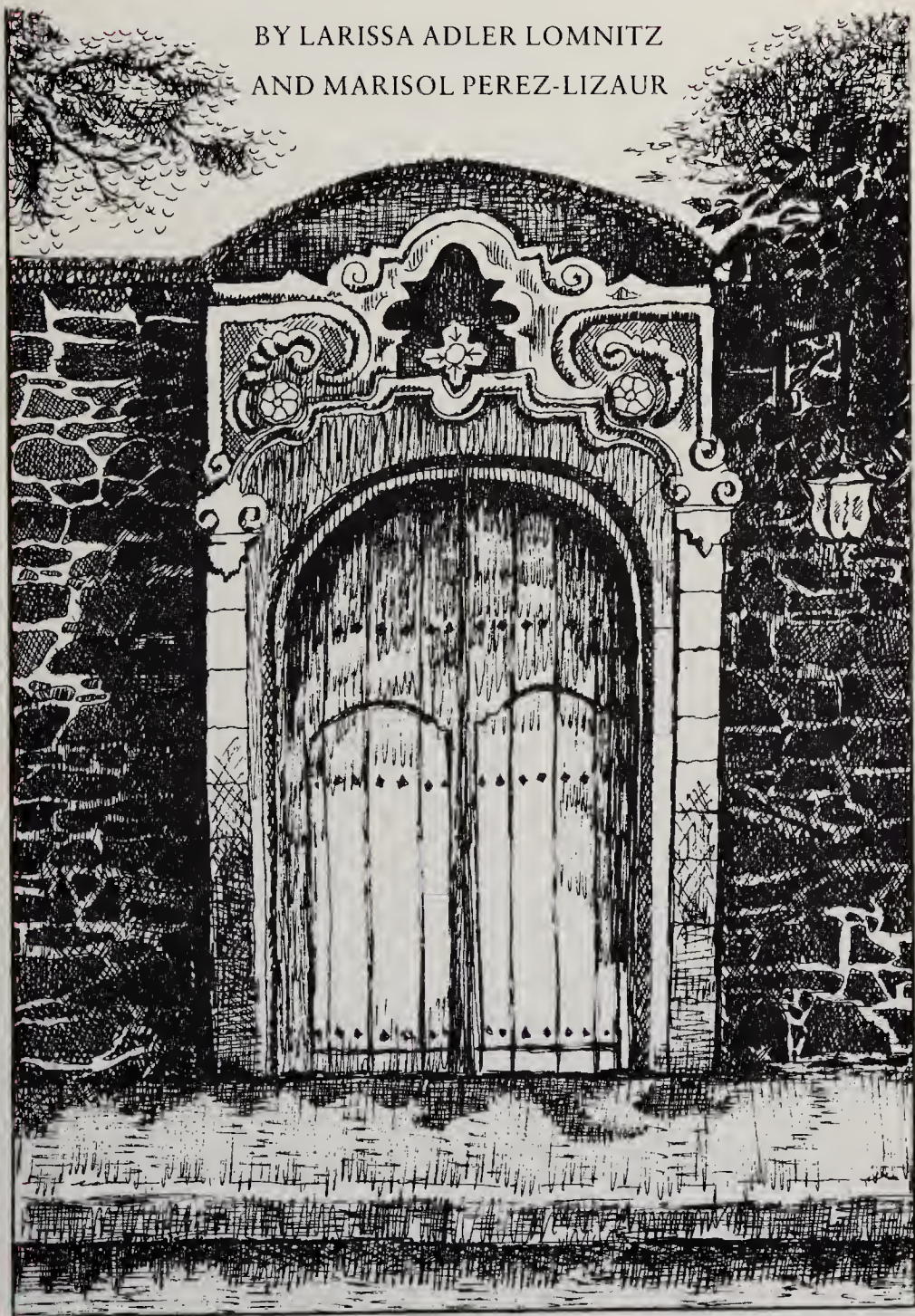


A Mexican Elite Family 1820-1980

BY LARISSA ADLER LOMNITZ

AND MARISOL PEREZ-LIZAUR



A Mexican Elite Family,

1820-1980: Kinship, Class, and Culture

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To the memory of my mother,
Noemi Lisa Milstein de Adler (1910-1976),
who gave me the strength to face life
with optimism

Larissa Adler Lomnitz

To the memory of Angel Palerm,
teacher and friend

Marisol Pérez-Lizaur

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PREFACE

WE BEGAN to gather the data for this book in 1971, without a specific project in mind, when we were both students working on different dissertations. Eventually an opportunity for a detailed study of the Gómez family presented itself, and large amounts of data were collected. Our initial contact, a young woman in her twenties, became our key informant. Although she protested that her knowledge of the family was inadequate, she produced a family genealogy of about three hundred names at one sitting. To her surprise, she was aware of the biographical details (names, parents, education, residence, business activities, personal description) of at least two hundred relatives. Gaps in the kinship information of our informant were not randomly distributed: rather, whole branches of the family seemed to have disappeared from her cognitive map. These missing branches either did not reside in Mexico City or belonged to “poor” or “black sheep” segments of the family.

Several years went by. We accumulated an amazingly extensive body of data: recorded interviews, gossip, parish records, archival material, newspaper clippings, and assorted references in the sociological or economic literature. Our most productive interviews were those with “centralizing women,” self-appointed keepers of the oral traditions of the family network. Younger entrepreneurs were helpful as well, and participant observation also became a most useful method of research as access to family events was gained.

Most of our informants belonged to the wealthier branches of the Gómez family. As a result, our information on these branches is more abundant. Moreover, the ideology of this dominant group may be reflected to some extent in the ethnographic data. All data, particularly on the history of the family, have been subjected to independent checks as far as possible, but it should be remembered that the family myths still impinge on the selection of relevant actors or events and that the

ideological bias of the informants cannot always be completely excluded.

In the process of our research we evolved in our way of thinking. We had started out with an economic perspective; but as we gained new insights into the family subculture we shifted our ground of discussion from process to structure and from micro- to macroanalysis. A painful, slow method, to be sure—but one that enabled us to grow closer to our subject and to evolve jointly with our material.

In the chapters that follow, family members are identified as (R,ii), where R is a Roman numeral from I to v identifying the generation and ii is an Arabic number. Affines are designated by e' (first spouse) or e'' (second spouse), followed by the identification number of the family member. A list of family members will be found in the appendix. All names of persons and firms are fictitious. Because of promises of anonymity that have been made, more specific information about family enterprises could not be given.

THE PRESENTATION of our research in book form was made possible by a Guggenheim Fellowship awarded to one of us (Larissa Lomnitz). Thanks are due to Professor Cinna Lomnitz for translating the Spanish original into English and for offering helpful editorial suggestions; to Professors Guillermo de la Peña, Nelson Graburn, Robert Kemper, Claudio Lomnitz, Hugo Nutini, Raymond Smith, Eric Wolf, and Peter Worsley for critically reading all or part of the manuscript; to Alicia Castillo for her patient and efficient assistance in producing many successive typed versions; to María Elena Ducci and Agustín Piña for assistance with the figures; and to countless colleagues for their comments and encouragement at meetings where part of this research was presented. We also want to thank Cinna Lomnitz and Manuel Burgos for their support.

Last but not least, we wish to thank the Gómez for their generous help, and for being themselves: a vital presence on the complex Mexican scene.

CHRONOLOGY

DATE	MEXICO	THE GÓMEZ FAMILY
1867-1872	Liberal party wins power; Benito Juárez becomes president; reform legislation put into effect.	Don Carlos Gómez (I,3), farmer and village trader, living in Puebla
1872	Beginning of the age of Porfirio Díaz and political stability	
1875		Don Carlos dies
1880		His son Leopoldo (II,16) moves to Mexico City as his cousin's employee
1910	Mexican Revolution breaks out	Leopoldo now a major entrepreneur; his brothers have all married
1917	New Mexican constitution proclaimed	
1921	Armed conflict subsides in Mexico	Leopoldo reemerges as medium-sized entrepreneur
1925		Deaths of Leopoldo and Mamá Inés (I,e"3)
1926	The Cristero uprising; religious persecution in Mexico	Pablo (III,51) and Leopoldo Jr. (III,50) take over family leadership
1928	Founding of the PNR; social peace, nationalism, and development	Cecilia (II,21) dies; third generation in control
1934-1940	Cárdenas administration; nationalism with socialistic overtones	Economic and social rise of Pablo

CHRONOLOGY

1940-1946	Government support of private business; "import substitution" policy	Pablo now a major entrepreneur; diversification and proliferation of investments by Pablo, Leopoldo Jr., and their cousin Pedro (III,72)
1946-1952	Alliance between business and the state; the "Mexican miracle"	
1952-1958	Beginning of a "new deal" for the working class; state also resumes negotiations with the industrialists	Death of Pablo; Pedro assumes family leadership; Leopoldo Jr. creates an industrial consortium
1958-1964	State is central planner and economic arbiter; development of new corporations; invasion of foreign capital	Fourth generation in control; marriage alliances with major capital; involvement with real estate and housing development
1964-1970	Peak of state-business alliance; foreign corporations are invited in; rise of finance corporations	Consolidation of younger family leaders; Leopoldo Jr. now family patriarch; modernization of family enterprise
1970-1976	Economic crisis; business in opposition to government; state attempts to correct socioeconomic imbalances	Some loss of confidence in the economy; flight of capital; family leaders are economically secure but now comparatively less prominent in the Mexican business world

ABBREVIATIONS

CANACINTRA	Cámara Nacional de la Industria de la Transformación (National Chamber of Industry and Transformation)
CONAPO	Consejo Nacional de Población (National Demographic Council)
CCE	Consejo Coordinador Empresarial (Entrepreneurial Coordinating Council)
CONCAMIN	Confederación Nacional de Cámaras Industriales (National Confederation of Industrialists)
CONCANACO	Confederación Nacional de Cámaras de Comercio (National Confederation of Chambers of Commerce)
CROM	Confederación Regional de Obreros Mexicanos (Regional Confederation of Mexican Workers)
CTM	Confederación de Trabajadores de México (Mexican Workers' Confederation)
NAFINSA	Nacional Financiera S.A. (National Financial Banks S.A.)
PNR	Partido Nacional Revolucionario (National Revolutionary Party)
PRI	Partido Revolucionario Institucional (Institutional Revolutionary Party)

A Mexican Elite Family, 1820-1980

INTRODUCTION

THIS IS a study of the Gómez, an elite family of Mexico City. In the sense that the development of a kinship group is traced over a period of 160 years (1820-1980), this is a family history. Because this family is also a significant entrepreneurial group, one that has contributed to the development of modern Mexico through its involvement in the process of industrialization, this work must also take account of economic, political, and cultural history.

A basic question among social scientists concerns the relationship between the macrosocial level of analysis and the lives of real people. Two approaches are possible. On the one hand, one can ask how the lives of specific individuals have been affected by the history, economy, and culture of their society. On the other hand, one can investigate the influence of individuals or small groups on history and on society in general. We hold to the middle ground between the individualistic view that history is the outcome of the thoughts and actions of individuals and the deterministic concept of historical forces as prime movers. People live within a given historical, social, and cultural context. Decisions are made within this context, and individuals adopt different life styles and act in different ways.

Every group is distinctive in its cultural flavor, its mythology, its rituals and customs, and its position within the social structure. Distinctiveness means that members of a family or social group share an ideology and a corpus of traditions that set them apart from others. From this they derive a sense of belonging that implies the exclusion of outsiders with whom they may otherwise share a broad cultural system of nation, class, or locality. If everything were predetermined by social structure and by macrohistory, no significant variations among groups would occur within a social stratum. On the other hand, the sociocultural context is obviously essential to the understanding of individual actions and the evolution of social groups.

The constant interplay between these levels of analysis is a central preoccupation here. We have tried to take the facts of a specific family history and develop a sociologically valid text by placing this material—events, characters, traits, and opinions that might be trivial by themselves—into the context of place, period, social structure, culture, class, and national history.

The family history of the Gómez between 1820 and 1980 will be compared with Mexican history in three distinct periods: up to 1910, with special emphasis on the Porfiriato, a period that includes the appearance of the first family entrepreneur as well as the expansion of industrialization; from 1910 through 1950, particularly the postrevolutionary period of national reconstruction that established and consolidated the prevailing social structure and led up to the years of the “Mexican Miracle”; and the postwar years, which have seen the emergence of multinational corporations, high-technology industrial development, and the increasing role of the state in the economy.

This broader context provides a setting for the events in the Gómez family history: its rural origins and migration to Mexico City; the rise of the first family entrepreneur; the interlude of revolution; the divergent styles of the two sons, heirs to the enterprise; the rise to power and the numerical growth of the family; the stratification into family branches; and the response of the fourth generation of entrepreneurs to the challenge of the business corporations of the 1970s.

The Gómez belong to a little-studied stratum of Mexican society, the national bourgeoisie. This is not the bourgeoisie of *criollo* origin, descended from Spanish colonial landowners or mineowners. Rather, the Gómez were small merchants who later became industrialists and finally, not for profit but for prestige, landowners and ranchers. This evolution seems reminiscent of the rise of the classical industrial bourgeoisie in Europe, except that the pattern is far from uniform. Some individuals in the family seized historical opportunities; others merely followed in their footsteps. We shall describe the fortunes of nine siblings who founded distinctly different family

branches and whose heirs include major industrialists, liberal professionals, and small businessmen—each group occupying a different social position in Mexico today.

Despite economic differences arising from stratification, all members of the Gómez family identify with the private sector of the Mexican political system. This sector is officially defined as comprising the owners of the means of production (e.g., industrialists, bankers), private businessmen, merchants, liberal professionals in private practice, and the white-collar employees of private business. Like the rest of Mexican society, the private sector is organized along hierarchical lines, with the major industrial and financial “groups” at the top. Among the Gómez, we find entrepreneurs who act as patrons of other members of the family; the result is a complex web of interdependent enterprises. The analysis of these levels of interaction will enable a better understanding of the relation between individuals and class politics. Above all, we must account for the salient fact that despite economic differentiation, the cohesion and solidarity of the family has been maintained.

In a different sense, this book is also a “cultural account.” Kinship, rituals, and ideology are central to the cultural system of any social group. Generations of the Gómez attest to the vital role of a specific kinship pattern: the three-generation “grandfamily.” This kinship pattern is not only the prescribed unit of solidarity among the Gómez but represents the predominant feature of the kinship system in Mexico and perhaps in all of Latin America. Of course it is important and useful to distinguish between a broad cultural pattern (or “grammar”) of kinship and its specific realizations (or “speech”), such as the formation of households or outward expressions of solidarity. These depend on class, economy, demography, and local conditions—for example, the availability of housing. Cultural variants are produced by selection from the macro-cultural pool. The Gómez emerge as a distinctive social group with specific cultural traits, which eventually revert to the national culture as an original contribution to what it means to be “Mexican.” The three-generation grandfamily pattern that the Gómez have in common with the rest of Mexican society

largely accounts for the cultural distinctiveness of their family life as compared with that of Anglo-Saxon societies like Britain and the United States.

If we examine the ideology and the rituals of the Gómez, we see that their distinctive cultural aspects have evolved from a pool of traits shared with the rest of Mexican society. The principal Gómez rituals (weddings, funerals, christenings, and so forth) are observed by all Mexicans in broadly similar ways; yet this particular kinship group has developed nuances, variations, styles of observance, and public postures that identify its members as specifically *Gómez*. Most of the rituals are derived from the traditions of Mexican Catholicism; the variations include secular rituals or "customs" that sometimes are class-bound and sometimes seem to be entirely original to the Gómez.

The family ideology is a hodgepodge of original and borrowed elements. Some pertain to Mexican history as interpreted from a specific class position; others derive from the values of the landed gentry that was once the dominant class in Mexico. These values both clash and merge with the "Protestant ethic" of the new bourgeoisie: thrift versus conspicuous consumption, hard work versus gentlemanly leisure, and so on. Another area of ideological tension concerns ethnicity: the superiority attributed to white skin, blue eyes, and blond hair is confronted by the fact that the most revered female ancestor of the family was an Indian.

If Catholicism is recognized as the mainspring of family ideology in matters of family roles, sex roles, and the relation between individual and society, it must be added that the Catholic doctrine is also interpreted and modified from the perspective of the dominant class. The same can be said for Mexican nationalism. There are slight but nevertheless significant variations in Catholicism and nationalism from one branch of the family to another, and even from one grandfamily to another. The Gómez ideology contains enough contradictory features to allow the expression of individual and subgroup variations without danger to family solidarity.

The value system of the Gómez may be loosely described as

"Mediterranean corporativism." It affirms the priority of family over individual, group interest over personal freedom, and solidarity over development of self. Relations within the home or the business are patterned after Catholic models, and patron-client relations permeate both family and enterprise, which in fact are frequently merged into one.

The history of the Gómez kinship group may also be analyzed in terms of its evolution in urban space. The beginning of recognized family history is a rural-urban migration episode, and since 1880 the group has developed exclusively in Mexico City. Successive moves within the expanding urban limits define the type of household and the patterns of kin interaction that may be observed today. Neighborhoods rise and decline within decades, and the fortunes of each Gómez branch follow the trends of real estate values and the whims of fashion. Those who can afford it live in three-generational residential clusters, which are expressions of the powerful ideal kinship pattern that lies at the heart of the Gómez ideology.

Structure and Process

The material presented here is of a historical nature. We describe a process in time—the development of a kinship group over five generations. But at the same time we attempt to define a segment of social reality: what is constant and what is subject to change, what is essential and what is particular or circumstantial. In each chapter an effort is made to discuss change and continuity; yet each theme has its own particular dynamic of change.

Rituals represent a relatively stable aspect of group culture, but even rituals change gradually in time. Economy and ideology evolve more apace, depending on external factors, but a careful scrutiny of these aspects of social life uncovers a basic pattern that endures. The kinship pattern remains stable, but this stability only emerges if one observes the full three-generation cycle as it develops over 150 years of family history.

Our central thesis is the preeminence of the grandfamily (i.e., the three-generation extended family) as the basic meaningful unit of solidarity in Mexico. This structure is actively

maintained through time. Yet some of its expressions are subject to change: the household is constituted differently according to economic imperatives, for example, and the concrete expressions of kin solidarity depend on social and economic status (or on changing perceptions of what is seen as a meaningful demonstration of solidarity). Thus shantytown dwellers in Mexico City will express kin solidarity by the constant exchange of material goods and personal services; this requires close residential proximity, usually in extended family households where exchange can be maximized (Lomnitz 1977, 100-116). Among the middle- to upper-class Gómez, on the other hand, solidarity is expressed by participation in family rituals, business deals, jobs, and contracts. Nuclear families occupy separate households and daily exchange of food and personal services is not required, even though the basic unit of solidarity remains the three-generation unit of grandparents, children and their respective spouses, and grandchildren. Consanguinity is emphasized over affinity. Only after the elderly couple has died (and by that time the grandfamily may already include four generations) does segmentation take place. Even segmentation does not always imply a decrease in solidarity, because if siblings of the deceased grandparents are still alive, they are members of the now-truncated grandfamily of the previous generation.

It takes some effort to rid oneself of ingrained misconceptions. The nuclear family does not somehow represent a more "basic" unit of solidarity than the grandfamily. It makes sense to introduce a distinction between the family as a conceptual unit of meaning in the symbolic system and as the basis of the physical arrangements of the household. The latter may be more visible on the surface; the grandfamily takes forty to fifty years to unfold and complete a cycle of generational segmentation. It is a process *and* a structure at the same time.

Historical events, class differentiation, ecological constraints, and even cultural and ideological influences lumped together under the broad description of "modernization" produce changes in the outward expressions of kinship arrangements (households) or in the expressions of kin solidarity (ex-

change). The definitions of meaningful interaction may be modified by technological change, such as the use of the telephone as a handy means of communication in the urban setting. But continuity is maintained in the basic structure of the kinship system: the people included, the definitions of rights and obligations, and the meaning of kinship roles remain valid for all members of the group.

We have found that kinship occupies the focal point of confluence between continuity and change. Kinship unfolds and expresses itself under myriad aspects, but it maintains its identical structure through time. It completes a statement and starts over again; it is cyclical.

The continuity of kinship structure is upheld by ritual. In their essence and almost by definition, rituals should be stable. Their repetition is designed to sustain symbols through the ages. The relation between ritual and kinship is evident from the fact that the grandfamily must participate jointly in all rituals. Furthermore, interactions among different grandfamilies and among groups or strata within the larger kinship network are also expressed by rituals. Variations result in "styles" particular to each group. Rituals are arenas not only of solidarity but also of conflict. They open a window to change within continuity; thus they can ensure the permanence of kinship bonds beyond the life spans of individual kin.

Ideology is one's set of ideas, beliefs, and values about the world. The view held by the Gómez of themselves and their place in society is also an outcome of the interaction between continuity and change. The family creates history, and in so doing it makes up a historical account that is selectively contrived from the real events that occurred or did not occur in time. This "history" is transmitted orally in the family circle; it becomes the revealed truth about the family ancestry, its relevant heroes and villains, its self-image. It is a mythology.

A myth is not necessarily false. Rather, its truth or falsity is irrelevant. The gallery of family portraits becomes an idealized sequence of exemplary symbols, such as the archetypal founder, the essential grandmother, the perennial entrepreneur, the eternally devoted wife, or the black sheep par excel-

lence. The selection of personages and events is not random but ideological, in the sense that facts are subordinated to the transmission of values: pride of kin, loyalty, hard work, status, positive and negative moral judgments, and the values attached to physical attributes. Negative examples are used to underscore the undesirable features that must be avoided if one wishes to remain a member of the family. Thus oral history is not merely a storehouse of information about the family background; the sharing and acceptance of family history are what set family members apart from nonmembers. Bloodlines do not suffice to confer membership in the kinship group; it is necessary to supplement biological descent with a common history, a mythology, and shared pseudomemories that regulate daily conduct.

Continuity and change are manifest in myth, because myth evolves from actual group experience. It is not crystallized once and for all; rather, new events and new interpretations of old events are added all the time. One might say that the theme of a family's history represents ideological continuity and that the modifications introduced by the ups and downs of its fortunes constitute ideological change. A similar analysis may be made of other aspects of the ideological system. Certain behavior patterns have become associated with class-bound values. Patriarchal authority is justified on the basis of ancestry and calls for periodic displays of generosity and conspicuous consumption. Eventually, these values conflict and then merge with bourgeois values, for example, in the self-made man who rises in the world by sheer effort and thrift. Ethnic prejudices of the old landed gentry are tempered by the acceptance of "good" Indians who are clean, hard-working, and right-thinking like the family ancestor, Mamá Inés. The Gómez version of Mexican nationalism, a major component of the family ideology, may thus be viewed as resulting from ancestral pride, emphasizing the Spanish heritage of the family, plus acceptance of its Indian component, provided that this is properly domesticated and sanctified by religion, as in the myth of the Virgin of Guadalupe.

Other instances of continuity and change may be found in the Gómez views of modernization and religion. Changing

tenets of the Catholic church entail new attitudes, particularly among the younger generations, concerning education, women, birth control, and the roles of employers, workers, and the government. Such ideological changes are a source of stress among the generations; but eventually the new ideas are incorporated into the family ideology. They may not completely displace the older formations; rather, layers upon layers of ideological strata can coexist in an ideological complex. Contradictory elements within the family ideology may even be perceived as a strength rather than a weakness: tension between generations, branches, or individuals does not threaten family solidarity. In time the Gómez ideology takes on the appearance of a coherent body of beliefs and values, capable of dealing with every circumstance of an individual's life and with any historical situation the group may confront. Hence the strong feeling of identity that is shared by members of the Gómez kinship group.

The economy is the area of social life where changes are perhaps most readily detected. Each branch of the family is descended from an ancestor who differentiated himself or herself from the other siblings, thus determining the eventual class position of his or her branch. At present the social position of family members ranges over the classes or strata of urban Mexico that identify to a greater or lesser degree with the dominant sector. Gómez dominance has persisted in the face of family segmentation and class differentiation.

We shall describe how the Gómez enterprises evolved and how the Gómez entrepreneurs kept modifying their business strategies in order to stay afloat as members of the industrial elite. Yet there is also continuity in the structure of their businesses, which remain essentially family enterprises; in the importance of social networks in the economy; in the pattern of patron-client relationships; and in the general attitude of the entrepreneurs toward business as a means and a vehicle of family status rather than as an end in itself.

Economy and Meaning

A relatively recent tradition of anthropological thought is concerned with understanding the relationship between cul-

ture as a system of meanings on the one hand and the logic of economic rationality on the other. Sahlins (1976b) has attempted a critique of the idea that human cultures can be described or interpreted exclusively in terms of utilitarian or rational pursuits, that is, as adaptive formations aimed at survival. This controversy is relevant here because the Gómez kinship group is a distinct economic interest group with a particular subculture in Mexican urban society.

Sahlins argues that utilitarianism, including the Marxist view of social life as based on economics, is a peculiarly western, bourgeois viewpoint. By artificially segregating the economy from the rest of social life and endowing it with a kind of autonomy, "culture is organized in the final analysis by the material nature of things and cannot . . . transcend the reality structure manifested in production" (1976b, 207). This leads to the erroneous conclusion that material factors determine culture in a manner that is independent of human will and therefore more "real" than the symbolic system, which is supposed to adapt and yield to these material factors.

However, the practical effect of a material factor is not inherently given: rather, "the practical interest of men in production is symbolically constituted" (Sahlins 1976b, 207); it is a *cultural* datum. The problem of nature *versus* culture must not be seen as one determining the other; "rather the reverse: the action of nature unfolds in the terms of culture" (ibid., 209).

This study began as an analysis of the economy of a group, with the expectation of explaining the kinship system on the basis of the economy. Implicitly this approach was based on the western bourgeois, "practical" logic criticized by Sahlins. In other words, the phenomenon of family cohesion was to be "explained" by reference to the nature of the family enterprise, which requires close cooperation among trusted personnel such as can be found within the family circle. The economic importance of exchange of information among kin was to be stressed, the economic utility of belonging to a powerful kinship group was to be pointed out, and so on.

Yet the more we penetrated the social reality of the family,

the more we realized that this economic logic, though essentially correct, was neither unique nor decisive. There were instances in the economic arena, for example, in which key decisions ran directly counter to the principle of maximization of utility. Such decisions could not simply be dismissed as irrational: they obeyed a different logic, one that informants were able to supply.

We concluded that the Gómez entrepreneurs supported a large number of relatives, spent money on rituals, and kept idle personnel on their payrolls for reasons not based on economic gain. There had to be something else: a cultural imperative, a precept of noblesse oblige, a need to be a member of a group and to earn prestige within that group. We discovered that people wasted valuable resources and made decisions against economic sense in order to gain ascendancy or to satisfy cravings for family sentiment and a feeling of belonging. In some cases the enterprise was seriously jeopardized by these decisions: in the 1960s Gómez entrepreneurs refused to incorporate because of pride and similar cultural reasons, a collective decision that cost the family its rank and financial preeminence among the upper bourgeoisie of Mexico.

We gradually came to the realization that economic logic can be subordinated to a powerful logic of a different order. People want to make money, not because money is the key resource of the economic system but to prove their personal worth. The wealthy nurture relationships with poor relatives because of a positive connotation of generosity within the ideological context of the family and because it is also a way of expressing both their social origins and their subsequent progress. The meaningful element in business for these industrialists is status and personal power; capital is not valued in itself, but rather as a means of gaining status.

Gómez entrepreneurs resist forming conglomerates or "going public" because these decisions imply forfeiting individual power over their businesses. A corporate executive can no longer provide jobs for his nephews and nieces; he cannot withdraw capital for real estate deals or for a daughter's wedding. None of this makes business sense in a world that is being

overrun by multinational corporations. As a result of acting according to this cultural logic, some old-style Mexican industrialists go under and are bought out by the multinational corporations they had wanted to remain separate from. Yet the case of the Gómez family shows that there is no general rule whereby "cultural reasons" can be shown to predominate over "practical reasons" or vice versa. If business is seriously threatened by the persistence of a given cultural pattern, the young entrepreneurs find new ideologies that allow them to meet the challenge. Rules of solidarity are redefined continuously in order to preserve the basic kinship structure in the face of new and unexpected material conditions.

If humans are "bi-dimensional" creatures (Cohen 1974), power relations like those found in economy or in politics represent one dimension and symbolic actions (as in kinship, ritual, and ideology) represent another. Culture is the result of the interaction between economic forces and symbolic forces. Economic survival represents one important aspect of human life; identity, beliefs, and loyalties, another. Kinship bridges the gulf between macro- and microstructure. It occupies the focal point between continuity and change and it is the arena or battleground between economic forces and abstract values in human societies. The Gómez are not merely a group of industrial capitalists and their clients, members of the bourgeoisie in a dependent capitalist country: they are also a Mexican family.

CHAPTER 7

Conclusions

THE GÓMEZ family is representative of what might be called the "family bourgeoisie" of Mexico. Its history is typical of the rise of new urban classes in Mexico, including the bourgeoisie and some middle-class sectors. The bourgeoisie did not originate from within the class of landowners but sprang from traders and small manufacturers who became industrialists. This transition took place in Mexico after the mid-nineteenth century in a specific cultural context and as part of the historical stage of modernization.

The ethnographic description of the Gómez has provided examples of economic behavior that seem at variance with classical forms of capitalism. As a mode of production, capitalism implies a set of relationships between actors in production. When introduced into a different sociocultural setting from the one in which it originated, it tends to adapt to the new local conditions, including the historical context, socioeconomic conditions, and local culture. Thus the relations of production are modified both ways: through changes that affect the recipient society and through a cultural redefinition of the capitalistic mode of production in terms of the prevailing cultural system. Individuals turned actors of capitalism behave according to their values and their traditional system of social relations.

A society is shaped by its culture. It incorporates and transforms innovation within its own terms of reference; eventually, innovation also becomes a part of the culture and transforms it. British capitalism was an integral part of a specific sociocultural system, though some of its peculiarities may have been heralded as "laws" of the mode of production, in the belief that their logic was part of the supracultural logic of economics.

In Mexico, capitalism was introduced under different con-

ditions. It arose during a period of structural change and initially it was not self-supporting. The state was weak and capital accumulation did not suffice to introduce a new system of production. Therefore the early bourgeoisie had to resort to existing family strategies in order to create its own conditions of survival and development. These family strategies had always been a part of the Mexican social system. The family was and remains a privileged symbol of exchange throughout history. It is the pivot of the culture and the core of social networks. Thus the family defines the strategies for gaining access to resources (economic and social) by members of the society. For example, in the early days of faltering state power, weak institutions, and frequent political changes, the system increasingly relied on personal connections. Social networks became the main vehicles for mobilizing available resources: they became social capital.

It is because social capital is convertible to economic capital that a broad range of activity was (and continues) to be deployed in order to maintain and extend social networks. This effort costs money. Conspicuous consumption and an expensive life style are the symbolic trappings of social position and group affiliation: not only are they a symbolic language, they also represent an investment.

If the local conditions were inhospitable to capital accumulation, the fledgling entrepreneurs had to manage their transition from traders to industrialists by leaning on groups or institutions with independent means. Outside the state, these were primarily the Church and foreign capital. The efforts of the early Mexican capitalists were aimed at extending their social networks in the direction of these capital resources. When one source dried out or was replaced by new sources, the capitalists modified their social strategies. Thus, after the Revolution some members of the Gómez family sought to gain access to the circle of state politicians: in some cases such connections were even ritualized by *compadrazgo*. Leadership in the family has always gone to the innovators who found appropriate social strategies for gaining access to new resources.

The pattern of social relations based on the cultural meaning

of the family and the importance of personal networks has not always served the process of capitalization. At times it has been a hindrance. The fragmentation of property at death works against the continuity of capital accumulation. Even in the entrepreneur's lifetime, there is a trend toward scattering of resources due to the cultural power ideal, in which each grown son must head a subsidiary firm. Patterns of centralized authority and patronage have sometimes restricted the scope of development of enterprise. These features of family business may be attributed to cultural factors, such as the position of the father as patron of his sons and protector of his sisters and their children. The restrictive aspects of family enterprise may have made it less competitive with modern corporate intruders on the Mexican economic scene.

On the other hand, and in the light of recent historical trends such as the nationalization of the banks and Mexico's financial troubles of the 1980s, the family enterprise remains a viable form of confronting economic crisis. An economic system in which the grandfamily is still a central entrepreneurial organization can be expected to work tolerably well. It provides a basis for confidence and loyalty that is often lacking in the more individualistic corporate life in the United States, and it also has a certain flexibility that helps it adjust to a chronically unstable economic and political environment.

Internal Organization of the Family Enterprise Complex

Understanding the "family bourgeoisie" requires an unconventional approach to the study of business enterprise. The relevant economic unit is not the enterprise or even the group of enterprises headed by a given owner. It is a cluster of businesses of different sizes and in different fields of the economy, an informal conglomerate that is controlled by the family as a whole. This point of view is essential; it affords a new insight into decision making that is hardly possible when one looks at the component firms one by one.

The family bourgeoisie is based on an articulated network of minor or complementary firms tied to the main group of enterprises by kinship and patronage. They can be derived from the

structure of the grandfamily, and they parallel the process of kin segmentation. A young man may start his business career working directly under his father or uncle. His capital of social connections will increase until the time comes for him to establish himself as an independent entrepreneur. Depending on his kinship rank he will be assigned a parallel or subordinate role in the general structure of family businesses: jobbing, manufacturing parts, contracting, trucking, or managing wholesale or retail outlets. The patron will make it his business and his responsibility as a father or kinsman to vouch for the new entrepreneur and to guide him through the financial arrangements. Once established, the patron will be his principal business partner or client.

The entrepreneur's sons will inherit separate business firms upon his death, yet these firms will in general be interdependent because the entrepreneur will have set them up with an eye for complementarity or cooperation. Thus there is a continuing solidarity involving exchange of information, sharing of contacts, temporary deals, and joint ventures between brothers. The Mexican family bourgeoisie cannot be studied from the vantage point of a firm-by-firm approach. Rapid informal communication between widely separated branches of the business network affords a tremendous flexibility and ease of adaptation to changing situations. This flexibility extends to coping with the problem of changing technological conditions; a technologically well-trained relative may be more reliable in a firm than an unrelated one because of his expected loyalty. Thus the kinship group is able to survive in a high-risk environment with a low level of investment.

It is essential to keep in mind, however, that an informal network of kin enterprises is not the same thing as a corporation or a financial group. There is no central management, no joint policy, no common financial backing. This difference between family and corporate business helps explain the peculiarities of large Mexican groups, such as the Monterrey group, which are "corporate" in name only. Such groups tend to favor protectionist policies because they are more interested in their survival as a high-status kinship network than in challenging the

supremacy of new, anonymous, capital-intensive capitalist corporations.

Cultural Features of the Family

The kinship system in Mexico is based on the three-generation grandfamily. This is the building block of the society, its fundamental unit of economic, ritual, and social solidarity. Its cohesion is consanguinity by bilateral descent.

The larger unit that is recognized in the kinship system is the kindred, a network that radiates outward from the grandfamily and includes alliances with other grandfamilies through affinity. The kindred thus includes a large group of people bound by mutual acknowledgment of kinship: it is a social ego-centered network with rules of inclusion and exclusion. The significant interaction among members of the society generally creates areas of intersection between different kindreds or within a given kindred. Whenever these areas of intersection generate a community of interest between segments of kinship networks, the resulting alliances or efforts toward assimilation tend to evolve a shared symbolic language that includes a life style, a political ideology, an educational background, and so on.

These features of the kinship system can be found throughout history and across social classes: they are an outstanding feature of Mexican culture. The specific outward expressions of kin solidarity, as well as the strategies of alliances, vary according to social classes and according to the economic and political conditions of the social system. However, the basic elements of the kinship system appear to have been essentially invariant since colonial times in its expression in the economy (e.g., occupational and survival solidarity), social life (rituals, social networks, and life styles), and politics. These manifestations include residential patterns, kinds of goods and services exchanged, the extension of the kindred utilized in exchange patterns, and the choice of marriage partners. The formal communalities of the Mexican kinship system allow a flexible range of uses of the relationships that it engenders.

The Gómez family affords an example of the ways in which

the Mexican family bourgeoisie fuses its family ideals with its economic strategies: the family enterprise complex. Other classes and social groups, however, display different forms of articulation between kinship and economic subsistence. The peasant economic system relies on kinship relations not only for its internal organization but for its relations with other levels of integration. For the urban "informal sector," previous migration constitutes a key economic strategy, limiting the capacity to gather the entire grandfamily together. On the other hand, extreme employment insecurity promotes intense economic and social interaction with kin and residential proximity to them. The salaried middle class has an even lesser ability to control the residential proximity of kin than the urban informal sector; nevertheless, the greater continuity of the middle class in an urban environment allows occasional interaction with the larger circle of the kindred. Interactions in urban middle-class kinship networks are more diversified than among the urban poor and somewhat less formal than in the hierarchical family bourgeoisie. The relatively diversified kinship network in the urban middle class is crucial for job placement as well as for acquiring the bonuses that are crucial for maintaining a comfortable life style in a highly bureaucratized environment.

A key problem for the analysis of any cross-class kindreds is that some of them have developmental sequences that imply class diversification. The urban poor have or can acquire peasant and proletarian working-class relatives; middle-class professionals may have upper or lower middle-class or bourgeois relatives. It is known, however, that the ideology of family unity ("family consciousness") prevails over that of class distinction.

In the case presented here, economic differences inside the grandfamily have not resulted in recognition of class differentiation. Wealth and status differences within the grandfamily are recognized only as differences in "life style."

As the family branches out and stratification continues, class differences in the kindred do become recognized, though grandfamilies within it are seen as belonging to a single class.

At some point the kindred recognizes itself to be an entity within which there is a communality of status that prevails over the tensions emerging from class oppositions.

Members of the Gómez kindred are conscious of the class affiliations of the different grandfamilies. Nevertheless, the kindred is a stronger source of group loyalty than class membership. At the same time, the existence of class tension within the kindred is a fundamental explanation for the importance of ritual life. The patron-client ties and the set of mutual loyalties and obligations that are reinforced and expressed within these rituals and in the economic environment are the reason for the predominance of family over class.

Political Participation

In the corporative structure of Mexican politics, the Gómez belong to the sector known as "private initiative." The other two formal sectors are: the public sector (i.e., the federal and state administrations and the related network of agencies, systems, public corporations, and services) and the labor sector.

From the time of their inception, the Gómez were active participants in the organizations of the private initiative sector, the chambers and the associations. These formal entrepreneurial organizations are recognized by the Mexican state as representatives of business. Hence the government deals with chambers and associations and not with individual business concerns. Membership in these organizations is compulsory for any established business, but the Gómez have always occupied prominent positions in the sectoral leadership.

Historically, the Mexican state sees itself as a protector and patron of the private initiative sector; in exchange, private initiative has had a function—namely, to industrialize the country. The Mexican state is not a classical bourgeois state in the sense that other capitalistic societies are described as such. Instead, the symbiotic relationship between the public sector and the private initiative sector may be seen as a complex interaction, part cooperation and part competition, between two social classes: the "new class" of politicians and administrators, and the bourgeoisie. The power elite of Mexico is not identical

with the class of owners of the means of production: one deals in capital, the other deals in power. Their class interests are different. The relations between the two dominant sectors involve ongoing negotiations for an increasing share of the national resources.

Each sector has its loyalties and preferences that amount to a life style. However, there is enough complementarity between their respective class interests to allow for a variety of personal contacts. Thus the top politicians place their investments in the private initiative sector and the sons and daughters of entrepreneurs may occupy administrative or technical positions in the bureaucracy.

The verticality of structural relations based on patron-client loyalties poses a problem for social class theory. A sector is not a horizontally stratified social formation with a common relationship to the means of production. It is a vertical bloc cemented by loyalty networks: the cohesion afforded by loyalty, including family loyalty, can overcome some of the effects of income differentials between different levels within the sector.

Among the Gómez, for example, the lower-income branches have often depended on the patronage of their more affluent relatives; therefore, their system of loyalties is organized vertically along patron-client relationships, in which the patron's economic and social position represents prestige and security for the clients. These patron-client bonds tend to weaken and disappear as genealogical, social, and economic distances widen, and when that occurs, one may begin to talk about the appearance of social class differences and the disappearance of kinship bond recognition.

Personal loyalty has been remarkably neglected in theories of class struggle. Had cultural factors been taken into account, these theories would have done more exploration of the loyalty and *confianza* and their role in the class structure. On the basis of our ethnographic findings, we believe that both the economic system (and its relations of production) and the political system are shaped by the kinship system.

The Gómez family is a part of Mexico, solidly incorporated in the private initiative sector, a label that locates them in terms

of the Mexican economic and political system. Examining Gómez kinship, however—their relationship among themselves and with the world at large—is a means of apprehending the basic family metaphor on which the system patterns its relationships, both of domination and subordination and of cooperation and solidarity. Understanding kinship is thus a way of attaining insight into the inner workings of the society itself.

APPENDIX

Five Generations of the
Gómez Family

AS IN THE text, Roman numerals in the appendix indicate generation. Arabic numbers indicate the family member's individual code. A first spouse is coded e', the second e''. Nuclear families of one generation may appear with no direct descendants listed in the next generation if most of our Gómez have lost touch with them. When spouses or children are known to exist but their first names are unknown, a code number is assigned but no name given. (S) after a name indicates an adult who never married; no symbol is given if the individual has not yet reached adulthood or if information is lacking. (≠) is placed after a spouse's name if the marriage ended in separation or divorce. (†) indicates an individual who died young, usually before reaching marriageable age.

GENERATION I

I 1	Pedro Luis Gómez
I e' 1	María de Jesús Mora y Mota
I e'' 1	Carmen Ponce de León
I 2	Antonio Gómez
I e' 2	name unknown
I 3	Carlos Gómez
I e' 3	Ana Balbuena Barrientos
I e'' 3	Inés Aburto (Mamá Inés)
I 4	Catalina Gómez
I 5	nun; name unknown (S)
I 6	nun; name unknown (S)
I 7	nun; name unknown (S)
I 8	female; name unknown
I e' 8	name unknown

GENERATION II

nuclear family of I,1 and I,e'1	
II 9	Amable Gómez

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II e'9	Josefina Salinas
II 10	Luis Gómez
II e'10	María de Jesús Fernández Amieva
II 11	María Guadalupe Gómez
II e'11	Juan Miranda

nuclear family of I,2 and I,e'2

II 12	Manuel Gómez
II e'12	name unknown

nuclear family of I,3 and I,e'3

II 13	Carlos Gómez Balbuena
II e'13	name unknown
II 14	Roberto Gómez Balbuena
II e'14	Albina Mora
II 15	Saúl Gómez Balbuena
II e'15	María Campos

nuclear family of I,3 and I,e''3

II 16	Leopoldo Gómez Aburto (Leopoldo Sr.)
II e'16	Juana Casés
II 17	Modesto Gómez Aburto (Modesto Sr.)
II e'17	Amada Moreno
II 18	Magdalena Gómez Aburto (S)
II 19	Augusto M. Onofre Gómez Aburto†
II 20	Rosalía Gómez Aburto
II e'20	Ramiro Bañuelos
II 21	Cecilia Gómez Aburto
II e'21	Blas Jiménez
II 22	Anita Gómez Aburto
II e'22	David Camarena

GENERATION III

III 23	Bernabé Gómez Salinas
III e'23	same as III,55
III e''23	same as III,56
III e'''23	same as III,60

nuclear family of II,10 and II,e'10

(spouses unknown)

III 24	Luis Gómez Fernández
III 25	Leopoldo Gómez Fernández
III 26	Amalia Gómez Fernández

nuclear family of II, 11 and II,e' 11

(most spouses unknown)

- III 27 Juan Miranda Gómez
- III e' 27 name unknown
- III 28 Amado Miranda Gómez
- III 29 María Miranda Gómez
- III 30 Amalia Miranda Gómez
- III 31 Luis Miranda Gómez
- III 32 Conchita Miranda Gómez
- III 33 Soledad Miranda Gómez
- III 34 Juanita Miranda Gómez
- III e' 34 Javier Ordóñez

nuclear family of II, 13 and II,e' 13

- III 35 Carlos Gómez (second family name unknown)

nuclear family of II, 14 and II,e' 14

- III 36 José Gómez Mora
- III e' 36 Micaela Gutiérrez de Gómez
- III 37 Lourdes Gómez Mora (S)
- III 38 Felipe Gómez Mora (S)
- III 39 Javier Gómez Mora
- III e' 39 same as III, 42 (≠)

nuclear family of II, 14 (adopted by II, 22)

- III 40 Carmelita Gómez (S)

nuclear family of II, 15 and II,e' 15

- III 41 Rosalía Gómez Campos (S)
- III 42 Josefina Gómez Campos
- III e' 42 same as III, 39 (≠)
- III 43 Alvaro Gómez Campos
- III e' 43 Cecilia Villa
- III 44 Lucrecia Gómez Campos (S)
- III 45 Amalia Gómez Campos (S)
- III 46 Enrique Gómez Campos
- III e' 46 María del Carmen González
- III 47 Luz María Gómez Campos
- III e' 47 José Ortiz

nuclear family of II, 16 and II,e' 16

- III 48 Juana Gómez Casés
- III e' 48 Agustín Merino y Pacheco
- III 49 María de Lourdes Gómez Casés†

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III e' 49	Adolfo Aguirre (later III,e' 57)
III 50	Leopoldo Gómez Casés (Leopoldo Jr.)
III e' 50	Magdalena Benítez
III 51	Pablo Gómez Casés (Pablo Sr.)
III e' 51	Juana Chacón
III 52	María Leticia Gómez Casés
III e' 52	Genaro Montalvo
III 53	Elvira Gómez Casés
III e' 53	Fausto Corona (≠)
III 54	María Elisa Gómez Casés
III e' 54	Patrocinio Aguilar
nuclear family of II,17 and II,e' 17	
III 55	Inés Gómez Moreno
III e' 55	same as III,23
III 56	Amalia Gómez Moreno
III e' 56	same as III,23
III 57	Modesta Gómez Moreno
III e' 57	same as III,e' 49
III 58	Susana Gómez Moreno
III e' 58	Lucio Ramos
III 59	Modesto Gómez Moreno (Modesto Jr.)
III e' 59	Elvira Núñez
III 60	Celina Gómez Moreno
III e' 60	same as III,23
III e" 60	Manuel Dávila
nuclear family of II,20 and II,e' 20	
III 61	Rosalía Bañuelos Gómez
III e' 61	Ruperto Mújica
III 62	Alfredo Bañuelos Gómez
III e' 62	Amalia Fábregas
III 63	Herminia Bañuelos Gómez
III e' 63	Teófilo Gutiérrez
III 64	Roberto Bañuelos Gómez (S)
III 65	Consuelo Bañuelos Gómez (S)
III 66	Ramiro Bañuelos Gómez
III e' 66	same as III,69
III 67	Juan Leopoldo Bañuelos Gómez
III e' 67	(first name unknown) Roca
III 68	Soledad Bañuelos Gómez(S)

nuclear family of II,21 and II,e'21

III 69	Ana María Jiménez Gómez
III e'69	same as III,66
III 70	Blas Jiménez Gómez†
III 71	Blas Jiménez Gómez†
III 72	Pedro (Joaquín) Jiménez Gómez
III e'72	María Mercedes Larrázuri

GENERATION IV

nuclear family of III,55 and III,e'55 (III,23)

(spouses unknown)

IV 73	Bernabé Gómez Gómez (Bernabé Jr.)
IV 74	Alfredo Gómez Gómez
IV 75	Carlos Gómez Gómez
IV 76	Amalia Gómez Gómez
IV 77	Rodrigo Gómez Gómez

nuclear family of III,60 and III,e'60 (III,23)

IV 78	María Guadalupe Gómez Gómez(S)
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nuclear family of III,39 and III,e'39 (III,42) (≠)

IV 79	María Gómez Gómez
IV e'79	Oscar Garza Ruíz
IV 80	Javier Gómez Gómez
IV e'80	Maritte Coure

nuclear family of III,43 and III,e'43

IV 81	Enrique Gómez Villa
IV e'81	María del Consuelo Alvarez
IV 82	Consuelo Gómez Villa
IV e'82	Panfilo Suárez
IV 83	Alvaro Gómez Villa
IV e'83	Diana Ortíz
IV 84	Alma Gómez Villa
IV e'84	Ernesto Ascencio
IV 85	Amelia Gómez Villa (S)
IV 86	Arcelia Gómez Villa
IV e'86	Alfonso Mijares

nuclear family of III,46 and III,e'46

IV 87	María del Carmen Gómez González (S)
IV 88	Enrique Gómez González
IV e'88	Cecilia Ruíz

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IV 89	Susana Gómez González
IV e'89	(first name unknown) Vertíz
IV 90	Luz María Gómez González
IV e'90	Ernesto (surname unknown)
IV 91	Lupe Gómez González
IV e'91	Miguel Kemper
IV 92	Lucila Gómez González
IV e'92	Martín Núñez
IV 93	Carolina Gómez González (S)
IV 94	Guillermo Gómez González

nuclear family of III,47 and III,e'47

(In addition to IV,95, there were five more sons and one daughter; names unknown; spouses and further descendants unknown.)

IV 95	Javier Ortíz Gómez
IV e'95	Paloma Casas

nuclear family of III,48 and III,e'48

IV 96	Juana Merino y Pacheco Gómez
IV e'96	Celso Iturriaga
IV 97	Agustín Merino y Pacheco Gómez
IV e'97	Emilia Toriello
IV 98	Alicia Merino y Pacheco Gómez
IV e'98	Pedro Benítez
IV 99	Maximiliano Merino y Pacheco Gómez
IV e'99	Berta Ascencio
IV 100	Josefina Merino y Pacheco Gómez
IV e'100	Enrique Heinze

nuclear family of III,49 and III,e'49

IV 101	Lourdes (Luli) Aguirre Gómez
IV e'101	Miguel Romero(≠)

nuclear family of III,50 and III,e'50

IV 102	Lupe Gómez Benítez
IV e'102	Jorge Toriello
IV 103	Leopoldo Gómez Benítez (Leopoldo III)
IV e'103	Magdalena Durán
IV 104	Juana Gómez Benítez
IV e'104	Jorge Garza
IV 105	Magdalena Gómez Benítez
IV e'105	Federico Piña Solórzano
IV 106	Ramiro Gómez Benítez
IV e'106	Berta Gómez (no relation)

- IV 107 Lourdes Gómez Benítez
 IV e' 107 Adolfo Gutiérrez
 IV 108 Lucila Gómez Benítez
 IV e' 108 Samuel Urbina
 nuclear family of III,51 and III,e' 51
 IV 109 Pablo Gómez Chacón (Pablo Jr.)
 IV e' 109 Covadonga Gómez (no relation)
 IV 110 Juan Gómez Chacón
 IV e' 110 Montserrat Mingot
 IV 111 Leopoldo Jorge Gómez Chacón
 IV e' 111 María Elvira Romero
 IV 112 María Guadalupe Gómez Chacón
 IV e' 112 Alberto Alcocer
 IV 113 Juana Gómez Chacón
 IV e' 113 César Calvo
 nuclear family of III,52 and III,e' 52
 IV 114 Genaro Montalvo Gómez
 IV e' 114 Soledad Lippert
 IV 115 María Leticia Montalvo Gómez
 IV e' 115 Pablo Palacios Galván (≠)
 nuclear family of III,53 and III,e' 53 (≠)
 IV 116 Alberto Corona Gómez
 IV e' 116 name unknown
 IV 117 Carmen Corona Gómez (S)
 IV 118 María Corona Gómez (S)
 IV 119 Fausto Corona Gómez
 IV e' 119 name unknown
 nuclear family of III,54 and III,e' 54
 IV 120 Pilar Aguilar Gómez
 IV e' 120 Enrique W.
 IV 121 Patrocinio Aguilar Gómez (S)
 IV 122 Ernesto Aguilar Gómez†
 nuclear family of III,57 and III,e' 57 (III,e' 49)
 IV 123 Adolfo Aguirre Gómez
 IV e' 123 Betty (surname unknown)
 IV 124 Felipe Aguirre Gómez
 IV e' 124 Carolina Ramos
 nuclear family of III,59 and III,e' 59
 IV 125 Modesto Gómez Núñez
 IV e' 125 same as IV,130 (≠)

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nuclear family of III,61 and III,e'61

- IV 126 Alvaro Mújica Bañuelos
- IV e' 126 name unknown
- IV 127 Soledad Mújica Bañuelos (S)
- IV 128 Berta Mújica Bañuelos
- IV e' 128 Alfredo Galán (later IV,e' 131)
- IV 129 Alfredo Mújica Bañuelos (S)
- IV 130 Inés Mújica Bañuelos
- IV e' 130 same as IV,e' 125 (≠)
- IV 131 Magdalena Mújica Bañuelos
- IV e' 131 same as IV,e' 128

nuclear family of III,60 and III,e'60

five children; names unknown

nuclear family of III,62 and III,e'62

- IV 132 Amalia Bañuelos Fábregas (S)
- IV 133 Ramiro Bañuelos Fábregas
- IV e' 133 Sofía (surname unknown)
- IV 134 Roberto Bañuelos Fábregas
- IV e' 134 name unknown
- IV 135 Alfredo Bañuelos Fábregas
- IV e' 135 name unknown
- IV 136 Juan Leopoldo Bañuelos Fábregas (S)
- IV 137 Inés Bañuelos Fábregas
- IV e' 137 name unknown
- IV 138 Carmen Bañuelos Fábregas
- IV e' 138 name unknown
- IV 139 Hector Bañuelos Fábregas
- IV e' 139 name unknown
- IV 140 Pilar Bañuelos Fábregas
- IV e' 140 name unknown

nuclear family of III,63 and III,e'63

- IV 141 Alberto Gutiérrez Bañuelos
- IV e' 141 (woman of Spanish parentage)
- IV 142 Juan Gutiérrez Bañuelos (S)
- IV 143 Rosalía Gutiérrez Bañuelos
- IV e' 143 name unknown
- IV 144 Magdalena Gutiérrez Bañuelos (S)
- IV 145 Patricia Gutiérrez Bañuelos (S)

nuclear family of III,66 and III,e'66(III,69)

- IV 146 María Auxiliadora Bañuelos Jiménez†

IV 147	Cecilio Bañuelos Jiménez
IV e' 147	Juanita Monroy
IV 148	Lupita Bañuelos Jiménez
IV e' 148	Gustavo Arredondo
IV 149	Pedro Bañuelos Jiménez
IV e' 149	Covadonga Núñez
IV 150	Ricardo Bañuelos Jiménez
IV e' 150	Rosalía Villa
IV 151	Ramiro Bañuelos Jiménez
IV e' 151	Graciela Gimeno
IV 152	Juan José Bañuelos Jiménez
IV e' 152	Mercedes Riverol
IV 153	Ana María Bañuelos Jiménez
IV e' 153	Ricardo Romo (≠)

nuclear family of III,67 and III,e'67

IV 154	Juan Leopoldo Bañuelos Roca
IV e' 154	name unknown

nuclear family of III,69, see above, IV,146-153

nuclear family of III,72 and III,e'72

IV 155	María Mercedes Jiménez Larrázuri
IV e' 155	Joseph Bazin
IV 156	Paloma Jiménez Larrázuri
IV e' 156	Miguel Barrios
IV 157	Pedro Jiménez Larrázuri (Pedro Jr.)
IV e' 157	Verónica Moritz
IV 158	Cecilia Jiménez Larrázuri
IV e' 158	Jean Jacquard
IV 159	Alvaro Jiménez Larrázuri
IV e' 159	Carolina Durán
IV 160	Higinio Jiménez Larrázuri
IV e' 160	Amalia Font
IV 161	Alejandra Jiménez Larrázuri
IV e' 161	Rodrigo López
IV 162	Blas Jiménez Larrázuri
IV e' 162	Berta Mendoza
IV 163	María Jiménez Larrázuri (S)

GENERATION V

nuclear family of IV,79 and IV,e'79

V 164	Oscar Garza Gómez
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- v 165 Pilar Garza Gómez
- v 166 Javier Garza Gómez
- v 167 Pía Garza Gómez
- v 168 Laura Garza Gómez
- v 169 Raúl Garza Gómez
- nuclear family of iv,80 and iv,e'80
- v 170 Mariette Gómez Coure
- v e' 170 Manuel Becerra
- v 171 Ivonne Gómez Coure
- v e' 171 A. Batiz
- v 172 Diana Gómez Coure
- v e' 172 (son of entrepreneur)
- v 173 Louise Gómez Coure
- v e' 173 (man of French nationality)
- v 174 Javier Gómez Coure
- v 175 Roberto Gómez Coure
- v e' 175 name unknown
- v 176 Mirelle Gómez Coure
- v 177 Guillermo Gómez Coure
- nuclear family of iv,81 and iv,e'81
- v 178 Pilar Gómez Alvarez
- v 179 Ernesto Gómez Alvarez
- v 180 Gisela Gómez Alvarez
- v 181 Marcos Gómez Alvarez
- v 182 Francisco Gómez Alvarez
- nuclear family of iv,82 and iv,e'82
- v 183 Paola Suárez Gómez
- v 184 Ramón Suárez Gómez
- v 185 Enrique Suárez Gómez
- v 186 Alvaro Suárez Gómez
- v 187 Celso Suárez Gómez
- nuclear family of iv,83 and iv,e'83
- v 188 Alvaro Gómez Ortíz
- v 189 Felipe Gómez Ortíz
- v 190 Federico Gómez Ortíz
- v 191 Diana Gómez Ortíz
- v 192 José Miguel Gómez Ortíz
- nuclear family of iv,84 and iv,e'84
- v 193 Mirtala Ascencio Gómez
- v 194 María Ascencio Gómez

nuclear family of iv,86 and iv,e'86

v 195	Alfonso Mijares Gómez
v 196	Arcelia Mijares Gómez
v 197	Ramiro Mijares Gómez
v 198	María Elisa Mijares Gómez
v 199	Azucena Mijares Gómez
v 200	Paulina Mijares Gómez

nuclear family of iv,88 and iv,e'88

v 201	Cecilia Gómez Ruíz
v 202	Consuelo Gómez Ruíz
v 203	Enrique Gómez Ruíz

nuclear family of iv,96 and iv,e'96

v 204	Juana Iturriaga Merino y Pacheco
v e'204	Hector Palacios Roel
v 205	Celso Iturriaga Merino y Pacheco
v 206	Manuela Iturriaga Merino y Pacheco
v e'206	name unknown
v 207	Carmelita Iturriaga Merino y Pacheco
v e'207	name unknown
v 208	Alfredo Iturriaga
v 209	male; name unknown
v e'209	(Costa Rican woman)

nuclear family of iv,97 and iv,e'97

v 210	Agustín Merino y Pacheco Toriello
v e'210	Mercedes Sirvent
v 211	Emilia Merino y Pacheco Toriello
v e'211	Alvaro Gutiérrez (≠)
v 212	Diego Merino y Pacheco Toriello
v e'212	Montserrat Sirvent
v 213	Lupe Merino y Pacheco Toriello
v e'213	Ignacio Villegas
v 214	Marianela Merino y Pacheco Toriello
v e'214	Miguel Covarrubias
v 215	María Elisa Merino y Pacheco Toriello

nuclear family of iv,98 and iv,e'98

v 216	Prudencio Benítez Merino y Pacheco
v e'216	Angélica Martínez
v 217	Alicia Benítez Merino y Pacheco
v e'217	Celso Navarro y Nájera
v 218	Ramiro Benítez Merino y Pacheco†

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- v 219 Felipe Benítez Merino y Pacheco
- v e' 219 Cecilia Kruger
- v 220 Leopoldo Benítez Merino y Pacheco
- v e' 220 Teresita (surname unknown)
- v 221 Benito Benítez Merino y Pacheco
- v e' 221 Mónica Kruger
- nuclear family of iv,99 and iv,e'99
- v 222 Berta Merino y Pacheco Ascencio
- v e' 222 name unknown
- v 223 Malú Merino y Pacheco Ascencio
- v 224 Maximiliano Merino y Pacheco Ascencio
- nuclear family of iv,100 and iv,e'100
- v 225 Enrique Heinze Merino y Pacheco
- v 226 Juan Heinze Merino y Pacheco
- v 227 Verónica Heinze Merino y Pacheco
- v 228 female; name unknown
- v 229 male; name unknown
- v 230 male; name unknown
- v 231 twin; name unknown
- v 232 twin; name unknown
- nuclear family of iv,101 and iv,e'101 (≠)
- v 233 Lulú Romero Aguirre
- v e' 233 name unknown
- v 234 "La Nena" Romero Aguirre
- v e' 234 name unknown
- v 235 Miguel Romero Aguirre
- nuclear family of iv,102 and iv,e'102
- v 236 Jorge Toriello Gómez
- v e' 236 Elvira Solana
- v 237 Leopoldo Toriello Gómez
- v e' 237 (woman from San Luis)
- v 238 Lupe Toriello Gómez
- v e' 238 Miguel Yedid
- v 239 Rosa Toriello Gómez
- v e' 239 Javier Urquijo
- v 240 Jaime Toriello Gómez
- nuclear family of iv,103 and iv,e'103
- v 241 Leopoldo Gómez Durán
- v 242 Felipe Gómez Durán
- v 243 Pedro Gómez Durán

- v 244 Magdalena Gómez Durán
 v 245 José Pablo Gómez Durán
 v 246 Manuel Gómez Durán
- nuclear family of IV, 104 and IV, e' 104
 v 247 Juana Garza Gómez
 v 248 Jorge Garza Gómez
 v 249 José Garza Gómez
 v 250 Carolina Garza Gómez
- nuclear family of IV, 105 and IV, e' 105
 v 251 Federico Piña Solórzano Gómez
 v e' 251 (first name unknown) Romo
 v 252 Magdalena Piña Solórzano Gómez
 v 253 Leopoldo Piña Solórzano Gómez
 v 254 Pedro Piña Solórzano Gómez
 v 255 Lupita Piña Solórzano Gómez
 v 256 Marilí Piña Solórzano Gómez
 v 257 Juan Carlos Piña Solórzano Gómez
 v 258 Mari Nieves Piña Solórzano Gómez
- nuclear family of IV, 106 and IV, e' 106
 v 259 Berta Gómez Gómez
 v 260 Lucila Gómez Gómez
 v, 261–v, 266 (name, sex unknown) Gómez Gómez
- nuclear family of IV, 107 and IV, e' 107
 v 267 Adolfo Gutiérrez Gómez
 v 268 Lourdes Gutiérrez Gómez
- nuclear family of IV, 108 and IV, e' 108
 v 269 Samuel Urbina Gómez
 v, 270–v, 275 (name, sex unknown) Urbina Gómez
 v 276 (female, name unknown) Urbina Gómez
- nuclear family of IV, 109 and IV, e' 109
 v 277 Pablo Gómez Gómez
 v 278 Juan Gómez Gómez
 v 279 Pedro Gómez Gómez
- nuclear family of IV, 110 and IV, e' 110
 v 280 Juan Gómez Mingot
 v 281 Pablo Gómez Mingot
 v 282 Montserrat Gómez Mingot
 v 283 María de Lourdes Gómez Mingot

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nuclear family of IV,111 and IV,e'111

- v 284 Leopoldo Jorge Gómez Romero
- v 285 Alicia Gómez Romero
- v 286 Mónica Gómez Romero
- v 287 Ricardo Gómez Romero

nuclear family of IV,112 and IV,e'112

- v 288 María Guadalupe Alcocer Gómez
- v 289 Ana Alcocer Gómez
- v,290-v,293 (name, sex unknown) Alcocer Gómez
- v 294 Pedro Alcocer Gómez
- v 295 Juan Alcocer Gómez
- v 296 Milagros Alcocer Gómez

nuclear family of IV,113 and IV,e'113

- v 297 César Calvo Gómez
- v 298 Pablo Calvo Gómez
- v 299 Juana Calvo Gómez
- v 300 Lupe Calvo Gómez

nuclear family of IV,114 and IV,e'114

- v 301 Genaro Montalvo Lippert
- v 302 Sofía Montalvo Lippert
- v 303 Andrés Montalvo Lippert
- v 304 Lourdes Montalvo Lippert

nuclear family of IV,120 and IV,e'120

- v 305 Pilar W. Aguilar
- v 306 Elisa W. Aguilar
- v 307 Enrique W. Aguilar
- v 308 Patrocinio W. Aguilar
- v 309 Ernesto W. Aguilar

nuclear family of IV,128 and IV,e'128

- v,310-v,314 (name, sex unknown) Galán Mújica

nuclear family of IV,147 and IV,e'147

- v 315 Juana María Bañuelos Monroy
- v 316 Cecilio Bañuelos Monroy
- v 317 Ramiro Bañuelos Monroy

nuclear family of IV,149 and IV,e'149

- v 318 Pedro Bañuelos Núñez
- v 319 Covadonga Bañuelos Núñez
- v 320 Javier Bañuelos Núñez
- v 321 Verónica Bañuelos Núñez

- nuclear family of IV,150 and IV,e'150
 v 322 Diana Bañuelos Villa
 v 323 Débora Bañuelos Villa
 v 324 Rosalía Bañuelos Villa
- nuclear family of IV,151 and IV,e'151
 v 325 María Graciela Bañuelos Gimeno
 v 326 Lorenza Bañuelos Gimeno
 v 327 Ramiro Bañuelos Gimeno
- nuclear family of IV,152 and IV,e'152
 v 328 Mercedes Bañuelos Riverol
 v 329 Nuria Bañuelos Riverol
 v 330 Alina Bañuelos Riverol
- nuclear family of IV,153 and IV,e'153 (≠)
 v 331 Maricela Romo Bañuelos
 v 332 Ana María Romo Bañuelos
 v 333 Ricarda Romo Bañuelos
- nuclear family of IV,155 and IV,e'155
 v 334 María Mercedes Bazin Jiménez
 v 335 Amalia Bazin Jiménez
 v 336 José Bazin Jiménez
- nuclear family of IV,156 and IV,e'156
 v 337 Paloma Barrios Jiménez
 v 338 Santiago Barrios Jiménez
- nuclear family of IV,157 and IV,e'157
 v 339 Pedro Jiménez Moritz
 v 340 Mónica Jiménez Moritz
- nuclear family of IV,158 and IV,e'158
 v 341 Juan Jacquard Jiménez
 v 342 Carolina Jacquard Jiménez
 v 343 Higinio Jacquard Jiménez
- nuclear family of IV,159 and IV,e'159
 v 344 Carolina Jiménez Durán
 v 345 Alvaro Jiménez Durán

GENERATION VI

The sixth generation had sixteen members known as of December 1978.

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A Mexican Elite Family, 1820-1980

Kinship, Class, and Culture

LARISSA ADLER LOMNITZ
AND MARISOL PEREZ-LIZAUR

"This is a rare glimpse into the family in the Mexican elite, and it provides us with an unusual depth of understanding. In a sense, the authors do for the upper sector what Oscar Lewis did for the lower sector."—*Richard N. Adams, University of Texas*

This book presents the history of the Gómez, an elite family of Mexico that today includes several hundred individuals, plus their spouses and the families of their spouses, all living in Mexico City. Tracing the family from its origins in mid-nineteenth-century Mexico through its rise under the Porfirio Díaz regime and focusing especially on the last three generations, the work shows how the Gómez have evolved a distinctive subculture and an ability to advance their economic interests under changing political and economic conditions. One of the authors' major findings is the importance of the kinship system, particularly the three-generation "grandfamily" as a basic unit binding together people of different generations and different classes.

The authors show that the top entrepreneurs in the family, the direct descendants of its founder, remain the acknowledged leaders of the kin, each one ruling his business as a patron-owner through a network of client-relatives. Other family members, though belonging to the middle class, identify ideologically with the family leadership and the bourgeoisie, and family values tend to overrule considerations of strictly business interest even among entrepreneurs.

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