

# Contents

---

List of Figures	xi
List of Tables	xiii
Preface	xv
Introduction	3
 <i>Part One</i>	
Ethnic Relations, Class Structure and the Peasant Community in Mesoamerica	
 <i>Chapter 1</i>	
Ethnicity and Class: Class Conflict in Plural Societies	17
 <i>Chapter 2</i>	
The Closed Corporate Peasant Community: Indian Identity and the Peasant Economy	27
 <i>Chapter 3</i>	
A Region of Diversity: Huejutla	50
 <i>Part Two</i>	
Historical Background	
 <i>Chapter 4</i>	
The Colonial Heritage: From Conquest to Independence	75
 <i>Chapter 5</i>	
Indians, Rancheros and Hacienda Owners: The Changing Class Structure	88
 <i>Chapter 6</i>	
Peasant Quiescence: Ecology, Relations of Production and Factional Politics	108
 <i>Chapter 7</i>	
The Mexican Revolution: An Interlude	117

<i>Chapter 8</i>	
Caciquismo and Agrarianism: The Cacicazgo of Juvencio Nochebuena	127
<i>Chapter 9</i>	
The Impact of Modernization: The Expansion of Modern Cattle Production	152
<i>Part Three</i>	
Peasant Revolt in a Nahua Region	
<i>Chapter 10</i>	
From Quiescence to Militancy: A Crisis in the "Moral Economy"	177
<i>Chapter 11</i>	
Agrarian Revolt in Huejutla: Peasant Leaders and Political Organizations	193
<i>Chapter 12</i>	
Class Conflict and Factional Politics: Cliques, Violence and Kinship	214
<i>Chapter 13</i>	
Class Conflict and the Peasant Community: The Struggle over Land Tenure and Village Administration	228
<i>Chapter 14</i>	
Class Conflict and Ethnicity: Image and Reality	245
<i>Part Four</i>	
The Forging of a New Hegemony	
<i>Chapter 15</i>	
Reform, Co-optation and Repression: A Decade of Contrived Land Invasions	259
<i>Chapter 16</i>	
The Politics of Rural Development: New Structures of Class Mediation	282
<i>Chapter 17</i>	
Huejutla in a Nutshell: Ethnicity and Politics in Jaltocan	303

Conclusions	317
Postscript	325
Bibliography	326
Index	343

## Figures

---

1	The Huasteca	52
2	The Nahua Village of Tlalchihualica	65
3	The Region of Huejutla	67
4	Nahua Communities and Private Estates during the Colonial Period	78
5	The Hacienda of Tepotzteco (circa 1890)	105
6	Land Tenure in the Fictitious Ejido of Tenexco	191
7	Area of Land Invasions (1979)	210
8	Geneological Map of the Ramírez Family	226
9	Land Tenure in the Municipio of Jaltocan	305

## *Tables*

---

1	Ownership of Means of Production and Class Structure in Tlalchihualica	39
2	Census Data on Eight Municipios in the District of Huejutla	56
3	Changes in Population and Cattle Production Between 1960 and 1970	170