

論文の英文要旨

論文題目	村落と都市の紐帯 —メキシコ、オアハカ州、サン・マルティン村のカルゴ・システム The Ties between Cities and a Peasant Community: The Cargo System in the village of San Martín Huamelulpan, State of Oaxaca, Mexico.
氏名	禪野 美帆 Miho ZENNO

Actually in the process of the urbanization and globalization, people have moved around more frequently than before. Such a tendency has been also reflected in the migration from so-called 'closed cooperate peasant communities' to cities. The objective of this dissertation is to describe ethnographically on a dynamic inter-relationship between a rural community, San Martín Huamelulpan, which is located in the Mixtec highland of Oaxaca State, and those who have migrated to Mexico City. The emigration from San Martín to cities has begun since the middle of the 1930's, and now about the 25 % of those who were born in San Martín lives in Mexico City.

In order to clarify the relationship between the community and their migrants in Mexico City, the *cargo* system, an autonomous civil-religious organization will be discussed. The *cargo* system is an institution that has made the community residents symbiotic in a 'closed way'. This study demonstrates how this institution has changed in a rural village, which generates many emigrants, being not any more spaciouly closed.

The causes of migration can be explained by several factors. (1) Cash money is indispensable now that their traditional agriculture is not able to allow them to earn enough money to sustain themselves. (2) There is psychological closeness of the rural residents to the city by constant inflows of information through the expansion of education and mass-communication system. (3) There is a development of transportation network around San Martín area. (4) There are many San Martín migrants, who can offer places to stay when new migrants arrive to the city. In addition, (5) the fact that Mixtec language has been lost and that all of the rural residents are using the Spanish makes the initiation of an urban life easier.

The relations between the migrants and San Martín are found not only at individual level, but also at institutional level, such as the Committee of Public Facilities (*Comité de Obras Materiales*), which was organized by the migrants to collect and donate money for the construction of infrastructure in San Martín.

The obligations of the *cargo* system in San Martín have been accomplished by household-heads, and consist of unpaid service in a civil office or sacrifice of paying economic burden to perform Catholic festivals. Recently, the number of *cargo* office has been multiplied as the number of the facilities has increased, such as the archeological museum, the public telephone booth, and the school's PTA. But there are also new tendencies. One is that there is a new type of *cargo* such as *Comité de Obras Materiales*, whose base is completely urban, although it maintains traditional aspects because their members are appointed by the municipal president, and their office consists of unpaid service for the community of origin. The other tendency is that the migrants in the urban area came to take charge of office in traditional *cargo* in San Martín such as *mayordomo* of Catholic festivals.

The reason why not only the rural residents but also the migrants come to participate in *cargo* system is the existence of morals of self-sacrifice, expressed in such a phrase 'we have to contribute to our village'. For the community members, the only way of escaping from the responsibility of *cargo* is to migrate to cities because one cannot refuse the appointment for the *cargo* office as long as he/she lives in the community. For the migrants, this means that one has to do 'something as a member of village' if he/she needs to be a 'member of *pueblo*' or to be recognized as such. This will be realized by becoming a member of *Comité de Obras Materiales*.

Thus, for the people of San Martín, the *cargo* system is a factor of excluding some members from the community. But it is at the same time a factor of uniting San Martín and the urban migrants in the sense that it allows those migrants who desire to become a village member to donate cash money, and that it offers the norms of village people to urban residents.

As a way of interpreting the commitment of the people in San Martín and their migrants in Mexico City to the *cargo* system, the framework of cultural, economic, and symbolic capital, conceptualized by Pierre Bourdieu, were used. Only those who have inherited 'cultural capital' which emphasizes the moral of self-sacrificing for good of San Martín, and who give 'economic capital' to the village can gain 'symbolic capital' which is a prestige as a member of village.

Actually, the space for the people of San Martín is not any more closed. But their membership is closed in the sense that the people in San Martín identify, as a member of San Martín, only those who were born there or got married with them and those who sacrifice themselves for the good of village.

Although urbanization and the world economy affect San Martín, it has been able to

adapt itself to that process, transforming their *cargo* system not only without conflicts but also in a creative way. The author does not see this change as a decline of *cargo* system. This is because, through the change of *cargo*, more money comes into the village, and the religious festivals become more lavish, connecting the urban migrants to the village. When it is not uncommon to observe violent crimes or genocide in rural areas in Mexico, which were caused by factional strife for the use of the state and federal government's budget, the situation of San Martín seems to be a surprise. In San Martín, there is a fact that the people share the moral of sacrificing oneself for the good of the village, and the way of adapting oneself to the situation in which he/she uses it as cultural capital results in a surprisingly peaceful means.

The symbolic capital of San Martín exists only in the mind of the people of San Martín. At present, many of the urban migrants need to gain symbolic capital by serving for the village. As long as such a situation continues, the identity of San Martín will not be lost, and the village can adapt itself flexibly to the situation regardless of the process of urbanization and the world economy.