

Urban History Review Revue d'histoire urbaine

URBAN HISTORY REVIEW
REVUE D'HISTOIRE URBAINE

Logan, Kathleen. *Haciendo Pueblo: The Development of a Guadalupe Suburb*. University: The University of Alabama Press, 1984. Pp. xiv, 141. 3 maps, 15 black and white plates, index. \$16.00 (U.S.)

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Volume 14, Number 1, June 1985

URI: <https://id.erudit.org/iderudit/1017902ar>

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.7202/1017902ar>

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Publisher(s)

Urban History Review / Revue d'histoire urbaine

ISSN

0703-0428 (print)

1918-5138 (digital)

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Cite this review

Schryer, F. J. (1985). Review of [Logan, Kathleen. *Haciendo Pueblo: The Development of a Guadalupe Suburb*. University: The University of Alabama Press, 1984. Pp. xiv, 141. 3 maps, 15 black and white plates, index. \$16.00 (U.S.)]. *Urban History Review / Revue d'histoire urbaine*, 14(1), 90–91. <https://doi.org/10.7202/1017902ar>

neous population of about one-quarter to one-third bourgeois (predominantly rentiers, landowners and legal men) and the rest mainly artisans. The latter cannot be said to have been concentrated in any one occupation, except perhaps for the building trades. This was unlike the situation in the nearby Saint-Antoine quarter where, if we are to believe R.M. Andrews, the preponderance and structure of the furniture and related trades created a solidarity of habit, dependence and interest between the local artisans and the wealthy master-craftsmen of the section. When the chance came, these characteristics made it easier to build a local Jacobin political machine there. Though Professor Slavin does not suggest this, it is possible that the more heterogeneous social mix in Droits-de-l'Homme hampered similar developments, making the section on the one hand more turbulent and accessible to fringe politicians like Varlet, but on the other, more fragile and susceptible to takeovers from the left or the right. In Droits-de-l'Homme, Professor Slavin interprets the influx of younger artisans into the revolutionary committees in 1793-4 as a sign of the retreat of the properties, wealthier and employing classes from power. But there were still some pretty solid citizens in power, even on the local revolutionary committee, dominated by two jewelers, one merchant-jeweler, a *traiteur*, a building contractor (*maçon entrepreneur*), a surgeon-dentist, etc. Might not the composition of the revolutionary committee in 1793-4 bear witness, not to a takeover from below, but to a similar but more timid attempt at a coalition of employers and dependent artisans under the banner of *sans-culottism* as was found in Saint-Antoine; its aim, to oust the legal and rentier élites which predominated before 1792?

And what of the role of plain fear in generating revolutionary conformity? Given what was going on at the nearby Commune and in some of the neighbouring sections, it is no surprise to find that Droits-de-l'Homme was the sort of neighbourhood where quick footwork was the supreme civic virtue. In this, it might be added, Droits-de-l'Homme was less anomalous than it might seem. Even the Gravilliers section, to the north-west, famous as the home grounds of the arch-*enragé* Jacques Roux, proved as fickle to its martyr-hero as Droits-de-l'Homme was to Varlet. On 25 June 1793, the activists in Roux's section assembly had unanimously backed his truculent rebuke to the Jacobin-dominated Convention for failing to guarantee the poor a proper food supply. Only a few days later, at the urging of Danton's man, Léonard Bourdon, the section meeting denounced his initiative; they could take a hint. But Professor Slavin's ward politicians are above such considerations: they are the sort who "embrace the peoples' cause" (p. 83); they are mightily impressed, we are told, by the Feast of Reason in Notre-Dame because "the minutes of the assembly, read in the Commune" say so (p. 358).

Without denying the need to take account of genuine revolutionary idealism and naiveté, it might be suggested that to account properly for the often anomalous behaviour of

this and other sections would have required a willingness to treat revolutionary rhetoric, and ritual protestations of poverty and revolutionary purity with more scepticism than is shown here. It would also demand a more flexible prosopographical method — and a documentation which in this case was perhaps not available — linking the study of the individual revolutionary personnel not only to their general social milieu but also to the networks of parentage and clientele in which eighteenth-century people moved.

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Haciendo Pueblo ('Building a Community') is a monograph dealing with the development of a lower income Mexican suburb called Sta. Cecilia with special emphasis on the position and political actions of women. Logan examines the history, economic life and social organization of this new settlement established on the outskirts of Guadalajara in 1968 and compares it with other low income neighbourhoods or "slum" areas of other large Latin American cities. Special attention is paid to how the inhabitants of Sta. Cecilia have attempted and partially succeeded in overcoming the problems associated with building their own community (both as a physical site and a network of human interaction), making a living in an urban context and solving such problems as severe water shortages and inadequate government services.

Haciendo Pueblo's introductory chapter describes the process of urbanization in Latin America in general, including its numerous squatter settlements. Chapter two describes how the suburb of Sta. Cecilia grew up on the outskirts of Guadalajara in the wider context of the development of modern Mexico. This is followed by a more detailed treatment of the economy, social life and the two institutions that are the most influential in Sta. Cecilia — the municipal government of Guadalajara and the Catholic Church. The last section of the book analyzes the role of a well-funded community development agency called *Accion Comunidad* originally founded by a group of architecture students and subsequently administered by young professionals of middle class background.

The author, who spent more than two years living in the community under investigation, makes a number of observations which reinforce the findings of previous studies of

urban Latin America. For example, contrary to the stereotypes held by both upper class Mexicans and many foreign observers, settlements such as Sta. Cecilia are not homogeneously poor areas, characterized by high crime rates, apathy and social disintegration. On the contrary, many migrants to such new urban settlements are already second-generation urban dwellers; those who have come from the countryside maintain close ties with their villages of origin; and there are significant differences in levels of income and type of occupation. What gives the impression of homogeneity is that, despite differences in standards of living and economic class, residents of such "slums" share a common set of cultural values and living arrangements that set them apart from both the "middle class" and the wealthy elites who live in the centre of Guadalajara or in other suburbs more closely resembling those of North America. This common culture, however, is a far cry from the "culture of poverty" depicted by Oscar Lewis. People in Sta. Cecilia are anxious to improve their lives, pool resources with relatives and close friends or neighbours and use a variety of strategies, including multiple jobs or a combination of employment and entrepreneurial activities in order to achieve their goals.

Apart from common features shared with other lower-income urban areas, Sta. Cecilia, like the City of Guadalajara itself, also has some unique attributes. One of these is the almost complete absence of squatter settlements resulting from mass invasions of vacant lots. Although Sta. Cecilians built their own houses, often in stages, they have all purchased their urban lots from urban land speculators who had previously invested their capital in buying land on the rural fringes of an expanding city and later sub-dividing this land in the form of *fraccionamientos*. The author ascribes this phenomenon to a combination of factors: the conservative nature of capitalists in Guadalajara who prefer investment in urban real estate to more risky capital ventures; a city administration that has severely suppressed any attempt at land invasions by squatters; and the more equitable distribution of privately-owned land in western Mexico which enables many rural emigrants to sell their own land in order to purchase such small urban lots. Although Logan refers to this as an example of how the private sector can provide alternative low-cost housing, she also points out how these land speculators skimp on expenditures on infrastructural improvements. For example, the urban plots are surveyed and laid out without any regard to the natural contours of the lands, resulting in such problems as improper drainage, and hillside lots that are too small. They then finance further infrastructural improvements, such as sewer construction and paved streets from the sale of their land, usually resulting in long delays in the installations of services that were theoretically supposed to be available before the first settlers arrived.

While the land speculators and the municipal government of Guadalajara are subjects of some criticism, Logan rightfully directs most of her wrath towards the male-dom-

inated rural development agency that set up shop in Sta. Cecilia. She shows how most of their projects failed, despite the good intentions of their administrators, because they held a set of incorrect assumptions about the community they wished to serve. Such assumptions reflected the upper middle class stereotypes already referred to above. Moreover, they completely failed to appreciate the important public role played by the women of Sta. Cecilia in organizing demonstrations and protests in order to pressure the local government to provide them with water and adequate services. Ironically, the women's discussion groups which later turned into a politically influential organization, completely run by local women, were originally set up by several female members of the community development agency. Nevertheless, despite their success, the male leaders of *Accion Comundad* still refused to recognize the social importance of such women's groups and continued to deny any legitimacy to the activities and suggestions of their own female co-workers.

In addition to the topics already discussed, this monograph looks at the influence of the new theology of liberation and the activities of a group of Jesuit priests and nuns who have set up residence in one of the main streets of Sta. Cecilia (in contrast to the more traditional clergy who live in luxurious quarters next to the huge church that was also built by the original developers). She also analyzes the function of Catholic festivals in uniting and creating a community identity. It should be noted, however, that in referring to the sponsorship of these fiestas by better-off Sta. Cecilians, Logan argues that such expenditures do not necessarily blur wealth differences as they would in traditional rural village. This statement indicates that she may be unaware that anthropologists working in rural Mexico have started to question whether the sponsorship of such fiestas by wealthier people even in seemingly traditional rural areas, really act as "levelling mechanisms" in the countryside. One of the functions of such festivals in Sta. Cecilia, as elsewhere, is the legitimization or masking of significant differences in income and possibly even some internal exploitation!

My only minor disappointment with this otherwise excellent book, stems from Logan's failure to put this case study within a more critical framework of political economy. Many anthropologists and other social scientists have questioned the viability of the "Mexican path of development," based on an import substitution type of industrial development and a land reform policy which largely serves to maintain political stability rather than enhance rural development.

Logan is well aware that increasing unemployment, the further expansion of metropolitan Guadalajara and the failure to provide adequate public transportation, could lead to increasing misery among the lower segments of the urban population which would in turn result in land invasions and a more chaotic type of urban development even in Guada-

lajara. Unlike the author of *Haciendo Pueblo*, I am less optimistic about the prospects of avoiding such developments with the coming to power in 1982 of a new administration with a more technocratic background.

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