This use of Maya was especially applicable to the maintenance of *báašal t'àan*. *Báašal t'àan* is a Maya speaking style that includes playful speech and joking (Armstrong-Fumero 2009; Burns 1983). Although *báašal t'àan* is quite well known amongst many ethnographers, there is not a lot of literature about the speaking style. Armstrong-Fumero discussed a form of *báašal t'àan* as a form of jokes that are “most often based puns and double entendre, mirroring common uses of punning in more-spontaneous humorous performances through quips that invert the meaning of the speaker’s statement” (Armstrong-Fumero 2009: 363). However, in most instances where I witnessed *báašal t'àan*, members of the first or second generations were teaching

individuals of the third generation their expected gender roles. For instance, there was constant banter about single woman finding a man to marry. During the weeklong events, older married women constantly teased younger girls about dancing the Jarana and wearing a nice hipil, in order to find a husband. The older married women did not exclude me from this teasing. As a single woman in her mid-twenties, all of the women in Floridalma's family joked with me that I needed to find a husband. In order for me to do so, I needed to act like the younger girls, who wore hipiles and danced the Jarana during the weeklong event. However, unlike their younger daughters, who already knew how to make tortillas, the women joked with me, and said that I needed to learn how to make tortillas because no man would want to marry me if I could not feed him.

To maintain báašal t'àan and other abovementioned cultural practices, the dominant discourse within the households was in Maya. Nevertheless, when members migrated to larger, more tourist-oriented epicenters Spanish was the principal language spoken. Members of the third generation needed to accommodate to these changes by either spending more time in these larger cities and less time in Xocén or permanently moving to the larger city because the economy was shifting to solely wage-based. Essentially, this removed them from a community that predominantly spoke Maya, which in turn decreased the importance of speaking Maya, as well as teaching their children Maya. For instance, Rodas, who permanently moved from a small Maya community outside of Tizimín to Playa del Carmen to accommodate her work schedule, raised her family in Playa del Carmen. Although she and her husband spoke Maya, the daily speaking of Spanish in Playa del Carmen overshadowed the importance of her children learning Maya. When her relatives and Floridalma visited her in Playa del Carmen, they

spoke Maya together. Rodas explained that she felt disheartened that her children did not understand or speak her native language, because she believed that speaking Maya helped maintain their cultural heritage.

With the changing economy, the parents from the second generation felt it was increasingly important for their children to maintain their cultural heritage. Even if their children migrated or permanently moved to a larger city, they wanted them to remember their home community and more importantly their ancestors' cultural practices. Consequently, children who were growing up in Xocén were still taught the prescribed work associated with each gender in Maya.

In the past, fathers taught their sons how to maintain a milpa. Agustino explained that his father taught him everything that he needed to know about tending to a milpa. The same pattern was applicable for men from the second generation. However, as previously discussed, in the third generation there was a steady move away from milpa work. Some fathers chose to abandon teaching their sons the subsistence practice, and deemed the work as irrelevant to the changing economy. Yet other fathers in Floridalma's family disregarded that sentiment and considered milpa work not only important as another means to add to the household economy, but critical to the maintenance of their cultural heritage. For example, Alejandro taught his oldest son, Fidencio, how to tend to a milpa, and he is currently teaching his youngest son, Ernesto, the same. However, Fidencio chose to move to a larger city and participate exclusively in the labor market. Alejandro explained that he understood and respected his oldest son's decision to discontinue work in the milpa, because he admitted that the work was very difficult and unpredictable. He also acknowledged that Ernesto might choose the

same path as Fidencio. He told me that he wanted his sons to learn how to maintain a milpa because his father taught him the work. He said that milpa work was integral to their cultural heritage because many of their ancestors participated in the practice.

Similar to sons, mothers taught their daughters the appropriate tasks associated with their gender. However, in contrast to their open attitudes towards their sons' decisions to choose to work in the labor market or milpa, parents expected their daughters to uphold the cultural values surrounding their gender roles just as their ancestors did before them. For example, Regina reflected on how her mother taught her all the tasks associated with being a "good" woman such as preparing food for her family, washing clothes, raising children and tending to the family's animals. Although, Regina and her husband never had children, when Somona left Placido, she moved in with Regina's small family. Regina, in turn, raised Somona's children like her own. Regina recalled teaching Somona's daughters the same responsibilities that her mother had taught her. She explained that she felt that a Maya woman needed to learn these responsibilities in order to find a husband and to pass on their cultural heritage to the new generation of children.

Even though members of the first and second generations wanted the girls of the third generation to stay within the home and continue the traditional roles, the changing economy was making it more difficult to do so. Therefore, mothers also taught their daughters ways to contribute to the household economy. The activity that generated the most revenue was the production of hipiles. As mentioned, women typically sold their finished products to other family members, other residents of Xocén or to tourists. Female members of Floridalma's family all sewed hipiles, and they shared their

knowledge of the trade with each other. A hipil could take anywhere from two to fifteen weeks to make, depending on the design. The design also dictated the price of the completed product. A less complex design could have a price range from one hundred to three hundred pesos, while an elaborate design could have a price range from four hundred to nine hundred pesos.

Hipiles were not only an integral component to the households' economy; they were the clothing of choice in the daily lives of many women. In one of Redfield's earlier works, he described the hipil as one of the main vestiges of the past that had not been replaced by any Spanish style of clothing in the village of Chan Kom (1941: 89). Floridalma stated that in the past, during the generation of her grandmother, Maya women did not wear hipiles like the contemporary hipiles. Instead, they wore a folded *manta*, or blanket, that had painted design, such as flowers. She said that her mother still wore hipiles designed in that fashion. Floridalma explained that when the *ch'úulo'ob*, or foreigners, arrived, they brought sewing machines. With time, women began to create contemporary designed hipiles with those sewing machines. When I asked her why the hipil had remained the preferred dress for the women in her family, even though there were other clothing options such as dresses, blouses and skirts, she simply explained that they wore the hipil because they liked it and it was *costumbre*, or custom.

Women in the first and second generations predominantly wore a hipil everyday to complete their daily tasks. Because female relatives often created hipiles for household consumption, this eliminated the necessity to purchase clothing from stores. However, with the changing material desires brought on by an increased participation in the labor market, many parents of the third generation chose to buy western-style clothes

for their daughters. Parents acknowledged that purchasing clothing for their daughters was much less time-consuming than creating a hipil. Many daughters decided to alternate clothing styles, but generally chose to wear a hipil more often because of their cultural perceptions surrounding the dress.

Many women in Floridalma's family considered a woman wearing a hipil as the ideal image of beauty for Maya women. For example, on separate occasions, Leosia and Regina explained to me that I needed wear a hipil to special events because then I would have "*Q'o'ok a ki'ichpamtal*," or "You finished becoming beautiful." For these special events, they and the other women in the family said that they could not wear their normal daily hipiles. Instead, they needed to wear an elaborately sewn hipil. Floridalma stated that it was a custom for women to wear their most beautiful hipiles for special events (See Figure 11 for Picture of Women Wearing Their Nicest Hipiles). In addition, family members typically disagreed with their relatives wearing western-styled clothing during



Figure 11: Picture of Women Wearing Their Nicest Hipiles

such events. For instance, during the first day of the weeklong event, Evita decided to wear a nice western-styled dress. However, when Leosia's older daughter came to meet us at Floridalma's house, she was shocked to see that Evita was not wearing a hipil. She expressed her concern to Evita, but when Evita did not listen to her, she told Floridalma. Floridalma stepped in and scolded Evita for not wearing a hipil for the first day of the weeklong event. Evita quickly changed into an elaborate hipil that Floridalma specifically bought for the occasion. Once changed, Leosia's daughter and Floridalma rejoiced in Evita's decision to change into a hipil, and they both commented on how beautiful she looked.

At these special events, women, dressed in their finest hipiles, and men would dance the Jarana. In many ethnographic resources, researchers described the Jarana as a "traditional folk dance" and offered very little explanation of its origins (Elmendorf 1976; Re Cruz 1996). Redfield described the dance as "the ancient form of rhythmic art and the chief opportunity of self-expression and social delight" (1950: 96). He stated that the dance was "held at every important festival to glorify a saint or to honor a visitor" (Redfield 1950: 96). Redfield's statements are transferrable to the Jaranas performed in Xocén, but to the members of Floridalma's family, the Jarana held much more significance to their cultural heritage. According to some members of Floridalma's family, the Jarana originated before the Spanish arrived. Floridalma explained that the dance was a true *máasewàal*, or indigenous, dance that originated in *Ho'*, or Mérida, before the arrival of the *ø'úulo'ob*, and the dance was a gift from *Hahal Dñios*, or the True God.

Although the style of the Jarana has undoubtedly changed throughout its history, the transference of the dance to all generations holds significant meaning to members of Floridalma's family. Agustino and Estella explained that their parents taught them the Jarana, and they taught their children the dance. Members of the second generation were also teaching their children, as young as two years old, the dance. For example, when Floridalma was living next to her sister Jemsa, the women had constant interaction with Paola, the youngest daughter of Paloma and Celio. Floridalma and Jemsa would hum the tune to the Jarana, while Rosaria danced the Jarana. Paola began to mimic Rosaria, and the women, in an uproar of laughter, engaged in báašal t'àan and proclaimed that as soon as Paola learned the Jarana, she would be able to find a boyfriend.

In the past, the Jarana was the predominant way that a boy expressed an interest in a girl that he liked. Regina stated that when she was younger, she, like many other women in Floridalma's family, did not attend a school with the men. She explained that one of the only courting opportunities that boys and girls had was through the Jarana. During a Jarana, a boy approached a girl that he liked and asked her to dance. Although times have changed and both sexes of children now attend school, the custom of a man asking a woman to dance the Jarana has not. During events that I witnessed with the Jarana, women patiently waited for a man to approach them. When I asked Floridalma if a woman could ever ask a man to dance, her daughters burst out in laughter, the consensus with all the women in Floridalma's family was that only men could ask a woman to dance.

The Jarana also acted as a social bonding mechanism. When men, especially members from the third generation, returned to Xocén for a special event, they were able

to dance the Jarana with their relatives and other residents of Xocén. This revealed that even though the third generation's lifestyle was changing to incorporate more material desires and behaviors associated with the lifestyle found in larger cities, the Jarana acted as a bonding mechanism bringing the older and younger generations together. For instance, Cortez, Luminosa and Javier's oldest son, was currently pursuing a higher degree in computer sciences. Unlike the rest of his family, he had advanced knowledge of computers, and he predominantly lived an academic lifestyle in Mérida. However, every member of Floridalma's family proudly declared that Cortez was one of the best dancers of the Jarana, and when he returned home for special events, he, like the other residents of Xocén, danced the Jarana.

Floridalma's family members considered the transmittance of their native language, work, clothing style and the Jarana to the youngest generation were some of the many ways that they strived to maintain their cultural heritage. They recognized that the economy was steadily changing and altering their lifestyle, and many members of the youngest generation no longer followed many of their past cultural practices. Individuals in Floridalma's family expressed to me that they did not want the younger generations to forget their cultural heritage, and they wanted the younger generations to be proud of where they came from. Thus, through the cultural beliefs and practices described here, they felt that they were doing their part to help preserve their cultural heritage for years to come.

CHAPTER VI

“THEY MUST CHANGE, BUT WE DO NOT WANT THEM TO FORGET THEIR MAYA LIVES”

Throughout the last century, there have been those Mayas who have adjusted their lives to the demands of the changing economy. Some Mayas followed a practice of internal circular migration to remain close to their families in their home communities. Nevertheless, the migration of individuals to generally larger, more tourist-oriented cities caused many migrants to encounter new lifestyles that ultimately affected their cultural practices. This chapter will review and summarize the main points from the previous chapters.

In chapter 2, I described how global economic changes within the last century have affected the cultural practices of Mayas in the Yucatán Peninsula. Throughout the last century, the main strategy many Mayas used to adapt to the changing economy was through migration, particularly the migratory patterns of internal, circular or step-migration. In the first two decades of the nineteen hundreds, Maya families subsisted through slash-and-burn agriculture and relied on the interdependent gender roles of men and women to support their families. Some men were fortunate to farm a milpa within their home community, but because of the scarcity of farmable land, other men made their milpas in communities further away. These men could be away from their families

for days or weeks. The distance from the man's milpa sometimes determined if entire families practiced a form of step-migration and migrated to the other community.

In the nineteen thirties and nineteen forties, some Maya families internally migrated to new communities and applied for ejidal land grants from the Mexican government. A community that was granted ejidal land also received recognition as a pueblo. This caused the migration of Mayas to different communities located throughout the Yucatán Peninsula. With the newly acquired communal land, many Maya chose to harvest henequén or practice mixed agriculture. Other men chose to add to their harvest by circularly migrating to harvest chicle or work at archaeological sites. Just as in the decades before, women remained within the home and fulfilled their gender roles.

In the nineteen fifties and sixties, the Mexican government began to withdraw agricultural subsidies, which forced some men to abandon subsistence farming and work as laborers for large agribusinesses. Other men chose to migrate to burgeoning cities to work in construction. This change in work pattern created a heavier reliance on earning a monetary income to support a family. Therefore, male migrants circularly migrated for a longer amount of time. This caused some women, who remained in the home community maintaining a home, to handle their husbands' affairs while their husbands were away. In addition, women also sought other opportunities in the informal economy to add to their husbands' income.

In the nineteen seventies and nineteen eighties, the Mexican government withdrew agricultural subsidies and shifted its focus to international tourism, particularly on the east coast of Quintana Roo. Sometimes Maya men who still farmed their milpas could no longer produce a harvest that supported their families. Thus, some men

practiced a form of circular migration to tourist epicenters, while women remained in their home communities maintaining their homes. Just as in the previous decades, women participated in the informal economy and found other ways, such as selling sewn crafts, to supplement their husbands' incomes. However, as the demands of the jobs increased, most men found it increasingly difficult to support two households. As a result, many families practiced the migratory pattern of step-migration to tourist epicenters. This was an economically beneficial decision for most families because it eliminated the expenses attributed to maintaining two households.

In the nineteen-nineties, many wage positions in larger cities desired female workers. This caused many women to migrate to tourist epicenters. With a wage position, some women received some economic freedom and were able to purchase items for themselves, while supplementing their husbands' income. This economic freedom caused a shift in gender roles. Instead of women remaining within the home, they, like the men, were working for a wage income. However, some Mayas still considered the man's wage as the primary wage, while a woman's income was still considered supplementary. This male-centered emphasis was congruent to the amount of money that each gender earned. Women's positions frequently offered lower wages and reduced job mobility, when compared to men's work.

The change from an agrarian based to a largely wage-based economy discussed in chapter 2 was also reflected in the three generations of Floridalma's family. This economic change also influenced the family's perceptions on education and language. In the first generation, family members subsisted through milpa work. Men tended to their milpas, while women maintained the homes. The majority of family members spoke

Maya, while some men spoke Spanish. None of the family members received a formal education.

In the second generation, parents from the first generation taught their children the appropriate Maya gender roles associated with each sex. Men mostly received a formal education at the escuela primaria as children, while women remained within the homes. This meant that most men had a more advanced knowledge of the Spanish language, while women only spoke rudimentary Spanish, when compared to men. As adults, men of the second generation followed a mixed economy, where they circularly migrated to larger, more tourist-oriented cities to work in wage positions, which supplemented their milpas' harvests. Alternatively, women added to their husbands' incomes by selling sewn products or attaining a small wage position in Valladolid. Floridalma was the only woman in her family to receive a formal education and work in a larger, more tourist-oriented city. She faced many negative ramifications from other family members for going against her culture's prescribed gender roles.

In the third generation, parents from the second generation recognized the importance of their children receiving a formal education and developing their language skills in Spanish. Therefore, both boys and girls attended the escuela primaria and escuela secundaria in Xocén. Most family members acknowledged the importance of their children achieving a higher education at one of the institutions located outside of Xocén, but, because of the cost, they only sent their sons to these schools. Parents also felt that their sons had a better opportunity to attain a position in the labor market than their daughters. Several older male members of the third generation followed the example of their fathers and practiced a form of circular migration. However, some of

the sons' jobs required them to stay away from their home community for a longer amount of time. This prevented them from returning home on the weekends and eliminated their desire to maintain a milpa, which they already considered both unrewarding and difficult work. Alternatively, mothers taught their daughters how to maintain a home and ways to supplement the household's income by participating in the informal economy. Even though the economy was changing to a solely wage-based economy, many parents did not want their daughters to migrate for work in larger, more tourist-oriented cities because of the negative stigmatism associated with women who chose to work outside of the home.

Building off the analysis presented in chapter 3, chapter 4 illustrated how the change to a solely wage-based economy and internal migration to larger, more tourist-oriented cities affected the family's perceptions of technology, their material desires and behavior. Modern technology, such as computers and cellular phones, had a direct influence on the family and their work patterns. Attaining computer skills acted as a new avenue for members of the third generation to become more desirable to hiring bosses of higher wage positions in the labor market. Cellular phones allowed migrants to keep in contact with their friends and family in Xocén and abroad. Cellular phones also helped to maintain extended kin-networks and migrant networks that were created through network-mediated migration.

The lifestyle in larger, more tourist oriented cities influenced the family's material desires. Households began to acquire a larger amount of material goods that were not available in Xocén. Furthermore, the family started to desire new utilities in their houses in Xocén that mimicked the houses of their friends in larger cities. With the increase of

products within the home, family members also purchased large armoires and television stands to store their objects.

The rise of goods within the homes reflected a change in consumption patterns, which ultimately affected individuals' behaviors. Some male members of the third generation spent a longer amount of time in larger, more tourist-oriented cities, which affected their money-based behavior. Instead of investing their money, they chose to spend their money frivolously on clothing, the newest technology, alcohol and so forth.

The behaviors surrounding alcohol consumption also illustrated the change in economic practices. Drinking alcohol, although always considered a masculine behavior, became a social bonding mechanism between male migrants. They bonded over the common hardships associated with the migrant lifestyle. Women, who took on the migrant lifestyle, were also exposed to this style of drinking. However, Floridalma's family deemed this style of drinking unacceptable for Maya women. As depicted in some family members' reactions to Floridalma's drinking behavior, many family members still maintained many past cultural values upheld by previous generations.

In chapter 5, I presented some of the cultural practices that Floridalma's family expressed to me as critical to the maintenance of their cultural heritage for future generations. Many family members continued to speak Maya within the homes, and some family members taught their children from the third generation the past work associated with each gender. This included the creation of hipiles, which many women still wore and considered the ideal image of beauty for a Maya woman. The hipil was worn by all three generations during special events where individuals danced the Jarana. Family members considered the Jarana to be a sacred dance given to their people by

Hahal Dñios many years before the ø'úulo'ob. The Jarana also acted as a social bonding mechanism that brought together all three generations.

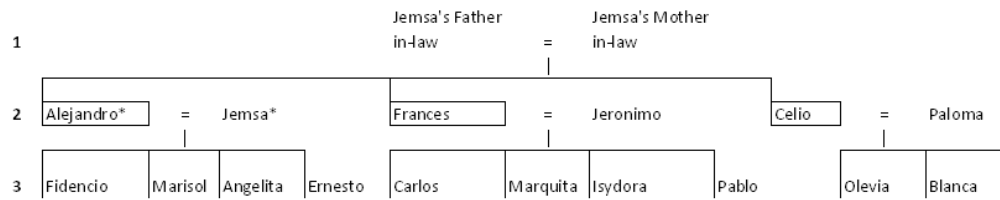
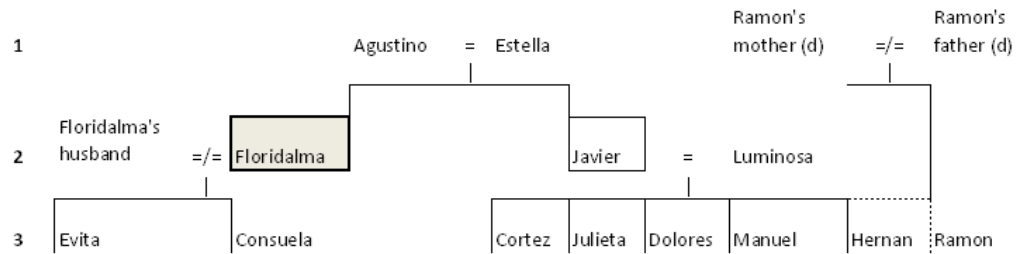
Although I discussed some of the cultural practices that Floridalma's family considered vital to the maintenance of their cultural heritage, I feel that more time needs to be devoted to this area. I plan to continue pursuing the topic in future research endeavors in Xocén and other Maya communities located throughout the Yucatán Peninsula. I believe that further research will reveal the resilience and perseverance of Maya culture. I also think that with additional research, I will learn more about what motivates the continuation of Maya cultural practices, and I will be better able to offer alternative interpretations to the contention of other ethnographers, who have argued that Mayas are losing their cultural heritage as they are introduced to a more westernized lifestyle through migration.

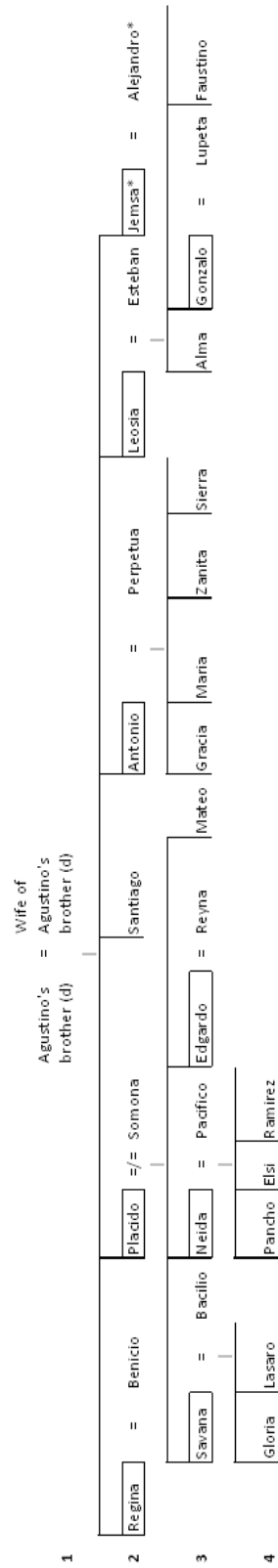
Older family members in Floridalma's family understood that the third generation needed to change. Many parents wanted their children to have a better life, and they desired their children to learn the skills associated with higher paying jobs. Some parents expressed sorrow that their children left Xocén for longer amounts of time and realized that their children might move away in the future. They knew that this was a consequence of the changing economy, and they wanted what was best for their children. That is why many members of Floridalma's family stated to me, *Yàan u k'ééšo'ob, ba'ale' ma' k k'àat u tu'ubso'ob u kuštal Màaya'o'obi'*, or "They must change, but we do not want them to forget their Maya lives."

This statement made me realize that my participants acknowledged that their lives were not static. Instead, they recognized the importance of adapting to the many

changing circumstances in their lives. Nevertheless, older members of Floridalma's family were proud of their Maya culture, and they wanted their younger generations to be proud as well. They did not want the younger generations to forget, and possibly abandon, their Maya lives amongst all the change. My participants' perspective helped to define my thesis's emphasis on both cultural change and maintenance. Several previous ethnographies done on Maya culture tended to overlook cultural maintenance and only concentrated on cultural change. However, when I saw my participants' eyes light up when they began to explain certain intricacies of their Maya culture, I knew it was not a topic to overlook. I then realized that to understand the complexities of a culture within a context of change, it was vitally important to explore both topics.

APPENDIX A





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