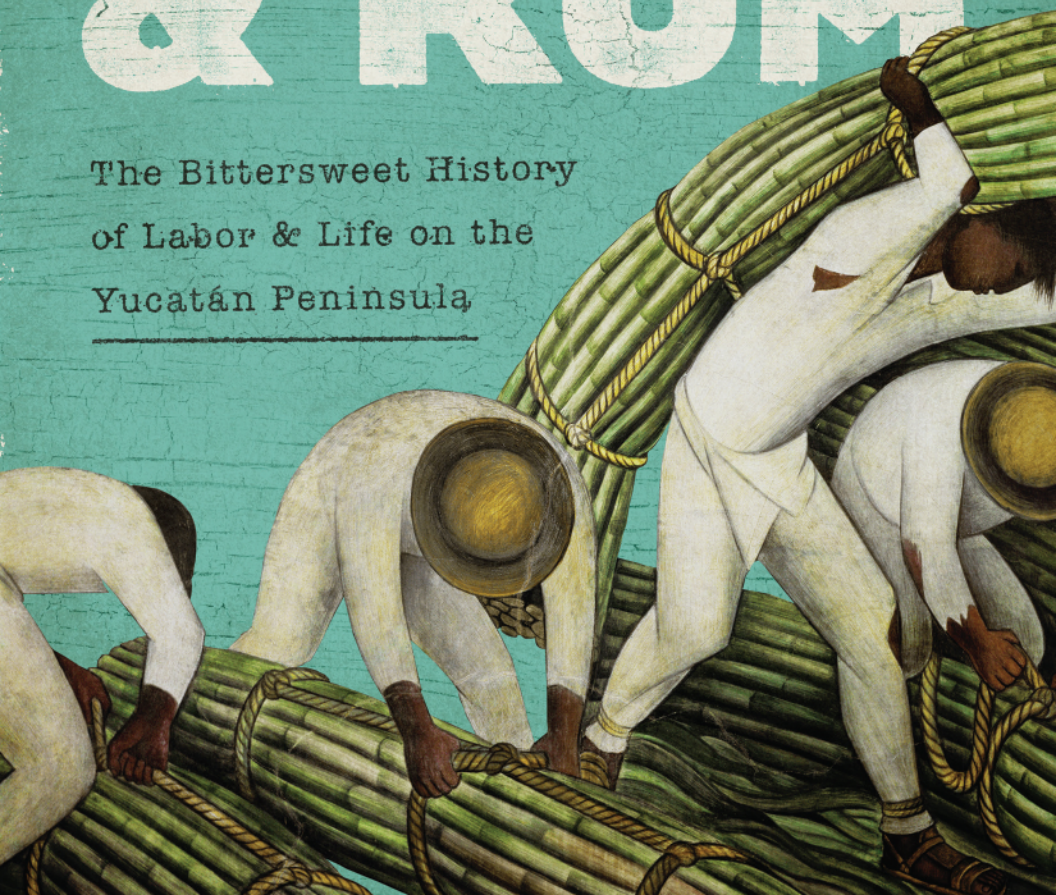


John E. Gust and Jennifer P. Mathews

SUGAR CANE & RUM

The Bittersweet History
of Labor & Life on the
Yucatán Peninsula



CHAPTER 5

THE CANTINA, THE STATE, AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF CANCÚN

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ALCOHOL AND the state cannot be overstated, nor can the relationship between alcohol and the economy of Yucatán. The state has long regulated the manufacture and sale of alcoholic products and continues to do so today. Colonial authorities had incentive to blunt or redirect the worst effects of citizens' overindulgence of alcohol and, as they were also often hacienda owners themselves, to reinforce stereotypes that portrayed Indigenous peoples as in need of their paternalistic guiding hand. Rum and other alcohol thus played an integral role in the creation of Yucatán's wealth and contributed to ongoing social inequality. European and European-descended elites built upon and manipulated existing Maya social mores around alcohol manufacture, sale, and consumption. Yet, for the frustrated worker, drinking was a temporary escape that often mired him and his family in further debt, compelling the family to continue their life on the hacienda.¹

The postcontact history of the eastern coast of Yucatán is different than that of the other side of the peninsula. It is a history of boom and bust, a history of people trying and failing to profit from mahogany and chicle extraction, cattle farming, and sugar and rum production, among other products. Rum is one product that bridges Yucatán's past and present, as it was once as intrinsic to the henequen economy in the west as it is now to the tourist economy in the east along the "Maya Riviera."

Cancun is a city designed around the tourist, and unlike the Mérida area, Cancun is decidedly ahistorical. The grittiness of downtown is screened off from its visitors who stay primarily in the *Zona Hotelera*. It is the place for the visitor to escape their lives for a little while, and not have to think about the struggles of others. Cancun is also a city built on rum, where rum drinks flow freely.

This chapter investigates the ways in which the sale, use, and abuse of rum are the predicates for Yucatán today. It begins by briefly examining precontact alcohol and then looks at the development of distilled alcohol in México. It notes that the popularity of this more potent alcohol contributed to the growth of the Mérida cantina. Further, this chapter looks at the ways that women, both poor and elite, used the cantina (and bars more generally) to carve out an existence in a society in which they had little place except as wives and mothers. We will also examine how reforms following the Mexican Revolution stripped cantina women of their financial well-being in the name of protecting morality. Finally, we explore the comparison between the rum-fueled cantinas of nineteenth-century Mérida with the alcohol-driven tourism in the east during the twentieth century. Although the cantina in Mérida and the bars and clubs in Cancun are quite different settings, both were adapted by, if not constructed through, state practice.

ALCOHOL IN PRECONTACT MESOAMERICA

The importance of alcoholic drink in Mesoamerican ritual is depicted in precontact iconography and demonstrated with the Yucatec and Lacandon Maya use of balché during the twentieth century.² Alcohol in pre-Hispanic México is the subject of several book-length works, including those by Henry J. Bruman, Alfonso Paredes, Tim Mitchell, and a multi-author volume edited by Gretchen Pierce and Áurea Toxqui.³ Drawing on these works as a baseline, our contribution is to focus on the specific effects of European conquest on issues concerning the Maya and the use of alcohol in the nineteenth century. Prior to European contact, there is little evidence that Mesoamericans used distillation techniques.⁴ Various cultures consumed alcoholic drinks throughout México and the rest of Latin America prior to European contact, although the kinds of drinks varied by region. As Bruman notes, the Maya region had a long and varied history of alcoholic beverages derived from sources, including corn,



FIGURE 23. Aztec pulque ritual performed on two rabbits. (*Florentine Codex*, book 4, chapters 4 and 5.)

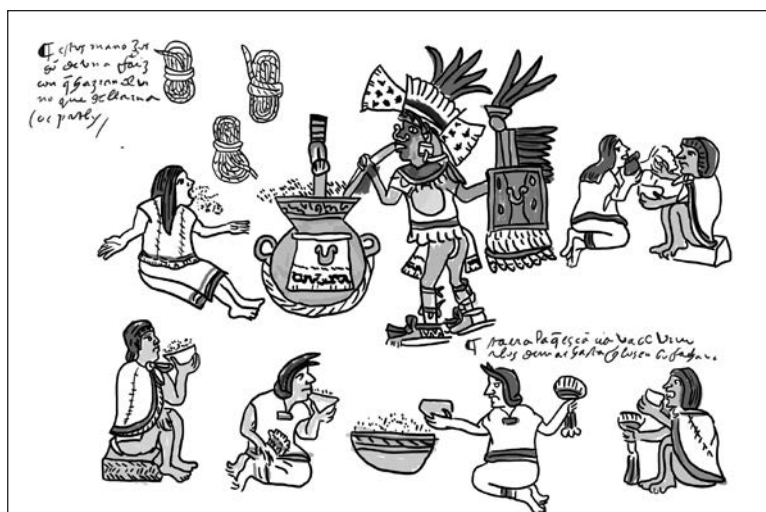


FIGURE 24. Aztec pulque ritual. (*Codex Magliabechiano*, 85r.)

agave, pineapple, jocote, coyol palm, and the balché tree.⁵ While Indigenous alcoholic beverages sometimes had psychotropic effects, the alcohol content was similar to that of beer or wine, and thus did not have the potency of distilled spirits.⁶

Pulque (*octli*) is a weak alcoholic drink made of the fermented juice of a few varieties of agave,⁷ with an alcohol content similar to modern beer. Consumption of pulque was initially restricted to ritual feasts and religious rites (figures 23 and 24),⁸ although pregnant and nursing women (figure 25) and the elderly (male and female) were allowed to drink it daily. For the Aztecs, the sale of pulque and public drunkenness was a capital offense. The first time an elite was caught intoxicated in public, or the second incident for someone from the lower classes, resulted in a death sentence.⁹

Balché is made by soaking the bark of the balché tree (*Lonchocarpus violaceus*) in honey and water and allowing it to ferment.¹⁰ The brewing of balché rotated between the respected men of a community, and they



FIGURE 25. Aztec goddess Mayahual depicted as a maguēy (agave) plant, breastfeeding an infant. (*Codex Fejérváry-Mayer*, 28.)

only imbibed the drink during ritual ceremonies.¹¹ Chuchiak reports that after European contact, rules were relaxed to allow prominent women to attend the rituals as well. Like many traditions, the balché ceremonies had both sacred and mundane functions. The religious component was used to continue Maya belief systems, which were in opposition to Roman Catholicism. Ritual imbibing was a central component in *cofradia* ceremonies, and those who did not consume could not participate as brothers (*cofrades*) or community elders.¹² The strengthening of internal community bonds acted to cement solidarity and stirred up resistance to Spanish demands. The Spanish viewed these ceremonies as civil violations and religious transgressions for idolatry, and thus both secular and religious authorities handled the prosecutions for balché production and consumption. They would arrest those caught participating in the balché ceremonies, driving the ceremonies underground. To further undermine the ceremonies, the Spanish attempted to kill all the balché trees, which led Maya to hide and protect the trees.¹³ Balché use persisted into the twentieth century, as Redfield and Villa Rojas discussed balché throughout their study of the postrevolutionary town Chan Kom. Unlike many other towns in postrevolutionary Yucatán, Chan Kom served balché and aguardiente rum at celebrations and used them ritually, although balché was preferred.¹⁴

Ancient peoples also produced corn beer, best known by its Peruvian name, chicha, virtually anywhere that corn was grown.¹⁵ While women in México have overseen chicha production since pre-Hispanic times, relatively little is known about the mores surrounding its use prior to contact. After European Contact, sugar became part of the base of Maya maize chicha. Observers noted that Indigenous peoples preferred sugar-based alcoholic beverages, and by the latter part of the colonial period, aguardiente began to supplement and then displace the use of chicha by Maya and the population as a whole.¹⁶

ALCOHOL IN MESOAMERICA FROM THE COLONIAL PERIOD TO THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION

Following conquest, some religious officials still exhibited concerns regarding alcohol consumption. As Bristol notes, “In the 1540s the friar Toribio de Benavente, also known as Motolinfa, condemned pulque for making Indigenous people ‘violently drunk and accordingly more cruel

and bestial' while acknowledging that 'actually, if taken with moderation, [pulque] is wholesome and very nutritious.'¹⁷ There were also governmental misgivings about pulque bars, known as *pulquerias*, although laws regulating pulque were relaxed and elites provided pulque to participants in communal labor.¹⁸ Once pulque became an important trade item, the control of production wound up in the hands of men. Women, however, did continue to run the majority of the estimated 850 clandestine pulquerias on the outskirts of México City. Even legal (licensed) establishments poured illegally made or smuggled alcohol.¹⁹

European-introduced aguardiente, a crude rum made from sugarcane, differed from pulque in its strength and the fact that it could be procured and consumed outside of the festive environment of the pulqueria.²⁰ People often consumed outside of the regulating influence of social networks. As Carey states, "As a commodity that was produced and consumed locally (and often illicitly), aguardiente (distilled sugarcane liquor or rum) was frequently at the center of economic, political, and social conflicts within and between local communities and between communities and the state."²¹

LIQUOR, RACE, AND INDIGENOUS CULTURE

For centuries, alcohol was a key component of community and family rituals, and continued to be an integral part of maintaining cultural identity after the conquest. For example, in Guatemala, some Maya avoided the legal ramifications of smuggling alcohol by insisting that it was for use in traditional ritual and customs.²² This exception was later expanded to include Roman Catholic and Maya holidays, as well as secular rituals like the changing of town leadership.²³ Among the Zinacantan Maya of Chiapas, when a mayordomo was leaving office, he hosted a formal meal with chicken and rum for the incoming mayordomo and shamans. They concluded the feast with a ritual circuit in which rum, candles, and incense were offered to the Earth Lord.²⁴ The Zinacantan also gifted bottles of rum to shamans for curing rituals and to midwives around the sixth or seventh month of pregnancy (to secure their services). Following the birth of an infant, they served three rounds of rum to the family.²⁵

During the Hacienda Period in Yucatán, rum was an integral part of the marriage process. Guests expected the families of the bride

and groom, or the bride and groom themselves, to provide them with abundant food and drink during the marriage ceremony. This was still expected during Zinacanteco courtship and marriage in the twentieth century. Once a boy selected a girl to marry, he approached his parents with a bottle of rum. If they chose to accept it, they agreed to help him with courtship expenses and to ask the girl to marry him. If his father disapproved of his choice, he refused the bottle of rum. Similarly, the girl's parents showed approval of the marriage by their acceptance of four special bottles of rum presented by the boy's father. Appointed drink pourers arrived at the girl's house and presented the four bottles at the father's feet and requested his permission. The drink pourers distributed the rum during a long ceremony in which petitioners tried to persuade the parents. Throughout the night the parents refused the offer of rum, until the father finally succumbed and took a drink, symbolically giving his daughter away and formally initiating the courtship process. The boy was then summoned from his home, and he arrived carrying serving glasses and a liter of rum. He then served his future father-in-law and relatives until everyone was drunk, and after his petitioners departed, he helped his prospective parents-in-law to bed and gave them more rum if they awoke during the night and in the morning to alleviate their hangovers.²⁶ Rum was served to the wedding party (minus the bride and groom) immediately following the marriage ceremony outside the church, during the procession from the church back to the bride and groom's new home, as well as upon their arrival. A server provided drinks during a dancing ceremony, which continued until virtually everyone was drunk.²⁷ Rum was also served at Zinacanteco funerals, baptisms, confirmations, year renewal ceremonies, and cargo ceremonies.²⁸

Despite this ready adoption of distilled alcohol into traditional rituals, state officials viewed the introduction of liquor as having a negative effect on many native peoples, leading to the unfortunate stereotype of the "drunkard Indian" in the Americas. White elites claimed that alcohol, and the perceived inability to responsibly use it, was a mark of Indigenous inferiority in early-twentieth-century Guatemala.²⁹ As one Guatemalan intellectual stated, "The bottle of *aguardiente* is his consolation, his happiness, the rude companion of his life. The Indian learns to drink since his childhood and to that can be attributed a great part of his degeneration."³⁰ However, as discussed in chapter 2, some landowners gave rum to young children to get them hooked on it as a way to indebted them, to keep a pliable workforce, and of course the hacienda stores were

the principal sellers of rum to workers.³¹ Through a form of structural violence, landowners intentionally placed children and workers in harm's way to benefit themselves, and they were encouraged to "compulsively consume."³² Thus, under this structure of social inequality, the compulsion for drinking alcohol outside of a ritual context came to exist along with ritual drinking in Maya communities.³³ The racist assumption of a generalized genetic predisposition to alcoholism or a cultural inability to regulate consumption came to be a part of physical and social character of the "Indian." In reality, Europeans and Mestizos had their own struggles with liquor, and arrest records from early-twentieth-century Guatemala show that authorities arrested Mestizos for public intoxication at a rate nearly twice that of Indigenous Maya people.³⁴

Current research demonstrates that social ills like poverty, lack of opportunity, and lack of control over one's life are greater indicators of the likelihood of systemic alcohol abuse than genetics. Widespread alcoholism in impoverished areas is a result of short-term escapes from the frustrations of life, eventually developing into dependency. Thus it was Europeans who not only introduced liquor but destroyed existing mores around alcohol consumption, while also imposing the very conditions from which many enslaved or colonized people around the world sought a respite.³⁵

LIQUOR, HACENDADOS, AND THE DEBT PEON

As discussed in chapter 2, although members of the elite in Yucatecan society complained about Maya workers engaging in drunkenness, neither the laws nor the practices on the haciendas discouraged this behavior. Spanish (and then Mexican) law stated that people were in essence not fully culpable for acts that they committed while drunk, thus encouraging the appearance of being inebriated or being in an inebriated state.³⁶ Hacienda owners usually paid their workers in company scrip that was only accepted at the company store, where aguardiente was widely available at inflated prices.³⁷ Attachment to the hacienda by debt obligations effectively made the debt peon and their families wards of the hacendado.³⁸ Hacendados may have felt that it was not in their financial interest to restrict worker access to aguardiente, as they failed to take steps to limit the supply.

Thus we see the laws regarding alcohol consumption appear to help elites acquire a stable workforce and diffuse collective action. Hacendados

sometimes served as lawmakers and ran in powerful social circles. Had they felt the need to do something about alcohol use on the haciendas, they had the power to do so. The fact that they did not is important to understanding the place of alcohol—in particular, the preferred alcohol of the working class, *aguardiente*—in the maintenance of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Yucatecan society.

FROM SACRED SPACES TO THE BAR: DRINKING ESTABLISHMENTS DURING THE COLONIAL AND POSTCOLONIAL PERIODS

There were a number of types of drinking establishments in the Americas during the colonial and postcolonial periods, including juke joints, honky-tonks, taverns, pulquerías, and cantinas. The distinctions between these establishments were based on a combination of alcohol type, social class, ethnicity, and race.

The juke joint in Central America was an “entertainment maroon” that allowed Black workers to temporarily escape the harsh conditions of life as railroad and banana plantation workers. The position of Black men in early twentieth century Guatemalan society was ambiguous. Many Blacks in Guatemala were U.S. citizens and had minimally more rights than they did in the U.S. South under Jim Crow laws. The U.S. State Department had a vested interest in protecting U.S. citizens and capital, and thus Black laborers sought aid from U.S. diplomats when labor abuse occurred, though not always successfully.³⁹ However, the United Fruit Company imposed a Jim Crow-like hierarchy on its lands that did not treat Blacks as equal to whites.⁴⁰ The juke joint was a place where Black workers could hear American jazz and avoid the discrimination that was otherwise pervasive.⁴¹ The honky-tonk was usually a whites-only juke joint that played country music.⁴² Outside of white areas, honky-tonks were Black spaces or, minimally, non-Jim Crow spaces.⁴³ Rum shops, sometimes attached to homes, acted as stripped-down versions of juke joints and honky-tonks, providing drinks but fewer amenities and a lower startup cost for owners.⁴⁴

Taverns were the first European-influenced drinking establishments that primarily served wines and brandies imported into the area.⁴⁵ Like other drinking establishments, they were known for attracting “loose women.”⁴⁶ Taverns sometimes refused to sell their imported alcohol

to Indigenous men, imposing a social stratification within the lower classes.⁴⁷ The Guatemalan *vinatería* sought an upper-crust audience of both men and women.⁴⁸ Although there was racial mixing, colonial city laws explicitly forbade the sale of aguardiente and wines of Spain and Peru to Indigenous people.⁴⁹

Starting in the mid-nineteenth century in central México, elite white women owned pulquerías that were supplied by pulque produced on their own large landholdings. They were often the relatives of male pulque entrepreneurs and had to hire male administrators to be the face of their businesses. The social spaces of pulquerías were restricted to men, and poor Indigenous women sold prepared foods on the streets outside as a way to earn a living.⁵⁰ They made agreements with the female tavern owners to sell cheap and fast food, such as tacos, mole, and enchiladas, outside of the establishments. The owners preferred spicy food on the menu, as it increased the amount of pulque that patrons drank. This was also appealing because much of the working poor lacked cooking facilities or simply didn't have time to prepare meals, and it was a socially acceptable role for women who needed to make an income outside the household.⁵¹ Inside the tavern, they sold pulque. While pure pulque (*pulque puro* or *pulque blanco*) remained associated with "Indian-ness," pulque mixed with other substances became an indicator of hybridity.⁵² Lower-class Spaniards drank it with Indigenous people and Blacks, in public and in private.⁵³

THE CANTINA IN YUCATÁN

The Yucatecan cantina (figures 26 and 27) borrows elements from these types of drinking venues, especially the tavern's association with loose women and the juke joints' music and role as a place to enjoy a temporary escape from life.⁵⁴ By the 1850s, cantinas developed in urban spaces as places where lower-class men could go to escape the rigors of their lives. Unfortunately, there are virtually no sources of information for understanding social interactions within these nineteenth-century cantinas. Thus we must turn to the few contemporary sources that exist as admittedly limited models for understanding these establishments as social spaces.



FIGURE 26. Historic La Cantina Sabrosa still doing business in Mérida today. (Photograph by John R. Gust.)



FIGURE 27. Historic Cantina El Cardenal open nightly in Mérida. (Photograph by John R. Gust.)

Among Mexican men, machismo (showing independence and dominance over women, sexual virility, as well as demonstrating hypermasculinity) and manhood are associated with drinking and friendship, and Mexican cantinas serve as a gendered social space.⁵⁵ For men, it was a place to dance, arrange sexual encounters, and gossip with their male friends. The cantina served as a space for the rite of passage of engaging in male misbehavior and as a social outlet. "One of the primary reasons that a person enters the cantina is to interact with others in ways that would be socially unacceptable within other social settings," in part because of the high rate of alcohol consumption.⁵⁶ The setting usually includes jukeboxes or live musicians who play loud music, with men sitting at barstools or small tables.⁵⁷ However, as Stross states, "It is also common knowledge that 'decent women do not enter the cantina,'" automatically denigrating women who are present within cantinas as disreputable.⁵⁸

WOMEN IN CANTINAS

The image of the cantina woman is thus counter to the traditional role of women under *marianismo*—the belief that women should be valued in their role as mothers, and for their focus on the family and the home. They are expected to encourage family cohesion through self-sacrifice; be loyal, virtuous, and chaste; show moral strength; and demonstrate obedience to the male hierarchy.⁵⁹ As Stross states, "The cantina woman . . . usually has one or more illegitimate children to support, smokes, drinks, curses, sells her body, stares invitingly at a man without feeling shame, fights in jest or in earnest, and often playfully grabs at the private parts of her female co-workers."⁶⁰ He also says that cantina women may be teased or asked intimate questions, spoken to in a way that is normally reserved for men, or totally ignored. And yet she is also desired for being everything that a proper woman is not.⁶¹

A 1990s study of Mexican cantinas in Southern California examined the role of women in these establishments. These male spaces usually included female employees, including *cantineras*, or barmaids; *ficheras*, or dancers; and *talonerias*, or sex workers.⁶² The category of *cantineras* seems to be a more recent phenomenon, as Stross identifies waiters in Mexican cantinas in the 1960s exclusively as males between the ages of twenty-five to forty-five.⁶³ In southern California, waiters may be women or men, but *cantineras* are specifically women who wait on tables for tips, push

the sale of drinks, and while they are often fondled by male patrons, they generally do not have sex with them. However, the role of the *cantineros/cantineras* does seem to have the common characteristics of maintaining social order. Regardless of gender, they are expected to be pleasing to their customers by listening to them and providing them with food and drinks. They are also expected to be ready to deal with problems, such as customers engaging in violent behavior or calming customers down when policemen enter the space.⁶⁴ *Cantineras* further serve as a symbol of the client's wife or girlfriend, upon which he can hurl insults and hostilities without punishment.⁶⁵

The role of the *fichera* is to get men to dance with them. Men generally initiate the encounter with a gesture or by going up to ask an unoccupied woman to dance, although she does have the right to refuse him.⁶⁶ Once the dance is complete, the man can either return to his table alone or ask the *fichera* to join him at the table for a drink. For every drink sold, the bartender or waiter will give her a token (*ficha*), which she can convert to cash at a later time.⁶⁷ The *fichera* will also allow the men to fondle her, although she will only stay at the table as long as she has a drink, and she will move on to another patron once her current prospect runs out of money.⁶⁸ This is purely business for them, and the women generally protect their individuality by exhibiting a kind of social distance from their clients.⁶⁹ Conversely, men are more likely to confide personal subjects and feelings to women in cantinas (and to waiters and bartenders as well), which is socially acceptable because of their excessive drinking.⁷⁰ Men can also learn to dance without embarrassment, as they are not concerned about what the cantina women think of them.⁷¹ While the *fichera* may also negotiate money for sex with her client, he must pay an exit fee to the waiter to do so.⁷² In the United States, although the *fichera* may negotiate sex with a client around closing time, it is the *talonera* that primarily serves as a sex worker in cantinas, although this would not be applicable in the nineteenth century onward.⁷³

The cantinas offered the safest space for male patrons and sex workers to arrange sexual encounters (to be held elsewhere), as they are less likely to encounter police there than on the streets where sex workers frequented. Interviews with cantina sex workers in California revealed that they generally felt that their clients were men looking for companionship and someone who could get drunk with them. They stated that their needs for sex were not being met by their wives and that they asked prostitutes to engage in oral sex because their wives would not do it.⁷⁴ The

price was negotiated based on the age and attractiveness of the woman, although a man might have been considered more macho if he could negotiate a price down due to his charm or manliness.⁷⁵

WOMEN OUTSIDE OF CANTINAS

For the wives and children of male cantina patrons, the cantina represented a dangerous space that resulted in physical abuse, rape, and violence. One source for understanding these issues is to review the testimonials of women who have been subject to alcohol-fueled abuse. Award-winning playwright Petrona de la Cruz Cruz, a Maya woman from Chiapas, wrote a biographical play called “*Una Mujer Desesperada*” (“A Desperate Woman”), as a way to discuss the struggles of Indigenous women and children in daily life. She raised issues related to the violence, rape, and poverty that often stemmed from men’s alcohol abuse.⁷⁶ The play opened with a hungry mother holding a sick daughter and talking about an absent father. “Their father has never cared about them. He doesn’t even remember to bring them food. He lives in the cantina with his friends.”⁷⁷ The implication is that because of alcohol abuse, husbands and fathers don’t work, and they spend the money that they do have in the cantinas rather than providing for their families.⁷⁸ When they return home drunk, it is their families who suffer. “Don’t you understand, man? How can I make a fire if we don’t have kindling or food [*sic*]. You are so drunk that you don’t see anything. You haven’t worked for a long time, even to feed your daughters. Look how sick they are, and you just keep getting drunk and throwing away money that we don’t have.”⁷⁹

This stoic acceptance of men’s misbehavior and the resulting women’s suffering stems from the colonial period, during which women were expected to emulate the Virgin Mary (marianismo). The Spanish limited women’s rights and social roles through laws and social codes, emphasizing their realm as spiritual and secondary within the context of the home, church, and family. This was juxtaposed with the image of *La Malinche*, the vilified mistress of Hernan Cortes, who demonstrated what happened when a woman sought a public and liberated role.⁸⁰

In the context of the nineteenth-century hacienda and machismo, we also know that many of those male abuses went unpunished.⁸¹ “Judges—usually planters or their clients—appreciated the notion that if every infraction, drunk or sober, received a ‘just’ sentence, the jails would

overflow, and few laborers would be left to work in the henequen fields.”⁸² In highland Guatemala in the nineteenth century, dictatorial regimes overlooked or even pardoned drunken men who beat their wives.⁸³

POSTREVOLUTIONARY ALCOHOL POLICY, WOMEN, AND THE CANTINA

Despite their willingness to ignore alcohol-fueled violence, the postrevolutionary government in Yucatán understood other negative effects of alcohol on the lower class.⁸⁴ In 1915, the military governor of Yucatán, General Salvador Alvarado, signed a group of protective laws, collectively known as *La Ley Seca* (Dry Law) that limited the production and sale of alcohol. This first law made the sale of liquor to minors and women illegal. The second law stopped women from working in cantinas, limited the sale of alcohol in restaurants and grills, and mandated that cantinas located too close to schools must move. The third law outlawed the sale of alcohol in cantinas during national holidays, Sundays, after ten at night, and during siesta break. When these laws did not significantly change drinking patterns, General Alvarado outlawed the sale and production of *aguardiente* entirely. Although drinks with low alcohol content, like beer, remained legal, this “ended the golden age of the domestic rum industry in Yucatán.”⁸⁵

When President Venustiano Carranza (1917–20) ordered Alvarado out of Yucatán, the *Ley Seca* remained on the books. However, the law was inconsistently applied, and enforcement became a tool wielded against political and business enemies.⁸⁶ Alcohol remained a tool to encourage members of opposition parties to defect to the causes of the Socialist Party and facilitated bootlegging, which corrupt party leaders turned into a source of income.⁸⁷ Even after enforcement of the Dry Law diminished, women often led temperance plans, resulting in the prohibition of liquor in a number of villages and towns.⁸⁸ Other reforms, some alcohol-related, directly affected women. In addition to women being barred from employment in cantinas, sex work was more heavily scrutinized both legally and by medical professionals.⁸⁹ Some of these reforms were new, and others built upon existing Porfirian trends toward pathologizing the bodies of Indigenous women and their traditional health practices.⁹⁰ Reforms recognized drunkenness as legal grounds for divorce.⁹¹ They also warned men of the dangers of sexually transmitted infections

for both themselves and their families and that having sex while drunk could result in the conception of a child with cognitive defects.⁹² Thus revolutionary reforms had mixed results for women. Married women and those living with partners were granted extended rights, but sex workers' financial well-being was further undermined in a society that offered little opportunity for unattached women.

During the late nineteenth century, Yucatecan hacienda owners controlled laborers' access to rum by jacking up prices and increasing their debt, rather than legislating on the basis of morality or health. This debt and resulting lack of social freedoms increased the stress of Indigenous families, with women and children paying the greatest price through violence and economic hardship. While rum did provide some economic benefits to those women who could manage cantinas, engage in sex work with cantina patrons, or sell food outside of the establishments, ultimately their social and economic status was at the whim of the government and the male patrons on whom they depended. During the early twentieth century, domestic laws meant to protect the lower class and women and children were enacted. However, this drove the alcohol industry underground, further eroding the stability of women already living on the periphery of society.

In the late twentieth and early twenty-first century, rum and other alcohol continued to have the same social and economic effects on the Yucatán Peninsula. Differences in the local economies of the areas where rum was produced in the nineteenth century (the east coast of the peninsula, where Cancun is now located, and the Mérida area, where the henequen industry flourished) are reflected in the variety of tourism development strategies that operate in these regions today.

RUM AS METAPHOR: CANCÚN VERSUS MÉRIDA

The recent history of Quintana Roo in eastern Yucatán is one of boom and bust. Tourism is not the first industry focused on products for export to other regions or countries that operate there. In reliable succession, the hardwood, cattle, sugar and rum, and chicle industries have exploited the plants and Maya of Quintana Roo for centuries. These businesses took advantage of the populations, economies, and infrastructures while business was booming, and then abandoned them when business failed.⁹³ Tourism is the latest of these industries and is linked to both the area's

past as a rum producer and the lack of a preexisting sense of place. The effects of tourism on Quintana Roo are most evident in the greater Cancún area.

We argue that rum is a metaphor for Cancún, and the city represents temporary escape in much the same way as a bottle of aguardiente allowed a debt peon a respite from life. Specifically, this comparison applies to the cheap well rum that comes as part of spring break packages and with trips to the all-inclusive resorts. The free-flowing fruity drinks that hide the taste of inferior rum are enjoyable and do not stress the palate of the drinker. Locals often refer to Cancún as “Gringolandia,” alluding to its Disneyland-like qualities that mesh Mexican, U.S., and Maya culture in an artificial way.⁹⁴ Today, North American tourists can stay in their choice of approximately 150 hotels, eat at any of the roughly 400 restaurants, and feel like they have never left home. In the Hotel Zone, tourists generally do not need to exchange dollars for pesos, the majority of employees speak at least some English, and the city sports several Walmart stores, a Sam’s Club, and Costco. Visitors can find nearly every kind of fast-food and chain restaurant imaginable, from the ubiquitous McDonald’s to TGI Fridays, (the non-ironically-intended) Rainforest Café, and Hard Rock Café (figure 28). Most tourism in Cancún is just like the mass-produced rum that is poured there: consistent but rarely exciting.



FIGURE 28. American restaurants in Cancún Hotel Zone. (Photograph by John R. Gust.)

In large population centers of western Yucatán, the tourism sector is dominated by small locally owned hotels and restaurants. Mérida, the capital, has chain hotels, but they are primarily located outside or at the fringe of tourist areas, and independent hotels are plentiful and usually more affordable than corporate options. This local ownership contrasts with Cancún, where ownership by national or transnational corporations concentrates profits within a small group of people and establishments that focus on providing a Western-style experience. Such establishments in Cancún employ Yucatán natives, mostly in the lower-paying and seasonal positions, while better-paying and permanent positions are staffed by educated (and non-Indigenous-looking) people from elsewhere in México or abroad.⁹⁵ While Cancún might be seen as the equivalent of mass-produced rum that the majority of tourists might enjoy, Mérida represents the craft distillery, content to produce a limited supply of high-quality rum that is marketed to connoisseurs. In fact, one such distillery exists in Mérida: Casa D'Aristi makes small-batch rum-based spirits by incorporating the ingredients of Yucatán, such as honey, anise, coconut milk, and soursop.⁹⁶ Such rums and liqueurs may be inconsistent batch to batch but are more interesting because they are unique. An “alternative” vacation to Yucatán will always be just as unpredictable. The gross division between these two populations of visitors has been described as “mass” versus “alternative” tourism.⁹⁷ Mass tourists are visitors who want “Western amenities, good infrastructure,” and a reliably enjoyable trip.⁹⁸ As a “stay in a hotel room is ‘an experience good’” (meaning that unlike most goods, it cannot be closely inspected before being consumed), there is a benefit to staying in a chain hotel that should be expected to meet certain standards, regardless of location.⁹⁹

THE DEVELOPMENT OF CANCÚN

Before the 1970s, few outsiders other than adventurers, archaeologists, and divers came to Quintana Roo.¹⁰⁰ So how did the region go from a secret hideaway to the “Maya Riviera” of today? In 1969, the Mexican government asked the Bank of México and FONATUR (*Fondo Nacional de Fomento al Turismo*), the national agency in charge of tourism, to conduct a study on the tourism of México. They concluded that the country had far too few developed tourism areas and wanted to attract more visitors—particularly those from the United States.¹⁰¹ Using a computer program

and reconnaissance teams, they examined more than six thousand miles of Mexican coastline in search of areas with great year-round weather; few hurricane scares; available drinking water; a low incidence of sharks, bugs, or snakes; and picturesque beaches lapped by deep blue waters. All things being equal, they also wanted to locate the new resorts in areas where there was an ample labor supply and a local population that was poor and in need of low-skilled employment.¹⁰² The government also hoped to avoid another Acapulco, which was plagued with polluted waters and the location of shanty towns next to upscale resorts, by regulating the outpouring of toxins into the water supply and minimizing unzoned growth.¹⁰³

The research team chose the island of Cancún (with plans to develop Ixtapa on the Pacific Coast, Los Cabos and Loreto in Baja California, and Bahías de Huatulco in Oaxaca soon after), and the government bought up the entire 14 km L-shaped island. Cancún was an ideal candidate with almost no previous development, coral sand beaches (figure 29), an ample freshwater source, ancient Maya ruins (sites include Tulum, which is approximately 130 km away; Chichén Itzá, which is 200 km away; and Cobá, which is 172 km away), an annual average temperature of 85 degrees and sunshine an average of 243 days a year, and no history of direct hits from hurricanes.¹⁰⁴ Additionally, the proximity of Cancún to major cities in the United States made it one of the most convenient tourism centers in the Caribbean.¹⁰⁵ The team funneled private and government funding totaling a hundred million dollars into constructing the resort area concentrated on the small island in various development stages, and the Hotel Zone was built to be set apart from the city proper.¹⁰⁶ By 1973, the team planned to build a permanent two-hundred-foot-long bridge



FIGURE 29. Beach in Cancún Hotel Zone, Quintana Roo. (Copyright Macduff Everton 2019, image 01136.)

to connect the island to the rest of the coast; install a sewage-treatment plant; pipe in fresh water from the mainland; and build a harbor and marina, a convention center, two eighteen-hole golf courses, several small hotels, a shopping area (with Maya architectural themes), and an international airport twenty-four kilometers away.¹⁰⁷

Torres finds Fordist analysis of mass production to be a useful, if imperfect, tool for understanding the touristic development of Yucatán.¹⁰⁸ This enclavic style of mass tourism isolates the visitor from the normal issues of daily life, both their own and those of the people of the host country.¹⁰⁹ Cancún developers hoped that by 1975 they would have created ten thousand permanent jobs for the local, primarily Maya, population to sustain this new tourist hot spot.¹¹⁰ However, they created an intentional division between the resorts and the supporting infrastructure by constructing supermarkets, small businesses, and 670 buildings to house workers away from the tourist enclave.¹¹¹

In 1975, eight hundred new working families were moving to Cancún every month, only 12 percent of whom had been born in the state of Quintana Roo.¹¹² While local government workers were housed in a planned area maintained by FONATUR just adjacent to the resort area, service workers were intentionally segregated and lived on the margins of downtown in concrete apartment buildings that could be constructed vertically and horizontally as needed.¹¹³ Many of these service-sector areas, including a squatter settlement of tar-paper shacks that later developed in the Cancún neighborhood of Colonia Puerto Juárez, have been slow to receive services such as electricity, water, sewage, and paved roads.¹¹⁴ By 1980, the sleepy fishing village of Cancún that once had 800 residents had become a city of 50,000 people, and this was in a state that claimed a total population of 50,169 in 1960.¹¹⁵ Although a 1982 development program known as “Nuevos Horizontes” attempted to improve basic services for the earliest squatter settlements, the majority of these low-wage laborers continued to live in squalor and do so to this day.¹¹⁶

Hiernaux-Nicolás describes this development of Cancún as quasi-utopian, especially in the case of the all-inclusive resort.¹¹⁷ The word *utopia*, first coined by Sir Thomas More in 1516, is based on the Greek *ou-topos*, meaning “nowhere or no place.”¹¹⁸ Thus the isolation of the resorts and the standardized Western-style infrastructure meets tourists’ desires, but at the cost of being generic. All-inclusive resorts further distance tourists from the locality and its inhabitants, as travel packages draw tourists seeking predictability both in terms of service and cost.¹¹⁹



FIGURE 30. Ancient site of Tulum, overlooking the Caribbean Sea. (Photograph by Jennifer P. Mathews.)

Arguably these are also “get away from it all” tourists, who want to push as many decisions off on others as possible. Although usually with a nod to luxury, most all-inclusive resorts lack cultural distinction and can be constructed almost anywhere with a similar climate. These tourism areas also isolate themselves from the surrounding cultural zone and everyday life. In fact, the Hotel Zone is even exempt from the laws that restrict public alcohol sales during elections for everywhere else in México (aside from a few other tourist zones).¹²⁰

Continuing the Fordist analysis, Torres describes how tourists eventually demanded greater flexibility in their vacation experience.¹²¹ This demand has usually been met by allowing the tourist to choose from a limited menu of options of preplanned excursions either run by the hotel itself or through its subcontractors. When surveyed, mass tourists ranked shopping trips higher than exploring on their own or visiting nature reserves, although they did show a strong interest in visiting archaeological sites (figure 30).¹²² As Torres notes, however, the sites that they choose to visit have gift shops, restaurants, and other modern amenities, and can be traveled to and from in air-conditioned buses and vans.¹²³ Thus Torres describes these demands as a kind of neo-Fordism that offers flexibility within constraints.¹²⁴ In practice, the hotel operator has a financial stake in responding to demands for flexibility in ways in that can be controlled. Not only does the hotel or resort staff want to capture a portion of the

proceeds from the trip, but they also are aware that any accidents or incidents involving tourists can harm the reputation of their hotel or resort. One way to limit the time spent outside of the hotel's purview is to bundle some activities within the price of a travel package.¹²⁵ Tourists who choose activities not included in the package price do so at additional cost.

TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN MÉRIDA

The capital city of Mérida in the state of Yucatán stands in contrast to Cancún and the Maya Riviera. The largest city on the Yucatán Peninsula, it is located in the northwest corner of the peninsula. Unlike the zoning in Cancún's Hotel Zone, which took into consideration the "cumulative visual effect" of all the hotels, resorts near Mérida are usually on renovated hacienda land and play on the uniqueness of the place and history of the area.¹²⁶ Hotels and restaurants in the central (historic) district of Mérida are housed within renovated colonial-period structures, again making the history part of the experience. While many servers and other low-level staff are originally from small villages, the owners of hotels and restaurants are usually either long-term residents of the city or people who lived in the city for years and then opened a business. Visitors to tourist-related establishments within Mérida will find that many in the service industry speak English, although it is generally Spanish-only in the smaller restaurants and hotels that primarily cater to Mexican tourists. In contrast to the wide streets of Cancún's Hotel Zone, the streets of Mérida are narrow and lined with uneven sidewalks full of people sliding past each other as they go to work or go shopping. Unless the visitor purposefully stays at a spa outside the city, they will encounter people going about their normal day and will eat next to Mexican families in the restaurants at night.

Although there are a large number of luxury hotel rooms (known as *gran turismo*) in the Cancún area, there are also deluxe accommodations in the Mérida area.¹²⁷ However, Cancún's luxury offerings are more affordable because they are available on a mass scale, while Mérida's are more expensive because they are unique and tailored to appealing to those interested in staying within a historic context. The variety of accommodations available in Mérida mesh well with travelers of various incomes who are more interested in exploring on their own in a more impromptu fashion, versus those who would rather choose from

tours with preplanned activities. The historic and memorable character of Mérida's restaurants, hotels, and spas not only allows the tourist to see history but also repeat history via the continuing cycle of inequality in the workforce. For example, hacienda resorts are staffed by Indigenous people but are owned by wealthy mestizos and managed by foreigners—often Europeans.¹²⁸ This hierarchy recapitulates the labor structure of the hacienda and hacienda period. The Maya still do the grunt work for the benefit of wealthy mestizos and their guests.

CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter we have primarily investigated the continuing effects of a social system influenced by rum production on those who were not working directly within the industry. We have seen how powerful figures in Yucatán complained about drunkenness among their workers and the working class at large, but failed to take action to effect change. Often the hacienda owners themselves were the sellers of rum to their workers and, in many cases, the only sources through which workers could consistently access it. Had they been so inclined, hacienda owners could have “dried” up the supply of rum. However, the operating costs of haciendas seemingly necessitated both using entrapped labor and turning a profit in company stores—hence securing the place of rum as a staple in working-class society. Thus hacienda owners complained about drunkenness among workers but failed to take steps to curtail it. Instead, it appears that the problems associated with alcohol were part and parcel of the hacienda system and, as the hacienda owners and henequen brokers were also often political leaders, a direct result of state practice. The economic system of Yucatán, especially during the henequen boom, was predicated on a pliant workforce. The availability of alcohol also gave workers a “safe” outlet for venting their frustrations while not in their right mind. Inappropriate behavior while sober would have been punished severely, but the ravings of a drunk were usually dismissed. The families of workers suffered the most, enduring abuse and hunger due to the loss of wages that went to alcohol. Drunkenness also divided loyalties among workers, helping ensure against concerted resistance such as strikes or revolts.

Alcohol—in particular, the drink of the masses, aguardiente rum—acted as a social glue, a social repellent, and a social lubricant. The ruling

class of Yucatán managed to profit from alcohol production while ignoring the most onerous of the problems created by the abuse of alcohol in the working class. The centrality of rum was not lost on the postrevolutionary leaders of Yucatán. The Dry Law was partially intended to help free workers from oppression and spur advancement, but in ways often antagonistic to Maya culture instead of in support of it. Women emerged as temperance leaders, and some towns and villages banned alcoholic beverages. The availability of so much as a beer with dinner is still spotty in many small villages of Yucatán today as a result. The Dry Law also undercut the only source of income for sex workers in the cantinas.

In the twentieth century, we see the rise of tourism that develops on two separate paths in the eastern and western sides of the peninsula. Cancún is a segregated city with the tourist zone built around a drinking culture. The heart of the Hotel Zone is based on bars, clubs, and all-inclusive resorts with “all-you-can-drink” packages intended to keep tourists on the island. The focus is on U.S. tourists who are interested in having modern conveniences that won’t take them out of their comfort zones and won’t expose them to daily life among the city’s poor.

What Cancun obscures, Mérida sells. To go to Mérida is to interact with its history, or a version of it at least. You will hear much more Spanish spoken in the tourist areas. The park in the historic center is full of small vendors, but you still will find a few beggars. The restaurants and shops are mostly in converted historic homes and businesses that are well kept but still show their age. The furnishings are reminiscent of hacienda life and often include repurposed detritus from the hacienda itself. The visitor to Mérida is immersed in the remnants of a system that built Yucatán into one of México’s richest regions on the backs of the poor and sustains the social hierarchy that has disadvantaged the Yucatec Maya for centuries.

100. Density was high enough in this artifact scatter to make a grid-based systematic collection necessary. Artifact collection in this area was designated Operation 5. Each 5 m-by-5 m area was assigned a letter (A–Y). Each lettered area was subdivided into four 2.5 m by 2.5 m areas, and each of these was assigned a number (1–4). This underrepresents the total artifacts present, as due to local concerns, Gust only collected only bases and mouths (finishes) from large beverage-style bottles from Operation 4. Artifact collections from outside the Operation 4 grid were designated as Operation 3, with each artifact location designated as a letter (A–H) and assigned to Lot 1.
101. Lindsey 2010.
102. Lindsey 2010.
103. Lindsey 2010.
104. Based on the modern label for Bálsamo del Dr. Castro as marketed in 2016.
105. The amount of subsistence-related material from Xuxub is itself surprisingly small.
106. There was a total of 7.55 percent at San Eusebio compared to 4.05 percent at Xuxub.
107. Bottle glass makes up 54.7 percent of the site assemblage. Glass attributed to nonalcoholic use makes up 32.8 percent of the assemblage, and alcohol bottle glass is 21.9 percent of the assemblage.
108. Wells and Joseph 1996, 159.
109. Andrews 1985, 140; Reed 2001, 177; Rugeley 2001, 162–63; Reed 2001, 197.
110. Wells and Joseph 1996, 159.
111. Fallaw 2002, 41.

CHAPTER 5

1. Angrosino 2003, 101; Pezzarossi 2017, 162. See also Taylor (1979, 93) on the connection between drunkenness and domestic violence in central México and Oaxaca.
2. Schwartzkopf 2012, 23.
3. Bruman 1970; Paredes 1975; Mitchell 2004; Pierce and Toxqui 2015.
4. For potential evidence of pre-Hispanic distillation in México, see Zizumbo-Villarreal 2009.
5. Jocote is known as species *Spondias purpurea*, a small fruit to make wine (Bruman 2000, 94–95). Coyol palm is *Acrocomia Mexicana*, used to make wine (Bruman 2000, 87, 90–91). See Schwartzkopf 2012, 22–23.
6. The natural limit of alcohol content in unfermented beverages is approximately 15 percent (Zizumbo-Villarreal et al. 2009, 414).
7. Sampeck and Schwartzkopf 2017a, 1. The agave species used to make pulque in central México are not found in the Maya area, but Maya did make a

- form of pulque before and after European contact (Karl Taube, personal communication, February 2018).
8. Taylor 1979, 58. Taylor (1979, 66) indicates that the problems associated with pulque consumption occurred more frequently in unstructured situations (i.e., less often in situations like religious rites).
 9. De Barrios 1999, 18.
 10. Redfield and Villa-Rojas (1962, 49) report that sugar partially replaced honey in *balché* in their study of circa 1930 Chan Kom.
 11. Chuchiak 2003, 149–50.
 12. *Cofradia* is a Spanish term for a religious confraternity adopted by Maya (Carey 2012a, 127). Maya *cofradías* became more politically influential after liberal reforms reduced the power of the Roman Catholic Church in Guatemala following the 1871 elections (Garrard-Burnett 2012, 165). Officially, *cofradías* are voluntary associations of lay persons that are recognized by the Roman Catholic Church and function to do good works in their communities. In this context, *cofradías* are groups of Maya who applied the idea of this type of fraternal association instead to resist the ban on native religious practice imposed by the church. See also Garrard-Burnett 2012, 170–71.
 13. Chuchiak 2003, 142–43.
 14. Redfield and Villa Rojas 1962 (originally published in 1934), 131.
 15. Karl Taube, personal communication, November 21, 2017. Corn beer is also known to Maya as *boj* when made with cane sugar (Sieder 2000, 297).
 16. Schwartzkopf 2012, 20; 2017, 610.
 17. Bristol 2017, 131.
 18. Toxqui 2014, 108; Taylor 1979, 61.
 19. Dunn 2012, 79; Taylor 1979, 53. Carey (2012c, 8) says that approximately 250 pulquerías operated without a license inside México City in 1639.
 20. Aykroyd (1967, 88; see also Hatton 2014) reports that rum was first made in Barbados in the 1630s and that sugarcane was imported from Brazil in 1637. If this information is correct, logically it sets the first rum production in or after 1637, as importation of such quantities of sugar into Barbados seems unlikely. Mintz (1985, 44) also discusses rum transport between Britain and its colonies shortly after 1660. Similarly, Schwartzkopf (2017, 64) says *aguardiente* was probably widely available in highland Guatemala by the mid-seventeenth century.
 21. Carey 2012c, 1.
 22. Schwartzkopf 2012, 30.
 23. Schwartzkopf 2012, 31.
 24. Vogt 1969, 141–44.
 25. Vogt 1969, 181, 445.
 26. Vogt 1969, 197–200.
 27. Vogt 1969, 210–11.

28. Vogt 1969.
29. Garrard-Burnett 2012, 164.
30. Carey, 2014, 131.
31. Carey 2012c, 4.
32. As Garriott and Raikhel (2015) discuss, the notion of addiction is extremely complicated and beyond the scope of this book. However, we do believe that in this particular context, those in power encouraged the abuse of alcohol within a population that had previously restricted its use within a ritual context.
33. Schwartzkopf 2017, 66.
34. Carey 2014, 137.
35. Carey 2012c, 14; Opie 2012, 98, 114; Smith 2008, 104–33.
36. Wells and Joseph 1996, 170; see also Taylor (1979, 43, 64) on the same phenomenon in central México and Oaxaca.
37. Meyers and Carlson 2002, 229; Wells 1985, 158.
38. Wells and Joseph 1996, 156.
39. Opie 2012, 97.
40. Opie 2012, 103.
41. Opie 2012, 98.
42. Opie 2012, 99.
43. Opie 2012, 101.
44. Opie 2012, 98.
45. Dunn 2012, 75.
46. Carey 2012c, 10.
47. Dunn 2012, 82; Carey 2012c, 12.
48. Dunn 2012, 83. Opie (2012, 100) argues that women entering vinaterías (and rum shop and taverns) were stigmatized.
49. Dunn 2012, 85. In this context, *aguardiente* refers to grape-based spirits.
50. Toxqui 2017, 104.
51. Toxqui 2014, 109–10.
52. Bristol 2017, 136–37; Pezzarossi 2017, 140.
53. Bristol 2017, 128.
54. Carey 2012c, 10; Opie 2012, 98.
55. Chun Bun Lam, McHale, and Upderaff 2012, 19; Sanchez et al. 2017, 336; Opie 2012, 115.
56. Stross 1967, 59.
57. Ayala, Carrier, and Magaña 1996, 98.
58. Stross 1967, 62.
59. Chun Bun Lam, McHale, and Upderaff 2012, 19; Sanchez et al. 2017, 336.
60. Stross 1967, 65.
61. Stross 1967, 73, 78.
62. Ayala, Carrier, and Magaña 1996, 98.

63. Stross 1967, 63.
64. Stross 1967, 64.
65. Stross 1967, 78.
66. Stross 1967, 71.
67. Ayala, Carrier, and Magaña 1996, 100; Stross 1967, 64.
68. Stross 1967, 71; Ayala, Carrier, and Magaña 1996, 98.
69. Stross 1967, 65.
70. Stross 1967, 73.
71. Stross 1967, 77.
72. Stross 1967, 69, 71.
73. Ayala, Carrier, and Magaña 1996, 98.
74. Ayala, Carrier, and Magaña 1996, 102.
75. Stross 1967, 77.
76. Marrero 2003, 319.
77. De la Cruz Cruz 2003, 294.
78. De la Cruz Cruz 2003, 294; Carey 2012b, 132; 2014, 132; Wells and Joseph 1996, 170.
79. De la Cruz Cruz 2003, 294.
80. Bachrach Ehler 1991, 3.
81. Wells and Joseph 1996, 170.
82. Wells and Joseph 1996, 170. Presumably by “planters,” they are referencing hacienda owners or managers.
83. Carey 2014, 132.
84. Fallaw 2002.
85. Fallaw 2002, 41.
86. Fallaw 2002, 42, 49, 51.
87. Fallaw 2002, 49.
88. Fallaw 2002, 46–47.
89. Fallaw 2002, 41; Stern 1999, 379.
90. Stern 1999.
91. Stern 1999, 378; Fallaw 2002, 41.
92. Stern 1999, 382.
93. For further discussion on henequen and hardwood extraction, see, for example, Chardon 1963; Fox 1961; Knight 1986; Napier 1973; Villalobos González 1987; and Wells 1992.
94. Torres and Momsen 2005, 314.
95. Torres and Momsen 2005, 321.
96. Burke Distributing Company, accessed September 15, 2019.
97. Pi-Sunyer and Thomas 2015, 94; Torres 2002a, especially 87–88; Vassallo-Olby 2010, 39; see also Hiernaux-Nicolás 1999, 135.
98. Vassallo-Olby 2010, 39, 42.
99. Clancy 1970, 138; see also Dunning and McQueen 1982, 83; Witt et al. 1991, 61.

100. Andrews 1985, 127; Edwards 1957.
101. Friedlander 1973, 687. Additionally, a study conducted on foreign tourism between 1967 and 1970 demonstrated more than 20 percent annual growth to the nearby island of Cozumel.
102. There was also a resultant mass migration of laborers into the Cancun area (Pi-Sunyer, Thomas, and Daltabuit 1999, 8). See also Alpern 1975, 338; Enriquez Savignac 1972, 108.
103. Clancy 2001, 133; Gormsen 1982, 46, 52.
104. Alpern 1975, 338; Gormsen 1982, 47. This has of course since changed, with direct hits from several hurricanes, including Gilbert in 1988, Wilma in 2005, and Dean in 2007.
105. Enriquez Savignac 1972, 109.
106. Alpern 1975, 338; Gormsen 1982, 47.
107. Enriquez Savignac 1972, III.
108. Torres 2002a; see also Hiernaux-Nicolás 1999, 138.
109. Torres and Momsen 2004, 303; see also Torres 2000.
110. Dunphy 1972, xxi, 27–28; see also Enriquez Savignac 1972, 110–11.
111. Enriquez Savignac 1972, III.
112. Alpern 1975, 338.
113. Torres and Momsen 2005, 316–17; Alpern 1975, 338. Migrants moved in from Yucatán, Campeche, México City, Veracruz, and Guerrero (Gormsen 1982, 52, 54).
114. Gormsen 1982, 53; Torres and Momsen 2005, 317.
115. Andrews 1985, 141; Pi-Sunyer, Thomas, and Daltabuit 1999, 5.
116. Torres and Momsen 2005, 319.
117. Hiernaux-Nicolás 1999, 131.
118. Hutchinson 1987, 170.
119. Sheller (2009, 196–97) in Manuel-Navarrete and Redclift (2012, 11).
120. Hernandez 2016. This also comports with the personal experience of the authors. The nature of enforcement and exemption from the laws can vary somewhat from year to year.
121. Torres 2002a, 96, 108.
122. Torres 2002a, 105.
123. Torres 2002a, 105.
124. Torres 2002a, 113.
125. Torres 2002a, 93.
126. Collins 1979, 361.
127. Torres and Momsen (2005, 324) is based on data collected in 1997. Pleas (2011) uses the data from Torres and Momsen (2005). Laguna Puls et al. (2013) classified rooms in the Cancun area based on the number of beds in each room and other criteria, but not based on level of luxury (star rating system).

128. Breglia 2009, 251–55.

CONCLUSION

1. This body of research includes publications on commodities such as bananas (Koppel 2008), sugar (Mintz 1985), and cod (Kurlansky 1998), among many others.
2. Abollado 2000, 17.
3. Patch 1985, 34; 1993, 142.
4. Alston et al. 2009, 110.
5. Reed 2001, 10.
6. Reed 2001, 290, 293–302.
7. Reed 2001, 265.
8. See González 2014; Gust 2016; Sullivan 2004.
9. Reed 2001, 12.
10. Ayala, Carrier, and Magaña 1996, 98; Toxqui 2017, 104.
11. Fallaw 2002, 41.
12. Baud and Ypeij 2009.
13. Breglia 2009.
14. There was also a resultant mass migration of laborers into the Cancun area (Pi-Sunyer, Thomas, and Daltabuit 1999, 8).
15. Torres 2002, 87.
16. Pi-Sunyer et al. 1999, 8.
17. Such as branded vans that ferry workers to and from resorts and a road connecting the Cancun airport and the Hotel Zone.
18. Gilbert et al. 1986; Wells 1986; Wells and Gilbert 1996.