



## HISTORICAL SOCIOLOGY AND MEXICAN SOCIAL HISTORY

FREDERICK C. TURNER

Divergent lines of scholarship in sociology and history have emphasized respectively theory and description. Many historians have presented the facts of a social situation without drawing out their more theoretical implications, while sociologists have spun off general and middle-level theories with little but impressionistic grounding in facts and specific circumstances.<sup>1</sup> What is needed is a more integrative approach which allows historians and sociologists to make joint, mutually corrective contributions to our understanding of both particular historical situations and the general processes of social change.

Students of Mexico are in an especially advantageous position to make such contributions. Until recently, they neglected the approaches of historical sociology, and the best known work in this field dealt with other cases. In a large volume of writings in historical sociology collected during the early 1960's, there appear numerous selections on Europe, the United States, Asia, and Africa, but none dealing with Mexico or even with Latin America.<sup>2</sup> The national pride of many Mexican scholars has naturally focused their attention on the autochthonous rather than the broadly comparative aspects of Mexican history and society,<sup>3</sup> and the inherent interest of Mexican phenomena has often led foreign scholars as well to concentrate on the specifics of

<sup>1</sup> These tendencies appear in the writing on most countries and most topics. In Mexico, for example, the volumes in the *Historia moderna de México* series typify the descriptive approach. With their objectivity, careful scholarship, and overwhelming comprehensiveness, these volumes are indeed impressive, and it is no criticism of them per se to indicate that they neither raise nor test social theories in relation to social history. Embodying the contrasting tendency for many sociological theories to be unrelieved by historical data are such books as Alfredo Niceforo, *Líneas fundamentales de una sociología general* (México, 1958); and Francisco Ayala, *Ensayos de sociología política* (México, 1951).

<sup>2</sup> Werner J. Cahnman and Alvir Boskoff, eds., *Sociology and History: Theory and Research* (New York, 1964).

<sup>3</sup> An outstanding exception to this tendency has been Lucio Mendieta y Núñez. Material from Mexican history repeatedly modifies the conceptualizations in his *Teoría de la revolución* (México, 1959). He has also produced volumes which are more descriptively oriented, such as *El problema agrario de México* (9th ed., México, 1966); and volumes which are more generally theoretical, such as *Teoría de los agrupamientos sociales* (2nd. ed., México, 1963), and *Sociología de la burocracia* (México, 1961).

those phenomena rather than on the processes behind them. Since source material for historical sociology is widely available in Mexico, however, it is only natural that Mexicanists should more recently have begun to apply its approaches. Although historians have demonstrated the effectiveness of quantitative data in historical interpretation, contemporary community studies in Mexico show no uniform or consistent tendency correspondingly to weigh the historical dimensions of the issues which they raise. After evaluating the general relevance of historical sociology to Mexican experience and the development of quantitative and community studies, it should prove useful to consider an area where historical sociology is particularly significant: the study of social class.

#### I. THE USES OF HISTORICAL SOCIOLOGY

As applied in Mexico or anywhere else, the approaches of historical sociology encompass significant advantages and severe limitations. *Concepts drawn from sociology can alert historians to look for new relationships and influences, while historical materials offer sociologists a series of potential testing grounds for general propositions and hypotheses. Attempts to realize these dual advantages are likely to fall flat, however, if researchers hunt only for universal laws, if they answer the seductive calls of policy-oriented research, or if they apply quantitative techniques to areas better studied through other methods. Once such limitations are clearly in mind, the comparative framework and specific approaches of historical sociology are especially useful in the study of problems in social change, institutional adaptation, class relationships, and historical causation.*

Concern for comparison and empiricism is the essence of historical sociology. Implicit and sometimes unrecognized theorizing lies behind all historical generalizations, and making this theorizing explicit would often leave it more open for constructive criticism and revision. Such criticism advances understanding and strengthens interdependent efforts, even if it occasionally wounds individual pride. *When researchers or their critics test the explanatory significance of sociological concepts in historical situations, their prime motivation may be to evaluate the concepts or to understand the situations. In either case, recurrent interplay occurs between fact and theory, and, at times, the same piece of research may realize both objectives.*

This approach implies that social history should not be a mass of untested generalizations, but rather a composite picture built from detailed and, where possible, empirical and theoretically-oriented case studies. Folke Dovring claims that a lack of need for detail makes

synthesis easier in the writing of social history than in political history or biography,<sup>4</sup> but this should not in fact be the case. Effective synthesis is as difficult from mass data as from personal data, because so many facets of the social situation demand detailed scrutiny and understanding. Since this is so, historians should, in addition to documenting individual episodes in social history, become increasingly concerned with testing new concepts in relation to that history and with verifying generalizations about it.

This emphasis on comparison does not force historical sociology into a search for universally valid propositions. The need is for empirical theory, not in the sense of the broad "social theory" of the classical sociologists<sup>5</sup> or the vast generalizations of Spengler or Toynbee, but in the sense of empirically testable propositions derived from these and other sources. A theoretical orientation refers here only to what Phillips Cutright describes as the situation where "one has a hypothesis to test using a set of predicting variables that are 'given' by the theoretical scheme".<sup>6</sup> Such "theoretical" study of Mexico would not lead us to the formulation of universal laws, to what Samuel Beer rightly rejects as the "misleading dogma of universality",<sup>7</sup> but it might lead to better understanding of both general social processes and specific historical situations. The point of historical sociology is not to uncover new facts of an historical period, but rather to work out the more general relationships among aggregations of facts and to verify social hypotheses against them. In working to refine specific propositions or theories, the historical sociologist may unearth facts as well as relationships which have been forgotten or neglected, but this is a side effect rather than his primary purpose.

Such an approach assumes compatibility rather than conflict between humanism and social science. As H. Stuart Hughes emphasizes, history should be a combination of both art and science,<sup>8</sup> and so indeed should sociology. Historians do not uniformly use the "scientific meth-

<sup>4</sup> Folke Dovring, *History As a Social Science: An Essay on the Nature and Purpose of Historical Studies* (The Hague, 1960), 81-82.

<sup>5</sup> See Chapter 1, "On Sociology As a Humanistic Discipline", in Hans L. Zetterber. *On Theory and Verification in Sociology* (3rd. ed., New York, 1965).

<sup>6</sup> Phillips Cutright, "National Political Development: Measurement and Analysis", in Charles F. Cnudde and Deane E. Neubauer, eds., *Empirical Democratic Theory* (Chicago, 1969), 195.

<sup>7</sup> Samuel H. Beer, "Causal Explanation and Imaginative Re-enactment", *History and Theory*, III (1964).

<sup>8</sup> H. Stuart Hughes, "The Historian and the Social Scientist", *American Historical Review*, LXVI (October 1960). For a contrasting plea in behalf of the primacy of art in Mexican history, see Arturo Arnáiz y Freg, "Mexican Historical Writing", in A. Curtis Wilgus, ed., *The Caribbean: Mexico Today* (Gainesville, 1964), 221-222.

od" as Boyd C. Shafer assumes that they do,<sup>9</sup> but at least many historians recognize the limited benefits of doing so. Sociologists do not all appreciate the relevance of historical cases, but enough sociologists have returned to the use of historical materials to show their present utility.<sup>10</sup> The question is not whether a particular discipline lies among the humanities of the social sciences, not whether individual investigators should be humanists or behavioralists, but whether any investigator should, where applicable, combine the humanist's desire sympathetically to understand humanity with the social scientist's concern with the ways of doing so. Polemics which disregard the essential duality of this relationship misinterpret the real meaning of the fact-value controversy and do a disservice to whichever narrow discipline they try to uphold.

For those interested in pursuing the dual advantages of historical sociology, Mexico provides special research opportunities through the isolation of its communities and the amount of past documentation concerning them. In a major study in historical sociology, Kai Erikson chose to analyze social deviance among the Puritans of the Massachusetts Bay colony for these very reasons: the relative isolation of the colony and the extensive documentation on it.<sup>11</sup> Mexican social history offers these same benefits. The isolation which geography once imposed upon Mexican communities permits study with fewer extraneous variables entering in, while the more recent overcoming of geographic barriers encourages examination of the changes in the communities which outside influences bring.

Of equal importance, the literature on Mexican history and society is also ample and extensive, enabling us, as Merle Kling has pointed out, to go more easily beyond the stage of data collection to the active formulation and testing of hypotheses and generalizations.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Boyd C. Shafer, "History, Not Art, Not Science, But History: Meanings and Uses of History", *Pacific Historical Review*, xxix (May 1960), 160.

<sup>10</sup> During the 1960's, sociologists interested in questions of development and cultural change have increasingly turned to historical cases in order to expand the range of situations in which they can study aspects of the development process. For a discussion of this trend in historical sociology, see Seymour Martin Lipset, "History and Sociology: Some Methodological Considerations", in Seymour Martin Lipset and Richard Hofstadter, eds., *Sociology and History: Methods* (New York, 1968), especially 20-23, 50-53. On the use of sociological models in development studies, see Chapter 4, "Explanatory Models and Development", in J. A. Ponsioen, *National Development: A Sociological Contribution* (The Hague, 1968). A list of additional works on the interrelationship of history and sociology appears in Appendix D., "Social and Behavioral Sciences and History", in Robert Jones Shafer, ed., *A Guide to Historical Method* (Homewood, Ill., 1969).

<sup>11</sup> Kai T. Erikson, *Wayward Puritans: A Study in the Sociology of Deviance* (New York, 1966), vi-vii.

<sup>12</sup> Merle Kling, "Area Studies and Comparative Politics", *American Behavioral Scientist*, viii (September, 1964), 10.

For realistic interpretation of both past and present, it is necessary to devise what Roberto Agramonte calls "the most complete analysis of the events of our region, collected from the most varied and reliable sources, using the most trustworthy scientific methods of observation".<sup>13</sup> Despite gaps in aspects of the historical record, historical as against contemporary studies enjoy the major advantage that historians can check and reinterpret the results of the process under inspection.<sup>14</sup> Research on the social history of any country can then relate it to processes in other contexts and periods, so working toward the goal of treating time as an analytical whole.<sup>15</sup>

If the extensiveness of Mexican historical documentation facilitates social interpretation, so does Mexico's sociological tradition. In spite of pleas that Latin American sociology should become more ideological and more preoccupied with politics and policies,<sup>16</sup> Mexican sociologists have built up and maintained a long tradition of objective research.<sup>17</sup> They have recognized that objectivity in no way prevents asking the socially relevant questions of development, and that the rejection of ideological stereotypes is necessary for effectively answering such questions. The general climate of opinion in a society unavoidably influences scholarly interpretations of history and society,<sup>18</sup> but it has proved possible for Mexican historians and sociologists both to reflect the moral and intellectual concerns of their period and to attempt to reach more objective understanding of social processes and history.

Historical sociology also has the advantage of treating an area which Mexican scholars find to be important, since many of its natural contributions are to concepts of social development. As only one indication of Mexican interest in this area, a recent survey of 166 Mexican social scientists and government officials indicated their feeling that social research should relate especially to the problems of social justice, development, and human welfare.<sup>19</sup> To understand better the impe-

<sup>13</sup> Roberto Agramonte, "La moderna civilización latinoamericana y su itinerario histórico-social", *Revista Mexicana de Sociología*, xxv (mayo-agosto 1963), 440.

<sup>14</sup> For a discussion of this advantage, see Ben Halpern, "History, Sociology, and Contemporary Area Studies", *American Journal of Sociology*, l.xiii (July 1957), 3-4.

<sup>15</sup> Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., *A Behavioral Approach to Historical Analysis* (New York, 1969), 292.

<sup>16</sup> Jorge Graciarena, "Sociología e ideología: Algunos problemas en la orientación de la formación de sociólogos en América Latina", *Revista Mexicana de Sociología*, xxx (octubre-diciembre, 1968), 805-815.

<sup>17</sup> A description of the development and present status of sociology in Mexico appears in Lucio Mendieta y Núñez, "La sociología en México", *Revista Mexicana de Sociología*, xxvii (mayo-agosto, 1965).

<sup>18</sup> See Robert Allen Skotheim, ed., *The Historian and the Climate of Opinion* (Reading, Mass., 1969), especially Part Four, 167-213.

<sup>19</sup> Leticia Ruiz de Chávez and Gitta Alonso, "Los problemas sociales que deben

diments to greater equality and prosperity, new studies in historical sociology would complement present research. They would not eliminate the necessity for other lines of related research, but they could enlarge the perspective in which contemporary issues and theories are now viewed.

A tantalizing danger, however, is that such studies become too narrow in their orientation to present policies or their justification of them. If Ortega y Gasset is even partially correct in saying that human reflection is the source of future history, that man "has no nature other than what he has himself done",<sup>20</sup> then this mutability of men requires a more precise knowledge of past social processes for their future amelioration. But such knowledge arises from impartial research; it can not grow in an atmosphere of policy justification.

Although research needs in the field of social history do not revolve around the issue of "relevance" as policy-makers would define it, interpretations of those needs nevertheless influence present attitudes and policies. Whether or not scholars, polemicists, or popularizers are fully aware of the influence of their views, their explanations help to shape the perceptions of their audience. Myths of the past influence views of the present, and for scholars to write only for the scholarly community is to abandon the field of popular social history to mythologizers and polemicists. Although Mexican policy-makers seldom come to historians or sociologists with specific requests to enlighten or to justify their policies, historical interpretations affect the underlying assumptions and individual reactions of the decision-making elite as well as of the mass of citizens. The question is not whether historical research will have a social impact, therefore, but rather what the extent and direction of that impact will be. Besides maintaining balance and perspective in their writings, scholars can positively affect views and policies by uncovering the real nature of those social processes and relationships which, either directly or indirectly, alter present situations. To the extent that more scientifically oriented lines of research do influence the policies of governmental and private organizations, it becomes especially important that Latin Americans discover these implications themselves rather than leaving them to foreign interpretation and action.<sup>21</sup>

A contrasting danger of historical sociology is to forget that much

ser estudiados en México", *Revista Mexicana de Sociología*, xxx (abril-junio, 1968), 418-420.

<sup>20</sup> José Ortega y Gasset, *History As a System and Other Essays Toward a Philosophy of History*, Helene Weyl, trans. (New York, 1961), 217.

<sup>21</sup> A sympathetic discussion of new methods in the social sciences, which also points to the danger of their one-sided utilization from outside Latin America, is Florestán Fernández, "Las ciencias sociales en Latinoamérica", *Revista Mexicana de Sociología*, xxviii (abril-junio, 1966).

social history does not profit from attempts to test broad generalizations, to establish comparative frameworks, or to restrict analysis to detailed empirical verification of one aspect of a situation. In the case of Mexico, Manuel González Ramírez provides the sort of thoughtful, perceptive synthesis which touches upon social history in a particular period.<sup>22</sup> Ramón Ruiz traces changes in rural education through a descriptive and critical approach which greater concern for models or quantification could not improve.<sup>23</sup> Their books, and others like them, stand on their own merit as interpretations and documentations of general or specific aspects of social change, and in doing so they incidentally provide generalizations and some of the data upon which more self-consciously empirical studies can draw.

Limitations in the contemporary methodology of other academic disciplines point to the need for more catholic, eclectic, and pragmatic approaches in all fields. A danger of the new emphasis upon quantification in political science, for example, is that political scientists will look simply or predominantly at variables which can be measured in quantitative terms, neglecting variables of equal or greater importance which are not subject to such measurement. This may easily lead to what Oran R. Young calls "the fallacy of puristic induction: the collection of empirical materials *as an end in itself* and without sufficient theoretical analysis to determine appropriate criteria of selection".<sup>24</sup> But, just as political science needs approaches which are normative and historical as well as quantitative and theoretical, so historians should shake loose from the frequent assumption that a book or article is automatically best when it tries to be "definitive" in the sense of looking at a small incident or social group in greater detail than other works have done before. With regard to sociology, Karl Popper was wrong in assuming that what he praised as the "technological approach to sociology" would, in contrast to historicism, naturally lead to the researching of theoretically significant questions.<sup>25</sup> Sociology, like social history or political science, must self-consciously

<sup>22</sup> Manuel González Ramírez, *La revolución social de México. I. Las ideas-la violencia* (México, 1960). For a list of studies in Mexican social history, see the extensive, annotated bibliography of Enrique Florescano and Alejandra Moreno Toscano, "Historia económica y social", *Historia Mexicana*, xv (octubre, 1965-marzo, 1966).

<sup>23</sup> Ramón Eduardo Ruiz, *Mexico: The Challenge of Poverty and Illiteracy* (San Marino, Calif., 1963).

<sup>24</sup> Oran R. Young, "Professor Russett: Industrious Tailor to a Naked Emperor", *World Politics*, xxi (April, 1969), 489-490. Young's italics. Related discussions of the assets and liabilities of new, quantitative approaches to international relations appear in Klaus Knorr and James N. Rosenau, eds., *Contending Approaches to International Politics* (Princeton, 1969).

<sup>25</sup> Karl R. Popper, *The Poverty of Historicism* (New York, 1960), 59.

strive to be qualitative as well as quantitative, developing qualitative impressions and hypotheses from research situations along with measures for those impressions. Historians, political scientists, and sociologists all enjoy the option of developing meaningful generalizations and theories, even if some members of each group have refused to exercise the option.

More specifically, one line of research for members of various disciplines could trace the situational similarities between Mexico, other countries, and the theories developed in each context. The emphasis here is upon delineating variables and testing them in historical frame-works which have both similarities and differences in terms of the variables in question.<sup>26</sup> The situations would not be chosen on the usual criteria of chronological periodization or geographical propinquity. Researches could, for example, analyze the Mexican Revolution of 1910 in terms of the theories of revolution which Crane Brinton and others have worked out from the historical experiences of other countries.<sup>27</sup> Many discussions of Mexico mention work done in other contexts, but they have yet fully to analyze Mexican experience in terms of detailed and explicit theories. Alternatively, students who have worked out propositions on consensus-building or other processes in terms of Mexican data<sup>28</sup> may test them through consideration of other historical situations. Since general theories contain many facets, and since the contexts with which to compare Mexican experience are so numerous, the possibilities for more comparative research remain extensive.

Interviews and questionnaire techniques have potential relevance in this type of research, although here, as elsewhere, their utility remains limited. As sources for historical investigation, surveys are defective in that they measure opinions at the time that they are taken rather than at the time that decisions were made, and respondents are infamous for masking their prejudices and real feelings in order to say what they believe that they *ought* to think or feel.

<sup>26</sup> In one sense, most historical quantification refers to more precise formulation of variables and to hypothetical verifiable statements of the relationships among them. As William O. Aydelotte argues, "The great step forward is to take the objective or unequivocal definition as the norma, as describing the entity that will be subjected to analysis, and to demote the subjective or vague concept to a subordinate position". Aydelotte, "Quantification in History", *American Historical Review*, LXXI (April, 1966), 814.

<sup>27</sup> Crane Brinton, *The Anatomy of Revolution* (New York, 1956). In "Theories of Revolution", *World Politics*, xviii (January, 1966), Lawrence Stone usefully criticizes this and other general theories of revolution.

<sup>28</sup> One attempt to develop a theory of nationalism and consensus-building through the use of Mexican data is Frederick C. Turner, *The Dynamic of Mexican Nationalism* (Chapel Hill, 1968). Editorial Grijalbo is publishing a Spanish translation of this study under the title of *Dinámica del nacionalismo mexicano*.



Skillful survey techniques can reduce such difficulties, however, and, once their limitations are recognized, interviews and polls offer significant information. Researchers who interview the participants in events which are now long past sometimes uncover little helpful material, either because the participants have forgotten the important details, or because the details remain too sensitive to be revealed. As opposed to students of political or diplomatic history, however, social historians do not regularly have to reconstruct a particular chain of events in which specific individuals were involved. Instead, since they deal more broadly with the issues of social change and adaptation, the perspectives of persons from differing classes, occupations, and regions take on special significance. In an approach to historical adaptation which has gained little usage so far, researchers can survey the same individuals or groups at distant points in time, estimating the reasons for changes in perspective along with developments in the society at large. Historically-oriented survey research in Mexico could provide a more substantial basis for generalizations about such contrasting issues as student activism, the role of women, or the interpretations which different groups now give to the events and figures of Mexico's past.

An alternative line of research could concentrate on combinations of social indicators. A North American geographer has recently suggested that we should define a region, like a social class, through classification of many indicators.<sup>29</sup> For the historian interested in comparisons of social processes, attitudes, and customs, the regional unit analyzed should not be arbitrarily delimited as a state or a corner of the country. We often think of Mexico in terms of states, geographic differences, Indian groups, or the folk-urban continuum, but the work of Howard Cline and James W. Wilkie shows that more meaningful units of comparison may result from combining a series of social indicators and seeing what "regions" naturally emerge.<sup>30</sup> Building upon previous works in Mexican regional history, future analyses can more precisely select the variables which set regions apart and more systematically explore the differences among them. Regional studies of social movements, together with sequential comparisons of such variables as occupation, income, attitude, age structure, and public expenditures, can—within regions as well as among them—indicate various dimensions of how regions change over time.

<sup>29</sup> Kevin R. Cox, "On the Utility and Definition of Regions in Comparative Political Sociology", *Comparative Political Studies*, II (April, 1969), 69-71.

<sup>30</sup> See Chapter 5, "Regionalism and Sectionalism", in Howard F. Cline, *Mexico: Revolution to Evolution, 1940-1960* (New York, 1963); and James W. Wilkie, *The Mexican Revolution: Federal Expenditure and Social Change Since 1910* (Berkeley, 1967), 232-245.

Still another line of research can analyze more effectively the inter-relationships between the changing needs and attitudes of the Mexican people and the formal institutions set up to deal with those needs. In a recent doctoral dissertation, Martin Greenberg considered the social and political issues of water resources in Mexico, evaluating the operations of the Secretaría de Recursos Hidráulicos (SRH), the ministry which has dealt with these issues.<sup>31</sup> By interviewing personnel both inside and outside the SRH, he was able to go well beyond the written sources in documenting the ways in which a Mexican ministry and the Mexican political system have reacted to the perceived priorities of irrigation, popular welfare, and political necessity. The work is one of the first in-depth case studies which take up the social responsiveness of a public agency in a transitional society, and companion studies in Mexico could contrast the programs of other public agencies dealing with such revolutionary goals as education, land reform, health, and social welfare. The topic is really much broader than the connection between social goals and public agencies, however. A great virtue of the SRH study is that it actively tests prior hypotheses and assumptions concerning bureaucratic responses, and researchers should similarly test other assumptions about the wider series of processes which shape new attitudes, social relationships, and institutions. In this sense, the approach of the SRH study resembles that of several recent, quantitatively-oriented descriptions of Mexican history and society.

## II. QUANTITATIVE APPROACHES TO MEXICAN HISTORY

Individual historians and sociologists have already developed quantitative data of major importance for the Mexican case, and the past research strategies of James Wilkie and Joseph Kahl enjoy particularly wide applicability and significance. Although their work illustrates how much can be revealed in comparisons of governmental expenditures or attitudes toward modernism, however, other lines of quantitative research remain largely unexplored. While some lines of inquiry, such as electoral analysis, hold little promise for Mexico, others, such as content analysis, hold a great deal.

One of the most successful attempts at quantification and empiricism in Mexican history is Wilkie's *The Mexican Revolution*, a book which won the Bolton Prize of the American Historical Association in 1968. Wilkie analyzes the goals and achievements of Mexican re-

<sup>31</sup> Martin Harry Greenberg, "Bureaucracy in Transition: A Mexican Case Study" (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Connecticut, 1969).

gimes from 1910 to 1963 by contrasting the social, economic, and administrative expenditures in projected and actual budgets of the Mexican government, and by constructing a Poverty Index based on seven census items which measure social change. Budgetary statistics provide yearly checks on the plans and decisions of each Mexican president, while the Poverty Index measures social achievements in each census period. Far from being dry or tring Wilkie's skillful uses of statistical data make the reader continually want to skip from one section of the book to another in order to find out how particular interpretations of Mexican history relate to the data under consideration. The book exemplifies the intellectual excitement of the best empirical research.

Wilkie's findings alternatively support or contrast the findings and assumptions of earlier scholarly studies. He concludes that budgetary expenditures indicate four periods in recent Mexican history: political revolution from 1910 to 1930, social revolution from 1930 to 1940, economic revolution from 1940 to 1950, and balanced revolution from 1959 to 1963.<sup>32</sup> His data confirm the essential conservatism of Francisco Madero, show that Lázaro Cárdenas worked to invigorate and institutionalize the Revolution in budgetary as well as land and labor policies, and demonstrate a drastic reduction in spending for social as opposed to economic reform under Miguel Alemán.<sup>33</sup> Surprisingly, however Wilkie indicates that the period of economic revolution after 1940 brought about more rapid social modernization than had the period of social revolution during the 1930's.<sup>34</sup> Wilkie's approach allows him quantitatively to define "social modernization" as a decrease in his Poverty Index, and this Index comes far closer to measuring social change than do the aggregate economic statistics from which so many descriptions of social change derive. Although Wilkie literally fails in his misnamed attempt "to quantify political ideology",<sup>35</sup> his breakdowns of governmental expenditures do indicate presidential priorities, and his Poverty Index does contrast the results of the revolutionary ideology for different periods and regions.

On the matter of constant and relative expenditures, Wilkie's interpretation requires qualification. He recognizes that sharp absolute increases in the size of government budgets allow new types of expenditure without reductions in the old, yet he concludes that "the real test of ideology of each president is in how he has allocated federal

<sup>32</sup> See Chapter 2, "A Résumé of Comparative Presidential Budgetary Policies", in Wilkie, *The Mexican Revolution*.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 43-49, 74-79, 85.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 265.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, xix. In a more precise sense, attitude surveys are the more usual vehicle to measure "ideology".

expenditure in percentage terms".<sup>36</sup> His book concentrates on the rise of the "active state", where the Mexican government actively promotes social and economic development while meeting the administrative expenses of the public debt, the military, and other government agencies. On a fundamental level, the study measures government capabilities as much as ideology, however; with more financial resources, the government has been more able as well as more willing to finance development.

Wilkie's view of military expenditure provides a case in point. The monetarily constant but proportionally declining expenditures on the military since the 1930's do reflect the decrease in the military's political influence,<sup>37</sup> but the essentially stable nature of these expenditures also reflects the relatively unchanging nature of Mexico's defense needs and the resulting possibility for new revenues to be spent in the social and economic areas. Other administrative expenditures have risen since the 1920's, but not as rapidly as increased revenues have allowed other expenditures to rise. Here and elsewhere, "ideology" is only one of the variables. The relationship of increasing revenues to constant and relative costs has as much explanatory significance as does the "ideology" variable on which Wilkie concentrates.

On specific as well as fundamental issues, *The Mexican Revolution* remains open to debate. The claim that there has not been "a free election" in Mexico since the time of Madero requires clarification,<sup>38</sup> as the accuracy of the statement depends upon which aspects of electoral freedom one considers. Wilkie's detailed interviews with Mexican leaders provide some important new material, although, as in his tacit assumption that Lázaro Cárdenas' way of looking at politics was the same in 1962 as it had been between 1934 and 1940,<sup>39</sup> Wilkie's interpretations of the interview material may be questioned. One might also question Wilkie's assertion that during the depression of the 1930's "the poverty of the masses could no longer be ignored".<sup>40</sup> Even if expenditures did rise sharply after this period, earlier revolutionaries had not "ignored" poverty but had established the ideological superstructure which effectively demanded the major struggle against poverty both in the 1930's and after wards. If students of Mexican history can debate these and other issues, a real value of the Wilkie

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 35.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 105-106. See also, Edwin Lieuwen, *Mexican Militarism: The Political Rise and Fall of the Revolutionary Army, 1910-1940* (Albuquerque, 1968); and Frederick C. Turner "México: Las causas de la limitación militar" *Aportes*, núm. 6 (octubre 1967).

<sup>38</sup> Wilkie, *The Mexican Revolution*, 95, 179-182.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 72-73.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 66.

volume is that it provides both empirical evidence for such debates and a framework of analysis for similar studies in other developing countries.

Through the contrasting quantifications of survey research, Joseph Kahl compares values and modernization in Mexico and Brazil. Kahl is primarily interested in understanding "modernism", the attitudes and values which naturally cluster together to form a modernist outlook, and the social characteristics which lead particular groups to accept the modernist viewpoint. The answers to Kahl's questionnaires provide information of even broader interest to sociologists and social historians, however. He found, for instance, that Mexican workers widely recognize the importance of education for occupational mobility, that workers in Mexico City were more conservative than those in the states, and that Mexicans appeared more traditional than Brazilians in family matters but more modern than Brazilians in attitudes toward work.<sup>41</sup> These findings provide useful information and suggest other questions and possible relationships.

Although Kahl's survey does not have an historical dimension per se, there are several ways in which such research could develop one. Investigators could ask for respondents' views of historical events, persons, and processes, thereby acquiring deeper understanding of the meaning which national history has for different groups. In Mexico, it would be helpful to see through attitude surveys how various age, occupational, or regional groups now view elements of the Independence period, the Porfirio Díaz era, or the activities of Lázaro Cárdenas. As such retrospective interpretations of national history are compiled in Mexico and elsewhere, they themselves become historical data and the contrasts between them over time may point to distinctions among the respondents of different periods.

Although abstract, mathematical formulations now have far less relevance to Mexican history, simpler forms of quantitative representation are most revealing. Mathematical interpretations of the French and Russian Revolutions remain so general as to have very little applicability to Mexico at this time.<sup>42</sup> Although, if they again elaboration and a more solid grounding in actual historical processes, they may come to relate to the Revolution of 1910. In contrast, much can be

<sup>41</sup> Joseph A. Kahl, *The Measurement of Modernism: A Study of Values in Brazil and Mexico* (Austin, 1968), 60, 112, 146.

<sup>42</sup> See N. Rashevsky, *Looking at History through Mathematics* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), Chapters 9, 10. On p. 1x Rashevsky admits that his first mathematical treatments are "apallingly crude" and remain "oversimplified and in many respects unrealistic". More general critiques of historical quantification include Chapter 14, "Quantification and Uniqueness in History", in Walter T. K. Nugent, *Creative History: An Introduction to Historical Study* (Philadelphia, 1967); and Chapter 12, "The Evidence for Generic Statements — Myths, Impressions, and Quantification", in G. Kitson Clark, *The Critical Historian* (New York, 1967).

gained when social historians simply attempt to uncover and summarize whatever quantitative data shed light upon the topics which they research. The feasibility of such attempts appears clearly in the exemplary work of Moisés González Navarro, as he presents ratios and comprehensive tables on investments, deaths, and migration in the 1910 Revolution to help gauge the level and nature of xenophobia in it.<sup>43</sup> By adding such data to other types of information taken from others sources, González Navarro is able to go well beyond previous interpretations in his balanced understanding of the subject.

Electoral analysis holds comparatively little promise for historical sociology in Mexico, even though it has proved most worthwhile in other contexts. Lee Benson is quite right in asserting that action is the best test of opinion, but his view that voting behavior is the best single measure for past public opinion requires qualification for Mexico and other countries whose history of voting behavior differs so markedly from that of the United States.<sup>44</sup> The work of Benson and his followers derives chiefly from the study of United States history,<sup>45</sup> and his views have the greatest relevance there and in a limited number of other countries with similar regularity of elections and differentiation in voting behavior. The Mexican case is not open to the same analysis, however, because of the dubious impact of Mexican votes on public programs, the resulting ambiguity of voting decisions, and the gross inaccuracies in published electoral results.

Despite limitations in electoral data, researchers can go much further than they have gone so far in drawing social implications from other statistical sources. The work of Raúl Benítez Zenteno typically provides excellent information, graphs, and tables on such topics as Mexican mortality and migrations, but it largely neglects the social implications of these statistics.<sup>46</sup> On the other hand, a case study of *bracero* mi-

<sup>43</sup> Moisés González Navarro, "Xenofobia y xenofilia en la Revolución Mexicana", *Historia Mexicana*, xviii (abril-junio, 1969). For a discussion of xenophobia in terms of 1960 Mexican census data, see Óscar Uribe Villegas, "Diagrama estadístico-social de México", *Revista Mexicana de Sociología*, xxvi (septiembre-diciembre 1964), 913.

<sup>44</sup> Lee Benson, "An Approach to the Scientific Study of Past Public Opinion", *Public Opinion Quarterly*, xxxi (Winter, 1967-1968), especially 551-567. See also, Lee Benson, *The Concept of Jacksonian Democracy: New York As a Test Case* (Princeton, 1961).

<sup>45</sup> See, for instance, Ronald P. Formisano, "Analyzing American Voting, 1830-1860: Methods", *Historical Methods Newsletter*, II (March, 1969).

<sup>46</sup> Raúl Benítez Zenteno, *Análisis demográfico de México* (México, 1961). The later research of Benítez Zenteno has taken social variables more consistently into account. In "Cambios demográficos y la población en México", *Revista Mexicana de Sociología*, xxx (julio-septiembre, 1968), he specifically criticizes "demographic fatalism" and treats such topics as the relationship of education and fertility.

gration from Chihuahua indicates that *braceros* who returned from labor in the United States evidenced increased selfconfidence, decreased dependence upon local politicians and patrons, and a more friendly attitude toward the United States than was shown by members of the Mexican middle class who had not traveled there.<sup>47</sup> These alternative approaches of demographic description and case-study interpretation should be integrated and interrelated, so that their overall meaning becomes more clear.<sup>48</sup>

Building on past formulations, the study of periodic violence in Mexico can advance considerably. David L. Raby's numerical evaluation of the recorded cases of violence against Mexican rural teachers during the 1930's has indicated that, contrary to popular impressions, the major part of the violence against the teachers resulted, not from their antireligious stance, but from their roles in social innovation and rural politics.<sup>49</sup> Other groups and periods deserve similar attention. Given the applicability of Harry Eckstein's hypotheses to sporadic violence as well as to prolonged civil wars, it would be useful to test his hypotheses and his summary paradigm against Mexican data.<sup>50</sup> The repeated transitions from periods of civil war to intermittent violence and rebellions in Mexican history make Mexican experience especially inviting for such study.

Although we lack Mexican prototypes on which to build in the formal methodology of content analysis, its counting and comparisons of key words, symbols, or ideas could open a variety of topics for quantitative research. The work of Richard Merritt on the meanings of community in colonial America during the mid-1700's illustrates the potential for studies in other countries where the attitudes of past generations at first seem unresearchable in quantitative terms.<sup>51</sup> Content analysis for Mexican social history can operate in the wide context of periodicals covering the colonial period as well as the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.<sup>52</sup> It could provide more information on social interpretations

<sup>47</sup> Richard H. Hancock, *The Role of the Bracero in the Economic and Cultural Dynamics of Mexico: A Case Study of Chihuahua* (Stanford, 1959), 122, 124.

<sup>48</sup> Frederick C. Turner, "Nacionalismo e internacionalismo, sus relaciones con la demografía", *Foro Internacional*, v (octubre-diciembre, 1964), is a general attempt to draw out some of the social implications of demographic analysis in terms of loyalty to different types of communities.

<sup>49</sup> David L. Raby, "Los maestros rurales y los conflictos sociales en México (1931-1940)", *Historia Mexicana*, xviii (octubre-diciembre, 1968), especially 213-215.

<sup>50</sup> Harry Eckstein, "On the Etiology of Internal Wars", *History and Theory*, iv (1965).

<sup>51</sup> Richard L. Merritt, *Symbols of American Community, 1735-1775* (New Haven, 1966).

<sup>52</sup> Helpful summaries of these periodical sources are Stanley R. Ross, "El historiador y el periodismo mexicano", *Historia Mexicana*, xiv (enero-marzo 1965);

of national heroes,<sup>53</sup> or test to what extent particular lines of propaganda have indeed tried to make propaganda play what Luis Castaño describes as its positive role of providing popular cooperation for public goals.<sup>54</sup> Content analysis may be applied to Mexican *corridos*, novels, or documents, while analysis of statements by leaders of the *Independence struggle, Reforma, or 1910 Revolution* could examine to what extent their statements were increasingly consistent with the "democratic", antiaristocratic tenets which Robert R. Palmer draws out of eighteenth-century revolutionary experience.<sup>55</sup> In the case of specific towns or communities, content analysis could even help to deepen the background for contemporary community studies whose authors sometimes imply that written records in the communities have little relevance to their members' present attitudes and behavior.

### III. COMMUNITY STUDIES

To build up any consistent body of social science theory, research projects must be cumulative. When researchers study similar issues in slightly altered situations, they can more easily find which variables account for the observed differences. This does *not* mean that United States scholars should carry down ethnocentric theories to be tested in Latin America, because the fundamentally different historical experience of Mexico and the other Latin American countries frequently nullifies notions derived from the experience of the United States. The framework of questions for social investigation must relate to the context under study rather than to an alien or artificial context. What cumulative research does mean is that scholars should apply parallel research strategies and frameworks to situations which differ in their temporal or contextual dimensions. Studies of towns and communities provide an apt focus for such research, because, as Woodrow Borah

and Stanley R. Ross, comp., *Fuentes de la historia contemporánea de México. Periódicos y revistas* (México, 1965).

<sup>53</sup> It could, for example, test and refine the various myths which Enrique Beltrán shows to have grown up around the figure of Pancho Villa. See Beltrán, "Fantasía y realidad de Pancho Villa", *Historia Mexicana*, xvi (julio-septiembre, 1966). Beltrán already treats the myths in categorical fashion, and it would be revealing to go on to see which myths found particular support in different periods and types of literature.

<sup>54</sup> Luis Castaño, "La propaganda, catalizador democrático de los proyectos planificadores", in *Temas de sociología política mexicana* (México, 1961), 61-80.

<sup>55</sup> Robert R. Palmer, "Generalizations about Revolution: A Case Study", in Louis Gottschalk, ed., *Generalization in the Writing of History: A Report of the Committee on Historical Analysis of the Social Science Research Council* (Chicago, 1963), 69-70.



pointed out in the early 1950's the town has been the dominant organizing unit in Mexican social life.<sup>56</sup>

Community studies have a long tradition, with the work of Robert and Helen Lynd, W. Lloyd Warner, and Robert Dahl in the United States, or that of Manuel Gamio, Robert Redfield, and Oscar Lewis in Mexico. Such studies are especially effective when they incorporate historical data, when they elicit contemporary evaluations of the past history of the community or the society and/or test such evaluations against other sources of evidence. Communities, like societies, are not static entities, and neglect of their transformations is likely to produce interpretations of questionable validity. One of the values of an historical dimension for community studies is that it can indicate which social processes and values are *comparatively* static, gradual, or rapid in their transformation. The significance of the historical dimension makes it worthwhile to investigate the ways in which particular studies have used or neglected it.

In controversial case studies of Tzintzuntzan, Michoacán, George M. Foster sets out a model explaining peasant attitudes and behavior in Mexico and other societies. The model postulates that Tzintzuntzeños perceive everything which is "good" in their environment to be in limited and finite supply, so that whenever persons acquire more of what is good they must do so at someone else's expense. This perception sharply restricts cooperative efforts and eliminates effective participation in groups, so maintaining the status quo of the peasant society. The marginality of the peasant's life reflects in his often accurate perceptions of its nature; innovation becomes difficult when peasants suspiciously reject joint efforts and assume that wealth, manliness, and even friendship and love remain unexpandable except at the expense of another.<sup>57</sup> The peasant's fundamental assumption of "Limited Good" seems to explain his consistently individualistic behavior, in which Foster finds Tzintzuntzeños rejecting institutional ties and maintaining personal, contractual relationships with individual collea-

<sup>56</sup> Woodrow Borah, "Race and Class in Mexico", *Pacific Historical Review*, xxiii (November 1954), 334. Borah drew the observations in this paper from his year of travel and study in Mexico during 1951-1952, and first read the paper at a meeting of the Pacific Coasts Branch of the American Historical Association in December, 1952.

<sup>57</sup> Foster's most complete exposition of this model appears in *Tzintzuntzan: Mexican Peasants in a Changing World* (Boston, 1967). Foster began study of Tzintzuntzan between 1944 and 1946, on the basis of which he published *Empire's Children: The people of Tzintzuntzan* (México, 1948). He returned to Tzintzuntzan in 1958 and, since then, has repeatedly revisited the town and published articles concerning it.

gues and with those saints who they hope will intervene with God for them.<sup>58</sup>

Anthropologists have attacked Foster's model for being tautological,<sup>59</sup> for the degree to which it hopes to generalize about peasant behavior,<sup>60</sup> as well as for its inadequate criteria of applicability, its original assumption of a closed system, and its undue faith in the malleability of adult cognitive orientations.<sup>61</sup> The tautology criticism appears unnecessarily casuistical when one keeps in mind the mutually supportive relationship of Foster's data and his explanation, while the degree of generalization and the criteria of applicability can be worked out in more detail as scholars approach other communities with Foster's model in mind. Foster's book expands on his earlier articles by showing more outside influences on what he first described as the closed system of Tzintzuntzan. The criticism of cognitive malleability cogently questions the prescriptive, policy-oriented conclusions to which Foster comes, but even it fails to deal with another fundamental problem of Foster analysis: its fundamentally ahistorical character.

The ahistorical nature of Foster's approach appears most clearly in his neglect of the Revolution of 1910, a part of Mexico's historical experience which most observers agree had a profound effect on the views and behavior of Mexican citizens. In his chapter on "The Historical Roots", Foster skips directly from a single paragraph on the *porfiriato* to a mission which Lázaro Cárdenas sent to Tzintzuntzan in 1930.<sup>62</sup> In trying to establish a model of general explanatory power for peasant communities, Foster writes that "in Tzintzuntzan real behavior probably more nearly coincided with this ideal type fifty years ago [c. 1917] than it does now".<sup>63</sup> Were peasant attitudes actually the same or even closer to the assumptions of Foster's model during the violent years of the Mexican Revolution, however? Do

<sup>58</sup> George M. Foster, "The Dyadic Contract in Tzintzuntzan, II: Patron-Client Relationship", *American Anthropologist*, LXV (December, 1963).

<sup>59</sup> David Kaplan and Benson Saler, "Foster's 'Image of Limited Good': An Example of Anthropological Explanation", *American Anthropologist*, LXVIII (February, 1966). For a more sympathetic view of Foster's findings, see the review of Tzintzuntzan by Irwin T. Sanders in the *American Journal of Sociology*, LXXIV (September, 1968).

<sup>60</sup> John G. Kennedy, "'Peasant Society and the Image of Limited Good': A Critique", *American Anthropologist*, LXVIII (October 1966).

<sup>61</sup> Steven Piker, "'The Image of Limited Good': Comments on an Exercise in Description and Interpretation", *American Anthropologist*, LXVIII (October, 1966).

<sup>62</sup> Foster, *Tzintzuntzan*, 26. Although Foster's earlier book on Tzintzuntzan provides excellent, detailed description of the community in the 1940's it too largely neglects historical material and especially the Revolution. See *Empire's Children*, 6-22, 188-189.

<sup>63</sup> Foster, *Tzintzuntzan*, 123.

periods of massive violence really fail to affect peasant values and behavior? Should distinctions be made for the peasants of Morcles, Yucatán, and Michoacán, and, if so, what kinds of distinctions should they be? Foster never proposes even tentative answers to these questions, because he never seems to feel that they are worth asking.

In contrast to Foster, May N. Díaz actively uses historical detail, not to test general propositions but to show the vast distance between historical reality and contemporary myth in a Mexican community. As one aspect of a larger project on cultural change which Foster supervised, she studied the effects of industrialization in Guadalajara upon the small outlying town of Tonalá. Although finding very little historical material which dealt with Tonalá after the period of Spanish conquest, Mrs. Díaz shows how far myths of the conquest have strayed from the harsh realities of the actual situation. Legends claim that the Spaniards defeated the Indians of Tonalá because Saint James came riding across the sky on his white horse at the climax of the battle between them. The Tonaltecs renamed their town in honor of Saint James, and until recently they annually re-enacted his symbolic domination of the Indians. Tonaltecs have forgotten the ugliness which a contemporary soldier attributed to the Indian queen of the region, and they have accepted a mythology where town pageants show her as a young and beautiful person whose acceptance of Christianity became copied and admired.<sup>64</sup> Mrs. Díaz' prototypical contrasts of historical reality with contemporary mythology, which require both detailed consultation of historical sources and personal observation of pageants and propaganda, provide an important means of gauging the social meaning of history itself.

In the study of communities, therefore, we require expanded concepts of models and comparisons. Foster's view of a "model" or "principle" as "an inferential construct or an analytic abstraction derived from observed behavior"<sup>65</sup> is not really as temporally circumscribed as it appears, since historians can reconstruct social principles through careful analysis of past observations in a manner which relates them directly to the present observations of social scientists. Just as Edith Boorstein Couturier's intensive study of a progressive hacienda points up the limited malleability of the hacienda as an institution in the decade before the 1910 Revolution,<sup>66</sup> so analysis of Mexican towns

<sup>64</sup> May N. Díaz, *Tonalá: Conservatism, Responsibility, and Authority in a Mexican Town* (Berkeley, 1966), 19-25.

<sup>65</sup> George M. Foster, "Peasant Society and the Image of Limited Good", *American Anthropologist*, LXVII (April, 1965), 294. Foster goes on at some length here to discuss such model construction.

<sup>66</sup> Edith Boorstein Couturier, "Modernización y tradición en una hacienda (San Juan Hueyapan, 1902-1911)", *Historia Mexicana*, XVIII (julio-septiembre

can probe their relationship to social innovation during crucial periods in the past. Historical sociology similarly indicates the importance of detailed comparisons between coeval communities, as when Charles Tilly studied the process of counter-revolution by systematically contrasting the various characteristics of those communities in the Vendée which actively supported the French Revolution or the counterrevolution of 1793.<sup>67</sup> In addition to looking at issues of social innovation, urbanization, or violent confrontation in Mexican society, community studies, like the other approaches of historical sociology, should also come to focus on the crucial area of social classes.

#### IV. THE STUDY OF SOCIAL CLASS

As Sylvia Thrupp indicated more than a decade ago, social stratification is an especially promising area for joint research by historians and sociologists.<sup>68</sup> This continues to be true, not only because of the overlap between historical and sociological materials and interests in this area, but also because of the inadequacies of nonempirical research and the key role which class variables are assumed to play in social processes and confrontations. When Kahl discovered social status to be a more consistent predictor of modernist attitudes in Mexico than geographic location or any other variable,<sup>69</sup> his work underscored the importance of past as well as present class analysis. Although recent studies illustrate ways in which to approach past Mexican stratification, the real work, from an empirical standpoint, remains to be done.

An absence of adequate class studies now seriously hampers social science theorizing in Latin America, especially when models from outside the region are superimposed without recognition of the contrasts in Latin American experience. As Sugiyama Iutaka points out in his evaluation of the literature on Latin American stratification, this literature tends to be polemically contentious and abstractly theoretical rather than empirical.<sup>70</sup> Milton I. Vanger, after testing the 1911 election of José Batlle y Ordóñez against present notions of middle class-lower class coalitions, rightly concludes that our general class hypotheses do not satisfactorily explain the tendencies of Latin American politics. Although Vanger cogently argues that his findings

1968). See also Charles H. Harris, III, *The Sánchez Navarros: A Socio-economic Study of a Coahuilan Latifundio, 1846-1853* (Chicago, 1964).

<sup>67</sup> Charles Tilly, *The Vendée* (Cambridge, Mass., 1964).

<sup>68</sup> Sylvia Thrupp, "History and Sociology: New Opportunities for Co-operation", *American Journal of Sociology*, LXIII (July 1957), 13.

<sup>69</sup> Kahl, *The Measurement of Modernism*, 21, 134.

<sup>70</sup> Sugiyama Iutaka, "Social Stratification Research in Latin America", *Latin American Research Review*, 1 (Fall 1965), 8.

demonstrate the need for studies of such variables as leadership and the role of political mythology,<sup>71</sup> his argument also emphasizes the need to generate sounder class studies from which fresh hypotheses can be developed and tested. As Eric Wolf said in a 1959 warning which has too often gone unheeded, the realities of class structure and relationships in Mexico and Middle America differ radically from the European prototypes to which they are regularly compared.<sup>72</sup>

In the case of Mexico, empirical class studies are necessary partly to form the basis for broader interpretations of Mexican history. Charles C. Cumberland has recently been criticized for failing to deal with social classes in his comprehensive treatment of Mexico,<sup>73</sup> but the lack of detailed monographic studies of Mexican classes prevents Cumberland and other synthesizers from giving classes the full coverage which their significance seems to warrant. Researchers may turn to Nathan Whetten's classic study of the Mexican middle class,<sup>74</sup> to John Johnson's interpretation of the "middle sector",<sup>75</sup> or to the estimates of class change which Howard Cline painstakingly derived from the data of José Iturriaga and other sources.<sup>76</sup> With the exception of broadly descriptive material on the *porfiriato*,<sup>77</sup> however, researchers can not draw upon monographic interpretations of class structure during different periods of Mexican history. In the absence of such works perhaps Cumberland is to be admired rather than blamed for his refusal to drag out class clichés or to reprint the estimates of others.

Detailed verification should have a special place in the development of these sources, because only through careful analysis of the social origins of different groups can historians test the guesswork generalizations which polemicists make about classes and their conflicts. The circumstantial work of Crane Brinton and Donald Greer on the social origins of the Jacobins and the victims of the Terror in the French

<sup>71</sup> Milton I. Vanger, "Politics and Class in Twentieth-Century Latin America", *Hispanic American Historical Review*, xliix (February 1969).

<sup>72</sup> Eric R. Wolf, *Sons of the Shaking Earth* (Chicago, 1959), 241-243.

<sup>73</sup> Charles A. Hale, review of Charles C. Cumberland, *Mexico: The Struggle for Modernity in the Hispanic American Historical Review*, xliix (May 1969), 342.

<sup>74</sup> Nathan L. Whetten, "The Rise of a Middle Class in Mexico", in Theo R. Crevenna, ed., *La clase media en México y Cuba: Cuatro colaboraciones*, vol. 2 of *Materiales para el estudio de la clase media en América Latina* (Washington, D.C., 1950).

<sup>75</sup> Chapter 7, "Mexico: Reorientation of a Revolution", in John J. Johnson, *Political Change in Latin America: The Emergence of the Middle Sectors* (Stanford, 1958).

<sup>76</sup> See Chapter 11, "Society in Transition", in Cline, *Mexico*, especially Table 30 on p. 124.

<sup>77</sup> Luis González y González, Emma Cosío Villegas, and Guadalupe Monroy, *La República restaurada: La vida social*, vol. 3 in *Historia moderna de México* (México, 1956), 329-450.

Revolution, for example, has disproved simplistic theories of class conflict and shown that large groups of both Jacobins and Terror victims came from different social classes.<sup>78</sup> Students of Mexican class behavior can now enhance the approach of Britton and Greer by coding data and working out the relationships among masses of data with the aid of a computer. For more precise study of social status and inter-generational mobility, Jacques Dupaquier has suggested putting into machine-readable form specific information on individuals' antecedents, descendants, sector of activity, occupation, social status, legal status, income, wealth, family situation, age, geographic origin, and other variables.<sup>79</sup> Correlations made from such data would allow comparisons of the smaller socio-professional groups which make up social classes, and the plan is as applicable to the social history of Mexico as it is to that of France.

In a period of Mexican history for which no such detailed data are available, the careful work of Alfonso Caso has already provided important class analysis of the Aztecs at the time of the Spanish conquest. Just as polemical writers on the French Revolution assumed a simplistic dichotomy of nobles and plebians, so writers on Aztec organization assumed the same dichotomy or believed that Aztec organization followed Iroquois or Roman lines. Caso shows, however, that the function of individuals was not the sole determinant of their social class, so that military and priestly classes did not in fact exist. In addition to the land-owning nobility and the plebians who worked clan lands, Aztec organization encompassed a middle class, freemen who rented land, serfs who were bound to the land but maintained rights on it when its ownership changed, and slaves who had no rights concerning land and whom a noble could arbitrarily assign to other tasks.<sup>80</sup> If painstaking survey of original sources can provide so much fresh insight into

<sup>78</sup> Clarence Crane Britton, *The Jacobins: An Essay in the New History* (New York, 1930); and Donald Greer, *The Incidence of the Terror during the French Revolution: A Statistical Interpretation* (Cambridge, Mass., 1935).

<sup>79</sup> Jacques Dupaquier, "Problèmes de la codification socio-professionnelle", in Ernest Labrousse, and others, *L'Histoire sociale: Sources et Méthodes* (Paris, 1967), especially 163-167. S. W. F. Holloway has further suggested the need to draw up and relate more precise indices of social class and class conflict, and the interrelationship of these measures of occupational groupings and wealth distributions with violence, strikes, or class literature stands as a challenging if difficult task for students of Mexico. See Holloway, "History and Sociology: What History Is and What It Ought to Be", in W. H. Burston and D. Thompson, eds., *Studies in the Nature and Teaching of History* (London, 1967), 20-21.

<sup>80</sup> Alfonso Caso, "Land Tenure among the Ancient Mexicans", *American Anthropologist*, Lxv (August 1963), 865, 871. See also, Charles Gibson, *The Aztecs under Spanish Rule: A History of the Indians of the Valley of Mexico, 1519-1810* (Stanford, 1964), 153-165.

Aztec social organization, then examination of the later and better documented periods of Mexican social history should provide even more.

Situational limitations impose some restraints even on the best documented periods, of course. Mexico has had an official peccage only in certain periods of her history, so that Mexican historians remain more limited than British historians in the degree to which they can replace ambiguous terms like "aristocracy" or "oligarchy" with precise studies of peers and their sons.<sup>81</sup> Alternatively, many Mexican towns are so small and so homogenous as to preclude class differentiations and internal political conflicts. In Tzintzuntzan, Foster found that "social classes are absent, and there are no families or individuals of disproportionate power and influence".<sup>82</sup> A clear parallel exists here between the highly personalized and essentially apolitical pattern of relationships in small towns in Mexico and the United States. As in Tzintzuntzan, a recent survey shows the politics of a small Connecticut town to be similarly nonideological, focused upon personalities rather than issues, and devoid of arguments on the role of government in effecting social change.<sup>83</sup> Even if studies of social class among some Mexican groups or communities, become difficult or irrelevant, however, it remains of prime importance to understand the nature and roles of Mexican classes in the social context of larger communities.

One direction which inspection of these roles may take appears in the research of Andrew Whiteford. Although Whiteford bases his conclusions on contemporary observation and wide reading in secondary sources rather than upon more quantitative evaluations of historical data, he presents persuasive interpretations of historical as well as contemporary class structures. The telling nature of his findings results partly from the restricted and comparative framework within which he operates, and partly from the years of research which he spent in the two communities whose classes he examined: Popayán, Colombia, and Querétaro, Mexico. Whiteford discovered considerably more historic continuity in the upper class of Popayán, which reflects what he delineates as the fundamentally different experience of civil strife in Mexico and Colombia. In Querétaro, he analyzes the presence of a self-conscious but generally unrecognized remnant of the pre-revolutionary upper class, and the transfer of real power from the

<sup>81</sup> In "The Oligarchy Muddle", *World Politics*, xx (April 1968), James L. Payne presents an extended discussion of other difficulties of elite analysis in Latin America.

<sup>82</sup> George M. Foster, "The Dyadic Contract: A Model for the Social Structure of a Mexican Peasant Village", *American Anthropologist*, LXIII (December 1961), 1176.

<sup>83</sup> Everett Carl Ladd, Jr., *Ideology in America: Change and Response in a City, a Suburb, and a Small Town* (Ithaca, 1969). In particular, see Chapter 6, "Putnam: The Ideological Life of an American Small Town", and Ladd's concluding remarks on Putnam on pp. 346-347.

porfirian elite, to revolutionary generals and politicians, to the present industrial leaders and entrepreneurs.<sup>84</sup> Particularly in conjunction with more quantitative approaches to the study of past classes, Whiteford's approach points the way to fruitful and revealing comparisons with other cities and regions.

In complementary fashion, another line of research can quantitatively summarize characteristics of the Mexican elite, much as William P. Tucker has done for its changing demographic characteristics on the basis of material published in biographic repertories at five-or six-year intervals between 1935 and 1961.<sup>85</sup> Tucker's work confirms some prior impressions, such as the preponderance of training at the National University for members of the Mexican elite or the shift after 1935 from Europe to the United States as its favored location for foreign study. Comparisons of biographic data on the Mexican and United States elites seem to indicate that journalism, law, and art are the most common occupations for the Mexican elite, while teaching, business, and law are most common for that of the United States.

Social research of this kind remains potentially ambiguous, however, as it often reveals far more about the particular repertories consulted than about the elites which they supposedly describe. The formal and informal criteria for individual inclusion in a repertory tend to vary considerably over time and among countries, and they may favor groups or occupations out of all proportion to their actual influence or their size in comparison to more objectively defined social or economic groupings. It at first seems suggestive for Tucker to point out that Mexican repertories contain a far higher proportion of government personnel than do those of the United States, or that United States repertories show a steadily increasing proportion of nonmilitary government personnel since the 1930's. Such findings hardly indicate that government officials enjoy more popular respect in Mexico, however, or that United States officials have steadily gained in respect rather than merely in numbers. The figures indicate more about repertory selection criteria and overall group size than they do about social norms in either country. Similarly, the fact that only 2 per cent of the persons in a Mexican repertory in 1961 were women, as compared to 6 per cent or more women in United States repertories for the earlier years of 1934, 1942, and 1948, does not prove that women professionals have gained more general status and prestige in the United States than in Mexico. Such quantitative evaluations deserve consideration, but they can not be interpreted at face value.

<sup>84</sup> Andrew Hunter Whiteford, *Two Cities of Latin America: A Comparative Description of Social Classes* (Garden City, N.Y., 1964), especially 15-16, 224-226, 248.

<sup>85</sup> William P. Tucker, "Las élites mexicanas", *Aportes*, núm. 13. (julio, 1969).



Still another line of research can test contemporary findings on stratification against the historical experience of towns and groups. In a major program of ongoing research, members of the Harvard Chiapas Project have found considerable social stratification in the community of Zinacantan. Communal behavior works to maintain this stratification, as in the case of the religious cargo system where a person's wealth affects his ability to progress as a cargo holder and so partially determines his social standing. Display of wealth in the cargo system insures commitment to common values and also tends to maintain the community by using up excess wealth in ways which do not permit social change and development.<sup>86</sup> One way to approach the modernization process in such communities is to trace, as the members of the Harvard project plan to do, the future changes in Zinacantan. An alternative method, which relies upon historical rather than anthropological research, could trace past changes in a village which had once been essentially closed in the pattern of Zinacantan but has now been forced to become more completely integrated into Mexican national life. In both approaches to modernization, shifts in patterns of stratification take on particular significance.

Many other general findings similarly invite historical exploration. Despite the impressive literature on the *porfiriato*, we have yet to develop comparative studies which test Stanley Stein's idea that the Revolution of 1910 came to Mexico and not to other Latin American countries because Mexico had a relatively "open" society with high mobility.<sup>87</sup> Work in the 1940's suggested that Mexican women upheld class differences more than did men,<sup>88</sup> yet research on Mexican women has not tried to probe this apparent variation. How, in individual communities, has class structure been related to miscegenation and what Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán calls a resulting "desire for unity, an ideal of nationhood as the harmony and union of segregated groups"?<sup>89</sup>

<sup>86</sup> Frank Cancian, *Economics and Prestige in a Maya Community: The Religious Cargo System in Zinacantan* (Stanford, 1965), Chapters 10-13. Kimball and Romaine Romney have likewise stressed the high cost of religious fiestas, their prevention of capital accumulation, and their effect of setting the Indian community off from other Mexicans. For the fiesta of a patron saint in a barrio where men regularly earned about 3 pesos a day, the Romneys found costs to amount to 1500 pesos for the mayordomo, 250 pesos for each of his helpers, and 3 pesos for each guest. They did not find, however, that this participation in the fiestas conferred special prestige or status on the persons involved. See Kimball Romney and Romaine Romney, *The Mixtecos of Juxtlahuaca, Mexico* (New York, 1966), 57-63.

<sup>87</sup> Stanley J. Stein, "Latin American Historiography: Status and Research Opportunities", in Charles Wagley, ed., *Social Science Research on Latin America* (New York, 1964), 94, 96.

<sup>88</sup> Norman Daymond Humphrey, "Social Stratification in a Mexican Town", *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, v (Summer 1949), 143.

<sup>89</sup> Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán, "Indigenismo y mestizaje: Una polaridad bio-cultu-

What historical verification is there for that part of Rodolfo Stavenhagen's model of Mexican organizations which hypothesizes that such groups operate more in the interests of the personal advancement of their leaders than on the basis of articulated demands from group members?<sup>90</sup>

Historical testing may also lead to the generation of new hypotheses. Looking once again at earlier interpretations may contradict or redefine their conclusions, just as a fresh appraisal of Robert Redfield's data has seriously challenged his concept of classless homogeneity in Chan Kom.<sup>91</sup> The relationships of Indian and ladino communities offer other opportunities for new hypotheses on social structure, caste, and class interaction.<sup>92</sup> Survey research has indicated that education and socio-economic status have considerably more influence upon dogmatism and authoritarianism than do religious beliefs in contemporary Mexico,<sup>93</sup> and that family ties in cities have more influence in encouraging Mexicans to accept factory employment than does the pressure of low incomes in the countryside,<sup>94</sup> but did similar relationships hold true in an earlier period when religious values were stronger and cities were smaller? To what degree would historical research confirm the contemporary finding that *compadrazgo* performs alternate functions among different social classes, and, when it cuts across class lines, tends to reinforce the class structure by maintaining client relationships?<sup>95</sup>

In an overall sense, if it is correct to assert that students of social history should thus develop wider concern for the theoretical significance and empirical orientation of their studies, then this is at the

ral", *Cahiers d'Histoire Mondiale*, vi (1960), 160. In "El mestizaje mexicano en el periodo nacional", *Revista Mexicana de Sociología*, xxx (enero-marzo, 1968), Moisés González Navarro presents a statistical summary and careful evaluation of the process of miscegenation in Mexico.

<sup>90</sup> Rodolfo Stavenhagen, "Un modelo para el estudio de las organizaciones políticas en México", *Revista Mexicana de Sociología*, xxix (abril-junio, 1967), 334.

<sup>91</sup> Victor Goldkind, "Social Stratification in the Peasant Community: Redfield's Chan Kom Reinterpreted", *American Anthropologist*, LXVII (August 1965); and Victor Goldkind, "Class Conflict and Cacique in Chan Kom", *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, xx (Winter 1966).

<sup>92</sup> See the challenging conclusions in Chapter 8, "Estructura de casta y clase", in Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán, *Regiones de refugio: El desarrollo de la comunidad y el proceso dominical en mestizo América* (México, 1967).

<sup>93</sup> Glaucio Ary Dillon Soares and José Luis Reyna, "Status socio-económico, religiosidad y dogmatismo en México", *Revista Mexicana de Sociología*, xxviii (octubre-diciembre, 1966).

<sup>94</sup> Frank W. Young and Ruth C. Young, "Individual Commitment to Industrialization in Rural Mexico", *American Journal of Sociology*, LXXI (January 1966).

<sup>95</sup> Gwendoline van den Berghe and Pierre L. van den Berghe, "Compadrazgo and Class in Southeastern Mexico", *American Anthropologist*, LXVIII (October 1966).

very most only one of the fruitful paths open to historical scholarship. Lewis Hanke has argued persuasively that, in order to engage the commitment of students who will make better scholars and citizens in the years ahead, we must produce more effective teaching materials as well as more effective scholarly monographs.<sup>96</sup> The contrasts and inherent excitement of Mexico's violent and constructive history make it a prime subject for engaging analysis. Scholarly approaches to this subject which stress empirical testing of significant propositions complement rather than contradict the concern for better teaching materials, and neither of these orientations supersedes the need for descriptive treatments or traditional case studies. Greater emphasis upon theory and empiricism could deepen and extend, therefore, but not fundamentally reorient, the academic trend of Mexican historiography.

<sup>96</sup> Lewis Hanke, "Studying Latin America: The Views of an 'Old Christian'", *Journal of Inter-American Studies*, ix (January 1967).