

Transcending¹

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To my Angels and Demons²

Introduction

Among the cities that surround the Isthmus of Tehuantepec is Juchitán- *Xhavizende* or *Ixtaxochitlan* (city of flowers)- the same that forms part of the lower valleys of the state of Oaxaqueño. Juchitán, found in southern Mexico, is divided by the asphalt of the Pan-American Highway and is the “natural” center for the migrating populations of Central America. The place is characterized by its festive way of life, its *pachangas* (parties), its *velas* (neighborhood festivals)- patron saint holidays held in the months of May, August, September and December-, its *mayordomias* (family-sponsored saint's day celebrations), the sacred coral at *santa cruz de los pescadores* (fishermen) or *del lagarto* (lizard), its respect for the fields, the harvest, the mud, the soil, the plum tree and food; for the stars and saints, for paganism and myths. It is also known for its tolerance towards sexual orientations and for the conservation of its native culture and language, Zapoteco. To give you a picture of Juchitán, even with the capitalistic and modernizing tendencies dominating the country and world, among its nine districts and neighborhoods 80% of its citizens speak this indigenous language along with Spanish. This is important considering that Zapoteco, the indigenous language that people are born with and grow up with, is key in the conservation of this culture, it allows for the construction and preserving of identity codes within a society, like ours, with its own ancestral history.

For these characteristics and customs the city of Juchitán has been the focus of many studies and reports on interesting themes such as the famous myth of the *matriarcado*; I state this myth because even with the strong presence of Juchitán women in areas such as the home, commerce or the

¹ I named this article this way because I believe that Juchitán and its muxhes go beyond the established order, its conventionalism and its political correctness. Transcending intolerance and denial, this difference coming from a key philosophy, present in our Mesoamerican culture, of respect and one's right to a private life.

² I thank my friend and mentor Patricia Ponce for inviting me to publish this article in the magazine *Desacatos*.

passing on of language and customs, they have been sidelined in areas like the expression of the sexuality, formal politics and social-political movements such as the COCEI (A coalition of workers, farmers and students on the isthmus).

These stated investigations on the mentioned themes may continue to be carried out by social science professionals (anthropologists or sociologist) as observers of social change and processes, however I believe that it is vitally important that the people of this culture play an active part in the diffusion and defense of it.

Lastly, I would like to say that this article represents the daily life of many of the muxhes whom I have lived with over the last twenty years and along with my own as I also form part of this social and cultural reality. It is important to mention that the central idea is to highlight the most significant items, those that define the lives of the Juchitán muxhes.

The Wheat is born in Spring

The word muxhe comes from the XVI century Spanish word for women, (mujer, muller, muxhe,) this definition intends to tie together the terms masculine-feminine and therefore define all the people who are born a man and grow up with the generic identity of a woman, this is an identity not unlike a gay or transgender identity but with truly unique characteristics. From here on out we will refer to heterosexual women as *guna* (woman), men as *nguiu* (man) and *ngüüu* for women with a generic masculine identity, this is a variation of the word for man (*nguiu*) in the Zapoteca language.

This article will be centered on the muxhes of Juchitán, I will try to show how a muxhe in Juchitán is born and raised, delimiting this study by time periods and specific elements. Time periods first marked by childhood, which could be looked at from the age five until twelve, a crucial period for the majority of muxhes which allows them to relate to their surroundings helping them to define and connect to the roots of their cultural identity and daily existence.

When a boy is born in Juchitán this means a double sacrifice for the mothers because it signifies larger social and cultural compromises for the future, on the other hand when a girl is born she is marked with the responsibility of caring for her parents and relatives in their coming old age, regardless of if she gets married and has her own children, because she already bears the historic responsibility like any woman born in Mexico has had or has: to be there to care for others.

Later the question comes about; How is a muxhe accepted when born in Juchitán? The answer is that he is received as any other boy who is born in Juchitán or any where else in the world, with many expectations from the mother and the father but especially from the father. As he especially hopes that as all boys his will play football, fight with imaginary pistols, go with him to the ranch or fishing, that he will go to parties and at these events he will dance with the young ladies, that he will find a girlfriend and surely that one day he will marry and have children.

The next question is, when all that is expected from the boy child does not happen; what then? This starts as a family issue and later, after the first five years in when the muxhe begins to notice he is different, a community one and this is when the destiny of the muxhe starts to be effected.

I highlight the period of five to twelve as the beginning of an early period of conciseness for the muxhe because myself and the majority of those that I have talked to or lived with say that this is the age when they first noticed their different identity. This age marks the subtle beginning of a long internal voyage for those of us who are born and grow up as muxhes. It is a stage of internal and external sensations that pass unnoticed to the eyes of most and even more so are nearly impossible, even for those who feel them, to concretely name or define. From the beginning of this time there is a sensation or a perception of having been born in the wrong shell, this is what the psychoanalysis calls gender identity.

During this age the muxhe will show a series of behaviors, mannerisms and ways of being which will characterize him and at the same time he naturally begins to find his place in the public space. A

muxe, when he realizes that family and neighborly support networks are needed, looks for an opportunity to momentarily help with the economic situation of the family, which may be finding a job selling fried goods, helping sell tortillas or fish with his mother and/or another close relative. In another sense the muxhe starts looking to get closer to older muxhes so as to know their surroundings and behaviors, also the muxhe begins to form strategies for establishing “innocent” erotic-affectionate contact with other boys. I will tell a common story among us which has to do with these strategies and at the same time is a perfect example of the respect for differences and tolerance towards other people with different sexual orientations in Juchitán.

One occasion when some muxhe friends of mine had got together to celebrate the return of another muxhe who had been away in Ottawa, Canada, we began to talk about how and when we had our first “innocent” sexual contacts with another boy and all of us agreed that it had happened while playing *hide-and-seek* during our childhood.

We shared that we would go to hide in groups of two or three depending on if somebody had already decided beforehand to hide with a particular boy, also we agreed it was clear that the hiding place had already been decided before the game began because one of the two had chosen a very good spot and knew that there they would be alone for the longest possible time. What usually happened was that after the majority of those who were playing had been found there would always be two who were still missing, concretely they are a muxhe and a boy, who is usually older than the muxhe. After much yelling and threats that if they do not come out they will be thrown out of the game. Finally the hidden come out bragging about their abilities to hide and how the others were incapable of finding them, but truly this was just a verbal defense to justify the ends. The rest of the group harass them with questions on what they were doing while hiding, showing keen interest in knowing what the muxhe and boy were doing alone. Generally in the end a girl (guna) or another muxhe friend asks more insistently to the muxhe on what had happened and the answers, in some cases, are shared

and he tells that during the time that he was hidden with the boy (nguiu) they were touching games happening, sometimes up to the point of penetration. On the other side, the boy (nguiu) is questioned by the other boys and in general he shares what has happened but with less detail and maybe even bending the truth a bit.

This story lets us see that the children who were taking part in this game saw in a natural way the muxhe as someone who could be alone with a boy without this event causing rejection, instead it recreated a set of codes, understood values and the circumstances which allowed the coexistence of the subjects based on a form of "natural" tolerance for others. Here I would like to hypothesize that the difference in acceptance levels which exist in Juchitán towards muxhes in comparison to other regions of Mexico is due to this sense of acceptance, community and respect which is established during childhood.

However not everything at this age is sexual experience, albeit that it is something intrinsic for them, for the muxhe it goes beyond just that. At ten or eleven some fundamental aspects of life begin to appear for them, such as the feeling of family support and the battle to be seen and recognized, although it maybe only minor for at this time their sexuality is most visible and it once again becomes a family affair. For this reason he needs to be alert to what is happening around him because in some cases for the family, those in the middle and upper classes, some events may turn into a motive for worry, especially for the father, who as all good Mexican and Juchiteco males may find his social and cultural masculinity questioned. At the same time for those in the lower middle classes it is not looked at in a completely negative way, they do not reject automatically the possibility of having a muxhe as a son, it may cause worry but is not looked at as a hopeless situation nor with denial towards reality. For them there always exists a close reference, such as a friend or neighbor muxhe which allows them to measure the realities around being a muxhe. From this perspective, for the traditional Juchiteca family having this references allows them to measure their own possible worries

and sadness, this in a sense guides them to a level of comprehension and understanding while creating a vital base of tolerance and acceptance. That is to say, in most cases this process is lived and taken on in a collective or community way, it seems that the issue if not a question for everybody, is for the closest relatives, nearest friends and other families who have or have had a muxhe as a son. I believe that this shows that our Juchiteca culture and indigenes cultures in general, have a collective discussion mechanism on “delicate” issues, of a supportive structure which helps us resolve internal and external problems.

It is important to say that the traditional Juchitán family who has a muxhe as a son starts a process called, “identification initial negation-acceptance-acceptance-resolution”, however there are also families that exist, in a smaller number of cases, who get stuck in the process “identification initial-negation”. A family that passes through the process known as “identification, initial negation-acceptance-acceptance-resolution for the tolerance and respect of the reality”, wants to install in the muxhe of the family the desire to be productive, to respect the house, costumes and ancient Zapoteca traditions, also to study, be creative, to be a muxhe “*nexhe na'*” (able, smart) in order to take on problems and solve them. They also try, for as long as it takes, to find him a career that will allow him to provide for himself throughout his entire life; to have the vision to see what he is and what he can be in the future. This is so because for the Juchiteca family having a muxhe that does not find his place in society is not good on their social standing.

In reality this family perspective towards the muxhe is one of “caring for”, so that he grows up and develops “well”. It has been said in several reports and publications- mostly in the area anthropology- that for these families having a muxhe is a “blessing from God”, on certain points it could be said to be true in regards to the affection between, mother-son/father-son or sibling relationships, however I would like to mention in a very strict sense this is a myth and in reality it can be a reason for family

brake up; as the answers from mothers when asked about the situation show, they respond in three different manners in general::

"Cumu Ma Birebe Sacala!, Xhinga Gune Puè"?

Which means::

"How could he come out like this, What am I going to do?"

In the first part of the answer the mother express a sense of acceptance with the way of mother nature; something that she can do nothing to change, however in the second part of the answer it is pronounced in a way showing powerlessness and confusion, this is sometimes followed by a phrase like:

"a Ñacabe hombre Lá, Nuchela, Labe, Ne Nudibe na Xhiaga!"

Which could be translated as:

"If my boy were a man, he would get married and give me grandchildren."

It is easily seen that there is a longing expressed in these words on the expectations which would be possible with a heterosexual boy. The third responses is:

"Cumu Ma Bisenda Diuxhi Làbe Sacala!"

Which means:

"How can God send him like this to me?"

Which shows the idea of irreversibleness and unquestionable existence of the issue and that someone made the muxhe like this and that someone is God. For sure in this world the one who does not joke is God, it is him who decides on the merit of the creations bearing the celestial mark. Again it needs to be repeated that these thoughts are not ones of desperation nor a negation of the reality, it should be said that if you accept the arguments for a "blessing from God" theory you would have to accept that privileges existed for the families with a muxhe and then we would be saying that Juchitán is a sectarian society, which is not true or that muxhe boys receive more inheritance than

heterosexual boys or girls which is also not true. What happens is that the parents love and care for the children equally and accepting their particularities worry for them and find a way to help them, but from there to considering that it is thought of as a blessing from God to have a muxhe is quite questionable.

What is not a myth is that during the period between childhood and adolescence the muxhe needs to ask himself serious question such as: What am I? What do I think I am? How will I live? How do I want to live?, questions that in his adolescence and youth will be answered with the passing of time.

Changing your skin under the whip of the sun with memories of the Moon

Being a muxhe means before anything else being a human who has the acceptance of his society and coexists with and within it in a specific time and place. A muxhe brings together male biological elements with female generosity and sensitivity as a symbol of ubiquity.

Initial, I talked about how the family's acceptance is a transversal and important key step for the muxhe because it is the first decisive move towards confronting the world. This being because any lingering family behaviors or attitudes will play a part in the self esteem, security and confidence with which the muxhe will have throughout his life.

Muxhe *guna* la? Or Muxhe *Nguiu*?

In the neighborhood streets, in the center, in bars, lounges or the market of Juchitán you can see muxhes go by, those going to work, returning from work or what is the most common those on their way to or coming back from a party. You may see them dressed up like a woman or not, depends on which district we are talking about, it is not the same to see the muxhes in the second district as in the seventh, it is much more likely not to see one in the second district dressed up while in the seventh- also the most popular- it is much more common. However which ever district it is the muxhe does not stopping being a muxhe, a muxhe is always a muxhe!

¿When did transvestism become incorporated into the muxhe's sex-gender identity.? Chatting with muxhe *yoxho* (adults over 50) friends they mentioned that for them transvestism is quite a new issue, because in their time it would have been seen as something too risky. They added that the first early signs of transvestism - in the decades of the 50's, 60's, and 70's- which were seen in Juchitán was when muxhes began to wear very colorful, flowery and baggy blouses, with pants that had a zipper in the back like a traditional skirt and putting flower behind their ears when they went out on the street to sell goods or working as a waiter in a restaurant or bar. This initiated a new process of double acceptance, on one hand sexual-orientation and on the other, the inclusion of dressing in an attention drawing way that was not part of the typical wardrobe of a Juchitán boy.

Those that lived in the 70's tell that at the end of this decade the first muxhe were seen who dressed like women in their house and while they were out on the street. –such is the case of *"Tonó muxhe la taquera* of second district" or *"Sidral la bordadora* of the seventh". This meant for them and "others" an accomplishment: living their way of life in that era, which indirectly laid the way for the future generations to live this way.

In the 80's and 90's transvestism was openly expressed in Juchitán. Later came the saturation and the setting up of models and stereotypes of being "Gay", "transi" or "muxhe Guna", these were spread by the fashion marking medias such as television, magazines and the transvestite shows, which at this moment were at the height of demand in small and medium sized communities, coming from Galería, New York, the Parrillas, the Hipopótamos in the ports of Acapulco and Veracruz, these places which gave birth to professional transvestites. With them came new ways to dress, new ways to walk and handle yourself, top models, singers and actresses who served as fashion examples for those getting ready for the next party. At this moment it seemed that the muxhe would be get lost to the western ways of the world, but it was not to be, because us from Juchitán have an ability to integrate the things that come from the outside; living in modern times without losing our customs and

roots. This is what has been taking place over the last ten years with the rescuing of our cultural identity by retaining words like *muxhe*, for their social and cultural value and we have also returned to including *enagua* (Mayan dresses) and *huipils* (typical Mayan blouse) as part of our daily and party clothing.

Eroticism

For the majority of the Juchitán community the erotic-affectionate relationships between *muxhes* and men (the *nguiu*) are known, in some cases formally and other either occasional or sporadic ones, these sexual relations are between young *muxhes* with young, adult and/or older men. When a *muxhe* is in the privileged age of adolescence and youth he is followed by men with bodies emanating sexuality and eroticism, quick or prolonged ejaculations, seventeen, twenty-one, twenty-five, thirty or fifty year old bodies. For young men the act gives them a chance to experience other ways, sensations, tastes and habits of sex and love while for the older ones it is possibility to go back and feel a body that can be penetrated, remembering feelings that they had during their youth. Older adults feel it is a way to reclaim their masculinity and have the opportunity to fulfill desires and fantasies which age and experience bring.

Why is there so much promiscuity between heterosexual men and *muxhes*? This is due to three important reasons, the first has to do with the fundamental aspect within the culture linked to the virginity of women. To explain more clearly, for adolescent and young men the *muxhe* represents a possibility of having sex and enjoying their sexuality without the risk of getting married, for in the case of having sex with an unwed girl it could be possible that the family of the girl will demand that they marry. It is important to say that this situation is disappearing as the strict code of female virginity is not so enforced now, though it still does play a part.

The second motive is taste, this is the case of adult men, who having experienced sex with a *muxhe* gives them a sexual alternative to the life they live with their female partner and for them it is the start

of a new sexual adventure. Finally, in the case of older men, who like to have sex with muxhes, is more related to a sexual fantasy and the reconfirmation of their masculinity. In any case, it is difficult for a muxhe and a man to live together formally, no matter the age, in our recent history in Juchitán there has only been one case of it, this between the "*chente muxhe*" and his partner Iran.

Muxhes: Their community work and roles, support networks, economy and politics.

Muxhes are integrated into almost all aspects of daily and public life, one of the valuable characteristics is that of being a "important social member", which means they need to be productive, participate in the commercial, social and festive aspects of life. Also, they need to fulfill their social duties, do their work for the common good of the community, maintain their dignity and defend their culture, for this they need to take a set of responsibilities and obligations but yet still retain their right act and behave as they feel is best for them.

Part of these valuable characteristics is that of the jobs and economical activities that the muxhe does and here I would like to say that in Juchitán there exist many different types of activities depending on the social and economical level of the muxhe, it is clear that a nest made of leaves is not the same as one made of feathers.

In Juchitán we see that middle to lower-middle class muxhes often work at embroidering the traditional costumes used in the regional holiday festivals, the technique for making the costumes is hand embroidering, it is true that this is not a work exclusive to muxhes but it is important to mention that a large majority that do it receive a high level of social recognition and prestige. Another of the activities in which they often participate in is that of mending and decorating traditional items such as the *adorno del están*(adornment), the *torno*(shift) and the *friso*, for events like, birthdays, weddings, wakes, *mayordomías*, house blessings, saint days, etc. For those muxhes of the lower class or from fishing families a common activity is selling fish and prawns in the market of Juchitán and other

counties of the region like Matías Romero, Ciudad Ixtepec and Tehuantepec; which is what one of my friends from the seventh district, who is affectionately called “the blond”, does. Currently some fish selling muxhes have expanded their markets, taking their products all the way to the region's capital or even the nation's capital which has allowed them to increase their personal and family's income.

We could say that doing embroidery, being a traditional seamstress or a fish vendor are the principal and traditional activities for the Juchitán muxhes. Yet there are some other less common occupations in the community that are carried out by muxhes, these being *shaman*, *barman/maid*, or *profiteers* activities that on one hand help financial the muxhe and at the same time help to maintain the local culture and economy.

As is the reality of any activities in our normal daily life some of the activities in which muxhes take part in are perceived better by the society than others. This is what happens with the *shaman muxhe*, the community views this occupation in a very good light, as it generates confidence within a person after they have had a reading or their bad spirits cleaned, the female (guna) *shaman* who practice the same activity also receives the social recognition and confidence yet the men (ngui) *shaman* do not. I believe this is because the customers of these types of activities tend to be women or muxhes, in other words the feminine part of the community. On the other hand we have the profession of barman/maid, that in its own context is seen as a respectable job for a muxhe. However I believe that more respect is given to the women who perform this work, do the hypocritical or double standard imposed by the men of Juchitán, whom are the ones who most frequent the cantinas (bars) and play vital role in the work of the barman/maid. By establishing standards of service they expect from the barman/maid, which includes sexual play and flirting allowing them to prove to themselves and their friends that they can have and do what they want with any barman/maid. As the quote goes from our dear friend Guillermo Nuñez on the masculinity and sexual behavior of the

Mexican men: "In times of war any hole is a trench." We can say that these activities in a certain way are part of the social, cultural and sexual life of our community.

Finally, the labor market has been creating relatively new positions or ones not normally seen in Juchitán and in which the muxhes are integrating into well. These positions help to increase the visibility of the muxhe community's capacities and creativity, presently it is possible to see a large number of muxhe *stylists, models, sex workers, activists, profiteers, politicians, teachers, scholars, intellectuals and businessmen*; it should be mentioned that the final four mentioned are mostly done by muxhes coming from an upper class background.

The *vela de la Santa Cruz del Cielo* (Heavenly Cross) or the *vela de las Auténticas Intrépidas*: Ghettos or socially and culturally legitimate?

It is not important whether one be a *muxe huini* (flirtatious), *muxe gupa* (young), *muxe róbaa* (adult), *muxe yoxho* (elderly), *muxe guna* (in drag) or *muxe inguiu* (not in drag) when it comes to the *velas de la Santa Cruz del Cielo* or those of the "*auténticas intrépidas buscadoras del peligro* (truly fearless seekers of danger)", for these are traditional festive activities that legitimize their social existence. To talk about the muxhe's *velas* is to talk about the institutionalization of genders, the reaffirming of what is allowed, of the social and cultural tolerance which is shown to their community. Also they represent the sensuality and syncretism which exists between culture and modernizing processes.

The *velas*,³ as I have already stated, are the patron holidays which are dedicated to the saints of the different neighborhoods of Juchitán, such as *San Isidro Labrador*, the *vela* in honor of clay and art work, the *vela güxe benda* (of the fishermen), la *vela biaadxi* (of the plum), etc. These *velas* are

³ They are called this because historically they were saint festival which consisted of maintaining a vigil over the candles for the saint.

organized by groups of 16 to 20 members, they are held in large open spaces and entertainment is provided by local or visiting musical bands; here it is possible to have dinner and beers until the early morning.

Just recently this cultural characteristic of our Zapotec ancestry has been adopted by the muxhe community. Twenty-nine years ago the first *vela* of "*las intrépidas buscadoras del peligro*" –whose founders are Armando López Ortiz, Ángel Santiago Valdivieso (Cat) y Oscar Cazorla López, regarded as muxhe's *Yoxho*'s (older adults)-, a festival which has the same common aspects as any other *vela* except that the members of the organizational committee are made up of only muxhes from the region. This *vela* is held on the 20th of November –day of the Mexican Revolution- and has become a an event well accepted both politically and by the community. This is because it is a *vela* run by muxhes but it is not exclusively for muxhes nor *Ngüiu*, it is for everyone who wish to take part regardless of their background. Therefore instead of this event turning into something closed; not unlike a ghetto, it represents a event for everybody, where businessmen, scholars, artists, intellectuals, social and political leaders take part and even act as judges in the annual coronation of a muxhe queen of the festival. Another positive aspect is that it is the only *vela* of the region where representatives, along with their constituents, from the two major political parties of the region, the PRI and PRD, assist together.

The other muxhe *vela* is that of the "*Santa cruz del cielo*" or "*Baila conmigo(dance with me)*" which started ten years ago in the seventh district inspired by Angélica, Mística, Queta, Jesusa, Abigail (the teacher) who are all muxhe *huini* or muxhe *gupa* (young and adolescents). This *vela* is nearly the same as that of the "*Intrépidas*", with the difference in that it has also taken on some other traditional elements such as the "*regada de frutas*" which is characterized by a parade of agricultural wagons with their local banners through the streets of the village in honor of a saint, in this case Saint Cruz del Cielo.

From my point of view the two festivals show an example of the tolerance towards diversity and the respect of personal expression of our culture. They are an annual space for the coexistence, a space for sensuality and sexuality, of freedoms and that which is pagan. Yet at the same time they are in line with the social commitments as communal acts of solidarity, where sequins and glamour, along with the examples of Mitzi and Gilberto Granillo become indispensable in creating an atmosphere which for many is unusual and extraordinary. An "irreverent" act that year after year is held, and that has yearly filled the "fearless" muxhes, who are already planning to create more *velas* and other integrations into the celestial space, with nostalgia and wonderful memories.

The new roles and participation in the social-political arena

The modern social-political history of Juchitán has been marked by both small and large battles for social causes that came from society's denial to conform to the beliefs of an oppressive government which was incapable of accepting that the times are changing and that people will not stand to be stepped upon and ignored. The people of Juchitán have organized themselves in the group COCEI (Coalition of Workers, Farmers and Students of the Isthmus), a leftist movement that rejects the military repression of legal political leaders who push for social development, respect for property of *ejidatarias* (female landowner), municipal representations, right to health care, respect for Human rights as their main themes in a political agenda that has as a organization reference its uses and customs.

Even with the 28 years of the COCEI movement and its administrations in the municipal government, in the beginning of the 90's a new generation of social leadership emerged that has gone beyond just politics by pushing for agendas more concrete such as women's rights, environmental protection and defense, the saving of music, literature, language and dance, boosting the capacity for people with diabetes to support themselves, sexual rights, sexuality and HIV/AIDS.

In some way the arrival of the HIV/AIDS epidemic in Juchitán ended an era of sexual harmony and promiscuity which existed. Initially it mostly affected the community of men who have sex with men (MSM), which in this case is muxhes and nguui (men). With the rise of the problem in 1995 a group of women and muxhes formed the first civil HIV/AIDS organization called *Gunaxhii Guendanabani* (love for life) and in 1997 the muxhe community created other sources of civil movement for the promotion of sexual rights and the prevention of HIV/AIDS, like Colectivo Binni Laanu (our people) and the group *Las Intrépidas contra el Sida* (Fearlessly against AIDS). This involvement is another clear example of how the muxhes are not only participating in the community in the areas of culture and the conservation of traditions, but also in emerging situations, AIDS being an example, which overall reaffirms their role as an integrated member of society which takes their responsibility in social aspects.

For the muxhe community participation in social areas has increased, example being civil organizations, but there also exist other areas of power where there are almost no signs of access or participation like in the political arena. A few years ago a muxhe, intellectual and academic from Juchitán, was incorporated into one municipal administration from the PRD party and in 2003 the ex-political party México Posible supported me as a candidate for a federal representation post. In both cases, these movements into the political arena have been done with the social community's recognition and with the recognition of the muxhe community, who with the few opportunities they have had to participate in politics have gone into them with their own identity as a base.

Nanashi Guendanabani (How sweet is life)

It is difficult to explain everything about what it is like to be a muxhe from Juchitán in this small article, however I hope that this brief look at our vision of the world has enlightened some. A vision which is not exempt for the social, economic, political and cultural changes taking place in Mexico, yet it has

the goal of continuing to conserve the social and cultural harmony that has existed throughout the years and has allowed for different identities, like that of the muxhe, to flourish and be expressed. This goal becomes even bigger when those from the outside look at Juchitán as a society with its own reality that resists to disappear.