UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
RIVERSIDE

Reconceptualizing Indigenous Masculinities and *Usos y Costumbres* in a Mixtec Transnational Community

A Dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction
of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Anthropology

by

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August 2016

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Acknowledgement

This dissertation is the result of a long journey, one that would not have been possible without the help, support, and guidance of many people: family, friends, teachers and professors, and administrators at the graduate division.

I would like to first thank Thomas C. Patterson, Christine Ward Gailey, and Carole Nagengast, my dissertation committee, for their guidance, mentorship, and patience. I am grateful to Thomas Patterson for his critical questions that challenged me to consider the production of knowledge, and for taking up the chairmanship of my committee after the death of my original advisor, Michael Kearney. I thank Christine Ward Gailey for her questions regarding the impact transnational migration has had on families and marital relationships. My deepest thanks to Carole Nagengast, who not only inspired me to persevere and see the dissertation through, but was often a source of hope during difficult times. "*Shavindo'o* Carole."

For their expertise and guidance, I would like to thank Karl Taube, Gene Anderson, and Robert C. Perez. I am grateful to the Department of Ethnic Studies for providing many years of TA-ships, and for the opportunity to work with the following professors: Robert C. Perez, Dylan Rodriguez, Richard Lowie, Anthony Macias, Armando Navarro, and Alfredo Mirandé. I thank Ian Weber, who at Nanyang Technological University, Singapore introduced me to the importance and merit of social scientific research grounded on ethnographic fieldwork. In addition, I extend my deepest

gratitude to Clifford Trafzer and Robert C. Perez who have inspired me to give back to the indigenous community and to never stop caring. Thank you Cliff and Robert.

I also extend my gratitude to my fellow graduate colleagues and friends at University of California, Riverside, who provided many intellectual conversations and questions. Thanks to Sergio Lemus, Theodore Gordon, John Gust, Phuoc Duong, Silvia Ventura Luna, Shyh-Wei Yang, Jelena Fanta, Ben Fierro, William Madrigal, and Daisy O'Campo. For their friendship, I thank René Ruiz Robles, Kester Tapaha, Luis F. Monterrey, Carlos Guzman, Orlando Torres, Daniel P. Lundin, Don Gabino Barrera, Christopher Castillo, Louie Manzo, and the brothers of Nu Alpha Kappa at SDSU and UCR. Thanks to Josh Gonzales, Josh Little, and the Native American Students Program, for creating a welcoming space and a home away from home.

I am also grateful for the following institutions that provided me with invaluable financial support: University of California Institute for Mexico and the United States (UCMEXUS), UC Humanities Research Institute (UCHRI), San Diego State University's Foreign Language and Areas Studies Program (FLAS), and UC Riverside's Adam Repán Petko Award. In addition, I am deeply thankful to Clifford Trafzer for helping me secure a Graduate Assistant in Areas of National Need (GAANN) fellowship through the U.S. Department of Education. In addition, I would like to thank Karen J. Smith at the graduate division for all those wonderful conversations.

I am deeply thankful for the support network of family and friends outside of graduate school. To my brothers, Frank, Noe, Mario, and Eliseo "Chebubu", thank you. *Shavindo'o Ñani*. To Jen Inaba Alvarado and Michelle Nichols for taking the time to

watch and care for my daughter when I needed a “few” minutes to write, a very special “thank you.” The idea for this dissertation originated with conversations with Jaime L. Yee, I am greatly indebted to you for all you have done for me. I am grateful to Jocelyn Estrada and the Romero-Cardenas family for their support while I wrote the research proposal for this dissertation. In Deagu, South Korea, I thank Mi-young Baek, for urging me to pursue my graduate studies. To my high school wrestling coach “Joe” Conley, for teaching me that the ‘Luck of the Irish’ was not about luck, but hard work and an unwavering determination, thank you. To Jaime and my daughter Italivi, you both changed my life. I would like to thank my wife, Yuri, for her support during the final leg of this journey.

Finally, none of this would have been possible without Michael Kearney, to whom this dissertation is dedicated, and the families of San Jerónimo Progreso, who allowed me the opportunity to enter their lives. My most heartfelt gratitude to these families, men and women, husbands and wives, the youth, who shared their stories and daily lives with me. *Shavindo’o,* (Mixtec for “Thank You”).

Dedication

For several decades, Michael Kearney was one of the many instrumental figures to families migrating from San Jerónimo to Tijuana, and to the San Joaquin Valley of Central California. Many families fondly referred to Michael as "*Don Miguel*, *Miguelito*, or *Yele*" and there are many stories about how they met him in Riverside or when he first arrived to the small Mixtec speaking town. During my ethnographic research, someone would always ask me if I knew Don Miguel and then proceed to tell me a story about their experience with "*el profesor* from Riverside." Some recalled the first time he arrived to San Jerónimo in the 1970s; several of them, elderly men and women, remembered how shocked they were to find an *americano* visiting San Jerónimo. As Don Casiano in San Jerónimo recalled, "When he came here we didn't know what to do. So, we organized the band, and we marched around the pueblo to welcome him. The band played all the way to the house he was staying at…"

I too was fortunate to meet and learn from Don Miguel. For several years Michael Kearney was the chair of my dissertation committee, and during those few years, he was not just professor and mentor, but a genuine friend. Michael Kearney exemplified what it meant to be an optimist, and he glowed with a genuine care and kindness for others. His untimely death in the fall of 2009 was a tremendous loss for all those who knew him. During the course of writing this dissertation, I have always thought about my conversations with Don Miguel, especially of his optimism for the discipline of anthropology. At times when times were difficult during the process of writing this

dissertation, I have thought and asked myself, “What would Don Miguel say?” I think he would probably say, “What a wonderful opportunity to write about San Jerónimo, your family’s town.”

Don Miguel, thank you for believing that I would see this dissertation through. Thank you for allowing me the opportunity to write about San Jerónimo and tell their story.

Shavindo’o.

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Reconceptualizing Indigenous Masculinities and *Usos y Costumbres* in a Mixtec Transnational Community

by

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University of California, Riverside, August 2016
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This project documents and analyzes changing notions of masculinities in the Mixtec transnational community of San Jerónimo Progreso. San Jerónimo is a small Mixtec speaking *agencia municipal* (town) in the municipality of Silacayoapan, and *Region Mixteca* of western Oaxaca, Mexico. Despite the town's fragmented appearance (the majority people from San Jerónimo now live permanently outside of the town) San Jerónimo is by all accounts a transnational community; its members recreate their sense of community and belonging to the town across the borders and boundaries of nation-states. San Jerónimo's families are now primarily located in two satellite communities: Tijuana, Baja California, Mexico and the small farming towns of the San Joaquin Valley, California, in the United States. This dissertation demonstrates how transnational migration and the development of households across the U.S. and Mexico borders have impacted and modified indigenous masculinities as they are constituted in the context of San Jerónimo's *usos y costumbres* (uses and customs, including customary law). In

telling the stories and experiences of San Jerónimenses (people from San Jerónimo Progreso), I explore indigenous masculinities as an outcome and expression of culture and ever-changing socio-cultural, political and economic contexts of their usos y costumbres.

This dissertation explores how usos y costumbres, as socio-cultural practices and customary law, continue to impact men's sense of self. In Oaxaca, the referent of *usos y costumbres* (now *sistemas normativos internos*) is used to describe a broad gamut of socio-cultural practices often associated with indigenous communities. Many of these practices, or *costumbres*, are pre-Hispanic but some originated with the Spanish Conquest of the Americas. These socio-cultural practices include the system of civic-religious posts called *cargos* (burdens), which are often the most cited and researched example of usos y costumbres. At times, usos y costumbres is very much about an indigenous community's socio-cultural practices, but in other situations the term can take on more formal definitions associated with a community's unwritten and uncodified customary laws or social rules. I consider how transnational migration has resulted in a growing number of men and women who no longer find many aspects of usos y costumbres important to their sense of self. These individuals are most visible amongst San Jerónimo's non-Catholic Christians, who live predominantly in Central California. I explore how masculinities have or have not changed amongst these non-Catholics as they continue to take part in San Jerónimo's transnational community.

This dissertation is the result of multi-sited and transnational ethnographic research gathered over the course of several years, beginning in 2011 and ending in the

spring of 2016. I contextualize indigenous masculinities within these new transnational settings, and demonstrate how socio-cultural, political, and economic environments impact and at times reinforce people's attitudes, practices, norms and values towards gendered identities. Although this dissertation examines masculinities, it is not just about men. This dissertation is also about indigenous families and their continuous efforts, despite tremendous hardships, to recreate a sense of community in an era marked by continuous political and economic change.

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Introduction

Celestino sat on a small bench with his mother at the Tijuana International Airport waiting for the last flight to Oaxaca City, which would leave at 1 a.m. Celestino passed the time by taking pictures of the airport, his mother, or himself, and uploading these images to his Facebook account for his friends and family to see. His mother sat next to him, resting her head on the edge of the seat. She would look around occasionally to make sure she did not miss any of the airport announcements, and to check that her luggage and bags were still next to her son. By 12:15 a.m., the airport announced the first boarding call from Tijuana to Oaxaca City. Celestino and his mother promptly grabbed their bags and headed to the gate to wait in line and board the plane that would take them to southern Mexico, where Celestino's *cargo* awaited. Celestino took one last photo with his phone and uploaded it to his Facebook account, giving it a title and date: "*Rumbo A Oaxaca*, January 2, 2016."

Celestino and his mother arrived to Oaxaca City by early morning, and took a small bus north to the city of Huajuapan de Leon, where they got on another minivan referred to as a "Suburban." They eventually arrived at his mother's home, built from cement and concrete blocks, in San Jerónimo Progreso, a remote part of the *Region Mixteca* of Oaxaca. San Jerónimo is a small Mixtec speaking Amerindian town (*agencia municipal*) in the municipality of Silacayopan that organizes itself under *usos y costumbres* (uses and customs, including customary law) rather than national governmental political parties. There, Celestino and his mother cleaned up the house and waited. In late January, the San Jerónimo *cabildo* (community and official

administration), in accordance with San Jerónimo's usos y costumbres, appointed Celestino a *cargo* (unpaid position) as a member of the auxiliary police. Celestino accepted this cargo, which obligated him to remain in San Jerónimo for a period of 12 months as a member of the auxiliary police. In doing so, Celestino had reaffirmed his status as a "proper" man and citizen of San Jerónimo.

Celestino, and the many other men appointed cargos by the cabildo, were participating in a unique system of civic governance that was central to the reproduction of indigenous masculinities. In telling Celestino's story, as well as the stories of others like him, this dissertation examines and addresses how an indigenous Mixtec community uses its usos y costumbres to constitute and enforce masculinities, and how these processes are adapted, accommodated, or even denied under the demands and realities of transnational migration. I maintain that transnational migration has produced new types of indigenous masculinities that are exemplified in indigenous migrant men's new attitudes towards San Jerónimo's usos y costumbres, such as the cargo system.

My study recognizes that men are themselves "engendered and engendering" beings, whose practices are expressed and made visible through culture and changing socio-political and economic contexts (Gutmann 1996: 16; 2003: 1, 5). My focus on masculinity as a product of culture impacted by socio-political and economic contexts has further allowed me to ethnographically document and record the socio-cultural attitudes, behaviors, and practices of an indigenous Mixtec transnational community like the people of San Jerónimo Progreso.

Indigenous Men *"as Men"*

In rural Mexican indigenous communities, masculinities are related to complex indigenous social practices such as the cargo system, which are often neglected by a dominant discourse of masculinity that centers on machismo, nationalism, and essentialism (Gutmann, 1996). As a result, ethnographic research on the region often homogenizes Mexicans as a singular community and neglects to address the multiplicity of indigenous ethnicities in Mexico (Gutmann, 1996: 61)**.** For example, studies of masculinities in Mexico often focus on *machismo,* aggressive display, as a synecdoche of Mexican masculinity (see Brandes 1980, Mirandé 1997). However, according to Gutmann (1996, 1997), machismo is not the only type of masculinity deployed in Mexico. In fact, machismo is part of a diverse and often contradictory range of masculinities in Latin America.

As Cornwall and Lindisfarne (2005: 13) emphasizes, "there is no singular notion of macho masculinity, but a cluster of elements which may be contradictory or oppositional according to context." An ethnography of San Jerónimo's indigenous masculinities, this study contributes to understandings of masculinities by bringing into conversation the experiences of San Jerónimo's men and women. I suggest that indigenous gender identities are not informed by essentialist notions of difference, but are negotiated within the community through indigenous socio-cultural, political, and economic practices such as usos y costumbres and transnational migration.

According to Gutmann (1997b), the academic debate and dialogue on masculinities often defines male identity, manhood, manliness, and men's roles into four

distinct categories. Gutmann describes these dominant definitions of masculinity as: (1) "anything that men think and do"; (2) "anything that men think and do to be men"; (3) inherent ascription of manliness; (4) "anything that women are not" (Gutmann 1997b: 386). Current ethnographies or research on masculinities tend to depend on one or more of these four categorical definitions. My dissertation demonstrates that these definitions are not adequate frameworks to describe an indigenous community's masculinities. Rather, my study borrows and builds on Matthew C. Gutmann's (1996: 17) framework by considering how masculinities are constituted by what a community believes that men must "*say and do to be men*, and not simply on what men say and do."

I deploy this framework to consider how San Jerónimenses formalize masculinities, what a community says men must say and do to be men, through its usos y costumbres and customary law. This framework allows us to critically distinguish masculinities from static images or stereotypes of masculinity, and to present masculinities as products of several complex processes (e.g. usos y costumbres, transnational migration, and the political economies of nation-states). Studies that foreground the social construction of gender often do not take into careful consideration how people experience these socio-cultural, political, and economic contexts (see West and Zimmerman Cohen 2001; Kimmel 2001). My approach through ethnography fills this gap by focusing on ethnographic fieldwork to substantiate our understanding of how gender is socially constructed through these complex processes.

The ethnography specifically focuses on the contradictions between what a community says that men must say and do, and what men actually say and do. In doing

so, my ethnography presents indigenous masculinities as rife with contradictions, negotiations, and enforcement. My findings are based on ethnographic work with San Jerónimo's community in Oaxaca, Tijuana, and the San Joaquin Valley of Central California. I argue that usos y costumbres and customary law are part of the contradictions between what people *say men do* versus what men *actually do*.

Under the community's usos y costumbres, men are not just required to accept and fulfill civic-religious cargos and *mayordomias* (religious cargos), but are also required to participate in other activities, like paying or collecting quotas, social drinking, *tequio* (communal work), and formal town meetings. Men who fail to meet some of these expectations face formal consequences through the enforcement of customary law. Even men who are no longer active "men" of San Jerónimo's community continue to reproduce and maintain some of those norms and values associated with the town's costumbres. My study considers how these transnational communities create alternative masculinities by recasting their usos y costumbres.

San Jerónimo and Usos y Costumbres

Historically, the Oaxacan state government used the concept of *usos y costumbres* to describe the unwritten social practices and *ayuntamientos* (civic governance) of indigenous peoples (Aquino Centeno and Velásquez Cepeda 1997: 99). Following continuous political debate in Oaxaca during the 1980s and 1990s about indigenous people's legal status vis-à-vis the nation-state (i.e. their sovereignty, legal status, and judicial rights), indigenous communities were granted a measure of sovereignty

legitimizing indigenous customs and practices as a form of self-governance. These usos y costumbres were given special designations and formally introduced and ratified to the state constitution between 1992 and 1995 (Aquino Centeno & Velásquez Cepeda 1997: 128; Poole 2007: 201).

Often conflated with usos y costumbres, customary law describes processes by which indigenous communities negotiate and enforce usos y costumbres as a norm. The major difference between the two concepts is that customary law is almost always used to refer to indigenous juridical practices, while usos y costumbres is the formal political term used to describe *all* indigenous socio-cultural practices or customs. Guisela Mayén (1995: 7) also considers customary law to have two key components: (1) "these norms and practices be widely recognized as obligatory by the community…(that they be socially accepted, respected and complied with); (2) "that they have been practiced for various generations…" Yrigoyen Fajardo (1995) also argues that a key characteristic of customary law is that it must be legitimated and accepted as "culturally appropriate" by the people who chose to organize and structure themselves through it. In this sense, customary law is socially and culturally valid only if it is effective at "regulating social action and resolving conflict" (Yrigoyen Fajardo 1995: 26).

Customary law of indigenous communities in Latin America is best exemplified in how conflicts over land and offenses are resolved. In San Jerónimo, the system of civic-religious cargos is recognized as part of the town's usos y costumbres, but if citizens reject or fail to accept these cargos or mayordomias they face formal punishment by the *cabildo*, a process that exemplifies customary law. The cabildo, through customary

law, can enforce large fines, the closure and locking of houses, or permanent banishment from the town. Banishment will also revoke the offender's status as a *ciudadano* (citizen) of San Jerónimo. The process by which formal consequences are administered show how San Jerónimo's unique form of *ley consuetudinario* (customary law) enforce costumbres.

The distinction between customary law and usos y costumbres is still under considerable debate, suggesting an ongoing interest in how best to describe the organic socio-cultural customs, practices, and civic-governance of indigenous peoples. For example, other scholars have used *costumbre juídica o legal* or *sistema juridical alternative* when referring to customary law (Stavenhagen 1990: 29). More recently, the state of Oaxaca has redefined customary law and usos y costumbres as *sistemas internas normativas* (Diaz Sarabia 2015). I utilize usos y costumbres and not sistemas internas normativas because in San Jerónimo it is still the preferred referent used to describe their socio-cultural customs, practices, and norms.

My use of usos y costumbres and customary law also recognizes the problematic tendency in describing these cultural practices as authentic and indigenous. As June Starr and Jane F. Collier remind, modern indigenous culture, practices, or customs may not be as "enduring" or "traditional" as their descriptions suggest. They write:

> "Customary rules" are not survivals of a traditional past, but are continually renegotiated as conditions change. Certain aspects of customary forms may appear enduring, such as the concept of "customary law" itself, but the content of customary rules reflects the political and economic circumstances in which they are negotiated. (Starr and Collier 1989: 19)

Moreover, Joan Vincent (1989, 2002) maintains that customary law is not necessarily an indigenous concept, but rather a byproduct of the historical tensions between the

colonized and colonizer. In Mexico's case, customary law is the direct result of the Spanish conquest of the Americas and indigenous people's effort to readjust and adapt to a new political situation. Furthermore, in Oaxaca, not all of the communities that self-govern or organize themselves under usos y costumbres are strictly indigenous, and some may be predominantly mestizo (non-indigenous) towns or villages (Dalton 2003; Poole 2007).

Another concern that my study addresses is how deployment of usos y costumbres and customary laws legitimize highly unequal social structures, such as patriarchy. According to Vincent (2002), an emerging common feature of customary law, and usos y costumbres for the matter, has been its patriarchal structure. In Vincent's elaboration, she writes, "the historical moment at which it was constructed within the colonial state and the manner in which it entrenched the interest of dominant elders, and men in general, is becoming clearer…" (2002: 331). This suggests that both customary law and usos y costumbres are gendered practices and have the potential to be highly male centric.

For example, in San Jerónimo, gender inequalities surface when community members, both men and women, explain and defend what constitutes their usos y costumbres. Specifically, men holding cargos at both the agencia and office of bienes comunales agree that men are the only ones that can and should be elected to the system of civic cargos. These men legitimize this arrangement by calling it a part of their costumbres. However, some men were aware that this arrangement only became enforceable because of town's status of an indigenous Mixtec community. This granted the men the right to self-govern under the state's formal recognition of usos y

costumbres, which allowed them to enforce unequal socio-cultural practices and its division of gender amongst their members by administering formal punishment and consequences to men and women who failed to accept cargos or mayordomias.

Moreover, women are not allowed to hold formal positions of authority even as they are appointed to mayordomias where they are often *deputados* (deputies) for the town's many festivals known in Mixtec as '*viko.*' This situation further illustrates the contradictions of a community that privileges men over women. Though women may be nominated for mayordomias, they are denied citizenship and *communero* (commoner) status. I show how in San Jerónimo this contradiction and inequality is normalized when men and women describe it as part of their indigenous "costumbres."

These patriarchal structures are often justified through the dialogue of 'indigeneity' and what it means to be 'indigenous.' Mary Louise Pratt (2007) observes that in the discourse of establishing and defining what constitutes the 'traditional and indigenous,' there are issues that cannot be ignored: "Indigeneity has destructive potential... indigeneity [can] acquire a fascistic, misogynist force…" For Pratt, what is defined as 'indigenous vs. non-indigenous' has the "power to obstruct the working out of differences on an equal footing" (Pratt 2007: 403). Lynn Stephens (2001: 63) adds that usos y costumbres and customary law reinforces definitions or practices interpreted as 'traditional,' including not just the exclusion of women from formal authority or the decision-making process, but "the beating of women by men, the negotiation of marriages by parents without respecting children's wishes, and division of labor in which women work many more hours than men." Some, like Todd Eisenstadt, show that usos y

costumbres actually "disenfranchise women" and argues, "customary practices must be brought into line with international human rights norms (Eisenstadt 2007: 56).

I recognize these tensions in my analysis of San Jerónimenses' claims that usos y costumbres are themselves 'authentic' indigenous practices that have been passed down to them from their ancestors. The historical and ethnographic data demonstrates that notions of usos y costumbres are fairly recent, and have been going through continuous change even before their formal recognition by the Oaxacan state constitution in the 1990s. This situation is further made visible amongst San Jerónimo's new generation and youth who have drastically different definitions of usos y costumbres from those of their parents and grandparents.

As such, customary law should not be conflated with usos y costumbres as costumbres lose flexibility and dynamism when codified as a law, even as customary law can also be a very dynamic process as well (Stavenhagen, 1990). In San Jerónimo customary law is specifically about juridical elements in the community's unwritten or uncodified socio-cultural rules, practices, and laws. Usos y costumbres may include notions of customary law, but are more closely associated to cultural practices or customs.

San Jerónimo, A Transnational Community

Today, San Jerónimo is by all accounts a transnational community and its members have established satellite communities in Baja California, Mexico and many other towns in the western part of the United States. Transnational migration, as I will

show, has had a drastic impact on the way usos y costumbres shapes indigenous masculinities. I use the term *transnational* to describe the process by which local groups maintain socio-cultural, political, and economical ties with others across one or more nation-states (Kearney and Nagengast 1989; Kearney 1995: 548; Stephen 2007). This dissertation recognizes that these linkages intimately shape the lives of San Jerónimenses, both those in San Jerónimo and those in the diaspora. I chose to specifically use the frame of transnationalism rather than globalization or international, because transnationalism best describes the process by which San Jerónimenses imagine and carry out their lives vis-à-vis larger global processes. Globalization on the other hand tends to imply displaced cultural, economic, and political activities, while the international framework focuses on issues of the state (Inda and Rosaldo 2008: 37-38).

San Jerónimo is a functioning transnational community where usos y costumbres continue to impact the lives of its people despite larger global processes. The men and women of San Jerónimo, and other Mixtec communities in Oaxaca, invest significant time, money and energy in maintaining their relationships with their town. Fabiola Gonzalez-Pantoja (2003) describes how this process involves families and individuals who live in California, Tijuana, or elsewhere, returning to San Jerónimo to serve a cargo. Similarly, Rene Ruiz Robles (2003) points out that women play an important and critical role in the reproduction of civic-religious cargos by providing both economic and moral support for their husbands who return to San Jerónimo to accept and fulfill their cargos. Rocio Gil Martinez de Escobar (2006) further shows how a community's form of civic-

governance is reproduced not just in Oaxaca but also in the farming communities of California and Oregon.

The dissertation illustrates the social tensions under which transnational communities maintain their relationships with San Jerónimo. In San Jerónimo families, and men holding cargos are often highly stressed and emotionally drained during and after serving their one yearlong or eighteen month cargos as agente, alcalde, secretario, policia or the head of mayordomo (*for a complete list see* Gonzalez-Pantoja 2003: 54-55). Much of this stress results from maintaining a household in Tijuana or the U.S. while securing their rights as citizens of San Jerónimo through the cargo system. In some cases, entire families return to the village for the cargo, but this poses significant stress on children who are in school in Tijuana or the U.S., and on women who have paying jobs (such wage opportunities are not available in the village). In most situations, women and children often remain in the north so that they can work, and attend school. This is especially the case for families living in the U.S. They must stay in the U.S. because it is more difficult and financially costly for the entire families to cross and re-cross the border. In the transnational setting, men and their wives who accept cargos bear financial and emotional hardships because they are often forced to live away from their spouses and children for long periods of time.

However, as men and women in the transnational setting negotiate and even refuse the cargo systems, they are also challenging what it means to fulfill the role of a "proper" man or women in the cargo system. This dissertation illustrates how intensive migration and permanent emigration has changed and shaped gendered identities,

specifically masculinity, in men. Masculinities in the transnational context are shaped by newly acquired economic status and interactions with alternative gender identities. In the transnational context, individuals acquire new life experiences that are drastically different from what occurs in San Jerónimo. The most visible example when men return to San Jerónimo with new cars and trucks, representing themselves with a high level of economic success that could never have been achieved in San Jerónimo.

For many men in San Jerónimo, fulfilling cargos are responsibilities that men must do to be men; active participation in the cargo system creates and recreates their masculinities. Men who decline to perform their service by accepting their positions face severe repercussions, which include losing their houses in San Jerónimo, their farming land, and their voting rights; they are sometimes even banned from entering the village. I argue that as a result of transnational migration, there are three types of masculinities in San Jerónimo, which I describe in the following chapters. The dominant form of masculinity is characterized by a strong support for many of those socio-cultural practices, norms, and values associated with the community's usos y costumbres.

Since early 2000 however, growing numbers of men of San Jerónimo living in the diaspora have begun to reject their elected civic or religious cargos. This has created severe tension between members of the community, since service is required for town citizenship under locally understood requirements of usos y costumbres (Ruiz Robles 2003; González Pantoja 2003). These new attitudes are examples of the secondary and tertiary type of masculinities, and characterized by a growing lack of interest for some of San Jerónimo's most important usos y costumbres, specifically the system of civic

cargos. This dissertation further maintains that the tertiary type of masculinity is characterized by a complete refusal of most of San Jerónimo's usos y costumbres, which includes accepting civic-religious cargos or mayordomias, as well as participating in social events like fiesta, drinking alcohol, paying quotas, or communal work known as tequio. I show how this refusal can amount to an extreme ostracism of oneself from the community and family.

Researching The Transnational Community

This dissertation is divided into five chapters and begins in San Jerónimo Progreso, Oaxaca. These first two chapters illustrates the dominant and primary form of masculinity in San Jerónimo that attempts to homogenize, regulate and control other men's attitudes and behaviors through usos y costumbres and customary law. In Chapter 1, I ethnographically document the socio-cultural context that shapes indigenous masculinities. I explore what constitutes machismo in San Jerónimo, as well as the concept of *respeto* (respect). In Chapter 2, I further explore how masculinities are regulated and controlled in San Jerónimo through the concepts of respeto, *tachi* (crazy), *chisme* (gossip), and *Li'í* (homosexual).

Chapter 3 and 4 explores indigenous masculinities in diasporic context. I document alternative masculinities that emerged as San Jerónimenses migrated from San Jerónimo to places like Tijuana and the United States. Chapter 3 examines why families left San Jerónimo, and how men in the diaspora adapted their sense of self and usos y costumbres to new socio-cultural environments and created a life that "*es como San*

Jerónimo" (is like San Jerónimo). I borrow from Carlos Vélez-Ibáñez (1996) the idea of "household clusters" to describe how important decisions, often made by men who consciously sought to reproduce many of their community's costumbres, created indigenous household clusters in the many *colonias* of Tijuana (1996: 137-139).

Outside of Tijuana, a significant number of families from San Jerónimo settled in the small farming communities of Exeter and Farmersville, California. Chapter 4 is a continuation of ethnographic research in the transnational setting, specifically in the San Joaquin Valley of Central California. In this chapter, I argue that new socio-cultural, political, and economic environment regulates and controls men's behaviors. This new context is marked by changes most visible amongst the youth who may not agree with their parent's usos y costumbres, specifically the practice of holding cargos.

Exeter is also home to the largest concentration of non-Catholic San Jerónimenses that self-describe as '*hermanos*' or '*cristianos*.' These families and their new religion are the topic of Chapter 5, where I provide new information about the growing presence of non-Catholic religions, like Protestantism, amongst indigenous Oaxacan communities in California. I argue that non-Catholics represent San Jerónimo's third type of masculinities, since these men, along with their families, openly critique San Jerónimo's usos y costumbres. In recent years some cristiano men have returned to accept cargos, but not mayordomias since these are religious practices associated with Catholicism. Cristianos represent an important part of San Jerónimo's transnational community and I explore how men have modified their sense of self, which is no longer based on usos y costumbre (e.g. fiestas, cargos, mayordomias, social drinking, and tequio).

I conclude my study by addressing how the experience of transnational migration between neoliberal economies has shaped men's understandings of not just themselves, but of their relationships to their patriarchal families and communities. Indigenous masculinities are created, modified, and adjusted by human social interactions and practices, in the context of ever changing political and economic processes. As such, this dissertation reminds us that today the "myriad processes that accompany transnationalism and globalization and that occur variously and differently at local, national, and transnational levels (Patterson 2001: 160)" also impact people's gendered identities.

Chapter 1

Men and Masculinity in San Jerónimo

It was by mere coincidence that on the first day I arrived in San Jerónimo, the newly elected *cabildo* was assuming office for the 2012 calendar year. San Jerónimo's cabildo is the governing body responsible for all of the town's official administrative business. The cabildo is hierarchal and composed of *cargos*, or offices assigned to the town's *agencia municipal* (municipal agency). These offices, which include the *agente* (mayor), *sindico propietario* (vice-mayor), *suplente del agente* (mayor's assistant), *sindico suplente* (vice-mayor's assistant), and *regidor propietario* (councilor), are referred to in the literature and in local parlance as *cargos*, as they are regarded as burdens that men agree to assume voluntarily and for no pay.[1] A secondary set of civic cargos are those associated with the office of *bienes comunales,* whose staff is dedicated to dealing with issues of property rights as well as the town's list of officially recognized *comuneros* (commoners) (González Pantoja 2003: 57). The office of bienes comunales includes small committees that oversee the operation of the school, maintenance of streets, and other such chores associated with the "good of the community." There are also religious cargos known as *mayorodomias* dedicated to the community's many sacred festivals[2].

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[1] For a complete list of cargos in San Jerónimo (posts) see González Pantoja (2003: 55). The Spanish term of cargos translate as "burdens" and refers directly to unpaid civic positions (posts). For an overview of the Spanish system of civic-governance (ayuntamientos) in Oaxaca *see* Aquino Centeno and Velásquez Cepeda 1997.

[2] In San Jerónimo, mayordomos for the festival of Exaltation of the Holy Cross (*exaltacion de la Santa Cruz*) are the only ones required to stay in the town for an entire year, and thus satisfy their elected mayordomia.

Mayordomias (religious cargos) are composed of one or two *mayordomos* (head deputies) as well as a committee of *diputados* (members of the mayordomia) who often number more than sixteen individuals.

At the time of my arrival on the patio in front of the agencia, the exiting cabildo and its agente Don Victor Cervantez were explaining to those gathered how they had spent the town's funds during their year-long administration. Don Victor gave a detailed breakdown of the total expenses incurred throughout the year, including the costs for the construction of a new bridge on the northern side of the town. In San Jerónimo, each cabildo is responsible for planning and executing one major town project for which they are thereafter identified. Past projects include the creation and paving of new streets, the building of bridges, the construction of community buildings like the *Ve'e Viko* (known as Casa de Cofraidad and community building), the remodeling of the agencia building, or other projects considered to be important to the community. During this meeting, which went on all day, I did not see nor hear any women or "outsiders" participating. It appeared to be a meeting exclusively for the men of the community. While there were children playing in the street, they too were all boys, and nobody minded their presence. The cabildo brought out several cases of Cerveza Superior beer during the meeting and everyone drank steadily all day.

Machismo in San Jerónimo

Machismo, or rather exaggerated and hyper-masculinity, as a socio-cultural phenomenon has been well documented in non-indigenous mestizo communities of Mexico (Gutmann 1996). Machismo has historically referred to dominating forms of

masculinity and generally connotes negative qualities and behavior. In Oaxaca, machismo has often been framed as a question of gender inequalities, specifically when considered in relation to the status of women. In Latin America, and in Mexico especially, machismo exists pervasively as a stereotype of masculinity to the point of becoming an epithet. In this chapter, I begin by addressing what constitutes machismo in San Jerónimo, describing how it is expressed by men and sometimes challenged by women and some men. This dissertation frames machismo as an issue of masculinity, which some view as important to their sense of self but that in general is perceived by the community as a negative quality. This does not mean that machismo is not prevalent in indigenous communities like San Jerónimo, but rather it is directly shaped by shifting socio-cultural, political or economic contexts. Furthermore, I argue that machismo in San Jerónimo, in addition to its range of masculinities, is intimately linked to the community's unique form of patriarchy, which like the gendered division of labor, economic inequalities that are most visible in women's lack of economic opportunities, and strict definition and assignment of gender roles reproduces inequalities between genders.

San Jerónimo, Where Some Men Are More "Macho" Than Others

Doña Rafaela Morales has lived in San Jerónimo all her life and in the same house her husband Don Daniel Morales built over the last few decades. Don Daniel buys merchandise in bulk and then resells these items at different locations in Oaxaca and Puebla, often traveling hundreds of miles on a monthly basis in his red 1980s Ford L-7000. At home Doña Rafaela helps her husband organize their merchandise (often

consisting of large quantities of straw hats, bags of salt, and large baskets referred to in Mixtec as *ndoo*) and store it into different areas of the house, which doubles as a storeroom. Both are now in their early sixties and all of their grown children live outside of San Jerónimo, including in Oaxaca City, Tijuana, Baja California, Exeter, and San Jose, California. Two of their grown daughters, Ximena and Luisa, are in their late thirties and unmarried. Although they now live permanently in Tijuana, they visit their parents in San Jerónimo on a regular basis.

The Morales family were among my closest friends and most key informants. Most importantly, they were a source of personal support, as they often provided me with meals and fresh produce. When I asked Ximena about men in San Jerónimo, she would often state that the men here are "no good" and "yes they are *machistas*" (same as machismo). In the outdoor kitchen where her mother cooked on an old grate placed over an open fire, Ximena elaborated, "these men, of course they are machistas, they are always trying to tell women how to live, how to behave, what to wear, where to go, and who they can or can't hang out with…" I asked Ximena several times how to translate "machismo" into Mixtec. She would say, "well, I don't know. Maybe *Taa Katnu* [Big Man]. I am not sure, we just use the Spanish word machista or machismo." Ximena said, "men are machistas when they talk bad about someone, when they tell them how to behave or act." When someone would criticize her for being unmarried and childless, she would say, "that's an example of machismo for men, because they talk bad about you and tell you how to live." I will return to the topic of unmarried individuals later in this chapter, as it is an important theme that regulates men and women. According to Ximena,

"machistas are the guys that walk in front of their wives" because "these men want to control their wives, their women." In San Jerónimo, machismo is often associated with men who are publically violent toward other men and women, who are aggressive or boastful, or who behave "bigger than others." Machismo is as much about personal choice as it is about a continuously changing socio-cultural environment shaped by the community's definition of what constitutes acceptable or unacceptable behavior, norms, and values. This means that machismo is also about what people define as *costumbre* (customary).

Machismo constitutes part of the dominant form of masculinity in several important ways. First, it is linked to the general sentiment and expectations for other men and women. Second, it is part of the range of masculinities in San Jerónimo, most visible among men that firmly hold and support patriarchal norms and values. This may include the idea that men are socially and biologically superior to women. The best example of this attitude is in the community's formal definition of who is a *ciudadano* (citizen) or *comunero*[3] (member of the commune) and who can be a ciudadano vs. a *miembro* (member). In San Jerónimo, women are neither formally nor officially recognized as

[3] San Jerónimo is not an *ejido*, but a commune "terrenos comunales". During my archival research I examined documents that explained how the town became a commune and acquired the title of "*titulacion de bienes comunales*" (title of lands held in common) from the Mexican office of Secretaria de la Reforma Agraria on August 20, 1953. According to Paola Gutierrez Galingo's own archival research, San Jeronimo's "*autoridad communal*" (communal authority) was finally recognized by the federal government on August 24, 1989 and published in the country's records in 1991; meaning that San Jeronimo's communal authority and its status as a commune was formally recognized by the Mexican state (Gutierrez Galingo 2010: 21). Ejidos are similar to *terrenos comunales*, but they tend to be supported by the state (Nora Hamilton 2011: 45). For more on ejidos *see* Schüren 2003, Jones and Ward 1998: 77-78.

either ciudadanos or *comuneros*. There is a general consensus among men that individuals that do not fit the mold of an acceptable man by reproducing the community's *usos y costumbres* (uses and customs) are deviant and unacceptable individuals. This may include being perceived as less of a man, disobedient, odd, or simply behaving like a non-San Jerónimense. In this sense, the dominant form of masculinity in San Jerónimo, which includes notions of machismo, defines men as "unacceptable" if they do not reproduce the community's acceptable norms and values. The best example of this is in the harsh criticism of other men that do not accept their cargos or participate in community activities. Other examples of this attitude are visible among men that do not hold cargos yet reproduce many of the community's costumbres, such as social drinking, attendance and participation at festivals, payment of their annual quotas, offering of their labor at *tequio (*communal work*)*, and attendance at regular town meetings.

There are distinct contradictions between what men and women claim constitutes machismo, a similar situation to what Matthew Gutmann reported on the working class communities and suburbs of Mexico City (1996). Community members seem to agree that machismo exists and that it is common to find men that behave abnormally or incorrectly. Negative behaviors range from fighting, beating up wives or women in general, drinking beyond the socially accepted boundary, gossiping or criticizing others, verbally insulting or arguing with others in public spaces or events, boasting, speaking in a loud voice or out of turn during meetings or group conversations, and at its most extreme, the murdering of another person, which is often associated with the Mixtec term

of *tachi*. In San Jerónimo the term refers metaphorically to having "wind or air in someone's head" and is used to express the state of being crazy.

During my formal interviews, some men claimed that machismo did not exist in San Jerónimo, but most agreed that it is common to find men that are aggressive, loud, boastful, mean, and malicious. Some stated, "well, men aren't really machistas here. Everyone is equal here." Don Emiliano Morales-Ramirez was the town's *sindico propietario*, third in command, and stated during our formal interview at his house, "No. Machismo doesn't exist here. Everyone is equal. Men and women can do the same things. No one is better than the other." Some men would point out that machismo was more common among mestizo men and communities rather than in San Jerónimo. Don Reymundo Martinez, a married man in his late-thirties who lives permanently in San Diego, California, was the *sindico suplente* (assistant to the sindico propietario) at the time and echoed a similar idea, stating, "I think the men from Sila [Silacayoapan] are more machista. I think the men from other parts of Mexico, like Sinaloa or those from the north are machistas. Those kinds of men are very jealous and possessive of their women. If they see you talking to their women, they might hit you or even kill you." Initially, what was more puzzling to me was the contradiction between what many men said about women being equal and what was actually practiced in San Jerónimo and considered to be costumbre. For example, Don Agustin Cruz the agente between 2012-2013 also commented, "women are no different from men. Here women have the same rights men have." Yet, like most men, he did not agree that women should hold cargos, claiming, "it's just not acceptable here. I don't know why, it just won't happen. The people, the

community won't accept it." These attitudes illustrate that in San Jerónimo, men, in addition to some women, support institutionalized inequalities between the sexes. Gender inequalities exist as costumbres, yet men are more likely to state that men and women are equals. Some of these privileges men have over women include not just the formal status of ciudadano or comunero, access to formal authority, but also the control of public spaces. These ideas about equality are common throughout the spectrum of masculinities.

If one were to arrive in San Jerónimo at any time during the year, they would more than likely find people, virtually all men, gathered in the patio in front of the agencia municipal building. At the same time, there are few people visible anywhere else on the streets. The town seems empty, the cause of which is more complicated than simply the exodus caused by massive permanent migration. At the agencia, one might notice that the only individuals serving in leadership positions (i.e., holding cargos) are men. In fact, this reality becomes even more apparent when these individuals express for themselves why men are the only ones that can hold cargo. Their answers do not just represent the reality of dominant gender ideologies, but the merging of these ideologies with the community's notions of usos y costumbres, specifically with the system of governance and civic religious cargos. The dominant form of masculinity segregates men from women in public spaces. This is visible in the all-male system of civic-religious cargos, specifically at the agencia, which is exclusively a male domain. I first observed this several months into my ethnographic research in San Jerónimo, when an outsider, a non-member of San Jerónimo, visited the agencia.

San Jerónimo is fairly well known among "Oaxacologos" studying indigenous communities or the phenomenon of transnational migration from Oaxaca to the United States. On one occasion in late June 2011, a student working on her masters in Desarrollo Rural at the Universidad Autonoma Metropolitana Unidad Xochimilco visited San Jerónimo to carry out some follow up interviews with the agente Don Agustin and cabildo. Although she is not a member of the community, the men at the agencia welcomed her and allowed her to ask them questions about the system of civic-religious cargos and mayordomias. They referred to her using the title of *Licenciada* (titled from a university) and allowed her to sit among them at the agencia's patio. Most of the men did not mind her presence and talked to her in a kindly manner, offering her Coke and snacks from the small convenience store located nearby. I observed this and did not think much about it, but then realized that something interesting was occurring because the men did not seem to mind her presence nor did they show any signs of feeling uncomfortable. Don Juan Morales-Arzola, one of the cabildo's *principales* (a member on the council of elders, referred to in San Jerónimo's Mixtec variant as *Na Sakua'a*), was sitting next to me, and I asked him, "what do men think of women sitting here with them at the agencia?" He did not think long and responded, "It's fine. We don't mind. It's okay." Don Seferiano Bautista, another principal, added, "anyone can sit here. It's an open place, we don't mind." This was the typical answer given by all members of the cabildo, but the reality is quite different.

After more than a year of research, I documented that the agencia and the patio in front of it is indeed a public place, open to anyone. It is also a de facto exclusively male

space. Although women are allowed to visit the agencia and even talk with individual men there, it is only culturally acceptable if the visitation is for a specific and stated purpose. This is generally expressed as "normal," and both men and women agree that the agencia is not a place for anyone to simply hang out during official meetings. Rather, it is a place of *respeto* (respect) where "*se habla de cosas serias y importante*" (people speak of serious and important matters). The reality is that men and boys do hang out at the agencia—even men who do not have cargos show up. They like to pass the time chatting with other men or teenaged boys. It is women who are restricted from visiting the agencia for the purposes of simply hanging out with other women there. The segregation of the sexes is daily practice in San Jerónimo and can be observed at any of the community's fiestas or social gatherings, where there is no question which areas are designated for men and which are for women. These limits are part of the community's norms and values, with gender dominated spaces illustrating this reality. What also surfaces here is the evident contradiction between the community's definitions of acceptable behavior vs. what is actually practiced. Men themselves claim that the agencia is a public space, but in reality, it is a public space for men. This expectation is regulated through gossip and criticism, as women themselves expect other women to behave in certain ways when they leave their houses and especially when they visit the agencia. The concept of respeto captures what men and women demand of each other in public behavior. This is linked to all masculinities in San Jerónimo, even among men who live in the U.S. and return to fulfill their cargos.

Respect: "Don't Ask for Respect"

How then do men demonstrate what it means to be an acceptable man in San Jerónimo? Before examining the system of civic-religious cargos, I will address what is meant by respeto, since the idea saturates every aspect of social behavior in San Jerónimo. If one were to ask men why they have accepted their cargo, many would claim, "because I respect the laws of my community," or, "I will obey the community and respect their customs." The term respeto is used to emphasize the significance of ideas, behavior, values, and norms. Others describe men who deviate from acceptable community norms as lacking respeto, while those who have respeto are considered to be more masculine. A common example is when men claim and boast that they were not afraid of their cargo and respected the "*costumbres y leyes del pueblo*" (customs and laws of the town). Even more telling are the instances when individuals claim there is a lack of respeto or that they have been disrespected "*me falto el respeto*" (he disrespected me). As the idea influences how people, predominately men, treat and are perceived by others in their community, respeto is linked to the dominant form of masculinity in San Jerónimo. In fact, it is the state of having respeto that distinguishes a person in San Jerónimo from other members of the community. Individuals, including both men and women, that are perceived to have respeto are considered to possess positive qualities regardless of their sex, age, or place in life.

Ernesto Hernandez Sanchez (2003) argues that among men from San Juan Mixtepec, Oaxaca, "respeto" is part of the system of hegemonic attitudes and

sentimientos (feelings). He notes that "respect is associated with kinship" and that it is within this system that respect is most visible. Hernandez Sanchez elaborates,

> Las estructuras de poder mantienen la gobernabilidad a través del respeto entre los hombres y las mujers… El respeto está asociado al parentesco dentro de este régimen. De una manera tradicional, las relaciones entre la comunidad están fuertemente sustentadas en las relaciones familiares… El sistema de respeto en Mixtepec puede considerarse la base de la masculinidad tradicional mixteca. Este tipo de masculinidad está asociada con los demás valores tradicionales como la paternidad y la virilidad asociada con el dominio sobre las mujeres en la representación más general de cómo debe ser un hombre mixteco.
>
> The structures of power maintain governance through the [practice] of respect among men and women. Within this regime, respect is associated with kinship. In a traditional manner, the relationship among [members of] the community is strongly maintained in the relations of the family… The system of respect in Mixtepec can be considered the foundation of traditional [forms of] Mixtec masculinities. This kind of masculinity is associated with other traditional values like fatherhood and [men's] virility associated [with the ability] toward domination of the general representations of how a Mixtec man must be. (Hernandez Sanchez 2003: 91-92 *my translation*)

This approach and analysis of respeto can allow us to further understand why it is considered extremely important to San Jerónimenses[4]. In San Jerónimo, both men and women claim that respeto is extremely important to the community and that individuals must give respeto and not demand or expect it from others. During my yearlong fieldwork, the phrases *dar respeto* and *tenemos que respetar* (to give respect and we must

[4] People from San Jeronimo do not usually refer to themselves as "San Jerónimenses," instead it is more common to hear them self describe as "*Naa Jiavi*" which is a conjugation of the Mixtec place name of "*Ñuu Yojo Yavi*". *See* Bradley and Hollenbach 1988 for an analysis of the Mixtec language, which is based on linguistic research in San Jerónimo. The term *Ñuu* can be used to refer to a town, community, or a place inhabited by people, while the words *Yojo Yavi* translates as "flat valley or valley of the agaves". As such, the Mixtec place name of San Jeronimo is "Town in the Valley of The Agaves" or "Town in the Flat Valley". For further details on Mixtec translation of Ñuu *see* Monaghan 1995: 12; Caballero Morales 2008: 753, or Caballero 2009. *See* Basso 1996 for an analysis of the significance of indigenous "place names".

respect) were so common that I stopped noticing them altogether. Don Agustin Cruz, the agente, would state, "here we respect others" and "we never demand that others respect us." Don Francisco Padilla-Rivera, who held the cargo of *alcalde primero* (deputy major),[5] stated several times, "here we respect. We respect and never ask other to give it to us." Ironically, in San Jerónimo he was continuously accused of "*no tiene respeto*" (not having respect), but was unaware of this situation. Don Francisco had lived in Riverside, California for several years in his youth and then moved to Phoenix, Arizona to work as a roofer. As the months of my fieldwork passed, many other men with cargos would say that Don Francisco, also referred to as Pancho, "no tiene respeto," i.e. that he lacked respect. Don Reymundo Martinez commented once, "that guy Pancho, he just talks too much and has no respect." On another occasion, Eduardo Morales, one of the men at the bienes comunales, who at the time was 19 years old and holding the cargo of *presidente* (president), stated, "that fool Pancho! He talks too much. He is too loud. He thinks he's the boss. He tries to tell everyone what to do! That guy has no respect." I found this highly perplexing because Don Francisco had himself mentioned that respect was extremely important in San Jerónimo. Why then did so many people say that he did not have respect? Don Francisco became one of my key informants in San Jerónimo and we often had conversations about his life in Phoenix, Arizona since this was an important topic for him, and a socio-cultural environment that other men in the town claimed had shaped or changed his attitudes and behaviors.

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[5] Alcalde translates as "mayor," but in the Spanish system of civic-governance it refers to a city authority that is below the agente municipal, the actual acting mayor of a town or city.

Why did other men of the cabildo describe Don Francisco as not having respeto? The most telling answer was given to me during an interview with an elderly man in San Jerónimo. Don Casiano Barrera was in his early-seventies when I interviewed him at his small house built from brick and stone. At his age he did not work, and he mentioned that his children living in Tijuana sent him money every few months. He had just finished eating his lunch and was tired but allowed me to interview him while his wife cleaned the dishes and table. As I was concluding the interview, I asked him a question about the difference between the new and old generation, when he mentioned, "they are like Pancho. The new kids. They are loud. They talk too much. If they come from the north, they act like those from the north." I was surprised that he had used Don Francisco as an example and further questioned, "what do you mean like Pancho?" He responded, "they are like him. He is always acting like he is the agente or something. You see him at the agencia talking and then he tries to act like he is in charge of everything. That guy has no respect." Don Casiano's wife did not make any comments, which I attributed to the fact that I was not a relative, but it also illustrates the presence of dominant gender ideologies in San Jerónimo that exclude women from conversations where men are talking with other men. In addition to representing an example of women's respeto to men, this illustrates some of the privileges granted to men, as it is generally considered a "falta de respeto" when anyone enters conversation without being invited. In the case of Don Francisco, machismo and hyper-masculinity in the form of boastfulness, exaggerated body language, a loud voice, and a lack of consideration of the accepted norms of the community represents to others a lack of respect. At the time of my fieldwork, Don

Francisco seemed to not be aware of his status in San Jerónimo. He mentioned several times that he was still "not used to life in San Jerónimo," as he had lived more than twenty years outside of the town without returning. A year later in 2012, when I returned to San Jerónimo and visited him, he mentioned that since his time as cargo, he had kept his distance from the agencia. He had had to change some of his prior attitudes, stating, "here it's not like *el norte*, it's different, and you must act differently." This suggested that in fact he did have to change his prior behaviors, which he associated with life in the U.S.

The middle-aged and elderly often describe youths as lacking respeto, saying, "those kids act like where they come from." This is a direct reference to San Jerónimo's transnational condition, whereby many teens and children do not just grow up outside of the town, but are born in new locations. The youth are sometimes described as "lacking respect" and "acting crazy." If asked why this is so, many middle-aged and elderly people will respond, "they don't know how to behave," or, "they are loud, violent, *creidos* (show-offs), and rude. They don't greet you when they pass you by. They don't speak Mixteco." These critiques become more common when families arrive in San Jerónimo for fiestas, particularly for the major festival held every September honoring the patron saint Santo Geronimo.

If lack of respeto is considered a negative condition, then the giving of respect (*dar respeto*) is highly regarded. Identifying what is meant by dar respeto is a challenge, as individuals are often vague about what this term actually means. Some like Don Agustin Cruz, the agente, claimed that to give respect in San Jerónimo is to "be good to

other people," while others like Don Seferiano, one of the principales, explained that "to give respect is to behave in the town and not cause trouble." Don Francisco Padilla-Rivera, the alcalde who was often accused of not having respeto, said "to give respect is to not act crazy in town." Most agreed that giving respeto was extremely important, but had different answers as to what this actually meant. Some associated respeto with men accepting their cargos, highlighting the fact that respeto is linked to the system of civic-religious cargos as well as to the dominant form of masculinity. Almost everyone agreed that in San Jerónimo it is better to give respeto, but not to expect or demand it from others. According to Don Agustin, "you give respeto when you greet people and acknowledge they are there" or when "you are quiet and silent when others are talking." Don Francisco explained that giving respeto occurs when you "participate in community events and offer help when people need help." By the end of my time in the community, I was still unsure what exactly constituted respect. I understood it more as the state of being aware of the community's socio-cultural norms in addition to knowing how to navigate through the limits and boundaries of these norms. This includes being conscious about the community's expectations of others, specifically as it relates to a person's age, gender, and social position in the town.

In San Jerónimo, one of the most important symbolic means of demonstrating respeto is to accept a cargo, which represents "obeying the costumbres of the community." Beyond the system of civic-religious cargos, people demonstrate to others that they have respeto by exhibiting compassion and courtesy while maintaining a generally cordial relationship with other members of the community. Ernesto Hernandez

Sanchez (2003) observes that respect is most visible "en las relaciones familiar" (in the familial relationships) and is therefore intimately linked to the system of kinship (Hernandez Sanchez 2003: 91). In San Jerónimo, there is a general consensus that you must give more respect to members of your family than to those that are not part of your extended network of relatives. Respeto is also earned through the giving of respeto, or as I continuously heard, "you get respeto by giving respeto. You never demand it or expect to receive it."

Respeto is demonstrated through silence at formal meetings when other men are talking, allowing the person speaking to finish his thoughts. It is cultivated through social interaction with other members of the community and is lost as easily as it is acquired. In the process of *convivir* (coming together), men and women observe people's mannerisms and general behavior, quickly identifying those individuals they perceive as lacking respeto. This becomes especially visible when a person becomes heavily drunk and transgresses the community's unstated but very real boundaries beyond which public intoxication must not go. Individuals that break these social boundaries might be identified by others in the community as well as by the *comandancia de policia* (members of the police command) as acting *tachi* (crazy) and can be arrested. Through the practice of convivir, which refers to the gathering of friends or family in an amicable social setting, respeto is given and earned. Respeto is also demonstrated by refraining from the use of profane and offensive language. Those that are regarded by others as having respect are described as "good people" or "calm and tranquil." Individuals like Don Francisco Padilla-Rivera who have returned to the town after having lived several

decades outside of the community run the risk of being described as lacking respeto, as much of their personal behavior has been shaped outside of San Jerónimo.

Marriage and Fatherhood: "Everyone Must Get Married and Have Children"

According to Ximena Morales, who explained to me the existence of machismo in San Jerónimo, also added "here people expect everyone to get married. The community thinks it's very important to be married with children." I asked her, "what about men?" She responded, "well, they are more lenient with men, because a woman only has a limited time to have children. After a certain age she can't have children, so men have it easier, but they also have to get married sooner or later." Ximena explained that since she was a girl many things had changed in San Jerónimo: "When I was a teenager, girls would get married at the age of sixteen or even earlier. Many girls didn't even know the *muchacho* (boy) they were going to marry. The muchacho's parents would just *pedir a la muchacha* (ask the other parents) and the next thing the girl knew is that she was going to get married with someone she didn't like, or someone she had never met or seen before. Things have changed." According to the middle aged, the institution of marriage is one of the community's cultural practices that has gone through visible change, but it is still highly regarded as essential.

There are many double standards associated with marriage that privilege men while marginalizing women. For example, today it is acceptable for a man to get married at a later age, but women are pressured into getting married in their teens or twenties, as women that marry in their late twenties or thirties are considered to be "too old." Women that are single in their thirties are often described as "unmarriageable" or "*se paso su*

tiempo" (past their time). Marriage is further described as a process by which people acquire the essence of being a man or woman as well as the knowledge of what it means to act right, "*ya se caso, ahora se tiene que comportar…"* (he/she is now married and must behave properly) Marriage is part of the dominant form of masculinity, as both men and women are socio-culturally required to get married as well as become parents immediately after. The ethnographic data I collected further suggests that teens or adults that are single and unmarried may choose to emigrate because of the social pressures in their community to get married. In fact, there is strong evidence suggesting that a significant number of male teens and young single males left San Jerónimo in order to save money and return to the town to get married or find potential partners in Tijuana or other cities in Baja California.

Most community members agree that marriage is connected to one's sex and sexual orientation, as individuals are expected to marry someone of the opposite sex. An adult who reaches middle age is perceived by most as having deviated from the social norm if he or she is not married. Others might question his or her sexual preference. Marriage is intimately linked to the system of civic-religious cargos, specifically to the cargos of the agencia municipal. In San Jerónimo, it is common to hear people explain, "only married men can hold cargos at the agencia," or, "you must be married to be selected for a cargo." The idea is that marriage is necessary for the establishment of an acceptable form of civic-governance and masculinity. Community members expect men and women to be married and husbands to act as providers for their family. Wives are expected to be caregivers, handle household chores, and fulfill all the responsibilities that

characterize for women the gendered division of labor. People explain that a husband must manage, support, and maintain his family household. This includes not just his wife, but also his parents if they are elderly. San Jerónimo continues to be a patriarchal, patrilineal, and patrilocal community, and although most families have permanently emigrated from the town, these ideas dominate people's attitudes, opinions, values and norms. Most men agree that after marriage, a man's wife needs to live with his family and not vice versa, while property is usually passed down to male children, indicating a societal preference of men over women.

During all formal interviews, men explained to me that "men and women are equals" and "men are supposed to behave well to their wives and children." Most claimed that "men must work" or "men must support and provide for their families." Men consistently claimed that "supporting" and "maintaining" their families were of the upmost priority and a necessary component to what it means to be married. The few women that I interviewed, such as Ximena Morales and her mother, claimed that women "must *also* support and work to maintain the family." Many women claimed that husbands must be "good" to their wives and not misbehave. The concept of "misbehavior" was associated with men who are frequently drunk, violent, abusive, lazy, crazy, tachi, machistas, and *sin respeto* (disrespectful). Ironically, most men pointed out that it was common for all men to become drunk, violent, abusive, etc. some of the time. In fact, many men described it as "normal" for men to become drunk, especially at fiestas or other social gatherings. They described heavy drinking as normal, but not necessarily a "good thing," since it also has many negative consequences, including fighting, going to

jail, violence toward women and children, and regret the next day. Men generally agreed that a man is supposed to provide for his family, but that this does not translate to controlling or dominating his wife. Yet, women like Doña Rafaela and her daughters Ximena and Luisa also said that there were men that tried to "controlar sus mujeres" (control their wives) and that these men were "not good to their wives." Men and women agree that violence against women and children is a negative behavior, but they are aware that it is common and often goes unremarked.

It is also expected that men "respect" the institution of marriage and not have multiple wives, mistresses, or families outside of marriage. Yet, as I recorded, relationships outside of marriage did occur. Nonetheless, married couples often remained together. According to many, the institution of marriage has changed due to migration, as many young couples have never been formally married but still live together, or "*se juntaron y viven juntos*" (they became partners and now live together). Many of the elderly believe that migration and life outside of San Jerónimo is the reason why married couples become "*divorciado o se separan*" (divorced or separate). People consider divorce or informal separation to be unacceptable, as divorced or separated men and women are frowned upon because they are thought to have character flaws. Some, like Don Seferiano Bautista, the elderly principal, commented about a known situation where a married couple separated, "well she left him because he was a bad man, a bad husband." Women like Ximena believe that some men "left their wives and family when they left to find work in the north. In the north they started new families." In San Jerónimo, I never formally documented a situation where a man actually abandoned his

family but did record these stories as rumors relayed by men at the agencia. In fact, stories about "abandoned wives" are common not just in San Jerónimo but also in other Oaxacan communities that have experienced significant emigration (Stephen 2007: 189-192). The ethnographic data I collected in Tijuana also suggests that a significant number of wives chose to emigrate to Tijuana or other parts of the U.S. because they feared being "*olvidades y abandonadas*" (forgotten and abandoned) by their husbands. In San Jerónimo, men and women view husbands that abandoned their wives as "*mala gente*" (bad people).

Unacceptable personal behavior jeopardizes a man's masculinity, meaning that any major deviation from the dominant masculinity is socially criticized and looked down upon. For example, Don Juan Vidal-Ramirez was in his late-fifties during my research. For the most part, he was quiet, though he liked to stop by the agencia at least twice a week to chat with the agente and other cargo-holding señores. Like many people, Don Juan had a nickname. His was *matñu*, which in Mixtec refers to "the middle part," or "in between." On one occasion in late July, Don Francisco the alcalde jokingly said, "There goes Juan In The Middle, whose house is he going to this evening?" Since I had never given much thought to Don Juan's nickname, I was perplexed, so I asked Don Francisco, "why do they call him 'Juan In The Middle?'" Don Francisco opened up the palm of his left hand and then placed his right hand vertically over his left palm. He proceeded to illustrate the action of a knife chopping something and said, "Johnny, he is Juan In The Middle, in the middle you see?" The elderly Don Seferiano Bautista chuckled and

laughed. He pointed to a small house on the east side of the town and then to another house on the west side, saying, "Juan *Matñu*, he sleeps in the middle."

Eventually, I discovered that although Don Juan Vidal-Ramirez was married, he also had a mistress with whom he had fathered several children that were living in the town. Most men at the agencia described this situation simply as "*esta casado pero tiene otra mujer*" (he is married but has another woman). To the men at the agencia, this was just an amusing situation, as I never recorded anyone actually criticizing Don Juan Vidal-Ramirez for "*teniendo dos mujeres*" (having two women). Some men like Don Francisco would say, "I don't know how he does it, I can barely deal with one wife." Others, like the principales Don Seferiano and Don Juan Morales-Arzola, would comment, "I don't know how he can handle two women." In San Jerónimo, a monogamous marriage is the norm, but unspoken forms of polygamy, specifically polygyny, do occur. In fact, the idea of polygamy is a common topic in jokes told among men and women of the community. Many of these jokes revolve around the topic of sex, sexual orientation, or polygamy. As these jokes are ways of teasing and criticizing others, they can often lead to conflicts between community members.

The siring of children outside of marriage does occur but is considered "not normal" by community members. Although there are very few teens living in San Jerónimo today, during my year in the town most teens were single. Some of the male teens claimed to have a *novia* (girlfriend), and two of them were living with their girlfriends despite not being formally married. Instead, some chose to *juntarse* (live together) and form a union with their partners. One of the teens at the office of bienes

comunales was not married, but he did speak of his partner as his "wife" who had also recently given birth to a child. Most of the families in San Jerónimo commented things like "if you are married first and then have children, you look like you are more responsible, and the community sees this." Teenage boys also agreed that it was important for their families that they become married first and then have children. Many described this as "*dar cara*" (saving face) to both the wife's family and the community.

The fathering of children outside the institution of marriage is common amongst the new generation; another facet of life the elderly claim has changed. Don Seferiano often said, "these kids today, they don't have respeto anymore." He firmly held onto the idea that men and women need to be married first and then have children. The general belief, however, is that men should care for their children regardless of whether they are married to the child's mother or not—this includes children of mistresses and prior relationships. If the mother is from San Jerónimo, this is even more imperative, as many families in San Jerónimo are either directly related to each other or connected to other families through the system of *compadrazgos* (fictive kin and institution of relationships between godparents). If a man does not take care of his children economically he might be indirectly criticized and considered "not a good man," a man that "*no sirve para nada*" (is worthless). According to the men of the agencia, men that do not provide or care for their children run the risk of being ostracized and ridiculed, thus eliminating their chance at holding the important cargos at the agencia.

Fathers and Children: "*Having boys and girls, it's the same but different.*"

Many men and women claim that prior to migration, families preferred having sons over daughters, since it was more difficult for women in general, as the community's socio-cultural rules for women were more stringent. Doña Rafaela Morales, recalled that when she was young, girls had always to cover themselves with their shawl and could not talk to men or boys that were not their relatives. Doña Rafaela firmly believes that "men prefer boys over girls" for several reasons. She explained that fathers preferred sons because they knew that one-day the girl would get married, leave, and move in with the husband's family. Life, as she claimed, "*era mas dificil para las mujeres*" (it was more difficult for women). Boys were preferred over girls because "*tiene mas peso la palabra de un hombre que una mujer, y se necesita tener varones en la familia*" (a man's words has more weight than a woman's, that is why you need to have males in the family). Doña Rafaela, like other elderly and middle-aged women, recognized that in San Jerónimo, a man's "voice and words," i.e., Men's authority, had more weight than women's voices, further illustrating the existence of gendered inequalities and a highly valued masculinity. Her daughter Ximena, who was both unmarried and childless, commented during this conversation, "it's still difficult being a woman here!"

Men like Don Francisco are aware of the community's preference for males. During an informal conversation, he stated, "*es mejor tener niños porque pues es mas dificil ser mujer donde quiera,*" meaning, "to be a woman is more difficult anywhere." I recorded a different response from the agente, Don Agustin, who has daughters but no

sons. I asked Don Agustin what he thought about having only daughters, and he replied, "I am happy I have daughters, it makes me try harder to be a good father. If I only had sons, maybe I wouldn't try as hard to be a good dad." The preference for boys was more prevalent among the elderly, who said that it was more difficult being female than male. Women like Doña Rafaela Morales explained that in the past, prior to mass migration, girls had to do the same work as boys, which was very difficult for them because "the body of a girl is not the same as a boy." Children had to herd animals, feed animals at night, plant and harvest corn, carry water and food, and do many other tasks that were very difficult for both boys and girls.

The fathering of daughters is sometimes perceived as more difficult than fathering sons for many reasons. Men that have more daughters than sons, or no sons at all, are often perceived as having a dilemma, as land and property are usually passed down to males first. The community is aware that under their system of patrilineality, daughters will become part of the husband's family, in-laws will then have priority over her father's side of the family. Men and women recognize that daughters and women in general are more heavily scrutinized than boys. Doña Rafaela and her daughter Ximena added, "if you are a women, you must do the same amount of work that men do, but you can't do the same things men do, like go for a walk just because you want to, it is an unfair situation." Both women added that some of consequences for simply "going for a walk" could result in dealing with "*chisme*" (gossip) from men and other women, a similar situation recorded by Rocio Gil Martinez de Escobar in the Mixtec town of Santa Maria Tindu (2006: 49).

As previously mentioned, men are allowed to monopolize public spaces, while women and girls who violate this norm might be criticized or verbally punished by other community members. Most agree that husbands must be responsible for teaching and educating their sons while wives must deal with their daughters. Some men like Don Agustin Cruz firmly believed that wives must "*enseñar les las cosas de ser mujer* (must deal and teach them about women's issues like puberty and menstruation)." Don Reymundo Morales, the suplente who has twin daughters, mentioned several times, "I am glad my wife has to deal with the girls. I don't know what I would do if I were a single father." Most of the men I spoke with echoed a similar sentiment, that it was easier to raise sons than daughters because "women are completely different and need to know about those things that women go through," specifically referring to a woman's menstruation cycle and puberty. It is common to hear people claim that to raise a boy is the same as raising a girl, but different. The major source of difference is in a child's biology, which people expect to fit into the binary set of genders accepted as normal—either male or female.

Men and women generally agreed that parents must be kind to their children and not beat them without reason, nor abuse them verbally. In all interviews, men claimed that respecting others was important because children observe and reproduce the actions of their parents. During informal conversations with the men at the agencia, almost everyone agreed that a man must work and teach his children a positive work ethic. Some men like Don Javier Gonzales-Campo, who was the *suplente del agente* (mayor's assistant) and occupied the second most important cargo in the agencia, stated, "you must

always think about who is watching you—not just the community, but your children." Parents who beat their children excessively and without reason or who do not feed and care for their children are looked down upon. They are thought of as *gente mala* (mean people), because "children can't defend themselves." During an informal conversation, Doña Rafaela Morales commented that her neighbor Doña Sabina Alvarado's adult children rarely visit their mother because when they were children their mother would severely beat them and speak badly to them, "*les pegaba mucho y les hablaba muy feo* (would beat and talk bad to them)." In San Jerónimo, violence against children is considered to be a private matter, an issue of the family. It is common to hear stories from middle-aged and elderly people about children that died because they did not have enough to eat or were badly beaten by their parents.

Prior to mass migration, the death of children was common in San Jerónimo. The archival data and death certificates I examined in the agencia recorded that between the late 1890s and 1970s, several children and infants died per year, sometimes including one per month. The records show that most of these deaths were the result of fever, dysentery, small pox, measles, pneumonia, malnutrition, or a combination of illnesses. According to Don Castulo Ramirez, a man in his late-eighties who lived permanently in San Jeronmio, some parents were jailed because they either beat their children excessively or were somehow, directly or indirectly, responsible for their deaths. I never actually interviewed anyone that admitted responsibility for the death of a child, but these kinds of stories were told as cautionary tales about the need to treat children well. For women, the death of newborns was often said to be the result of witches, demons, or spirits attacking and

killing babies at night. The elderly and middle aged claimed that the death of stillborn babies was the result of a mother having *susto* (fright) or malnutrition during her pregnancy; they blamed the husbands that could not provide for their wives. When asked about caring for children, many would simply state, "why have kids if you won't take care of them?", a sentiment that stressed the important role parents have in the upbringing of their sons and daughters. Most men agreed that having children was not a matter of choice but part of what it meant to be married. Women like Doña Rafaela Morales claimed that having children was part of what it meant to be a woman and wife, and an important stage in "the course of life;" it was what God intended ("*lo que quiere dios*").

Participation In The System of Civic-Religious Cargos: "*Here Men Must Serve*"

The dominant form of masculinity in San Jerónimo requires that men *sirvan al pueblo* (serve the community). Although most men and women described *servir* (to serve) as active participation in the civic-religious cargos and the festivals associated with mayordomias, the socio-cultural meaning of servir refers to being an active and visible member of the community. A man is also described as respecting and serving the community when he accepts and takes responsibility for a cargo or mayordomia, but people agree that active participation in community events and activities is just as important.

In San Jerónimo, accepting a cargo is the most symbolic expression of serving the community. This dominant discourse requires that in addition to being married, cargo holders must be experienced with cargos and other costumbres in order to be considered

for civic-religious cargos. There is a palpable relationship between the idea of "serving the pueblo" and "who is supposed to serve." There is general agreement among men and most women that married men are the only ones that should be elected to the system of civic cargos. Thus only men can "serve the pueblo," although women are allowed to sponsor fiestas as *mayordomo* or *diputado* (religious cargos and deputies). During many interviews with men, they claimed, "women should not hold cargos because it is not accepted," asking, "who will take care of the family?" The literature documents this inequality as part of a larger common socio-political system of gender inequalities in rural Oaxacan indigenous communities (Barrera Bassols 2006). Doña Petra Perea-Lopez, whose teenage son Miguel Perea was acting as a substitute and holding a cargo at the bienes comunales, asserted, "women should not be part of the cargos because it is not their job!" Most women I informally interviewed, while criticizing the work the current cabildo was doing, agreed that women "should not hold cargos" and that, "no se mira bien si esta una mujer hay como agente o con un cargo," meaning that it is not socially acceptable that a women hold the cargo of agente. Ximena Morales, on the other hand, often criticized the system of cargos, saying, "If I was agente, I would do a better job than those men at the agencia," suggesting that some women are open to the idea of women holding cargos. Some of the teenage girls who arrived in San Jerónimo during the major festival in September also questioned why the agencia was only for men, but they were also aware that was the status quo and made no efforts to change it.

Men generally state, "men that belong to the pueblo must serve the pueblo." The issue of who belongs or not to San Jerónimo is part of the dominant discourse about

masculinity and cargos, serving as a prime illustrator of the community's ideas regarding *pertenecer* (belonging). Women, regardless of their family ties or ancestry, cannot be ciudadanos or comuneros. In many indigenous Oaxacan communities, the issue of pertenecer is of importance to community members because it impacts their decision to participate within the community even if they live in the United States (Gil Martinez de Escobar 2006). In San Jerónimo, the concept of belonging does not necessarily refer to formal membership as ciudadanos or comuneros, but can suggest membership based on kinship and biological ties with families from the town. Everyone seems to agree that cargo-holding men *must* be from the community, but there is no agreement on how "pertencer" is defined. Many claim, "only men born in San Jerónimo can hold cargos," while others claim that "only men from families having origins or ties with families from San Jerónimo can hold cargos." Almost everyone I interviewed agreed that "outsiders shouldn't and can't hold cargos in the agencia" or that "those that are not from this pueblo can't and shouldn't hold cargos." Each of these definitions is further described as being part of the *costumbres del pueblo* (customs of the community), further illustrating the organic characteristics of usos y costumbres. Furthermore, we can observe that the content of costumbres is variable and continually changing. Very few children are born in San Jerónimo, and in fact, San Jerónimenses in general cannot recall the last time a child was actually born in the town. Thus the community must turn to those who are descendent from villagers to fill cargos.

As the ethnographic data I collected between 2011-2013 shows, many costumbres are going through changes that have yet to fully run their course. Evolving notions of

belonging to the community are impacting the system of civic-religious cargos in new and creative ways. For example, it is increasingly common to find that men who are biologically connected through kinship to families from San Jerónimo are serving cargos, even though they were not born there. Men that are married to women from San Jerónimo, once described as "outsiders," are now allowed to hold minor cargos; even the elderly now consider this acceptable and normal. However, every man I interviewed, regardless of their generation, firmly believed that "the agente needs to be a man from San Jerónimo and not an outsider." Men and women agreed that the agente, "… is the most important person; he is the main person." Enrique Moreno, a 19-year-old presidente at the bienes comunales, stated, "well, if you are born here that is the best situation. That is what the pueblo wants, but now no one is being born here… So one day, the agente will be someone that was not born here." The archival research I conducted in the agencia confirms this new phenomenon.

Records show that from the late 1800s until the early to mid-1980s, the agencia issued a large number of birth certificates. Between 1983-1984, however, it issued its last official birth certificates. San Jerónimenses explain that after 1984 the Oaxacan state government only accepted new birth certificates from Silacayoapan, the head municipality (or *cabecera municipal*). While not everyone fully acknowledges this change even 30 years after the fact, all are aware that "children are no longer being born in San Jerónimo," or that "things will change in the future." Today, the formal registration of newborns are recorded in Silacayoapan, the head municipality (*cabezera municipal*), but these newborns are not recorded as citizens of the municipality but of San

Jerónimo Progoreso, which is an agencia municipal. According to San Jerónimenses, this is done because the state of Oaxaca only recognizes birth certificates from the official head municipality, and not the agencia municipal. This situation has shifted some of San Jerónimo's official authority to the head municipality, since the town is an agencia municipal and under the jurisdiction of Silacayoapan, but this has not affected the community's sense of belonging to San Jerónimo.

Dominant men make the determination of who does and does not belong to the community of San Jerónimo. These dominant men, of course, recognize themselves as belonging to the families that originated from San Jerónimo. They incorporate others they identify with and exclude those they decide do not belong to San Jerónimo. In this process, men that actively or indirectly participate in community life establish the parameters of belonging. For example, during all of my interviews, almost everyone explained, "I was born here," or, "I belong to this town" and "it is part of my responsibility." Don Agustin Cruz, the agent who had left his wife and daughters to fend for themselves in Moreno Valley, California, explained during his interview, "I don't have anything here. This is my father's house. That is my father's land." I asked him, "then why did you accept your cargo?" He responded, "I was born here. I belong to this pueblo. I am responsible and respeto the laws of my pueblo." Every man I interviewed expressed that it was important to belong to the community and respect its laws and customs, citing it as the main reason why they would accept a cargo. Many stated that they had to "obey the laws of their community" because they were either born or belonged to families from San Jerónimo. No matter where a man lives, whether in

Tijuana, California, or elsewhere, he runs the risk of losing his property in San Jerónimo if he rejects his cargo. The cabildo, along with the comandancia de policia and the officers of bienes comunales, will almost always sanction men that reject their cargo or fail to find other means of satisfying it. The authorities will often formally threaten candidates via official letters or telephone calls and remind them of the dire consequences that await them if they fail to accept a cargo.

The authorities use the themes of belonging, respeto, and responsibility to recruit and urge men to participate in the system of civic-religious cargos. Community members at large use the concepts of *convir* and *respetar la comunidad* (come together and respect the community) to explain the purpose of festivals, social gatherings, collection of quotas, communal work (known as *tequio*), and the maintenance of the system of civic and religious cargos. Men convince their wives to support and allow them to participate in cargos through the use of the concept of pertenecer, which is intimately woven into the issues of responsibility, duty, and respeto. Men would explain to me that prior to accepting their cargos they had conversations with their wives and contemplated their decision to accept or reject their cargo. For instance, the agente Don Agustin stated, "I spoke with my wife, and told her, if I don't go *they* (the community) will talk bad about me, they will take away my father's land, they will talk bad about all of us. They will claim that I have no respect for the community." Others like Don Sergio Ramirez, who came from Tijuana, and held the cargo of *regidor propietario* (councilor) stated during his interview, "I did not want to accept the cargo. My mother pleaded with me to accept the cargo. She cried and said, "your father will lose his land. She got so sad because I

said that I did not want to go, that she even got sick. My father passed away several years ago. I thought she was going to die too."

Some mothers and wives attempt to remind their sons and husbands about the importance of belonging to the community and fulfilling one's duties toward it. In San Jerónimo, the dominant discourse of masculinity is shaped by interactions with women and their opinions, critiques, or actions. Masculinity is very much a social construct, created not just through personal experience but also with other members of the community that includes women. Although in San Jerónimo women's authority and *voz* (voice) is not equal to men, this is not the case outside of the town, where women are more vocal about men accepting or rejecting their cargo. Men like the agente Don Agustin are aware that some wives do not want their husbands to accept cargos, as it puts their families through tremendous economic and personal hardships. The dominant form of masculinity truly impacts every facet of a person's life in San Jerónimo, including their immediate and extended family.

Masculinity Without Cargos: "Nadien Quiere Tener Un Cargo"

Though San Jerónimo's dominant men demand that men actively participate in civic-religious cargos, there are numerous men who have never held a cargo or mayordomia. During a mini-census I carried out between 2011 and 2012, I asked men to list all the cargos or mayordomias they had held in their lifetime. Interestingly, a significant percentage, about a tenth of respondents, claimed they had never held a civic or religious cargo. Instead, these men listed that they had been lower diputados for

mayordomias or fiestas, members on the town's small committees dedicated to the maintenance of the school or potable water service, or members of the town's brass band. In San Jerónimo, men who don't participate in cargos are still considered active members of the community if they are actively involved in other activities, including attendance of formal town meetings, completion of communal work (tequio), or participation in the religious events for Santo Geronimo or in other general festivities of the community. In fact, almost every man interviewed emphasized that they did not want to assume a cargo—they made every effort to avoid them altogether.

Men that occupy a position in this secondary type of masculinity do not participate in cargos, but construct their masculinity and sense of belonging to San Jerónimo by participating directly or indirectly in other aspects of community life. For instance, Don Martin Lopez, one of the few men that was *separado y divorciado* (separated and divorced) but living with his partner and two daughters in San Jerónimo, held no cargo and was not a part of any committee, nor did he play an instrument in the band. When I interviewed him in his home, he happily stated, "I am free this year. I have nothing. No cargo. No committee. What worries me is how to make money." Don Martin had been a substitute for someone else's cargo the year before and was paid for holding the position. He mentioned that he was able to save some of the money and was hoping that someone else would ask him to be a substitute again so that he could stay in San Jerónimo and not have to leave to search for work. Don Martin made it clear that he did not want to hold a cargo on his own behalf, but that he preferred to be a substitute for someone else since they would pay him. I asked Don Martin what it meant for him to be

a good citizen and member of San Jerónimo, and, like most, he answered, "to be a good citizen is to accept your cargo when it is assigned to you." He also added that, "it means to be part of the community, to participate, to be involved and help out when they ask you."

The interview with Don Martin illustrates several important themes regarding cargos and masculinities. First, it shows that some men have been able to supplement their income by acting as substitutes, highlighting the changes occurring in the cargo system; substitutes were almost unheard of a generation ago. Second, we can recognize that most, if not all, families regard cargos as burdens. They express resentment, fear, anxiety, and even anger toward the system of cargos and mayordomias. True, many describe their town and its festivals as "*bonito*" (beautiful), community social bonds as "*fuerte*" (strong), and even their socio-cultural customs as "*son bonitos los costumbres*," (the customs are beautiful) but many privately state that they do not want to hold cargos. Most of the men I interviewed in San Jerónimo, and later in Tijuana, Ensenada, San Diego, and Exeter, stated that they made "every effort to avoid being selected to the cargos at the agencia and bienes comunales."

Among residents of San Jerónimo, there are mixed feelings about cargos, a dilemma that is very likely the direct result of San Jerónimo's transnational condition. My ethnographic data suggests several important reasons why this is now the case. The most important is that a significant percentage of those living in San Jerónimo do not actually live in the town on a permanent basis. In fact, according to my estimates based on the mini-census I conducted, three-fourth of men living in San Jerónimo listed their

primary place of residency somewhere else (i.e. Tijuana, San Diego, Phoenix, Stockton, Exeter, Farmersville, etc.). These men, in addition to their families, are then shaped by new socio-cultural norms and values that conflict with what is present in San Jerónimo.

The data I collected also infers that between eighty and ninety percent of men holding cargos at the agencia in 2011-12 did not live permanently in San Jerónimo. Of those men holding cargos at the agencia, almost all agreed that they preferred not to have a cargo, and for several reasons. Most men explained that their family, wives and children were left behind at their primary place of residency and that cargos impacted their personal lives in several drastic ways. The most common response was "cargos are expensive" because they are unpaid positions and families must find a way to cover the individual's costs during his time in San Jerónimo. This means that families will not only have to cover the husband's expenses but will also lose an important source of income for more than a year. Respondents said that they would have preferred to decline their cargo because they had to leave their wives and children, stating, "*se tiene que dejar la familia,*" or, "*se queda la familia*" (the family must stay). This new situation is different from earlier studies documenting that both husbands and wives would travel and stay in San Jerónimo for the entire duration of the cargo—one to two years (González Pantoja 2003; Gutierrez Galindo 2010; Ruiz Robles 2003). Men and women complain about the current state of the system, but nevertheless continue to reluctantly accept, reproduce, and maintain it.

This situation tells us several things about the dominant form of masculinity in San Jerónimo. First, although cargos are part of the hegemonic norms associated with

men and their identities, they exist in a state of contradiction, contestation and reluctance. The community is aware that cargos are extremely important responsibilities for men, specifically for their formal recognition as citizens of San Jerónimo Progreso, but most do not want to be selected to them. Second, there are an increasing number of men that do not and will not participate in the system of civic-religious cargos and mayordomias, but construct their masculinity in alternative and non-dominant forms. These non-participating men are part of the third type of masculinity and most visible in places like Exeter or Farmersville, California, and are further explored in Chapters 4 and 5.

The non-dominant forms of masculinity in San Jerónimo are centered on other aspects of community life. The ethnographic data collected in and outside of San Jerónimo suggests that the community highly values the sense of belonging and participating with community activities like social gatherings, religious ceremonies, and events that bring families together. For example, although most of San Jerónimo's community is Catholic, there are growing numbers of families that are not. These non-Catholic families refrain from participating in Catholic events associated with the town's patron saint Santo Geronimo, or festivities that go against their religious teachings. In Chapter 5, I demonstrate that these men and their families do not support or accept religious cargos or mayordomias. Instead, they are elected to the cargos of the agencia and bienes comunales in addition to some of the town's small committees.

In San Jerónimo, there were several men that self-identified as *cristianos* or *hermanos* (non-Catholic Christians). Some like the elderly Don Casiano Barrera, who had criticized Don Francisco Padilla-Rivera for lacking respeto, stated, "I am cristiano

and it is against God to worship idols," referring specifically to the saints of the Catholic Church. Don Felipe Salcedo, another non-Catholic in his early-fifties who I first met in San Jerónimo but later interviewed in Ensenada, Baja California, also self-identified as "cristiano." Like many non-Catholics, Don Felipe explained that he made it clear to the community that he wouldn't accept any religious cargos or mayordomias. He was firm in his religious beliefs and stated, "*pero como soy cristiano no tengo otra opcion y tengo que aceptar los cargos de la agencia o bienes comunales*," meaning that since he was Christian, he had no other choice but to accept cargos at the agencia or bienes comunales.

I will return to the issue of non-Catholics in Chapter 5, but will discuss individuals like Don Casiano and Don Felipe further here because they illustrate the existence of types of masculinity constructed outside San Jerónimo's dominant discourse. For these cristiano men, masculinity is constructed through alternative and indirect forms of community participation, as evidenced by these men's refusal to accept religious mayordomias or consume alcohol during community events. These men still fall within the realm of San Jerónimo's "usos y costumbres," however, as they too explain that they must "respetar" the custom of civic-religious cargos by accepting the responsibilities of cargos. In San Jerónimo, men that do not participate in cargos construct their masculinity through interaction with other aspects of community life. Again, some non-Catholic men illustrate the importance of "belonging" and participation in community life, since they generally agree that it is important to be an active member of San Jerónimo. Although non-Catholics are exempt from religious cargos, they do participate in other events like town meetings, tequio, funerals, weddings, some holidays like Christmas, Easter, and

Mother's Day, some events associated with Dia de Los Muertos, etc., despite not being Catholics themselves. The masculinities associated with these men are largely shaped by their new religion, but cargos still have an impact on their lives. In San Jerónimo, masculinity is not only socially constructed, but the product of new socio-cultural environments, one of which is the adoption of religions such as Evangelicalism, Protestantism, Mormonism, and Jehovah's Witnesses.

In San Jerónimo, the dominant form of masculinity, which I identify as constituting the first type of masculinity, is characterized by active participation in the major civic-religious cargos. These men and their families have made new attempts to adapt to the community's current transnational condition. Men that fail to participate in one way or another, via cargos or mayordomias, are socially chastised and ostracized. In fact, if individuals fail to participate in other events or social gatherings like tequio, an example of "usos y costumbres" as customary law, they run the risk of being fined or jailed, with the most drastic consequence being expulsion from San Jerónimo. Here, notions of costumbres manifest as uncodified social norms or laws that can be accurately described as customary law. Non-participant men are viewed as *no sirven* (do not serve) or *no obedese* (do not obey), or most tellingly, *no son de San Jerónimo*, meaning that they are not from San Jerónimo and ultimately do not belong in San Jerónimo.

Almost everyone in the town agreed that to be a part of San Jerónimo "you must participate" by being an active and visible member of the community. During my research, members of the cabildo would often write down and note the names of those individuals that were absent during tequio or town meetings. Often, those at the agencia

would talk among themselves and gossip about those who were absent. It is common to hear them ask, “did you see this person today?” or “why was that person not here for the tequio? Did he tell us he wasn’t going to show up?” At the agencia, one can observe that non-participating men are quickly identified by the comandancia de policia, the town’s head of police who verbally identifies the missing person or writes down his name for future reference. At the time of my research, the head of police was Don Marcelino Mendoza, who was born in San Andreas Montañas but had married a woman from San Jerónimo. As the head of police, he and the agente Don Agustin Cruz would pass out a sheet of paper and ask all the men to write their names or even give their fingerprints to confirm their presence. Men who refused to attend meetings or tequios were usually verbally warned through informal conversations. They were often also called to the agencia, where the agente and his suplente reminded them of their responsibilities as ciudadanos. In San Jerónimo, it is made explicitly clear to everyone that to live in the town you must be an active member who visibly participates in community life. Most men agree that those men that do not participate lack respect for the community and run the risk of being formally removed. They can lose their rights as ciudadanos to own land, as they may have their houses and territories confiscated while possibly being fined, jailed, or socially chastised through both gossip and direct verbal confrontation.

In the following chapter, I explore through ethnography some of the important themes associated with the town’s masculinities. This includes the issues of *chisme* (gossip), violence or inappropriate behaviors toward women, taboos associated with homosexuality, murder, and alternative masculinities. As with this chapter, the purpose is

to offer an ethnographic description of life in San Jerónimo while focusing specifically on the socio-cultural context that shapes indigenous masculinities. Other themes, such as women's experiences and changing identities, homosexuality, and the youth's new cultural norms and values are important to consider, but are beyond the work intended here. However, I recognize that they are important themes and suggest that future research be committed to such viable topics.

Chapter 2

Regulating Masculinity

Though there are few elderly in San Jerónimo, their life histories, opinions, and stories illustrate some of the major changes in notions of costumbres. In San Jerónimo, I was fortunate to formally interview several elderly men who were in their late-eighties and still in good health. For instance, Don Castulo Ramirez, one of the most vocal elderly men in his late eighties, is an active member who commits to attending all formal town meetings and social gatherings despite his advanced age. As such, many in San Jerónimo claim that Don Castulo "knows a lot of things and the story of San Jerónimo." Despite some of his personal issues, including disputes with his grandchildren over matters of inheritance, he generally maintains a positive standing in San Jerónimo. During my formal interview with him, I asked him to describe the most significant changes he has seen in San Jerónimo. He stated, "well, everyone left and now lives over there [Tijuana or United States]." I asked him about the town's fiesta and he described, "when I was young the fiestas were small. Now they are bigger. There is more. More food. More animals. More to drink." Here, I probed the issue of "drinking" and asked him to explain what "drinking" meant for him, to which he clarified, "well, here if you want to drink you can. Anybody can drink. That is the way it is here." Don Castulo is aware that in San Jerónimo it is generally acceptable to drink large quantities of alcohol during fiestas. It is also common to find men that have passed out or become incapacitated and uncontrollable during the town's many festivities. This is considered normal, but

generally recognized as not necessarily a "good" thing as it may lead to excessive consumption of alcohol and the problems that entails.

Men, Fiestas, and Violence

Every September some outsiders visit San Jerónimo to observe the festivities dedicated to Santo Geronimo. Many of these visitors comment that they have never seen so much beer at a festival. Like many communities in the region, it is generally acceptable to consume large quantities of alcohol during the fiestas associated with a town's patron saint. In San Jerónimo people consider it "normal" and part of the town's costumbres to get drink alcohol and become drunk. Yet, although this is acceptable, people recognize that the drinking of alcohol is a serious matter requiring that you "know what you are doing." The elderly explain that men "must know their limits" and drink "*a su medida"* (know their limits), reminding men and women to be aware of the possible consequences of their actions. People generally agree that to drink alcohol "*no es un juego*" (is not a joke), but rather a delicate and serious matter because of the many serious consequences that can occur if an individual violates the community's socio-cultural norms and values. It is common to hear of stories of men who after drinking and behaving beyond their means, were beaten, jailed, or even killed. In fact, community members acknowledge that it is common for drunken men to become violent toward other men during fiestas. Although the town has it is own comandancia de policia who regulate and act as security during festivals, they are not always able to deal with all the issues that might arise.

The formal interviews I conducted in San Jerónimo examined men's perception of these fiestas and social gatherings. Don Roberto Patino-Olivas had arrived to San Jerónimo from Escondido, California toward the end of my ethnographic fieldwork in the town and was set to become the next agente for 2012-2013. I asked him to describe the festival dedicated to Santo Geronimo and he quickly reminded me, "Johnny, you already know how it is," as he then lifted his hands and gestured as if he were drinking something. He continued, "you know how it is. The things they do. *Asi es como son las cosas* (That's how things are)." Don Alberto explained that it was common after a dance to have several men wake up the next morning in the town's jail cell and not be able to recall why they were in jail or what they had done the night before. Interestingly, Don Roberto pointed out, "everyone in this town has been there. *No hay ningun Santito en* San Jerónimo" (there are no saints in San Jerónimo). According to most, every man in the town, in addition to many women, has been jailed at least once in their lifetime. Their reasons for being jailed include fighting, arguing, disrespect toward others, behaving *tachi* (crazy) in public, excessive drinking, and chronic alcoholism. Elderly men like Don Castulo recalled that in the past, men were jailed for flirting with girls in the town, stating "many young men, *jovenes*, went to jail for trying to talk to girls or because girls accused boys of trying to talk to them." Women like Doña Rafaela Morales and Doña Petra Perea-Lopez also confirmed that in the past, men and women were jailed for *chisme* (gossip), criticizing others, drinking beyond their means, fighting and arguing in public, stealing, not controlling their livestock, flirting, and harassment.

During interviews and informal conversations, I asked individuals if men were jailed for beating their wives. Most responded, "well, if it is a public event, if people complain and saw the husband hit his wife then, yes, he is jailed." Don Agustin the agente mentioned that if violence against women occurred at a public event or in "people's view," then "yes, the man is jailed," but if "he hits his wife in his house, then how will you know? It is a delicate issue." This is a delicate matter because it is in their own private home and no one has the right to intervene, or enter their home." It is common to hear stories of man on man violence, but men rarely speak openly about violence against women. Instead, per my ethnographic observations, men talk about stories, incidents, or hearsays, often using the phrase, "well, I heard that person did this…" Conversations about other people are also carefully navigated since it can be considered chisme. In San Jerónimo, I never actually observed or documented an incident where a man was physically violent toward a woman, but the lack of visible violence against women does not mean that these kinds of issues are absent in the town. Instead, the lack of visible violence suggests that violence against women is very much a private affair and limited to a family's own home.

For instance, I documented a personal story of violence toward women in a very telling informal conversation with a man holding one of the most important cargos in San Jerónimo—someone whose name and cargo position I will not reveal for the sake of privacy but who I will instead refer to as Don Alonso. I got to know Don Alonso after several months of living in San Jerónimo and we became good friends. I frequently visited him at his house to talk about life in San Jerónimo and learned that Don Alonso

lives permanently in southern California with his wife and their several children, mostly daughters. He always spoke about how much he missed his family and that he appreciated them now more than before, since here in San Jerónimo he lived alone and had very few relatives in the town. At the end of each day, Don Alonso would sit quietly outside of his house and make his own meals, which sometimes consisted of Maruchan Instant Noodles. Most men holding cargos live alone in San Jerónimo, and some do not live in their own house at all, but in a relative's house. During the year Don Alonso would remember certain dates or holidays celebrated in the U.S. and recall, "it is Martin Luther King Day, my kids are not going to school today," or "my children are on spring vacation now." Once, Don Alonso began to talk about his wife and children,

> Johnny, you know I used to beat up my wife. I would drink and I don't know why, I would hit her. It was common for me to do this when I was really drunk. Then my kids started getting older. One time, I got drunk and I started hitting her (wife). Then one of my daughters, she was older now, she came and started yelling at me and saying she was going to call the police and child services to report me. You know how it is over there [U.S.] if they call the police on you for hitting a woman… that was the last time I hit her. I feel bad about hitting my wife and well, I know we are not supposed to do that there [U.S.]. (interview with author, August 20, 2012)

This personal conversation illustrates that violence against women, like violence against men, does occur but is usually limited to the privacy of one's house. Don Alonso's story is important to consider because these incidents occurred in the U.S., where the law and its consequences are more stringent and can impact a person's record and legal status for a lifetime.

In San Jerónimo, any form of violence against another person is highly frowned upon, but people know that violence is common during festivals and social gatherings

where men and women consume alcohol. Like most individuals, Don Alonso recognized that despite living in the U.S., alcohol was a major factor in his violent outbursts toward his wife. My data suggests that the socio-cultural environment in San Jerónimo not only maintains gender inequalities but also contributes to violence against women by pushing these kinds of incidents to the private sphere rather than in public spaces. In San Jerónimo, any violence by an attacker who is physically stronger than the other person is viewed negatively. Younger men that hurt or beat up the elderly or middle-aged are highly frowned upon, since younger men are believed to be more capable than the middle aged or elderly. Any person that is violent or visibly upset in public is considered to be behaving "bad", which runs the risk of being jailed and socially chastised. Individuals labeled as *mala persona* (bad people) are considered to lack respeto, meaning that they do not have respect for their own family, spouse, relatives, and overall community. Given that women are perceived as physically weaker than men, it is a taboo for men to inflict violence against women. This is one of the main reasons why violence against women occurs in the privacy of the home as opposed to during public events.

Taboos and the Case of "Touching" Someone Else

In San Jerónimo, there are many taboos against behaviors that are considered to be morally and culturally deficient, including sexual orientation, inappropriate sexual relationships, and extreme forms of violence such as rape or murder. For instance, it is considered morally inappropriate for a man to have a sexual relationship with a married woman of the community. Some men claim that men who engage in this kind of extra-

marital affair run the risk of being seriously injured or even killed by the woman's husband or relatives. In fact, in San Jerónimo men try to avoid conversations that touch on the subject altogether, as it is considered "*falta de respeto*" (lack of respect) to openly discuss this kind of behavior. The few men that mentioned having mistresses or *otra mujer* made it clear that the woman in question was single or sin *compromisos* (without ties). Men often spoke of affairs as "*cosas que terminan mal*," meaning they are things that end badly that "can get you hurt or killed." During informal conversations with men, and some women like Ximena Morales, all would remind me that in San Jerónimo, some men were murdered for more trivial offenses. Every person I spoke with mentioned that rape or "touching" a woman could result in the murdering of the perpetrator.

In San Jerónimo I witnessed and recorded one incident in particular where a young man was accused by a teenage girl of trying to "*tocar"*or touch her. Ricardo "Beto" Bravo, a single man in his mid-thirties, was considered by most in San Jerónimo to be one of the town's chronic drunks; it was common to see him visibly intoxicated in public spaces on a daily basis. His behavior would usually lead to his arrest and subsequent jailing for several days. Beto had lived in Tijuana for most of his life but returned to San Jerónimo because of what he called "problems in Tijuana". Because Beto was a member of the town's brass band, by the end of September he was drinking on a daily basis, as band members are required to drink at all social gatherings where they play music as part of their costumbres. Everyone at the agencia considered Beto to be tachi or insane and without respeto but tolerated him since he was considered to be essential for the town's brass band.

On one occasion in early August, Beto was drinking at a small convenience store located next to the agencia where a teenage girl usually worked as the clerk. According to Marcelino Ramirez, a teenager holding the cargo of *topil* (Nahuatl for assistant or messenger) at the agencia, Beto was drunk and attempted to touch the girl's breasts. Beto was immediately arrested and early the next day he was sitting at the agencia's patio. I asked Don Francisco Padilla-Rivera that day why Beto was there and he explained that the teenage girl accused Beto of scarring her by trying to touch her. Don Francisco explained that "Betito was accused of trying to commit rape" and the men at the agencia were discussing what to do with him since this kind of behavior was considered "grave and very serious". Beto sat quietly in the middle of the patio directly in front of the agente with his head lowered. His aunt sat next to him and continuously apologized to the agencia for Beto's actions and behavior. She claimed that Beto was crazy with a "child's head" and could not think straight nor behave properly. The young girl was also there and she explained to the cabildo what had occurred, and that she had feared for her safety.

After several hours of discussing the incident, the men at the agencia were not sure what to do with Beto. Don Francisco Padilla-Rivera the alcalde commented, "we can expel him and send him to Oaxaca City so the government will deal with him," while others suggested, "let's jail him for a certain amount of time." Finally, the men at the agencia came to an agreement. They concluded that since he had not committed rape, but did behave in a manner that suggested its possibility, Beto was to spend a week in jail and pay a fine of several thousand pesos. Since Beto was unemployed, his family would be responsible for covering the fine and feeding him while he was in jail. In San Jerónimo,

usos y costumbres can become part of what is considered customary law. Violation of socially accepted behavior like trying to "tocar" a women's body is considered a grave offense that runs the risk of banishment. Men and women are aware that individuals that commit these kinds of offenses are also put at risk of being murdered by family members of the victims who may not be satisfied with the cabildo's interpretation of its customary laws or their enforcement of sanctions. They may decide to take matters into their own hands to ensure justice against men that have violated these customary norms.

The case of Beto demonstrates several important issues with the dominant form of masculinity in San Jerónimo. First, men that fail to achieve the dominant form of masculinity run the risk of severe consequences, including not only verbal admonishments, fines, jail, or banishment from the town, but physical violence or even murder by other men. Second, despite Beto's alcoholism, the agencia's cabildo continuously made efforts to punish him by putting him in jail rather than banishing him from the town. This suggests that men who are deemed important and necessary to the community may have more privileges than other men or women. Most of the women I spoke with insisted that Beto receive lashings for his negative behavior, or as Doña Rafaela Morales stated, "*necesita que le den una calentada* (he needs to be disciplined)." Just as telling was the fact that Beto was aware of his behavior; on the few days I spoke with him when he was sober, he would tell me, "*tengo un vicio muy pesado*" (I have a terrible vice). It was apparent to everyone in the town that Beto was an alcoholic who was aware of his own predicament. Despite his negative standings in the town, Beto made every effort to participate in community events, attending most of the community's

tequios. Beto's case is the most drastic example of someone who has never held a cargo in San Jerónimo but still actively participates in community life. Most men at the agencia laughed when I asked them, "do you think they will appoint Betito as an agente one day?", but they all agreed that Beto "has a purpose," even though "*el esta enfermo*" (he's crazy sick).

Murder and Principales: "The principal killed a principal"

Ricardo "Beto" Bravo's incident illustrates that there are severe consequences for violent behavior in San Jerónimo, the most drastic of which is further physical violence in the form of killings. Oral histories gathered from the elderly tell of many revenge murders that occurred because of situations such as men cheating other men, men who fought and severely hurt others, and men who had insulted, teased, and disrespected people. In one oral history I recorded in San Jerónimo, Don Felipe Salcedo retold how one of his eldest brothers, who at the time of the incident was in his early fifties, killed another man and was permanently banished from the town. According to Don Felipe, his eldest brother had been elected to the cargo of principal, referred to in Mixtec as *Na Sakua'a*. As Don Felipe retold this incident,

> My brother Martin was elected to the cargo of *principal*. He was at an age where he should have the ability to *pensar mejor y mas claro* (think better); he was older. They had a fiesta in March and he was drinking with another Na Sakua'a (principal) and they became very drunk. Then they started to offend each other, they disrespected each other. Well, the other principal starts to walk home stumbling and falling over. Martin doesn't remember what happened, but they say that Martin followed the principal because he was very mad that this principal had insulted and offended him. They say Martin picked up a shovel and went after the other principal and then hit him on the back of the head. The next morning they found the Na Sakua'a, his body was at the bottom of the small gorge near the

> agencia, the one with the small bridge. He was dead and his head had blood everywhere. My brother was arrested and put in jail, and the agencia called the Oaxacan state police to come pick him up and send him to Oaxaca. But before the state police could arrive my brother's family living in Tijuana heard the news, they immediately traveled to San Jerónimo. Well, his family got my brother and left San Jerónimo. They picked him up because they knew if he stayed in San Jerónimo, the other principal's family might kill Martin out of revenge. That is why Martin hasn't returned to San Jerónimo for more than twenty years. He lives there in Tijuana and tries to avoid the family of the other Na Sakua'a as much as possible. It's really an embarrassing thing, the principal killing another principal. (interview with author, May 7, 2012)

Don Jose's family story supports my argument that the concept of respeto is extremely important in San Jerónimo, so much so that men may react violently toward another person who demonstrates a lack of respect toward them. This incident further illustrates that despite the community being aware that drinking alcohol may result in negative incidents, like physical violence or death; it is nonetheless considered an important and necessary costumbre. Furthermore, these kinds of negative incidents are retold as a way to regulate and influence men's decisions in San Jerónimo. These oral histories resonate for members of the community since most individuals are related to others through either kinship or the system of *compadrazgo* (fictive kin and godparents). In fact, a family's ancestral kinship chart will often show that in the past, families were connected through grandparents who were siblings or cousins.

The retelling of these kinds of incidents reminds community members that there are severe consequences for individuals that behave inappropriately and violate the community's socio-cultural norms. The most severe consequence for failing to regulate or control one's behavior, give respect, and *saber su medida* (know their limits) is physical violence. Almost everyone in San Jerónimo has a personal story about a family

member that was murdered or had killed someone else because of being cheated, insulted, physically hurt, or *falta de respeto* (disrespected). Today, one can still record stories from the middle aged and elderly who will recount how their father or grandfather was either accidently killed or died a mysterious death. Like many, Don Felipe Salcedo mentioned, "if you kill someone, you will always be haunted by the act, you will never live comfortable, and live in doubt *(andar con duda que un dia te lo van a cobrar*)." Such a gruesome story reminds the listener to respect but not demand respect, and to avoid conflict altogether.

Don Felipe's story touches on an important issue that I will clarify here—the cargo of principal has changed significantly in the last few decades due to migration. According to community members, the cargo of principal is important for several reasons, the first of is that the cargo recognizes individuals who are considered to *saber cosas* (have knowledge of many things). In other words, the existence of the cargo of principal is more important than the qualities of the persona actually holding the cargo. The Mixtec term Na Sakua'a translates as "The Learned" and is associated with the formal position of principal, but can be used to refer to the elderly, men holding cargos at the agencia, or men in general during important social gatherings. In the literature on indigenous Oaxacan communities and cargos there is a misconception that principales are always elderly men that are highly respected or regarded in the community. (González Pantoja 2003; Gutierrez Galindo 2010; Ruiz Robles 2003) In San Jerónimo, most agree that principales are supposed to be elderly men, but today, men of all age groups and ranges of experience are elected to the cargo of principal (or Na Sakua'a). Although it's

possible to refer to women as *Nana Sakua'a*, this is not common, which might be the result of the term being associated with the system of civic-cargos that excludes women from participation while allowing men to monopolize the cargo of principal. San Jerónimenses agree that the idea and use of the term Na Sakua'a (principales) is extremely important because it is perceived as showing respect to others.

Gossip as Chisme: "Be careful what you say…"

In San Jerónimo, chisme acts as a social phenomenon of gossip that not only transmits news of current events to community members but regulates and shapes masculinities. People often complain about those accused of being *chismoso* (engaging in chisme), as those who are chismoso are seen to be lacking respect because of the ways chisme can negatively impact the mental and emotional health of a person that is the target of chisme. As such, men and women toe the line of chisme carefully so they are not accused of being chismosos, often by limiting chisme to the privacy of their own homes. Individuals that discover that they are the topic of negative chisme often become visibly angry or upset toward those that engage in chisme and may even start to feel ill.

Chisme serves to regulate men's behaviors and sense of self, as many men often state "I have to be careful how I act because if I don't, people will talk bad about me." In San Jerónimo, the agente Don Agustin once commented, "here, you can go to jail if you are chismoso or talk bad about another person." I asked him to explain what he meant by this, and he continued, "if someone accuses you of making up things, or saying things, talking bad about another person, then that person can formally charge [demandar] or

report you to us, here at the agencia. We the cabildo will have to settle the issue." If the cabildo determines a person culpable for creating or spreading chisme, that person may be jailed and fined. As chisme is such a serious offense, people make every effort to avoid being accused of partaking in it. In fact, the most common offenses people in San Jerónimo are jailed for are fighting and engaging in chisme.

A Case of Transnational Chisme

The cabildo, specifically the agente, is responsible for determining if a person is guilty of chisme and must administer the appropriate consequences under the interpretation of customary law. Don Agustin once explained, "we must deal with people that are chismoso because if we don't things can escalate and we will have more serious problems." Though there are no written laws against chisme, people adhering to San Jeronimo's socio-cultural norms know that there are serious consequences for violating these norms by participating in chisme. Avoiding chisme is established as common sense, as it is part of what it means to respect others.

I documented the seriousness of chisme in early July, when I arrived to the agencia and saw two of the town's teenage girls sitting in front of the cabildo. By this point in time, the men at the agencia were comfortable with my presence. I would usually sit near the principales, who sat on a bench perpendicular to the agente's bench. The agente's bench faces the patio and is reserved for his cabinet, which includes the suplente, alcalde, and regidor. People that visit the agencia will usually sit on a bench directly facing the agente. On this particular day, I asked one of the principales sitting

next to me why the two teenage girls were sitting there and why they had arrived so early. Carla and Victoria both live in San Jerónimo on a permanent basis and are some of the few teenage girls that were single and unmarried. Don Emiliano Morales-Ramirez the sindico propietario responded, "Well, you see, Carla heard from her sister who lives in Tijuana that Victoria, the girl sitting next to her, was talking bad about her." I was surprised by this explanation and asked him to fully explain the incident. He began, "Carla's older sister lives in Tijuana. A women there told Carla's sister that Victoria, here in San Jerónimo, was spreading and saying bad things [*malas cosas*] about Carla." Later, I triangulated this incident with several members of the cabildo, including the agente, sindico, alcalde, and several teens at the bienes comunales. I realized that this situation could best be described as an incident of transnational chisme. What happened was that Carla's older sister, who lives in Tijuana, was at a social gathering at La Colonia Obrera, one of the city's suburbs with a large population of families from San Jerónimo. At this gathering, another woman from San Diego arrived to help make food for a child's birthday party. This woman mentioned to Carla's older sister that she had heard, from an unidentified source, that Victoria accused Carla of flirting with men and walking frequently in San Jerónimo's public spaces and streets. Carla's older sister immediately phoned Carla and notified her of the chisme. The following day Carla came to the agencia and spoke with the cabildo, specifically to Don Agustin the agente, and made a *demanda* (formal charge), which would require that Victoria show up to the agencia and explain her side of the story to the cabildo. If the cabildo determined that Victoria had engaged in chisme, she would face formal punishment. Eventually, the cabildo decided to

simply admonish Victoria and remind her that these kinds of chisme are extremely serious and that she would go to jail if her behavior continued. All the men at the agencia repeatedly reminded the teenage girls that they should get along and not fight, that they should "show respect to each other" because they live in the same small town. After the girls left, Don Agustin looked over at where I was sitting and stated, "see Johnny, here you must be careful what you say or who you talk about… The jail is right there" (*por que si no, hay esta la carcel*).

This case of transnational chisme demonstrated several important themes regarding customary law in San Jerónimo. Those that are perceived to belong to San Jerónimo, even if they do not live there, are bound to the community's notions customary norms. These socio-cultural rules are intimately woven to the sense of belonging, since people living in the town recognize that they must abide and follow these unwritten rules lest they be formally punished. Furthermore, people are aware that if the chisme occurs outside of San Jerónimo, in locations such as like Tijuana or the United States, it would not be possible to demandar a community member. However, if the accused is physically present in San Jerónimo and recognized as belonging to the community, then it is very much possible to make a formal complaint against that person for engaging in chisme, even if said chisme occurred outside of town. This is possible because community members hold a consensus that chisme constitutes offensive behavior that violates the community's notions of what is morally and culturally acceptable.

It is the agencia's responsibility to formally address all issues that impact the community's quality of life. Part of this responsibility includes maintaining a sense of

amicability between individuals living in the town during the agencia's tenure. This includes maintaining a functioning relationship between members of the cabildo, a challenge unto itself. Don Agustin remarked, "we must try to keep it calm [tranquilo] here, so that there are no problems or issues among the people. It is a small town, and we must all get along and respect each other. We [the cabildo] also have our own problems." In fact, during my year in San Jerónimo, I witnessed and recorded several men from the cabildo jailed, including the head police officer, for public drunkenness, fighting, arguing, and *faltando respeto* (disrespecting others). As mentioned earlier, the cabildo must address conflicts originating from chisme, and it is more common for women to be accused of being chismosas by other women regardless of age. During the festival for Santo Geronimo, I documented several women jailed for chisme, verbal arguments with other women, and *faltar respeto*. In San Jerónimo, women are the ones that are frequently jailed for engaging in chisme, while men are jailed and fined for drinking beyond their means and becoming violent toward other men. Men holding cargos at the agencia agree that they too dislike chisme and can be heard complaining, "people are talking bad about us," further demonstrating that town gossip can work to regulate people's lives in San Jerónimo.

Alternative Masculinities: Men, *Li'i*, and *Marotas*

I have argued in this and the previous chapter that in San Jerónimo, men and their dominant norms, values, and practices characterize the primary type of masculinity. Among these attitudes is a clear distinction between who does and does not belong to the town as well between active and inactive participation in the community. Individuals that

fail to achieve the dominant form of masculinity are made clearly aware that they do not fit into this discourse of belonging. Here, I will explore the issue of alternative masculinities, focusing specifically on homosexuality and other behaviors considered to be deviant or abnormal. An exploration of these themes is necessary to further understand the nuanced complexity of the first type of masculinity in San Jerónimo.

The dominant form of masculinity in San Jerónimo discriminates against alternative genders and sexualities, marginalizing specifically those not a part of the male-female gender binary. Sexual orientations that deviate from heterosexuality are considered to be highly unacceptable and against the community's gendered socio-cultural norms. Specifically, there are taboos against incest, homosexuality, bisexuality, and mannerisms that contradict a person's biological sex and gender. Gendered identities must coincide with an individual's biological sex, meaning everything considered "masculine" or "feminine" exists in relationship to the absolute categories of male or female. There are rigid taboos against anything that deviates from these two gendered identities, and even though some individuals may have been born intersex, these kinds of topics are left undiscussed. Taboos against alternative sexualities and genders regulate and control men and women's behaviors since the dominant form of masculinity specifically forbids or negates their existence. Individuals that practice alternative sexualities or identify with a non-traditional gender refrain from openly discussing the topic. This is the primary reason why it was almost impossible to speak to individuals that self-identified as gay, homosexual, queer, or bisexual in San Jerónimo, Tijuana, and Exeter, California. Instead, it is more common to hear men, and some women, discuss

homosexuality as a negative phenomenon. The elderly and middle-aged especially will often make verbal threats, express discriminatory opinions, or utter slurs toward alternative sexualities and genders. This is done to differentiate between what are acceptable and unacceptable behaviors.

I personally learned of these taboos and socio-cultural expectations a few weeks into my ethnographic fieldwork in the town. When I arrived to San Jerónimo in late January 2011, I did not initially have a place to live. Although my uncle allowed me to use his house during my research, it needed some major repairs. I spent more than two months fixing the house, so the agente Don Agustin allowed me to say in a small room next to his father's house while I completed the repairs. I thought this would be helpful, since my uncle's house was located on the same street as Don Agustin's father's house. After two weeks of working on the house and living in Don Agustin's father's house, Don Agustin let me know that he started hearing rumors from other men at the agencia. He stated, "Johnny, the people are saying things. Well, you know I am letting you stay here at my father's house, but these people, they have different ideas. They say things. They don't think it's acceptable or appropriate for two men to live in the same house [Ellos dicen cosas, y no se ve bien que dos hombres vivan en la misma casa]. You know I don't mind you staying in that room, but how about you move into my father's other house, the one near the church?"

At the time I was completely taken aback that members of the community were making negative comments about me. I immediately identified this as chisme against homosexuality, experiencing first-hand how the actual practice and product of chisme

worked as a means to control and influence people's behaviors in the community. In fact, after this incident, I quickly moved to the other house located near the church while I completed the final construction on my uncle's house. I learned during this incident that in San Jerónimo, the dominant form of masculinity must be continuously practiced and demonstrated. In San Jerónimo, men and women are segregated in public spaces, but men are not supposed to share or live in the same house, specifically if they are not related or married. Despite my status as a father, or Don Agustin's status as a married man with several children, the community admonished my housing situation by spreading rumors, making it clear that my housing situation was an inappropriate arrangement. By late March, I asked Don Agustin about the chisme and he responded, "they stopped. These people talk and when they talk it can get ugly." The "ugly" can manifest itself in discriminatory slurs against alternative genders and sexualities, specifically that which targets homosexuality or individuals identified as "gay."

Alternative Masculinities: The Status of *Lí'í* For A Married Man

In San Jerónimo, Mixtec is still the language of preference, so the community uses the Mixtec term *Lí'í* to refer to men that are homosexual or lack the mannerisms defined as appropriate for men. The term Lí'í translates as "small or petite women" and culturally refers to men that "behave like women." In its most dramatic use, it is a discriminatory slur against gay men or men whose gendered identity contrasts with San Jerónimo's definition of heterosexuality. The term Lí'í can be extremely offensive and often incites argumentative or violent behavior from men being referred to with that term. Those described using this epithet are considered to be abnormal, strange, and even

dangerous because they are perceived as seeking sexual relationships with other men. The existence of the Mixtec term Lí'í may also suggest that in the past, gendered identities transcended the current binary opposite of man and women. Most in San Jerónimo acknowledge that the term has "always existed" and is used to describe men, and sometimes women, that transcend the categories of male or female.

Among the range of masculinities, all require that men be strictly heterosexual and not behave like women. At times, masculinity is very much defined by what women are not, meaning that men must be the opposite of everything associated with female behavior. Masculinity, like sexuality, must be continuously demonstrated to other community members. The best example of this can be seen in the status of being a father. In San Jerónimo, fatherhood represents a never-ending condition of active participation with one's family, demonstrating to the community that a man is having an appropriate relationship with his wife. For men, the siring of children is the most symbolic event for demonstrating a man's virility, heterosexuality, and masculinity. All men consider heternormative values to be an important part of life in the community. Not having children immediately after marriage is perceived as an abnormal and unacceptable situation. In this sense, having children is not necessarily simply a personal choice but a result of the community's socio-cultural expectations for men and women. Married couples that do not have children run the risk of becoming the subject of chisme, as the middle aged and the elderly especially hold the idea that newlyweds must have children immediately. The younger generation does not necessarily hold this belief, though some may still be influenced by the opinions of the elderly and middle aged.

About halfway through my research I documented two important incidents that illustrate how men perceive homosexuality and alternative gender identities. The first situation involved the son of a well-known and respected elderly man. According to the men at the agencia, Moises "Moy" Jr., the son of Don Moises Torres Sr., had been married for almost two years. Despite his married status, he was childless and his wife was not pregnant, so every man at the agencia would refer to Moises Jr. as "Moy Lí'í." I asked several of those at the agencia to explain why they referred to him by that nickname. The alcalde Don Francisco, who had lived in Phoenix for several decades, responded, "because he is a *joto* (derogatory term for gay), that's why we call him Lí'í." Don Agustin the agente also made a similar comment, saying, "Moy Lí'í well, everyone thinks he's gay [es gay] and Lí'í." I probed these kinds of answers, asking men why they thought this was the case. Most men, and even the elderly, responded, "well, he's been married for more than a year now, and he has no children, his wife has never been pregnant. Everyone thinks he doesn't sleep with his wife. He's scared of touching his wife because he is Lí'í." In other words, despite Moises "Moy" Jr. being a married man, he had yet to achieve the acceptable levels of masculinities for what is necessary to be considered a man in that community. In San Jerónimo, being a man requires that one not only be married but have children as well. Men and women that cannot have children run the risk of being the topic of chisme. It is highly likely that Moises Jr.'s situation impacted his wife's personal psychological health, as other women might have accused her of being sterile and responsible for not having children.

At the agencia, men never directly referred to Moises Jr. with the nickname of "Lí'í," yet all men agreed that his childless state reaffirmed his status as an abnormal person that did not fit the mold of an acceptable man. Often when I would hear men say, "here comes Moy Lí'í!", I would ask them if they actually called Moises Jr. this nickname in person. Almost everyone would respond, "no way!" or, "of course not, Moy will get mad." In fact, most replied, "everyone calls him that, but no will tell him in his face" (*no se lo dicen en su cara*). Though everyone knew this nickname was offensive, they directly attributed it to Moises Jr. despite his status as a married man. In fact, even women like Ximena Morales and her mother Doña Rafaela were aware of the nickname and commented that it was the result of being a childless father. Some men claimed that Moises Jr. had lived a gay lifestyle in Tijuana for many years, saying "*era gay*" (he was gay). Many attributed his nickname to a life outside the community where he practiced an alternative gender identity and sexuality. The common use of the nickname also further illustrates that there are double standards against chisme, as men are less likely to be accused of chisme and jailed because of the privileges they hold over women. Most men were aware that they could be accused of chisme or lacking respeto toward Moises Jr., yet they continued using the nickname throughout my year in San Jerónimo.

Forgettable Alternative Masculinities: "Tachi with a Lí'í"

Though there are rigid taboos in San Jerónimo against homosexuality and alternative genders, this does not mean that homosexuality or alternative genders are non-existent. Community members may be silent about their own sexual preference or gender identity and avoid discussing these kinds of behaviors altogether to avoid social critique,

chastising, and chisme. In another example from my fieldwork, I observed a situation that contradicted the community's perception of homosexuality. This incident revolved around Ricardo "Beto" Bravo, the town's chronic alcoholic, during a festival in August at the nearby town of Ixpantec Nieves. Like many communities in Oaxaca, festivities for a town's patron saint (or *virgen*) last from several weeks to an entire month. During late July and early August, merchants swarm the town of Ixpantec Nieves and set up their *puestos*, that is, vendor booths on every street. People from surrounding towns and villages visit Nieves during this month and partake in the festivities. On one particular weekend, the principales Don Seferiano and Don Juan Morales-Arzola asked me to give them a ride to Nieves to go eat and see the town's festival. In fact, most of San Jerónimo's community traveled to Nieves to partake in the town's activities, which consisted of visiting the large church dedicated to the town's Virgen de las Nieves and staying for the evening dance.

At large festivals like Ixpantec Nieves, many booths belong to outsiders from different regions who travel town-to-town selling food or merchandise. It is common to find individuals from different ethnic and racial groups, including not just mestizos but "negros" (afro-mestizos or Mexicans of primarily African descent)[6] from the coast of

[6] Anthony Jerry's research with Oaxaca's *pueblo negros* uses the term "negro" and "moreno" to refer to afro-mestizos or Mexicans of primarily African descent. Jerry explains that the terms "negro" or "moreno" are more appropriate in the context of Mexico because, "these terms are commonly used among activist and community members as a way to reference self and kin. I… use the term "Afro" (often hyphenated with Mexicano) in order to reference inclusion into a larger state project, as this term is often times imposed upon communities from above, due to the fact that the aforementioned terms can implicate the state in social histories and

Oaxaca and Guerrero who often sell fish, cheese, and other merchandise. (Jerry 2013) It is also common to observe and interact with individuals that self-identify with different gender identities and sexual orientations. At one particular booth, a transgender individual was working as the hostess and waitress selling beer and snacks. It was apparent to Don Seferiano and Don Juan Morales-Arzola that this individual was, as Don Seferiano commented, "look, there is a Lí'í selling beer over there" and Don Juan remarked, "she even walks like a women and has painted her face like a woman." At the same time, we observed Beto sitting in the booth with teenagers from San Jerónimo and men from Ixpantec Nieves; Beto and the men were clearly intoxicated. Beto in particular was attempting to grab the attention of the person identified as Lí'í and reached over several times to touch this person's chest area. I asked Don Seferiano what he thought about Beto's behavior and he responded, "*esta enfermo. Esta loco*!" (That guy is crazy). "He's very tachi." The teens who arrived with Beto were laughing constantly and egging him on to keep trying to fondle the transgender person.

Later that day, after we had lunch and bought some trinkets, I ran into Macario, one of San Jerónimo's teens, and asked him what happened to Beto. He replied, "He's crazy… tachi. He got with the Li'i..." I never confirmed with Beto if he had sexual relations with the transgender person, but I did hear chisme from several teens that it indeed had occurred. I also triangulated the incident with other men who had observed the same thing and confirmed that Beto had indeed fondled and flirted with the transgender individual. Some confirmed that Beto had "touched her like a woman,"

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processes of racialization… that they would rather avoid or forget, especially with regards to current projects of inclusion and multiculturalism" (Jerry 2013: 3).

which everyone interpreted as negative and crazy behavior. Don Francisco admonished Beto's behavior and said, "he is crazy and a drunk. We should put him in jail." This incident became a minor chisme in San Jerónimo since many claimed that Beto was already an alcoholic and did not know right from wrong, or as Don Agustin put it, "he's an alcoholic and has no idea what he does anymore." By the following weekend, Beto's incident became old news. In late September everyone was more concerned with the town's own festival and had forgotten this incident altogether.

Beto's incident with the transgender individual illustrates an important theme regarding acceptable versus negative behaviors for men. According to every man in San Jerónimo, men should never have relationships with other men, a socio-cultural norm that is extremely important to all masculinities. Yet several members of San Jerónimo observed that Beto had fondled a person identified by the community as male. One statement that allowed me to interpret the community's perception of homosexuality as well as alternative forms of masculinity came from Don Francisco Padilla-Rivera, the alcalde who was adamant that Beto should be put in jail. Don Francisco argued that Beto had behaved inappropriately but since it was outside of San Jerónimo, they could not put him in jail. Even more telling was Don Francisco's response to my question of whether there would be any violence toward Beto: "What do you want us to do? Kill him? He plays an instrument in the band." In other words, it was more practical to leave Beto alone and ignore his negative behavior than to maintain the rigid ideologies that required punishment for homosexuality. Furthermore, since Beto's incident occurred outside of the town, it did not merit any formal consequences. Though Beto was already considered

a crazy and tachi person without respeto, he was also recognized as an active member of the town's band and therefore essential for the reproduction of the community's costumbres.

I recognize that a complete examination of the role that gays, transgender, and people identified as Lí'i have in communities like San Jerónimo is outside the work intended in this dissertation. One possible argument that emerges from my ethnographic account of life in San Jerónimo is that gendered identities are not only socially created but adapt to changing socio-cultural contexts. True, in San Jerónimo a person identified as Lí'í may at times be ostracized and banished for homosexuality, but at other times they may actually live among the community so long as they refrain from openly speaking about their sexual identity. My brief experience documenting people's discussion on the topic of Lí'i calls to mind several important issues pertaining to all forms of masculinities in San Jerónimo. First, heteronormative values are understood by all as a crucial element in a man's sense of self. Second, the existence and social recognition of the category of Lí,i demonstrates that alternative genders do exist, albeit undisclosed. I recognize that my ethnographic documentation of alternative gender identities is limited but can suggest that future research on this topic explore the impact transnational migration has had on changing notions of gender in indigenous communities. For example, although there is growing literature on "Muxes" and third genders in Oaxaca, there is little to no research on women that identify as lesbians (Mirande 2015; Stephen 2002: 42).

Women That Are Marota…

Though women in San Jerónimo may also be called Lí,i, it is uncommon, and I never actually documented anyone refer to a woman using the term. Instead, it is common to hear men call women *marotas*, a Spanish term that borders on the category of lesbian and *marimachas* (roughly translates as tomboys, but may be used to refer to lesbians). According to the elderly (Don Seferiano, Don Castulo, Don Daniel Morales, and many others), in the past teenage boys and girls "*respetaban la gente*" (respected people), specifically the middle aged and elderly. I once asked Don Daniel Morales, now in his early sixties, "how are teenagers different today than in the past?" He responded, "today, the boys show no respect. The girls are marotas." Perplexed by his answer, I asked him what he meant by "marotas," to which he explained,

> Girls nowadays, *andan donde quiera (*they go everywhere), *en toda las fiestas* (to all fiestas*)*, they are in the streets, they talk to men. Teenage girls are marotas. They act like boys. They dress like boys. They cut their hair short. They paint their faces and want to get attention from boys. They are marotas! (conversation with author, June 15, 2012)

Don Daniel described that in the past, women and teenage girls would wear shawls and long dresses to cover their bodies, while also greeting you when they passed in front of you. He added, "today, the kids never greet you. In the past, girls would never paint their faces. They had long hair. They were quiet and didn't giggle or laugh when teenage boys walked by them. Today, they are different from the past. They have changed." Most of the elderly men and women I interviewed had similar criticisms about the youth and their behaviors. These negative comments were more frequent when teenagers arrived from

Tijuana or the U.S. during the month of September when the town holds its annual festival for its patron saint.

Oral histories from the elderly demonstrate that San Jerónimo has long been experiencing continuous change, even before it was characterized as a "closed corporate community" (Kearney 2004, 211; Wolf 1957). Some of the most telling changes are regarding the new attitudes, behavior, and style of dress of women and teenage girls. Some women like Doña Petra Perea-Lopez and Doña Rafaela Morales describe teenage girls as lacking important knowledge, saying things like, "they don't know how to cook or take care of their family." At the time, Miguel, Doña Petra's youngest son, was one of the teenagers acting as a substitute at the office of bienes comunales. His mother Doña Petra regularly claimed, "today, girls don't know how to do anything" as she reminded her son to marry a girl that knows how to, cocinar y limpiar (cook and clean)." When I visited Miguel at his house for dinner, his mother would tell him, "don't marry a girl from the streets. Don't marry a *Naaja'a*" (mestiza). Don't marry a girl that goes to parties or wants to *andar donde quiera* (go everywhere)." Doña Petra would refer to these girls as marota, using Victoria, the teenage girl who had been accused of chisme against Carla, as the perfect example of a marota. I asked her to explain why Victoria was marota and she clarified, "she goes to every fiesta in Silacayoapan. Victoria is such a marota. She goes out with boys in Sila, and has *novios* (boyfriends)."

In September, teenage girls arriving from Tijuana and the U.S. were frequently described as "*mas liberales, sin respeto,* and *marotas*" (liberal, without respect, and marotas). One important change that I recorded in September was the increasing

participation of teenage girls in the *baile de los toritos,* a dance whereby a person puts on a small pyrotechnic figure made out of paper maché. In my past visits to San Jerónimo, I had only witnessed males pick up and dance with these pyrotechnic figures that were in the shape of a bull or cones. Men dance with these figures, usually called *toritos*, for several hours before lighting the pyrotechnics during the fiesta. In 2011, I observed that teenage girls had started picking these pyrotechnic toritos and dancing with them as the town's band played. During an informal conversation with Don Emiliano Morales-Ramirez, the *sindico propietario* (vice-mayor), I asked him if this was common and what he thought about it. He responded, "I don't like it. I haven't seen women dance with these toritos in my life." I asked him why he did not like it and he replied, "It doesn't look right. Men are the only ones that are supposed to pick those toritos and dance with them." Don Agustin the agente had a different opinion, commenting, "Well, I have never seen girls pick up toritos, but if they want to, I think they can." The men at the agencia were divided on this new phenomenon; some claimed that it did not matter or that it was acceptable. Others were unsure and commented that it was different and not normal, but that they did not have the right to prohibit these teenage girls from dancing with the toritos. Later, Doña Petra stated, "those girls that dance with the toritos are marota," and then reminded her son Miguel not to marry girls that danced with toritos.

The term marota has varying socio-cultural meanings in Latin America. In Mexico, it can be used to describe women that are *marimachas* (lesbians) as well as those that are perceived to be flirtatious, promiscuous, or highly independent. In San Jerónimo, the term is used by the community to describe women who are flirtatious, liberal,

behaving without constraints, and ultimately challenging the acceptable norms assigned to women. It is frequently used to label women that no longer fit the community's dominant discourse of femininity. I argue that the use of term of marota illustrates that definitions of masculinities in San Jerónimo are changing. Namely, certain socio-cultural behaviors that in the past were considered inappropriate are today accepted as normal. For example, women in the past have been required to wear shawls in public spaces, with those that refused at risk of being labeled a marota. The same is true of the increasing use of makeup, which elderly men claim is symbolic of a woman that is flirtatious and marota. Today, however, most teenage girls that arrive to San Jerónimo use makeup on a daily basis. Elderly men also cite the wearing of jeans by women as a sign of marota behavior, yet today most women rarely wear dresses or skirts. Some men who have lived most of their lives outside of San Jerónimo, perceive these new behaviors to be acceptable. Amongst women, these new socio-cultural practices are also becoming the new norm, and many no longer consider it inappropriate to dress differently from previous generations, despite being aware that the elderly may hold different opinions and values.

As I have demonstrated, among those living in San Jerónimo, notions of what constitutes acceptable or unacceptable behavior are not always verbally stated but exist as unspoken norms and values. These norms and values become visible when they are challenged with new and drastically different attitudes. Families returning to San Jerónimo bring with them new ideas about what constitutes appropriate behavior, which are themselves a product of a distinct socio-cultural environment. On any given day in

late September it is possible to observe male teens wearing the latest fashion trends considered appropriate in their new place of permanent residency. The middle-aged, like Don Agustin Cruz or Don Reymundo Martinez, reflect characteristics common among their generation, such as hidden tattoos, but these are minimal when compared to the body decorations of the new generation of teens. These teens often cover their bodies with piercings, tattoos, or clothing items that reflect their place of origin. These minute details also suggest that men's sense of selves are being shaped by life in a transnational setting. These subtle changes are visible among all men, regardless of their position in San Jerónimo's range of masculinities. Men who hold dominant cultural ideals about how men and women are supposed to behave may criticize these changes, but they cannot force their own ideals onto the youth who now live permanently outside of San Jerónimo.

My ethnographic data suggests that indigenous masculinities are changing, but these changes are very subtle and thus difficult to observe in San Jerónimo. It is more common to be able to observe men that are part of the dominant discourse of masculinities that predominates in the actual town. In the following chapters, I demonstrate that it is more possible to observe men that can be described as belonging to the secondary type of masculinity, whereby the most visible attitude is a lack of interest in the system of civic-religious cargos, town politics, news, and projects. In the transnational setting, it is also possible to observe the third type of masculinity, which is characterized by little to no interaction with San Jerónimo's usos y costumbres. I return to this type of indigenous masculinity in Chapter 5, where I explore masculinities among San Jerónimo's growing *cristiano* (Christian) community.

Conclusion: Kwa'ande Yojo Yavi

This chapter, along with the preceding one, has demonstrated through ethnographic documentation the context that shapes masculinities in San Jerónimo. I have argued that in San Jerónimo, there is a primary and dominant form of masculinity, which members of the community firmly agree that all men must actively reproduce through the town's usos y costumbres. This includes the responsibilities of accepting and fulfilling a cargo or mayordomia, participating in tequio, paying annual quotas, and actively participating in the general activities and festivities of the town. I have argued that in San Jerónimo, masculinity is a product of a cultural context undergoing subtle but steady changes. Today, San Jerónimo continues to exist as an indigenous community with a contemporary way of life that is representative of its current transnational condition. In the following chapters, I demonstrate how men have experienced these changes while paying close attention to how men have modified their sense of self based on usos y costumbres.

In San Jerónimo, such socio-cultural practices as the system of civic-religious cargos and mayordomias are important to the community because they provide meaning and sustenance to those that choose to recreate them. Although the system of civic-religious cargos is important to the community, it is not the only way for individuals to remain active and visible participants of San Jerónimo. In fact, some men are now choosing to no longer accept cargos, preferring instead to be indirectly involved with community life. Many of these men's new attitudes illustrate how usos y costumbres are themselves organic and flexible practices, a situation most visible in people's myriad

explanations as to how they actually define these practices. I identify these men as belonging to the second or third type of San Jerónimo's masculinities since they are still a part of the community, albeit indirectly and sometimes reluctantly. In San Jerónimo, cargos continue to represent a crucial aspect of the cultural manifestation of what is perceived as masculine. Men that return to accept cargos explain that they felt it was important to be a "responsible" or "respectful" citizen. Some argued that the sense of belonging to the community was the primary reason that they accepted their cargos. Men that do not hold cargos but live permanently in the town also hold the idea that it is extremely important to participate in town activities. As such, they often offer their labor at tequios.

At the end of January 2013, the new cabildo headed by its agente, Don Roberto Patino-Olivas, nervously accepted their cargos at the town's official swearing-in-ceremony and exchange of the *varas de autoridad* (staffs representing the transfer of cargos and authority). Don Roberto asked me to help his new secretary with the recently purchased computer, which I gladly agreed to do. The new secretary, Rojelio Perez, was in his early twenties and an unmarried man but had agreed to be his father's substitute. He had traveled from Stockton, California to accept and fulfill his father's cargo and as such was fluent in Mixtec, Spanish, and English. We spoke in English and rarely in Spanish as I showed him all the documents he would need during his tenure as secretario. He paid attention as I explained to him how to deal with the accounting of the town's funds, quotas, and state grants known as Ramo 28 and Ramo 33. Rojelio made his best

effort to write down as much information as he could and memorize which documents he would need for the upcoming year.

After the swearing-in-ceremony, members of the former cabildo quickly left San Jerónimo and returned to their permanent place of residency. Don Agustin Cruz's wife arrived to San Jerónimo to accompany her husband on their drive north across most of Mexico and back to Moreno Valley, California. The former sindico, Emiliano Morales-Ramirez, took a bus from Juxtlahuaca to Tijuana and left without saying goodbye to anyone. By early February 2012, I had finished cleaning my uncle's house and packed my small Chevy S-10 pickup truck with some of my belongings. Don Reymundo, the suplente to the sindico, agreed to accompany me back to San Diego. On an early dark morning in February of 2012, I left San Jerónimo Progreso and drove north, crossing almost the entire span of the Mexican republic. Before leaving the town, I cut open some fruits and placed them near a small cross not far from two large arches that mark the entrance to the town. Don Reymundo asked me what I was doing and I responded, "I am giving thanks… So that we travel safe," to which he replied, "That's a good idea, put them at the base, near the rocks."

Chapter 3

Indigenous Mixtec Masculinities in Diasporic Contexts

This chapter examines Mixtec masculinities in diasporic contexts and is based on research completed in Tijuana, Baja California. In an attempt to understand the dominant form of masculinity in San Jerónimo, I begin by asking why specific kinds of Mixtec men migrated to this area and eventually, in many cases, to parts of the United States. By asking this question I hope to uncover how the community's *usos y costumbres* (uses and customs, including customary law) shaped some men's decisions to migrate to the border city. As demonstrated in Chapters 1 and 2, costumbres (customs) are an important factor that impacts not just indigenous men's lives, but their extended and immediate family members. Of course, and as I later explore, some men emigrated because they wanted to leave behind the roles and responsibilities associated with usos y costumbres, creating an even more complex picture of migration, community, and masculinity. Adding to this complex picture of masculinity: how specific men were—and continue to be—influenced by their interactions with various masculinities, some of which challenge their own concepts of being a man in San Jerónimo.

In this context, then, San Jerónimenses have adapted, redefined, and even rejected some former notions of what it means to be a man. At the same time, specific notions associated with *costumbres* are strictly reinforced. Although life outside of San Jerónimo is distinct, many men have adapted to certain new environments and contexts to defend, define, or readjust their sense of self based on usos y costumbres. This chapter builds from the previous two and examines how the dominant and primary form of masculinity

has or has not changed. As already mentioned, San Jerónimo is by all accounts a transnational community, and most of its members live permanently outside of Oaxaca, this chapter explores the impact transnational migration has had on men's sense of self based on usos y costumbres.

Framing Indigenous Masculinities

My ethnographic data suggests that, amongst San Jerónimenses, there are three distinct forms of masculinity. First, a dominant form of masculinity exists whereby men firmly hold onto the idea that *usos y costumbres* are important to their identity. In the previous chapter, I argued that the dominant form of masculinity is most visible in the actual town of San Jerónimo. In this context, specific men often claim that reproducing social practices—like the civic-religious system—is crucial and necessary for both the continuation and prosperity of community. In this chapter, I argue that, in Tijuana, both this primary as well as a secondary type of masculinity often co-exist. This secondary type of masculinity is common amongst men who hold minor *cargos* at either the *agencia* and *bienes comunales*. They accept *cargos* not necessarily because they perceive the civic-religious system as important to their identity. Rather, they accept for other reasons, like finding it important to be "responsible" and "respectful" citizens, staying in positive standings with the community, or simply feeling pressured by others to accept and hold cargos. Finally, at the opposite end of this spectrum of masculinities are men who no longer participate in any of San Jerónimo's cargos or mayordomias. These men, as well as their wives, have limited to no direct involvement with San Jerónimo's usos y costumbres. It is important to note: this third form of masculinity is most common

amongst San Jerónimo's non-Catholic "*cristianos*," or individuals who have chosen to ostracize themselves from the community and relinquish their formal citizenship. These banished or exiled men fall under the umbrella of this third type of masculinity since they are prohibited from entering San Jerónimo. However, they continue to maintain ties with their immediate and extended relatives within the broader transnational setting.

Although I argue that San Jerónimo's range of masculinities can be separated into three distinct categories, this categorization does not necessarily mean that men fit neatly into them. Almost every person, man or woman, I interviewed or spoke with often has contradictory understandings of the community's usos y costumbres. Even those individuals who have held the highest and most prestigious cargos—like *agente*, *suplente*, *rigidor*, or *principal*—can be heard criticizing some of their own socio-cultural practices related to masculinity. Instead, what separates or distinguishes these masculinities is the degree to which men, specifically, believe regarding how usos y costumbres is important to their individual identities. As such, non-participants like the "*cristianos*" are an important part of this range since, although they do not participate in many of San Jerónimo costumbres, they have in recent years accepted cargos at the agencia and bienes comunales. I examine these cristianos in more detail in Chapter 5 by contextualizing the masculinities of such non-Catholics alongside the first and second types of masculinities, as they are all part of San Jerónimo's transnational community. Ultimately, I included them in this dissertation because they are an example of masculinities that no longer consider usos y costumbres important to many men's senses of self. In this dissertation I further argue that like San Jerónimo's Catholic majority,

cristianos are part of its transnational community despite having different norms and values shaped by new religious beliefs. I begin by examining indigenous masculinities in transnational contexts, and how men adapted to these new environments by adapting, modifying, and reinforcing costumbres considered important to their sense of self.

The Setting: "*La Frontera*"

According to the oral histories of some of the first individuals to migrate from San Jerónimo to Tijuana, the city has changed drastically. The first men and women from San Jerónimo—like Don Francisco Castillo-Torres, Don Lorenzo Ortiz-Alvarado, and Doña Maria Avila-Martinez—permanently settled in the border city between the late 1960s and early 1970s. Yet, it wasn't until the late 1970s and throughout the 1980s that entire families from San Jerónimo began to migrate in large numbers. By the 1990s, more than half of San Jerónimo's community had permanently settled in Tijuana. Others settled in border cities like Los Algodones, Mexicali, Ciudad Juarez, or in tourist ports like Ensenada and Puerto Peñasco, Baja California (González Pantoja 2003: 47-48). Today, the bulk of San Jerónimo's families live in Tijuana. But, importantly, a significant number live in Ensenada and in other parts of Baja California.

Research for this chapter was carried out in several of Tijuana's *colonias*, specifically *colonia* Obrera, Lomas Taurinas, and La Esperanza. *La Obrera*, as its residents generally call it, is situated on the southwestern side of the city of Tijuana. It is characterized by steep hills and gorges covered with houses constructed from scraps of wood, aluminum, and cement blocks. The largest concentration of San Jerónimo's families are located in the *tercera seccion* of La Obrera, which is a section on the western

part of the colonia on top of a hill that has been flattened and covered with homes. Like many border cities, Tijuana is congested and many of these colonias can be described as slums or shantytowns. Such features reflect Tijuana's rapid growth in the last few decades when complete neighborhoods sprang up over the course of weeks or months. Colonias, like Obrera, were built on the Tijuana hills that border the valley and estuary where the downtown area is located. Today, Obrera's main street is paved and has several small schools that offer bilingual education in Mixtec and Spanish.

Downtown Tijuana is located next to the Tijuana River, which acts as a natural divider between the U.S. and Mexico. The Tijuana River also divides the city of Tijuana and several important boroughs, such as Mesa de Otay, are located on its northern side near the U.S. border. Lomas Taurinas is located immediately next to Tijuana's International Airport and in the borough of Otay Mesa. The colonia is primarily centered in a small gorge surrounded by houses built on its steep sides. Next to Obrera, Lomas Taurinas is home to a large concentration of families from San Jerónimo. The significant number of San Jerónimo's families in this colonia, as well as those already originally living here, built a small chapel dedicated to Santo Geronimo in the 1990s. The location of this chapel on the main street is a testament to both the community's presence in the colonia and their efforts to reproduce important aspects of their identity and culture in Tijuana. From August throughout September, community members decorate this small chapel and many suggest that its presence reminds them of San Jerónimo and the festivities associated with the month as well as the town's saint.

The colonia Esperanza is three miles south of Lomas Taurinas and directly east of downtown Tijuana. The colonia is near a busy and congested area referred to as Cinco y Diez and can be accessed by the main streets of Lazaro Cardenas/Libre and Gustavo Diaz Ordaz. La Esperanza is a small colonia near this area and access to it is very difficult, as visitors must be familiar with the exact streets to take or fear becoming lost in the disorientating colonias that cover every gorge and hillside. Residents living in the area claim they cannot stand the smog and never-ending noise that plagues most of Tijuana. Families explain that they moved here because "land was cheap" and that there was nothing available in the colonia Obrera. San Jerónimenses also live in other colonias like La Gloria and Pedregal de Santa Julia. During my research, all families described how they witnessed the growth of these colonias. Many recalled how the area transformed from barren hills to dirt streets. Some like Don Francisco Castillo-Torres stated the following: "*todos llegaron, cresio muy rapido y donde quiera*," meaning that families from every part of Mexico came and built their houses everywhere and anywhere they could find space. San Jerónimenses are aware that Tijuana contrasts drastically with their quiet, rural, and lonely hometown. But, they also realize that, today, the city has grown so drastically since they first arrived that the area is rich in new economic opportunities. The city's rapid growth is visible not just in the many unorganized streets that wind up and down Tijuana, but also in the diversity of people from many parts of Mexico and even Central America.

Migrating for a Better Life

I interviewed Don Francisco Castillo-Torres in colonia Obrera in the Spring of 2012, and he recalled when he first left San Jerónimo and moved to Tijuana in the late 1960s. He described this move in the following way: "I didn't have anything over there, there was no work, so I had to find another way." Don Sergio Ramirez, who I originally met in San Jerónimo while he held the *cargo* of *regidor* but formally interviewed in Tijuana, similarly claimed, "I left San Jerónimo in 1981 because there was no work and I needed money." In another telling conversation, Doña Maria Avila-Martinez, a middle-aged woman in her early 50s retold her experience of first arriving to Tijuana in the mid 1970s. Her husband brought her to the area before he left to the San Joaquin Valley to work as a farm laborer. She recalled, "I came with Santiago (former husband), he left me here in Tijuana. I stayed with my mother. Then he went to Tulare." Doña Maria explained that she arrived in Tijuana pregnant and had decided she didn't want to stay in Oaxaca. Although, Doña Maria is from San Jerónimo, her husband at the time was from San Miguel Aguacates. Doña Maria recalled that, in the 1970s, a significant number of men from San Jerónimo and other nearby towns migrated to "the border." Amongst all interviewees or individuals I informally spoke with in Tijuana the most cited reason for migrating was "there were no jobs," and that families "had to find a way to make money." Ultimately, then, economic opportunities prompted this specific pattern of migration.

Doña Maria recounted how men were always the first and only ones to migrate to "*la frontera"*, or this U.S.-Mexico border area. Cities like Tijuana, Los Algodones, and

Ensenda were considered ideal places to emigrate for several reasons. First, those formally interviewed claimed that there were more opportunities for work—"*mas trabajo*" —or that the city was the best place to stop before heading north and to the "other side," or "*ir al otro lado*." The few women I informally spoke with in Tijuana, like Doña Maria Avila-Martinez, Doña Patricia Alvarado, Doña Raquel Ramirez, and Paulina Perea echoed similar reasons why men—and eventually women like themselves—came to Tijuana. These women all noted that they did not want to become "abandoned wives." They also made clear that this migration made it possible for them to participate in cash-generating activities like selling handmade bracelets, bags, or other trinkets to tourists in the downtown areas of Tijuana and Ensenada. Some stated that there was a small network of individuals that had permanently settled in Tijuana who could provide assistance while they readjusted to the city. The second most common response from the women suggested that Tijuana was a strategic location for further travel north into places like Riverside, Bakersfield, Fresno, Exeter, and other farming towns in California. During interviews with individuals like Don Francisco and Don Sergio, all described Tijuana as a place of "more opportunities" or "more work," specifically referring to economic opportunities when compared to other cities in Mexico. Almost everyone I interviewed citied work, income, or higher salaries as the primary reasons they migrated to Tijuana.

Migrating for *Costumbres*?

The story of men and their families' migrations from rural Mexico to urban Tijuana is similar to other Oaxacan communities that emigrated between the 1980s and 1990s (Cornelius, Fitzgerald, Hernández-Diaz, and Borger 2009; Stephen 2007). By the

late 1990s, and like these communities, most of San Jerónimo's families had permanently moved to other parts of Mexico and the United States. Many described this process and period as a search for a better life, or "*buscar la vida*" and "*buscar trabajo*." It is important to consider, then, the historical period in which San Jerónimo's families began to permanently emigrate. Quite tellingly, many describe this period as "*tiempos dificiles y tristes*" (difficult and sad times). Descriptions of this period as such reflect the events that negatively impacted Mexico's political economy between the 1970s and throughout the 1990s (Hamilton 2011: 231). Prior to this period of migration, many families participated in a circular migration to places like Sinaloa, Veracruz, or Baja California and had worked as farm laborers or street vendors. Some of the elderly men participated as guest workers during the U.S. Bracero program of the 1940s and 1950s. In Tijuana, I never recorded anyone claiming that they had settled permanently outside of San Jerónimo prior to the 1960s. Like many Oaxacan communities, the bulk of San Jerónimo's population emigrated during Mexico's economic crisis of the 1980s, which was characterized by the implementation of crushing neoliberal economic and political policies (Laurell 2015, Stephen 2007: 122).

These policies directly impacted the country's rural poor, peasant farmers, and indigenous communities, often forcing them to seek different avenues to obtain incomes. For example, some of the middle-aged recalled that the 1976 and 1982 devaluation of the Mexican peso caused many families to migrate to Tijuana, to seek both employment and economic opportunities, in the face of a devalued "peso, which dropped to approximately half its previous value" (Hamilton 2011: 98). In San Jerónimo, I further recorded that

shortly after the passing of the North American Free Trade Agreement in 1994, most families stopped depending on farming as a source of revenue and income, since like other peasants, they "could not compete with U.S. capital-intensive and subsidized agribuisness" that imported cheaper corn to Mexico (Laurell 2015: 251). From my interviews, I recorded that many families that previously depended on agriculture as the primary source of income eventually emigrated to Tijuana or other parts of California. In San Jerónimo the area used for agriculture has been severely reduced as a result of soil erosion, which contributed to families decision to permanently emigration. James Stuart and Michael Kearney documented that in the late 1970s the main staple of San Jerónimenses was corn, but the town was only producing about 40 percent of it, which created a situation where families had to find new means of purchasing or acquiring it. (Stuart and Kearney 1981) Economical hardship in which families depended on wage labor for cash income, made less profit from their agriculture, and psychologically had less hope for an improved future, were the main reasons why families throughout Oaxaca, including San Jerónimo, chose to leave their villages and permanently emigrate. (Besserer 2001; Edinger, 1996; Nagengast and Kearney 1990)

Yet, unlike other communities that migrated during these decades, San Jerónimo's communal traditions, or usos y costumbres, had an important influence on many men's decisions to permanently migrate. Specifically, these traditions shaped how and why they justified leaving Oaxaca altogether. I argue that usos y costumbres, although not the primary reason driving many men's immigration, contributed to a significant number of men's decision to leave and search for work outside of Oaxaca. Part of this dissertation's

goal is to make clear that, for San Jerónimo, the community's usos y costumbres often directly impacted and influenced men's decision to migrate to border cities like Tijuana as well as to farming towns in Central California. As such, this dissertation adds to the literature on indigenous migration and identifies how usos y costumbres can shape and influence people's decisions to move across borders or nation states. Furthermore, my research demonstrates that the usos y costumbres of an indigenous Oaxacan community are linked with masculinities, specifically those dominant norms and values considered and described as "traditional". By recognizing the important impact costumbres has on people's day-to-day decisions a more complete picture of the complex relationship between socio-cultural practices and gender identity is made clearer.

Leaving San Jerónimo: Serving Community, Building Houses, and Getting Married

In the previous chapter, I demonstrate that in San Jerónimo the dominant and primary type of masculinity requires men to actively recreate and adhere to the cultural mold of what is considered to be an acceptable man of the community. Some of the most important qualities in terms of performing this dominant form of masculinity are the processes associated with acquiring the status of being married with children; economically providing for a household; offering tequio, or pay quotas; accepting and holding cargos and mayordomias, and actively participating in communal life. While it is true, that almost everyone interviewed claimed that they permanently left the town to find "work or money," these explanations only account for some of the reasons behind certain men's decision to permanently emigrate. It is important to note, however, that for a significant number of men, the community's notions of usos y costumbres directly

shaped men's decisions to emigrate. Specifically, San Jerónimo's first men to permanently emigrate to Tijuana recalled that they felt obliged to materialize all those socio-cultural practices, as well as the norms and values associated with the primary form of masculinity. For example, men like Don Francisco Castillo-Torres, who lives permanently in Tijuana's colonia Obrera and never held a civic cargo in San Jerónimo, provided an important source of information. Like most, he claimed he was seeking new economic opportunities, but as I would later discover, men would save their money for the purpose of reproducing many of those costumbres considered important to the community, like the system of religious cargos, building a home in the town, buying land rights or satisfying the total cost of a bride price. At his small house in colonia Obrera Don Francisco retold the following about his motivations related to usos y costumbres:

> My brother Herminio and I were the first from San Jerónimo to move to La Obrera. I was the first person to buy a piece of land here in La Obrera. No one from San Jerónimo had moved here before. There was nothing in Oaxaca, no work, nothing, *no habia nada*, in San Jerónimo. *Era triste*, it was sad. Then, I left and came here, when it was just an ugly hill and there were no house, no streets, nothing . . . I needed to take care of my family and needed money for many things. That is how I came to Tijuana. (interview with author, May 15, 2012)

Don Francisco's history here is typical of Mexican migration to Tijuana, since his personal story is saturated with a concern for income, work, and money. But, it is also very different. In fact, in the broader context of my ethnographic research in Tijuana, I recorded that a significant number of men were influenced by the town's usos y costumbres to permanently emigrate. Don Francisco is no different. During my interview with Don Francisco, I expected him to touch on the issue of searching for both job opportunities and other cash producing activities. But, when I reinterviewed him about

his status during the time he left San Jerónimo, I discovered that the town's usos y costumbres directly shaped his decision to leave. I asked Don Francisco if he had a cargo at the time, to which he replied, "No, I was never elected to a cargo at the agencia, but I did sponsor several fiestas and was a diputado for many fiestas." He then noted:

> I left San Jerónimo because I needed money, but also because, at the time, my *compadre*, Don Josefino Cano-Lopez, asked me to help him with a *fiesta*. He needed *diputados* for the *fiesta*, and he asked me to be one of those *diputados*. I was young, I didn't have any money . . . I became worried because I didn't know how I was going to get the money for the *fiesta*. This was in the 60s, and it was really difficult to find work. So, I left San Jerónimo and headed to Tijuana, so I could save money for myself and a little to help Josefino with his *mayordomia*. (interview with author, May 24, 2012)

Don Francisco, in this articulation of the motivations driving his migration, specifically identified the burden of helping and contributing financially to a fiesta. In San Jerónimo men that fail to accept and carryout a religious cargo may face formal consequences under the community's customary law. As mentioned in the previous chapter, in San Jerónimo, mayordomias are part of the town's usos y costumbres, meaning that they fall within the socio-cultural expectations and responsibilities members have to the community. As part of their responsibilities, mayordomias require that the head mayordomia sponsor a fiesta, which he or she can only do with the support of diputados, as the cost of each fiesta can run several thousands of dollars. In fact, a significant number of men claimed they originally justified leaving San Jerónimo because they had been elected to a cargo or mayordomia position and needed to prepare financially for these new responsibilities. In 2015, Don Agustin Cruz, mentioned that diputados are usually required to contribute three thousand dollars each for a fiesta. It is important to note here: the costs associated with participation continue to rise every year, putting

increasing financial burdens on the men and their families. In the context of such burden, families will often pool together to raise the funds for these costs and prepare several months in advance by saving money or selling personal items like automobiles. This situation further suggests the importance that usos y costumbres continue to have on families in the transnational setting and despite permanently emigrating from San Jerónimo. Men in particular, argue that these fiestas are important to the community, and not just to their sense of self, e.g. masculinity.

A House Here and House There

Most men interviewed in the colonia Obrera—like Don Victor Cervantez, San Jerónimo's former *agente* from 2010-2011—stated that they came to Tijuana to work and make money. Moreover, much like Don Victor Juarez, many further mentioned that they planned to save money and return to their hometowns and build houses. In fact, a significant number of men interviewed often told of leaving San Jerónimo with the idea of "returning" and some directly stated "*pensaba regresar*," or, "I thought of returning." For example, Don Lorenzo Ortiz-Alvarado, an elderly man in his late 60s who moved to Tijuana in the 1970s, retold how he was concerned about starting a family and providing for them and that these concerns shaped his motivations to move. He was also concerned about building a house in the town and securing a source of income.

I interviewed Don Lorenzo several times during my ethnographic research in Tijuana, and returned many more times to visit him and his family between 2012-2016. According to him he left San Jerónimo, "because it was my responsibility to provide for my family and children, and I wanted to build a house." Today, Don Lorenzo has a large

concrete house located near the center of San Jerónimo, as well as a three-story house next to the *colonia* Obrera's Escuela Primaria Jose Vasconcelos, which is an elementary school well-known in the area for offering bilingual education in Spanish and Mixtec. Don Lorenzo is an active member of San Jerónimo and returns regularly to the town, often attending the annual elections for civic *cargos*. After working more than thirty years for the city's *Comision Federal de Electricidad* (CFE), he retired in 2007. During my formal interview with Don Lorenzo, he claimed the following: "I am living what I wanted. To have my house in San Jerónimo and Tijuana." In every sense, Don Lorenzo expressed that he had materialized what it meant for him to be a good citizen and member of San Jerónimo. His dream of building and owning a house in both locations reflects some of San Jerónimo's most dominant values associated with the primary form of masculinity. Aside from the general consensus that men must be heads of their households, in San Jerónimo families agree that men must build and maintain a house.

Like most of the men I formally and informally interviewed, Don Lorenzo expressed that his primary concern was to provide for his family and build a house. For a significant number of individuals, men and some women, the idea of building or maintaining a house in San Jerónimo dominated their notion of belonging to the town. As mentioned in chapters 1 and 2, the idea of "belonging" saturates people's attitudes and senses of self; it is also part of the reason why families continue building houses in the town, yet live permanently in places like Tijuana, Ensenada, or Exeter, California. True, many consider it a burden to maintain a house in San Jerónimo. But, my data suggests that the community's usos y costumbres in the context of the dominant discourse of

masculinity emphasizes and urges families to build or maintain a house in the town. Amongst community members, conversations about their houses or lands in San Jerónimo are frequent, especially when issues of inheritance or birthrights are discussed. The building or repairing of houses in San Jerónimo is, then, one of the most visible acts that symbolically demonstrates to the community economic success, the sense of membership and belonging to the community, as well as the ability to provide for one's family.

From the formal and informal interviews I carried out in Tijuana and Ensenada, the topic of owning, building, repairing, and maintaining a house in San Jerónimo was considered important, especially for elderly and middle-aged men. Amongst the youth and some of the middle-aged, and even those who do not own a house or land in San Jerónimo, it was less important. But, they acknowledge that their relatives and parents, specifically, thought it extremely important to maintain land and houses. The theme of home ownership draws attention to why many men emigrated; most claim they originally left San Jerónimo because they needed the funds build a home in the town or buy land rights. San Jerónimo's status as a commune only allows citizens and comuneros to buy the right to use, work, or live on land within the town's boundary limits, at no time can they own the land as private property.

For some men, a concern with fitting some of the socio-cultural norms of the community directly impacted their decision to migrate. In San Jerónimo, the ownership of land rights is tied to legal aspects of usos y costumbres as customary law. The uncodified rules and laws of San Jerónimo demand that all individuals who own land

rights or have a house in San Jerónimo must also hold cargos or mayordomias. What emerges from this cultural emphasis on ownership is strong evidence to support the argument that the town's usos y costumbres did, in fact, influence men's decisions to permanently settle in Tijuana, specifically because they wanted to materialize what it meant to be a man San Jerónimo. During my interviews with individuals like Don Francisco Castillo-Torres, Doña Maria Avila-Martinez's, and Don Victor Cervantez, all admitted that, although they now live permanently in Tijuana, this migration was not part of their original long-term plan. Their original goal was to return to San Jerónimo.

The Need for Marriage

Amongst the elderly and middle-aged, many men cited a need for money—not just to build houses, but also to get married and have families. Prior to mass migration, marriage in San Jerónimo was intimately linked to the bride price[7] paid to the brides' parents. During interviews, almost every man, regardless of age or economic status, claimed that the bride price was always expensive and could cost several thousands of

[7] I choose to use "bride price" versus "bridewealth" for the specific reason that today the practice is characterized by an exchange of cash money. Some like Conrad Philip Kottack argue, "another word for bridewealth is pride price, but this term is inaccurate because people with the custom don't usually think of marriage as a commercial relationship between a man and an object to be bought and sold" (Kottack 2012: 152). On the other hand, Carole Nagengast's research with women from San Jerónimo documented that wives spoke of the exchange as a process by which women were "vender (sold)" to the groom's family (Nagengast 2016). Therefore the process and exchange can be described as pride price, and not bridewealth. My data suggest that the community is divided on the issue, specifically whether to refer to it as the "selling of women". Many refrain from openly discussing the issue or practice altogether. This dissertation suggests that more research is needed on the practice and how it has been modified, adjusted, or eliminated amongst San Jerónimenses.

dollars. Don Felipe Salcedo, whom I interviewed in Ensenada, Baja California, retold the story of his marriage by speaking of paying a bride price as a normal and an acceptable cultural practice. He stated:

> When I was a teenager I didn't want to get married. I had nothing. I was poor. I left San Jerónimo to work in *El Otro Lado* (U.S.). When I was 26-years-old, I returned to the *pueblo* with money. My father and mother told me I needed to get married because I was getting old. They kept telling me that I was getting too old and that I would not find a wife if I waited longer because then, they (the community) would say, "Felipe is too old. Who will marry that old man?" So, my parents arranged for me to get married, *a la fuerza* (by force), but I still didn't want to get married. I was happy being single. After my parents arranged my wedding, I slowly accepted the idea of getting married because, in San Jerónimo, when I was young it was part of the *costumbre* to get married when you were a teenager. So, I realized that I was getting old and accepted my parent's decision to get married. I had the money for my wife's parents (bride price) and my dad had some money too. We bought everything and gave my wife's parents several goats, blankets, alcohol, turkey, and everything that is part of the *costumbres* of the *pueblo*. That is how I got married and that is why my wife is younger than me now, because I was 26-years-old and she was only 15-years-old at the time. (interview with author, September 2, 2012)

Don Felipe's experience and oral history is not much different from other men's individual experiences with the processes of marriage. Many explained that they had to "give a lot" to the brides' parents to get married because it is an essential and important custom in the process of marriage.

Don Felipe Salcedo and Doña Maria Avila-Martinez's oral histories and comments illustrate how *costumbres* are extremely important to many facets of community life, especially in terms of marriage. More specifically, histories articulated by men like Don Felipe suggest that some men felt pressured to seek new economic opportunities outside of San Jerónimo because they wanted to fit some of the town's costumbres associated with men and their masculinity. Although, Don Felipe stated he

was happy living a single life, he also recognized that the community perceived him as deviating from what was considered the "normal" process of manhood. The elderly and middle-aged men generally agreed that, in the past, it was customary to become married during one's teenage years and men or women who married in their twenties were considered "too old" or "past the appropriate age of marriage." The elderly also agreed that a single man in his late 20s was perceived as "getting old" or "too old." Even more telling was that women were referred to as "unmarriageable" if they were past their 20s and into their 30s.

In this context of these norms around aging and masculinity, Don Felipe Salcedo explained that he "felt obligated" to get married because he worried that he, too, would be labeled "too old" and, therefore, not get married at all. Don Jose then explained that he considered his economic status at the time, which he had acquired outside of San Jerónimo. He agreed with his parents' decision for an arranged marriage so as to conform to the community's cultural norms pertaining to manhood. He entered into marriage because he was aware of such norms and had acquired a positive economic status that necessitated marrying. Even more telling was that he expressed feeling "*seguro*," or safe, since his new economic status allowed him to cover the bride price set by his new in-laws, which, according to him, was centered on the giving of material goods and not as a commercial transaction suggesting the sale of the bride. Today, and unlike before, the bride price consists exclusively as a cash transaction and those willing to discuss the process admit that it can total several thousands of dollars.

Although not openly disscused, in private it is still common to encounter and record San Jerónimenses in Tijuana talk about the custom and marriages requiring the groom and his parents to "*den algo para la familia*," or give a bride price to the bride's parents. At her home in the *colonia* Obrera, I once asked Doña Maria Avila-Martinez what she thought about the community's costumbre of bride price and she clarified, "It is acceptable because it shows *respeto* to the bride's parents. They took care of [the bride] all her life, and it is important that the groom and his parents recognize and respect the bride's parents too." This situation is important to consider because it further adds that men are socio-culturally expected to reproduce a costumbre considered important to their masculinity. The elderly and middle-aged men almost always expressed it important to their sense of self to be able to meet and cover the bride price set by the bride's parents. Based on the interviews I carried out in Tijuana, and in contrast to Doña Maria Avila-Martinez's insights here, I also documented that the community is divided on the issue of bride price. In fact, some men and women claimed, "I don't want to sell my daughter" or collectively state, "We don't ask for that (bride price) anymore." As already mentioned, many refrain from speaking about the community's "*costumbre"* of bride price altogether, but continue practicing it in a more clandestine manner. This often means that people do not discuss it publically, but only amongst and with close relatives, suggesting that it is still practiced by a majority of community members. Nonetheless, my ethnographic data confirms that marriage continues to be an important part of achieving manhood, or womanhood for that matter, and essential to all masculinities.

Materializing Indigenous Masculinity

Previous research on indigenous communities briefly touches on the impact that usos y costumbres might have on migration patterns and peoples' decisions to migrate altogether. (Cornelius, Fitzgerald, Hernández-Díaz, and Borger 2009; Stephen 2007) My ethnographic research in Tijuana suggests that a significant number of migrating men left San Jerónimo in an effort to conform to the community's usos y costumbres, specifically those linked to gender roles and responsibilities. Limited economic opportunities in Oaxaca coupled with more complex changes in the country's political-economy impacted men's decisions to leave San Jerónimo for the sake of reproducing critical aspects of the town's costumbres, like getting married, building a house, holding a cargo, or sponsoring a festival. Individuals who perceive it important to participate in community activities often associated migration as an important decision that allowed them to recreate critical aspects of usos y costumbres. Even men less involved with civic-religious cargos, described feeling obliged to leave San Jerónimo in an effort to realize some of the qualities and behaviors associated with the community's most celebrated—or, at the very least, most acceptable—masculinities. For example, Don Victor Cervantez, a former *agente*, stated the following about the 1980s and migration:

> In those years everybody was leaving, and they would come back with new things, and I would think that they finally made it . . . that they were working and had money. It made you think and feel like you also needed to leave, so that when you came back people would say, "Look he is working good, he finally made it over there." Those comments made me think, that I could also do it and work over there (Tijuana), and make money, get married, and build a house. (interview with author, June 13, 2012)

Don Victor's oral history, which is similar to the histories of other men, illustrated that, during the 1980s, male teens were highly concerned with embodying key aspects of the town's costumbres, specifically those associated with being a man of San Jerónimo. Here, it is important to consider how, at this time, most of these first immigrants were teenagers or young men. Many of these young men felt it important to materialize the community's cultural norms, practices, and responsibilities associated with being an adult man. As mentioned earlier, most of those first immigrants left San Jerónimo with the idea of returning and not necessarily removing themselves from the community. This means that men and women were connected to the community through the requirement to reproduce usos y costumbres.

Tijuana is home to the largest concentration of San Jerónimenses, but very few of the individuals I spoke with admitted that they had specifically left San Jerónimo in an effort to leave their costumbres. Instead, it was more common to find individuals, like Don Francisco Castillo-Torres or Don Lorenzo Ortiz-Alvarado, explain that, as their lives become more embedded in these new locations, they found it more difficult to accept cargos or mayordomias. Don Sergio Ramirez's wife, Doña Raquel Ramirez, commented that, since their arrival to Tijuana, it has become "more difficult for us to return to Sergio's town, because now we have children, they are growing up." Others, like Doña Maria Avila-Martinez, expressed contradictory opinions by firmly asserting that she would, "never return to San Jerónimo" despite having a house there and actively participating as a diputada for several festivals. Today, it is common to find individuals like Don Sergio Ramirez who, in 2012, reluctantly accepted his cargo of *regidor*, argue

that they don't want to hold cargos. Many will also question why they have to hold cargos when they now live permanently in Tijuana. Amongst the youth, this sentiment is more common and many will ask, "I don't know why they go over there to do cargos when they now live here?" Or, they may point out that, "If you don't have a house or land in San Jerónimo, you shouldn't have do service." Despite this growing trend of questioning the purpose of the town's usos y costumbres and the system of civic-religious cargos, there is a general sentiment that men should adhere to these unwritten rules and laws. The youth who were born and raised outside of San Jerónimo are more open about their disagreement with San Jerónimo's usos y costumbres. This new situation is not just the result of migration, but the acquiring of new socio-cultural norms and values.

Leaving San Jerónimo to Leave *Costumbres*: *Cristianos* and *Cargos*

Individuals or families that wanted to leave San Jerónimo's costumbres illustrated some of the important contradictions associated with both the costumbres' relationships to this system and its notions of acceptable manhood. Many of those who claimed to leave San Jerónimo for the purpose of "*dejar costumbres*," or stopping the practices central to costumbres, were adamant that, although they wanted to leave the pueblo's costumbres, they would neither sever family ties nor abandon the system of compadrazgo. In fact, many of those interviewed in Tijuana and Ensenada were visibly active in other aspects of community life, like attending family events, participating in communal gatherings in Tijuana, or accepting the responsibilities of being a *padrino* or *compadre* for weddings, baptisms, and fiestas.

Research in Baja California revealed that there were some men who consciously left San Jerónimo to avoid some of the most demanding *costumbres*, like the system of civic-religious cargos or the regular consumption of alcoholic beverages. For example, Don Felipe Salcedo, a non-Catholic, mentioned during several conversations that one of the main reasons he decided to permanently settle in Ensenada was that he wanted to avoid problems with the community. He retold:

> When I started listening to the word of God (non-Catholic Christianity), I began to believe in it more. I saw that everyone (the community) was wrong. I realized that the *santos* (saints as idols) were bad. I became a Christian and made my house into a small church. That is why my house in San Jerónimo is still the only Christian building there . . . But, this caused many problems. People, many who had been my *compadres* or friends, they turned on me, some wanted to hurt us (Christians). Drunks wanted to fight us. That is one of the reasons why I left San Jerónimo. I told them (the community) I would no longer serve idols. I would no longer accept *mayordomias*. I would no longer go to the *fiestas*, nor participate in drinking beer with them, I stopped doing all those things. (interview with author, September 2, 2012)

Don Felipe further claimed that he chose to permanently settle in Ensenada in the 1980s because it was further away from the community in Tijuana. Don Felipe did not hesitate explaining that he wanted to "*dejar los costumbres del pueblo*," meaning to leave behind the practices of holding cargos and mayordomias, participating in festivals dedicated to saints of the Catholic church, or partaking in social functions that require men to drink alcohol. In fact, the members of the community who admitted that they migrated or left San Jerónimo for the purpose of abandoning the town's usos y costumbres were almost always non-Catholic Christians. During my research in Tijuana, Ensenda and, subsequently, in Exeter, California, non-Catholic Christians openly discussed leaving San Jerónimo as part of an effort to stop participating in activities that went against thew new

religious teachings or beliefs. I will return to the issue of cristianos (non-Catholic Christians) in Chapter 5, but briefly mention them here because they represent families that actively departed San Jerónimo to leave behind its usos y costumbres.

Don Felipe Salcedo's case illustrates that there are, indeed, individuals that left San Jerónimo because they were trying to get away from certain costumbres. However, and as I explore in Chapter 5, these stories make clear that the removal is a choice. In places like Exeter, it is more common to locate individuals who are now cristianos willing to discuss why they decided to leave San Jerónimo's costumbres. These families, men and women, are also highly vocal and critical about costumbres that go against their new religions which has shaped their unique socio-cultural norms and values. Individuals like Don Felipe Salcedo, were further influenced to migrate not just because they were searching for work, but also because they felt that by doing so they would no longer be obliged or bound to the system of civic-religious cargos. In fact, it is common to hear non-Catholic men admit to leaving San Jerónimo because they did not want to accept a cargo, or "*no queria tener un cargo*."

In Tijuana, I did not locate individuals banished from San Jerónimo or openly admitted to removing themselves from the community. As mentioned in the previous chapter, individuals who fail to reproduce the usos y costumbres of San Jerónimo run the risk of being publically chastised, the topic of gossip, or shamed at social or community events and gatherings. This form of social control may be the reason why it is rare to find banished individuals amongst active community members in Tijuana. Another possibility for this lack of visibility is that individuals who migrated for the sake of leaving the

town's costumbres may not want to openly discuss their current status and continue to indirectly or directly support family members active in community affairs. My research suggests that having conversations about banished individuals or those who have chosen to remove themselves from the community is taboo and an uncomfortable topic. The main reason for why banishment is not openly discussed is because many banished individuals are still close or extended relatives of families that are active participants of the town's *usos y costumbres*. Conversations about banished individuals are often described and considered taboo topics since it can be considered to engage in *chisme* (gossip). As mentioned in the previous chapter, chisme is highly frowned upon and can create tension and conflict between members of the community.

Tijuana as Home, Tijuana Like San Jerónimo

Before exploring life in Central California, I will further address what constitutes indigenous masculinity in Tijuana. An important part of this section, specifically, is how masculinities adapted to life in Tijuana as well as and how they are refined and challenged over time. Life for men in Baja California is drastically different from San Jerónimo. Those living in Tijuana, Ensenada, and other cities often claimed that they prefer life in these new places, but admitted they sometimes miss and yearn to visit Oaxaca. Both the middle-aged and youth alike expressed that they "enjoy living in Tijuana because there is more to do and more work." They also often expressed that they prefer San Jerónimo because it is "more beautiful, clean, quiet, and safe." Despite this general positive view of Tijuana, Mixtec communities that migrated to the city in recent decades have been inserted into an existing racialized and hierarchical division of labor

that has historically placed them at the lowest strata (Lestage 2001; Martinez Novo 2006: 25; Velasco Ortiz 2005: 48). The situation for the families from San Jerónimo that settled in Tijuana is similar to the broader socio-political conditions of indigenous peoples in the Americas in which ethnic minorities occupy the status of second-class citizens.

Don Francisco Castillo-Torres articulated his relationship to second-class status as he noted that, when he arrived to Tijuana in the 1960s, "There was lots of racism or discrimination against us." Don Francisco further elaborated:

> When I came here, it wasn't that bad, but then it got bad because more and more *paisanos* kept coming to Tijuana. Women and children, the entire family would arrive and then they had to work, sell, or beg. Many worked in downtown, on the Revolucion. The kids sold *chikles,* many had to beg, or sold their *cosas* (trinkets). Women mostly sold their things to the tourist that came from the other side. My wife also had a small stall there . . . They were difficult and sad times. Nobody wanted us here. (interview with author, May 17, 2012)

Don Francisco's quote here alludes to how women often bore the brunt of visible forms of racial discrimination, as they often had to interact with the local Tijuana community in the downtown area. Many of San Jerónimo's first women to migrate to the border city worked as street vendors and either had small stalls on Calle Revolucion or walked the strip selling candy and small trinkets. Children accompanied their mothers and often begged or sold candies. Doña Maria Avila-Martinez worked for more than twenty years selling her "*artesania*," or crafts like hand-woven bracelets and small trinkets. She narrated her experience selling such goods on the streets as such:

> After Santiago (former husband) left, he never returned, so I had to stay here. I had to figure out a way to earn money and feed my newborn son (Celestino). We had nothing, we lived here, but this house was not here, it was a small house made from wood and cardboards. We use to work on La Revolucion, selling anything we could. That was all we could do. My mother didn't speak Spanish. I didn't know what else to do and I saw that other women from San Jerónimo were selling

> or begging in downtown. They made enough money to buy food and clothes. Those were very difficult and sad times. Nobody wanted us on La Revolucion. They would call the police. The police would arrest us. Everybody was mean to us, they would yell at us and call us dirty *Oaxaquitas (*a racial slur*)*, Indians, everything you could imagine, but we still kept coming because that was all we had. That was the only thing we could do to feed our children. (interview with author, August 2, 2012)

Aside from describing the degree of racism experienced by Mixtecs in Tijuana, the experience of working as street vendors illustrates the reality of a gendered labor market, where women have less economic opportunities than men. For San Jerónimo's masculinities, this situation further reinforces many of those previously held attitudes and values that support the idea that only men must be heads of their households, since they have the opportunity to have more economic success than their wives who work as street vendors. Both Don Francisco's and Doña Maria's respective personal histories reflect commonalities amongst the community's first generation of migrants. For many Mixtec men, in particular, there were few job opportunities outside of anything that required their physical labor. Prior to settling in the border area, a significant number of men traveled to the agricultural fields of Culiacan, Sinaloa, and San Quintin, Baja California to work as migrant farm laborers but these jobs were only seasonal and lasted a few weeks (Wright 2005: 12-14). Families, and women in particular, preferred to settle in Tijuana for long-term jobs or work opportunities like selling their "artesania". Ultimately, families moved to Tijuana given that the city was perceived as offering more long-term economic opportunities as well as an established networks based on kinship, marital ties, or community affiliation (Velasco-Ortiz 2005).

Today, there are some visible changes that have occurred since San Jerónimenses settled in Tijuana and Ensenada. A significant number of families, like those of Doña Maria Avila-Martinez, no longer sell trinkets or panhandle in the downtown area. Most claimed that, after the 9/11 terrorists attacks in the U.S., there was a sharp increase in the tightening of security at the U.S. ports of entry (Velasco-Ortiz 2005: 41). The decrease in tourism from the U.S. to Tijuana was immediate, or as Doña Maria described, "One day they were all gone. The *gabachos*, *pochos*, and all the tourists stopped coming. Days passed. The streets were empty and *muerto* (dead). Everything was gone. We couldn't sell anything. We had to change." From some of the women I spoke with in Tijuana, they claimed to have their "*papeles,*" or U.S. visas or green cards, and worked in San Diego County as house cleaners or as gardeners in nurseries. Some men, like Don Felipe Salcedo, claimed they "felt more pressure and stress" since his wife's income from selling tourist items decreased significantly. This situation was described as "stressful" preciously because women's sales were considered essential to the family's total income earned each month.

A few families continue to have small booths near the Calle Revolucion, but are less dependent on the income since, as they claim, "there are very little people." Raul and Paulina Perea were one of the younger couples I informally interviewed in the *colonia* Esperanza who described that they depended more on the husband's salary. Raul is a gardener in San Diego. Paulina still has a small booth on Calle Revolucion and perceives the income gained from sales as "additional" and "very little," since Tijuana's tourist economy is now reliant on local Mexican tourism. Several women like Paulina claimed

that, “Mixtecos from Guerrero are the ones that sell in downtown,” or near the *linea* (the U.S. port of entry), which highlights the increase in migration by other indigenous communities to the U.S. and Mexican border. Specifically, this situation demonstrates that migration to the border cities of Mexico has not stopped, and migrating families continue to perceive Tijuana as place of economic opportunities. Raul and Paulina’s situation also illustrate that masculinities can adjust to new and sometimes harsh economic conditions, suggesting that masculinities are continuously being modified and adjusted. Raul’s situation and ability to earn an income in the U.S. suggests the important values associated with masculinities, specifically that families continue to rely and expect husbands to earn more money than their wives.

Masculinities that Challenge: “Here there are different kinds of men”

Celestino Avila is Doña Maria Avila-Martinez’s eldest son. He was born in Tijuana in 1978. At the time I first met him, he was in his early 30s and was recently married for the second time. Celestino often retold me how he worked in the construction sector of San Diego. In 2004, he severely injured his back and was no longer capable of picking up heavy items, which limited his opportunities for gainful employment. When possible, he worked odd jobs in San Diego, but spent most of his time as a stay-at-home father for his two children. He lived with his wife in the house his mother built.

Celestino’s attitudes and opinions reflect those associated with the secondary type of San Jerónimo’s masculinity, specifically those that do not consider some of the community’s costumbres important to their sense of self. His life is embedded in Tijuana, and he mentioned several times that, in the city, there exist people who are very different

from his own *paisanos*, or families from San Jerónimo and Oaxaca in general. One afternoon, as he played a guitar, he briefly described the city:

> Tijuana, it is very different. *Esta cabron* (It's tough). I grew up here. There are people from everywhere in this city, everywhere in Mexico. There are people from other countries like Guatemala, El Salvador, or other parts of Central or South America. There are even lots of *Chinos* (term used to refer to people from Asia, not just China). On this street there use to live a Korean family and they were *cristianos*. They spoke Spanish, who knows maybe they learned Mixteco, too! The man would teach computer classes. In Tijuana, there are many rich people, but there are mostly poor people. If you go to *colonia* Valle Verde, it is very sad and poor there. Those *colonias* are more recent, and lots of *Mixtecos* from Guerrero live there now. My wife's mother lives in that *colonia*, and its sad. Here (Tijuana) *esta bien carbon*. (conversation with author, August 4, 2012)

Celestino's opinions about life in Tijuana, racism, and the types of people in the city reveal a vast experience shaped by a new socio-cultural environment and a concern for life in the city versus in San Jerónimo. On another occasion, he and his mother Doña Maria elaborated on the issue of different kinds of men in Tijuana. His mother was cleaning her kitchen and both spoke simultaneously, describing certain men in Tijuana as such:

> Here (Tijuana) there are many kinds of men. There are drunks and drug addicts. There are bad men and good men. There are *cholos* and *malandros*. There are many *machistas* and *dejados*. There are *mestizos* that discriminate, *gente mala* that don't like *los Mixtecos*, but there are hard working people. There are many *paisanos* from Oaxaca. Some *paisanos* are very *invidiosos* (jealous). Tijuana is a place that is very different because everyone came here from somewhere else and everyone has different ideas and ways of living. Here, you always lock your doors at night. (conversation with author, August 7, 2012)

I asked them both what they meant by "bad men"? To which they replied and listed, "The bad people are the *lacras*, *malandros*, *ratas*, *borrachos*, *drogatitos*, *narcos*, *cholos*, *unos chuecos del gobierno*, *la policia*, and those kinds of people that *engañan o hacen daño a la gente (*deceive, trick, and hurt people, sores, thugs, drunks, drug addicts, gangs,

crooked government officials).” Doña Maria clarified, “There are bad women, too, just like the men.” Beyond general and simple descriptions of characters in Tijuana, these categories and types suggest that, for San Jerónimenses, there are identities, behaviors, and masculinities that contrast with their own sense of what is acceptable or normal. Beyond general stereotypes, the most visible contrast are in San Jerónimenses’ opinion about what it means for community members to respect each other, build community, and *convivir* (get together).

On a related note, in Tijuana, migrating men from San Jerónimo encountered different types of masculinities, many of which not only contrasted with their own sense of personhood, but also challenge and questions their costumbres. The range of masculinities in Tijuana is similar to the range in the *colonia populares* of Mexico City and there is no one single notion of being a man or “macho” (Gutmann 1996: 263). Matthew Gutmann observes, “not only nationalism but class, ethnicity, generation, and other factors brand Mexican male identities,” meaning that in Mexico, “gender identities and relations there are characterized by inconsistency, as well as by arrogance, idealism, manipulation, discrimination, opportunism… and always, always by generous doses of humor” (Gutmann 1996: 263). San Jerónimenses too describe men in their community with a wide gamut of concepts, terms, and characters. Although there are many inconsistencies to these descriptions, there are major differences that filtered through the framework of usos y costumbres. At times, San Jerónimenses described these kinds of men as both different and similar to the types found in their own community. For example, San Jerónimenses will state that there are “bad” men in San Jerónimo, just like

there are "bad" men in Tijuana, or vice versa that there "good" men as well. Some may suggest that non-San Jerónimenses are different precisely because they are not indigenous people. Many consider positive values associated with masculine work ethics as similar to their own, or their status as part of the working class of "*trabajadores*." In private, there is a tendency to describe men from Tijuana as different, and referred to ethnic or racial terms like "*mestizos*" to describe non-indigenous peoples. Unlike the few and limited masculinities in San Jerónimo, in places like Tijuana, there are many masculinities shaped on a daily basis by different contexts—a range of gendered identities the San Jerónimenses both recognized and articulated.

A significant number of those either formally or informally interviewed agreed that one of the main reasons people from Tijuana are not like themselves is because non-San Jerónimenses lack or are void of "*respeto*" and "*costumbres como halla*," or customs. For example, Don Francisco stated, "They are not like us, those from Oaxaca because our *costumbres* are different." As already demonstrated in the previous chapter, San Jerónimo's costumbres include active community participation in events, which reinforce not just identity and community affiliation, but the primary form of masculinity. In another important conversation with the elderly Don Lorenzo Ortiz-Alvarado, he clarified: "People from Tijuana are different from us. Just look at how they talk to their children, relatives, and friends. They use profanity and bad words like '*pinche guey,*' '*cabron*' or '*chingao*' and even '*pendejo*.' I don't understand how they can talk to their own family like that. They don't have *respeto*." Those living in Tijuana or Ensenada are aware that life in the city is unlike San Jerónimo. The city is described and perceived as

unstable, ambiguous, fragmented, and drastically contrasting to their town or homeland. Terms used to describe the city are applied to people and reflect their general sense of distrust, fear, and uncertainty.

These sentiments are closely associated with their first experience living in the city, an experience that is often negative. Celestino, reminded me everyday before I drove to the other *colonias* to meet or interview individuals: "Johnny, always watch were you are going, the people. Here *esta cabron* (its really tough)" and "*trucha* (be careful) with the police." In fact, almost everyone I spoke with reminded me on a daily basis: "Johnny, be really careful here. Watch how you dress. Watch your surroundings. Be careful when you take your wallet out. Don't go to colonias that are unpaved or very poor." By the end of my stay in Tijuana, not only did I perceive these suggestions as normal, but made every effort to take caution whenever I traveled in the city. There is substantial evidence to suggest that the experience of inclusion or exclusion has shaped San Jerónimo's masculinities. Specifically, San Jerónimenses have dealt with exclusion from mainstream society by reaffirming their own social and familial ties, given that this is the primary source of social and psychological support in a socio-cultural environment that has historically marginalized or ignored them.

In these new urban settings, and despite their deep suspicions of those from Tijuana, the masculinities associated with the cities' own costumbres were challenged and questioned. Based on interviews and informal conversations, the main differences articulated were associated with the idea of "*costumbre*" itself. Many frequently commented that the main source of difference hinged on "*no saben como somos*" (they

don't know how we are) or simply "*tenemos diferente costumbres*" (we have different customs). Don Victor Cervantez, the former *agente* stated, "Here we have to behave different. Its not the same as if we were in San Jerónimo." Don Victor Cervantez provided more information about the difference between San Jerónimo and Tijuana:

> I work here in Zona del Rio. I wash cars and don't make much. I depend on the tips they give me. There is not much work right now. After I came back from San Jerónimo, someone broke into my house and stole everything. San Jerónimo and Tijuana are very different. Here, you can't trust anyone. You can't walk in *confianza* (trust) because every person is trying to take something from you. In San Jerónimo, it is different. The *costumbres* are different. Here, there is no respect, even if you show respect to others, they don't respect you. In Tijuana, the people's *costumbres* are not good. There are good people, but *mas mala gente* (more bad people). They don't know anything about *cargos* or *mayordomias*. We are different and they are different. (interview with author, July 23, 2012)

Don Victor further explained that he use to work in the construction sector of Tijuana, but because he traveled to San Jerónimo to accept his cargo, he lost his job. He further mentioned that he attempted to explain to his boss why he was leaving to Oaxaca, but that his boss didn't understand nor accept his reasons. Almost every person interviewed, men or women, regardless of age claimed that "they don't understand our *costumbres*, *como somos*." Men expressed that they felt conflicted and questioned the general costumbres of their own community, specifically the system of civic cargos. Some admitted that they had a very difficult time explaining to people in Tijuana the usos y costumbres of San Jerónimo and, in this process, they also questioned them. Many more stated they would avoid trying to explain San Jerónimo's costumbres to people who were not like them. The most cited reason why men expressed conflict with their usos y costumbres was the issue of explaining that they were socially expected practices. The best example of this dilemma is in interpretation of civic cargos as unpaid or "free"

service to the community. This situation illustrates the conflict and tensions between indigenous Mixtec communities like San Jerónimo and Mexico's general mestizo society. At stake is a distinctly indigenous way of life that is itself is a product of unique experience in Mexico's long socio-cultural and political history.

Enrique Duran was single man in his early thirties when I interviewed him in the *colonia* Obrera. He was one of the few individuals who had a college degree and was working full-time as an elementary school teacher. At the time, he lived in his mother's house located in a deep ravine and not far from Don Francisco Castillo-Torres. Enrique expressed that he often felt unable to fully explain to non-Mixtecos the customs of San Jerónimo and that he avoided conversation about the community's *costumbres* all together. Enrique stated: "Some of the pueblo's costumbres are beautiful. Some are very difficult. Sometimes I don't know how to describe it to people that are not from there, not from Oaxaca. Sometimes, I wonder why we should do cargos now that we live in Tijuana." Don Sergio Ramirez, in Lomas Taurinas echoed a similar response, "It's hard to explain why the pueblo is how it is. I don't want to accept cargos anymore because my life is here in Tijuana. I live here and will never return to San Jerónimo." Don Sergio added that the most difficult thing to explain to anyone was, "How do I explain that cargos are unpaid and that it is required by the pueblo?" Research in Tijuana (González Pantoja 2003) suggests that some individuals may willingly accept *cargos*, yet amongst those individuals I met and interviewed most expressed reluctance toward the system of civic-religious cargos, much like Don Sergio here. Men like Enrique and Don Sergio, then, represent not just an increase in attitudes that no longer view aspects of usos y

costumbres, like the system of civic-religious cargos, as important to their identities. This increase in such attitudes draws attention to the related growth of a secondary type of masculinity that is unlike the dominant form that exists in San Jerónimo. This new situation and shift in thinking has at its most extreme created tension and conflict with San Jerónimo's dominant form of masculinity, a situation that I further explore in Chapter 5. Today, the secondary form of masculinity is more common in Tijuana, where a significant number of men claim that civic cargos, paying quotas, participating in tequio, or other practices considered costumbre, are no longer important to their sense of self.

Defending and Refining Masculinities

Given this shift in attitude, an important question to consider when examining Mixtec transnational masculinities is: how do certain men readjust and adapt their masculinities to new places? Specifically, how do they sometimes defend or refine their relationships to certain forms of masculinity in a different context? To examine these questions, we must consider, of course, that some changes have occurred because the community is now located outside of its cultural place of origin. Second, social interactions with other non-Mixtec communities influenced and shaped many men's attitudes and behaviors regarding what it means to be a man of San Jerónimo. In these new city settings, individuals interact with people from drastically different backgrounds. People from all over Mexico settled most of Tijuana's recently built *colonias*, where Mixtec communities now also reside. Yet, despite the diversity in ethnic and even class backgrounds, *colonias* like Obrera are some of the few that are formally recognized as

having a large concentration of Mixtec families from Oaxaca (Velasco Ortiz 2005: 41-42). Both the migration and politics of space are important to consider, then, since the residential locations contributed specifically to men's abilities to defend and refine not just their ethnic identity, but also their senses of self based on the community's usos y costumbres.

Creating Proximity

Space shapes gendered identities within this community. And, how men and their families arrange themselves within space is also important to consider. The concentration of San Jerónimenses in colonias like La Obrera, Lomas Taurinas, Esperanza, and La Gloria can best be described as "clusters" of households (Vélez-Ibáñez 1996: 144). Carlos Vélez-Ibáñez's idea of "clustered households" is useful here, as it defines them as such:

> households or extensions of families beyond the nucleated household, which increases with each succeeding generation," meaning that individuals "organize their extended kin relations . . . in a clustered household arrangement of dense bilateral kin and maintain kin ties with . . . relatives. (Vélez-Ibáñez 1996: 145-144).

In this dissertation I demonstrate that the clustering of household has reinforced indigenous masculinities, specifically those norms and values that support some of those costumbres considered to be "traditional". In this sense, clustered households, not only build community, but also reinforce gender identities, roles, or practices, and socio-cultural practices. One of the most important early decisions made by migrating men was selecting where they would permanently reside in Tijuana. Beyond choosing the actual physical location, the first migrants strategically selected to live near families and

individuals that were not just from their own region in Oaxaca, but networks of people who were part of their close and intimate social network of families, *compadres*, or actual community.

The ethnographic data I collected suggests that the first settlers, like Don Francisco Castillo-Torres and Don Lorenzo Ortiz-Alvarado, carefully and strategically made a conscious decision to settle near or next to other families from San Jerónimo. For the Mixtecs of Tijuana, these settlement patterns are highly influenced by kinship or matrimonial ties and residents will commonly state, "My relative lives down the street" or "they are not far from here, you can walk to their house." In places like La Obrera, despite men from San Jerónimo interacting with men and women from other social groups not tied to Oaxaca, they continue to have close interaction with relatives or members of San Jerónimo's community. The concentration of San Jerónimenses families in Obrera's 3^{era} *seccion* is to such an extant that their presence dominates the colonia (González Pantoja 2003: 34). In fact, it is common to visit a family in Tijuana, only to find other relatives, *compadres*, or extended relatives from San Jerónimo visiting the same household. During much of my ethnographic research in this specific colonia, I often arrived to a family's home only to find another member of San Jerónimo's community visiting the same family. These common visits between members illustrate that families have the opportunity to socialize with other families on a regular basis despite living in a large city. The close proximity to other families is to such extent that one can observe San Jerónimenses walk on the streets and greet relatives, stop and have conversations with each other, or get together after work in the afternoons and evenings.

The clustering of Mixtec households in Tijuana not only recreates a specific sense of community—the idea to "*convivir"*, or come together, which includes the need to reinforce active and direct participation in community life—but most importantly the social structure of patriarchy and the gendered division of labor. The proximity of these household clusters facilitates, reinforces, and maintains San Jerónimo's uniquely indigenous masculinities in locations like Tijuana. In fact, I maintain that it is the proximity of these clusters that further allows indigenous Mixtec men to defend their indigenous masculinities based on usos y costumbres.

In Tijuana, migrating men chose to permanently settle next, or as close as possible, to other family or community members. The proximity between community members was one of the first strategies made to adapt to the city and its socio-cultural environment. It specifically facilitates the reproduction of some of the community's costumbres, like social drinking, communal work similar to tequio whereby relatives help each other build or work on the construction of new homes, rooms, or parts of the house. In this process the community's norms and values are reproduced and reinforced. In colonias like Obrera, Esperanza, and Lomas Taurinas, it is possible to find San Jerónimo households located within the same block, or often next to each other. This proximity is evident when individual's comment, "I will go visit my compadre who lives down the street," or "there is a fiesta in colonia Esperanza near my relative's house." In other places like Ensenada, families may not reside next to each other, but they are still within a few minutes drive or walking distance.

Convivir in Tijuana

In colonias like Obrera, proximity to other members of San Jerónimo allows men to further recreate much of the community's costumbres in Tijuana. Specifically, it is common to find men engaging in social drinking, undertaking regular visits to other relatives' or compadres' households, and helping out with the construction of other community members' houses. For example, Don Lorenzo Ortiz-Alvarado recalled that, before he retired, he would work long hours and found comfort when he arrived home to La Obrera. He mentioned once during an informal conversation:

> After those long days, I would walk over to my *compadre*'s house (a few houses down), to visit and talk. On the weekends, it was easy for us to *convivir* because they all live in this *colonia*. There are always events here. One *compadre* would have a *bautismo* (baptism), another cousin would get married, and there were funerals. We were able to be there, because everyone lives near each other. (conversation with author, November 14, 2015)

Don Lorenzo then mentioned, "I never had to drive to visit them. They are all here. We can just walk over to their house. If they are closer, it is easier to live like in San Jerónimo." Even more telling is that, in Tijuana, San Jerónimenses make the extra effort to avoid passing by another community member's house. On many occasions, I asked Celestino Avila to help me locate individuals in colonia Obrera and he sometimes unwillingly lead me as close as he could to the person's house. At other times, we took alternative routes so as to avoid community members and he would state, "Oh, I just don't want them to see me. The lady is very *chismosa,*" or "we are not in good terms right now," which highlights the tensions that arise when families live close to each other.

Despite such tensions, the close proximity of families and community members facilitate men's abilities to refine their senses of individual masculinity through interaction with Mixtecs like themselves. This was visible when individuals gathered at community events like dances, birthday parties, weddings, and funerals. At these events, it was common to witness some of San Jerónimo's *costumbres* reproduced—*costumbres* like the segregation of the sexes or small quiet conversations between men while they consume alcoholic beverages. Despite living in Tijuana, many men claimed, "See, its just like San Jerónimo, they do the same things here."

It is during these small gatherings that much of the indigenous secondary and primary type of masculinities associated with the town's *usos y costumbres* are reproduced, reaffirmed, and adapted. Men had conversations about many aspects of their lives in Tijuana and exchanged town information. In these conversations, men commented on the progress of the town's annual project, the allocation of community funds, the behavior of the current cabildo in San Jerónimo, and the future outlook of upcoming fiestas. During one of my visits to Don Sergio Ramirez's home in colonia Lomas Taurinas, he invited me to small birthday held for the daughter of one his compadres. The party was located a few houses next to Don Sergio's and there were, of course, several families from San Jerónimo there as well. All men sat in one area of the front yard and spoke about work, random or trivial incidents in the city, and about community news regarding the town's annual project. At no time did women interrupt these conversations, nor did they sit next to the husbands. Don Sergio looked over as I jotted notes in a small notebook and said, "*Es como el pueblo*," or it's like the pueblo.

This form of gender segregation suggests that those norms, values, and attitudes associated and assigned to men and women have been reinforced in places like Tijuana. It furthers suggests that indigenous masculinities, regardless of type, continue to reproduce attitudes, and practices not much different from what is visible in San Jerónimo.

Work and Masculinities

Men refine their indigenous masculinities by reaffirming some of the more important practices associated with San Jerónimo's usos y costumbres, specifically the idea that men must be heads-of-households and key sources of income. Most of San Jerónimo's community in Tijuana traditionally worked in the construction sector or as gardeners in Tijuana or San Diego. Like many, Don Sergio Ramirez worked as a gardener in Tijuana and had his own small crew of workers also from San Jerónimo. He worked long days, waking up early in the morning then returning in the evenings, or, as he claimed, "when the sun goes down." In Tijuana, every man stated that they believed the most important and necessary thing one must do is work, suggesting that physical labor is connected to men's sense of self. More importantly, men are aware that Tijuana's gendered labor market favors their labor over women, specifically that as men, they have the potential to earn more income than women.

San Jerónimo's unique form of patriarchy has not been eliminated in Tijuana, but reinforced and adapted to Tijuana's own patriarchal social environment. In San Jerónimo, for example, it is common to hear people claim that husbands, and men in general, should always be the heads of their households. In Tijuana, this is still the case and men agreed that males should provide for their families, act as the sole authoritative figure in the

family, and materialize all gender characteristics common in San Jerónimo. It is not unusual to hear men, and some women, state, "Men are the head of the family and must work and provide for their families." There is general recognition that men and women both have the potential to find work or cash producing activities in Tijuana, but most admit that there are fewer opportunities for women than men. And, importantly, this lack of opportunity aligns with cultural expectations of labor and masculinity. Like many countries in Latin America, Mexico continues to be characterized as a highly patriarchal society and employment opportunities for women are often limited to or determined by gendered notions based on a division of labor (Stephen 2007: 95, Hamilton 2011: 208). This division is often expressed through stereotypes that privilege men over women and reinforce social inequalities between genders. In other words, it is common to record people in general describe men as "breadwinners" and women as "homemakers".

In Tijuana, families are aware that, although women can be important sources of income for families, Mexican gendered wage disparities are a reality of daily life. Don Sergio Ramirez, who works full-time as a gardener, acknowledged some of these disparities. First, a bit about Don Sergio's schedule to contextualize such wage realities: Don Sergio worked six days out of the week. In Tijuana, San Jerónimenses define Saturday as a "half-day" of work since they worked until about noon. Sunday is considered the only day they formally rest, but, if given the opportunity to work, they will do so. I formally interviewed him at his house on one of these half days and he explained why he didn't "allow" his wife to work:

> I don't mind if she works, but I did the calculations and it doesn't come out. I work six days out of the week. If there is a job on Sunday I will take it. It is

> money. Money is money. My *compadres* work with me and they feel the same. My wife can work anywhere, but then who will take care of children? Who will take care of the house? The family? Even if she finds a decent job, here in Tijuana they pay you very little. If she had a good job she could make 180 *pesos* a day (about fifteen U.S. dollars in 2012), that's nothing. I can make up to 2,000 *pesos* a day if I work fast and complete jobs quickly. It just doesn't make sense for her to work all day for 180 *pesos*. We have children that need to be taken care for. In Tijuana, if you are a man there are more job opportunities and higher salaries, compared to women. That is why I work as much as I can, and my wife stays at home. She hasn't complained yet. (interview with author, July 29, 2012)

Don Sergio's wife, who is not from San Jerónimo and *mestiza*, was present during this interview and agreed that it was better for her to stay at home and care for the family as opposed to seek full-time employment. She jokingly accused Don Sergio of being a "*machista*." Specifically, she stated the following: "Sergio is a *machista*! He doesn't let me go out." What became apparent in this exchange was that many of San Jerónimo's cultural values are reproduced in Tijuana, including those ideas associated with the gendered division of labor and patriarchy. Machismo or "machista" in this context refers to a masculinity that dominates and controls both men and women. Although stated jokingly it nonetheless illustrates that women too are aware of social environment that privileges men over women. In this sense, we can observe that San Jerónimo's gender norms and values are reinforced in an environment that does not challenge, but compliments them.

The proximity to other community members allowed men to recreate the masculinity uniquely associated with the community's usos y costumbres. This masculinity includes many of those norms and values associated with the gendered division of labor; the segregation of the sexes, especially amongst the middle-aged and elderly; the reaffirmation of men as the head-of-household; the double-standards that

often privilege men over women; and the gendered social-cultural practices that characterize life within patriarchy. Men adapted to new environments like Tijuana, but they have also adjusted to the city in an effort to best reproduce what they find normal and acceptable: participating in a form of patriarchy. This new life in different spaces does not mean, then, that their senses of masculinity have not changed. In fact, new values acquired through contact with non-community members are shaped by not just their personal identities, but also cultural practices that retain those formed in San Jerónimo in the first place. Specifically, some women, although very few, have become more independent and acquired the status as key economic providers for their families, a situation that at times questions and challenges the traditional masculinities associated with some of San Jerónimo's most rigid costumbres. These women's new status challenges the notion that only men should be the heads of their household or the sole economic provider. This situation is most visible amongst women that are widowed or single, but important to consider since their situation also suggests changes are occurring to women's roles and responsibilities.

Mujeres and Masculinities: "Women working, it's normal but . . ."

In Tijuana, women's roles and responsibilities have increased beyond the household. At times, the women are the sole sources of income and head-of-households. They are representative of new cultural values and economic realities. For example, at the time of my stay in Tijuana, I took residency in small room next to Doña Maria Avila-Martinez's house. Doña Maria never formally remarried after her husband left her in Tijuana, but she has four adult children. Her son, Celestino, lived with his wife and

children in a small room connected to the main house. During her workdays, Doña Maria woke up every morning at 3:40 a.m. to prepare her breakfast and lunch. At 4:40 a.m., while it was still pitch dark, another close family member arrived in a small mini-van to pick her up for work. Doña Maria explained to me her schedule:

> After my cousin picks me up, we pick up another relative, then we drive to *la linea* (the U.S. Mexico entry ports). We get in line and wait. I sleep a little in the van. We need to be there as early as possible because it can take a few hours to cross over. Then we go to San Diego where I work in a nursery.

Like an increasing number of women in Tijuana, Doña Maria is highly independent and she describes life in Tijuana as having "*mas libertad*," or more freedom, despite participating in a labor market that for women is limited. Despite some of these economic and cultural changes, men continue to expect women to fulfill traditional roles associated with domestic work and chores like cooking, cleaning, caring for children, and the general maintenance of communal spaces. Such expectation on the part of men reflect the general characteristics of the gender divisions of labor in industrialized societies, in which women deal with the double duties and burdens of everyday life: working both within and outside of the home. Men's opinions about women's rigid gender roles and responsibilities are made clear when contextualized in the usos y costumbres of the community. Quite tellingly, almost everyone interviewed in Tijuana acknowledged and affirmed that women should be responsible for the cooking of the food that will be consumed during religious events or ceremonies associated with holidays, weddings, funerals, or other community events that bring families together. This attitude is part of the many socio-cultural expectations that men have for women from their community,

especially for their wives and daughters. That these attitudes toward women shape women's lived realities makes clear the power patriarchal narratives of labor have in this community.

Conclusion

The masculinities associated with usos y costumbres are refined in places like Tijuana, often because the roles and status of men as heads-of-households are reaffirmed as important and necessary for the nuclear and extended family. For example, Celestino Avila, a stay-at-home father, reminded me that, although he had an injured back that no longer allowed him to work in construction, it was "important that men work and act as the head of the family." Celestino struggled with alcoholism throughout my time at his home and he constantly complained about the lack of job opportunities outside of construction or gardening that would provide him an acceptable income. His mother, Doña Maria, was aware of his drinking and preferred him to drink at home rather than walk or drive to his relatives' or *compadres*' houses. On one occasion, I arrived home to hear Celestino yelling at this wife, Yolanda. She was visibly upset. Doña Maria scolded her son, who was drunk, and asked me to help him to his room and lay him down because he could barely walk. Eventually, Sandra left with her two children to her mother's house. She stayed there for a week. Before leaving, she yelled at Celestino, making clear to him that she was tired of his constant drinking and would not deal with it anymore.

Celestino's situation as a stay-at-home father is unique, but not rare. And, it is becoming increasingly common to find Mixtec women who have become the primary source of income for many families. In these new family set-ups that often put pressure

on traditional forms of masculinity, indigenous men like Celestino encounter different forms of womanhood, especially those who are economically independent and empowered through formal education. Women like Yolanda who although not from San Jerónimo but still Mixtec from Guerrero, live visibly more independent lives and have more say in key family decisions.

Celestino often shrugged off the fact that his wife was the sole economic provider and states, "Everyone needs to work." Life in Tijuana has opened men's perception of women's economic potentials. But, this new perception does not mean that they willingly accept these new values that position women as economic equals with potential to surpass men's own abilities to contribute financially. Importantly, since life in the city is marked by a form of patriarchy that privileges men over women. Despite their interactions with a wide range of Mixteca and non-Mixteca women, most men from San Jerónimo continue to reaffirm much of their sense of self by recreating many of the community's norms and values associated to usos y costumbres in the face of new economic realities—realities that sometimes might also not include the idea of serving specifically civic cargos.

In colonias like the Obrera, Esperanza, and Lomas Taurinas, the assortment of women and performances of womanhood often challenge San Jerónimo's costumbres and traditionally gendered divisions of labor. Yet, the middle-aged and elderly men make sense of these types of womanhood by describing them as such, "They are not our costumbres. They are different." Only amongst the youth and those born or raised in Tijuana are minor relational shifts visible, specifically amongst those men who chose to

marry outside of the community or even the broader ethnic group. My ethnographic data suggests that inter-marriage does affect a man's perception of the community's usos y costumbres, but not necessarily those norms and values that ground socio-cultural practices considered "traditional". This translates to a growing secondary type of masculinity that does not consider some of these cultural practices as important to their sense of self. Today, in the colonias of Tijuana, the Mixtecs of San Jerónimo continue to reproduce within their own—often closed—networks of friends, families, compadres, and community members. These networks, more often than not, reflect how they conceptualize belonging to the pueblo. Indigenous masculinities, although challenged in numerous ways I articulate in this chapter, are reconstructed on a daily basis and in relationship to ever-changing and incredibly complex cultural and economic contexts. Just as important is the reality that in the transnational setting, indigenous masculinities and their patriarchal institutions have not been eliminated, but reaffirmed and adapted to a socio-cultural and economic environment that compliments and reinforces their reproduction. This chapter illustrates that men and their sense of self are not just the product of culture, but highly gendered environments that privilege men.

Chapter 4

Indigenous Masculinities in California

Interstate 5—or, I-5—begins at San Ysidro's international border port, heading north through San Diego, Oceanside, and Camp Pendleton. It eventually enters the suburban sprawls of Orange and Los Angeles counties. Further north, I-5 enters Angeles National Forest near Santa Clarita and quickly climbs to a high elevation. After winding its way through the eastern part of Los Padres National Forest, I-5 begins to descend near Fort Tejon. Before it approaches the small village of Grapevine, the mountain range separates to reveal a vast, flat valley filled with farms and orchards that have been laid out in a checkerboard grid. A few miles north of Grapevine, Route 99 emerges, splitting from I-5. Route 99 is the main corridor through the entire San Joaquin Valley of Central California. At it heads north to Sacramento, Route 99 passes through dozens of small agricultural towns and cities, such as Bakersfield, Delano, Tulare, Visalia, Fresno, Madera, and Merced. For San Jerónimenses this route is etched into their experience and often retold in more precise detail. In fact, families will recall precise locations, places, and their features when retelling their story of migration from Tijuana to the small farming towns of Central California.

Indigenous people from Oaxaca who migrated to Central California represent the most recent wave of immigrants to the area. Since the late 1800s, especially after the draining of Lake Tulare, for the purpose of creating more farmable land in the San Joaquin Valley, a shift from small private farms to large corporate fields and dairies brought waves of immigrants, such as Chinese, Filipinos, Japanese, and Mexicans, to the

area. William L. Preston (1981) writes on the rise of large corporate agribusiness in this area, recounting its history as such:

> Foreigners and recent immigrants were recruited to work on basin ranches; the ethnicity of the agricultural work force changed through time according to changes in American immigration policy and in political and economic conditions abroad . . . The original Chinese workers were replaced by Japanese, Mexican, Portuguese, Filipino, Black, and Armenian arrivals; from about 1910 onward (except during the Great Depression) Mexicans were increasingly numerous . . . Some farm workers, notably the Portuguese near Hanford and the Armenians of Yettem, managed to gain a foothold in the basin and to establish permanent and stable communities of their own . . . (Preston 1981: 173)

A significant population of people from Oklahoma and Arkansas—white people disparagingly called Okies and Arkies, respectively—migrated to towns like Exeter, Farmersville, Lindsey, Porterville, and Visalia during the Great Depression and Dust Bowl (Preston 1981: 198). Like those who came before them, both Okies and Arkies worked primarily as farm laborers and eventually transitioned to more stable and permanent jobs. These internal U.S. migrants, although not necessarily reflective of transnational migration, demonstrates the important role California's agricultural sector has in migrating people's decision to relocate to the area. Today, most of the Mixtec families living in the San Joaquin Valley work primarily as farm laborers but many are now finding employment as gardeners, construction and factory workers, swap meet vendors, or other jobs that pay low salaries (Bade 2004: 209, Gil Martínez de Escobar 2006: 90, Stephen 2007: 94). Like, previous migrants to the San Joaquin Valley, San Jerónimenses migrated to the area in search of job opportunities, specifically as farm laborers. Men were the first to migrate to Central California from Oaxaca, but most had

knowledge of the area from other men who had previously worked as farm laborers during the U.S. Bracero Program of the 1940s and 1950s.

Mixtecs in Central California

In the U.S., indigenous people from Mexico are generally lumped into homogenous, pre-defined racial and ethnic categories. Lynn Stephen observes that, for these groups, "the racial/ethnic hierarchy of Mexico continues to be observed but is overlaid with U.S.-based racial categories" (2007: 211). Stephen further adds:

> Whereas so-called ethnic distinctions are the primary markers of difference in Mexico, particularly in terms of the degree of which people embrace an indigenous identity built on place, language, and ethnic autonomy, once Mexican migrants cross into the United States, what was their national identity, that is their "Mexicanness," is treated as a racial identity. (Stephen 2007: 2011)

In the U.S. and in small towns like Exeter or Farmersville, Mixtecs are generally racialized and defined as "Mexicans" by both the government and the general public. As such, the nation state becomes the primary label and marker used to categorize not just Mixtecs, but also other indigenous groups from Mexico.

This overlay of racial hierarchies is especially complex in the context I observed during my research in California. In Exeter and Farmersville, for example, I recorded that San Jerónimenses prefer to define themselves as "*Mexicanos*"—as opposed to Mixtecos—for many reasons. Amongst the youth, this term is most common. But the young people I interviewed also utilize other labels to describe themselves, such as "Hispanic," "Latino," "Mexican, "Mexican-American," or "*Americano*." This range of terms reflects their perceptions of what they view as their ethnic or racial identity. Most of the youth were aware that their parents "speak Mixteco" and admitted that their own

families are Mixtecs or indigenous people. None of the teens I met spoke Mixtec and children preferred using English as opposed to Spanish. Some children were monolingual and spoke neither Spanish nor Mixtec. Rather, they spoke English. With this said, I observed a growing trend amongst some youth to self identify as "indigenous" or Mixtecs, especially if they have had an education beyond high school. The significance of these new identifications is in a visible presence of youths choosing new identities that may no longer be similar to their parents.

San Jerónimenses living in Central California report that they and their children experienced racial discrimination from Anglo-Americans. But, they made clear, most discrimination came from *mestizo* Mexicans who often used the diminutive, racist term "*Oaxaquita*/*o*" to taunt and discriminate against them. Children and teens reported that it is common to hear mestizo Mexicans use the term "*Oaxaquito*/*a*" or "*Oaxacos*" at their elementary, middle, or high schools in Farmersville and Exeter. Furthermore, Mixtec families in the area commented that local school officials, adminstrators, and teachers have ignored and failed to address the problem and issue. The phenomenon of racial discrimination by *mestizo* Mexicans toward indigenous people from Oaxaca, as many scholars point out, is also common in places like Oxnard, Ventura, Salinas, Madera, and other farming communities in California where Mixtecs have permanently settled (Cooper, Gonzalez, and Wilson 2015: 309; Kearney 2004: 313; Stephen 2007: 215; Velasco-Ortiz 2007: 202). These forms of racial or ethnic discrimination have carried over from Mexico, which has historically marginalized indigenous people politically and economically, most visibly in social environments (Martinez Novo 2006; Nagengast and

Kearney 1990). Unlike in Tijuana, in Exeter and Farmersville, the youth were less likely to identify themselves as being from San Jerónimo, specifically, but generally recognized that their families originated from Oaxaca.

My ethnographic data suggests that, in Exeter and Farmersville, San Jerónimenses—especially those who were middle-aged—continued to work in the agricultural sector, either on farms or in packinghouses. Some men worked in construction and the youth often transitioned to more stable, non-migratory work—but, nevertheless, still low paying jobs, especially those found in fast food restaurants, gas stations, supermarkets, and small factories. A few families sell food, merchandise, or produce at swap meets throughout Central California.

Most of the men I interviewed migrated to the San Joaquin Valley in the late 1970s and worked primarily as farm laborers. Men like Don Calistro Morales-Ramirez, Don Macario Torres-Avila, Don Rogelio Espinoza-Ramos, and Don Gonzalo Rojas-Lopez all first worked on a seasonal basis harvesting crops like oranges, lemons, grapes, and olives. All interviewed mentioned that the primary reason they settled in Exeter or Farmersville was because of work opportunities, a growing network of families, and an ideal location that facilitated travel throughout the San Joaquin Valley. This location, it is important to note, allowed the men to migrate throughout the region to find work without having to relocate entire families. Beginning in the late 1970s and throughout the 1980s, most of these men brought their wives, children, and other relatives to work as farm laborers in Central California. Outside of Tijuana, the largest concentrations of families from San Jerónimo live in Central California. Most reside in the Exeter-Farmersville

area, but some are also located in cities like Bakersfield, Fresno, Madera, Visalia, and Stockton. The greatest concentration of non-active and non-participating families reside in Exeter and define themselves as "*cristianos*" and "*hermanos*," a term used to describe non-Catholics. This term is used for those whose religion can be described as anything from Protestantism, Jehovah's Witnesses, or Mormonism.

Indigenous Masculinities in Public and Private Spaces

In the previous section, I argue that, in places like Tijuana, many important components that shape traditional indigenous masculinities are challenged and contested. In Tijuana, for example, many men from San Jerónimo found themselves questioning their own definitions and senses of what it means to be a man from an indigenous community. Yet, at the same time, they often continued reproducing many aspects of usos y costumbres. In this context, individual men were aware that the new socio-cultural environment required adaptation, adjustments, and redefinitions of not just what it means to belong to San Jerónimo, but also adhere to specific forms of masculinity. In these new places, community members interacted with non-indigenous peoples with different socio-cultural norms, values, and behaviors. Many expressed uncertainty about their future relationships with San Jerónimo's usos y costumbres, especially cargos, which often required them to return to the town and stay there for more than a year. True, in places like Tijuana, it is still common to find men who firmly believe that usos y costumbres are important to their individual as well as communal senses of self. Though, a growing number of men who fit the secondary type of masculinity I examine are more vocal about their lack of interest in San Jerónimo's usos y costumbres.

Like in Tijuana, in Exeter and Farmersville the most common critiques of usos y costumbres were directed towards the community's practice of civic-religious cargos, which many claim are "a waste of time" or illogical because "no one lives in the town anymore." Yet, as I discussed earlier, the majority of San Jerónimo's families continue to reproduce usos y costumbres, despite disliking the system of civic-religious cargos, which is only part of what is considered to constitute the community's costumbres in the first place. Much like in places like Tijuana, a growing number of men in California have purposely stopped reproducing some of the community's costumbres. These men represent the third type of masculinity in San Jerónimo's transnational community and are still not common amongst the Catholic majority but more-so amongst those who identify as cristianos. These men and their families are the primary topic of the following chapter and live predominantly in places like Exeter and Farmersville, California. In this chapter I demonstrate that the secondary type of masculinity is more common amongst men, and in some ways similar to what is visible in Tijuana. The major difference between the two, is that those living in the Exeter or Farmersville are more likely express feeling regulated, specifically that their public and private behaviors are controlled by U.S. laws and new socio-cultural norms.

Changing Public *Costumbres*

How are certain forms of indigenous masculinity challenged, maintained, refined, or modified in small farming towns of Central California? First, in small towns like Exeter and Farmersville, it is clear that the socio-cultural environment directly challenges and alters many indigenous men's public and private behaviors, specifically those

associated with usos y costumbres. San Jerónimenses are aware of such challenges and it is common to hear men, in particular, explain these differences as such: "Here in the United States, you can't behave or do the things you might be able to, or get away with in Tijuana, San Jerónimo, or other parts of Mexico." In Exeter and Farmersville, I often recorded men who stated things like, "here the people and government are more *delicado* (delicate)" or "the government is more strict." These kinds of statements suggest that in the U.S. San Jerónimenses are aware that there are strict laws that have long term consequences. As such, the idea of "*el gobierno* (government)" is unlike Tijuana, where although there are similar laws against certain negative behaviors, they are not enforced and may be ignored altogether. Much like in Tijuana, men in Central California claimed that women were also more "liberal" or "open." And, men like Don Macario Hernandez-Avila, who is in his mid-40s, felt that the social environment directly influenced and altered women, the youth, and other men's behaviors. According to him, the social environment introduces teens, and women to "new" ideas that challenge men's status as sole authority and heads of their households. This was considered a negative situation for men because it alters norms and values that are considered "traditional" in San Jerónimo,

Although many men changed some of their own attitudes and behaviors in regard to masculinity, changes were most visible amongst the youth who appropriated new cultural norms and values that directly challenged San Jerónimo's culture, especially the older generations' definitions of and practices related to patriarchy. Men like Don Macario Hernandez-Avila articulated his resistance to such changes and challenges as such:

> Yes, *paisanos* change. The way they think changes, it becomes different. Women get new ideas, they see and talk with other women from here and that changes them. The kids are the ones that get the most ideas. They are becoming different, and don't listen anymore . . . there is no more *respeto* (respect). (interview with author, February 23, 2016)

This kind of commentary from Don Macario reveals more than men's feelings about the new socio-cultural environment; it reveals real changes occurring to many men's senses of masculine selfhood. At the center of this situation is a tension between San Jerónimo's norms and values considered "traditional" like notions of "respeto" which are grounded on recreating a hierarchal system where men occupy the highest status. In the U.S., there are more open conversations about equality between the sexes, a situation that is unlike San Jerónimo or Tijuana, which directly reduce notions of respeto.

In the U.S., many of San Jerónimo's socio-cultural practices, norms, and values organized around conceptualizations of masculinity are no longer tolerated or acceptable—and men, in particular, are aware of this situation. This awareness and cultural difference is slightly different from Tijuana, where many of San Jerónimo's *costumbres* are celebrated or reproduced, if not simply tolerated, by both the Mexican state and urban population who are aware that communities like San Jerónimo are "different"—a kind of code for "indigenous"—and, therefore, excluded (Martínez Novo 2006: 96). In places like Exeter, San Jerónimenses are aware that they do not have more or less rights than other people and deal with legal consequences if they violate any state or federal laws. Individuals with questionable legal status make more of an effort to avoid being identified by the U.S. legal system and almost everyone, regardless of citizenship status.

In one telling interview with Don Pablo Martinez-Morales, who is in his early 40s and has lived in Exeter for more than twenty years, he revealed several important themes regarding how he felt limited, controlled, and regulated in the U.S. as opposed to when he lived in Mexico. Originally, I met Don Pablo in Tijuana while he attended a post-wedding party at the colonia Lomas Taurinas. At the time, he appeared heavily intoxicated and had been drinking with his compadres all day. During the party, I witnessed him throw a bottle at the disk jockey and become visibly aggressive. At his home in Exeter, I carried out a formal interview with him and used pre-structured questions, but he preferred to talk about other things that were more important to him, like the difference between life in Tijuana, San Jerónimo, and Exeter. Don Pablo, during this later interview, focused quite a bit on differences between the U.S. and Mexico in terms of his abilities to express certain aspects of his masculinity:

> Here, in the U.S. you can't behave like you would in Tijuana or San Jerónimo. I like going to Tijuana to visit my relatives, compadres . . . I have been a padrino for many of my compadres' children, or weddings. I was a padrino for that wedding you saw me at. I like going to Tijuana, the fiestas are like in San Jerónimo, and there you don't need a noise permit when you have a family event. You don't need to worry about getting a ticket for drinking in the street. You don't have to worry about neighbors complaining and calling the police. I visit Tijuana once a month. I don't mind driving to Tijuana. I know it seems really far away, but not to me. (interview with author, March, 3, 2012)

Don Pablo's statement reveals that individuals are aware of the socio-cultural differences between the U.S. and Mexico. In fact, men recognize that these different and distinct environments do or do not allow certain kinds of behavior. I asked Don Pablo if he recalled the incident in which he threw the bottle at the DJ. Much to my surprise, he did and further explained why he threw it. He recalled the following about his behavior:

> Yeah, I remember throwing the bottle. That guy wasn't playing *chilenas* (folk music from Oaxaca) and I already told him several times to change the songs. If I did that here (Exeter), I might get arrested and go to jail. Here, everything, everyone is more *delicado* (delicate). They can put you in jail or give you a ticket for anything. If you get a ticket here, or go to jail then it will be on your record, all your life! Then you can't get a job! It can affect you later on in life . . . . It can even affect your legal status. You can lose your green card or have a lot of problems with immigration later in your life. The laws here don't forgive you for making mistakes, and you pay for it all your life. That's why you can't behave here like you would in Mexico (Tijuana). (interview with author, March 3, 2012)

Much like Don Pablo, more than half of the men I spoke with, regardless of age, recognized that the new socio-cultural environment directly impacted and shaped their public and private behaviors. In the context of the U.S., men recognize that they cannot behave in certain ways, like continuous social drinking, or "convir" (get together) late into the night. Even more telling was that men often commented more on this impact than women and articulated that they felt regulated or controlled by U.S. laws and attitudes that contradicted their own individual senses of what was acceptable in the public sphere. Some of these public behaviors included drinking socially, excluding women from social interaction amongst men, and monopolizing public spaces. Some men lamented that, although they could drink at family gatherings or social events, the drinking culture was unlike San Jerónimo, where the consumption of alcohol was almost always during the town's most important week-long fiestas. In San Jerónimo, men are allowed to drink anytime of the day or week, but in the U.S. they aware that they cannot behave in a similar way. For some, this is a difficult situation since in San Jerónimo social drinking is visible on a regular basis at the agencia, office of bienes comunales, and often a required practice after or during tequio (communal work), or at all of the community's social events or festivities.

Youth and Patriarchy

In the U.S., many San Jerónimenses' unique forms of patriarchy and masculinities are challenged and contested more so than in Tijuana. It is important to make clear here that the U.S. and Mexico are themselves, of course, patriarchal societies. But, San Jerónimenses' own form of patriarchy is unique, given that much of it historically was shaped by the community's usos y costumbres. As I argued in Chapter 2, usos y costumbres played an important role in shaping and influencing patriarchy and, ultimately, the community's masculinities regardless of their specificity (i.e., primary, secondary, or tertiary). Similar to Tijuana, in Exeter and Farmersville, San Jerónimenses' relationships to patriarchy have been modified, not eliminated completely. Of course, within this U.S. context, such modifications take on different contours—contours that are central to this chapter.

Here, I turn to a discussion of how San Jerónimo's indigenous masculinities are challenged in a U.S. context. I will then address how they have been modified and redefined in very specific terms. In the private sphere, indigenous masculinities have been tested by new cultural values that contradict or directly question San Jerónimo's own form of patriarchy. In this process of testing, the very idea of men as the absolute authority and head-of-household, sole economic provider and beneficiary, and the naturally privileged sex was questioned. In the U.S., San Jeronimense women and male youth are more likely to acquire and hold onto the idea that older men, in particular, do not—and *should not*—have greater rights and privileges. The best example of this attitude: the idea amongst male youth that serious legal consequences should apply to

men who behave in a negative or violent manner towards women, children, the youths themselves, as well as other men.

My data suggests that, although the middle-aged or those that migrated to the U.S. at a later stage in their lives tend to maintain many of San Jerónimo's more "traditional" norms and values, the male youth are the ones who have appropriated drastically different forms of gendered performance into their lives. In Exeter and Farmersville, I interacted with several Mixteco teenagers and young adults. Although, my research was not authorized to formally interview teens under 18-years-old, at all sites, I inevitably started conversations with them while meeting with and interviewing their parents. In Exeter and Farmersville, the youth were often quick to point out that there were serious legal consequences for fathers or husbands who beat their wives, children, or other men. In the previous chapter, I demonstrated that San Jerónimo was, by all accounts a patriarchal community, and gender relationships are marked by asymmetrical relationships between men and women—relationships that often included violence. In Exeter and Farmersville, such relationships are drastically different from those Tijuana or San Jerónimo and these youth were keenly aware that, in the U.S., family members must behave differently or face serious legal consequences.

Some female youths, like Martha Hernandez-Avila, who is one of Don Macario Hernandez-Avila's daughters and was 18-years-old when I met her, takes seriously some of these new cultural attitudes and values. I met Martha after Don Macario invited me to his 4-year-old grandson's birthday party. Although Don Macario is in his late 40s, his children are young adults and one of his daughters recently enlisted in the United States

Army. Martha was a senior at Exeter Union High School and asked me why I was interviewing her father and uncles. I simply stated that I was a college student writing about men, masculinity, cargos, and San Jerónimo. She was slightly perplexed and asked, "Oh, is it about how they are *machistas* or something?" I was surprised by her perceptiveness and answered that it was something along the lines. She then openly stated the following: "I think they are . . . machistas. You know?" I was worried that she might offend her parents, but soon realized that she was using English and not Spanish, which her parents or uncles do not understand well. I asked her what she meant by "*machistas*," and she simply stated, "They still have the idea that women need to cook, clean, and obey the man."

Martha's insights were not rare during my research in Central California. In fact, they were quite common amongst young women who were born or raised primarily in the U.S., and, importantly, even more prevalent if they had an education beyond high school. The youth are, I found, also more openly discuss the topic of patriarchy, the gendered division of labor, and the inequalities between men and women. This openness was different when compared to my experience interviewing in San Jerónimo and Tijuana, places in which these kinds of conversations about gender were discussed either in private or not at all. In the U.S., I discovered that community members, in general, were more willing to associate patriarchal norms and values as an issue of the community's costumbres. Importantly, it was more common to hear the youth and women describe men's attitudes and behavior as an embodiment of the "*costumbres del pueblo*," or the "customs of the community." In this sense, the social phenomenon of machismo was very

much about the expression of patriarchy and, more specifically, the domination of women.

Amongst male youths, in particular, understandings about what constitutes "manhood" have changed drastically. Male youths were aware that their parents would ideally like them to marry at a young age, or sometime between 20 to 30 years of age. Yet, during my ethnographic fieldwork in the San Joaquin Valley, I never interviewed male teenagers or youths between the ages of 18 to 25 who were married. The status of being single was more common for male and female youths who were born and raised in Exeter or Farmersville, or had immigrated to the U.S. at an early age. This relationship to marriage expectations was unlike Tijuana, were it was still common to attend weddings in which newlyweds were in their late teens or early- to mid-twenties. In fact, the wedding fiesta in which I observed Don Pablo Martinez-Morales throwing the bottle at the DJ, was for newlyweds who were in their early 20s. This situation suggests that masculinity continuous to be linked to marriage expectations, specifically those norms that support the idea that men and women should marry in their youth. This is visibly recognizable in Tijuana, were the bulk of San Jerónimo's community resides, and reproduce many of those costumbres considered essential and necessary.

In Exeter and Farmersville, male youths were further aware that parents expected and preferred daughters—and any other female relatives, for that matter—to marry at early ages. My ethnographic data shows that male teens and youths in the U.S. wait longer to marry and that many no longer hold the idea they should marry and have children immediately. Some, like Don Rogelio Espinoza-Ramos's son, Mateo, waited

until his mid-thirties to "*juntarse*," or live together with a partner, and never expressed that he was worried that he was "getting too old for marriage." Despite these trends in relationships and kinship, the middle-aged and elderly continued to subscribe to San Jerónimo's socio-cultural ideals regarding manhood and family formation, especially the ideal that men and women should marry at early ages and immediately have children.

In Central California, I recorded that there were more couples that had chosen to first live together and then later have a marriage ceremony and fiesta. This kind of timeline for relationships was unlike those I witnessed in Tijuana, where it was more common for couples to marry first and then live together, thus reproducing the community's socio-cultural expectations for kinship timelines and gender norms. In the San Joaquin Valley, such differences appear to be the result of not just a new social context, but the lack of clusters of households—clusters that, in Tijuana, created a kind of proximity in which couples were pressured by their parents to formally marry and follow what those in California articulated as *los costumbres del pueblo*.

Changing Private *Costumbres*, Becoming Better Citizens

In the Chapter 2, I provided the example of Don Alonso, who, during a private conversation in San Jerónimo, admitted to physically abusing his wife while living in Riverside, California. Don Alonso spoke of past violence against his wife, too, specifically violence that took place when he was drunk. Moreover, he articulated that, as his daughters grew older, they warned him to stop being violent toward his wife or face having to deal with the police. In San Jerónimo, Don Alonso assured me that he no longer beat his wife, but that his past behaviors weighed on his conscience. Today, his daughters

are teenagers and I visited him several times in Riverside to see how he was doing. Like some men in Exeter-Farmersville, Don Alonso recognized that because he was in the U.S. and, more specifically, because his daughters grew up in the context of U.S. cultural norms and laws, he had to change his behavior.

Other men, like Don Macario Hernandez-Avila, similarly spoke of not being able to behave in a negative manner towards their wives and children. Don Macario mentioned during my formal interview with him that he originally had a hard time with "*cambiar*," or "change," in the context of his own *costumbres*. He retold the following about his relationship to change:

> When I came here, we did all the things that we use to do in the pueblo. My compadres would come over after work and we would convivir (get together). We would even cook outside, over there where the pit is at. Then in the 80s and 90s it became more difficult. There were more laws and rules. Then it became that you couldn't drink and drive, that you needed insurance to drive a car, or permits to cook outside. There were more laws against everything you wanted to do. If the neighbors complained they could call the police . . . . Here there are laws for everything . . . . If the neighbors think you are hitting or yelling at your wife, they can call the police. Anyone can accuse you of violence against your wife. Even these kids, now they can call the police if you hit them. I heard that is what happened to one of our paisanos. They called the police on him and child services took his kids away. If you have a bad record they can even take your green card and deporte you. (interview with author, March 15, 2012)

It is worth mentioning that, during most interviews with men like Don Macario, many referred to life in the U.S. as "*delicado*" precisely because there exist laws against violence towards women and children—laws that can be enforced by governmental agencies. Men were aware that, unlike in Tijuana or San Jerónimo, in the U.S., there are long-term legal consequences that can impact men's entire lives. Several men, like Don Calistro Morales-Ramirez, explained that, in the U.S., San Jerónimenses must "*tuve que*

calmar," or "tone down" behavior. This "toning down" undermines the belief that men must function as the absolute authority and unquestioned head-of-household. He described his own position as follows:

> It's delicate here. Here, they are more delicate. There are more laws. If you hit a woman, *te jodes* (you get really screwed). You can go to jail. You can lose your kids. It's a disaster. Here, if you go to jail you will get a record. That is the worse part because when you get a record, you can't get a good job. No one will hire you. They will look at your record and see what you did. Here, *te jodes* and the record will be with you all your life. A bad record can even affect your immigration papers. Some people I know can't get their green card because they have a record that shows they once hit their wife. Even if years have passed, it affects you forever! (interview with author, March 10, 2012)

In fact, long-term legal consequences are cited as the primary reason why some men modified some of their previously held attitudes toward power within their families and broader communities. This behavior was unlike anything I documented in Tijuana, where there is still very little awareness or concern for laws that protect women and children against violence.

In Exeter and Farmersville, men reported that, as they permanently settled in the San Joaquin Valley, they became more conscious of some of their own cultural norms and values. In fact, in the U.S., San Jeronimense men often interpret themselves, despite their harsh feelings toward new cultural pressures, are becoming "better" law-biding citizens. Of course, they do not view this status as one of choice, but as a reality with potentially negative and long-term legal consequences. My ethnographic data suggests that in this U.S. context, which is drastically unlike San Jerónimo, was characterized by men in terms of its codified rules, laws, and norms linked with federal and state judicial systems. These laws and rules influenced relationships between men and women. Men

agreed that they felt obliged to change and modify some of their costumbres, specifically those closely linked with and considered important to their senses of being men.

For example, in San Jerónimo and amongst the elderly and most of the middle-aged, the idea that men are the absolute and unquestioned authority is common and considered normal. Yet, in Central California, San Jerónimo's form of patriarchy, which grants more privileges and rights to men than women, was questioned and challenged. Men, in particular expressed feelings of conflict with this new situation and it was common to hear them claim that the youth, women, and even their own children "do not listen" or "don't obey anymore." These comments reflected the idea that the youth often lack "respeto," suggesting that new generations of San Jerónimenses were culturally different and behaved unlike what was, at least in the past, considered acceptable or normal.

Adjusting, Defending, and Redefining Masculinities

How have men adjusted and adapted their individual as well as communal senses of masculinity based on usos y costumbres? The first men to migrate to Exeter and Farmersville reported that they initially arrived with other men from San Jerónimo or neighboring towns like San Miguel Aguacates, Silacayoapan, or San Andres Montañas. Most of these migrants—if not all and regardless of their town of origin—worked as migrant farm laborers in the San Joaquin Valley. Here, I argue that the experience of working as farm laborers directly shaped men's decisions to eventually return to Tijuana or San Jerónimo for their wives and children. The experience of working as farm laborers reinforced the need for women in the transnational setting. It also further solidified their

feelings about the importance of socio-cultural norms and values linked to a person's sex and gender, specifically the ideas and attitudes associated with gendered divisions of labor.

Although, in Central California, there was a tangible and significant decrease in the clustering of households that reduced the interaction between family members, compadres and other community members were, at least at first, helped to reproduce San Jerónimo's form of patriarchy. San Jerónimo's unique form of patriarchy, which historically was shaped and influenced by usos y costumbres, was adjusted and reinforced in this transnational setting. My earlier articulation of gendered violence within domestic spaces makes this adjustment—or, at least an aspect of it—clear. San Jerónimo's form of patriarchy now rests within the unique context of the U.S. patriarchy. Patriarchy makes available the ideal familial structures that are important to many San Jeronimense men's senses of self—a form of self traditionally entwined with usos y costumbres. In fact, amongst San Jerónimenses, and regardless of religious background or beliefs, patriarchy continues to dominate men's descriptions and understandings of gendered responsibilities, roles, and behaviors. Specifically, patriarchy is considered the normal and acceptable structure of the family and saturates notions of respeto. In a contemporary U.S. context, however, the contours of this understanding of respeto have shifted according to new and different relationships to U.S. legal institutions.

Families of Labor: Recreating the Gendered Divisions of Labor

As mentioned, the first men from San Jerónimo to permanently settle in the San Joaquin Valley originally came with other men while their wives stayed in San Jerónimo

or Tijuana. Much like in other indigenous communities, Oaxacan men were usually the only ones to leave their towns to resettle in places with what were seen as greater economic opportunities (Besserer-Altorre 1999; López and Runsten 2004: 254). Initially, women did not migrate to California, although it had been common for them to participate in circular migration to other parts of Mexico, such as Sinaloa or Veracruz. Women began to migrate to the U.S. in the 1970s and 1980s, though, especially after the Mexican economic crisis of 1982 (Alvarado Juarez 2008: 85-94, Gil Martínez de Escobar 2006: 69).

During the Bracero Programs of the 1940s to 1960s, significant numbers of indigenous Oaxacans became farm laborers in California. But, almost everyone returned to their respective original communities after their contracts expired (Edinger 1996: 141-144; Gil Martínez de Escober 2006: 65). Young men were almost always the first to migrate to the farming communities of the San Joaquin Valley and it was not until the late 1970s that many of them decided to bring their wives and children. As mentioned in the previous chapter, some of these young men returned to San Jerónimo to get married and then brought their new wives to Tijuana. By the 1980s in Central California, children typically attended school on a regular basis. And, by the mid-1990s, many children became some of San Jerónimo's first to graduate from high school in the U.S. There is strong evidence to suggest that access to higher forms of education have introduced the youth to new norms and values. Most San Jerónimenses, especially the middle-aged and elderly, do not have formal education beyond elementary school, some have never attended school at all. In Central California, this is not the case, since children are

required by law to attend school, at least until the age of 18, which means they would have had at least twelve years of schooling. Most importantly, this means that today's youth are having continuous interactions with non-San Jerónimenses, and people from different ethnic, racial, or class backgrounds. This situation is the primary reason why youths have acquired new attitudes, cultural norms and values that are unlike what exist in San Jerónimo's community in Tijuana.

Don Rogelio Espinoza-Ramos has lived in Tooleville, a small neighborhood outside Exeter, for more than thirty years. The neighborhood was originally a camp for people from Oklahoma and Arkansas that migrated to the area in the late 1930s. Today, Don Rogelio is in his mid 60s and describes himself as a "faithful *cristiano* and *hermano*." He is one of several head pastors at a Christian church composed of families from San Jerónimo, San Miguel Agucates, and other indigenous communities within Oaxaca. I visited Don Rogelio many times, both at his house in Tooleville and at the church where he attends services several times a week. According to Don Rogelio, he migrated to Central California in the 1970s to work as a farm laborer. He recalled his journey to Central California as such:

> We came here in the 70s, but I was first in Oceanside. I was 28 and my wife stayed in San Jerónimo . . . . When we came here, we sometimes had to live in the orchards. A *mestizo* family in Exeter rented us a small room and several of us (men) lived there. Those were very difficult times and we had to make the best of our situation. We had to cook for ourselves, make food because there wasn't any other way to get food while we worked in the orchards. There were no *fallucas* (food trucks) or stores, because when you work there (orchards) you are far away from any town or even a gasoline station. We had to wash our own clothes and do all the cleaning. If the *lavanderia* (laundromat) was closed, then we had to wash our own clothes. Every man learned how to cook, clean, and do all the things that women do. Some men got really good at cooking, like *El hermano* (term used to

> refer to another *cristiano* amongst those of the same religious background), Fidel, was known for making salsa. (conversation with author, April 10, 2016)

Almost every man I either spoke with casually or interviewed formally described similar experiences of working as farm labor and having to temporarily suspend their traditional masculine gender roles. Previous ethnographic research on migrant farm laborers reports that many men temporarily adjusted many of their gender roles, but my data suggests that these experiences of migration also reinforced a communal feeling in which the need for women in the transnational setting in order to return to patriarchal traditions was wide-spread (Edinger 1996, Hernández Sánchez 2003: 16). Specifically, men reported that they returned to San Jerónimo or Tijuana for their wives and children and, upon arriving to California, their wives and children were inserted into the local agricultural economy as migrant farm laborers.

Unlike in Tijuana, where agriculture work is almost non existent, in Central California, women did not just work as farm laborers, but are expected to perform traditional duties associated with the gendered division of labor. In this new context and environment, women's household labor has been paired with additional duties outside of the domestic space, a situation that continues to be visible in places like Exeter or Farmersville. Every young adult I met and spoke with between the ages of 18 and 30 confirmed that, as children they too had worked "in the fields." For example, the sons of Don Rogelio Espinoza-Ramos, Eliseo and David, who are now in their early 30s, recalled how they had worked as migrant farm laborers in Central California. They harvested oranges, grapes, and olives. Like other families, Don Rogelio also migrated to Oregon and then Washington during the summer to pick strawberries and cherries. Amongst the

middle-aged and elderly, child labor is considered important and necessary, specifically since it increases and adds to the families' overall income. Ironically, the youth and those young adults that grew up in Central California working as farm laborers, no longer consider child labor necessary, reflecting a shift in labor norms, since historically child labor has been considered important to San Jerónimo's community.

During an interview with Don Calistro Morales-Ramirez, he, too, retold how he first traveled to Exeter in the 1970s to work as a farm laborer. Eventually, he returned to San Jerónimo for his wife and eldest son because it was important for him to have his family with him. I asked him what he recalled about this time and he stated, "I came with several men from San Jerónimo, with my *compadres* Francisco, Lorenzo, and Juan. When we first came it was really hard . . . Then we brought our wives." His wife, Doña Luisa, confirmed that, when she first came to Exeter, she and her son worked as farm laborers. Don Calistro put her work into a broader context of his own masculinity: "Then it was easier for me to work, because my wife could make our food, and do all those things that women do . . . Then Lorenzo and Juan went back for their families in the 70s." Don Calistro further explained that, by the end of the 1970s, most of the men he had migrated with returned to Mexico not only for their wives, but for other extended family members, too.

Both Doña Luisa Ramirez-Morales and Doña Valentina Espinoza-Ramos discussed how, when they arrived to Central California, the specific nature of their work as farm laborers in the context of their domestic duties. According to them, their daily schedule consisted of waking up earlier than their husbands or sons, preparing lunch for

the day, and then returning home to take care of other household chores. In fact, most of the woman I informally spoke with confirmed that they, regardless of age, also woke up earlier than their husbands and sons to prepare food. They also worked in the fields and returned home to manage household chores. Like the wives, the daughters were also expected to help complete domestic labor. For example, Don Rogelio's youngest daughter, Isabel Espinoza-Ramos, stated, "I always had to help my mom. I had to wake up in the morning with her." Don Rogelio responded to her discussion of her labor as such: "Yes, they are responsible for *esas cosas de mujeres* (things related to women)," which specifically referred to domestic work. Doña Valentina Espinoza-Ramos further added: "These men, they don't know how to do these things . . . They would die without us." Much of the women's domestic labor consisted of preparing meals, washing clothes, cleaning the home, and caring for children. Women's double duties, specifically those related to the gendered divisions of labor, facilitated men's ability to adjust to life in the transnational setting. These divisions of labor also allowed the men to defend and maintain their sense of masculinity for a while, since women's gender roles were important and necessary to all of San Jerónimenses' early translation of usos y costumbres in the U.S. context.

A Different Context

Patriarchy, as social practice and ideal, is important to men's senses of self, since it is linked with many aspects of San Jerónimo's usos y costumbres. I have demonstrated throughout this dissertation that patriarchy is considered by men consist of the ideal family structure in which men must be the "*cabezas de su familia*," or heads of their

respective households. Men's early decisions to set up permanent residence next to other family or community members was an important decision that allowed them to defend, maintain, and adapt their sense of masculinity in the U.S. context. Furthermore, reproducing the community's gendered divisions of labor by bringing women to places like Exeter and Farmersville reinforced San Jerónimo's unique form of patriarchy held in place by specific forms of masculinity.

The most visible difference between Tijuana and towns in Central California is the reduction of this clustering of families. In the San Joaquin Valley, it is now rare for families to live next to each other and there is less interaction with other members of the community. In Exeter and Farmersville, in particular, households often contain several generations and social interactions occur more with those of the nuclear family, as opposed to extended relatives who live outside the primary domestic realm. This specific spatialization of families means that the community interacts less with other San Jerónimenses like compadres. My data suggests that fewer interactions with San Jerónimo's community facilitate the appropriation of specific U.S. cultural norms and values. While it is true that, in Exeter and Farmersville, San Jerónimenses preferred to interact and socialize with their own relatives or other Oaxaqueños, but these interactions are limited and not as frequent as they are Tijuana. It was also common for me to visit households in Exeter and Farmersville and observe young people maintaining friendships with youths of different ethnic, racial, and class backgrounds. Such friendships were strikingly different from those I witnessed in Tijuana and San Jerónimo, where the

communities continued to prefer interacting and socializing with their own communities of other indigenous people.

In Central California, San Jerónimo's range of masculinities tend to fall into the secondary type, which is most greatly characterized by lacking interest in the system of civic-religious *cargos* and the idea of returning to live permanently in San Jerónimo. This form of masculinity is also characterized by the absence of attitudes that value or view town news, events, and activities as important. Men were divided on the significance of usos y costumbres. Some, like Don Gonzalo Lopez-Garcia—who I met as he built a wooden frame for a kitchen in a new home in Pixley, California—was quick to admit that San Jerónimo's usos y costumbres are no longer important to him. Don Gonzalo had been San Jerónimo's *agente municipal* in 2003. But, since his last stay in the town, he had, for the most part, remained inactive in town activities. He made his disinterest clear when he stated: "I am tired of all that. I don't know any more. Part of me hates the cargos. I tell myself every time I think of them, no more. I will not accept any more cargos." He further added the following:

> I was the *agente* in 2003. Everything went wrong. They accused me of stealing money from the town funds, the *quotas* they collect from everyone and then send back to San Jerónimo. That's what everyone claims, "He stole money!" I am tired of all that. I didn't steal anything. That was the last time, no more. People criticize you if you do good or bad. If you make a project, and it comes out well, they don't even thank you. The community is very ungrateful. They criticize you for everything. If your account doesn't come out like they expected, they accuse you of taking the money. They (the community) talk bad about you all year and everywhere. The *chisme* goes all the way to Tijuana and even here, it gets here too. I am tired of it all. (interview with author, April 16, 2012)

Don Gonzalo consistently reaffirmed he would no longer participate in cargos or mayordomias and that he was content with living permanently in Farmersville. Don

Gonzalo remarked, “In the United States, San Jerónimo seems so far away. And, even though Tijuana is close, here it is different, and some of our costumbres are no longer important.” He admitted that, today, the community’s system of civic-religious cargos and other aspects of usos y costumbres were less important to him than when he first migrated to California. Almost every man I interviewed expressed a similar disinterest in civic participation and a complete dislike of the system of cargos. Instead, they preferred to discuss what they felt was important to them, like their children’s performances in school, or the sports they played in high school, the purchasing of new cars and homes, their current occupational statuses, and the issues they navigate at work. The range of new topics is most common amongst the secondary form of masculinity, since there is less interest in discussing issues or themes associated with San Jerónimo’s usos y costumbres. This new situation is the direct result of transnational migration and the building and embedding of community life in these new places.

Why No Hometown Associations?

The interviews in which men expressed being actively disinterested with maintaining social and political ties or having a positive citizenship status within San Jerónimo drew attention to the reason there were no hometown associations in Central California. The absence of San Jerónimo’s traditional hometown associations is important to consider here and my ethnographic data and interviews with men in Central California provide clues as to why they are almost non-existent. Mexican, especially Oaxacan hometown associations are “part of broader phenomenon of transnationalism” and a result of migrating communities’ abilities and desires to organize their members

into collective bodies that maintain ties with original towns or villages (Orozco and Lapointe 2004: 1). In certain contexts hometown associations fulfill several important functions for the community and may include raising funds for emergencies or small local projects both in the U.S. and Mexico. They may also function as a source of social support that fosters community identity and networks (Hamilton 2011: 237; Orozco and Lapointe 2004; Smith and Guarnizo 1998). Why, then, are there no hometown associations for San Jerónimenses in a place like California's San Joaquin Valley?

As I have argued, San Jerónimo's secondary type of masculinities are characterized by a semi-lack of interest with maintaining ties with the system of civic cargos, especially those at the bienes comunales, since they require individuals to stay in the town for more than a year. In the U.S., San Jerónimenses explain that the cost of living is significantly higher than in Tijuana and other parts of Mexico. And, although their salaries allow them to cover the costs, they found it tremendously difficult to lose, for more than a year, the male head-of-household. Furthermore, if the men left, families would have to find a way to replace these lost sources of income and cover the individual costs while they live in San Jerónimo. A significant number of men in Central California, then, often made extra effort to circumvent being singled out and identified for cargos by avoiding frequent interaction with the San Jerónimo community in Tijuana. Although, most agreed that they enjoy community activities like fiestas, weddings, and other events that bring families together, those living in the U.S. were more willing to admit that they also make extra effort to avoid "*estar en la vista*," or "being in sight." This attitude and its attending behaviors suggest that San Jerónimenses living in Central California are less

likely to participate in group or associations that promote town identity and affiliation because they may be perceived by the larger community as a willing to accept cargos or mayordomias.

My data further suggests that, considering that the bulk of San Jerónimo's community lives in Tijuana near the U.S. border, members do not often find a need for hometown associations because the entire community is already nearby and fully accessible. As mentioned in the previous chapter, it is common to hear people claim, "everyone lives in Tijuana—it's like San Jerónimo." Some other Oaxacan communities, like Santa Maria Tindu, then, created organizations and town committees for the sole purpose of strengthening communal ties with their town and social relationships between community members (Gil Martínez de Escobar 2006). Furthermore, during my ethnographic research in Central California, San Jerónimenses spoke of having the ability to legally cross the U.S.-Mexican border. Although, my research was not authorized to ask individuals about their legal status, many openly talked about having legal resident or citizenship status. This situation is the direct result of being one of the first indigenous Oaxacan communities to migrate to the U.S., which was before the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986. As such, a significant number, which I estimate to be about three-fourth of San Jerónimenses, can easily travel across the U.S.and Mexican border, a situation that is unlike other Mixtec communities in the San Joaquin Valley. (Martínez de Escobar 2006; Matus Ruiz 2003; Ventura Luna 2010)

A common characteristic of many hometown associations: they "collect remittances for projects in their home communities," which are funds "raised through

parties or dances [for] projects [that] include church repairs, recreation centers, school books, construction of schools and clinics, road paving, potable water systems, and electricity in the home community" (Hamilton 2011: 237). San Jerónimenses do collect "*quotas*" from their members, but these funds often are transferred to individuals living in Tijuana who then take them directly to San Jerónimo. They may also transfer such funds electronically to individuals living in the town. At no time does the process of collecting "quotas" take on the form of large organized projects characterized with the intent to collect funds for town projects. Families are aware that quotas are part of their usos y costumbres and that they are necessary for maintaining positive standings with the community. In this sense, they are not considered burdensome, since they are never more than fifty U.S. dollars per year.

In the places like Exeter and Farmersville, women's increasing independence from men appears to influence not just men's decision to accept or reject cargos, but to engage in activities that foster visible participation in organizations like hometown associations. In Exeter and Farmersville, for example, I recorded women stating that they dislike cargos and prefer that their husbands not accept them. My data further suggests that there were visible changes occurring in the relationships between husbands and wives. First, women were more economically independent, which was visible in their ability to keep the earnings from their jobs. This financial independence was not the case, and both men and women admitted that, when they originally migrated to the U.S., entire families would work as farm laborers, but husbands were the ones who ended up keeping all the wages earned. Specifically, one husband explained that "we would collect one

check, and that was for one person," meaning that husbands were the ones who collected one single payment that included not just the labor that women had contributed working as farm laborers, but those from their children who also worked alongside them "*en los files*," or "in the fields."

Today, this wage collection system is not the case for families who have permanently settled in the San Joaquin Valley. Many of San Jerónimo's families in Central California today claimed that it is normal and acceptable for men and women to have jobs and keep their own earnings. Although women are more independent in the U.S., such independence does not mean that those norms and values associated with patriarchy are gone. In the following chapter, I demonstrate that patriarchy is not monolithic and is visible amongst San Jerónimenses who, even today, claim to be more egalitarian.

Conclusion

In the U.S., San Jeronimense women are increasingly aware that they have greater legal rights that can be enforced by the U.S. legal system. Men are also aware that they, at the very least, must take into consideration the long-term legal consequences for any behavior that may cause harm to women and children. This new landscape of legality impacts relationships within families and explains why it is common to record men claiming that life in the U.S. "*es mas delicado*" than like in Mexico. It is highly plausible that the new socio-cultural environment influenced San Jerónimenses' attitudes as well as how they define and practice what is an appropriate relationships between husbands and wives. This environment also shapes men's relationships with San Jerónimo's usos y

costumbres. My ethnographic data suggests that this new context reflects part of the reason why men in the U.S. are more likely to embody the second type of San Jerónimo's range of masculinities. Furthermore, the reduction of household clusters as well as the lack of proximity to other families shapes men's decisions to stay inactive within San Jerónimo's system of civic cargos. In these new socio-cultural spaces, then, it is less likely that they feel pressured to accept cargos, which is not the case in Tijuana, where individual men frequently stated they felt "pressured by the community" to participate in communal life.

I recognize that there are still important questions left unanswered and beyond the scope of this dissertation. For example, how have women's identities changed as a result of transnational migration? Or, simply, what are indigenous femininities in Mixtec transnational communities like? Or, are Mixtec families living in the U.S. more egalitarian than their counterparts in Tijuana? My ethnographic research's focus on indigenous masculinities provides some clues, but any hard conclusions would require further in-depth research with complete formal interviews addressing the issue of women's identities vis-à-vis usos y costumbres and the system of civic-religious cargos. Furthermore, there exist tangible changes occurring amongst the youth in terms of gendered expectations, suggesting drastic changes in what they perceive to be acceptable socio-cultural practices. My data suggests that the majority of San Jerónimo's youth living in the U.S. will continue to have little to no interest in the community's usos y costumbres as well as the system of civic cargos. An entire dissertation can be dedicated to research on these youth and my hope is that other scholars will further take into

consideration the new generation of San Jerónimenses in the U.S., as they represent the future of the broader community.

In the next chapter, I examine the third type of masculinity, which is most visible amongst San Jerónimo's non-Catholic community. I explore these indigenous masculinities as they are shaped by new religious contexts. In this new context, men and women appropriated norms and values that contrast drastically with San Jerónimo's Catholic majority. These non-Catholic families currently have limited contact with San Jerónimo's system of civic cargos and do not accept the community's religious mayordomias. My examination of indigenous masculinities uncovered several important issues regarding these non-Catholics, revealing important relational processes within San Jerónimo's transnational community.

Chapter 5

Reconceptualizing Indigenous Masculinities amongst *Los Hermanos*

In Oaxaca and throughout Baja California, it is still rare to meet and interview San Jerónimenses that self-describe as non-Catholics. This rarity is not the case in the San Joaquin Valley. In fact, Exeter is home to the largest concentration of non-Catholic San Jerónimenses who self-define as *cristianos*, *evangelicos*, or *hermanos*. Most of San Jerónimo's cristianos work as farm laborers and some families have established small businesses at swap meets, where they sell food, crafts, or products from Oaxaca. The population of these cristianos has grown to the extent that, in the early 2000s, several families collectively purchased a church in the city of Exeter.Today, the medium-sized church holds regular services four times a week and its members consist primarily of indigenous families from Oaxaca.

The cristiano church in Exeter is composed of mostly families from San Jerónimo. But, a significant number of members are from other indigenous towns like San Miguel Aguacates, Ixpantepec Nieves, San Juan Mixtepec, and San Martin del Estado. Until recently, cristianos had little to no contact with San Jerónimo's Catholic majority. In the last few years, this situation has changed and a growing number of cristianos have returned to San Jerónimo to accept and fulfill cargos. A complete analysis of the increasing presence of non-Catholic religions and their impact on indigenous communities is beyond the scope of this dissertation. Nevertheless, it is still possible to observe how Protestant religions like Pentecostalism have complemented indigenous masculinities.

My data suggests that these new religions reinforced indigenous men's senses of self, which are no longer based on usos y costumbres. In the last half of the twentieth century, non-Catholic Christians have intensified missionary and evangelist projects throughout Latin America (Garrard-Burnett and Stoll 1993: 3; McIntyre 2012: 15-23; Ramirez 2003: 129). Protestantism, especially Pentecostalism and Apostolicism, increased significantly during this time amongst members of indigenous communities in southern Mexico especially (Hamilton 2011: 185; McIntyre 2012; Ruz and Garma Navarro 2005; Stephen and Dow 1990: 14). San Jerónimo's non-Catholics consist of members from different religious denominations, such as Jehovah's Witnesses, Seventh Day Adventists, and Mormons, but not the more standard Protestant denominations such as Methodists, or Lutherans. . The data I collected in Exeter and Farmersville suggests that this new context reinforced some of San Jerónimo's most rigid and conservative socio-cultural norms and values. Despite leading lives that now mainly center on their new "cristiano" religion, San Jerónimenses have syncretized some of the community's most conservative attitudes and practices to coincide with biblical scripture. Specifically, non-Catholics often reinforced "traditional" notions of patriarchy and gender roles, a trend most visible in the gendered divisions of labor to which they adhere. Patriarchy and the gendered divisions of laborer are both visible in all public and private spheres, including all church gatherings, functions, and celebrations.

A New Context

The form of Christianity and Evangelism practiced by San Jerónimo's *cristiano* families living in the Exeter and Farmersville vicinity originated with the Pentecostal and

Evangelist teachings of La Iglesia de Jesucristo de las Américas (IJA), based in Salinas, California (Ramírez 2015: 247, Hernández and O'Connor 2013). Specifically, this form was based on the sermons, writings, and evangelist missionary projects of Efraim Valverde Sr., who along with his son, grandson, and other church members, proselytized hundreds of indigenous families in and around Oaxaca and Souther California (Ramirez 2015). At his home in the Tooleville neighborhood outside of Exeter, Don Rogelio Espinoza-Ramos explained how and why Efraim Valverde Sr. was an important figure in his and hundreds of other indigenous families' conversion to Pentecostal Evangelism:

> I converted to Christianity (Pentecostal Evangelism) in the 1970s in Vista, California. At the time, many of us (men), who came alone to work as farm laborers were living in *campos* (camps). It was only us (the men) who first converted. My older brother Carlos was the first *cristiano* from San Jerónimo. Carlos is responsible for the growth of evangelism in La Mixteca. He was the first *evangelista* in Juxtlahuaca. He baptized Lencho in Vista, but my brother was already preaching in Juxtlahuaca. I, too, was one of the first to accept Christ. We heard *el Hermano Efraim* (Brother Efraim) preach and many of us agreed with what he said, we agreed that it was important to search for God. I became baptized in the name of Jesus Christ in Vista, and started to preach the word to my relatives, *gente de Oaxaca*, and those from the *pueblo* (community). (conversation with author, April 12, 2016)

I asked Don Rogelio to explain why he chose Efraim Valverde's form of Pentecostal Evangelism. He answered:

> We, all of us that heard him preach, liked what he said. What we really liked was that we had more freedom and that we could create our own churches, with our own people… and that there was no one single leader. We could have a personal relationship with God, we liked that he criticized *las sistemas y estractura* (the systems and structures within the hierarchy of forms of Christianity, like the Apostolic church) and we liked that he was a simple and humble man. (conversation with author, April 12, 2016)

During my private conversations with other *cristiano* men, some stated they found the "conservative appearance" of Pentecostalism attractive. Many were especially drawn to the fact that women were expected to wear veils and long dresses, or clothes that covered their entire bodies. Some stated that they were more willing to listen, attend church services, and eventually become baptized as "*hermanos*" and *cristianos*. True, converting to Protestantism is an "individual religious choice" (McIntire 2012: vii). But, for San Jerónimo's *cristianos*, this choice began with men who later forced their wives and children into the new religion.

According to Don Rogelio, by the early 1980s, several small congregations were established in North San Diego County and he himself became one of the pastors of a small group in the Exeter and Farmersville area. These first congregations were composed of close family members and individuals that were exclusively from indigenous towns in Oaxaca. After returning to Oaxaca for his wife in the late 1970s, Don Rogelio relocated permanently to Exeter and, with the assistance of Efraim Valverde Sr., he became a pastor and one of the first Mixtec cristiano converts. Don Rogelio and Doña Valentina Espinoza-Ramos confirmed that their congregation grew in size as a result of two important factors. The first: the addition of new converts, often men who would later bring their families into the congregation. The second and most important: the children raised in the new religion later became adults, got married, and had their own children. By establishing their own families, this new generation of non-Catholic cristianos added members to the congregation.

After many years of renting a small house in the Tooleville neighborhood, then relocating several times, Don Rogelio's congregation was finally able to find a permanent location near downtown Exeter. According to Don Rogelio, several families came together to collectively purchase the church by pooling together several thousand dollars. These families saved this money by working as farm laborers or selling snacks at swap meets. They used this money as a down payment for the property and building. The purchase of the church in Exeter was a collective effort by adults, the youth, and the children, since these were, in every sense, families laboring together.

Building Faith and Community

Don Rogelio and his wife, Doña Valentina, have lived in Exeter for more than thirty years. And, as cristianos they travel regularly to visit other fellow "hermanos" and their congregations in Salinas, Madera, Santa Maria, Oceanside, and Escondido, California. Most of these congregations, with the exception of the one located in Salinas, are composed of indigenous Mixtec families from Oaxaca that, in the last few decades, converted to Pentecostalism. They generally describe themselves as "baptized and now hermanos y cristianos." According to Don Rogelio, "it's important to convir (get together) with los hermanos" and he proudly stated that he and his wife were directly responsible for proselytizing dozens of "*familias de Oaxaca*." Doña Valentina recalled: "Since we came here, we have worked and helped families find the *truth* (meaning, to convert and become cristianos). They are now saved because they know and have accepted the true word of God." Today, Don Rogelio, his wife, and their adult sons and

daughters, who now have their own families, are one of the most visible and active Oaxacan cristiano families in Central California.

Although this dissertation does not examine the full impact new religions have had on indigenous communities, I want to argue here that, for San Jerónimo's men, Pentecostalism has complimented and reinforced to a high degree men's senses of masculine self. First, San Jerónimo's cristiano men are highly vocal about their new religious beliefs, which impact many aspects of their socio-cultural norms and values. Second, indigenous masculinities are no longer based on usos y costumbres, but, rather, on religion, meaning that identity—including ethnic identity—is shaped by these new beliefs.

In Exeter, I attended dozens of cristiano services and observed some of the community's practices. At all services, women were forbidden from using or wearing cosmetics. Furthermore, they were required to wear long dresses and cover the tops of their heads with veils. At their house in Tooleville, I asked Doña Valentina about these norms for women and she answered: "This is what the Bible tells us, that we must respect ourselves and God, therefore we wear veils . . . We have always worn dresses. This is not a new costumbre." I was drawn to her use of the term costumbre and probed why this was not a "new costumbre." She clarified: "Our parents, grandmothers always wore long dresses. They wore those *enaguas* (long dresses), but now women from San Jerónimo don't want to." Doña Valentina explained that *cristianas* (women) respected God by covering their bodies and, as she observed, "The *mundanos* (worldly people), those women, they don't respect themselves nor God. They do not obey the Bible, which is

why they wear pants and tight jeans . . . *No conosen de dios y son rebeldes* (They don't know God and don't obey)." Don Rogelio sat quietly next to his wife and then added: "*Esta en la escritura*," or, "It is in scripture."

Don Rogelio and Doña Valentina described to me some of the most important aspects of being a cristiano. According to both, a cristiano needs to "first accept God and then become baptized. They must live their lives according to what is written in the Bible. They must live a cristiano life." For the San Jeronimense cristianos living in Exeter, baptism is symbolic of a transition to "cristiano life" and demonstrates to the community obedience and adherence to their new religion. It formally marks the transition from "unsaved" to a "saved" soul. Importantly, a person who is baptized takes on the title of "*hermano/a*." Individuals who have been baptized and are active members in the cristiano community are recognized as no longer being "mundanos," the term used to describe any person who is not part their cristiano community. In fact, the term "mundano" is applied to anyone and everyone that does not believe or practice the unique form of cristiano Pentecostal Evangelism, regardless of their religion.

Cristianos firmly believe that there is a difference between the body and soul. This belief greatly impacts and shapes their day-to-day decisions. Specifically, cristianos believe there is difference between the physical and material world—versus the spiritual and supernatural realm. Life in the temporal and physical world must be orientated towards preparation for the afterlife. In fact, many cristianos do not support the idea of preparing one's self for long-term careers or pursuing higher forms of education beyond high school because they emphasize preparation for this afterlife.

The idea of "sin" is viewed as extremely dangerous and something that must be avoided at all cost. In an effort to avoid "sin," *cristianos* refrain from watching television shows or movies that are not grounded in Judeo-Christian themes. Outside of reading the Bible, they rarely read books. They also abstain from drinking alcohol, using profanity, or engaging in *chisme* (gossip). All these norms are continuously recognized by cristianos as important practices that characterize cristiano values. They are also viewed as part of what it means to *respetar* (respect) God. Don Rogelio explained that by avoiding "sin," cristianos believe they are "*respetado*," or respecting God and the teachings of the Bible, and thus guaranteeing life after death. Some of the most extreme expressions of this belief is directed toward children, who may be forbidden from watching cartoons, playing with action figures, or reading comics or books that are deemed "*de el diablo*," or "of the devil." Several of the cristiano youth with whom I spoke recalled that, as children, they were forbidden from engaging in activities that were considered as going against the religion. For example, dancing is an activity that is defined by cristianos as constituting "sin" and is considered highly unacceptable.

Doña Valentina elaborated upon dancing: "Dancing is a sin because it is not for God. When people dance they dance for their own gusto, for themselves, for *lo que es carnal* (what is of the body). The *mundanos* (worldly people and non-cristianos) are the ones that dance, listen to mundano music." Instead, according to her, cristianos claim to "*danzar*," which, they argue, is significantly different from dancing. Don Rogelio and Doña Valentina explained,

> Dancing is a sin. *Nosostros danzamos*. We *danzamos* to our *salvador y señor* (Savior and Lord). The *hermanos danzan* when they feel God, when the spirit

> moves and fills them. *Nosotros danzamos.* (conversation with author, April 12, 2016)

Cristianos' claims to danzar, which refers to moving rhythmically to Christian music, resemble Jewish Hasidic or "*hora*" style dances. Don Rogelio and Doña Valentina argue that cristianos do not dance for their own pleasure. Rather, danzar is a form of worship and celebration. Every cristiano I informally spoke with had similar opinions about what it meant for them to be "good cristianos," which always included participating in danzar. All church members agreed that it was extremely important for them to meet on a regular basis with other fellow hermanos, too, which, according to them, helped reinforce and strengthen their "*fe*," or "faith," as well as a sense of cristiano community.

San Jerónimo's cristianos build community in unique ways. Families meet at church at least three times a week to worship and celebrate together. Men and women hold regular meetings and discuss, transmit, and reinforce what it means for them to be "good" cristianos. The youth have regular meetings and form their own *grupo de jovenes* (youth groups), which focus on learning new cristiano songs, reading, and preparing skits based on events in the Bible. These songs, plays, or skits are presented to the church on a regular basis and usually end with the youth danzando to Christian music played on a stereo system or by the church's live band. Cristianos get together and celebrate the baptism of new converts, certain holidays like New Years Eve and Easter, weddings, and funerals, which are described as "graduations." Newborns are presented to the congregation. During these presentations, pastors or men regarded as "*hombres de dios*" pray for the children and their parents. The church, as a collective group of families, regularly hosts, attends, and visits other congregations in Salinas, Santa Maria, Madera,

and other communities in California where indigenous Oaxacans established their own community of cristianos.

To some extant, these cristiano congregations can be described as quasi-hometown associations, specifically because they provide social support and, at times, economic assistance to their members through the collection of "*ofrendas*," or monetary gifts (Hamilton 2011: 237; Orozco and Lapointe 2004; Smith and Guarnizo 1998). Some hermanos, like Don Rogelio's eldest son, have traveled to Jerusalem with other members from churches in California and Oaxaca. According to Don Rogelio, "going to Israel strengthens our faith" and "we support Israel and the Jews because they are God's chosen people." In fact, Don Rogelio explained that it is common to find the Israeli flag displayed at cristiano churches and that hermanos aspire to make pilgrimages to Jerusalem at least once in their lifetimes.

For cristianos, religion is the center of all community activities. In fact, religion determines who families do or do not socialize with as well as who parents want their children to marry. Parents like Doña Valentina are adamant that the youth "should marry within the church and not with mundanos (non-cristianos)," an attitude that parallels San Jerónimo's historic form of endogamy. San Jerónimo's cristianos may no longer offer bride price, but men like Don Rogelio believe "that the groom's family [should] take care of the food, event, and *gastos* (expenses)," suggesting that parents continue to expect the grooms' respective families to deal with financial expenses. This attitude toward monetary issues is similar to San Jerónimo's form of bride price, whereby the groom's parents must cover all of the wedding costs in addition to giving gifts of food, alcohol,

animals, and money to the family of the bride. San Jerónimo's cristiano families almost always and exclusively "*convir*," or socialize, with other cristianos of the same form of Pentecostal Evangelism regardless of race, ethnicity, or class background. This intermingling suggests that San Jerónimo's cristianos socialize more with other cristianos than with their own non-cristiano relatives. This form of socialization often divides families and it is common to discover that individuals have not spoken to or interacted with their own brothers, sisters, or cousins for several years—if not decades.

San Jerónimo's cristianos shun and denounce all activities associated with the Catholic church, such a making the sign of the cross, baptizing children, participating in the system of *compadrazgo*, accepting religious *mayordomias*, worshiping saints, partaking in one's first communion, and any other festivities that not grounded in the Bible such as *quinceañeras*, certain religious holidays, and even birthdays. According to Doña Valentina, the only acceptable activities are those mentioned in the Bible. Almost every young person I spoke with admitted that they rarely observed their own birthdays and young women did not celebrate quinceañeras. Although these kinds of celebrations are recent social practices for San Jerónimo's Catholic majority, cristianos perceive them to be sinful, wrong, and not part of their religion. At their most extreme, cristianos avoid all interaction with San Jerónimo's Catholic majority, including not attending any of their festivities or celebrations. A significant number of cristianos have not returned to San Jerónimo for decades, despite having parents or family members living there.

Indigenous *Cristiano* Masculinity

At cristiano events, it is possible to view the recreation of San Jerónimo's gendered divisions of labor, in which women are solely responsible for the preparation of all foods, making and setting up decorations, washing and cleaning dishes. Men are responsible for organizing events, setting up tables and chairs, playing musical instruments, and leading all sermons and speeches. Ironically, aside from the actual themes or purposes of these events or gatherings, they appear identical to what can be observed amongst San Jerónimo's Catholic majority. San Jerónimo's cristianos, much like their Catholic counterparts, reproduce some of the community's most "traditional" socio-cultural norms and values. Specifically, they share the idea that gender and sex must coincide and that there are clear and distinct gender roles for all members of the community. Homosexuality and so-called "alternative" genders are strictly forbidden and is described as "*pecado*, *del diabol*, *o tiene demoños*," or "sin, of the devil, or the person has demons." Within this new U.S. context, cristianos ground San Jerónimo's form of patriarchy, which, although no longer reinforced by usos y costumbres, continues to exist and is expressed through religions like Pentecostal Evangelism. As such, my data suggests that indigenous men who are now cristianos continue to embrace the idea that patriarchy is important to their individual senses of self and masculinity.

Patriarchy and *Cristianos*

In the San Joaquin Valley, indigenous masculinities adapted and changed as a result of the new socio-cultural environment. San Jerónimo's cristianos claim that today there is more equality between the sexes, yet acknowledged and supported the idea that

"men have more authority than women," an idea reinforced in the teachings of the Bible. I maintain that, in the cristiano community, women continue to occupy a secondary and lower status than men. In this dissertation, I have already demonstrated that, in San Jerónimo and Tijuana, San Jerónimenses generally believe that men and women are equals or, at least, "no different." Yet, in actuality, men agreed with and supported the idea that women should neither be allowed to hold *cargos* nor acquire the formal status of *ciudadana* (citizen). These attitudes contradict the reality that women are often critical for the reproduction of the system of civic-religious cargos, since women provide both emotional and economic support to their husbands while they fulfill their cargos (Ruiz Robles 2003). Similarly, in Tijuana, men recognized that the socio-cultural, economic, and political environments shape women's abilities to earn incomes and men acknowledged that this new environment favors men both socially and economically. For San Jerónimo's Catholic majority, their form of patriarchy is reconstituted within Mexico's patriarchal society, reinforcing their senses of self and adherence to the gendered divisions of labor. This is the same for San Jerónimo's cristiano men, who, in some instances, are actually more conservative and patriarchal than their Catholic counterparts.

In Exeter, it is common to hear sermons touch on what are acceptable gender roles and responsibilities for men and women. Many of the churches themes and lectures revolve around the idea of "repenting" and "searching for God," but they also touch on gender roles, parenting practices, and most importantly what it means "to be a good man of God." In these conversations, lectures, and sermons, I observed that there are more

expectations and restrictions for women than men. In fact, women are strictly forbidden from becoming pastors or stepping onto the podium to give sermons. Lesley Gill observes that Pentecostal doctrine "presents women with a contradiction between the teachings and ideals of the church and the reality of their lives" (Gill 1990: 709). This contradiction draws attention to the issue of patriarchy and the social inequalities between the sexes, or as Gill writes:

> Pentecostal doctrine . . . is rooted in the patriarchal, individualist tradition of the late 19th- and early 20th-century United States and reinforces dominant beliefs about the natural inferiority of women. It relegates women to the bottom of a divinely ordained hierarchy that bestows power and authority on God and men and situates women's primary responsibilities in the home, where they are expected to care for fathers, husbands, and children . . . . (Gill 1990: 709)

These issues become visible at Exeter's church services, where women are reminded, by both men and women that the female body is "sacred" and, therefore, must be held to higher standards. Cristianos hold the idea that women must be virgins prior to marriage, should be conservative in appearance, must respect their mothers, brothers, fathers and husbands, and be "good and obedient" caregivers who are responsible for all domestic work. Women who violate these norms and values may be shunned, denounced, or, at the most extreme, accused of "*tiene mal espirito y demoños*" (having bad spirits and demons).

The inequalities between the sexes are also visible in cristianos' definitions of who constitutes a "man of God," or "hombre de dios." For San Jerónimo's cristiano community, men are the only people who can become hombres de dios and, therefore, formal leaders of the church (Hernández and O'Connor 2013: 16). Don Rogelio Espinoza-Ramos defines a "man of God" as a man who is enlightened, clairvoyant, and

has the authority from God to be a leader or role model within the cristiano community. These "men of god" must have some of the following qualities: leadership capabilities; the ability to engage in *glossolalia* (speak in tongues); have visions and be capable of interpreting dreams, fasting, and praying for several days; the ability to read and interpret the Bible within the context of Protestantism; and, above all, be baptized and an active member of the congregation. These men must also be recognized as "good" fathers and husbands, which usually means keeping and maintaining their family within the cristiano community. In this sense, there are many parallels between cristianos and the broader San Jerónimo system of civic-cargos, whereby men are the only ones who can hold the cargo of *agente*, *suplente*, or any figure of authority for that matter. True, some women—like Doña Valentina—hold high status amongst the cristiano community and can be considered "organic intellectuals"[8] of their congregation, but their achieved status is nowhere equal to men referred as "hombres de dios." In fact, women's status within the cristiano congregation pales in comparison to the prestige or authority granted to pastors or men in leadership positions.

Cristianos agree that men must always be the heads of their households and materialize what it means to be "good" men, which begins with being a baptized hermano and adhering to their religion's rules and expectations. Manhood is later determined by marriage with a person of the opposite sex and husbands are expected to eventually become fathers. In previous chapters, I describe how, in San Jerónimo, marriage marks the transition to manhood. But, in such cases, a new husband must reproduce all of the

[8] Gramsci's theory of the "organic intellectual" is in his essay on "The Formation of the Intellectuals" (Hoare and Nowell Smith 1992: 5-14).

community's socio-cultural norms to be considered a complete and "normal" man. San Jerónimo's *cristiano* community in Exeter and Farmersville also view marriage as important and agree that it is important within their religion and way of life. Husbands are expected to follow norms and values associated with patriarchy, which is intimately grounded in the Judeo-Christian Bible.

Of course, in both the Catholic and cristiano community, patriarchy exists in a state of contradictions. For examples, cristianos and Catholics claim that families are today more egalitarian than in the past and that "women are no different than men." In fact, many argue *against* the following:

> the idea [which] defines women subtly and/or obviously as objects of men, as humans of lesser ability and innate values than men, whose labor and work within the household or outside of it are valued less than that of men, and basically as women standing in subordination to men within and outside the household. (Vélez-Ibañez 1996: 138)

Again, the ethnographic data suggests that, although cristiano men generally support the idea of "equality" between the sexes, it is still within the context of patriarchy.

Carlos Vélez-Ibáñez reminds us that patriarchy is distributed "by conditions, economy, struggle, and the on-going political experience of the household in question . . . patriarchy, as persistent and invasive as it is, is [not] monolithic . . ." (Vélez-Ibáñez 1996: 138). Based on the ethnographic data collected in Exeter, it is clear that patriarchy is not monolithic. Rather, patriarchy can take on many forms and is recreated even amongst San Jerónimo's cristianos, who often assert they are more egalitarian and "respectful of women" than their "mundano" Catholic counterparts. Life within patriarchy is important

to cristiano men's sense of self and is continuously reinforced by their Pentecostal Evangelist way of life.

My research focused on indigenous masculinities, and not the impact that new religious has had on communities like San Jerónimo. In this sense, I can only suggest that future research on Protestantism in indigenous Oaxacan communities must take into consideration the issue of gender inequalities and changes occurring to the family as a result of new norms and values influenced by religion. Here then it is important to make clear that one question that remains unexplored is the degree to which gender inequalities exist amongst indigenous cristianos like those from San Jerónimo. Specifically, there is little to no research that examines women's experience with the Pentecostal Evangelist movement in Oaxaca or California. My data suggests that, although some of San Jerónimo's social ills have been reduced within the cristiano community, other issues are present. For example, alcoholism and physical violence against women is not as common and I never formally recorded women speak of being hit or beaten. Instead, in Exeter and Farmersville, almost every cristiano confidently stated they had not drunk alcohol for several years if any at all. They also made clear that they never hit their wives since converting and being baptized. Furthermore, women like Doña Valentina Espinoza-Ramos firmly stated that physical violence against women no longer existed amongst cristianos, which is supported by my ethnographic work in Exeter and Farmersville.

Although physical violence has been reduced, this reduction does not mean that all forms of abuse are absent. In fact, based on private conversations with female youths, children and teens are often made to feel ashamed or guilty for wanting to wear makeup

or clothing deemed inappropriate, sinful, and "*de los mundano*," or "of worldly people." Furthermore, all young adults recalled that, as children, the fear of "losing their souls" if they became like mundanos was present. This culture of fear is, in every sense, similar to the infliction of "spiritual abuse" or "religious abuse" (Dehan and Levi 2009:1303; Purcell 1998). Many of these young adults stated that they continued to feel and experience guilt if they behaved like non-cristianos, which supports the idea that there are some more complex issues amongst the cristianos compared to other groups central to this study. Boyd C. Purcell (1998) observes that the Judeo-Christian tradition is not immune to modern social problems like "spiritual abuse," which he defines as such:

> [The] act of making people believe-whether by stating or merely implying-that they are going to be punished in this life and/or tormented in hell-fire forever for failure to live life good enough to please God and thus earn admission to heaven… The underlying issue in all forms of abuse is control. (Purcell 1998: 227)

Furthermore, a significant number of young adults mentioned that, aside from being regularly told that they would "*perder nuestra alma*" (lose our souls) if they behaved or acted like mundanos, they were physically beaten and disciplined as children. My ethnographic data further demonstrates that, although physical violence against women has been reduced, violence against children has not and is still both common and socially acceptable amongst cristianos.

Several young cristiano adults specifically recalled that, as children, they were regularly beaten and violently forced by their parents to learn Bible versus, texts, or songs. Joaquin Ramirez, a young man in his late twenties who lives in Exeter and works in a small pastry factory recalled this kind of violence as such:

> When I was a kid, my mom would force us to learn an entire section of the Bible. Then I would present these "*textos*" at church, and if I didn't learn them, she would beat me really bad . . . It got so bad that once I went to school with bruises and marks on my back, face, and arms. Exeter's elementary school called child services and they took my younger brothers and me away for an entire week. The police came and I think they spoke with parents. The beatings stopped a little, but not completely. My mother realized that she had to hide the marks better, so the school wouldn't find them . . . I think that my parents were too extreme, too fanatical. They took their religion too far. Sometimes, I get really angry about how they treated us . . . Now, well, I go to church when I want, but it's a lot harder because during the weekdays I work long hours. I work from 4 a.m. until 3 p.m., and I am always really tired. On the weekends I would rather spend time with my two kids. (conversation with author, April 3, 2016)

Joaquin cited his experience with physical abuse as one of the reasons he no longer attends services on a regular basis. In fact he stated, "I go out of *costumbre*," which suggests that, amongst San Jerónimo's cristiano youths, changes are beginning to shape their definitions of what it means to be an active practicing hermano and cristiano. Other former members of the cristiano community cited the strict and rigid definition of the concept of a practicing hermano as unrealistic. Don Fernando Santiago-Avila, a former cristiano now living in San Diego, California remarked during an interview with me:

> Sure, I like the church, but they want us to be perfect, *sin pecado* (without sin), but we are humans and we make mistakes. If you do something that goes against what *they* (*cristianos*) believe, they accuse you of *pecar* (sin) and that you *se perdio y se fue al mundo* (become lost in the world, and therefore an unsaved person). I just don't agree with their idea of being perfect, they act as if they don't make mistakes. (interview with author, April 24, 2016)

Any future work on Protestantism and indigenous communities must take into account these issues related to violence and community, as articulated here by Don Fernando, since they are very much a part of people's realities and lived experiences. Given that there is little research available on violence against children amongst Mixtec transnational communities, it is important to consider the intersection of violence and

community. My own sense is that violence plays an important role in maintaining gender hierarchies, specifically a patriarchal system whereby men have sole authority and control over their immediate families. Physical violence against children is, in general, common amongst hard-lined religious communities. But, the topic is still poorly understood and often difficult to explore with rigor (Bottoms, Shaver, Goodman, and Qin 1995: 108; Capps 1992: 3; Ward 2011: 905). My ethnographic data identifies that these issues are some of the reasons why former cristianos either wholly abandoned Pentecostalism or no longer find religion important to their individual senses of self. Again, these issues go beyond the scope of this dissertation, but are important for future work focusing on changes occurring to indigenous communities that are now Protestant, or non-Catholics in general. This dissertation does not specifically explore violence, but my data does suggest that it is part of the mechanisms of community and control within San Jerónimo's patriarchal structure. It is most visible, when parents claim that it is acceptable to beat or hit their children, in order to "keep them in line." Amongst cristianos, this is even more so true, since violence against children is justified and reinforced in religious teachings and doctrines.

Returning to San Jerónimo, Not Santo Geronimo

In San Jerónimo, the growth of non-Catholic religions like Protestant Evangelism is directly attributed to the increase of transnational migration between the 1970s and 1990s. Lynn Stephen observes that, for many Oaxacan communities, migration "also marks changes in the religious *cargo* system… In addition to migration, the emergence of several evangelical churches in the area has pulled people away from participation in the

[*mayordomias*] " (Stephen 2007: 48). Today, San Jerónimo's transnational community is still characterized and dominated by Catholic majority; but some cristianos are returning to accept their civic cargos or visit family members in Oaxaca. Don Samuel Duran-Torres is in his late 60s and a regular member at the cristiano church in Exeter. His own house is located two blocks away from the church and he prefers to walk to the evening services than drive. In 2011-2012, Don Samuel held the *cargo* of *secretario* at San Jerónimo's office of bienes comunales. I formally interviewed him at his house in Exeter, but had dozens of informal conversations with him and his wife while he was holding his cargo. On several occasions, I helped him organize his receipts and balance the account associated with the office of bienes comunales. As *secretario*, he was responsible for all purchases made by members and required to provide a full account of the expenses occurred during his tenure.

At his house in Exeter, Don Samuel recalled that since the late 1970s, he had refrained from accepting any of San Jerónimo's civic or religious cargos. As a result he had been banished from the town and had not visited San Jerónimo for more than thirty years. Now in his 60s, he had a different opinion about what it meant to belong to San Jerónimo:

> I am *grande* now (older). I think different. Back then, I told them at the *agencia* that it didn't matter to me if they banished me from the *pueblo*. So I left, and didn't come back for more than thirty years. Now I am older. I see my sons and grandchildren, and it makes me think about what I will leave them when I leave this earth. God has all the plans. So, I went back to San Jerónimo and told them that I wanted my father's property. They were angry with me, some said, "You left this town thirty years ago! Go another thirty years and then come back," but most of the men at the *agencia* were willing to work with me. That is why they gave me a cargo at the *bienes comunales*, as punishment, so that I would have to

> stay more than a year and do my service to the *pueblo*. They (*cabildo* and Catholics) are willing to work with us now, they know that we will not do the religious *mayordomias*, nor drink and do all that crazy stuff, those things that God hates. The sinning and worshiping of idols is wrong. (interview with author, March 10, 2012)

Based on conversations with individuals like Don Samuel Duran-Torres and Don Rogelio Espinoza-Ramos, it becomes clear that there is a growing interest amongst cristianos to return and accept cargos in San Jerónimo. My data demonstrates that San Jerónimo's cristianos have, to some extent, become more tolerant of the town's usos y costumbres and religious mayordomias. True, cristiano men do not accept any religious mayordomias, but it appears that they are now more tolerant of Catholics practices, which may be the direct result of transnational migration. Some men, like Don Rogelio Espinoza-Ramos, left and did not return to San Jerónimo for several decades. Don Rogelio explained that he accepted his cargo for several reasons stating, "I respect God's laws, and the Bible tells us that there are also laws on this earth." This was one of the most common answers I recorded amongst cristianos. Specifically, I recorded that many were aware that "earthly" laws and rules had to be "*respetado*," or "respected."

Some of the reasons why cristianos return to accept cargos involve issues related to maintaining their land rights, ancestral homes, or relatives that still live in the town. Other cristianos cited the reduction of tensions between Catholics as the primary reason they returned to San Jerónimo to accept their cargos. As already mentioned, in the past there were severe conflicts between cristianos and Catholics and many cristianos claim they were "persecuted" because they had converted and stopped practicing San Jerónimo's usos y costumbres. Ironically, data suggests that, in some instances, cristianos

were responsible for instigating conflicts and not necessarily passive victims as some may argue (Hernandez and O'Connor 2013: 19). In fact, some cristianos admitted to and recognized that they had made "early mistakes," specifically, that their absolute policy of verbally and publically critiquing and condemning San Jerónimo's Catholic religion, the worshiping of saints, religious mayordomias, refusing to participate in tequio, and, ultimately, the town's usos y costumbres caused the town to react against them. In other words, the cristiano evangelical process was, in every sense, confrontational, aggressive, and exclusionary. The oral histories collected from both cristianos and Catholics support this position and many of San Jerónimo's Catholics, like Don Calistro Morales-Ramirez who lives in Exeter, recalled the following about such violence:

> One day they (*cristianos*) started preaching and telling us that we were all going to hell. They said we were sinning, that our souls were dammed because we celebrated and worshipped Santo Geronimo. They started those problems. How do you expect people to react? If they begin to insult you and tell you that you are going to hell? What kind of reation can you expect? Are they (*cristianos*) so perfect?" (interview with author, March 3, 2016)

There are number of factors that lead me to support the argument that cristianos and, ultimately, Pentecostal Evangelism instigated San Jerónimo's reaction against these new converts[9]. But, this topic is outside the scope of the work presented here. Any future research on conflict between cristianos and Catholics in indigenous Oaxacan communities must take into consideration the evangelical process and, in San Jerónimo's

[9] Interestingly, in the 1970s the Summer Institute of Linguistic (SIL), a non-Catholic Christian organization carried out linguistic research in San Jerónimo, and today many of the elderly and middle-aged described theses non-Catholic Christian linguists as "good people" since they often provided medical aid. The Summer Institute of Linguistic's research in San Jeronimo is the foundation for "Silacayoapan Mixtec" (Bradley and Hollenbach 1988; North 1999). SIL members did not carry out missionary projects in San Jerónimo, but did translate parts of the Christian Bible to San Jerónimo's Mixtec variant.

case, the role that the Iglesia de Jesucristo de las Américas (IJA) and its leader Efraim Valverde Sr. played in these conflicts. My data suggests that Pentecostalism's "patriarchal, individualist tradition," which does not tolerate other religions and views them as inferior or simply "*de el Diablo*" (of the Devil) played a key role in some of the early conflicts between cristianos and Catholics (Gill 1990: 709). In fact, evangelism's harsh and direct confrontational characteristics may have been responsible for conflicts not just in San Jerónimo, but throughout La Mixteca of Oaxaca. (O'Connor and Hernandez 2013: 19)

My research on indigenous masculinities amongst cristianos is only a small glimpse into this unique community and not intended to be comprehensive. Instead, I focus on how, although usos y costumbres are no longer important to indigenous cristiano men's senses of self, these members are still an important part of San Jerónimo's transnational communities. Furthermore, I conclude that, for cristianos, although religion has changed their forms of masculinity, it has neither changed the general structure of the family nor the ideas and attitudes that uphold gender inequalities. In fact, both cristianos and Catholics firmly believe and support the idea that men should be heads of their households, leaders, and are the "naturally" privileged sex. As such, men and to a high degree women, do not just reproduce life under patriarchy but the norms, values, practices and costumbres that characterize and maintain a structure considered "normal and acceptable go God." In this sense, cristianos are very similar to their Catholic counterparts, despite leading lives that appear to contrast and conflict with one another.

Conclusion

Since 2011, I have returned to San Jerónimo many times and attended several exchanging of "*varas*," or "staffs," that symbolically represent the transfer of authority from one *cabildo* (cabinet) to another. These exchanges are not very different from the first one I witnessed in 2011 and it is still common to hear men complain that they did not want to accept their *cargos*. Teenagers continue to predominantly staff the offices of *bienes comunales*, and they can be observed congregating outside the office's main doors, often listening to English and Spanish music. Like before, most of these men arrive to San Jerónimo by themselves while their wives (if they are married) remain in the transnational setting. The women maintain their households and economically support their husbands during the fulfillment of the civic cargo.

In this context, San Jerónimo continues to be characterized by a lack of people and the majority of those living in the town are elderly. In 2012, I observed school administrators and teachers discuss the closing of the elementary school, specifically a cancelation of classes for kindergartners. The teacher admitted that there were "no more kids" and, therefore, he could no longer justify sending teachers to San Jerónimo to his superiors in Oaxaca City. Members of the *agencia* lamented the situation and many expressed nostalgic memories of a time when the school was full of children. But, most acknowledged that it was pointless to have an elementary school if there are no more children in the town. By 2013, the remaining children, no more than a few dozens, were divided into three classrooms. The rest of the rooms are now used as storage units for old desks, tables, chairs and benches, and other school materials.

The town has occasional visitors from Silacayoapan, the *cabeza municipal* (head municipality). Most visitors are official administrators at the municipality's *presidencia* (municipal town hall). Like all visitors to San Jerónimo, people almost always ask and remark, "Where are all the people?" The response: "*ya no esta la comunidad*," or "the community is no longer here." Since the onset of my ethnographic research, I have asked myself if we can continue to consider San Jerónimo a transnational community. The town itself is representative of a condition of "deepening transnationalization and globalization of communities, economies, and identities," given that the bulk of the town's families have permanently migrated and settled in places like Tijuana and Central California (Kearney 1996: 115). The ethnographic data for this dissertation is itself transnational and more than just "multi-sited" research, especially because most of it was gathered outside of San Jerónimo and collected across nation states (Marcus 2001). This research approach has prompted me to recognize that, although the majority of San Jerónimenses now live and work in Tijuana, these families continue to constitute and recreate a sense of community that is, by all accounts transnational, meaning that it is characterized "by movements of people among international locations as they respond to the imperatives of labor markets and their own economic life conditions" (Kearney and Nagengast 1989: 1). Only through this transnational approach have I been able to document and examine what constitutes masculinities amongst San Jerónimenses, specifically as they relate to the community's *usos y costumbres*.

The End of *Usos y Costumbres*?

Today, many indigenous communities like San Jerónimo live permanently outside of their original hometown. This new condition has forced men to adapt, modify, and, at times, reject some of those costumbres once considered important to their identities. This process is best understood within the context of culture and I find it useful to borrow from Christine Gailey the idea that culture is a dialectic and "not continuously created on a consensual basis; it is an arena of conflict . . . This does not mean that culture is thereby shared . . ." (Gailey 1987: 35-36). Framing masculinities as an issue of culture and changing contexts has allowed me to understand why, in San Jerónimo, the dominant and primary form of masculinity stresses the importance of usos y costumbres as well as the idea that men must "*servir*," or "serve," and show respect to the community by accepting, fulfilling, and reproducing the system of civic-religious cargos.

I have refrained from describing this dominant form of masculinity as constituting the kind of "hegemonic masculinity" argued by R.W. Connell (1995: 76-77) precisely because the ethnographic data demonstrates that it is neither embraced nor reproduced by everyone in San Jerónimo's transnational community. My description and analysis of San Jerónimo's dominant form of masculinity suggests that men, like the state, seek and attempt to "organize dominant, universalizing, and homogenizing cultures . . ." (Patterson 2001: 150). In chapters 1 and 2, I ethnographically documented many of these "dominant" attitudes that are present in the community's socio-cultural practices and usos y costumbres. I also recorded that they are considered "traditional," despite being in a continuous state of change.

In chapters 3 and 4, I further illustrated how a growing number of men and women no longer agree with the dominant discourse of usos y costumbres. This disagreement has created a situation whereby more men and women are willing to openly criticize their usos y costumbres, specifically the system of civic religious cargos. Some, like San Jerónimo's cristianos have stopped accepting cargos and mayordomias altogether. In both Tijuana and Central California, I frequently recorded men, regardless of age, insistently claim that they loathed, feared, and detested being named to San Jerónimo's system of civic cargos. A growing number explained that cargos are no longer meaningful to their identities or senses of self. And, very few actually expressed interests in accepting or wanting to reproduce the community's system of civic governance. Approaching masculinities as the things "men *say and do to be men*, and not simply on what men say and do" has allowed me better grasp and understand the contradictions in men's description of what it means for them to be a man of San Jerónimo as well as what they actually do as men of the community (Gutmann 1996: 17).

In Tijuana, families recreate many important aspects of their costumbres, this is the direct result of the "clustering of households," a practice that, above all, has created social "proximity" (Vélez-Ibáñez 1996: 143). San Jerónimo's clusters of households influence and put social pressure on families to accept cargos and engage in other aspects of usos y costumbres, despite living in the transnational setting. At all locations, a growing number of individuals have begun to reject their cargos, but this does not mean that they have alienated themselves from the community. Instead, many of these individuals continue to actively participate in the building of community by attending

events, festivities, participating in the system of *compadrazgo* and other socio-cultural activities considered important. From this position, it becomes clear why the majority of San Jerónimo's community continues to reproduce many of the practices considered "necessary" and "traditional."

For men and women, the primary source of tension within the community is how the system of civic-religious cargos is intimately interlocked with many other aspects of the community's usos y costumbres. For example, religious mayordomias are linked with the system of civic governance and families that sponsor a *fiesta* are technically exempt from holding cargos for the next three to four years. Participating in a religious mayordomia technically allows members to bypass holding civic-cargos and members are more willing to accept a mayordomia for this reason. Since it satisfies the town's requirement for formal citizenship, families recognize that mayordomias, besides being civic responsibilities, reproduce and build community. Religious mayordomias are characterized by large festivals and includes the preparation and consumption of meals, playing of music, dance, drinking of alcohol, and gathering families, thus reproducing community life. Families consider these other aspects of usos y costumbres important, necessary, and meaningful socio-cultural practices and important to their senses of self and community. Yet, by reproducing mayordomias, community members legitimize the reproduction of civic-cargos altogether, since they, too, are considered part of the community's usos y costumbres and reinforced through customary law. Civic cargos are viewed as a "hassle" precisely because families now build community outside of San

Jerónimo and many no longer find it necessary to return to the town to reproduce those requirements that grant them formal citizenship within the actual town.

San Jerónimo, Neoliberalism, Patriarchy, and Gender Relations

My ethnographic research suggests that indigenous masculinities are linked to both the system of patriarchy and the political economies of nation states. I discovered early on during my research on the border city of Tijuana and the small farming towns of Central California that patriarchy and not just usos y costumbres was important to men's senses of self. My data shows that, despite transnational migration to northern Mexico or Central California, men have reinforced their senses of self based on both usos y costumbres and communities' systems of patriarchy. In other words, masculinities have adapted to previously held norms and values in these new socio-political and economic environments. These new social environments are unlike San Jerónimo, yet families are regularly observed recreating many aspects of their usos y costumbres. Framing masculinities as an issue of culture challenged me to ask several important questions, such as: why, despite transnational migration, does patriarchy continue to emerge as an important issue in my ethnographic data? And, does transnational migration create more equitable relations between men and women? My data suggests that patriarchy is a recurring element amongst San Jerónimo's masculinities, regardless of type (e.g., primary, secondary, or tertiary) and is reinforced in the transnational setting both in Mexico and the United States. Also, despite transnational migration and indigenous women's growing economic independence, gender relations have not drastically changed. Why is this the case? To answer this question, we must briefly examine San Jerónimo's

history and how it is situated in Mexico's unfolding and reconstructing political economy.

San Jerónimenses: "Making A Living"

San Jerónimo Progreso has a long history, but for the sake of brevity, I will only mention some basic information here. The archival research I conducted in the town between 2011-2012 and then again in the summers of 2013 and 2014 shows that the town has a recorded history that goes well into the colonial era of Mexico. According to town documents and current research on colonial Mixtec communities, San Jerónimo was part of the Mixtec *cacicazgo* (chiefdom) of the Villagomez family of Acatlan, Puebla. (Chance 2009, 2010; Monaghan 2002, Terraciano 2001: 276). Town documents show that the last *cacica* (chief) of San Jerónimo was Doña Petra Ajas Villagomez (1855), whose family lineage can be traced back to the 1500s (Chance 2009, 2010). Today, some San Jerónimenses are aware of the town's historical past, but the information exists as trivial knowledge of a distant history, and many considered it "unimportant." Instead, when families talk about "history" or the past, they find it more meaningful to talk about their experience when they first migrated to the border cities of northern Mexico or when they worked as farm laborers in Veracruz, Sinaloa, Baja California, or in the United States. Into these stories of migration are embedded experiences of hardships and the sacrifices families made in an effort "*hacer la vida*," or "to make a living," and are preferred conversations of the past than the town's colonial history.

Many of the personal stories and oral histories I recorded from the elderly illustrate the impact Mexico's neoliberal political economy has had on families and their

decisions to migrate. The bulk of San Jerónimo's community migrated during Mexico's economic crisis of the 1980s, which was characterized by the implementation of neoliberal economic and political policies (Stephen 2007: 122). These economic policies were themselves the accumulation of previous policies that, in Mexico began after the agrarian reforms of the 1950s, which lasted well into the 1980s (Kay 2002: 25). Cristóbal Kay writes, "The era of agrarian reforms, which began with the Mexican revolution at the beginning of this century, appears to have ended with the spread of neoliberal policies across the region in the last decade (the 1980s)" (Kay 2002: 25). These neoliberal policies, which David Harvey characterizes as having values that prioritize and frame "market exchange as 'an ethic in itself, capable of acting as a guide to all human action, and substituting for all previously held ethical beliefs, [Further, policies that,] emphasize the significance of contractual relations in the marketplace" are visible today in the political and economic decisions of Mexico's leaders (Harvey 2005: 3). Amongst these neoliberal policies, none is more cited than the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) of 1994, but this is only one example of a larger and more complex history of the restructuring of Mexico's economy (Laurell 2015: 250).

By the late 1990s, Mexico's neoliberal economic policies directly impacted the country's rural poor, not just indigenous peoples, but also *mestizo* peasant farmers (Hamilton 2011: 257). In Oaxaca, one of the country's poorest state, indigenous communities migrated to other parts of Mexico in an effort to find new avenues to obtain incomes, often working as farm laborers (Nagengast and Kearney 1990, Wright 2005: 13). It is within this backdrop that Mixtec communities, like San Jerónimo, found

themselves dealing with external changes that for many felt distant and beyond their own understanding. In San Jerónimo, what eventually occurred was the rapid emigration of its population to northern Mexico. Some even claimed, "entire families left over night." Wendy Alexandra Vogt writes that, for Oaxaca's indigenous people, like the Mixtecs,

> the process of displacement from the rural south to northern Mexico and the U.S. have been accelerated by Mexico's rapid economic restructuring and embrace of neoliberalism as guiding ideology. The neoliberal policies of the past thirty years have systematically undermined Mexico's rural and indigenous populations. Therefore, neoliberalism in the Mexican context must be understood not as a neutral economic ideology, but intimately tied to cultural and social aspects of society. (Vogt 2006: 10)

For San Jerónimenses, then, transnational migration was a reaction to complex processes that began with the nation state and its political economy. This dissertation demonstrates that masculinities do not exist in vacuums, but are shaped by the "accumulation process in industrial capitalism," which is, by all accounts, gendered (Connell 1995: 190). In this sense, it is not difficult to see how neoliberalism is characterized by masculine values or, as Patricia C. Gouthro, writes:

> Neoliberalism supports a traditional masculine worldview that reinforces patriarchal binaries between "public" and "private" realms in the way work and citizenship are constructed through its emphasis on individualism, competition, and the marketplace. (Gouthro 2009: 163)

Furthermore, masculinities, regardless of kind or type, are also often "intertwined with other systems of power and privilege, such as class, race, and ability, making it difficult to identify the patriarchal strands that reinforce an androcentric worldview" (Gouthro 2009: 162). This twined nature is part of a central theme that emerged during the writing and analysis phase of this dissertation, especially as I began considering the issue of patriarchy. My research demonstrates that patriarchy continues to be an important part of

how masculinities take form and change over time. The best example of this relationship with patriarchy is in men's description of what is the acceptable structure of the family and what they say "they do to be men," which, aside from being saturated with patriarchal platitudes, are made visible in community activities often grounded in norms and values that maintain gender hierarchies. I demonstrated in Chapter 5 that this relationship between patriarchy and masculinity is also visible amongst San Jerónimo's *cristiano* community who often claimed they "treat women better" and are "more egalitarian than San Jerónimo's *mundanos*," or Catholic majority. Although some of San Jerónimo's social ills have been reduced amongst the cristiano community, other ills have not (i.e., violence against children) and some of the community's most conservative norms and values continue to be reinforced by Judeo-Christian teachings of the Bible.

Reincorporating Patriarchy

Why does patriarchy continue to be important to many men's senses of self? There are several key reasons why patriarchy plays such an important role. To begin, the nation state forges and creates political-economic contexts that impact men and women in unique ways. Georges Fouron and Glick Schiller argue that we must not forget the role the nation state plays in gender relations and that, "in turn, the political leadership of these [nation] states may project an ideology of family that maintains gender inequalities and patriarchal authority" (2001: 571). Simply put, families are directly shaped by both the socio-cultural environment and political economies of the nation states where they now permanently reside. Today, the "political leaderships" of these nation states are characterized by a strong support for neoliberal economic policies that maintain

"gendered labor markets as well as . . . patriarchal practices . . ." (Fouron and Glick Schiller 2001: 545).

As demonstrated in chapters 3 and 4, San Jerónimenses are keenly aware that in the transnational settings labor markets favor men over women and this is one of the reason some men prefer their wives to stay at home, care for the family, and deal with all household chores. This division of labor reproduces gender hierarchies and inequalities and, for men, patriarchal norms and values. Sherry B. Ortner argues that patriarchy's persistence can be described as such:

> [patriarchy] persists quite vigorously in contemporary society, not only as a thing in itself, but also as a form of power that organizes and shapes major institutions of twenty-first century capitalism: the industrial production site, the military, and the corporation. (Ortner 2014: 531)

Nation states like Mexico and the U.S. are today characterized by political economies that emphasize neoliberal values and practices. Similarly, David Harvey (1990) observes that neoliberal economies impact men and women differently and reinforce patriarchal practices. Harvey writes that

> [t]he effects are doubly obvious when we consider the transformed role of women in production and labour markets. Not only do the new labour market structures make it much easier to exploit the labour power of women on a part-time basis, and so to substitute lower-paid female labour for that of more highly paid and less easily laid-off core male workers, but the revival of the sub-contracting and domestic and family labour systems permits a resurgence of patriarchal practices and homeworking. (Harvey 1990: 163)

Harvey's analysis allows us understand why San Jerónimenses living in Tijuana and given their limited job opportunities prefer to work as day laborers, selling trinkets, or as full time gardeners since it allows them to maximize their own potential in the face of labor markets that are highly gendered. Harvey and Ortner reminded us that we must not

ignore the important role patriarchy has in today's neoliberal economies, since it impacts small communities like San Jerónimo. Some may argue that the "ideas of 'male dominance' and 'patriarchy' are neither sensitive nor appropriate tools for analysis," but this does not mean that we should dismiss "patriarchy" as irrelevant (Cornwall and Lindisfame 1994: 3). In fact, I conclude that patriarchies reside "and rest within patriarchies" (Chatterjee 2001: 7) and add that understanding social phenomena like "*machismos*" begin by exploring whether or not they are expressions of patriarchal practices.

Different Places, Same Relations

A final question that has emerged from my ethnographic data is whether transnational migration has drastically altered people's attitudes about the gendered divisions of labor as well as what constitutes acceptable gender roles and behaviors. These attitudes influence the kinds of relationships men and women have in both private and public spheres. Georges Fouron and Nina Glick Schiller similarly ask: "Does gender as it is lived across the borders of nation states sustain gender divisions, hierarchies, and inequalities, or do these transnational experiences of gender help build more equitable relations between men and women?" (Gouron and Glick Schiller 2001: 540). This question forces us to consider the impact that transnational migration has on the relationships forged between men and women, specifically husbands and wives. Initially, I would have concluded that yes, the transnational experience created more equitable relations between men and women. After carefully examining my ethnographic data, though, my conclusion leans towards a response of "not necessarily" on this issue. My

dissertation provides important information on the current state of gender relations in San Jerónimo's transnational community.

My ethnographic data suggests that today some women are capable of achieving a higher degree of economic independence and social freedom, but this is only the case outside of San Jerónimo. In Tijuana, I observed and recorded that women are increasingly becoming more independent. For example, women like Doña Maria Avila-Martinez, who I introduced in Chapter 3, are the heads of their household and the primary sources of income for their families, which includes their adult children. Women like Doña Maria are highly independent and represent the reality of transnational life, whereby some women have more access to economic opportunities or have been empowered through other social means, like formal education or social programs that seek to inform women about civil rights. At the same time, women like Doña Maria demonstrate that these economic opportunities are only possible outside of San Jerónimo, Tijuana, and Mexico altogether. Many of San Jerónimo's economically independent women have been able to acquire economic success while working in the U.S. and returning home to Tijuana. This specific transnational condition illustrates the reality that labor markets are themselves highly gendered, whereby men and women are selected for "different occupations and at unequal pay rates" (Gailey 1992: 54). In this case, it is clear that Mexico's gendered labor market favors men over women, a context that reproduces gender inequalities and hierarchies.

This situation leads me to conclude that, although women have achieved more economic success, and some are highly independent outside of San Jerónimo, this does

not mean that they are now part of more equitable relationships. Instead, my data suggests that the relationships between men and women continue to be characterized by gendered inequalities. This data supports the argument that "[t]ransnational migration thus affects women and men in gender-specific ways, placing a heavier burden of responsibility on women because they 'undertake the meshing of work and family systems'" (Salaff and Greve 2004: 160). My research in Tijuana further demonstrates that the division of labor amongst San Jerónimenses exists as "normal" and privilege men over women. Families generally agree that women *should* be responsible for all household chores, caring for children and the elderly, and looking after their husbands in addition to dealing with their own jobs or work outside the home. This labor is considered "traditional" and, despite migration, has been reinforced in Tijuana and Central California.

New Generation, New Masculinities?

Some of San Jerónimo's youth, particularly girls with higher education, are aware of the community's gendered inequalities, suggesting that future gender relations may be different that what is observable today. A growing number of San Jerónimenses are marrying outside of their own ethnic/racial groups and it is likely that this, too, will affect gender relations more in the U.S. than Mexico. In Tijuana, non-San Jerónimenses spouses are absorbed into San Jerónimo's community. This process is very similar to what Carlos Vélez-Ibáñez describes as the "black hole" effect that incorporates non-Mexican spouses:

> Regardless of class position, linguistic preference, and intermarriage, the phenomenon of incorporating a non-Mexican spouse within largely ethnic networks and within a cluster of Mexican households is what I have described as

> the "black hole" effect; the bonds of reciprocity and exchange become so densely operative that most of the relationships and events seem to center on ethnically specific religious ritual, recreational events, and familial celebrations. These compose the cultural "glue" that cement fictive kinship, kinship, and friendship relationships multistranded networks and associations; and for this household and adjoining ones, it is clear that regardless of the ethnicity of spouse the "black hole" effect holds true. (Vélez-Ibáñez 1996: 156)

Many of these non-San Jeronimense spouses, especially women, are visible at the fiesta for Santo Geronimo, in which they can be observed reproducing the community's unique socio-cultural practices like carrying flowers during parades or cooking meals at the town's new building dedicated for all its religious festivals. My data suggests that men, regardless of type or form of masculinity, are more likely to incorporate their non-San Jerónimo wives or partners within the rest of the community. Some women have incorporated their non-San Jerónimenses husbands, but this is still rare. A possible reason why non-San Jeronimense men are not incorporated into the community is because their own masculinities dominate their behaviors and contrast with San Jerónimo's own types. In other words, those willing to marry someone from San Jerónimo must also be willing to give up or appropriate the community's usos y costumbres.

San Jerónimo's youth living in the transnational setting, especially Central California or other parts of the U.S. are less likely support some of San Jerónimo's usos y costumbres like cargos or mayordomias. These youth express little or no interest in the affairs of their community and a significant number have never been to the town or, more broadly, Oaxaca. This lack of interest prompts us to consider if they will ever, in the future, participate in the broader community. From the ethnographic research I carried out in Central California, we can infer that the majority of these youths will not be active

members of San Jerónimo, especially considering how their lives are now deeply embedded in new locations. Yet, despite not being active members within this community, my data suggests that they will continue to reproduce much of San Jerónimo's socio-cultural values, practices, and attitudes. For example, in Central California the youth are finding new forms of employment; but these jobs at places like fast food restaurants, small factories, construction sites, or in retail stores are limited and characterized by low salaries. Although the youth appropriate new socio-cultural attitudes, norms, and values, they also perceive patriarchy as acceptable and part of the ideal structure of the family. In other words, families continue to reproduce the gendered divisions of labor and those norms held by previous generations. It is common to hear men and women define appropriate gender roles for men and women, specifically that men must be the "breadwinners" of the family and women, who may have their own jobs and careers, must deal with the double duty of being "homemakers."

San Jerónimo's form of patriarchy, which is important to all masculinities regardless of kind (e.g., primary, secondary, or tertiary), was one of the first systems men attempted to reproduce after emigrating from San Jerónimo. My ethnographic data demonstrates that patriarchal norms were—and continue to be—important to the first men who permanently settled in Tijuana's *colonia* Obrera and influenced their decisions to set up residency next to relatives or other fellow community members. This was done not just for the sake of having family members nearby, but also so that they could reproduce all those *costumbres* important to their senses of self. In the San Joaquin Valley, men returned to San Jerónimo for their wives for several reasons, not just so they

could maximize the income earned from working as farm laborers, but also because it was important for them to recreate the idea of a family characterized by a "traditional" gendered divisions of labor and other patriarchal practices. This dissertation demonstrates that there is merit in examining masculinities, especially given that they can tell us much about the context that shapes and maintains people's gendered identities in eras marked by rapidly changing political economic policies.

Afterword

Many individuals important to this dissertation passed away during the pre- and post-ethnographic phase. Don Juan "*Matñu*" Vidal-Ramirez passed away suddenly in the summer of 2015. According to community members, "he got sick" and following town custom, was quickly buried. Several elderly women I visited during the 2012 mini-census of San Jerónimo died of unknown causes. Don Gonzalo Rojas-Lopez, whom I formally interviewed in Pixley but resided permanently in Farmersville, California, passed away in a tragic accident in October 2014. His eldest son, Joseph, whom I first met in San Jerónimo and provided me important information about youths, preceded his father in death a year before. Joseph was 27-years-old and involved in a fatal automobile accident near Tijuana's *colonia* Obrera. According to relatives he was returning to San Diego after a night of *conviviendo*, or getting together, with his *compadres*. At the request of his widow, Joseph was buried in Tijuana.

In the spring of 2016, Don Lorenzo Ortiz-Alvarado, who was instrumental in my research in Tijuana and San Jerónimo, was in a severe bus accident that resulted in his death a few days later. Don Lorenzo traveled frequently from his home in Tijuana to San Jerónimo. His sons held a vigil for their father in Tijuana, even though his body was buried in San Jerónimo. Don Lorenzo's youngest son, Lorenzo Jr., proudly showed me an old picture of his father when he first moved to Tijuana. The black and white photo shows a young version of Don Lorenzo holding a shovel. In the background, you can see parts of the barren Tijuana Hills with a few small, makeshift houses of cardboard or plywood. Lorenzo Jr. explained: "This was taken when he first moved here. You can see

parts of colonia Obrera. There was nothing back then. My father and mother worked really hard to make it here."

In San Jerónimo, as is the custom, bells are rung to announce to the community the death of a person even if they pass away outside of the town. In 2009, my advisor, Michael Kearney, passed away suddenly. In San Jerónimo, the bells were rung in his honor and memory, since many considered him a good friend of the community. In many of our conversations, Michael spoke of a pragmatic and "robust" anthropology, but he never clarified exactly how he defined the term. During the writing of this dissertation, I have continuously asked myself if this dissertation meets what can be considered "robust" and if not, why? I think this was part of Michael's reason for never clarifying what constituted this idea—so that we may ask ourselves and come to our own definition and understanding of the term. I hope the work presented here meets some of Michael's expectations and definition of a "robust" anthropology.

Shavindo'o.

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