

Violence and Non-Violence as Strategies for Demarcating and Crossing Boundaries

"All ethnic groups stand in certain relationship to each other. But this can be harmonious or hostile according to how these boundaries are demarcated, how porous or impervious they are constructed, and how open they are to change" (Gingrich 1998:102).¹

Conflict situations are restricted neither to particular spheres of human activity, nor to places, nor to periods. They can arise everywhere at all times. How conflicts are perceived and managed determines whether there will be violence or non-violence.² War begins in the mind; violence is fabricated in discourse, and its acceptability is produced ideologically (cf. Orywal 1996a:7–12).

The central issue of this paper is the diverse conception and reception given to non-/violence as strategies for conflict resolution of social and interethnic problems in a historical (anthropological) perspective. I focus on the cognitive aspect of these strategies for conflict resolution, but not on their implementation or the consequences resulting from them.

Even if skill in waging war in relation to conflict strategies and warfare does have some significance, it should not be overestimated. Without mental readiness to resort to violence no conflict will break out and no war will be fought (cf. Orywal 1996b:41).

Starting from the hypothesis of cultural disposition as the proximate cause of both the individual and the collective resort to violence, I shall present the different approaches to non-/violence exhibited by Tarahumaras and the Mestizos³ of northwestern Mexico and explicate the underlying ideological concepts legitimating or sanctioning the resort to violence. Both positive and negative beliefs concerning the resort to violence in conflict situations—whether in the form of linguistic, visual, or structural models—promote or hinder the use of non-/violence.

Gender dynamics take on a specific relevance in violent conflicts: Struggles for equality are bound up with gender political processes in respect to stratification tendencies which have repercussions on the given society.

Sense of community, identity, and gender interdependently determine how a society resolves conflicts or deals with violence. In this context the question poses itself what influences an external hegemonic power exercises on the traditional gender relations of a community: Is it capable of leading to the adoption or emergence of other gender ideologies?

Historical and Ethnographic Background

Since the conquest the Tarahumara have not lived in an isolated environment, but have shared the areas they live in with the surrounding Mestizos, developing in the course of the centuries strategies of resistance allowing them to assert themselves in everyday

contact with their conquerors. The concept of non-violence, which the Tarahumara have raised to the social norm, stands in opposition to the ideology of violence (*machismo*, *narcocultura*), represented and practiced by Mestizo society.

What both concepts have in common is the identity-conveying aspect as well as the ethnic and cultural demarcation between themselves and a dominant power. Just as the Tarahumara attempt to demarcate themselves from and assert themselves against the Mestizo majority, the Mestizos attempt to prevail against the hegemonic endeavors of the United States.

A retrospective look at the borderland cultures indicates that non-violence has not always been a Tarahumara strategy for conflict resolution. Therefore the investigation of violence has to begin with the historical context and the framework of incorporating/allowing for violence in each specific case, furthermore as the historical representation and terminology of collective violence also exhibits diversity (cf. Elwert et al. 1999:10).

History

Pre-Columbian Situation

Archaeological and (ethno)historical reconstructions (vgl. Spicer 1969:777–791) shows a Tarahumara warrior society in pre-Columbian times. Armed struggles were a prevalent means of conflict resolution, i.e., war was an integral part of autochthonous culture (cf. Hillerkuss 1991:44). Warlike activities on a larger scale were neither spontaneous nor did they result from privation/despair, but were planned. The formation and termination of alliances determined intertribal relations.

Traditional forms of warfare included hurriedly decided night raids, large-scale daytime battles, warlike acts of violence, various forms of "dirty war," lack of respect for "neutral" third parties during a state of war, and feared warriors, both male and female (wom-

¹ English translation of the original by Robin Halpin

² Terminologically, violence is contrasted with non-violence and not with the concept of "peace," which is emotionally loaded and in our use of language also characterizes the absence of war, but not the absence of violence, which is still one of the primary means of resolving peacetime conflicts in many societies. Through the media and virtual-reality computer games violence is present ideologically, just as it is concretely in everyday reality.

³ "The term 'Mestizo' is used in the literature as a blanket term to refer to the majority of the Mexican population basing itself overwhelmingly on the Spanish cultural tradition and which sees itself as the 'national society'" (Kummels 1996: 314). On the one hand I use the term 'Mestizo'—in a similar way to Kummels—as the self-definition of the North Mexican Mestizos, but on the other hand also as the term for US Americans of Mexican origin.

en could also prove themselves in battle). Non-combatant older men and women rallied to the arms by means of *tlatoles* (demagogic speeches) (Hillerkuss 1991:37). In terms of their motivation the wars of the Tarahumara corresponded more or less exactly to the behavior they displayed toward one another. War was a means to defend their rights, implement their demands, and free themselves from unacceptable existential pressures or threats. Men and women avoided violence, yet knew how to use it and how to turn it into a political and social weapon for their own interests. It is not disputed that most of the other ethnic groups in the North by far exceeded the Tarahumara in displaying aggressive behavior (Hillerkuss 1991:45).

Colonial Period and Transition

The Spanish were the first Europeans to have contact with the "Wild North" when Coronado's expedition searching for the mythical Seven Golden Cities of Cibola⁴ crossed this territory. When they came to northwestern Mexico, they found a thinly populated region which was, however, already divided up among various groups differing slightly in language and culture, all of whom the Spanish were soon to subsume under the label "Tarahumara."

Colonization and missionary work in the Sierra Tarahumara began in the sixteenth century. Soon the influx of settlers, merchants, and miners resulted in land seizures and failed harvests leading to famine. Moreover, the Tarahumara were forced, legally and illegally, to perform unpaid labor in the mines and on the haciendas, their ceremonies were forbidden, their medicine men and women were punished, and they were constantly monitored and instructed how to lead their lives.

This led to a series of uprisings in 1620/21, 1635, 1648, 1650, 1653, 1690, 1696/98, and 1700/01 (cf. Kennedy 1996:16–26), all of which were brutally suppressed. The ideal of non-violence originated as a survival strategy after these failed revolts against Spanish supremacy—in combination with the acceptance of the role of the Jesuit mission as a protection against other hostile ethnic groups and massive attacks from the colonists.

The emergence of non-violence as an ideal is thus explained as an historical process. Whether the decision to renounce violence was freely taken

or whether it was a purely pragmatic survival strategy, in other words a "forced pacifism" (Clastres 1994:ch. 11), cannot presently be established.

Twentieth Century

The end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth century saw the promotion of economic development in the region (railways, road networks, commercial logging). The potential for exploiting the natural resources of the Sierra (water, forest, grazing land and minerals)—now under free-market conditions—brought a further inrush of settlers.

Drug cultivation did not come to the Sierra Tarahumara until the late 1960s (Nomikós 1999:10). For the rural poor of the Mestizo population the drug trade sparked an economic revival and for the first time in about one hundred years the chance of a staggering improvement of their position in life. Drug cultivation established itself as a form of "alternative economy"—in the first place supplementing traditional agriculture, and then later replacing it entirely (Lopez Torres 1998:4)

Road building, primarily for logging, allowed the establishment of an efficient transport system, and one accommodating the transport of drugs in articulated logging-trucks. This also accelerated the construction of hotels and restaurants for the tourist industry which began at more or less the same time, and which eased the problem of money laundering. Soon the *narcotraficantes* were forcing the Tarahumara to cultivate marijuana and opium poppies on deforested areas or to labor on the drug plantations. Whoever refuses is pressured, even murdered.⁵

Key Ethnographic Data

Tarahumara⁶

Settlement form, social structure, and economy of the Tarahumara—the census varies between 60,000 and 80,000

⁵ The use of violence as an everyday fact of life, which is characteristic for the *narcomundo*, is reflected in the statistics by a rapid increase in violent deaths throughout the 1980s—especially as a result of firearms. In 1988 this was the most frequently occurring cause of death on the Sierra Tarahumara, later occupying "merely" the fourth place in the 1990s. For youth in the age range 15 to 25 this still represents the most frequent cause of death (cf. Lopez Torres 1998:60).

members—mutually condition one another: The majority is dispersed in single homesteads (*ranchos*) surrounded by the appendant fields. These dispersed settlements (*rancherías*) consist in most cases of two to five households belonging to a bilateral kinship group. There existed and exist no formally organized kinship groups in addition to these. Each homestead is the residence of a family working the surrounding fields, so that the nuclear family forms the core of every household (cf. Deimel 1980:43).

Property and inheritance laws guarantee equal rights regardless of gender, meaning that both men and women enjoy individual property rights to land and livestock. They maintain their individual property rights even when they live together and pass their land on to both sons and daughters—inheritance being within the gendered line of descent. Individual property right additionally eases divorce, as both ex-partners retain the basis of their economic existence.

Since colonial times the Tarahumara have engaged in a combination of economic activities consisting of mixed mobile farming along with hunting, gathering, and fishing. By means of trade with and wage-labor for the Mestizos the Tarahumara have been integrated into the capitalist market. The division of labor by gender is considered desirable but not as a norm to be fulfilled at any price.

⁶ Terms of the Tarahumara for themselves and others: According to Merrill (1988:78) the name Rarámuri in its most comprehensive sense means 'human being' (both Indians and non-Indians) being further qualified to mean all indigenous groups in the Americas, then as demarcation against other indigenous groups and finally as "Rarámuri men" as demarcation against "Rarámuri women" who are identified as *muki* ('woman') and in the plural as *igómele*.

The Tarahumara characterize the Mestizos as *chabochi/chavochi* (bearded ones), which counts as a swearword in their language (Deimel 1979:33). *Los castillos*, a value-neutral term of the Tarahumara for Mexicans, Spanish and Whites, and *gringos/as* for US Americans and Europeans have been loaned from the Mexican vocabulary. Offspring of interethnic sexual relationships between Mestizos and Tarahumara, particularly if they develop a way of life as border crossers and mediators between the cultures, are also characterized depreciatingly as *chavocharse*, which means no more than conforming to the lifestyle of the *chavochi*. *Nasóame* (half-caste) has no demeaning reference.

A society “colorfully thrown together” inhabits the northern border country: Spanish and Mestizos as *mineros*, soldiers, civil servants, settlers, dealers, cattle farmers, loggers, adventurers, *desperados*, fugitives of all kinds (Indian, U.S. American, Mestizo law-breakers, deserters, Tarahumara on the run from forced labor), smugglers, illegal distillers, and drug producers. The socio-economic facts largely determine the structure of Mestizo society, with natural resource exploitation on the Sierra Tarahumara, land settlement and the expansion of the transport networks as the three major factors involved. Today the Mestizos represent the majority of the population. In 1980 350,000 Mestizo inhabitants were registered (in relation to the estimated 60,000–80,000 Tarahumara). Migration occurred in several phases or waves, the greatest inflows taking place at the end of the nineteenth century as well as at both the beginning and the end of the twentieth century.

The majority of the Mestizos in the mountains lived and still lives under similar economic constraints as those facing the Tarahumara, that is from agriculture and animal husbandry. A thin soil and arid climate mean that it has only been able to cultivate chilies, corn, tomatoes and beans. Yields and the income of the farming population have been correspondingly meager.

Ranchos—small hamlets of at most a few hundred people often connected by blood and marriage—were the vehicle through which large parts of

the country were settled. The people who would take these lands were Mexico’s pioneers. They were neither rich nor poor, but had enough to risk on a future. The dry, rocky frontier held for them not a threat but a promise. Although the majority of Mestizos have lived on remote farmsteads (*ranchos*), the centralized *pueblo* remains the most desirable pattern of settlement. In the twentieth century the respective regional administrative and economic centers have developed from this model (Creel, Guachochi, Batopilas).

A few Protestant sects are beginning to make inroads in the Sierra Tarahumara, but Roman Catholicism nonetheless defines the feast-day calendar and the life-cycle rituals (baptism, marriage, funeral) according to the traditions of the Church.

Mexican Americans⁸

“The coming together of two self-consistent but habitually incompatible frames of reference causes *un choque*⁹, a cultural collision” (Anzaldúa 1990:378).

Mexican Americans were always looked down upon in the southwest-

ern United States as the “others,” as second-class, as a race apart: Chicanos/Americans of Mexican descent suffered the same civil-rights discrimination and viciously racist treatment as every other “non-White” group. This rejection at the hands of the Anglo-Americans has led to a negation/blurbing of the demarcation toward the Mexican side (cf. Heyman 2002:479).

Today there is no uniform/universal opinion concerning the ethnic/cultural situation of Mexican Americans. A broad spectrum of different opinions and images exists with respect to cultural identity, ethnicity, and American citizenship. Mexican Americans who have lived for a long time in the U.S. often adopt American ideologies and identity, sharply demarcating themselves from Mexico and recent Mexican immigrants, while associating Mexico with poverty and suffering. American citizenship and way of life are aspired to (cf. Heyman 2002:483).

On the other hand there are others who desperately attempt to counteract the intense pressure to assimilate as well as the ethnocentric and arrogant discourse of Anglos. “The dominant white culture is killing us slowly with its ignorance” (Anzaldúa 1990: 385).

Coding Violence and Non-Violence

History is just one aspect in the development of an ideology of non-/violence. A brief survey of the belief systems of each group helps conceptualize how violence and non-violence is coded. Since ideologies, models for interpreting the world and belief systems stand in a direct relation to the identity-forming processes within a community and at the same time comprise the moral coding of a society (cf. Mader 1994, 2001), the ethnic and cultural demarcation of *los norteños* and the Tarahumara also runs along the borders between their two concepts of violence and non-violence.

Social Beliefs and Norms of the Tarahumara

An analysis of the Tarahumara world vision, but especially of the concept of the soul leads to an understanding of their social ideals and norms; which are inscribed in the theory of “Right Thinking” (cf Merrill 1988:95ff.). Right Thinking—which embodies the ethical code of the Tarahumara community—means to behave in such a way that no harm comes to the community through the actions of the individual. Both rela-

⁷ Terms of the Mestizos for themselves and others:

The Mestizos of the Sierra Tarahumara, rarely refer to themselves by this term but prefer to call themselves *norteños* (People of the North), *blancos* (Whites), *mexicanos* (Mexicans), *gente de razón* or *los de razón* (rational people), refer to the Tarahumara as *tarahumaritos/-as*, *indios* (Indios, Indians), or *inditos* (little Indians). Other descriptions used by Mestizos for the Tarahumara include *ton-tos* (idiots), *sin razones* (irrational people), or *animales* (animals) and reflect the racist dimension of unequal interethnic social relations (Kummels 1988:70). The Mestizos call the mixed race offspring either approvingly *tarahumaras civilizados* (civilized Tarahumara)—if they have taken on the Mestizo way of life and thought, or disparagingly *acha-bochados* (Mestitized), *revueltos* (stirred), or *crusados* (crossed) (field diary 1, 2, 3). The term *los bárbaros* is used disparagingly by the population of the Mexican heartland to characterize the Mestizo frontier population.

⁸ Terms for the designation of Self and Others in the Mexican/US American context: Chicano(a): In U.S. usage, a Chicano can be any U.S. citizen who traces his or her roots to the early Spanish settlers or to Mexico. In consequence of the second-class status of the Chicanos in the southwestern United States this word has a negative connotation.

In Mexican usage, Chicanos/-as implies a strong degree of Americanization, or a political viewpoint based on identification with the Chicano community. A Mexican will speak of a neighbourhood in the US as having no Mexicans, only , Chicanos, and another as being Mexican, though both may be largely populated by U.S. citizens with Mexican backgrounds.

Wetback (*mojado/-a*): contrary to its meaning in Spanish the English expression carries a negative image. Wetbacks originally meant those illegal immigrants who swam across the Rio Grande to reach the U.S.A.

Mojado/-a: (literally) wetback from *espalda mojada*, an illegal immigrant. In Mexican usage, this word has nothing like the pejorative connotations it has in English. It does suggest a degree of poverty and manual labor, and many people would not care to be called *mojados*, but others are comfortable with the term and there is virtually no negative connotation to the word’s adjectival form—any Mexican who travelled illegally to the US would say he or she crossed the border or worked *de mojado*.

⁹ Editor’s note: *italics* in the original.

tions with other members of the community and the ability to safeguard the survival of oneself and the wider society are judged. Pre-Columbian guidelines for social balance stress equilibrium and harmony. In case of social imbalance the notion of witchcraft is used as a compensatory mechanism. Severe breaches of the moral code carry the threat of exclusion from the community as ultimate sanction.

"Good Thinkers" are people who abide by the rules of conduct: This also implies avoidance of physical and eye contact—the handshake is a brief touching of the other person's fingertips. "Good Thinkers" preserve privacy: A visitor waits near another's house long enough to be noticed and greeted; in few cases will the visitor be invited into the house—that would already be a demonstration of intimacy. "Good Thinkers" behave respectfully: They let others finish talking and listen, instead of pressing them, and above all they do not interfere in the affairs of others and they do not neglect their partner in a relationship.

Further character traits prized among the Tarahumara are the will to independence, patience, composure, stamina, pride, dignity, caution to the point of mistrust towards all strangers and avoiding them if necessary.

Interplay of Individual and Collective Activity

On the one hand individual success does bring status/esteem, but on the other the Tarahumara know that only as a collective are they able to survive. Although individuality and independence are lived the community is appreciated differently, for it offers support in times of need. As there is no institutionalized safety net in times of need other than the production and reproduction capacities of both the individual and the society, every individual requires the protection of the group in order to survive. A "culture of mutuality" (Bennholdt-Thomsen 1998: 70) is the guarantee for this.

Times of hunger and shortage are counterbalanced through the social norm of reciprocity and *kárima* (donation of food).

Accepting responsibility for one's own actions and answering for them. Providing for one's own means of subsistence and not becoming economically dependent on others. Physical mobility and standing on one's own two feet are qualities which are held as estimable values in Tarahumara society. Social ideal: Everyone fulfills

his/her task according to society's norm and economic requirements.

Acting successfully in every area of life and possessing a high degree of social competence—the social ideal of personal capability has established itself parallel to that of esteem for the needs of the collective: every man and woman fulfills his or her tasks in accordance with the norms of society and the economic requirements—corresponding to the social contract of the indigenous people. This implies that the smooth functioning of the collective is both based on and is guaranteed by the complementary areas of responsibility of each gender and their cooperative interplay as a family—the basic unit of every society. (cf. Feest 1998:18). Definite roles for the individual follow from this.

The goal of the individual/collective interplay is to secure a "good life" for all. Good life is said to depend upon the establishment as social values for the benefit of the whole group of individual initiative and love of life (cf. Bennholdt-Thomsen and Mies 1997).

The Ideal of Non-Violence

Opariame describes the inability to control annoyance or anger and characterizes short-tempered people. It counts as a serious moral breach; their behavior awakens too many memories of the *chabochi* (Mestizos/Whites). Individuals with such a temperament are often excluded from society. What is important to understand here is that the behavioral norms of the Tarahumara society see reserve, respect for others and contemplativeness as the ideal. This demarcates them from the gluttony, aggressiveness, lack of respect, unbridled expression of sexuality, and hyperactivity of the surrounding Mestizos. Since—according to Tarahumara mythology—the *chabochi* come from the devil, their character traits are not worth striving for either.

Sexual transgressions (rape) can be severely punished—notably it is not the deed itself which is decisive in determining the severity of the punishment, but rather the aggression and imitation of Mestizo behavior that went hand in hand with it (cf. Irigoyen-Rascon 1989:173). Everyday practices result in the constitution of the "we"-group: The same (or at least similar) behavior determines group membership. Whoever behaves like a *chabochi* will also be regarded as one (cf. Kummels 1996:320ff.). The ideal of non-violence therefore forms the basis for demarcation from the "out-

side" and is a decisive factor in constituting the cultural/ethnic identity.

Clearly Defined Gender Roles

Many indigenous societies recognize a "third" or a "fourth gender" which, however, represent constant categories in each society. This is also the case among the Tarahumara, where "third" and "fourth" genders are understood as fixed categories. Male and female homosexuality is accepted without prejudice as long as the partners live out clearly defined roles (cf. Irigoyen-Rascon 1989:173).

The Judeo-Christian worldview whereby "man:woman = active:passive = dominant:submissive," which was decisive for the Euro-American gender roles, cannot be drawn on in the definition/description of Tarahumara gender relations. Indigenous gender relations depend on the criterion of complementarity as an essential component of the division of labor by gender. Only through the interplay of female and male elements can social functioning be assured (see above). "Man:Woman" behave like the two halves of a community based on the division of labor; this social ideal is expressed in the pair bond.

Susan Kellogg (1997) has coined the term gender parallelism for gender relationships organized within parallel male and female "life worlds" of thought, language, and society. Locating the basis for gender parallelism in certain specific images which the culture has of itself, she shows how on the symbolic level the division and unification of opposites functions and is strengthened by a bilateral model of inheritance, and moreover by specific property relations and the division between male and female fields of activities. These results also partially apply to the Tarahumara.

Production of Cultural/Ethnic Identity

Ethnic/cultural identity is experienced or represented in the following contexts:

(a) The different ideas of ethnicity (Mestizo/Tarahumara) also demarcate different *methods of food production and the symbolic meanings associated with them*: Each and every socio-cultural and geographical environment gives to food a certain specific symbolic character which is reflected in the eating habits, production methods, and socio-religious systems/concepts of a society. In line with their

dualistic world view, the Tarahumara classify foodstuffs according to the opposition between own and alien, with those classed as "own" having higher prestige and being used as ritual food. Through their offerings of food to the male/female deity the Tarahumara ensure divine goodwill and cosmic equilibrium (see Kummels 1996:317–320).

(b) *In the context of the corn beer feasts* all aspects of the Tarahumara world come together, become the focus of Tarahumara political, cultural, and economic self-determination, and form the basis for a demarcation from the "outside." Through the feeling of belonging together legitimated by mythology and lived and experienced during the festivity the Tarahumara define themselves as an ethnic group. The Tarahumara have developed a form of social organization which has proven itself in the struggle against the Spanish/Mexican dominant culture as a strategy for ethnic and cultural survival. On the basis of self-determined (economic) activity the *tesgüinada* enables their own cultural vision to confront the external pressure to assimilate. This cultural institution is rooted in the ritualized consumption of corn beer and the cultic use of corn (see Puchegger-Ebner 2001a:161–182).

(c) *Mythological justification for cultural and ethnic demarcation:* Oral tradition indicates that cultural and ethnic demarcation towards outsiders already existed as a fixed pre-Columbian category/structure—only the actors (Mestizos instead of Apaches) in this field of classification were exchanged. Not only in myths but also in Tarahumara cosmology the "others," "enemies" are equated with the devil, while the Tarahumara themselves are equated with the deities.

The deity is conceptualized as a duality, *onor"ame* ('The one who is the father') and *eyer"ame* ('The one who is the mother'), living on the highest plane of the world above; they are Tarahumara and are as such attired. Consequently the devil is imagined as *chabochi*—wearing a beard and dressed in the rural clothing of the Mestizos. The Devil (*diablo, riavlo, chamuko*) is God's elder brother and lives with his wife in the deepest levels of the underworld. All Mestizos are descended from the devil. The myths tell that God and the Devil often fight one another, but God usually wins—because the dances and sacrifices of the Tarahumara give him strength and energy. Most Tarahumaras assume that they will go to God after death—

not because they as individuals have led such a worthy life, but because according to their world view they as an ethnic group they are the descendants or children of their deities: Tarahumara collective identity is thus constituted in the specific notion of being "God's children." An equation of this identification with the "Corn Mother" in terms of (skin)-color is established during the harvest thanksgiving festival through the color of the ritual corn. This means that on the symbolic, mythological, and linguistic levels the Tarahumara connect themselves physically to *eyer"ame* whom they worship in their rituals as the "Corn Mother." It is through this identification that the Tarahumara demarcate themselves from the Whites and Mestizos and at the same time derive their symbolic descent from a dual deity (as children of the "Corn Mother" on the one hand, and as the moral descendants of God on the other). Participation in the corn beer festivals and in the communal rites that are organized for just this purpose, strengthens their feeling of belonging together (see Puchegger-Ebner 2001b:38–42).

A Mestizo Culture of Violence: The Corridos

On both sides of the border drug ballads mirror the tough realities of life in the *frontera society*, as does the Mexican political drama, they tell social history, recount recent events from the viewpoint of the "little people" and transport moral concepts whose expression is a *pura filosofía del 'cartel'* (Rico 1997) and which to a great extent appear to agree with those of the *frontera society*. *Narcocorridos* dramatize the events of everyday life and by means of legend and mythmaking elevate the stories of immigrants and their clashes with the U.S. Border Patrol. But they are also the modern form of news reporting having in common with *rap* drug culture and life on the streets. (cf. O'Connor 2002).

The very same characteristics that official political discourse and "public opinion" use to stigmatize the *narcotraffickers*, are exactly those that are judged approvingly by the subculture: Revolting against authority, operating outside the law, asserting their interests by all means possible, etc. The *narcocorridos* tell of all this but without passing judgement and by allowing other points of view than those of the mainstream. In and through the drug ballads socially marginalized groups

create new cultural identities by designing a self-image through symbolic reproduction that reflects the place of dignity, self-assertion and respect as central concerns.

The reality that the *narcocorridos* project has the character of a model. Like all models it is a simplified and schematized projection of reality and so it enables the aims and norms striven for to be exaggerated and underlined (cf. de la Torre 2002).

Competition for Power and Status

The values inscribed in the compositions portray power in their numerous variations, styles and in the way they are constructed. Power determines position in the cartel hierarchy, achievement of mastery in a general/comprehensive sense and also of social status/esteem—power is won through intelligence, *el poder economico* and *poder de la fuerza o violencia* and here violence is defined as a primitive form of power. In the drug dealing subculture power and competition for status play an important role. Almost invariably it is a single individual—*el jerarca*, who possesses and controls all the power. Risk taking is justified by the chance of reaching this position (cf. de la Torre 2002).

To be on top of the *narco*-hierarchy means fearing neither death nor prison, maintaining connections to other Mafia groups, and leading a specific lifestyle (hedonistic, generous toward friends and subordinates), as well as upholding the unwritten laws of the "Honorable Society" (cf. de la Torre 2002). "Honor" as a social concept promotes education, cohesion of the community, and shaping of group members' identity. Further marks of Mafia-style organizations are the patronage system and networking of state and Mafia. Such bodies determine the lives of their members (cf. Pummer 1994:14–22). All three of these characteristics are thematized in the drug ballads.

The Ideal of Violence

Power and esteem can only be achieved through *poder de la fuerza o violencia*. The will to violence (to reach one's own aims) is personified in various male stereotypes like the gunslinger or the *valiente*, although the latter does not represent an *outlaw* like the gunslinger. As the *valiente* belongs to the broad mass of the rural population, it is this section of society which, by identifying with him, identifies with violence.

As in the case of the Tarahumara, the genesis of northwestern Mexican border society accords special significance to remote homesteads: *Rancho*¹⁰ represents both factually and symbolically a place of freedom and self-determination—a place where self-sufficiency has been and still is the basis for independence. A majority of the Mestizo border population has always lived in this manner (cf. Quinones 2001:251–254).

The *valiente* emerged because the rancho was a violent, brutal, and lawless place where a man needed to carry a gun, face down threats, and force people to respect him. Some *valiente* reputations grew from small incidents such as a man refusing to stand by while a more powerful neighbor tried to take his land by moving a fence. Others became known as *valientes* after taking to highway robbery, avenging the rape of a sister, or by shooting a man who had insulted them at a party. He is the man who stands up to the government, the boss, the police, the landowner—the man every Mexican would like to be if only he had the gumption (cf. Quinones 2001: 251–254).

Redefining Gender Constructs

The *poquiteros*, the *traficantes menores sin mayores aspiraciones*, the “second division” of drug dealers still dream of those constructs of masculinity that are part of the tradition of *machismo*.¹¹ Without great ambitions, they merely want to earn enough in order to enjoy music, alcohol, and women (cf. Astorga 2002). The “old” ideals of masculinity live on in the heroes—today *los barones de la droga* have taken on this function. Miguel Caro Quintero, e.g., advanced overnight to folk-hero status thanks to his arrest. His skyrocketing rise from the lowest levels in the shortest time made him a legend.

There has always been a place for proud, active women, who, putting the stereotypes aside, have taken their fate into their own hands—from the idealistic heroines of the Revolution up to the resolute *drugladies*, such as Maria

¹⁰ *Rancheros* were the first Mexicans to emigrate to *el otro lado*. The United States is simply the final step into inhospitable territory in the search of a future that the Mexican *ranchero* has been making for two centuries now.

¹¹ Here it is the biological and social superiority of the male which is implied. A stereotypical female image (personified in the *puta/virgen*-dichotomy) and hero worship are part of this concept.

Del Carmen Caro Quintero of the Sonora Cartel or The Hawk (cf. Sabbag 2002:238). At the same time feminist immigrants are attempting to break up the ossified gender dichotomies and to reform the social relations between Mexican American men and women—a change already noticeable in the drug ballads.

Various singers and songwriters deal with women as personalities and create images of women clearly going beyond the *machista* dichotomy of “self-sacrificing companion” versus “object of desire.” Women are described as having similar attributes (energy, intelligence, even the readiness to use violence) to those of men and are seen as actively involved in or even dominating the events around them. Sometimes they exceed their male colleagues in sophistication and cold-bloodedness (cf. Astorga 2002; Wald 2001:12f.; 2001:122ff.). The example of Jenni Rivera shows that women are now pushing into the domain of the *narcocorridistas*. Jenni Rivera is the first female singer of drug ballads and she has carved a niche for herself in the middle of this male-dominated genre and found her subject matter: She writes and sings *narcocorridos*. *La Chacalosa*, her first *corrido*, immediately became a resounding success (Wald 2001:141f.; Rivera in Ortega 2002).

Drug Ballads as Expression of Unifying Identity in the Border Region

In contrast to the “songs purely about drugs” Los Tigres del Norte and some others have expanded their repertoire to include political elements. Their CD *Uniendo Fronteras* takes issue with the situation on both sides of the border—including the fate of men and women as immigrants (cf. Burr 2002).

The problems that these *corridos* address are:

(1) Social disadvantages faced by Mexican immigrants (also at the hands of “long-established” Americans of Mexican origin), as well as the historical oppression of the Chicanos and the related racist discrimination by the “White” population of the southwestern United States (cf. Wald 2001: 157).

(2) The Mexican perspective on the demarcation of the border and its implication for both sides (cf. Wald 2001: 158).

(3) (Fear of) ethnic and cultural loss of

identity and “emotional strife” (cf. Wald 2001:158ff.).

(4) The main theme is the cat-and-mouse game played between the people-traffickers and the U.S. Border Patrol (*la migra*). An enormous number of different possibilities for thematizing intercultural conflicts and prejudices emerge from this material (cf. O’Connor 2002). U.S. intervention in the internal affairs of Mexico by no means limits itself to drug policy, but extends to the attempt to integrate the Mexican economy into a subordinate position in the American market through neo-liberal economic strategies. The challenge of this dominant global power in whose shadow Mexico has stood since the loss of its territories, is a reaction to both previous and more recent U.S. policy. Closely connected to this is the feeling of personal achievement when a *coup* has succeeded and the politically and economically superior antagonist has been fooled.

Running parallel there is also the cultural and ethnic conflict between the Anglo-Saxon and the Mexican civilization (cf. Nicolopolos in Wald 2002).

(5) The hypocrisy of the American drug policy: In *El General* (CD: *Jefe de Jefes*) Los Tigres del Norte presume that the real power behind the drug business is to be found to the North/beyond the border and probably reaches all the way into U.S. power elites. And so Los Tigres del Norte ask the question:

“The gringos certify other countries ... But tell me, who certifies the United States?” (Los Tigres del Norte in Wald 2002).

(6) Conveying of a positive self-image: Jenni Rivera and Elijah Wald (Rivera in Ortega 2002) agree that for Mexican American youths the main attraction of the *ranchera* and *narcocorrido* consists in the conveying of identity, a feeling of belonging, and a positive self-image as Mexican. The theme of drugs plays a subordinate role in this. It was the *narcocorridos* that made the *ranchera* music—the music of their parents and grandparents—attractive to the young Mexican-American population and thus brought an awareness of the “old Mexican roots.” A unifying *narcocultura* has been established on both sides of the border.

Resentments, Ambiguities, and Prospects in Interethnic Structures

(1) The *Norteños* regard themselves

as being the direct descendents of the Spanish conquerors and as being both biologically and culturally “unmixed,” although this does not correspond to the facts. Indian ancestry is simply denied (cf. Kummels 1996: 313f.). In general terms it can be said, that the Mestizos despise the Tarahumara—they just do not have all those norms and values that seem so significant to the *Norteños*—particularly an ideology of masculinity including violence as an essential means for asserting one’s own interests (cf. Meyer Levi 1993:258f.). The Mestizos insinuate that the Tarahumara are idle and incapable of looking after themselves and that they are permanently overindulging in corn beer consumption. Furthermore, in a sweeping simplification Tarahumara food is classified as inferior. Certain foodstuffs are therefore connected with particular (negative) qualities and the Tarahumara survival strategies and dietary norms are devalued in the eyes of the Mestizos.

Nevertheless they need the Tarahumara as the last representatives of an unconquered, autochthonous people as an Other against whom they can construct their own self-image, and they are only too pleased to adopt a paternalistic approach toward them (cf. Kummels 1996:313f.). As *Norteños* they demarcate themselves from the Mestizos of central Mexico, who have integrated their Indian ancestry into their identity and who look down upon the Northerners as *los barbaros*.

(2) Traditionally-minded Tarahumara find fault with the immoderate excess of the Mestizos which reaches into every essential area of life. The Tarahumara accuse the Mestizos of wastefulness in their food consumption as well as greed in their distribution of foodstuffs. Handling resources thoughtfully and carefully makes the Tarahumara in their own eyes morally superior. It is important for them to be able to manage with only a small amount of food. Adaptation to the ecological and economic facts, coupled with the system of mutual aid which has resulted from this, even plays an important role in the socialization of the children.

(3) The sensitive relationship between the Mestizo population and the Tarahumara is constructed either as friendship or enmity, with the alternative always borne in mind.

The Tarahumara no longer work exclusively for themselves as a community, but have already been integrated into the periphery of the Mexican mar-

ket economy with the Mestizos as partners in exchange and middlemen: The Mestizos have a monopoly selling the Tarahumara important everyday necessities such as chalk, salt, cotton cloth, and metal goods. The Mestizos attempt to indebt the Tarahumara (by granting them credit on their livestock and next harvest) and they manage this with “luxury goods” such as glass beads, detergents, colorful hairgrips, enamel wares, plastic shoes, terry-cloth stockings, wheat meal, and alcohol (beer by the crate and cheap spirits).

Not all trade relations between Tarahumara and *chabochoi* inevitably turn out so detrimental. There do exist exceptional cases and situations which can lead to the development of a certain coded partnership (*noráwa*) between Tarahumara and Whites/Mestizos. These interethnic exchange and trading friendships (*noráwa*) are of great significance for the Tarahumara. In the course of a lifetime a relationship of trust will be built up with one or several *chabochoi* linked to quite definite rules of conduct. *Noráwa* designates a social relationship between two persons who not only do business, but also develop a form of ritualized friendship. These codified (business) relationships are subject to a strict code of behavior implying courtesy and certain responsibilities which have to be accepted without question. It is possible for these to develop further into *compadrazgo* relationships which entail even more rights and responsibilities (cf. Thord-Gray 1955:303; Meyer Levi 1993:483).

(4) The ideal of demarcation against influences from either side is put to the test in everyday life. The example of ethnic endogamy shows that the ideal does not always correspond to actual behavior. Interethnic marriages—rejected by both sides in theory—are increasingly common in practice:

“... although ethnic boundaries often become blurred in this life, they are symbolically straightened out in afterlife ... Though Rarámuri realize they are often connected to Chabochoi in practice, ideologically they wish to distance themselves from them” (Meyer Levi 1993:421).

(5) European-style sexism finds its way into Tarahumara society (or Tarahumara women are confronted with it on leaving their traditional surroundings) through the Spanish administrative system imposed during the colonial period, as well as the patriarchal

structures connected to the ascending hierarchy of the nation state.

Tarahumara women attempting to pursue a Western career or education and engage in activities outside their traditional social environment are bound to clash with the sexism of the Mexican majority culture. They experience a double discrimination as members of the “inferior” category “Indios” and as members of the category “women.” Tarahumara women experience marginalization as a result of the exercise of such hierarchical and sexist influences, stemming from a system that is imposed from outside and male-dominated above and which increasingly pushes them to the periphery of society. On the symbolic level the attempt is made to weaken them and make them invisible, while in social reality the opportunities for earning a living are limited and poorly rewarded.

Summary

Tarahumara

Flight (in the sense of inner and outer retreat) instead of attack is the preferred Tarahumara strategy of conflict resolution. Non-violence works through stigmatizing certain aggressive traits of character and by emphasizing other non-aggressive attributes that are significant for attaining prestige within the community.

Coding of violence-avoidance interacts directly with the construction of ethnic/cultural identity. Much of the boundary maintenance against the Mestizo majority is achieved by means of unambiguous classifications. Next to such external criteria of ethnicity as appearance, language/speech-patterns, and religion, however, certain internal ethnic markers also play an important role: Notions such as the concept of “Right Thinking” as a basis for conflict-avoidance strategies are not immediately comprehensible for “outsiders” and classifiable by strangers. Agreement is the common factor by means of which members of a group as such mutually recognize one another (cf. Kummels 1996:320ff.).

Special beliefs deeply embedded in the value system likewise reinforce the avoidance of violence: Helpful entities stand in opposition to elements causing damage and doing evil. The in-group is portrayed as peace-loving, the out-group as hostile. Outsiders are ugly, spiteful, violent, etc. Children are warned about strangers, above all as regards taking on or imitating their

behavior. Everyday activity is determined by the permanent orientation along the line of collective identity.

Characteristic for the Tarahumara/Mestizo relationship are the traditions portraying God and the Devil as powerful beings facing each other in hostility, but still nevertheless “somehow” reaching an understanding with each other and negotiating terms, for the simple reason that they both need and mutually condition each other.

Tarahumara believe violence to be the result of uncontrolled individual emotion. This belief renders (emotional and intellectual) dominance over others impossible. Social norms underline mature/personal autonomy and equality, reject material and emotional dependence, and promote social responsibility towards the needy. Ritualized politeness creates inner/outer spaces easing everyday dealings with others.

Further indicators contributing to non-violence in Tarahumara society are its minimal social stratification, balanced gender relations, and the opportunity to act out aggression in special context. Witchcraft acts as a regulative principle preventing the concentration of power in the hands of one or a few, and underlines compliance with the concept of “Right Thinking.”

The tried and trusted strategy of “resistant adaptation” will need to be combined with new organizational forms at the international level (environmental protection and human rights groups) to counteract the terror emanating from the drug mafias and the ecological destruction of their homeland. The priority is for self-determination in development projects ensuring protection of the main cultural assets, self-defense strategies against the drug mafia, and ecological land management.

The Mestizo Population

The ideal of violence emphasizes aggressive character traits and attributes that are significant for attaining status/prestige within the community. The importance of status competition is linked to a strict hierarchy within the cartels and a tendency towards social stratification in Mestizo society. The *valiente* personifies the ideal of violence and is intimately connected to *rancho* culture.

“The rancho formed an exuberant antidote to the paternalism, classism, and fatalism that so often seem the dominant themes of Mexican society. It was a place, however forbid-

ding, where a simple man could reinvent himself, where he was his own master, where life was basic and thus easy to understand, where he handled his own problems and didn’t have to go hat in hand to any mayor or lawyer” (Quinones 2001:252).

Further indicators expressing the violence of the *ranchera* culture include the concept of *machismo* which determines the construction of masculinity and produces clearly defined male roles and stereotypes, such as the folk and cultural hero.

Identity in the borderland—now defined by the boundary between the Mexican and U.S. nation states—has its deep cultural and linguistic roots in an ancient tradition of the North American Southwest stretching back thousands of years (cf. Feest 1998:14). The trauma of the artificially drawn (national) boundary and of the lost territories has led among Mestizos to a resurgence of the dream of a reunified country; the frontier, after all, has also been a unified cultural space (cowboy culture/*charrería*) for the Mestizo population since the time of the conquest. The demarcation lines arbitrarily drawn in the nineteenth century have created a cultural, economic, and social hiatus in the region.

Frontera people, who are offended by the artificially drawn border, think that history needs to be “rethought” and “rewritten.” Reunification as an ideal is achieved at the mental level by the construct of a unifying cross-border identity based on a concept of violence and hierarchy. The logical consequence of such a vision is to issue a challenge to the cultural antagonists to step up according to rank. An affirmative self-image can establish itself. *Rancho* culture has made it possible for the *valiente* to reinvent himself, and today it is the *narcocultura* which is allowing the Mestizos to redefine their Mexican identity.

The *corridos* bring people together. Like Mexican history itself they are resilient, able to cross borders and communicate the meaning of the emerging, “aggressive” and identity-conveying *narcocultura* for the *frontera* society which has rediscovered its Hispanic roots in Los Angeles of all places and is rejoining the old cultural traditions of Mexico. Drug ballads, however, are neither the official organ/ voice of organized crime/the cartel bosses or yearning ballads of searching for and finding identity; none of these approaches alone is far-reaching enough. Indeed they are rather expressions of a much broader spectrum of multifac-

eted issues and of differently lived realities.

Conclusion

The cognitive-emotive perspective implies that structures and processes—and consequently conflicts and wars as well—are to be understood as the result of human activities, which in turn are ruled by cognition and emotion. Therefore people organize their societies according to certain convictions, which are generally expressed in their political constitutions or in their interpretive model of the world. This latter allows members of a culture to find their way in their most important relationships in life, functioning as a model for members of the community to identify themselves and others. Among other things ideologies, norms, and regulatory principles act to transport those beliefs and images which underlie the interpretive model of the world (see Mader 1994, 2001). Within the context of conflicts and wars ideologies function as legitimating constructs for outbreaks of violence or the use of violence. As noted above they operate at the level where people are conscious of belonging together, and they offer ways of identification (cf. Elwert et al. 1999:19).

Looking at identity as a theoretical construct then the focus is on the words and images that characterize group affiliation. Naming is an expression of self-definition and (ethnic) identity, or of disparagement/exclusion of the “other”; it is not merely a matter of terms, but rather of the underlying images that represent a specific world-view.

Ideologies create images of the foe based on stereotyping (cf. Orywal 1996b:38). But the murderous potential inherent in such images of the foe unfolds only in the context of the readiness to use violence and of violent ideologies. Both Tarahumara and Mestizos have constructed images of the foe, but only in Mestizo society, i.e., in combination with a pervasive ideology of violence, do they become a model for using violence. With the Tarahumara on the other hand they function rather as a deterrent against the use of violence (“don’t become like that, don’t wish to be like the enemy, the *chabochi*”).

Comparing gender roles among the Mestizos and the Tarahumara refers us to the interrelation between gender ideologies and the emergence of violence and the readiness to use vio-

lence. Conflicts potentially leading to violence are necessarily preceded by processes of community building in which "ethnicity" and "gender" take on a considerable meaning. In dealing with conflicts the gender and ethnic identity constructs of the participants are of definitive relevance. They are reflected in, i.a., the cultural legitimation of the use of violence, the symbolic configuration of the conflicting parties, and the gender specific role allocation in the course of the conflict. The question of which gender discourse asserts itself in which contexts is not only important for dealing with and working through conflicts, but also illuminates the gender relations in the respective society.

As the analysis of the Mestizo *narcocultura* has shown, people pursue certain objectives, if they are organized as a society that is ready to use force. The aims which are sung of so highly in the *narcocorridos*, such as attainment of economic and political power in combination with both individual and collective social status and an affirmative self-image, are formulated by society through its representatives and accepted by its members.

The legitimation of violence is based on the very results which are derived from it. If using violence guarantees that a desired result can be achieved when interests are to be defended, and it becomes the survival strategy of the group, there will exist no need for the group to alter this strategy. Harmful consequences, however, indeed lead to a change in conflict resolution strategies and condition another way of dealing with violence—as a retrospective look at the history of the Tarahumara indicates. Avoiding conflict and war is above all practiced then, if a given cultural pattern combined with warlike struggles leads to the very existence of the ethnic group being threatened (cf. Ferguson 1990: 29). For this reason Tarahumara violence-avoiding culture obviously no longer regards warfare as a survival strategy. Conflict resolution strategies today are conceived non-violently.

Specific historical conditions thus have led to the emergence of the ideal of non-violence. This supports my contention that the "peaceful" Tarahumara should not be simply regarded as a community that is free from aggression and violence per se, but rather as a pacified ethnic group that recognizes an (alternative type of) survival strategy in the active avoidance of violence.

In summary, two factors may be

considered as relevant for the genesis of a given ideal of violence or non-violence in this area: (1) the peculiarities of the historical situation, and (2) the specific social structure, institutions and values (e.g., stratified/egalitarian society, different conceptions of masculinity/different gender constructs). Only in the combination of both factors is it possible for different social ideologies and conflict resolution strategies to arise.

REFERENCES CITED

Anzaldúa, Gloria

1990 La conciencia de la mestiza: Towards a New Consciousness. In: G. Anzaldúa (ed.), *Making Face, Making Soul. Creative and Critical Perspectives by Feminists of Color* (San Francisco, CA: Aunt Lute Books), 377–389.

Astorga, Luis

2002 Los corridos de traficantes de drogas en México y Colombia. <http://136.142.158.105/LASA97/astorga.pdf> (20 August 2002).

Baumhauer, Nikolaus

1987 *Die Entdeckung der Pueblo- und der Bisonjägerkultur im Südwesten*. Wyk auf Foehr: Verlag für Amerikanistik.

Bennholdt-Thomsen, Veronika

1998 Die normierte Frau im Entwicklungsdiskurs versus Vielfalt von Frauenleben. In: M. Kaller-Dietrich (ed.), *Recht auf Entwicklung?* (Atención! Jahrbuch des Österreichischen Lateinamerika-Instituts 1, Frankfurt am Main—Wien: Brandes & Apsel/Südwind), 65–80.

Bennholdt-Thomsen, Veronika and

Maria Mies

1997 *Eine Kuh für Hillary. Die Subsistenzperspektive*. München: Verlag Frauenoffensive.

Burr, Ramiro

2002 Struggles and success. <http://news.mysanantonio.com/story.cfm?xla=saen&xlb=840&xlc=497453&xld=640> (20 August 2002).

Clastres, Pierre

1994 *Archeology of Violence*. [1980]. New York, NY: Semiotext(e).

Deimel, Claus

1979 Die Missionierung der Tarahumara: "Plan de Gran Vision." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Frankfurt am Main.

1980 *Tarahumara. Indianer im Norden Mexikos*. Frankfurt am Main: Syndikat.

de la Torre, Arcelia

2002 La música popular como expresión de prácticas sociales: El caso del corrido de traficantes de estupefacientes en Sinaloa. http://www.uasnet.mx/iies/eventos/ponencias/mesa2/arcelia_de_la_torre.htm (20 August 2002).

Elwert, Georg, Stephan Feuchtwang,

Dieter Neubert

1999 The Dynamics of Collective Violence—An Introduction. In: G. Elwert, S. Feuchtwang, D. Neubert (eds.), *Dy-*

namics of Violence. Processes of Escalation and De-Escalation in Violent Group Conflicts (Sociologus, Supplement 1; Berlin: Duncker & Humblot), 9–34.

Feest, Christian F.

1998 *Beseelte Welten. Die Religionen der Indianer Nordamerikas*. Kleine Bibliothek der Religionen 9. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder.

Ferguson, R. B.

1990 Explaining War. In: J. Haas (ed.), *The Anthropology of War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 26–55.

Gingrich, Andre

1998 Ethnizität für die Praxis. In: K. R. Wernhart, W. Zips (eds.), *Ethnohistorie. Rekonstruktion und Kulturkritik. Eine Einführung* (Wien: Promedia), 99–111.

Heyman, Josiah McC.

2002 U.S. Immigration Officers of Mexican Ancestry as Mexican Americans, Citizens, and Immigration Police. *Current Anthropology* 43(3):479–507.

Hillerkuss, Thomas

1991 *Reorganisation und sozio-politische Dynamik der Tarahumares seit 1603/04*. Mundus Reihe Alt-Amerikanistik 5. Bonn: Holos Verlag

Irogoyen-Rascon, Fructuoso

1989 Psychiatric Disorders among the Tarahumara Indians of Northern Mexico. *Curare* 12(3/4):169–173.

Kellogg, Susan

1997 Parallelität der Geschlechter bei den Azteken im vorspanischen Mexiko. In: G. Völger (ed.), *Sie und Er. Frauenmacht und Männerherrschaft im Kulturvergleich* (Köln: Rautenstrauch-Joest-Museum), 1:263–268.

Kennedy, John G.

1996 *Tarahumara of The Sierra Madre. Survivors on the Canyon's Edge*. Pacific Grove, CA: Asimolar Press.

Kummels, Ingrid

1988 Schulerziehung für oder gegen indianische Ethnien? Die Rarámuri von Kaborachi und die Erziehungspolitik der mexikanischen Regierung. Ph.D. dissertation, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München.

1996 Vom Umgang mit Essen und der ethnischen Grenzziehung in Alltag und Politik: Vergleich zwischen einer ländlichen und einer städtischen Gemeinschaft von Rarámuri in Nordmexiko. In: S. Karlen, A. Wimmer (eds.): *"Integration und Transformation": Ethnische Gemeinschaften, Staat und Weltwirtschaft in Lateinamerika seit ca. 1850* (Stuttgart: Hans-Dieter Heinz), 311–328.

Lopez-Torres, Pilar

1998 "Yo Ya Trabaje Pa' Los Chuta." Presencia y manifestación del narcotráfico en la sierra Tarahumara. Thesis, E.N.A.H.; Mexico, DF.

Mader, Elke

2001 Nua—Weibliche Identität in Mythos und Gesellschaft der Shuar und Achuar (Ecuador/Peru). In: U. Davis Sulikowski et al. (eds.), *Körper, Religion und Macht. Sozialanthropologie der Geschlechterbeziehungen* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag).

Mader, Elke and Francisco Sharup'

1994 Indigene Naturpolitik. Kultur,

- Ökologie und territoriale Rechte in Ecuador. In: D. Cech, E. Mader, S. Reinberg (eds.), *Tierra—Indigene Völker, Umwelt und Recht* (Frankfurt am Main—Wien: Brandes & Apsel/Südwind).
- Merrill, William L.**
1988 *Raramuri Souls. Knowledge and Social Process in Northern Mexico*. Washington, DC—London: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- Meyer Levi, Jerome**
1993 Pillars of the Sky. The Genealogy of Ethnic Identity among the Rarámuri-Simaroni (Tarahumara-Gentiles) of Northwest México. Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.
- Nomikós, Yen Alexandra**
1999 *Tarahumara. Caminos Cruzados = Crossed Pathways*. México, DF: Grupo Desmos.
- O'Connor, Anne-Marie**
2002 Traditional Ballads in A New Key. www.holycross.edu/departments/soc/a...asite/carriecroucher/relatedarticles.html (20 August 2002).
- Orywal, Erwin**
1996a Krieg in den Köpfen: Ein Vorwort. In: E. Orywal, A. Rao, M. Bollig (eds.), *Krieg und Kampf. Die Gewalt in unseren Köpfen* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer), 7–12.
- 1996b Krieg und Frieden in den Wissenschaften. In: E. Orywal, A. Rao, M. Bollig (eds.), *Krieg und Kampf. Die Gewalt in unseren Köpfen* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer), 13–44.
- Otega, Tony**
2002 Viva Los Outlaws! <http://www.newtimesla.com/issues/2002-01-10/feature.html/print.html> (20 August 2002).
- Puchegger-Ebner, Evelyne**
2001a Kultische Nutzung von Mais. Die Tesgüinada der Tarahumara und ihre Bedeutung für die soziale Stellung der Frauen. In: D. Ingruber, M. Kaller-Dietrich (eds.), *Mais. Geschichte und Nutzung einer Kulturpflanze* (Frankfurt am Main—Wien: Brandes & Apsel/Südwind), 161–182.
- 2001b Das Bier der Götter. Die Tarahumara und die soziale Stellung der Frau. *Americas* 17(5/1), 7–56.
- Pummer, Richard**
1993 Ehre und Gewalt. Zur subkulturellen Legitimität gewaltsamen Verhaltens und Handelns an Beispielen aus Sizilien und Amerika. Thesis, Institut für Völkerkunde, Universität Wien.
- Quinones, Sam**
2001 *True Tales from another Mexico*. Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press.
- Rico, Maite**
1997 Ay, mi 'capo', no te rajes! *El País*, 23 November 1997.
- Sabbag, Robert**
2002 *Snowblind. A Brief Career in the Cocaine Trade*. [1976] Edinburgh: Canongate Books Ltd.
- Spicer, Edward H.**
1969 Northwest Mexico: Introduction. In: E. Z. Vogt (ed.), *Ethnology* (R. Wauchope, gen. ed.; Handbook of Middle American Indians 7–8; Austin, TX: University of Mexico Press), 8: 777–791.
- Thord-Gray, Iwan**
1955 *Tarahumara-English. English-Tarahumara Dictionary and an Introduction to Tarahumara Grammar*. Coral Gabels, FL: University of Miami Press.
- Wald, Elijah**
2001 *Narcocorrido*. New York, NY: HarperCollins.
- 2002 The Ballad of A Mexican Musical Tradition. www.holycross.edu/departments/soca...asite/carriecroucher/relatedarticles.html (20 August 2002).