

## **ABSTRACT**

SZABO, ADRIANA MARIANA. Community Development and Tourism in San Pedro La Laguna, Guatemala. (Under the direction of Dr. Tim Wallace, Dr. Alicia McGill, and Dr. John Millhauser).

Tourism in Guatemala has been a part of the economy for decades, but the development of tourism has been uneven. A good example of this is among the communities surrounding Lake Atitlán. The gateway community of Panajachel has been a part of tourism since the 1930's, but directly across the lake, tourism development in San Pedro La Laguna has been rapid and uncoordinated, especially over the last two decades. For eight weeks during the summer of 2014, I collected ethnographic data to study how local people understand their role and the role of local and national authorities in the process of redesigning the local touristic model. My overarching aim was to understand the connections between community development and tourism. My methods included in-depth interviews with thirty local residents, a questionnaire survey with thirty tourists, and participant observation. I found that the residents of San Pedro La Laguna, unsatisfied with local government efforts, believe that tourism should and can play a greater, more comprehensive role in the development of their town. These residents aim to leverage the power of tourism to improve local livelihoods, alleviate poverty, and empower under resourced micro-entrepreneurs who are often cast out of the main stream tourism business. They anticipate future growth and a sustainable tourist industry that will allow them to

In this thesis, I discuss the future and sustainability of the desires of San Pedranos to invest tourism revenues in education, health services, and infrastructure that will result in local benefits for the citizens as well as a more attractive destination for upscale tourists.

This study does not provide a “recipe” on how tourism can contribute to local development, but it shows that the local community can very clearly articulate its needs and that even if they did adopt some of the neoliberal hegemonic narrative on development, they did so with a local twist.

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Community Development and Tourism in San Pedro La Laguna, Guatemala

by  
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A thesis submitted to the Graduate Faculty of  
North Carolina State University  
in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of  
Master of Arts

Anthropology

Raleigh, North Carolina

2016

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## **DEDICATION**

To Bruno and Rafael. Thank you.

## **BIOGRAPHY**

Adriana Szabo is a second year graduate student in the Department of Anthropology at North Carolina State University, in Raleigh, NC. She grew up in Romania where she completed her bachelor's degree in Journalism and Social Sciences. While working abroad as a development worker, she became interested in anthropology. This experience opened her eyes to a new realm of academic possibilities. Upon completion of her master's degree, Adriana will join the workforce.

## **ACKNOWLEDGMENTS**

I would like to thank my advisers, Dr. Tim Wallace, Dr. John Millhauser, and Dr. Alicia McGill at NC State University for their support and guidance.

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## **CHAPTER 1: Introduction**

In this chapter I want to introduce the purpose of my study and outline the methodological elements connected to my data collection. My focus throughout the thesis is the connection between tourism and development and its perception among local, rural communities that are significant destinations for tourists. The location of my research is San Pedro La Laguna in the Department of Sololá in Guatemala.

Tourism is increasingly promoted as a route out of poverty for the nations and communities that embrace it (Mowforth and Munt 2009:1, UNWTO 2014). Supranational institutions such as the World Bank, the United Nations, and many First World governments tout tourism as a development tool in Third World countries impoverished by decades of neoliberal politics of poverty alleviation. For example, in its 2014 Annual Report, the United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) depicts tourism as “a key driver of the global economic recovery” whose “continued progress and expansion represents an effective solution for many of the world's greatest challenges” as an industry strategically positioned “to contribute decisively to job creation, poverty alleviation, environmental protection and multicultural peace and understanding” (UNWTO 2014).

In the research presented I explore the nature of the emic perspectives on tourism and development in rural communities in Latin American with a special focus on the Tz’utujil Maya community of San Pedro La Laguna, one of 15 communities on the shores of Lake Atitlán, Guatemala. I want to shed some light on the viability of the prevailing narrative that dominates the inquiry into the role of tourism in community development.

As Lett (1990) explains, from an anthropological perspective, “Emic constructs are accounts, descriptions, and analyses expressed in terms of the conceptual schemes and categories regarded as meaningful and appropriate by the native members of the culture whose beliefs and behaviors are being studied” (p. 130). “An emic perspective attempts to capture participants' indigenous meanings of real-world events” (Yin, 2010:11) and “looks at things through the eyes of members of the culture being studied” (Willis, 2007:100).

Therefore, in my analysis of tourism and development in Chapters 3 and 4, I take the perspectives and words of my research participants as the starting point in describing the connection between tourism and development in San Pedro La Laguna.

The purpose of my research is not to prove that tourism does or does not produce development, rather, it is an exploratory study about what local people in San Pedro La Laguna think about the connection between tourism, development, and the power relations that shape these connections. In my analysis of tourism and development in Chapters III and IV, I take the perspectives and words of my research participants as the starting point in describing the connection between tourism and development in San Pedro La Laguna. In this thesis, after reviewing major development theories, I will give an account of the perceptions that local people have about tourism and development, what they want and have to do to achieve development, and whether they think their goals are achievable within the current power structure. Throughout the paper I explore the dynamics of power in tourism and how discourse in tourism is used by the government of Guatemala to promote an image of country that might be different from reality or from the way Mayans would want to be represented on the tourism market. I see discourse as complementary to the ideology of power that relies on

the export of Western values and development models to the tourism destinations in the Third World countries that have emerged as major “receivers” of First World tourists with advancements in transportation, communication and financial services.

I chose to conduct my research in San Pedro La Laguna, a Tz’utujil Maya town on the shores of Lake Atitlán in Guatemala, because it is a major tourist destination in the area and because its involvement in tourism is sufficiently advanced to see how tourism and development are being played out. Even though San Pedro La Laguna’s tourism boom is only three decades old, its tourism industry has been affected by the neoliberal economic model. Furthermore, tourism in San Pedro has developed without much control from the local authorities. During the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the town’s subsistence economy was based heavily on coffee production, a crop introduced in Latin America in the second half of the nineteenth century (Lyon 2010:4) before tourism development. Today, coffee continues to be very important, but tourism is now an important additional source of income for people who have earned enough from coffee production to be able to invest in a new industry, but it also offers opportunities to people who were not involved at all in the coffee economy, especially women.

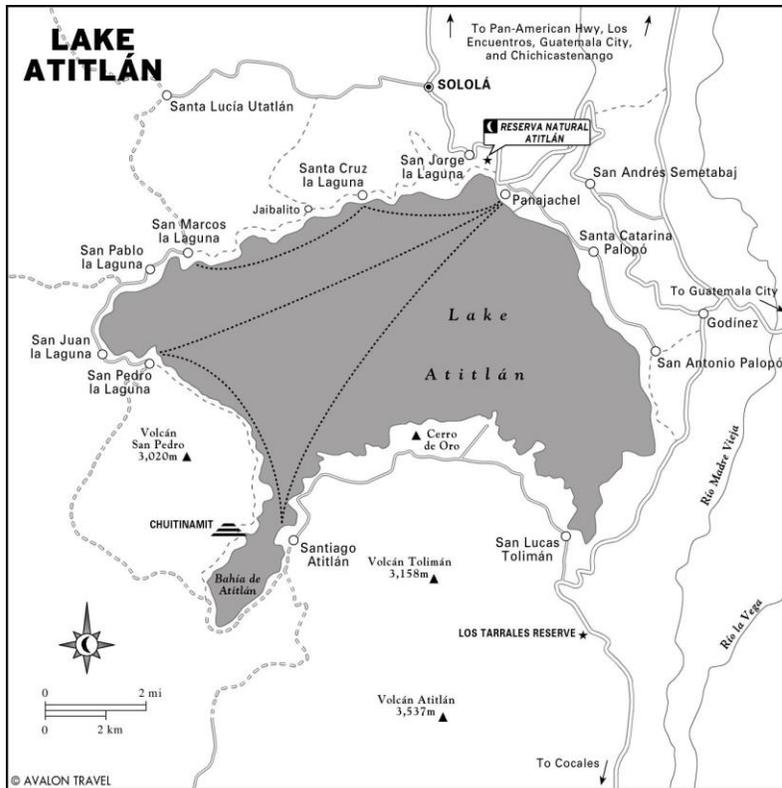


Figure 1: Map of Lake Atitlan and surrounding towns

Pedranos have long been noted for their entrepreneurial talents (Wallace, personal communication) and since San Pedro La Laguna receives a large and diverse array of tourists, they have begun to extend their business talents to this industry as well. While striving for greater economic sufficiency, Pedranos seek ways to derive income from different sources, including finding niches for working in tourism as it is difficult and risky to rely on only one industry, be it agriculture, coffee production or tourism.

In San Pedro La Laguna, we can now see positive and negative tourism trends emerging. On the one hand, Pedranos credit the development of tourism for the increase in job opportunities, which in turn led to an increase in family income for the people working in the industry that is today reflected in higher access to education for their children and a chance

for better healthcare. On the other hand, locals resent the unregulated kind of tourism that has developed in their town and are unsatisfied with the kinds of tourists whom they call *jipis* (hippies) that visit San Pedro. Local people also say that after the 2008 economic crisis, prices went down, and that allowed low budget tourists to arrive in higher numbers. Hippies do not spend much money and Pedranos do not like the hippie (sometimes referred to as backpacker) culture whose drinking and drug habits, Pedranos believe, corrupt the local youth. Local people would prefer wealthier, non-hippie, western tourists and less of a drag on their culture.

### **Poverty in Sololá**

According to the World Bank, Guatemala has the biggest economy in Central America but is among those Latin American countries with the highest levels of inequality, with poverty indicators—especially in rural and indigenous areas—and chronic malnutrition rates among the highest in the region, nearing 50% for children under five (World Bank 2009; PNUD Guatemala 2015). The World Bank study, called the Poverty Assessment in Guatemala (World Bank 2009), showed that the country was able to reduce poverty only from 56% to 51% between 2000 and 2006. However, official estimates indicate that poverty rose again to 53.7% in 2011. The situation is particularly difficult in rural municipalities which account for 44 percent of the country. There, almost eight out of every ten people are poor, according to the outcomes of the 2011 Rural Poverty Map.

San Pedro La Laguna is one of 19 municipalities in the department of Sololá. According to the Guatemalan Institute of Statistics (INE), in 2011, Sololá was the poorest

department in Guatemala with over 77% of its population living in poverty. But, interestingly San Pedro is one of the least poor municipalities around of the lake (Juan Skinner, personal communication). I contend that one of the reasons for its relative success is its adoption of some neoliberal development narratives as they relate to tourism. While neoliberal theories cannot explain all of the perspectives toward tourism and development I encountered there, it does seem that the dominant hegemonic narrative regarding development is at work at least in this community, if not others. On the other hand, and based on trends from my data, there is no equal and shared access to power, and members are either not willing or unable to participate equally to the development of their town. The neoliberal narrative on development is several decades old not only in San Pedro La Laguna, but in Guatemala overall.

In the next section I review the history of development in Guatemala during the 20th century to provide the reader with an understanding of the historical context and the key political events that shaped the Guatemalan economy and social relations. A brief review of recent events in Guatemalan socio-political-economic history is essential background to understanding the local contexts, and in the particular case of San Pedro, in which issues of development and tourism take place.

### **Key Events Contributing to Contemporary Development Issues in Guatemala**

Guatemala became a Spanish colony in 1524, when the Spaniards who were led by Pedro de Alvarado defeated the Maya peoples. A decisive battle took place on the Plains of Xelaju (near contemporary Quetzaltenango) where Alvarado defeated the K'iche' forces led

by Tecun Uman. Almost three centuries later, Guatemala won its independence from the Spanish crown but remained an economic backwater (Grandin, Levenson and Oglesby, 2011: 107) compared to Mexico and Peru, because Guatemala generated little wealth for the crown.

After independence, the power in Guatemala was disputed by the political parties known as the Liberals and the Democrats. The Liberals believed in a democratic future with increased governmental transparency and greater equality and participation among civilians, while the Conservatives favored a more centralized form of government that respected Spanish institutions like the Catholic Church and trade tied to Spain. They were leery of greater civic participation. The inter-party conflict led to a succession of dictators holding the power, which continued into the mid-1940s.

The “October Revolution” of 1944 saw the overthrow of the dictator, Jorge Ubico, by a movement “spearheaded by students, teachers, military reformers, and an emerging middle class overthrew” (Grandin, Levenson and Oglesby, 2011:197). This post WWII experiment in revolutionary social engineering introduced a series of reforms that aimed to benefit the poor, the Maya, and women. Aside from establishing state-run social security, healthcare, and enacting a new labor code, post-revolution governments ended forced labor on coffee plantations and tried to implement an agrarian reform that would put an end to the feudal power of the major landowners (Wilkinson 2004).

The effects of the October Revolution only lasted until 1954 when the CIA, under Eisenhower’s administration, overthrew Arbenz’s government in an operation known as PBSUCCESS (Cullather in Grandin, Levenson and Oglesby, 2011:230). The coup was the first CIA intervention of the Cold War in Latin America. The coup directly contributed to the

thirty-year Civil War (1960-1996) in Guatemala whose consequences are still felt today, especially in the highlands. Issues affecting land tenure, human rights, voting rights and respect for Maya traditions lay at the heart of the war. But, those issues were not resolved by the war; nevertheless, Maya peoples emerged from the war with a greater sense of the power to control their own future through hard work, saving and adaptation to the global economy (Fischer and Hendrickson 2003; Stoll 2013).

*Capitalism at Work: The Beginning of the Civil War in Guatemala*

To understand the political history of post-revolution Guatemala, we must also take into account the role of international commerce. Specifically, no history of Guatemala can be told without including the United Fruit Company (UFC), a prototype of the modern transnational corporations. Created at the end of the nineteenth century, the UFC received control over large areas of land in Guatemala and other Central American countries in exchange for its “civilizational” works (Adams 1915 as cited in Grandin, Levenson and Oglesby, 2011:144). This might have been one of the first examples of neoliberal policies of development in Guatemala.

The company paid little or no taxes in exchange for building railroads and promising jobs. By the 1950s, the company controlled one third of the world’s banana trade and it had a strong anti-union policy. Protests were suppressed violently and the company had a key role in the 1954 coup that removed President Jacobo Arbenz from power (Wilkinson 2004; Grandin, Levenson and Oglesby, 2011:144).

Scholarly interpretations of the coup are divided between the idea that the CIA moved against Arbenz motivated by anti-communism and the belief that the land reform posed a threat to US economic interests in Guatemala. The latter interpretation stems from the belief that the coup was an attempt to protect the private economic interests of the United Fruit Company, which had many close connections with members of Eisenhower's administration. Grandin, Levenson and Oglesby (2011:198) point to the fact that the interpretations that highlight the anti-communism hypothesis miss an important point: Guatemalan communists were responsible for an expansion of democracy in Guatemala. Arbenz was not a communist, but he did believe that the feudal power of landowners was an obstacle to democracy (Grandin, Levenson and Oglesby 2011:198). The agrarian reform promoted by the Arbenz government was perceived as a threat by the landed oligarchs and certain local elites because it challenged their political, economic, and racial dominance over the countryside (Grandin, Levenson and Oglesby 2011:221).

The effects of the coup reverberated all over Central America, perceived by some as a sign that the US did not support democracy, but preferred its own proxy corporate control over Latin America. The immediate post-1954 period in Guatemala was extremely violent (Wilkinson 2004:4). "The Guatemalan truth commission report, *Memoria del silencio* (1999), described CIA's 1954 intervention as 'national trauma' that had a 'collective political effect' on a generation of young, reform-minded Guatemalans.

"By the outbreak of the civil war Guatemala was already far behind in its development, particularly its social indicators. Despite having twice the per capita DGP of Honduras, Nicaragua, or Bolivia, by 1960, Guatemala ranked worse than these countries on

several key social indicators” (World Bank 2004:36). Specifically, Guatemala was worse off than all other countries in the Latin America and the Caribbean in gross primary enrollment rate. It had the second shortest life expectancy (second only to Bolivia), and its low infant mortality rates were very close to those of Honduras, Nicaragua, and Bolivia.

By the 1970s, some indigenous communities in Guatemala’s Western highlands had become active participants in the conflict. The greater the successes of the guerrilla movement, the greater was repression from the government. By the 70’s and 80’s increasingly more Maya communities developed guerrilla sympathies for which they paid dearly. Indigenous communities were now perceived as a threat to the political and economic elites of the country due to their support of the guerilla movement. As a response, the military launched several “scorched earth” campaigns that reached genocidal proportions (Jonas 2000; Wilkinson 2004). This war was one of the bloodiest in Latin America. Over 200,000 people were killed or “disappeared” and another million were displaced as a result of the resettlement policies of the government. Over 50% of the victims of state violence were Mayan (Grandin, Levenson and Oglesby, 2011: 362).”

In its 1999 report, *Memoria del Silencio*, the UN-administered Guatemalan truth commission ruled that acts of genocide have been committed (Grandin, Levenson and Oglesby 2011: 363; Wilkinson 2004).” In the highlands, the violence of the army as they searched for guerillas took on different forms. Old conflicts, envy, jealousies resurfaced and were dealt with violently. From a position of power, wearing the Guatemalan coat of arms, neighbors turned against neighbors to settle old unresolved disputes: over land, women, and

inheritances (Paul and Demarest 1988). This destroyed the fabric of society in many Maya communities (Foxen 2008), which has slowed the post-war social and economic recovery.

*The 1996 Peace and the Slow Road to Recovery*

On December 29, 1996, the state and the guerilla groups represented by the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity (URNG) signed a peace agreement. After dealing with the immediate concerns of ending the war, "...two accords addressed the longer-term goals of confronting Guatemala's history of racism and social inequality. An agreement on indigenous peoples committed the Guatemalan state to recognize the identity and rights of Maya, Garífuna, and Xinca populations and to undertake a series of reforms to support multiculturalism" (Grandin, Levenson and Oglesby, 2011:442). A socioeconomic accord called for correcting the social imbalance through increased government spending on health, education and tax code reform. By the mid-2000s however, after almost a decade of frustratingly slow progress on the reforms, the Guatemalan government had failed to live up to the promises of the peace accords. "The root causes of the armed conflict are largely unchanged, including extreme poverty, highly inequitable land distribution, and government abandonment. Guatemala remains one of the most unequal countries in the world. More than half of Guatemalans live in chronic poverty and one-fifth live in extreme poverty. Economic elites refuse to pay even minimally higher taxes to finance an expansion of government services to the poor" (Grandin, Levenson and Oglesby, 2011:443). The legacy of the war is still present today in Guatemala. People talk of the influence of "hidden powers": "clandestine networks of active and retired military officers now reconstituted as organized-

crime rings. Guatemala has been turned into a major drug corridor between North and South America, with a corresponding corrosion of public safety and threats to democratic governance” (Grandin, Levenson and Oglesby, 2011:443).

Guatemala’s history was marked by fights over land. The peace accords did not include plans for a land reform. The 1996 Agreement on Socio-Economic Issues and the Agrarian Situation did not contain a strategic, long-term vision of rural development (Murga in Grandin, Levenson and Oglesby, 2011:456). It did not address economic injustice, nor the root causes of past and ongoing rural conflict, and it did not challenge the inequitable status quo which favored free markets and the national and foreign financial elites. This inequitable status quo and the poverty it creates is still visible today, almost two decades since the 1996 Peace accords.

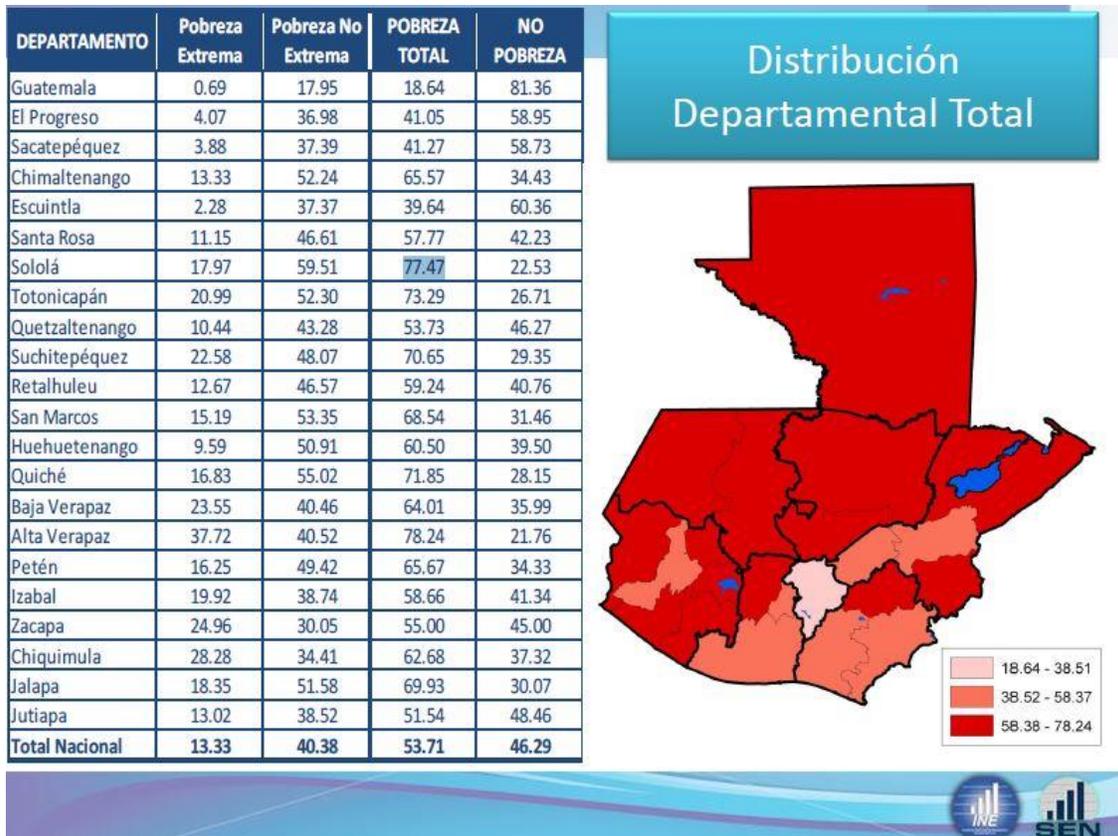


Figure 2: Guatemala - Map of Poverty by Department

### Organization of the Thesis

The remaining part of this chapter describes my methodology. In chapter 2 I review major theories on development and tourism and explain the key terms that are integral to the “authorized discourse” (Smith 2006) on development and tourism. I will refer to these terms and theories later on, in chapters 3 and 4, when I describe the nature of tourism and development in San Pedro La Laguna and discuss the key issues in tourism, development and power structure in the research setting. I believe it is important to review the different trends

in development and tourism development since the 1950s until today so that it is easier to see where the development model and tourism model in San Pedro La Laguna fits and how it reflects one or another dominant narrative about the relation between the two.

## **Methodology**

### *Location of the research*

To evaluate the benefits and drawbacks of tourism, it is important to understand the theoretical model of tourism development and how it fits in the larger narrative of tourism as a tool for development, but also how it impacts and is impacted by the local power structure. For this purpose, I explore the emic view of tourism that is the perspective of local people on that matter. I selected San Pedro La Laguna as the site for my data collection because it is a community that is actively involved in tourism entrepreneurship among a large population of tourists, yet still is based on rural, agricultural activities. The recent nature its tourism development, yet sufficiently mature enough to see the direction of its growth, made it ideal for the study.

### *Research Questions*

As previously mentioned, the purpose of this thesis is to contribute to a better understanding how local people have absorbed the dominant tourism and development theories both in discourse and in practice in San Pedro La Laguna. This study tries to present the emic perspective on tourism and development in San Pedro. It does not aim to prove or disprove that tourism leads to development, nor does it seek to give a recipe on how tourism

can best contribute to the development of the countries or towns that embrace it. Instead, it contributes to a dialogue on questions of local perspectives on tourism. What do local people think development is? What is their role in it? Has tourism been perceived as beneficial? Do they think it is linked to the economic development of the town? Who should take responsibility for regulating tourism and ensuring that it benefits local people? These are the supporting questions that I was asking as I researched the tourism and community development perspectives as understood by the community members of this town.

### *Choice of Methods*

Quantitative data such as World Bank or UN statistics are a good resource to work with, but qualitative methods seem more appropriate for understanding processes and for gathering data and details that cannot be obtained through closed-ended questions. Community development is a process. This study aims to understand the process of community development in San Pedro La Laguna and how it intersects with the tourism industry from an emic perspective. For this purpose, a qualitative study seemed more appropriate, but quantitative data from readily available sources such as census data and statistics as well as a survey that I conducted with tourists was also used. This ethnographic mixed-methods approach allowed me to use a triangulated, iterative approach to help me understand from multiple perspectives, the views of different actors involved directly or indirectly in the relationship between tourism and development to be considered.

### *Sampling and Recruiting*

Most Pedranos have Tz’utujil as their first language, but only about 50% are fluent in Spanish. Nevertheless, the majority of the Pedranos working in tourism speak Spanish, as do I. For the in-depth interviews, I chose only adults that spoke Spanish to participate in the study. Recruiting was done through chain-referral and snowball sampling (Guest et al. 2013). This choice was made both due to the limited amount of time available to conduct the study, but also due to issues of trust. Local people were more likely to agree to participate in the study if an acquaintance “vouched” for the researcher.

I interviewed a total of 30 people, 15 women and 15 men, with ages between 18 and 71 (Table 1).

	Age Range					
	18-25	26-35	36-45	46-55	56+	Total
Male	1	5	4	3	2	15
Female	3	4	4	4	0	15
Total	4	9	8	7	2	30

The sample was not stratified by age, only by gender. In the demographics section of the in-depth interview, I asked the participants if they worked in tourism, but that was not a pre-condition for participating in the interview; however, almost two thirds of the in-depth interviewees worked in tourism.

The survey with tourists was conducted in English, and I interviewed an equal number of women and men totaling 30 people (Table 2).

Table 2. Age and gender distribution of tourist informants						
	Age Range					
	18-25	26-35	36-45	46+		Total
<b>Male</b>	1	9	4	1		15
<b>Female</b>	4	10	1	0		15
<b>Total</b>	5	19	5	1		30

I used random sampling for the survey with tourists and stopped when I reached a sample of thirty. Most tourists sampled for this study were from the United States. The chart below gives a breakdown of the nationality of the tourists sampled in this survey.

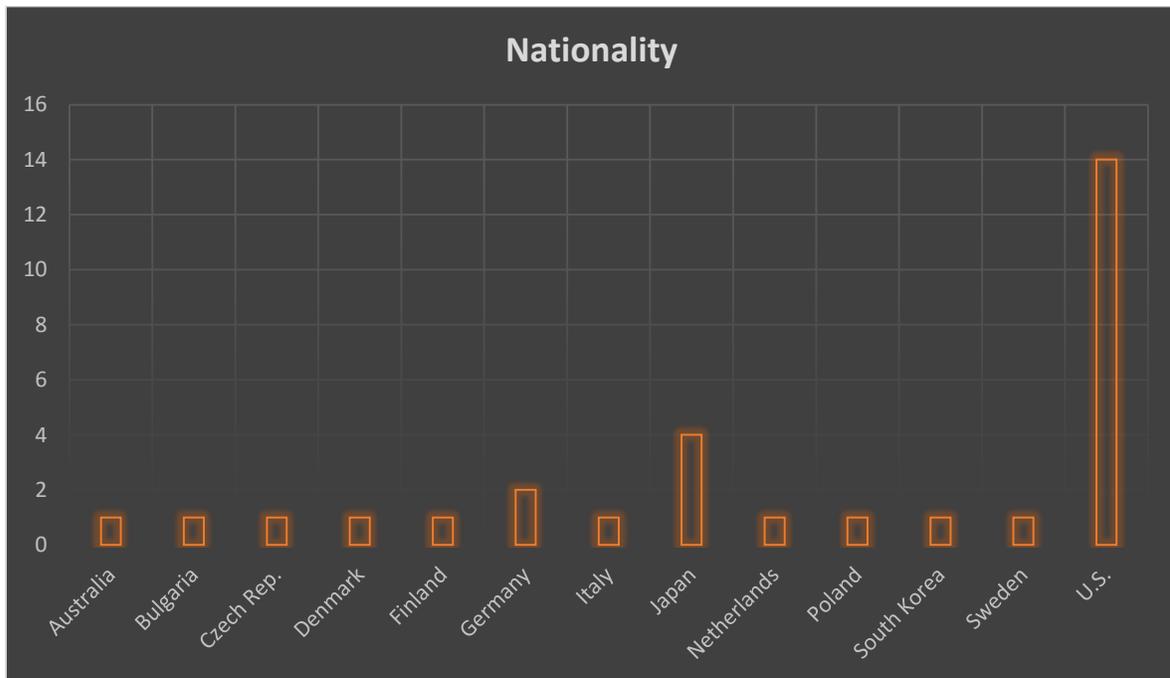


Figure 3: Nationality of tourist interviewees

### *Qualitative and Quantitative Data Collection*

I lived in San Pedro La Laguna for seven and a half weeks in the summer of 2014 from late May to mid-July. The first two weeks were spent building rapport, getting to know the surroundings, and engaging in informal conversations with local people and potential

informants to convey the purpose of my stay. By the end of the second week, I received NC State University's Institutional Review Board's approval for my study and began interviewing. I conducted a total of 30 in-depth interviews with local people and a questionnaire survey with 30 tourists. Both lists of questions are available in the appendix of this document. The in-depth interviews included a section on demographic data and a set of open-ended questions. The first six in-depth interviews were audio recorded while I also took notes. My audio recording device broke down after that and it was impossible to replace it. I then submitted a request to the IRB to allow data recording through hand-written notes. The remaining 24 in-depth interviews were recorded in this manner. The in-depth interviews lasted between half an hour and one hour. Interviews were carried out either in my home, in the interviewee's home, or at their workplace.

The questionnaire taken with tourists was not audio recorded at all as it had mostly closed-ended questions and a section on demographic data. The survey lasted between 5 to 10 minutes, depending on the availability of the interviewees to discuss their answers in more detail. Tourists were surveyed on the street, in the area of town called by locals "Gringolandia" (a disparaging term referring to the high numbers of foreign tourists, especially those from the U.S.).

Participant observation was also employed as complementary to interviews and surveys. I observed local people at work, at home, during family events, and celebrations. I also observed tourists as they walked around the town, hanged out at local restaurants and cafes, and in their interactions with local people.

### *Data Analysis*

Data was then transcribed in SIL Fieldworks, a software that helps manage linguistic and cultural data.<sup>1</sup> Data was then coded based on the data collection method used. Keyword and text analysis of the interviews helped me develop themes. The text analysis allowed me to identify the key themes that I talk about in chapter 5. Charts and graphs were constructed to help me visualize the results when possible.

### *Challenges and Constraints in Data Collection*

As I mentioned above, only Spanish-speaking Pedranos were recruited for the study, which means that the exclusively Tz'utujil speaking population is not well represented in the data. Additionally, the sample size, though acceptable for a qualitative study, was small and sample saturation might not have been achieved. I was constrained by time also. I had only eight weeks to complete my study before funds were depleted. This limited the number of people I was able to interview. Given the nature of the study but also the time available I had to rely mainly on convenience sampling. After I received IRB approval for my study, I had only six weeks left to do the study. This time constraint limited the number and type of contacts I could make. Nevertheless, I designed the study to ensure men and women were equally represented. Time constraints prevented sampling based on economic activity for example, therefore, even if I did take note on whether the participants in the in-depth interviews worked in tourism, I did not have the necessary time to secure a significant sample from the different areas of activity.

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<sup>1</sup> <http://fieldworks.sil.org/>

In the following two chapters I present the results based on the data I collected. In Chapter 2, I look at the nature of tourism in San Pedro, by describing the setting and the tourism development model. In Chapter 3, I include data from the survey with tourists, the in-depth interviews and observations. In Chapter 4, I describe the data I collected through in-depth interviewing. In Chapter 5 I present the results to the overall questions concerning the development of San Pedro, the key themes that Pedranos consider important for the development of their town and I give an account of the key actors that Pedranos think should be involved in the development process and the means that should be employed. In chapter 5 I also explain what I found out about how Pedranos believe tourism and development in their town are related.

## **Chapter 2 – Literature Review: Theories in Tourism and Development**

Tourism is increasingly touted as a route for development for the Third World countries that embrace it. As the world's fastest growing industry, employing one out of eleven people worldwide (UNWTO 2014), it is often received with high hope by the host communities. The relationship between tourism and development however is not straightforward and it seems that there is no one-size-fits-all solution to the kind of tourism development model that will lead to improvements in the quality of life of the hosts. Additionally, even where there is a tangible improvement in the level of development of the visited community, tourism also brings unwanted social challenges that might at times outweigh the benefits of the industry at a local level (Wallace 2005).

Whether solutions to these challenges come from outside or from a local level they need to be understood in a local context. In this chapter I review the literature on development and tourism and explain the key terms that are integral to the “authorized discourse” (Smith 2006) of development and tourism. Laurajane Smith (2006) defines the “authorized discourse” as the dominant way of speaking about the dominant professional narratives associated with the perspectives of economic and political elites, and which leaves no room for multivocality. Identifying the authorized discourse of development and tourism that apply to San Pedro La Laguna requires first a history of these ideas in general, and second, a history of their specific emergence in Guatemala.

In this chapter, I focus on the dominant discourse of development, which I identify as neoliberalism, and in particular as it relates to tourism. This broad framework will serve as a

basis for comparison with the emic perspective of the people of San Pedro (locally called *Sanpedranos* or simply *Pedranos*) that I present in later chapters. As the reader will see, I believe that the broad development and tourism models do not accurately represent the complexity of the situation in San Pedro La Laguna. What do local people think development is? What is their role in it? Has tourism been beneficial? Do they think it is linked to the development of the town? Who should take responsibility for regulating tourism and ensuring that it benefits local people? These are the supporting questions that I ask in order to understand if people in San Pedro La Laguna feel trapped in the dominant narrative on development and tourism or if they challenge it.

Certain key themes from the authorized discourse on neoliberal models of development remain as threads in local discourse. Neoliberal discourse will be shown as the evidence for the desire for development, the importance of self-reliance, and an ambivalent attitude toward state assistance. Dominant discourse will also be evident in the importance of local organization—but other surprising themes will emerge in San Pedro La Laguna which are not predicted in the literature, such as the emphasis on education and the relative absence of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) from the conversation. To make clear the roots and connections of these themes, therefore, I will chart the historical connections between development and tourism models in this chapter, and then apply them to the specific history of Guatemala in the next. But first, in the next section, I present theories of development that will be useful later to understand what the development model really is in San Pedro La Laguna.

## **Theories of Development**

### *Chronology*

My review of the theory of development could start with a history of the 18<sup>th</sup> century colonial efforts of Western European nations that used the “inferiority” of indigenous people as an excuse to justify political rule over the “savages”. The focus here, however, is the postcolonial discourse surrounding the concept of development from the 1950s to the present day, though “in both the colonial and postcolonial contexts, the desires of the peasantry were systematically ignored” (Gilman 2002:10). McMichael (2012) divides the history of development ideologies between pre- and post-1980s, “the lost decade for development.” Below I briefly explain the history of the dominant narrative on development, decade by decade.

In the post-World War II era, poverty was “discovered”, “modernized”, and “globalized” in a very short time. By the end of the 1940s, two thirds of the world’s population was almost arbitrarily declared as poor and underdeveloped by the West, largely those from Western Europe and North America. In 1948, “the World Bank defined as poor those countries with an annual per capita income below \$100. And if the problem was one of insufficient income, the solution was clearly economic growth” (Escobar 1995:24).

After World War II, a new “war” was declared by the West. They called it the “war on poverty”. Western technology and capital were the solutions for underdeveloped nations. Inspired by the success of the Marshall Plan aiming to restore the European economy and by the Four Point Program of President Truman, First World Nations began the process of

developing Third World Nations (Escobar 1995). Development was about the rest catching up with the West. In the 1950s, “the decade of development euphoria”, the strategic approach to development was economic growth. This strategy was replaced in the following decade (1960s) by the “technically oriented Big Push and Trickle Down emphasis”, a push for economic growth and industrialization as the right path for development (Cohen and Dannhaeuser 2002).

By 1970, the goal of economic growth alone was deemed to be short-sighted, and new concepts, such as the “basic needs approach” and “popular participation” gained momentum by emphasizing not only economic growth, but also the distribution of the benefits of growth. (Esteva and Prakash 1998:280; Escobar 1995; Johnston and Clark 1982; Cohen and Dannhaeuser 2002). It was also in the 1970s that women were “discovered” as having been left outside the development interventions which led to the creation of a new field: Women in Development (WID) (Escobar 1995).

Figure 4: Timeline of development (McMichael 2012)

# A Timeline of Development

WORLD FRAMEWORK	<b>Developmentalism (1940s–1970s)</b>			
POLITICAL ECONOMY	State-Regulated Markets (Keynesianism) Public Spending			
SOCIAL GOALS	Social Contract and Redistribution National Citizenship			
DEVELOPMENT [Model]	Industrial Replication National Economic Sector Complementarity [Brazil, Mexico, India]			
MOBILIZING TOOL	Nationalism (Post-Colonialism)			
MECHANISMS	Import-Substitution Industrialization (ISI) Public Investment (Infrastructure, Energy) Education Land Reform			
VARIANTS	First World (Freedom of Enterprise) Second World (Central Planning) Third World (Modernization via Development Alliance)			
MARKERS		Cold War Begins (1946)	Korean War (1950–53)	Vietnam War (1964–75)
	Bretton Woods (1944)	Marshall Plan (1946)		Alliance for Progress (1961)
	United Nations (1943)		Non-Aligned Movement Forum (1955)	Group of 77 (G-77) Economic Forum (1964)
				World Economic Forum (1970)
		FIRST DEVELOPMENT DECADE	SECOND DEVELOPMENT DECADE	
	1940	1950	1960	1970
INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENTS	World Bank, IMF, GATT (1944) US\$ as Reserve Currency			
		PL-480 (1954)		UNCTAD (1964) Eurodollar/offshore \$ market
		COMECON (1947)		

Globalism (1980s–2000s)	
Self-Regulating Markets (Monetarism) Public Downsizing	
Private Initiative and Global Consumerism Multi-Layered Citizenship and Recognition	
Participation in World Market Global Comparative Advantage [Chile, South Korea; NAFTA]	
Markets and Credit	
Export-Orientation Privatization Entrepreneurialism Public and Majority-Class Austerity	
National Structural Adjustment (Opening Economies) Regional Free Trade Agreements Global Governance	
Oil Crises (1973, 1979)	Cold War Ends (1989)
	“New World Order”
	Imperial Wars (2001–)
	Debt Regime
	WTO Regime
	Climate Regime
New International Economic Order Initiative (1974)	Chiapas Revolt (1994)
Group of 7 (G-7) (1975)	World Social Forum (2001)
	Earth Summit (1992)
	Kyoto Protocol (1997)
	Group of 20 (G-20) (1999)
	MDGs (2000)
	Stern Report (2006)
	IAASTD Report (2008)
	“LOST DECADE”
	“GLOBALIZATION DECADE”
1970	1980
1990	2000
	GATT Uruguay Round (1986–1994)
	NAFTA (1994)
	WTO (1995)
	IPCC (1988)
	UNFCCC (1988)
Offshore Banking	Structural Adjustment Loans
	“Governance”/HIPC Loans
	Glasnost/Perestroika

By the 1980s, development as a social experiment appeared to have failed miserably (McMichael (2012: xvi). The ideal of “incorporating” the underdeveloped into the world market by giving them access to western-like services and quality of life seemed unattainable (Esteva and Prakash 1998:280-296; Mowforth, Charlton and Munt 2008:53). The development models adopted between the 50’s and the 80s did not generate the expected outcome of lifting the so-called “underdeveloped world” out of poverty. This failure to develop the Third World led to comments that there would not be a fifth decade of development. The term had become so entrenched in the political power discourse that the 1990s began as a post-development era, one that was supposed to build on the removal of former oppressive regimes, from Romania to Chile. As the development narrative entered in its globalization phase (see chart above), a new “ingredient” was added in the re-development mix: ecology (Esteva and Prakash 1998:280-296).

Most recently globalization and localization processes have become major issues in development (Escobar 1995; Black 1999; Hines 2000). Globalization is defined as “the ever increasing integration of national economies into the global economy through trade and investment rules and privatization, aided by technological advances. These reduce barriers to trade and investment and, in the process, reduce democratic controls by nation states and their communities over their economic affairs” (Hines 2000:4). As an alternative, according to Hines (2000), *localization* is “a process which reverses the trend of globalization by discriminating in favor of the local” (Hines 2000:4-5, 184; Scholte 2005:79; Mowforth & Munt 2015:30). The policies that are aimed at bringing about localization “are ones which increase control of the economy by communities and nation states” (Hines 2000:5). The

expected outcome of the localization process is an increase in community cohesion, a reduction in poverty and inequality, and an improvement in livelihoods. It is important to remember both the theories of neoliberalism and globalization and the theories of localization as they are critical to understanding the complexity of the narrative on development and tourism on local tourism destination communities like San Pedro La Laguna.

### **Development and Power: Western Ideology, Discourse and Hegemony**

Development theory was built on the idea of modernization: underdeveloped nations had to give up their archaic ways of living and embrace modernity if they were to catch up with the rest of the world. To become modern nations, by emulating the model of Western, First World nations, the poor countries would have to embrace industrialization and urbanization as the right path towards development. Those were the necessary and inevitable routes to modernity (Escobar 1995:38-39). “Development started to function as a discourse” and the concept of development was almost unanimously adopted as an inherently good thing (Escobar 1995:39).

The idea that development was a “need” for the Third World countries became an unquestioned truth. Equally unquestioned was the idea that economic growth, science, and technology were the means to fulfill this need. However, Black (1999) argues that the poor in any community or population see few benefits of development. When a development project is successful, for example, not everyone benefits equally. The annual reports of the development agencies rarely include the unanticipated costs of development, such as pushing up property values.

## **The Neoliberal Model of Development**

Neoliberalism is “a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can be best advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong property rights, free markets, and free trade” (Harvey 2005:2). In this model, the state needs to create and maintain an institutional framework that supports these practices. If markets do not exist in areas like land, healthcare, education, social security, or environmental pollution, they must be created with state intervention, but the state should not venture beyond these tasks.

This theory first became very popular in the 1970s. Its advocates occupied positions of influence in “international institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, and the World Trade Organization (WTO) that regulate global finance and trade. In short order, neoliberalism became hegemonic as mode of discourse. It has pervasive effects on ways of thought to the point where it has become incorporated into the common-sense way many of us interpret, live in, and understand the world” (Harvey 2005:3). In the neoliberal model of development, national and local governments lose control of the national economy. “The underlying philosophy – deriving from a popular (but limiting) interpretation of Adam Smith’s *The Wealth of Nations* and formalized in neoclassical economic theory – is that markets maximize individual preferences and allocate resources efficiently. Whether this theory reflects reality or not, it is a deeply held belief that is now institutionalized in much development policy the world” (McMichael 2012:4). Furthermore, according to Igoe (2004) the idea of free markets as the engine of development led to states being perceived as

inefficient and potentially corrupt, which has led to private companies taking lead roles in promoting economic growth (Igoe 2004). As neoliberalism spread, many states started to divest from providing important support services to communities and let NGO's step in -- but these NGO's were not critical of the neoliberal model; rather, they bought into the dominant narrative.

### **Hierarchies: “Recipient” Communities and Implementing Agencies**

Often NGOS, INGOs, local governments, and their elite partners portray local populations as passive receivers of aid, lacking entrepreneurial skills and initiative. The implementing agencies see themselves, in the light of the neoliberal hegemonic narrative on development, as the “last” hope for the “recipient” communities. The term “recipient” suggests passivity, but, as Escobar (1995) highlights, local populations respond to situations of poverty or underdevelopment as best as they can. Both Escobar (1995) and Gilman (2002) suggest that when launching new phases of development, the implementing agencies start by listening to the criticism of local *participants* (Escobar 1995; Gilman 2002). Implementers, donors, local leaders, and local populations might share several other many of the many development goals, but programs, calls for proposals, and projects are “tailored to the ideas and desires of the granting agency or nation and pay little attention to the local population” (Cohen and Dannhaeuser 2002:xx). Aid policy and strategies for local or regional development are rarely, if ever, based on thorough research in the field and consultation with the local participants, or “beneficiaries”. For example, I myself spent three months in Mozambique and a year and a half in Brazil working for a federation of development

organizations that was rooted in Denmark, but had its southern headquarters in Zimbabwe. In Mozambique, in the partnership department where I worked, there were several of us constantly responding to calls for proposals by writing project proposals to benefit different communities where the organization worked. Not once did we actually get to go out of the office and talk to the people in these communities to understand what they really needed and wanted. We used existing statistical data to show how poor people were and tried our best to fit our idea of a project in the criteria listed by the donor agency. When I asked my supervisors why we just assumed that we knew what Mozambicans needed, I was told that the problem was with the “armchair specialists” who designed the calls for proposals and that the only way to receive money was to work on the causes that the donors believed were important. The situation I encountered in Brazil was similar. I knew that local communities are not homogeneous or at least not as homogeneous as the promoters of the development discourse portray them. The local social, economic, and political variations have ramifications on the success of local development, which is why Hines (2000) argues that the alternative to the globalized neoliberal approaches to development is “localization.”

### *Theories of Tourism and Its Connection with Development*

Tourism, the world’s fastest growing industry (UNWTO 2014), is increasingly referred to as a tool for economic growth and local development. As it happened with the development industry, tourism grew exponentially after World War II. The advancement and continuous development of transportation and communication technology, paired with the

improvement of financial services around the world, pushed the boundaries of tourism to include more and more destinations.

### *Power Relations and Tourism*

Power relations and how they are constructed are important for our discussion on tourism-as-a-tool-for-development and for our critical understanding of development. The complexity of issues surrounding the concept of tourism as a tool for development is too vast to be resolved in this thesis, but several key ideas are critical to contextualize the ideas of San Pedranos. Mowforth and Munt (2008:48) summarize the idea of tourism and power under three concepts: ideology, discourse, and hegemony, and I will refer to these terms when I present the findings of my research. The hegemony of the Western model of tourism development is supported by the Western ideology and discourse of development. They also argue that in order to make sense of third World tourism development, we need to consider what Doreen Massey (1995) calls ‘a geography of power’.

Nash (1989:35) goes as far as calling tourism a form of imperialism. Earlier, van den Abbeele (1980) had called tourism imperialistic for commodifying cultures to satisfy the hedonistic practices of the Western elites. Chung (1994:21) talks about tourism as a form of post-colonialism, and de Rivero’s (2001) analysis of non-viable national economies reflects the idea that, in spite of formal political independence, formal colonies are still held in a perpetual state of subordination through neocolonial practices that include tourism.

It is important to remember this harsh criticism of tourism’s effects on the host communities, although terms like post-colonialism, neocolonialism, imperialism are more

characteristic of an etic discourse than of an emic narrative. The latter is the focus of this thesis as I later examine in depth local perspectives on the development narrative in San Pedro La Laguna.

### **Tourism, Development and Local Power Structure**

First World governments, companies and tourism organizations like the UNWTO promote tourism as a route towards development and a vehicle out of poverty for the nations and communities which embrace it and promote it (Mowforth, Charlton and Munt 2008:53). “This may or may not be due to the failure (now obvious to some but not to all) of the neoliberal development model around the Third World” (Mowforth, Charlton and Munt 2008:53). Third World countries were pushed by the policies of IMF, World Bank, WTO, and G8 governments to produce tropical goods and exploit their natural resources for export.

Touristic experiences are the new ‘export’ or the new commodity aimed at foreign consumers, and, just as with any economic activity, at its core lies relationships of power and hierarchies.

“Tourism pretends to be apolitical, but it encapsulates problems of power and worth on a grand and global scale. When tourists encounter local people, they bring the weight of their expectations, their leisure and their power. Locals see this, and respond: they react against it, make a counter offer of adapt to expectations. This seemingly trivial exchange can have profound economic, environmental, cultural and political effects, not only on individuals but on the global political economy” (Shanks 2009:361).

As I mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, neoliberalism became popular in the 1970s and gained momentum in Europe at the beginning of the 1990s after the collapse of the Soviet Union, but by the late 1990s, it was clear that the previous development models based

on the neoliberal theory were not having the desired effect. Mowforth, Charlton and Munt state that tourism is viewed by national governments in Third World countries as a means to increase foreign earnings and as a generator of employment, “Hence the perceived need for change and the relatively recent use of the tourism industry as a ‘new’ mechanism either for continuing the exploitation or for addressing its failings” (2008:53).

Less developed countries are sometimes referred to as ‘simple and unspoiled’ by the visitors who enjoy the low cost of living and services. For many, poverty equals traditional and as such attracts certain kinds of tourists, those that are susceptible to a specific type of tourist gaze (Urry (2002:1), because adventurous First World tourists often expect Third World destinations to be exotic, accessible, and affordable for them to enjoy. Regardless of who visits, however, tourism must be sustainable.

### *Tourism, Sustainability and Local Participation*

Much of the development and tourism development discourse concerns local participation as a criteria for sustainability. The 1990s was the decade of participatory development (Mowforth, Charlton and Munt 2008:75). Henkel and Stirrat (2001:168) argue that it is difficult to find projects that do not talk about bottom-up empowerment of local people and bringing in local technological and cultural knowledge. But just as neoliberalism assumes that the free market will equally benefit all participants, the idea of community participation falsely assumes that local communities are homogenous, that their members are willing and capable of participating equally in the development of their community or of a particular tourism model (Cleaver 2001). Cooke and Kothari (2001) refer to participation as

the ‘new tyranny’ because participation is another term coined by the developers, usually external entities or actors. Bhattacharyya argues

... the purpose of community development is the pursuit of solidarity and agency by adhering to the principles of self-help, felt needs and participation. The erosion of solidarity and agency has been a historic process, connected particularly to the rise of industrial capitalism, the nation-state, and instrumental reason (2004:1).

According to Cleaver (2001), understanding local participation as a straight route to community development misfires, because structures of power, both within communities and between these communities and outsiders conducting participatory exercises are unequal and often non-shared. There are three major problems with the notion of participation in development: “the notion of a community as the ‘*natural* social entity’ (Cleaver 2001:44) and identifiable reality, the manner in which the heterogeneity and unequal access to power are assumed away, and the assumption that members of a community are willing and able to participate equally (Mowforth, Charlton and Munt 2008:77).”

### *Participation and Local Structures of Power*

Taylor (2001) argues that participation does not work “because it has been promoted by the powerful, and is largely cosmetic, but most ominously because ‘it is used as a *hegemonic* device to secure compliance to, and control by existing power structures. As such, then, participation simultaneously veils and legitimizes existing structures of power” (Taylor 2001:137).

In capitalism, this is called the trickle-down effect and neoliberal theory refers to it as the mechanism through which development spreads and poverty (Mowforth, Charlton and

Munt 2008:83). However, Evelyne Hong (1985:21) argues that the real beneficiaries are the rich industrialized tourist-generating countries which control the entire industry. Additional criticism of the trickle-down effect is as follows. It is, state Mowforth, Charlton and Munt (2008:83),

...an illusory carrot held out to the national governments of the LAC countries by the international financial institutions, the transnational corporations and First World governments wanting to extend their investments and influence within the target country. The carrot is then offered on by the national government to its people as an excuse for accepting the overtures of the First World countries for development that will bring little benefit to the country and which will repatriate its resources and income to the investing country.

In chapters 3 and 4, I will present the opinions of local people in more detail, and refer back to these theories to exemplify and explain which tourism and development narrative fits the development and tourism development model in San Pedro La Laguna.

Research shows that the long history of oppression and discrimination in Guatemala from the Colonial Period and seen most clearly in the Civil War era, I described in Chapter 1, continues to play out in the current century. Indigenous Guatemalan peoples, including the Maya, Xinka and Garifuna, exploited in the past, continue to be exploited for the benefit of the elite-dominated tourism industry in the post-War era. The discriminatory, exploitative colonialist discourse of elite power is now also reflected in the marketing and promotional strategies of the contemporary tourism industry: “an industry which, it could be argued, invited first world western tourists to consume third world places and people as pleasure products” (Aitchison 2001:135).

## *Tourism in Guatemala*

INGUAT, the Guatemalan Institute of Tourism uses the power of discourse to invite tourists to enjoy the country's natural and cultural richness, glossing over the atrocities of the colonial and Civil War eras in such tourism propaganda statements such as,

Guatemala, Heart of the Mayan World - The historic, natural, and cultural heritage of Guatemala may be discovered throughout the whole territory. The magic and mystery of the Mayan world subsist in the millenary cities such as Tikal, Yaxhá, Aguateca, and Quiriguá among others. The faces, the colorful regional costumes, and *the kindness of the people from the highlands are like an echo of an impressive colonial past* that may be heard in the churches and convents of Antigua Guatemala. Such resonance is also the contact with an exuberant nature which is the origin and destination of a unique biodiversity in the world (INGUAT 2014) [emphasis mine].

Tourism in Guatemala developed gradually after the end of the Civil War in 1996. The tourism industry there is much older though. Home to the major Maya archaeological sites, Guatemala often finds itself in the top ten destinations to visit in Central America, with the archaeological site of Tikal, the colonial town of Antigua Guatemala, and Lake Atitlán as its top three picks.

The tourism industry grew gradually after the Peace Accords, but tourists visited the country for decades before that. After the mid-nineteenth century discovery of Tikal, the visitors arriving were mostly archaeologists. The site, however, saw rapid development with the construction of an air-strip and travel agencies up till today still capitalize on the Maya heritage in marketing Guatemala as a tourist destination part of the 'La Ruta Maya,' but also as a cultural destination on its own.

Walter Little (2004:44) argues that the tourism industry in Guatemala is pervasive and permanent because the tourism agencies have taken the tourists to the same sites for

decades. Both Hinshaw (1975, 1988), who did research on tourism in Panajachel, and Little (1995) also argue that this organization of tourism helps differentiate the tourist Guatemala from the non-tourist Guatemala. There is a separation of spheres that is apparent in San Pedro La Laguna as well. He also suggests that there are some confrontations and ruptures in the way tourism in Guatemala is structured. First, it brings benefits to the middle and upper class while maintaining social stratification. Second, it separates tourists from internal and social problems of Guatemala (Little 2004:50). Third, it offers opportunities for play, recreation, and adventure for tourists while maintaining these separations.

As of 2004 there were no Maya-owned tour operators, Little (2004:51) writes, although today there are a few, small-scale Maya tour operators beginning to sprout, especially in San Pedro and its sister town, San Juan La Laguna. Up until recently, there have been no Maya tour operators, first because the Mayas generally do not have the economic means and business contacts to get started. Second, Ladinos and foreigners own businesses that are part of the national and international tourism industry, such as restaurants, hotels, and Spanish schools, and see partnering with a Mayan as beneath their status in society. The 'acceptable' roles for the Mayas in the tourism industry are those of artisans, sellers, domestic servants and maintenance workers - roles which do not challenge the Ladino and foreign-run tourism industry.

### *Tourism at Lake Atitlan*

When Sol Tax did his initial fieldwork at Lake Atitlan (1936-1941) “tourists only trickled into Panajachel, sometimes visiting Santiago Atitlan and taking a boat tour of the lake” (Little 2010:235). The lake was not yet a major touristic destination in Guatemala.

With an increase in population numbers, the towns around the lake began to experience land shortage. This became a major problem when wealthy Guatemalans and foreigners began to build vacation homes along the lake shore, especially after the 1980s, when political violence had slowed and roads were improved, making it easier for capitalinos (residents of the capital, Guatemala City) to travel to the lake for weekend getaways (Little 2004:232).

In 1960, a tourism-based development initiative gone awry permanently affected the local ecology. “Carnivorous black bass were introduced in hopes of promoting tourism through sports fishing. Instead, a centuries-old traditional fishery based on traps and vegetation-enclosures was destroyed as native species were devoured” (Loucky 2001:7). Land acquisition around the lake for vacation and tourism purposes and the destruction of the lake ecology were only two of the change factors that were out of the control of local people.

San Pedro La Laguna represents a case of people responding to a combination of economic, ecological and political factors over which they have limited control, including outside market forces, shifts in national political climate, expansion of landholdings and lakeside homes by outsiders, and international tourism (Loucky 2001:13).

### **Chapter 3: The Nature of Tourism in San Pedro La Laguna**

Tourism is increasingly promoted as a tool for development, as I discussed in Chapters 1 and 2. In practice, however, tourism is “both idealized and demonized, as a destroyer and a creator, whether of valued environments, social and cultural practices, or wealth” (Shaw and Williams 2004:1). In this chapter, I describe the nature of tourism in San Pedro La Laguna, emphasizing what local people perceive as the benefits and drawbacks of tourism in their town and what they think is the tourism development model that would work best in their town. I begin the chapter by describing the research setting, and then I continue with a description of the tourism model and the typical tourists that visit the town. The chapter ends with a presentation of the ideas local people have about the way tourism developed in town and how and who should be involved in changing it so that the larger community benefits from tourism revenues.

#### *Setting: Lake Atitlán – San Pedro La Laguna, Guatemala*

The travel publisher, Lonely Planet, lists Lake Atitlán as one of the top ten stops for Central America first-timers. According to the same travel guide, nineteenth-century traveler/chronicler John L Stephens (1843), writing in *Incidents of Travel in Central America* called Lago de Atitlán 'the most magnificent spectacle we ever saw'. It is impossible not to be impressed the first time you see the lake from the height of the road descending from Sololá, the departmental capital to Panajachel, the major touristic hub on the shores of the lake. An important landmark in Guatemala, the lake is surrounded by three spectacular volcanoes, Tolimán, Atitlán, and San Pedro, which form the natural frame of the Lake itself. With a

surface of 125 square kilometers the lake is situated at 1,560 meters above sea level. The altitude has helped to make it a primary destination for Westerners in part because of its temperate weather throughout the year.



Figure 5: Picture of Lake Atitlán

#### *Lake Atitlán – Geological History*

Part of the so-called “Ring-of-Fire,” a region of volcanoes strung out along Western side of Isthmus from Costa Rica to Mexico, the region is subject to frequent tectonic plate activity including volcanoes and earthquakes. Lake Atitlan was formed about 85,000 years ago, the result of a massive volcanic eruption, called Los Chocoyos, which spewed magma



Figure 6: Map of Western Highlands, Guatemala

about a kilometer into the sky. The quantity of magma expelled from below the earth's crust caused the surface terrain to collapse, forming a huge, hollow crater, gradually filling its 900 feet depth producing what is now Lake Atitlán.

Thousands of years after Los Chocoyos three smaller volcanoes rose on the lake's southern shore: Volcán San Pedro (today 3020m above sea level) about 60,000 years ago,

Volcán Atitlán (3537 m) and Volcán Tolimán (3158 m). The lake today is 8 km across from North to South, 18km from East to West with a total area of 125 sq km, and averages around 300m deep, though the water level has been on the rise since 2009. Along and just above the shoreline are a twelve municipalities, each with their own, distinctive characteristics, one of which is San Pedro.

### *Demographics – Brief History*

The lake region has been inhabited by over four millennia. Around 900 AD, when the Classic Maya civilization was in decline, the region was settled by two groups whose ancestors had migrated from the Toltec capital of Tula in Mexico – the Kaqchikel and Tz'utujil, both are close relatives of K'iche'-speaking Maya located mainly immediately North and West of the lake region today. The Tz'utujil settled at Chuitinamit, across a short inlet from the site of the present day town of Santiago Atitlán, while the Kaqchikel occupied the lake's northern and eastern shores. This demographic distribution persists to this day. By the time the Spanish arrived in 1524, the Tz'utujil had expanded their domain to occupy most of the southern, western and much of the northern lakeshore areas. Pedro de Alvarado exploited the conflict between the Kaqchikels and their Tz'utujil rivals by allying with the former to help defeat the latter in a bloody battle at Tzanjuyú. The Kaqchikels subsequently rebelled against the Spanish and were themselves subjugated by the Spanish in 1531. Today, the department of Sololá is home to over 430,000 people according to the current estimates published by INE (Instituto Nacional de Estadística).

### *Brief Description of Towns around the Lake*

The municipality of Panajachel, the gateway and main touristic stop to the lake, is also the starting point for exploring the various corners of Lago Atitlán. Due to its large community of expatriates from around the world, Panajachel is sometimes called, with sarcasm, “Gringotenango”, meaning the place of the Gringos. Santiago de Atitlán, on the opposite southern shore has a strong indigenous identity based on its centrality in Tz’utujil history. Atiteco women wearing their distinctive headdress are often a postcard picture for tourists coming on package tours.

Up the western shore from Santiago is the town of San Pedro La Laguna which has a reputation among “hippie” tourists as a countercultural party center. On the north side, San Marcos La Laguna is a haven for contemporary new-agers, while Santa Cruz La Laguna and Jaibalito, nearer to Panajachel, are among the lake's most idyllic, picturesque locales hosting niche, big-splurge hotels.

The lake is a three-hour bus ride west from Guatemala City or Antigua. There is an ersatz town at the highway junction of Los Encuentros, based on the throngs of people changing buses here and the businesses that have been established to service this transitional population of travelers. From La Cuchilla junction, 2 km further West along the Interamericana, a road descends 12 km southward to Sololá, and then there's a sinuous 8 km descent to Panajachel.



Figure 7: Map of Lake Atitlan

### *Water Problems*

Surrounded by over a dozen towns and villages, Lake Atitlán is faced with environmental challenges. In the absence of functional and sustainable wastewater management systems, most residue from domestic, agricultural and tourism activities ends up

in the lake. During the rainy season, the water carries debris and waste from the slopes down to the lake. In late 2009, cyanobacteria covered the waters of the lake, changing the color of its water to a sluggish brown. My interviewees all remembered cyanobacteria as having a strong negative impact on the town. There was a drop in the number of tourists that arrived to San Pedro that year. The local community suffered from the loss of tourism related employment. The lives of fishermen were also severely affected, as they faced the double challenge of not being able to feed their families, nor earning the income they would usually make by catching and selling fish. Tap water also comes from the lake and in the absence of proper chlorination and filtering, women remember 2009 as a very stressful time. They were concerned about health issues and complained that doing their laundry and cleaning became more challenging.

### **San Pedro La Laguna**

San Pedro La Laguna is a town of about 18,000 people with over 90% of them indigenous Tz'utujil Maya. Located at the base of San Pedro Volcano, the town, after Panajachel, is the most visited around the lake (Wallace and Diamente 2005). The tourists can choose to party, go kayaking, horse-riding, learn Spanish, take painting classes, hike the volcano, or just swing in a hammock and enjoy the view over the lake.

The touristic scene unfolds at the lakefront along Gringo Trail (Calle Gringo) where most tourism businesses are located. The town is unofficially divided into two sections: (1) a Gringo enclave by the lake shore where tourists roam and most businesses are foreign

owned, and (2) the San Pedro of Pedranos, as the inhabitants of the town call themselves, centered around the market, the Catholic Church, and its park.

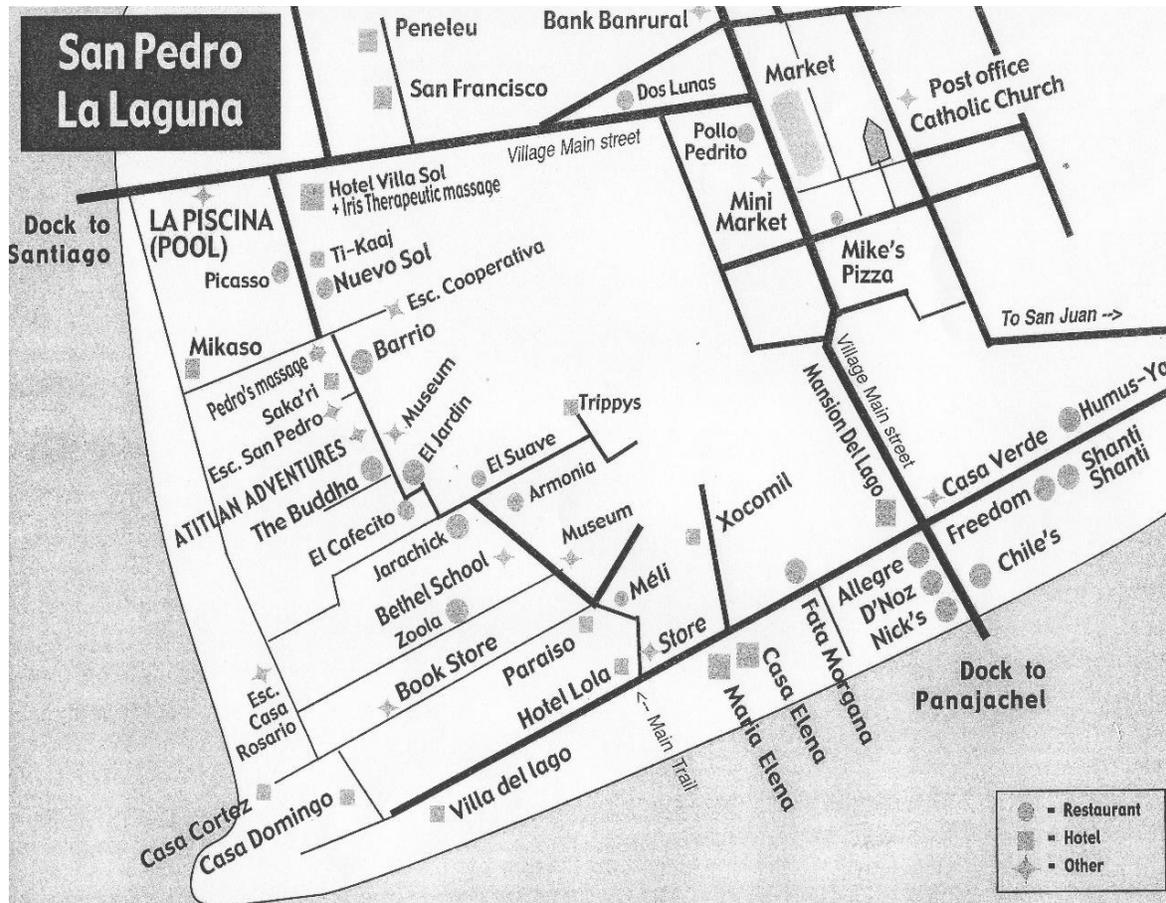


Figure 8: Map of San Pedro La Laguna

### Tourism in San Pedro

Historically, San Pedro's economy was based on agriculture and coffee production. However, for the past four decades, with the development of transportation, telecommunication, and, increased availability of financial services, San Pedro viewed an increase in tourism as a valuable addition to their subsistence income from coffee production.

Tourism became an opportunity to supplement income, not only for the wealthier members of the community, but also for a significant group of micro-entrepreneur bread-makers and textile weavers. When the prices for coffee went down in 2001, the more entrepreneurial among the Pedranos committed more firmly to tourism.

The development of tourism in San Pedro La Laguna followed a laissez-faire model. Interviewees believe that the local government is not doing enough to regulate tourism and often point at the fact that the best land for agriculture is owned by foreigners. Additionally, local people argue, my informants said, that there is an expectation that everything should be cheap for the tourists which they think is bad for the economy. However, one of the biggest complaints about tourism was that the community beach has been commodified for the benefit of tourists which has considerably reduced local people's access to the lake.

As I explain later in this chapter, tourism raises a series of challenges for the people in San Pedro while simultaneously bringing benefits. Tourism, for instance, allows some people to find employment locally and thus, avoid migration in search of work in the capital city or the risky and illegal travel through the Mexican desert in search of economic opportunities in the U.S.

To show how tourism impacts the lives of local people, in the sections below I present the relationship of power between the hosts and guests. Next, I will describe the type of interactions between tourists and hosts in San Pedro in the existing tourism development model and analyze how tourism in San Pedro fits in the tourism development models presented in Chapter 2.

## **The “Tourist Gaze” on San Pedro La Laguna: The Typical Tourist**

Tourists in San Pedro spend most of their time in what local people called Gringolandia. This area of the town is where most tourism businesses are located. It stretches, roughly between the dock to Panajachel and the dock to Santiago de Atitlan. It was here that I did the tourist survey. It was in this area that I observed tourist interactions and behaviors, where I talked to tourists about their experiences in San Pedro and observed their consumption patterns and the way they marketed experiences or places to other tourists. This helped me understand how tourists impact the local economy. I believe this is important to talk about, because it is one of the factors that shapes the local power structure. Tourist gaze produces certain expectations (Urry 2002:1) and has consequences on the destinations that are its object. Pedranos have to work under this ‘tourist gaze’ (Urry 2002:59), but they do not care for that part of their town that was commodified for tourists (Gringolania), because it does not represent who they are culturally.

In the next section, I want to illustrate what tourists commonly do in San Pedro during their stay. I do this by drawing a composite picture of two tourists that is based on my observational analysis of tourist activities. I call one “Jim” and the other “Matt. Although there is no one tourist explicitly named “Jim” or “Matt,” there were many tourists I observed during my research who were similar to “Jim” and “Matt.”

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*It was raining. “The typical afternoon shower in San Pedro”, the bartender told Jim. He was checking his e-mail seated at a table at Nick’s place, the restaurant and bar located alongside the Panajachel dock. He was sipping his coffee when a noisy trio entered the*

*restaurant. Three tall guys with muddy boots and wet hair greeted the bartender and sat at the table next to his. “Three beers, please!” They were very loud and in a mix of laughter, cursing, and different accents, they were telling the story of their hike of the San Pedro Volcano.*

*An Australian, a New Zealander and an American, Ben, Dan and Matt, they seemed to be regulars judging by their interaction with the staff. “Hey, man, haven’t seen you around. Just arrived?” Matt asked Jim. He moved to their table and asked them about their stay.*

*Ben and Dan were leaving the next day, continuing their trip to Central America, on their way to the Southernmost tip of South America, but Matt was staying for at least another month. He had found a good bargain at one of the Spanish schools in town: daily one-on-one Spanish lessons and accommodation for a better price than at any decent hotel in town. He offered to take Jim to Escuela Maya and introduce him to Dueña Maria. If she had any bungalows available, he could move in almost immediately, if not she would find a local family where he could live for a good price. Jim was thrilled with the possibility of staying longer for the same money. He had arrived to Lake Atitlán just a couple of days before and he was planning to stay in Panajachel, the touristic hub, but then he heard from other travelers that San Pedro was the place to be for the parties, the nightlife, and a relaxed attitude from local authorities towards drugs.*

*The rain stopped and the four left the restaurant.*

*On a usual day, Matt told Jim, he would wake up late morning, grab something to eat, and take a class in one of the bungalows in the garden at Escuela Maya, go out for*

*lunch, come back for a nap in the hammock on the veranda of his bungalow and then hit the party at night in Gringolandia, which is how the local people called their tourist bubble, the area of the town that stretched between the two docks, the dock to Panajachel and the dock to Santiago de Atitlán.*

*Hiking the volcano made him skip class today, but he agreed with his teacher to work one extra hour tomorrow. Maria and her family were very nice. They made sure people received what they paid for and respected their privacy. He would normally get home late, closer to their wake up time than to their bedtime so they only met at midday. The school was located in a less noisy area of town about ten minutes by foot from the dock to Santiago.*

*On their way there, the three pointed at the 'places of interest', Tacomex, just a few meters up the street from Nick's place and the dock to Panajachel, for cheap tacos and beer; the health store on Gringo street, where he could find some U.S. products for when he was homesick; Hummus Ya, good and affordable middle Eastern food; the Clover – the Irish Pub, for good food in large portions; the Buddha – 'The place to be at night'; the Italian coffee shop for strong coffee and good pastry; Mikaso hotel, 'hidden' by the beach, to enjoy a good jacuzzi after hiking or kayaking; Tulan Kan for Indian food and that was pretty much it. Everything else, they said, was ok, but these were their favorite places. There were over a dozen travel agencies and souvenir shops in between the restaurants and bars that Matt and co. pointed at, but if Jim wanted to rent kayaks or go hiking, they already knew a guy who spoke a mix of English and Spanish and also served as a guide for the volcano hike earlier in the day.*

*The following day, they would show him where the ATM was to get some cash. It was close to the center of the town, uphill, near the market. “Not much to see up there”, Matt said. “That area of the town is mostly for local people. I have only been there twice, once after I arrived two weeks ago to go to the ATM, and once today, we met the guide in front of the Catholic Church,” he added.*

Jim and Matt are typical tourists that come to visit San Pedro La Laguna: somewhat hedonistic, looking to have a good time, know where to eat, where to live, taking Spanish classes because they are often included in the typical tour package outlined in guide books like *The Lonely Planet* and *The Rough Guide*. Spanish schools only host their students. The reason I say Jim and Matt are typical tourists is because they fit in the description that Pedranos had about the regular visitors; they were mostly young, looking for an affordable and safe place to stay, their routine tailored around their nightlife. Except for a random tortilla making episode, their interactions with local people were limited to the basic services provided to them by their hosts and by some of the employees that worked at the places where they spent most of their time.

The idea that there is “not much to see up there” (in the center of the town) for tourists was brought up not only by tourists like Matt, but also by almost a third of my interviewees from San Pedro. Pedranos were somewhat resentful about the lack of infrastructure that would potentially encourage tourists to explore more of their town, ‘consume’ and, therefore, benefit the local economy. On the other hand, Pedranos also felt a sense of relief that the tourists stayed in their area and spared the local people their more morally doubtful habits like alcohol and drug abuse, heavy partying and late hour noise.

## **Separation of Spheres: A Town for Tourists and a Town for San Pedranos**

The fact that most tourists spent most of their money in Gringolandia left local business owners located in the center of the town to rely on mostly local customers. The benefits of free market, the promised trickle-down effect of the neoliberal economic model had not reached these local entrepreneurs.

During my stay in San Pedro, two weeks were dedicated to the celebration of the patron saint. Local people were very much involved in preparing, celebrating, and cleaning after the festival. This was a good opportunity for me to observe the interaction between hosts and guests. For two weeks, I walked around town outside Gringolandia counting the tourists that I saw walking around the festival area and sparking conversations with a handful of them. There weren't many foreign visitors enjoying the patron saint celebration. I counted two, both women, during the parade that I observed with my host family from a central spot. Close to the market, I met another two, both taking Spanish lessons and living with a local family. A couple of days later, I met a male tourist playing arcade games at one of the improvised 'game centers' by the side of the street going uphill from the dock to Santiago de Atitlan. Were it not for the frequent "bombas" [fireworks] going off, the tourists in Gringolandia would have been totally oblivious that anything out of the ordinary was going on elsewhere in San Pedro. This experience reinforced the idea for the tourists that there is "not much to see up there" for them. I wanted to know if this separation of spheres was due to lack of adequate marketing on one side or lack of interest on the other.

During the festival, the usual separation of the tourist area from the rest of the town was even more obvious. While the streets of the town were colorful with flowers, decorations, and constantly filled with people, Gringolandia looked no different than on any other day. I wanted to know if perhaps the reason why tourists were absent from the one of the major annual San Pedro events was it was a World Cup Year (Summer 2014). Every time I passed by restaurants and bars in Gringolandia there were tourists clustered around tables either watching football, talking about a previous game, or waiting for a new game to start.

One of my interviewees from San Pedro had a booth selling food during the festival. As she was cleaning one day, I offered to help while asking her about the way the big festival event ‘usually’ happens since I had at first been expecting to hear that foreign tourists and local people interact more during the celebration of the patron saint. They do not, according to Estefania. But that is ok, she believes, since “not everything is for tourists.” The festival is for Pedranos. It is a time for families to reunite with family members arriving from Guatemala City and even from abroad. I asked if she thought it was a matter of marketing, since I did not see the tourism businesses in Gringolandia advertising the town fair. She emphasized that having increased participation of foreign tourists was not something that she necessarily wanted. There were enough people from out of town in almost every patron saint festival around the lake, she said, but the usual foreign tourists were not interested, and she did not mind.

### *Tourists in San Pedro:*

Through in-depth interviews, I obtained information about the tourists that visit the town from the perspective of local people. My research design included a survey with tourists for the purpose of understanding their reasons for visiting San Pedro and maybe some of their behaviors while in town. For this purpose, I talked to 30 tourists and asked them to answer a few questions in a survey that would help me understand their consumption patterns and the guest-host interactions in San Pedro La Laguna. This data helps understand a part of their impact on the community. Sixty percent of the foreign tourists I interviewed said that they were more likely to try a community-based tourism package. However, when I went on to ask what they meant by that and if they could give me an example of community-based tourism experience they had already bought, the answers I received were: “I learned how to make tortillas once” or “I saw the [local] women making tamales and then we ate with them.”

It became clear to me that while tourists said they were in support of community-based tourism, they did not seem to know what it meant. Although some of the people visiting San Pedro tried to frame themselves as “alternative” and “not typical mass tourists”, they did have some typical touristic pursuits. They either knew already what to look for before arriving to town, or they relied on recommendations from tourists that had arrived there before them. To understand what visitors look for in San Pedro, in my survey I asked people to tell me more specifically the main reason they chose San Pedro La Laguna and not another town around the lake as their vacation destination.

### *To Do and to See in San Pedro La Laguna*

The tourist survey data I collected shows that a third of the tourists listed landscape as the main reason for visiting the lake. Only four people of the thirty tourists that participated in the survey listed Mayan culture as the reason why they were in San Pedro, another five mentioned affordability, and over 35% listed other reasons, out of which five people came to San Pedro to learn Spanish because it was significantly more affordable than in the U.S. Hiking San Pedro Volcano, kayaking or just relaxing were the most commonly mentioned must “do’s” by the tourists I talked to. The most common accommodation option was hostels followed by homestays (especially popular among Spanish students), and hotels. (Table 3)

Hotel	Hostel	Homestay	Rented house
8	12	9	1

Over 80% of the Pedranos I interviewed said that they wanted to have more tourists arriving because they saw an opportunity for local employment in the tourism industry, but they wanted a different kind of tourism. The people in San Pedro that participated in in-depth interviews could not agree on the number of tourists that visit the town every year. They told me it was somewhere between a vague ‘few thousands’ to more than 50,000 per year. INGUAT (2014) estimated that around 4.5% of the tourists that visited Guatemala in the first semester of 2014 (January-July) also visited Panajachel. That would be roughly 46,000 out of 1,032,000 tourists in the first half of the year. Since, San Pedro La Laguna is the second most visited town around Lake Atitlán, I estimate that at least half of those who visited Panajachel also visited San Pedro (about 20-25,000) in the same time span.

*Good tourist, bad tourist: hippies, drugs and a wish for upscale tourism*

As I mentioned in the introductory chapter, tourism in San Pedro is roughly three decades old. By now, the local community has experienced both positive and negative consequences of the development of the tourism industry in the town. Locals have clear ideas what they think should change or improve in the tourism development model in San Pedro. Over 80% of my in-depth interviewees expressed the wish to see the industry growing. On one hand, local people complain that there are not enough tourists, that there is no saturation point<sup>2</sup> yet, there are not enough permanent jobs in tourism that local people can rely on. However, Pedranos do not want to receive just any kind of tourist. Low prices and the low cost of living attracted too many low cost tourists, according to my in-depth interviewees.

For the reasons mentioned above, Pedranos expressed the wish to move to a different kind of tourism because they are unsatisfied with the presence of “hippies” and backpackers and the fact that low prices attract them. The distinction between a “hippie” and a backpacker was not always clear for the Pedranos that participated in the in-depth interviews. About a third of my in-depth interviewees use the two words interchangeably, and to them it meant low-spending, poorly dressed tourists who linger too long in San Pedro. For the remaining two thirds of my interviewees from San Pedro, the distinction between a hippie and a backpacker was clearly defined. Backpackers were low-budget tourists that stayed in San Pedro for a period of two to three weeks at most. They did not spend much money in the community, but they were not as bad as the hippies, according to two thirds of my in-depth interviewees. Hippies are easy to spot as you walk through Gringolandia. They wear ragged

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<sup>2</sup> The stage beyond which no more of something can be absorbed or accepted.

clothes and have messy hair, and they sit directly on the ground working on some bracelets or other crafts to sell so they can make a penny to live off for another day. The Pedranos I interviewed believe hippies are a bad moral influence for the youth in San Pedro because they are perceived as dirty, irresponsible, and they do not contribute enough to the local economy. Hippies are one of the major drawbacks of tourism in San Pedro according to my in-depth interviewees. The other major problem with the growth of the local tourism industry is drugs - drug use, drug abuse and drug trade.

A few years ago, my interviewees say, a major travel guide (some say it was in *The Lonely Planet* guidebook) published a story about the ‘piles of cocaine’ in San Pedro La Laguna. General discontent with that portrayal of the town led to the removal of the story from the guide, my in-depth interviewees say, but one can still find mentions of it on Lonely Planet forums, along with the stories about ‘powder parties’ in San Pedro. In 2014, I found one road sign, on my way uphill from the dock to Panajachel to the market that said that drug use and trade were prohibited and punishable by law in San Pedro La Laguna. “Yes, we all know that,” said Manuel\* “but is that law applied in practice?”

Hippies and drugs were listed by my in-depth interviewees as the most disruptive consequences of the development of tourism in San Pedro. Hippies, they said led younger Pedranos to believe that life could be lived without much effort, that there was no need to work towards securing a steady job, and that the individual only had a responsibility to provide for him or herself. These kinds of attitudes towards life contradict the traditional Maya upbringing where the extended family functions as both a network of support and a group of people to whom the youth owe support.

Drugs were twice as dangerous, my interviewees from San Pedro said. First, because they led to addiction which reverberated by ruining the individual's life and that of the extended family. Second, because involvement in narcotics trade was a highly risky but also very fast way of making a living without much effort.

My informants from San Pedro also believed that the problem of the hippies could be solved locally by reforming the tourism model to serve the upscale tourists, thus making San Pedro too pricey of a destination for the budget tourists. The drug issue needed not only local law enforcement but also common action at a regional and national level. Whether their ambitions and aspirations are realistic is up for debate given the local hierarchies and political and economic power relations.

## **Chapter 4: Key Issues in Tourism, Power and Sustainable Development in San Pedro La Laguna**

### *Introduction*

From the beginning of this thesis, my research question has been whether the prevailing narrative that tourism represents as a route to development is true in practice in a town like San Pedro La Laguna. Given the time constraints I experienced while there in the summer of 2014, I can only point in the direction of a clear answer to this question. Nevertheless, in this chapter I marshal data that seems to support the existence of local attitudes representative of a neoliberal approach to tourism as development. My study is about whether local people in San Pedro La Laguna, Guatemala believe there is a connection between tourism and development. It is not, however, an evaluation of whether or not tourism produces development. While the theoretical connection between tourism and development is frequently made in the prevailing literature, the reality of measuring this relationship is very complicated, in part because tourism itself takes many forms and varieties. For example tourism is often referred to as an industry without smokestacks, yet the actual variety of tourism categories makes it equally a component part of the housing industry, or the food industry, or the rental industry and so on. Now that sharing economy entities such as Booking.com, Airbnb, Uber and others have entered the marketplace, the location for measurement of the effects of development through tourism has been displaced to a very wide and disparate set of market actors that are not easily quantified and impact expressed in local situations. What can be discussed, effectively, is what local people think

and believe about the relationships between tourism and development. And, that is what I have tried to accomplish in this thesis. Furthermore, in this chapter I want to lay out my analysis of my findings from my research in San Pedro. In the next section, I explain the informant narratives I collected, the perception local people have about tourism and development and put them into the key themes emerging from my data. In the previous chapter, I talked about local people’s attitudes towards tourism. In this chapter, I present their opinions on what they think it takes for their town to develop as they desire.

*Data Analysis*

I asked all my in-depth interviewees to tell me what development meant to them and if San Pedro La Laguna was a developed town. Roughly 40% of my thirty interviewees said that their town was developed, another 40% said that it was not developed enough and the remaining 20% said that San Pedro was not developed. The people I interviewed also listed the key actors in the development of their town. Most of them pointed to the local government, but they also see themselves as participants and partners. (Table 4)

<b>Table.4: Responsible for development</b>	<b>Total</b>
Pedranos and the mayor	12
Pedranos	7
Mayor and cocodes	1
Mayor	4
INGUAT	1
Families	3
Cocodes	1
Churches	1

However, what “development” means to Pedranos is less straightforward.

Analysis of the data I collected shows that the Pedrano narrative on development and tourism is centered around several key themes, ranked below by frequency of response in the following order: education, better economy, quality of life, community cooperation, healthcare, infrastructure, employment, and gender equality in education. In Chapter 2, I reviewed the major theories in tourism and development since the 1950s until today so that it is easier to see where the narrative of the tourism and development model fits in San Pedro La Laguna. In the next section, I want to discuss what my data shows regarding how Pedranos understand the development narrative.

Pedranos have adopted a development discourse that distances itself significantly from the neoliberal model of development. From the data I collected, as I will show, Pedranos think that it is education, rather than free markets and economic growth, which leads to local development. They further believe, my data shows, that economic growth and tourism are connected. They link the development of tourism to, among other things, the development of more accessible forms of transportation both for themselves and for tourists, a key historical element that facilitated travel to the region and eventually to the remoter villages around the lake. Pedranos also identify increased access to communication and facilities as a way local entrepreneurs have been able to capture a segment of the tourist market. They are aware that successful tourism businesses have capitalized on the local availability of tourist dollars and euros in the local tourism marketplace and more recently on the development of different payment systems from bank transfers to credit cards.

According to almost a third of my interviewees from San Pedro, the tourism industry began to grow when transportation means around the lake diversified and when boat rides

from Panajachel became more frequent -- from the once a day ferry, to the four times a day big boats, to the almost hourly lancha (boat taxi) rides available today between 5 am and 7 pm. The increased access to communication, especially the internet, also contributed to the development of tourism, according to over one third of my interviewees. Tourists from abroad could access blogs and forums on travel sites to learn about San Pedro. Manuela (25) believed that the Internet was an underused resource that could change the way people from abroad think about San Pedro. "We could use the Internet to make more publicity. We can do it for free. And we can speak about the town as it is," Manuela added. It is fair to say that technological advancement, one of the first major premises of economic development did work in favor of development in San Pedro La Laguna and more specifically in favor of tourism development allowing the tourism industry to increase its importance in the local economic landscape. My data also shows that the neoliberal model of tourism development, based on free market and little government control, is one characteristic of San Pedro's economy.

In the next section, I address how what themes emerge from the data as part of the discourse of development and tourism development in San Pedro La Laguna. The themes elicited here, while not always discussing tourism specifically, assume tourism's importance in the local economy. Pedranos frame their developed future with the help of these themes. Later in this chapter I explain their perception of tourism's role in this development.



Figure 9: Word cloud of key themes

*Education*

As I mentioned in Chapter 2, the neoliberal model of development states that free markets and economic growth are the only or best route towards development. However, locally in San Pedro La Laguna, that route seems to only come second, with education the preferred path or model for development. Almost a third of my interviewees equated development with increased access to higher education and 10% of them also emphasized the need for gender equality in education. Pedranos value education because they associate it with future access to jobs that do not require backbreaking effort such as agricultural work to earn a steady income. When asked why they believe education is the path to development my interviewees explained to me that in their town, and by extension in Guatemala, educated people were more likely to have access to employment that generated steady income which

translates into higher quality of life. Pedranos believe that local government (i.e., the local municipality) should facilitate the access of young people to higher education through scholarships and financial incentives.

“The mayor of San Juan [neighboring town] offers many scholarships. Youth have better opportunities in San Juan.” said Olivia “I have four children and they are all one year, one year and a half apart. They all want to study, and I want them to study, too, because I want them to have a better life and only one job. I have four jobs: I am a housewife, a stylist, an artisan and a teacher. I have to. Without scholarships, I have to choose only one or two of my children to send to school. How can I do that?”

Olivia, in her late thirties, worked in one of the Spanish schools in town, and, though she said that being a teacher was the job she enjoyed most, it was not a permanent source of income. Like several other interviewees she worked in tourism only part-time. She taught Spanish to foreigners. When I interviewed her she had just finished teaching a class to an American student. She also told me it was not so common to be teaching during this season, because June is not the high season in San Pedro; instead, she would be busier closer to the end of the year. Like Olivia, two other interviewees told me they were on-call teachers; that is, different Spanish schools in town would call them when they could not meet the demand for Spanish lessons with their almost permanent employees.

### *Employment - Job Security*

Olivia’s emphasis on “a better life and only one job” turned into a pattern in my data. There are employment opportunities in San Pedro, but it is difficult to find permanent

employment that allows for steady income and the possibility to live from working only one job. “I will lose this job in a year and a half”, said one interviewee. I stopped jotting down my notes and asked her if she was on a temporary contract. “No”, she replied, “but we will have a new mayor in a year and a half from now and he will bring in his own people.” There was no resentment in Maria’s voice. “That is how things work there”, she told me. She preferred to see the “bright side”. She knew ahead of time that she would have to find another source of employment, and she had time to consider her options. Maybe she would go back to being a seamstress. She had three children to raise with no support from the children’s father. “He left, he never helped me with anything anyway.”

Maria did not have enough land to subsist on. Her older daughter helped a lot around the house and she also took care of the garden, but the vegetables they produced were only enough to supply their needs for a few months a year. There was never a surplus to sell. I asked her if she had considered a job in tourism, San Pedro’s second major industry. She would, she said, but in the past work was only seasonal and rarely full time. She said that the family-owned tourism businesses that offered room and board were often too small to require workers from outside the family and the foreigners did not make long term contracts. They paid by the hour with fair pay but rarely offered steady jobs.

She wished that the nature of local tourism was structured differently, with more government control. “The mayor could have a quota system to make it a condition that if a non-Pedrano wants to open a business here, he should hire at least half of his people from our town. We would benefit more from tourism.” I asked her how often she interacted with tourists on a monthly basis, “Casi nunca” (hardly ever), she replied. Neither her office nor

her house were located in areas frequented by tourists. Tourists, she said, “They stay down there by the beach [indicating Gringolandia]. There is nothing here for them.”

Maria’s story touched on several key points including the power dynamics in the town, the way the tourism industry should be governed, according to local people, the insufficient access to resources (land) for a growing population the intricacies of earning an income locally, and the separation of the Gringo-tourist area from that of the Tz’utujil town. Employment opportunities exist in San Pedro and Pedranos are entrepreneurial and highly adaptable in their effort to make a living locally. It is however tiring, as they say, to be job insecure most of the year because you have to budget relying on income you think you could or might earn. This situation prevents them from improving or increasing the quality of their lives.

### *Quality of life*

San Pedro is developed, say about 40% of my interviewees. Another 40% believe that while San Pedro is developed as compared to how it was before the tourism industry gained strength in the local economy, it is not developed enough. Doña Estefania was one of them. I met Estefania at the weekly meeting of a small group of women who were processing soy and producing tofu and some other soy-derived products for sale. She told me that most women had to take additional seasonal jobs, a recurring pattern, because what they were producing was not enough yet to pay everyone a good wage, but they shared work and money equally among them.

Estefania lived uphill, close to the market. She once took me to her house just to show me which path to take to find her home. The path was unpaved and unmarked. The rain did not help much either, but she was only available in the afternoon. She greeted me from the stairs. I spent a long minute wiping my feet before entering the house to avoid getting the floor dirty. Estefania started laughing and asked me if I wanted some water to wash my feet. I accepted the bucket she brought from indoor and I went to the water pump. While I was washing my feet, she started talking about water. “It’s better now than when I was young. We have water coming to us, we do not need to go to the lake to wash our clothes anymore, but the mayor should do something about the sewage. We should do something, because everything that is trash goes to the lake.”

This is in itself a change, i.e., that people are quite conscious of the negativity associated with trash running into the lake. You can say that this was not true in the early 2000's, at least according to Tim Wallace (personal communication 2016) who has been working at Lake Atitlan for 15 years. Perhaps the arrival of cyanobacteria blooms in 2009 has made everyone more aware of the problems.

Estefania told me that her life quality has improved significantly for the past two decades. She linked this increase in comfort and access to services to the improvements in infrastructure. She said that tourism, directly or indirectly, helped with this, because once the municipality began investing in improving the infrastructure for receiving tourists, the benefits extended to the larger community. However grateful for the fact that she did not have to travel to the lake to do the laundry, Estefania pointed at other areas that needed, according to her, urgent attention. She was concerned with the absence of a sewage system

that could treat the waste waters before they reached the lake and that of a sustainable trash collection system. She also wanted to see the path to her house paved.

Tourism perhaps is partly responsible for this awareness and that this indirectly is leading toward an improvement of life quality as it drives people to be more conscious of how to keep the lake clean and healthy.

### *Infrastructure*

About 10% of my interviewees, all men, mentioned the relationship of infrastructure and quality of life in San Pedro Laguna while they talked about development. Two of them worked in transportation, one of them was a *tuc-tuc* (three wheeled auto-rickshaw) driver, and the other one also had a pickup truck that he used to make money transporting either people or merchandise from the market in San Pedro to the neighboring San Juan and farther away to San Pablo.

They both complained about the quality of the roads. “There is no planning, urban planning. The streets are really bad. They are bad for cars, and they are bad for people,” said Miguel\*. He went on to complain that the areas of the town that were less frequently visited by tourists received less attention from the authorities.

The ten percent of my interviewees who equated development with better infrastructure believed that investments in better streets, improvements in the way electricity was distributed to reduce the amount of cables, and a wastewater treatment station would all increase the quality of life for the permanent residents. Manuel (36) added,

Sewage, that is, I think, the most important. It is important for our health. I have a child that could already be in pre-school, but I am afraid to send her because the bathrooms are terrible in our public schools. There are no conditions for good hygiene there. So my wife stays at home and takes care of her until she is older and I work. We are afraid for our daughter's health.

### *Healthcare*

Access to healthcare was a hot topic in the discussions about development in San Pedro. Over 10% of my interviewees believed that development translated into higher access to better healthcare. Medical care was free at the local clinics, but patients were confronted with the high price of medicine after they left the doctor's office.

I talked to two doctors from San Pedro who also lived in the town, and they told me that they often had to deal with upset patients who complained about lack of adequate medical supplies. Lucia, a doctor with over three decades of experience told me,

We give medical care for free, but we have no medicine to give. Sometimes we do not even have enough supplies. We send lists of what we need, antibiotics, painkillers, gauzes... and we receive too much of one thing and little or nothing of the other. It's terrible and people get upset with us, the doctors.

One of my interviewees (Raquel) was bitten by a dog that tried to grab a piece of chicken from her hand. I was with her while she had her wound cleaned by one of the younger doctors. He had to use supplies from a first-aid kit he had brought from home. After he spread a layer of antibiotic cream on her hand I asked him if he was going to give her a vaccine to prevent rabies. "We don't have any," he said. As I was travelling to Panajachel the following day I offered to go to a pharmacy and ask for some. "You will not find any vaccine at the pharmacy. We should have them at the clinic, but we don't," he added. As Raquel and

I walked home, with an expression of pain on her face, holding her injured hand up she said: “When things like this happen, I think... where is San Pedro going? We need better hospitals, better conditions. Why can’t money from tourism be invested in our clinic, for example? We need to be healthy so we can work, so we can really say that we are a developed town.”

Another interviewee pointed at what he considered to be one of the biggest problems that San Pedro as well as Guatemala had to face: child malnutrition. José said,

The best land for agriculture is either under the hotels or planted with coffee. If something happens to the lake, like it did in 2009 [cyanobacteria], what are people going to eat? Coffee? What San Pedro needs is a food security program. Children replace tortillas and frijoles with snacks they buy for a few quetzales in one of the tiendas by the school. And parents are ok with it. But it is not ok. It is not healthy. Our health is going down. People need to understand that if they fed their children well, they would not need to buy all those vitamins. *Mas nutrición, menos vitaminizacion.*

Guatemala was listed by UNICEF in 2014 as occupying the 5th place of countries worldwide with high indices of child malnutrition. A more recent UNICEF statistic (2015) shows that while the department of Sololá is among the Guatemalan departments with highest rates of chronic malnutrition among children, San Pedro is in fact the only town around the lake with chronic malnutrition rates among children that is below 22%.

What Jose identifies as the most urgent problem San Pedro had, malnutrition, has its origins, he says, in the economic model in San Pedro. “People rely too much on tourism. The economy is not diverse enough.”

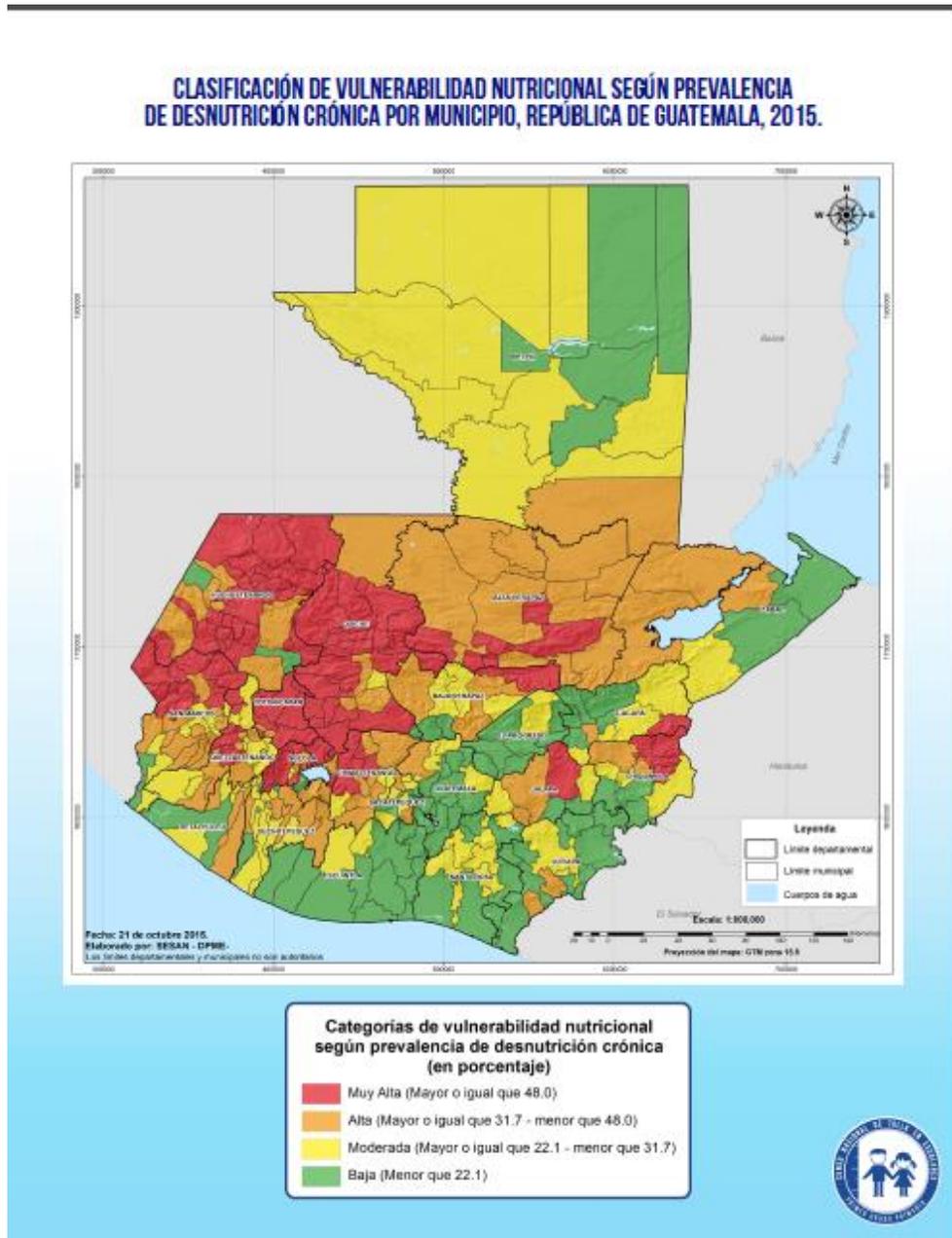


Figure 10: Map of chronic malnutrition (in percentage) by municipality

## *Economy*

Economic growth was listed as the second most important route to development by over 23% of my interviewees. This group believes that improvements in the local economy should stem from the local government. A stronger control of tourism development, support for micro entrepreneurs through financial incentives, the diversification of crops, and access to employment were listed as key factors in improving the local economy. Mario told me,

Everything is connected here. If we receive tourists well, it benefits our economy because more will come. If we improve our town, keep it clean, we benefit tourists and ourselves. If we have employment, more people are contributing to the economy. If people have money, they buy more and more people benefit. It is a chain. If we produce more than just coffee, we can have a more diverse market that will also be good for the economy. But we need the government to give good laws for that and we need to respect them.

Manuela, a Pedrana in her mid-twenties, added that an improved local economy depended not only on good laws, but also on the good use of available money.

San Pedro is developed. I think there is development here and there is money in the town. But we need to look at how we spend the money we have. How do we invest the money we make? Do we think about the long term? The way we do that affects our economy. It is very easy to get loans, but do we need loans or should we learn to save up for what we need? I think that we should ask ourselves before we take loans or buy things, do we really need them? We need to think about the effects for the long term. I think that if we invest in things like education, it will be better for our economy, even if not immediately.” Manuela also thinks that the local economy suffered because work was not respected, particularly the work of women: “Did you ever see someone trying to sell a huipil (traditional Mayan blouse for women)? It costs 500 to 600 quetzales but customers always want to bring the price down. They always ask for a discount, even local people who know how much work it takes to make a huipil. And women who make them end up making very little money. They can sell cheap or not sell at all. Work is not valued. People want everything cheap from others, but they want a better economy. It cannot work

like that. Women sell their work cheap, I have seen beautiful huipiles sold for 50Q, because they get tired and they think that their work is not valuable. Tourists also want everything cheap.

Manuela complained that this tendency to constantly lower the price and negotiate the price down was one of the reasons why artisans could not live off of their work, in her opinion.

A young man (22) I interviewed talked about the wish to have the gadgets that tourists display when they arrive to San Pedro La Laguna: smartphones, digital cameras, laptops. Maybe the desire for a better economy is due to relative deprivation, to the meeting with wealthy tourists, as it is the case in Cuba, an effect studied by Seaton (1997). Relative deprivation could be a potential explanation for the second most voted way to development, a better economy.

People that have constant and frequent encounters with tourists seemed more likely to wish for a better economy, though this is just a slight tendency given the size of the sample, because people who work in tourism have more often encounters with the affluent tourists. Therefore, it is likely that they would like to emulate the life of the rich tourists. Two of my interviewees said that Guatemala is a copy-paste country, because people want to emulate the American lifestyle model.

Ana (18) associated development with a different lifestyle, the kind you see on TV, she said. Development would be, she added, seeing Pedranos able to travel, becoming tourists themselves. Although it was not a consistent pattern, it seemed that with the advent of internet people are increasingly more aware of the lifestyles of other societies. This awareness of alternative lifestyles acquired through the media and through contact with

tourists, and the challenges and benefits of the existing development model are probably at the base of their narrative of development.

In this chapter, in conclusion, I presented the data from my in-depth interviews, focusing on the key themes that I identified as a result of the data analysis. The Pedranos I interviewed believe that there is space for improvement in the development model of their town. Their opinions on what should be improved are not homogenous, maybe because of a lack of forum where they could discuss and agree on what they perceive as the areas in need of improvement. Maybe they do not agree because they each have different vulnerabilities that translate in different hierarchies of need. In the following chapter, I discuss more in depth the connections between tourism and development as presented by Pedranos, and I refer back to the theories listed in Chapter 2.

## **Chapter 5: Meaning and Implications of the Collected Data**

### **Tourism and Development in San Pedro La Laguna**

As we can see in the examples from the previous chapter where I ‘dissect’ the narrative of development in San Pedro La Laguna, tourism is a part of the development discourse of Pedranos. The major themes that came up during the interviews are all related to tourism in some way. In this chapter I talk about how my Pedrano interviewees see how tourism developed in San Pedro La Laguna and what Pedranos think should be done and by whom to ensure that revenue from tourism benefits the larger community.

According to two thirds of my interviewees, for the past 20 to 30 years, the local elites and foreign entrepreneurs managed to capitalize on the development of tourism by acquiring the land on the shore of the lake to build hotels that offer scenic views. This frustrated the less financially able Pedranos who felt they should also benefit from the tourist dollars. In 2014 when I collected my data, almost a quarter of my interviewees complained that the economic model in San Pedro and the way tourism developed, benefitted only the political and financial elites. They suggested that this is a pattern similar to what is happening at a national level, where foreign mining companies exploit the mineral resources of Guatemala while retaining most, if not all, of the profits. Daniel said in one of my interviews,

Not even the government of Guatemala is autonomous. We are talking about a republic, peace... but it is superficial because we depend on other countries represented by companies that implemented an economic system. Mining companies are companies that have the power and control through the work system they imposed. The work they do does not benefit the community, only on a very small scale.

Two of my interviewees also compared the monopoly of the local elites and foreign entrepreneurs over the best land in town for tourism with the agricultural policy at a national level, pointing at the fact that large multinational companies that benefited from the failed agrarian reform tailored their production around the needs of the export market, while Guatemalans only had access to second and third quality agricultural products. “The best fruit, the organic vegetables leaves the country. The best coffee leaves the country. The best land for tourism belongs to foreigners or people who already had a good economic situation,” said Ricardo.

According to Jafari (in press), tourism does not serve in the role of empowering subaltern rural people (Spivak, 1985). Instead, it often relegates them to the sidelines of the tourism economy, only gaining the gleanings of the formal tourism sector. Therefore, tourism perpetuates the hegemonic exploitation of subaltern rural people. (See also Bandyopadhyay & Morais, 2005; Davis & Morais, 2004; Nyaupane, Morais & Dowler, 2006; Wallace & Diamente, 2005, Morais, Ferreira, Nazariadli & Ghahramani, 2016).

However, the opinions on tourism and development in San Pedro La Laguna were not homogenous. The data from my in-depth interviews, informal conversations with foreigners who owned businesses in San Pedro (a Canadian, a French, an Italian and two Americans), and observations shows that while the local elites and foreign capital owners did in fact hold ownership of the best land in town for tourism development (previously used for agriculture, due to its proximity to the lakeshore and due to its higher content of nutrients than the mountain slopes that were more suitable for coffee crops), a series of small local entrepreneurs managed to find a niche to get a “slice” of the tourism revenue. Some of these

local entrepreneurs opened branches of Spanish schools from larger cities such as Xela. Others were strictly local schools of Spanish that offered affordable classes along with optional room and board to foreigners.

I interviewed three Spanish school administrators and three Spanish teachers. According to my interview data with them, the San Pedro Spanish schools employed only local people and when the demand for room and board increased, the entrepreneurs formed a network referring the tourists to home stays among their relatives or partners in town. Home stays are a common choice for tourists who wished to improve their Spanish skills and practice outside their class time.

Although the foreign tourism entrepreneurs were criticized by local people for employing random tourists who decided to extend their stay and needed temporary jobs, my informants from San Pedro said that the foreigners did employ a good number of local people. An additional criticism was that the foreign hotel owners paid by the hour and did not offer permanent or long-term contracts.

Local opinions are not homogenous about the way tourism developed in San Pedro and how the town itself developed when tourism growth took off. While Pedranos in general welcome tourism and think that an increase in the number of tourists would be beneficial, they also imply that the development model needs re-thinking in order to reverse the job insecurity that they blame on the free-market approach with little to no government involvement.

As I mentioned in the sections above, the Pedranos I interviewed believed that the mayor should be more involved in tourism regulations by negotiating with the business

owners to employ more people and by supporting a tourism development model that caters to upscale tourists. Pedranos did not enjoy the presence of backpackers and “hippies” who do not spend much and, therefore, in the opinion of over 90% of my interviewees, do not benefit the local economy at all.

Pedranos seem to embrace Hines (2000) theory of localization that I talked about in Chapter 2. In his book, *Going Local*, Michael Shuman (1998:6) says that the process of localization “does not mean walling off the outside world. It means nurturing locally owned businesses which use local resources sustainably, employ local workers at decent wages and serve primarily local consumers.” Pedranos have not directly emphasized the need to serve local consumers in what concerns tourism, but they believe that a re-thinking of the tourism model with a focus on supporting local businesses and generating steady employment locally would foment the kind of development that they wish for the town.

Pedranos criticize the *laissez-faire* model of tourism development and expect more involvement from the local government in regulating the industry and its development. As Hines explains it, “this does not mean a return to overpowering state control.” What it means in the opinion of local people in San Pedro La Laguna is that the local government should provide a framework of policies and regulations that will allow people and businesses to diversify their own local businesses. This contradicts the neoliberal economic model of development of free markets that states that the market regulates itself.

My interviewees believe, overwhelmingly, that the mayor should see that tourism benefits the town. In the chart below, I present the data obtained from in-depth interviews

that illustrates the opinions of the Pedranos I interviewed on who are the people that are responsible for seeing that the local tourism industry benefits the town. (Table 5)

<b>Table 5: Responsible for tourism benefiting the town</b>	<b>Total</b>
Mayor	14
Pedranos	4
Pedranos, INGUAT & the mayor	3
Pedranos and the mayor	3
Mayor & INGUAT	1
Mayor, Pedranos & business owners	1
Community leaders	1
INGUAT	1
INGUAT & Pedranos	1
Local producers and artisans	1

Critical theories in social science criticize the neoliberal model of development claiming that it has been imposed top down by local elites and governments in the Western world (Escobar 1995; McMichael 2012). However, in the perspective of local people, bettering the economy is the second best route out of poverty, only second to higher access to education.

## Chapter 6: Summary and Conclusions

In the case of San Pedro La Laguna, based on the data I presented in the previous chapters, the development model does seem to fit within the neoliberal approach. However, despite the fact that many critics of neoliberal models of development have believe that the promises of this strategy have proven to be unrealistic, the rhetoric is deeply entrenched in the minds of local people. Accordingly, better economic circumstances were singled out as the second best route towards development by locals in San Pedro La Laguna. It could be interpreted that the Western discourse of development has, in fact, influenced the opinion of local people. But Pedranos list the need for economic development not as a goal in itself, but as a piece of the development puzzle; a better economy is a mean towards other goals rather than an end in itself, but it is also dependent on other variables: education, health, infrastructure etc.

The data from my in-depth interviews shows that Pedranos value and prioritize different things in what concerns the development of their town. Tourism is a major factor in economic development, and most of the participants said that they would like to see more tourists arriving to San Pedro, but that tourism should follow a different model than the current one. The same data shows that Pedranos also see an opportunity in tourism as the jobs in the industry allow them to do more than just subsist. They expect more involvement from the government in regulating tourism since it is such an important part of the economy of the town. More specifically, the government, they say, could introduce a system that is similar to the *tarjeta de turismo* in San Andres, Colombia, which is a tourism tax that each visitor must pay to be able to enter the archipelago.

Luciano said in one of my interviews,

First of all, it has to be from the state apparatus. Then there should be rules from INGUAT at a national level. Third, the local, the local authorities they should ask for an ID, you enter in San Pedro, when you enter, they [the local authorities] register your name, how many days you will stay and what are you coming for. This would be ideal. But now, there is no control, you can enter, you can leave, there is no problem. (...) There should be a tax to enter the town so that hippies, people who do not come to benefit the local economy, do not spend money, would not come anymore,”

Likewise, Daniel believed that regulations from the government should work towards transforming tourism in San Pedro into “turismo de altura,” (loosely translated as high-end tourism) more like Antigua Guatemala – higher prices for touristic services so that hippies cannot afford to go there.

This idea contradicts some of the neoliberal theories of tourism development since in this model national governments should not interfere in the regulation of the free market. Another way for tourism to benefit the local community, according to Pedranos, is the quota system that two of my interviewees talked about when referring to the need for steady employment and how resources from tourism could be leveraged to achieve it.

As I mentioned earlier, the existing development and tourism development model narratives in San Pedro outwardly seem to follow neoliberal hegemonic discourse. Nevertheless, Pedranos embrace only parts of the neoliberal narrative while challenging others. I find it intriguing that not even one of my thirty interviewees from San Pedro mentioned NGOs as key actors in the development of their town. Instead, they see themselves as important agents of change and they wish to see the local government taking a more hands-on role in the local economy, thus distancing itself from the role prescribed to

local authorities by the neoliberal theory. In conclusion, while this study does not provide a “recipe” on how tourism can contribute to local development, it shows that the local community can very clearly articulate its needs and that even if they did adopt some of the neoliberal hegemonic narrative on development, they did so with a local twist.

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## APPENDICES

Appendix A - In depth-interview list of questions:

Questions: Semi-structured interview

- a.1. Do you work in tourism?
- a.2. When did tourists started to arrive?
- a.3. What do you think that attracts tourists the most? (Landscape, heritage, affordability etc.)
- a.4. What is Mayan heritage? What are the elements of Mayan heritage that tourists are more interested in?
- a.5. Are you involved in any community organization? Which? What is your main activity?
- a.6. Are you familiar with the term community development? What you think it means?
- a.7. Do you know any organization that works with community development around the lake? What is their main activity?
  
- b.1. Did tourism changed life in the community? Can you give me an example of positive/negative change in San Pedro la Laguna?
- b.2. Who should see that tourism benefits the community?
- b.3. Who is responsible for community development?
- b.4. Would you like to see more tourists coming to San Pedro la Laguna?
- b.5. What do you think should be done to attract more tourists?
  
- c.1. What are the current employment opportunities for Pedranos?
- c.2. Did tourism bring more employment to San Pedro la Laguna?
- c.3. What are several jobs that men/women have access to? (List)
- c.4. Can tourism create employment for women? How?

Demographic information

Age:

Education:

Gender:

Employment status:

Appendix B - Tourist survey

1. Why did you choose to visit Lake Atitlan?
    - a. Landscape
    - b. Mayan Culture
    - c. Affordability
    - d. Other \_\_\_\_\_
  2. What accommodation did you choose?
    - a. Hotel
    - b. Hostel
    - c. Community
  3. What experiences are you more likely to try?
    - a. Community-based touristic package
    - b. Tourism agency touristic package
  4. How long are you staying?
    - a. <1 week
    - b. 1-2 weeks
    - c. <1 month
    - d. >1 month
  5. Are you here for the first time?
    - a. Yes
    - b. No
  6. Will you return?
    - a. Yes
    - b. No
  7. Will you recommend the touristic experience at Lake Atitlan to your friends?
    - a. Yes
    - b. No
  8. What would you recommend for them to try?
- 

Demographic information

Country of origin:

Age:

Education:

Gender: