

ABSTRACT

LAPAN, CHANTELL M. Communitarian Micro-entrepreneurship and Gender in the Maya Touristscape. (Under the direction Duarte B. Morais).

Tourism continues to grow and developing countries are receiving an increasingly larger share of tourist arrivals. Governments, tourism professionals and development experts have become optimistic toward tourism as a means of stimulating economic growth. However, many aspects of tourism are controversial and it remains unclear how host communities can best harness opportunities afforded by this industry. Experts have proposed new models (e.g., ecotourism, pro-poor tourism, people-first tourism) that position tourism as a mechanism that fosters poverty reduction and improved social, cultural and environmental conditions in host communities. While these models hold potential and research suggests that they can offer benefits, additional research is needed. Therefore, this study compares how culturally similar locations react to different forms of tourism development utilizing a mixed-methods comparative case study approach. Residents of San Juan La Laguna and San Pedro La Laguna, two neighboring towns on the shores of Lake Atitlán, Guatemala, have followed very different trajectories of tourism development despite their close proximity. The former has followed a *laissez faire* approach to tourism development, while the latter has adopted a communitarian tourism approach.

The two study communities are compared in regards to perceived benefits and drawbacks of tourism, changing gender norms, and communitarian micro-entrepreneurship models. Findings indicate that themes of power and altruism emerge in communitarian tourism development contexts, differentiating it from *laissez faire* approaches. Further, community collaboration guided by governmental and nongovernmental organizations can help maintain tourism benefits locally, while at the same time attenuating costs. Results indicate that there is changing consensus regarding men's

and women's jobs in Lake Atitlan and work opportunities afforded by tourism are gradually eroding stable social norms about gender-appropriate work. Additionally, work opportunities afforded under communitarian tourism offer women increased levels of self-determination. The study provides theoretical insights and offers suggestions for policy implementations by tourism organizations and governments.

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Communitarian Micro-entrepreneurship and Gender in the Maya Touristscape

by
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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my friends and family who made it possible:

Mom, for her constant support and willingness to lend a sympathetic ear

Dad, for his unwavering belief in me

To my sisters Carrie and Courtney: Carrie, for being my cheerleader and Courtney, for her encouragement and understanding

My very best friend, Jessica, for offering comic relief and a fresh perspective, and for selflessly donating her superior editing skills at a moment's notice

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BIOGRAPHY

Chantell LaPan was born and raised in Highgate, Vermont. She moved to North Carolina in 1999 and graduated with honors from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in 2005, with a Bachelor of Arts in Anthropology. In 2008, she earned a Master of International Studies at North Carolina State University. Following her master's studies, she worked in the Office of International Affairs at North Carolina State, leading communication and outreach efforts. While working at the university, she began to take PhD courses toward her degree in Parks, Recreation and Tourism Management. In 2012, she became a full-time student in the department. Her research focuses on poverty alleviation and well-being through tourism development, with a focus on micro-entrepreneurship and issues of social justice including gender, indigenous rights and equity.

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“The key is to keep company only with people who uplift you, whose presence calls forth your best.” -Epictetus

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CHAPTER 1: Introduction

Overview

Tourism has grown exponentially since the end of World War II. In 1950, international tourist arrivals were approximately 25 million people, but by 2012 this had grown to over one billion travelers (UNWTO, 2013). This corresponds to an annual increase of 6.1%. Technological innovation, including the introduction of air travel, as well as increased disposable income in wealthy countries has largely facilitated this progression (Theobald, 2005; Butcher, 2003). While North America and Western Europe still receive the bulk of proceeds generated by tourism, “developing” countries are fast becoming choice destinations. In 2007, almost 80 countries received more than US\$1million in tourism revenue (UNWTO, 2008). The United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO), a specialized United Nations agency and leading international tourism organization, reported that, “While, in 1950, the top 15 destinations absorbed 98% of all international tourist arrivals, in 1970 the proportion was 75%, and this fell to 57% in 2007, reflecting the emergence of new destinations, many of them in developing countries” (2008). Tourist arrivals in emerging destinations are expected to increase at double the pace of advanced economies (UNWTO, 2013). These factors have caused governments, tourism professionals and development experts to become optimistic toward tourism as a means of economic growth.

Tourism has long been promised as a certain strategy for economic growth (Cabezas, 2008; Croes & Vanegas, 2008) and policymakers in potential destination countries are eagerly looking to tourism to fuel economic development. Developing countries are designated as viable tourist destinations based on several common assumptions. They are thought to be disproportionately rich in cultural and natural resources, inexpensive destinations, and able to easily draw visitors based on their contrast to developed nations (Liu, 1998). Based on supposed low-input, high-yield results,

governments anticipate that the development of the tourism industry will ultimately lead to both economic development as well as aid in the preservation of heritage and cultural resources (Gobierno de Guatemala, 2012). While it is assumed that minimal input is necessary to achieve large returns, many aspects of tourism are controversial and it remains to be seen if the advantages can outweigh the harm.

The benefits of tourism are rarely uniform, nor are the damages caused by it. The nature of the tourism industry often creates social and cultural conflicts where it flourishes, which is evidenced in Latin America and the Caribbean (Mowforth, Charlton & Munt, 2008). The extensive development of tourism throughout the region in the name of economic growth has marginalized many individuals, particularly indigenous groups. Although some groups have managed to capitalize on tourism, many have been exploited and even traumatized by the influx of tourists (Mowforth, et al., 2008). Travelers who visit Latin American countries spend large sums of money for their trips, but much of this profit will never reach the poorest individuals. Tourism receipts in the region totaled US\$ 56.3 billion in 2011 (UNWTO, 2013), yet 50 million people in the region still live in poverty (World Bank, 2012). Central America led tourism growth in the region, and increased 8% in 2012 over the previous year (UNWTO, 2013).

Despite the potential (both real and imagined) for tourism to generate income, not all forms of tourism development are equally beneficial nor are they always appropriate for all locations. Experts have advocated a number of development models in an effort to achieve poverty reduction as well as improve social, cultural and environmental conditions, many of which focus on tourism. These include frameworks such as ecotourism, pro-poor tourism, community-based tourism, communitarian tourism, micro-entrepreneurship and more recently people-first tourism. While these models hold potential and research suggests that they can offer benefits, their true impact is unknown.

The following study examines how culturally similar locations react to different forms of tourism development, how sociocultural processes shape resident's understanding of well-being, and which model(s), if any, of tourism development improve well-being for residents. It employs a comparative case study to assess the quality of life for residents of Tz'utujil Maya communities in Guatemala that have experienced a *laissez faire* model of tourism development as well as one that employs a communitarian tourism model of development. It will look at the consequences of tourism development in each location as well as the strategies employed by residents to maximize its benefits and cope with its shortcomings.

Tourism development in Latin America and the Caribbean.

Tourism covers a wide range of travel. Whether people travel for business or leisure, domestically or internationally, their travel is generally considered tourism. According to the UNWTO, tourism

...comprises the activities of persons traveling to and staying in places outside their usual environment for not more than one consecutive year for leisure, business and other purposes not related to the exercise of an activity remunerated from within the place visited (UNWTO, cited in Goeldner, & Ritchie, 2006).

Though there are indications that leisure travel has taken place since Roman times, it is generally agreed upon that the advent of modern tourism began with the entrepreneurial effort of Thomas Cook in 19th century England (Chambers, 2000; MacCannell, 1976; Nash, 1996). Cook could also be considered the first modern travel agent as he sold package holiday tours to those who could afford to purchase them. Tourism in Latin America and the Caribbean often mirrors this type of package tour and has traditionally favored the sun, sea, and sand (Davenport & Jackiewicz 2008).

The countries that comprise Latin America and the Caribbean have divergent histories, cultures, economies and politics. Nonetheless, they are often lumped together and discussed as though they are a homogeneous group. The Spanish language is assumed to tie these countries together, but the region is home to individuals who speak Portuguese, English, Dutch, French Creole, Quechua, Tz'utujil and numerous local dialects. They practice Catholicism, Protestantism, Santeria and Candomblé, among other religions. While these countries are dissimilar in many ways, they are united under a colonial history. Despite the role of colonial rule in subjugating ethnic cultures, many countries continue to boast unique and fascinating cultural traditions that serve as major attractors for tourists to travel to the region (Pattullo, 2004). The region's proximity to, yet refreshing climatic and cultural distinctness from, Canada and the United States have inspired numerous North American and European tourists to dispose of their growing personal wealth in these southern destinations.

The Americas were colonized by European powers for centuries and the legacy of the plantation model is still evident in the development of the modern tourism industry in the region (Pattullo, 2004; Weaver, 1998). Although, colonial rule ended in the Americas, the United States took over as the hemispheric hegemon soon after countries achieved independence. Over the past two centuries, the U.S. has often assumed authority over Latin America and the Caribbean in commercial, military and political sectors (Dello Buono & Bell Lara, 2007). This unequal power relationship has been evident in all economic sectors, but is intimately played out through tourism interactions.

In the early part of the 20th century, several locations in Latin America and the Caribbean were developed as playgrounds for the rich and famous of North America. Destinations including Havana, Managua, Rio de Janeiro, Mar de Plata and Punta de Este (Mowforth et al., 2008) were set-aside for this explicit purpose. Some countries, known as 'playground republics,' thoroughly embraced this role, while others were more reluctant to accept tourism as the prescribed engine of

growth (Davenport & Jackiewicz, 2008). Political and natural disasters periodically impact the viability of locations as tourist destinations, and those that rely on tourism are vulnerable to these shocks. Floyd, Gibson, Pennington-Gray and Thapa (2004) found that the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 impacted people's desire to travel, but international statistics indicate that tourist arrivals are beginning to recover (UNWTO, 2013). Furthermore, there is intense competition amongst destinations in the region and many are eager to take the position of premier vacation spot.

Mowforth et al. (2008) suggest that after World War II, contemporaneously with a global increase in travel, adventurers began to explore Latin America in greater numbers. They write that,

...the late 1960's and 1970's saw Latin America become a favoured destination for the early backpackers, representing the extension of hippy culture into the world of travel. They reported back with tales of wild journeys, exotic ecosystems and strange cultures, and in so doing gave rise to that particular branch of tourism known as backpacking, the experience of which is now almost a rite of passage for many young people around university age (p. 13).

The region became known as an escape from the mundane existence of a 'civilized' society. The perceived exoticism of the region drew affluent North Americans southward (Kempadoo, 2004). Mowforth, et al. (2008) suggest that the trend of backpacking easily gave way to the nature tourists of the 1980's, which encouraged the rise of ecotourism in Latin America and the Caribbean. As the world became more environmentally aware, especially regarding rainforest degradation, it became increasingly trendy to visit the natural areas that were deemed to be disappearing, but the mere presence of these visitors also put an environmental strain on these fragile environments.

Despite tourism's promise of economic development for emerging markets (UNWTO, 2008), government-led tourism programs have done little to reach the poorest individuals in developing

countries and have failed to lift a large number out of poverty. In many locations, it has also unfortunately also led to a variety of social problems. This has been particularly true in the case of Latin America where tourism has been embraced as an engine for economic growth for many decades. Mass tourism, which generally refers to large influxes of tourism in a single destination, has led to the reproduction of inequality in several ways. First, it creates disparities between wealthy, often white foreigners who travel to gaze upon natives (Urry, 1990). This can often be complicated by issues of gender and sexuality. Second, it can also lead to increases in inequality among residents, when elites are able to benefit disproportionately from tourism and marginalized groups are further excluded. For many countries in Latin America, this imbalance reflects intact inequality structures, with individuals of European descent gaining and indigenous groups losing.

In response to these issues, tourism experts have advocated a number of tourism models in an effort to achieve poverty reduction as well as improve social, cultural and environmental conditions. These include frameworks such as ecotourism, pro-poor tourism, community-based tourism, communitarian tourism and people-first tourism. While these models hold potential and research suggests that they can offer benefits, their true impact is unknown. Gwynne and Kay (2000) suggest that the implementation of neo-liberal policies, as observed in Guatemala, has led to a reduction in state welfare services and an increased reliance on nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) to provide skills and livelihoods for the poor. These organizations have been substitutes for state deficiencies in many sectors, but have been especially prominent in tourism development. Both local and international NGOs operate throughout Guatemala, with several involved in alternative tourism ventures. The question remains, however, as to whether any of these alternative models can break the cycle of reproduction of inequality while still operating within a neoliberal economic structure.

Tourism and well-being.

Tourism is unique in that it spans many sectors and can influence a number of dimensions of well-being. In the past several decades, a number of tourism models have developed in response to negative effects associated with rapid and widespread tourism development. These have included ecotourism, community-based, sustainable, pro-poor and communitarian tourism frameworks. However, these alternative forms of tourism are more fully integrating tourists into the lives of residents. Not only do residents interact with tourists in public spaces, but more often tourists are being invited into private spaces as well. This has been shown to be a particular issue among the Maya, where often shops displaying weavings and crafts for sale are attached to the home (Little, 2000). Tourists also transform communal spaces and dictate how many tourism organizations operate. The empirical evidence suggests that this can result in both positive and negative outcomes for residents (Andereck, Valentine, Knopf & Vogt, 2005; Brida, Osti & Faccioli, 2011; Li, Zhang, Liu & Xue, 2006).

While much has been written about the environmental (Gössling, 2002; Jones and Munday, 2007), economic (Wagner, 1997; Zhou, Yanagida, Chakravorty, & Leung, 1997) and sociocultural consequences of tourism (Agba, Ikoh, Bassey & Ushie, 2010; Zamani-Farahani & Musa, 2012), and how these might influence well-being, very few studies exist that compare destinations. Furthermore, virtually no comparisons exist between the *type* of tourism development. Wallace and Diamante (2005) found that community participation with ecotourism NGOs surrounding Lake Atitlán could help mitigate some of the negative impacts of tourism and that researchers could play an important role as brokers between the community and NGOs. However, this study did not focus directly on well-being. Although the tourism sector is becoming increasingly diverse in regards to tourism offerings and destination development models (from eco to community-based to a range of

sustainable tourism brands), little research has been done to compare these varied and sometimes competing forms of tourism development.

Non-economic components of well-being.

Nobel Prize winning economist, Amartya Sen, suggests that achieving human agency is more important than economic development in understanding well-being. He argues that we must think of people as agents rather than patients as well as focus on capability deprivation rather than poverty (1999). Similarly, Ryan and Deci (2000) argue that there are three components to self-determination, which directly impact well-being. According to Ryan and Deci, autonomy, competence and relatedness are the three necessary components that contribute to an individual's self-determination, which refers to an individual's intrinsic motivation to act. Autonomy refers to the ability of a person to act in their authentic interests and desires; competence can also be thought of as self-efficacy, that is the belief in one's own ability to accomplish a goal (Bandura, 1977); and relatedness refers to our attachment to others (Ryan & Deci, 2000). Sen, Deci and Ryan and Bandura each take an individualistic approach to human development.

Prilleltensky and Prilleltensky (2006) argue that contrary to the common belief that well-being is a personal issue, it actually includes relational, organizational and communal dimensions. These dimensions cannot be separated from each other and interact to create a sense of overall well-being. Prilleltensky and Prilleltensky proposed the 5 Ss of well-being: sites, signs, sources, strategies, and synergy. Sites refer to the location or physical space of well-being. They identify four primary sites: (1) individual persons; (2) relationships; (3) organizations; and (4) communities. Within these sites, people employ signs, sources and strategies of well-being. Signs are manifestations or expressions and can be personal (e.g., self-determination, self-efficacy, physical and mental health, optimism, meaning and spirituality), relational (e.g., caring, reciprocity, nurturance and affection, and

support), organizational (e.g., respect for diversity, collaboration and democratic participation in decision-making, clarity of roles, and engagement and learning opportunities), and communal (e.g., fair and equitable allocation of bargaining powers and resources, gender and race equality, universal access to educational, recreational and health facilities, safety, public transportation, a clean environment and peace).

Methods

Statement of the Problem.

Although tourism has been prescribed as a panacea for the economic woes of developing countries, significant gains for the majority of residents in terms of human development have not been realized. Even in areas which have seen improvement, it has been difficult to link this directly to tourism development. Furthermore, economic gains have often been muddied by the introduction of social problems where tourism has flourished. In response to these challenges, practitioners and scholars have introduced a number of more “responsible” tourism models around the world, which have become particularly popular in Central America. Despite the promises these models hold, virtually no comparative research exists to determine whether or not they actually improve the quality of life for residents where they exist compared to other models. This study fills that gap by offering a comparative case study between two culturally similar towns surrounding Lake Atitlán, Guatemala—one with a *laissez faire* model of tourism development (including a mix of local and foreign investment) and one with a communitarian tourism model (supported by local and international NGOs).

Research Questions

1. How do culturally similar locations respond to different forms of tourism development?

2. How do sociocultural processes shape resident’s understanding of quality of life?
3. Which model(s), if any, of tourism development provide greater quality of life for residents of Lake Atitlan, Guatemala?

The following rival hypothesis was also explored:

1. There are no substantive differences between quality of life in communities with different forms of tourism development.

Rationale for Mixed-Methods.

For many decades, objective economic indicators prevailed as a measure of quality of life. Despite the recent trend in tourism studies to investigate resident’s subjective perceptions of tourism development, these measures are still by and large based on quantitative surveys (Table 1.1). Qualitative measures are particularly appropriate for understanding processes (Patton, 1987) and for gathering more complex and detailed data than permitted by close-ended surveys. Since this study is aimed at understanding the processes by which community interactions shape an understanding of quality of life, a dominant qualitative approach is most appropriate. However, quantitative methods are also used to triangulate data and provide a better understanding of the issues.

Table 1.1. Studies on tourism’s impact on quality of life for residents			
Author(s)	Year	Quality of life indicators	Methods
Kim, Uysal & Sirgy	2013	Material well-being, community well-being, emotional well-being, health and safety well-being, and life satisfaction [subjective]	Survey [multiple locations]
Nawijn & Mitas	2012	Life satisfaction, well-being, happiness, [subjective]	Survey [one location]

Table 1.1 (continued)

Andereck & Nyuapane	2011	Community well-being, urban issues, way of life, community pride and awareness, natural/cultural preservation, economic strength, recreation amenities, crime and substance abuse [subjective]	Survey [multiple locations]
Chancellor, Yu & Cole	2011	Life satisfaction, happiness, feelings of well-being and beliefs about resident's standard of living [subjective]	Survey [one location]
Matarrita-Cascante	2010	Living conditions, community satisfaction, perception of quality of life, feelings toward change [subjective]	Key Informant interviews [multiple locations]
Benckendorff, Edwards, Jurowski, Liburd, Graham & Moscardo	2009	Standard of living, achieving in life, health relationships, safety, future security, community connectedness, spirituality [subjective]	Futures Wheel with Backcasting (think tanks/workshops) [one location]
Andereck, Valentine, Vogt & Knopf	2007	Economic, sociocultural, environmental impacts [subjective]	Survey [multiple locations]
Gunderson & Ng	2005	Population density, the proportion of county acres by type of land use, employment and income, levels in recreational industries, to the number of public libraries [objective]	Quantile regression
Jurowski & Brown	2001	The environment, shopping opportunities, employment opportunities, recreation Opportunities, education, cultural opportunities, costs of goods and services, quality of air, transportation, crime rate, cost of land and housing, quality of public transportation, driving flow and traffic flow [subjective]	Survey [one location]
Perdue, Long & Kang	1999	Perceived job opportunities, community services and facilities, community social opportunities and involvement, and community political influence [subjective]	Survey [multiple locations]
Allen, Long, Perdue & Kieselbach	1988	Community satisfaction of public services, economics, environment, medical services, citizen involvement, formal education, and recreation services [subjective]	Survey [multiple locations]

Setting.

Guatemala has been a tourist destination since the 19th century, with tourists from the United States beginning to arrive by train in the 1920s (Sincal Lopez, 2007). There was a substantial dip in tourism during the latter part of the 20th century, however, as Guatemala was engaged in a 30 year civil war. Nevertheless, after the signing of the peace accords in 1996 tourism steadily grew until the global recession of 2008 (Williams, 2011). Tourism contributed 8.4% to Guatemala's Gross Domestic Product in 2012 (WTTC, 2014). The *Global Post* reported in April of 2013 that Guatemala is investing heavily in marketing and publicity in the international markets of the United States, Canada and Mexico, El Salvador and Honduras (Agencia EFE, 2013). The country, overall, reached a new record of 2 million tourist arrivals in 2013 (Globovisión, 2014). However, tourism in Guatemala is subject to both annual and seasonal fluctuations and respondents in Lake Atitlan generally perceived tourism arrivals to be down compared to previous years (LaPan & Morias, in progress). The region of Lake Atitlan is the second most popular tourism destination in Guatemala, behind Antigua (Lyon, 2013), and the Maya culture is an important aspect of its touristic appeal.

Lake Atitlán is an ancient volcanic lake in the Guatemalan highlands in the regional department of Sololá (Figure 2.2). There are approximately a dozen small towns along the shore of the lake, with several others a bit further inland. The area is primarily inhabited by Tz'utujil and Caqchikel Maya and the main industries are agriculture and tourism. Although international tourism has been popular since the 1980s, the Maya communities have maintained many of their cultural attributes. In fact, many of their traditional practices have flourished and have become supported by tourism. Some of the most popular souvenirs tourists leave with are the colorful weavings the Maya have been crafting for centuries. Other residents sell paintings, work in hospitality or work in the agricultural sector.

The research for this study was carried out in two neighboring communities surrounding Lake Atitlán, Guatemala (Figure 2.3). San Juan La Laguna (San Juan) and San Pedro La Laguna (San Pedro) are located approximately one kilometer apart on the western shore of Lake Atitlán. Each town is easily accessible by *lancha* (small boats) from Panajachel, the tourist center and transportation hub of the lake. Both towns are tourist destinations in their own right. While the towns offer similar attractions in terms of the natural environment and local culture, San Pedro has a much more developed tourism infrastructure (e.g., hotels, restaurants, tourist transportation) than San Juan and has a longer history with tourism. San Pedro has hosted visitors for several decades, whereas the growth in tourism in San Juan has primarily occurred over the past ten years. In San Pedro La Laguna, tourism has developed in response to external demand and tourists are often young backpackers traveling on a small budget. San Pedro has also become known as the destination to acquire recreational drugs on Lake Atitlan. One mile down the road, however, is San Juan la Laguna which has more recently emerged as a tourism destination. Tourism in San Juan, on the other hand, has been heavily shaped by the presence a local non-governmental organization (NGO) and features communitarian tourism ventures (LaPan & Morais, in progress) including a number of weaving cooperatives run primarily by women. San Juan is a community of artists that have worked with local and international NGOs to develop the ability to sell their weavings and art for tourists. It is characterized by a large number of cooperatives spanning several sectors. The town attracts day trippers of a variety of ages that visit largely for shopping.

Despite many similarities, in regards to tourism the communities differ substantially. San Pedro has a much more developed tourism infrastructure than San Juan. Tally and Chavajay (2007) suggest that when global coffee prices fell in 2000 and 2001, *Pedranos* invested heavily in tourism. They estimate that there were 128 tourism businesses in San Pedro in 2006 including 4 travel agencies, 13 artisan galleries, 14 Spanish language schools, 6 internet cafes, 38 hotels or hostels, 39

cafes, bars and restaurants, 4 laundry services, 10 places offering other services (e.g. massages, thermal pools, motorcycle or bicycle renting). They also estimate that there are 45 *lanchas* owned exclusively by *Pedranos*. Generally, tourists that visit San Pedro are young American and European backpackers from middle class backgrounds who visit to engage in drug use and hedonistic behaviors (Tally & Chavajay, 2007). They argue that despite the significant presence of tourism in the community, the primary industries remain agriculture, manufacturing, textiles and foods (with restaurants and hotels contributing to this as well).

San Juan, on the other hand, is characterized by artisanal shops and galleries. While the vast majority of tourism offerings in San Pedro are individually owned (either by residents of San Pedro or foreigners), the prevalent model in San Juan are cooperatives, run by local residents. Estimates of weaving cooperatives alone in San Juan are near 30. Additionally, visitors will find communal art galleries, a communitarian tour guide operation, as well as a coffee cooperative. There are a handful of hotels and restaurants in San Juan, but these are much fewer than San Pedro.

San Juan and San Pedro have engaged in a long-standing rivalry. While there has been intermarriage between the communities, there remain distinct community identities within the towns. Residents of San Pedro own land and businesses throughout San Juan and have enjoyed higher levels overall of economic development. Whereas residents of San Juan are acutely aware of tourism development in San Pedro (and actively work to avoid some of the pitfalls they have experienced), residents of San Pedro are not overly concerned with tourism development in San Pedro. To date, tourism in San Juan has not been in direct competition with that in San Pedro, so there are few conflicts over cornering segments of the tourism market. However, as tourism continues to grow in San Juan, tensions could increase.

Population and Sample.

This study used convenience and snowball sampling of adult men and women in San Pedro La Laguna and San Juan La Laguna, Guatemala. Snowball sampling involves a “referral” process, where informants introduce the researcher to others who are willing to speak with them. Snowball sampling can help to build trust among vulnerable populations and help the researcher to find informants that are not listed in some easily identifiable manner (Henderson, 2006). In total, thirty individuals were interviewed, 15 for each of the cases (communities).

Design.

This study utilized a multiple comparative case study design. Case studies are “an exploration of a ‘bounded system’ of a case or multiple cases over time through detail, in depth data collection involving multiple sources of information rich in context” (Creswell, 1998, p. 61). Yin (2009) explains that case studies are used, “to contribute to our knowledge of individual, group, organizational, social, political and related phenomena” (p. 4). Case studies are particularly appropriate to answer how and why questions that explore contemporary issues, but when behavior cannot be controlled (Yin, 2009). Yin describes a case study as, “an empirical study that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident” (p. 18). This study employed a concurrent mixed-methods approach, with quantitative data and qualitative data being collected during the same period of time.

This comparative case study focused on relational and social processes that are enacted through tourism. Because this study explored the *processes* which determine the quality of life for communities, quantitative methods were embedded within the qualitative methods, with qualitative methods being dominant. Creswell explains, “The embedded design is used to enhance the

application of a traditional quantitative or qualitative design. The assumptions of this design are therefore established by the primary approach, and the other data set is subservient within that methodology” (2011, p. 92). Using a Grounded Theory approach (Charmaz, 2006), the data analysis originated in the field and triangulated for a fuller understanding of the phenomena.

Case Selection.

The primary unit of analysis for this study was the community, with individuals nested as a secondary unit of analysis. The cases (communities) were strategically selected due to their physical proximity, cultural and historical similarities, yet distinct differences in terms of tourism development. Document analysis and interviews with community members were utilized to determine how the communities have differed historically.

Data Collection.

The researcher lived in the field for seven weeks, fully immersing herself in her surroundings as well as the data. The most important goal in collecting qualitative data is to gather rich data (Charmaz, 2006) and this ethnographic approach permitted that. Using Grounded Theory, data collection and analysis occurred synchronously and themes that emerge during initial data collection informed subsequent data collection. By utilizing the rival hypothesis that there are no substantive differences between well-being, economic development and resident satisfaction in communities with different forms of tourism development, the researcher actively tested her assumptions so as not to unwittingly reproduce them (Charmaz, 2006). Quantitative data was also collected, but was couched within the researcher’s inductive approach.

Interviews. This study employed intensive semi-structured and unstructured interviews with informants. The purpose of interviews was to provide an “in-depth exploration of a particular topic or experience” (Charmaz, 2006, p. 25). A general interview protocol can be found in Appendix A, which

served as a general guideline for the semi-structured interviews; however, unstructured interviews were also carried out in an impromptu manner when the opportunity presented itself. Using an inductive approach, the researcher also encouraged respondents to talk about topics not listed in the interview protocol in order to avoid limiting their responses to predetermined subjects.

Participant-observation. Covert participant-observation was used to interact with women weavers, and other tourism workers who were unable to take time away from their responsibilities to engage in a formal interview. Participant-observation is often used to gain access to groups (Yin, 2009) and involves social interaction between the researcher and the informants (Henderson, 2006). The research was covert in that the participants knew I was a researcher and was in their community completing a study.

Non-participant observation. Direct observations were used to observe social processes, primarily between tourists and residents. These data were collected in the form of field notes.

River of Life. A modified interview technique called the River of Life exercise, which the researcher has developed in collaboration with her advisor, will be utilized to elicit in-depth information on the informant's life (Fisher & White, n.d.; Moussa, 2009). River of Life is a methodology employing visual narrative (drawings) to encourage people to tell stories of the past, present and future. It can be used to encourage individuals share about their lives in a relaxed and descriptive way. Since River of Life focuses on drawing rather than text, it may be useful in groups that do not share a language and is an active method for engaging people (Appendix D).

Cultural Consensus Analysis. This study utilized Informal Cultural Consensus Analysis to evaluate how much agreement exists among the Maya regarding the cultural appropriateness of jobs for men and women (Appendix B). This method involves free listing and/or responses to close-ended

questions by informants in regards to culturally-related topics, which can then be analyzed for agreement. In Informal Cultural Consensus Analysis, a modified factor analysis is applied to determine the terms or phrases which occurred most frequently and which were most salient among the informants (Weller, 2007). Per Weller's (2007) suggestion, questions were developed in the field after completion of preliminary research.

Documentation. Documentation of brochures and marketing materials were included. Documents were used to “corroborate and augment evidence from other sources” (Yin, 2009, p. 103).

Reflective journal and field notes. The researcher kept a reflective journal and recorded field notes (Appendix C). The journal allows the researcher to describe her feelings about conducting research in this area of study, including obstacles and challenges (Henderson, 2006). The use of a reflective journal not only adds methodological rigor and paradigmatic consistency to qualitative inquiry but also has an effect on the research process and can result in changes made to the research design, methods used, and approaches taken (Ortlipp, 2008). Field notes also provide additional data for the analysis. The use of the journal resulted in changes to the interview format and helped to develop the free-listing exercises.

Measures of well-being.

In response to socioeconomic challenges, scholars, governments and nongovernmental organizations have begun to explore more holistic approaches to improving quality of life over the past two decades. Objective measures have traditionally been collected including measures of poverty, child malnutrition, inequality, income, GDP per capita, inflation rates, external public debt, literacy, educational attainment, crime rate, divorce rate, life expectancy, access to healthcare, infant and maternal mortality, and pollution (Harkness, 2006; McGillivray, 2006). More recently, however, subjective measures of quality of life have also been taken into consideration, including factors such

as family life, educational attainment, state of health, financial situation, job, relations with friends, relations with relatives, dwelling, leisure life, the general economic condition, the general political condition, public order, performance of government, transport, housing, medical services, education, social welfare, employment situation and recreation (Shen & Lai, 1998). By and large, many of the measures of subjective quality of life involve self-reported levels of satisfaction. While these measures provide a more holistic view of quality of life, some scholars suggest that there are limits to this type of data in that they only provide a picture of individual feelings and beliefs and fail to take into consideration the broader social context (Prilleltensky and Prilleltensky, 2006).

Definitions

Wellbeing.

Community agency. In an extension of human agency, Eversole argues that, “communities of people, however defined, possess *agency* in the sociological sense: that is, that they have the ability to act and be agents of their own development” (p. 51, 2011). This study explored how communities develop and employ agency through participant observation.

Competence. Competence is the need to be perceived as capable and knowledgeable. Competence can also be thought of as self-efficacy (i.e., the belief in one’s own ability to accomplish a goal; Bandura, 1977). This study explores the concept of competence through the use of in-depth and informal interviews.

Human agency/autonomy. Possessing human agency, according to Amartya Sen (1999) refers to, “someone who acts and brings about change, and whose achievements can be judged in terms of her own values and objectives, whether or not we assess them in terms of some external criteria as well (p.19).” Human agency was explored using interviews and observations.

Social capital/relatedness. Some scholars suggest that tourism can increase native Maya economic, social, and human capital through interactions with tourists (Dickens, 2007), but it appears as though these benefits are often distributed unequally. Furthermore, Putnam (2000) suggests that both bonding and bridging ties are important for social well-being. Social capital is defined as “the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 248).” This study explored the processes by which individuals and communities acquire social capital through participant-observation and interviews.

Tourism development models

Laissez faire. Laissez faire economic development is characterized by the non-interference of governments in economic affairs (Kittrell, 1966).

Communitarian. Communitarian economics is a centrist position between a laissez-faire economy and a centralized authority (Garfinkle, 1997).

Data Analysis

Using a grounded theory approach, data analysis began in the field and continued in a reflexive manner throughout data collection and after (Charmaz, 2006). Preliminary coding of interview notes and the reflective journal were done in the field. Upon returning, the researcher organized data using mixed-methods data analysis software (e.g. QDA Miner) as well as MS Excel. The software facilitated the organization of textual (e.g., notes, interviews and documents) as well as pictorial data (e.g., brochures) and was used for coding qualitative data. Cultural Consensus analysis was performed using ANTHROPAC (Borgatti, 1996) and UCINET (Borgatti, Everett & Freeman, 2002).

Coding.

The researcher transcribed interviews verbatim and proceeded with coding. Open coding at the sentence or phrase level for written text was initially used. She then moved on to focused coding, in which the codes become more conceptual (Charmaz, 2006). Once data had been coded at this level, the researcher proceeded with axial coding, organizing the codes into broader themes for analysis. The final stage resulted in theoretical coding, which ultimately led to theorizing of the data (Charmaz, 2006).

Memo-Writing.

Memo-writing occurred both in handwritten form and by using software. According to Charmaz (2006), “memo-writing is the pivotal intermediate step between data collection and writing drafts of papers” (p. 72). Memo-writing involves putting your thoughts about the data on paper. An important component of memo-writing is clustering, or visually depicting your ideas, thoughts, and possible themes graphically. Memo-writing and clustering were done throughout data analysis, both in the field and upon returning.

Validation Strategies.

The researcher increased trustworthiness of the data through triangulation of multiple data sources (e.g., documents, interviews, and observations). Once initial data analysis was completed, the researcher consulted with key informants to confirm the findings and achieve validation. The researcher also worked closely with her researchers familiar with the subject review codes to ensure validity.

Significance

Despite tourism’s promise of increased well-being for residents, results have been mixed. The dearth of comparative studies do not allow us to make causal inferences as to whether tourism is

responsible for improved or decreased well-being or whether one form of tourism might be more beneficial over another. This study fills that gap by conducting a comparative case study of culturally similar communities with varying forms of tourism development. This study applies sociocultural approach to understanding the ways in which tourism impacts well-being for the community overall as well as certain groups within the community. It offers insights into complex responses of communities to varying forms of tourism development.

Dissertation organization

This study is presented in three articles. Chapter Two addresses dynamics of social exchange between tourists and residents under different economic models of tourism development; Chapter Three explores shifting gender norms in relation to appropriate employment for Maya men and women; Chapter Four discusses Maya women's self-determination within cooperative micro-entrepreneurship ventures. Chapter Two offers a broad overview of positive and negative outcomes within the communities in regards to tourism development. This leads into Chapter Three, which looks at the space of opportunity created by tourism, particularly in regards to employment (considered a primary benefit of tourism) and the subsequent negotiation of cultural norms that coincide with these changes. Chapter Four further explores issues of gender, with a focus the role of communitarian tourism ventures in fostering micro-entrepreneurship and increasing overall self-determination among women in weaving cooperatives. Together, they provide a picture of the negotiation strategies employed by indigenous communities to maximize the benefits of tourism while working to minimize the drawbacks.

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CHAPTER 2: Power, altruism and communitarian tourism: A comparative study

“Porque hay tres clases de turistas... Hay una clase de turista que son de primera clase llamamos nosotros. Que vienen de compras; que vienen a visitar... Unos de la primera clase compran. Y los de segunda clase vienen de visitas. Y los de tercera clase... los que toman— los hippies dicen. Hay unos que directamente vienen para comprar directamente— solamente para comprar...”

Because there are three classes of tourists ... There is a kind of tourist we say are of the first class. They come to buy; they come to visit ... Those of the first class make purchases. And the second class just comes to visit. And the third class ... they are the ones that drink— the hippies they call them. There are some who come to buy directly— only to buy...

—Fabiana, Female 40 years old, San Juan La Laguna, Guatemala

Introduction

Tourism, particularly the variety that aims toward community involvement in planning and ownership, is widely posited as critical to making tourism beneficial to host communities. Despite often positive views toward tourism, residents have expressed a number of drawbacks to the development of tourism in their community. Most literature examining this issue has focused on resident perceptions of tourism development. Many scholars suggest that positive feelings toward tourism are essential for the success of the industry in a given destination (Ap, 1992; Sharpley, 2014; Zhang, Inbakaran & Jackson, 2006). Much of the research on residents' perceptions of tourism in host communities has been grounded in Social Exchange Theory - SET (Nunkoo, Smith, & Ramkissoon, 2013; Sharpley, 2014), which postulates that human relationships are based on a subjective cost-benefit analysis and two-sided mutually rewarding social “transactions” (Blau, 1964; Emerson, 1976). While there is little question that interactions between tourists and hosts can constitute some sort of exchange (as evidenced by the quote above), it is an oversimplification to suggest that individuals simply strive to maximize the benefits and minimize the costs of such a

relationship. Human relationships are rather complex and a number of scholars have questioned theories that rely on the assumption of rational choice (Bruce, 1999; Heath, 1976; Sen, 1977).

Tourism has been widely advocated in many Latin American countries based on the assumption that they have a comparative advantage in tourism, that is the ability to produce a commodity more efficiently and at a smaller opportunity cost than others (Mowforth, Charlton & Munt, 2008). Institutions such as the United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO), advocate the development of tourism since relatively little investment is necessary by the government to reap its benefits and the resources (environmental and cultural) are readily available (2002). Tax revenue and foreign currency is promised. Tourism is also promoted to residents of potential destination areas since it is assumed that the necessary infrastructure will also benefit the host community. Tourism as a development strategy for 'third-world' countries was originally centered on an export-oriented growth strategy based on increasing international tourist arrivals (Brohman, 1996) and was much aligned with neoliberal economic policies. This era coincided with the rise of Reaganomics or *laissez faire* capitalism based on the assumption that economic benefit will 'trickle down' from the rich to the poor (Tickner, 1990). Therefore tourism has been "sold" to stakeholders at all levels, from top government officials to individuals selling crafts in roadside stands. However, the real benefit to communities remains unclear and drawbacks can be significant.

Despite ample research on residents' perceptions of tourism impacts, Sharpley (2014) suggests that previous research is lacking in three ways. He argues that the vast majority of the research is limited to the developed world, with the developing world being mostly overlooked. He also suggests that most studies have been focused on domestic tourism, with fewer concentrating on international tourism. Thirdly, he explains that nearly all earlier studies have employed quantitative methods, namely in the form of questionnaires. Additionally, some scholars have called for

researchers to move beyond social exchange theory to include other theories within social psychology (Sharpley, 2014; Ward & Berno, 2011). Furthermore, there is a paucity of research examining the differential impact of alternative forms of tourism ownership on social exchange. This study fills this gap by using a mixed-methods ethnographic case study of two neighboring towns in Guatemala that engage in international tourism in different ways.

Review of the Literature

Social Exchange Theory (SET) originated with Homans (1958) and was later further developed by Blau (1964) and Emerson (1976) as well as a number of subsequent scholars (Baldwin, 1978; Befu, 1977; Cosmides, 1989; Lawler, 2001). The theory was later picked up by tourism researchers and applied with fervor to explain interactions between hosts and guests (Chuang, 2010; Kayat, 2002; Moyle, Croy, and Weiler, 2010; Nunkoo, 2012; Nunkoo & Gursoy, 2012; Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2011; Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2012; Weaver & Lawton, 2013; Weiler & Moyle, 2013). The basic premise of SET is that the interactions between individuals constitute the exchange of both material and non-material goods. Specifically it suggests that personal relationships are founded on the exchange of favors. A number of researchers (beginning with Blau in 1964) have also explored the concept of power within this dynamic of exchange. According to Blau, the exchanges between people lead to a differentiation of power based on dependence and obligations.

While there is little support to the notion that the types of exchanges made between people shape the quality of their relationship, there are several limitations to SET, particularly as it is applied to the context of host-guest interactions in tourism. First, researchers generally assume residents are in a lower position of power in the social exchange relationship. This fails to take into account the many ways in which residents have individual agency and are able to take control over, and even sometimes manipulate a situation for their benefit (Wang & Morais, 2014). Further, it assumes that

there is a social component to the exchange that occurs between tourists and residents (rather than purely economic), an assumption that has not been fully explored. Blau (1964) suggests that social exchange inspires feelings of personal obligation, gratitude and trust. This is rarely how SET is applied in tourism.

Second, SET assumes rational choice, an assumption that a number of scholars have questioned (Bruce, 1999; Heath, 1976; Sen, 1977). SET fails to consider that humans sometimes make choices that do not bring them any immediate or foreseen benefits— it does not recognize altruism, for example. While it has been questioned to what extent economic models might impact altruistic behavior (Takala & Häyry, 2004), little research has been done to explore this phenomenon.

The third weakness of SET, and perhaps most relevant to tourism planning and development, is the theory's inherent leanings towards individualism (Zafirovski, 2005). SET is, by nature, two-dimensional, that is it focuses on the social exchange between two individuals. This fails to address the complex nature of human relationships which are rarely as simplistic as what one person gains from another. Tourism researchers have assumed SET can also be understood on a community level, but have not addressed how an individualistic theory might play out in the aggregate. Researchers have also not considered a communitarian approach to social (and economic) interactions, which may be more important in societies in the global south, as opposed from western global north societies where most of these thinkers originated.

Power under SET and its application to tourism.

While it has been well documented that there is often an imbalance of power between tourists and residents (e.g., socially, economically, politically; Berno & Ward, 2005; Cheong & Miller, 2000; Nyaupane & Timothy, 2010), studies often portray local residents as victims. This belies the dynamic nature of locals and their ability to negotiate and influence tourism for their own benefit. Cheong and

Miller (2000), in their application of Foucauldian power to tourism, argue that the transient nature of power ensures that the power dynamic between hosts and guests does not necessarily place one over the other. They argue that, "...locals are not always passive when facing economic and social change. Instead of accepting their predicament, locals can be proactive and resistant, as they constantly negotiate and contest the direction of development in the pursuit of their rights and interests" (p. 373). Although it may be true that in the global political economic framework, the developed world is in a position of power over the developing world, as Cheong and Miller indicate, this dynamic cannot be assumed to play out on a micro level (e.g., tourist-resident) of interaction. Furthermore, distributions of power can be influenced by the overarching economic framework.

Blau (1964) suggests that power is based on dependence and obligations. He argues that a person supplying services that are in demand has power over those in need of the service. While this assumes that demand must outstrip supply, this does run counter to the way power relationships are often portrayed in tourism (i.e., the service-providing resident has power over the service-seeking tourist). However, the real weakness in this argument (and SET more generally) is that it assumes a social relationship that is dependent upon principles of economic exchange. Furthermore, it assumes that the relationship is based upon a market system model or is capitalistic in nature. While it is conceivable that this may extend to relationships in market-based societies, it is questionable whether it would be applicable under alternative models.

Rational choice, self-interest and SET.

The conjecture that rational choice underlies all economic interaction has been questioned by a number of scholars. It, therefore, deserves reconsideration as a basic principle of social exchange. Sen (1977), questions the pervasive belief throughout the field of economics that the underlying principle of economic exchange is self-interest. He argues that economic models treat sources of

interpersonal interdependence, including commitment and sympathy as “externalities” to the model (i.e., a cost or benefit of an economic activity on an unrelated 3rd party). However, these motivations are central to human behavior and cannot be dismissed so easily. Sen argues that individual self-seeking actually produces an inferior economic outcome for every person. He suggests instead that human behavior can also be based upon commitment, and that personal gain can be set aside in order to conform to rules of behavior, or societal norms.

While Blau (1964) acknowledges that a person might have competing intrinsic motivations that undermine pure social exchange, he does not address this inconsistency well in his writings. He explains that the exchange of social commodities can never be perfectly independent of the interpersonal relationship between two individuals, but suggests that these relationships might in some way increase the amount of goods offered by one individual to the other. He does not reconcile how the presence of interpersonal relationships might conflict with the supposition that all people seek to maximize their own personal benefits.

Altruism and communitarianism.

Anthropologists, as far back as Mauss (1925/1967), have been concerned with the nature of altruism as a part of social exchange. Mauss questioned whether the exchange of gifts was ever purely altruistic. He observed that despite elaborate systems of exchange, people often gave at a net loss and without desire for material gain. He argues that the nature of these exchanges does not support utilitarianism, which suggests that individuals seek to maximize their personal happiness and reduce suffering. Utilitarianism is often associated with liberal economics (Hoevel, 2013; Weinstein 1996), whereas altruism has been suggested to be more present in communitarian communities (Bell, 2005; Peacock, 1999). As Mauss explains, however, communities are rarely purely altruistic or purely egoistic but rather they exist on a continuum. Some scholars (Takala & Häyry, 2004) have questioned

the theoretical assumptions that place communitarianism as inherently altruistic and liberalism as inherently egoistic, but little research has been done in this area.

Socio-economic models of exchange.

SET assumes that human social interactions are an extension of a liberal economic model of market exchange. On this end of the spectrum, the individualism inherent in SET is played out economically as capitalism. While it may seem a logical extension to equate economic and social exchanges under this model, one cannot assume that SET would be relevant under different economic models. The application of this theory by tourism researchers to non-Western communities betrays their underlying neoliberal assumptions. Despite flaws with SET (as outlined above), it seems more likely that one would find similarities in patterns of social and economic exchange in a pure market-based society than under alternative models.

An additional weakness in the application of SET to tourism is the assumption that individual interactions and social exchanges add up to residents' perception in the aggregate. This is further confirmation of the individualistic nature of SET. There is little evidence to suggest that this might hold true in communities where there is a more shared distribution of resources. Moreover, people do not necessarily behave how they feel. Since the vast majority of tourism research on SET measures residents' *perceptions*, it is a leap to infer behavior toward tourists from this data. Nunkoo and Ramkissoon (2011) argue that residents will accept tourism if they believe that gains outweigh the costs. They also suggest that a community will support tourism if the perceived positive impacts are greater than the negative consequences. Sharpley (2014), however, questions that there is evidence to support such a statement. He suggests that withdrawal of support for tourism by host communities is rare. Despite the fact that they might perceive fewer benefits, it seems dubious whether they would act on these beliefs. Previous research has been primarily linear and focused on how tourist/visitor

exchanges lead to residents' perceptions (Andereck, Valentine, Knopf, Vogt, 2005; Ap, 1992; Besculides, Lee & McCormick, 2002; Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2011). What is lacking is how these perceptions are then converted into actions, which subsequently influence future tourist-resident interactions (Figure 2.1). Caution must be exercised, however, when studying intention versus action, as respondents may not act in the manner they describe. Therefore, direct observations should supplement any self-reported data (Atkinson, Zibin & Chuang, 1997; Prince, Adamo, Hamel, Hardt, Connor Gorber & Tremblay, 2008).

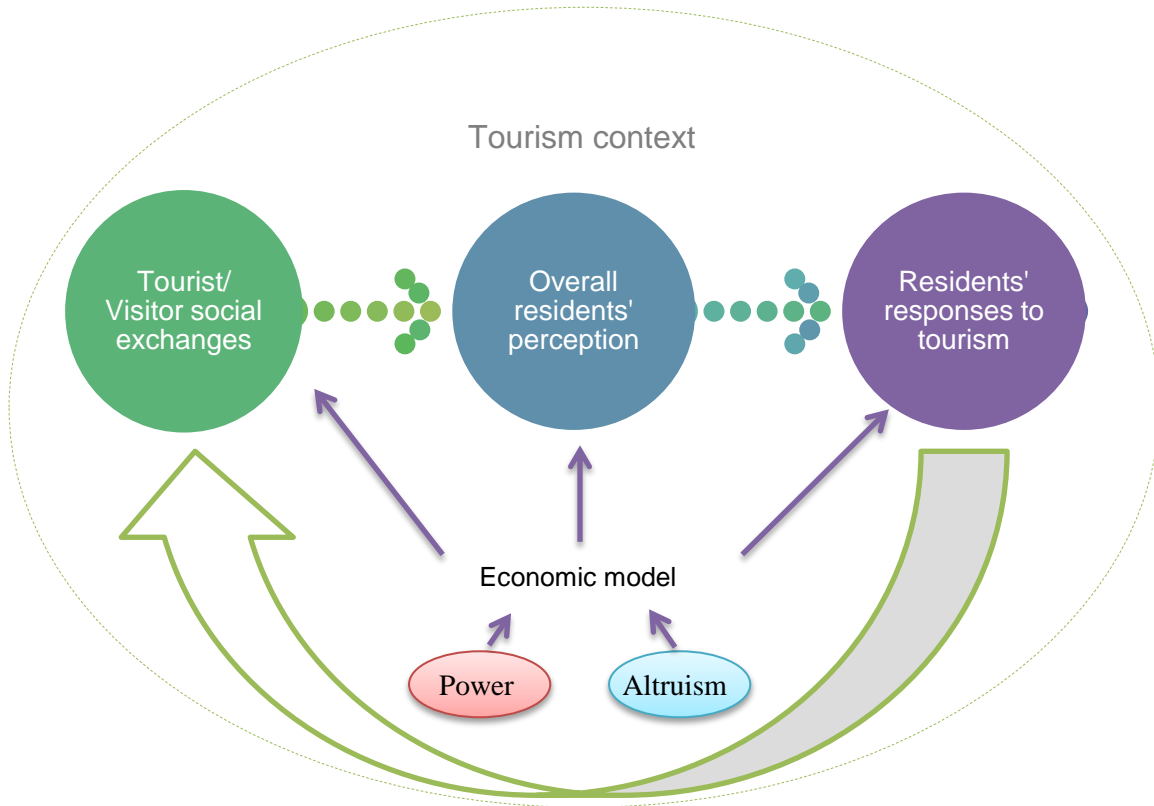


Figure 2.1. Power, altruism and social exchange

Research Setting

Guatemala has been a tourist destination since the 19th century (Sincal Lopez, 2007). The country ended a 30 year civil war in 1996 and tourism steadily grew until the global recession of 2008 (Williams, 2011). Tourism contributed 8.4% to Guatemala's Gross Domestic Product in 2012 (WTTC, 2014). The *Global Post* reported in April of 2013 that Guatemala is investing heavily in marketing and publicity in the international markets of the United States, Canada and Mexico, El Salvador and Honduras (Agencia EFE, 2013). However, tourism in Guatemala is subject to both annual and seasonal fluctuations. Respondents in Lake Atitlan generally perceived tourism arrivals to be down compared to previous years. The region of Lake Atitlan is the second most popular tourism destination in Guatemala (Lyon, 2013) and the Maya culture is an important aspect of the touristic appeal of the area. Yet, as Barbieri and Mahoney (2010) found, different types of tourists consume culture differently, which may influence how residents respond to tourism development in the area.

The research for this study was carried out in two neighboring communities surrounding Lake Atitlán, Guatemala (Figures 2.2 & 2.3). San Juan La Laguna (San Juan) and San Pedro La Laguna (San Pedro) are located approximately one kilometer apart on the shore of the ancient volcanic lake in the Western Highlands of Guatemala. Each town is easily accessible by *lancha* (small boats) from Panajachel, the tourist center and transportation hub of the lake. The communities are both largely indigenous, inhabited by Mayans who speak the T'zutujil dialect. The communities have generally retained outward expressions of the T'zutujil culture, including language and dress, but to varying degrees. For example, in the municipal centers of San Juan, 96% speak an indigenous dialect whereas this has dropped to 78% in San Pedro (from 98% in 1994). Traditional dress (known as *traje*) is still worn by many women, but is becoming less popular among men. Researchers from the University of San Carlos in Guatemala estimate that fewer than 10% of men in San Pedro wear the currently

traditional *traje* (Facultad de Ciencias Económicas, 2008b). Both municipalities are governed by an *alcalde* (mayor) and are housed within the regional department of Sololá.

In San Pedro La Laguna, tourism evolved in response to externally controlled tourism demand and with the unregulated involvement of non-local business owners. It is based primarily on a free-market model (characterized by *laissez-faire* policies by the municipality). San Pedro has a long history of entrepreneurship, with residents originally becoming successful through coffee and transportation (Tally & Chavajay, 2007). In contrast, tourism in San Juan La Laguna, has developed in a very structured manner with the intervention of development NGOs mobilizing community engagement in tourism planning and management, and forming business cooperatives that capture most of the tourism revenues. Tourism in San Juan employs a model of communitarian tourism. Communitarian economics refers to a centrist position on the economic spectrum between totalitarianism and libertarianism (Garfinkle, 1997). It is characterized by an emphasis on the achievement of a common purpose for a community with a shared history and cultural identity.

Despite many similarities, in regards to tourism the communities differ substantially. San Pedro has a much more developed tourism infrastructure than San Juan. Tally and Chavajay (2007) suggest that when global coffee prices fell in 2000 and 2001, *Pedranos* invested heavily in tourism. They estimate that there were 128 tourism businesses in San Pedro in 2006 including 4 travel agencies, 13 artisan galleries, 14 Spanish language schools, 6 internet cafes, 38 hotels or hostels, 39 cafes, bars and restaurants, 4 laundry services, 10 places offering other services (e.g. massages, thermal pools, motorcycle or bicycle renting). They also estimate that there are 45 *lanchas* owned exclusively by *Pedranos*. Generally, tourists that visit San Pedro are young American and European backpackers from middle class backgrounds who visit to engage in drug use and hedonistic behaviors (Tally & Chavajay, 2007). They argue that despite the significant presence of tourism in the

community, the primary industries remain agriculture, manufacturing, textiles and foods (with restaurants and hotels contributing to this as well).

San Juan, on the other hand, is characterized by artisanal shops and galleries. While the vast majority of tourism offerings in San Pedro are individually owned (either by residents of San Pedro or foreigners), the prevalent model in San Juan are cooperatives, run by local residents. Estimates of weaving cooperatives alone in San Juan are near 30. Additionally, visitors will find communal art galleries, a communitarian tour guide operation, as well as a coffee cooperative. There are a handful of hotels and restaurants in San Juan, but these are much fewer than San Pedro.

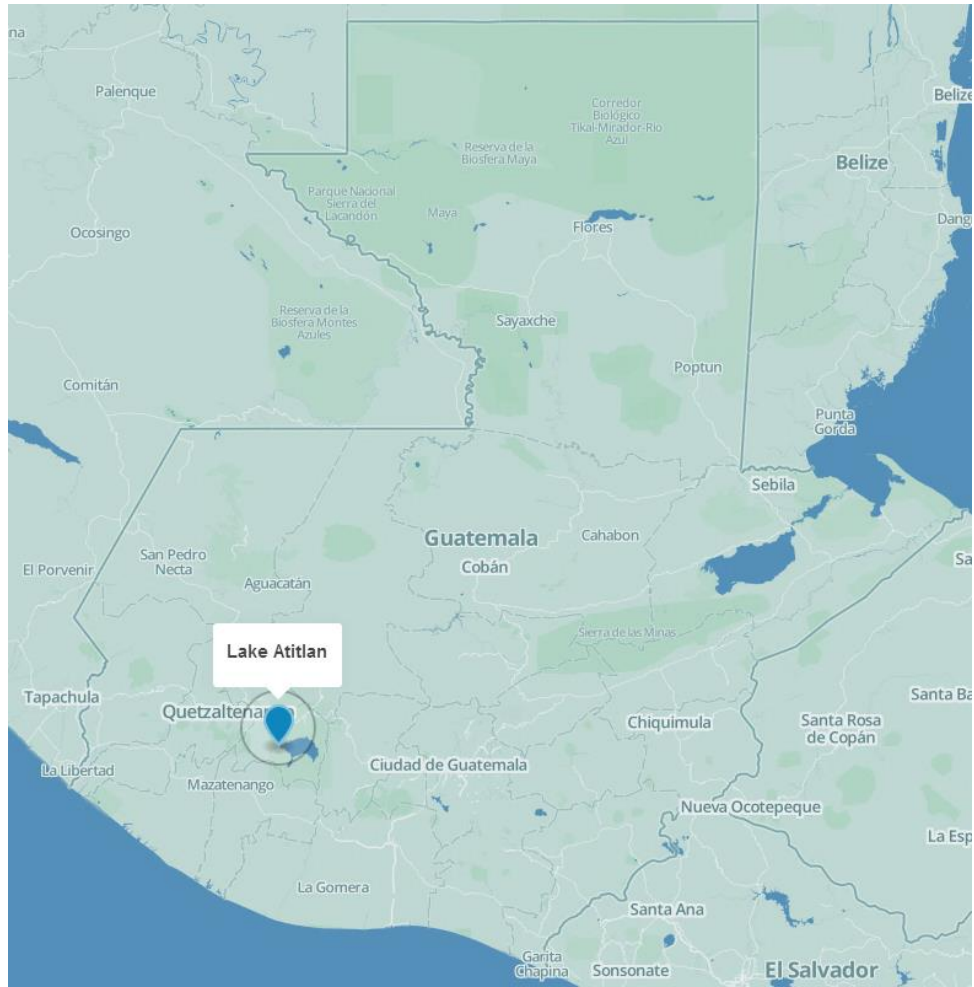


Figure 2.2. Map of Guatemala



Figure 2.3. Map of study setting

Methods and Data collection

The purpose of this study is to better understand how power and altruism are expressed under varying models of tourism development, specifically communitarian tourism and a *laissez faire* approach to tourism expansion and growth. This study utilized an ethnographic approach to data collection. The primary author conducted 7-week fieldwork in the region, staying with a family in San Juan and living in these communities over the duration of the study. She spent the initial two weeks interacting informally with community members in congregating areas in the two communities as well as frequenting tourism businesses and touristic locations. Perspectives from the two communities in regard to tourism were captured through field notes from this ethnographic fieldwork

(Appendix C). In addition, during the first weeks, the primary author began to gradually form connections with key informants to be recruited for follow-up interviews. These informants were invariably individuals that participated actively in the tourism economy, as they were most often found in and around areas of tourism exchange. Sharpley (2014) suggests that, “this group of people is most significant in terms of understanding perceptions of and responses to tourism and tourists” (p. 39). Therefore, it made sense to focus on this group for the purpose of this study.

During the fieldwork, the primary author utilized both direct observation and participant-observation to gain both tacit and implicit knowledge of cultural behavior (Dewalt, Dewalt and Wayland, 1998). Beginning in week four, she also conducted in-depth semi-structured interviews. A total of 30 interviews were completed ranging between 15 minutes to 1 hour in length. These interviews included 16 in San Juan (9 women; 7 men) and 14 in San Pedro (6 women; 8 men). Twenty-seven of the interviews were audio recorded with the permission of the informant. The remaining three interviews of community leaders were documented through extensive note-taking since they declined audio recording. Interviews took place in a location comfortable for the informant (e.g., their home or tourism business location) at a time of their choosing. Interviews were designed to cover broad topics related to the informants’ views regarding their work in tourism, the economic development of their community, the efficacy of the municipal political system, as well as the perceived differences between tourism in the two communities. The interview protocol was pilot tested among a few initial respondents and revised to reflect the local respondents’ language usage.

In addition to the qualitative methods employed, free listing exercises were conducted with a total of 60 respondents (30 in each town) surrounding their perception of tourists and tourism in their community. Free listing is a technique where open-ended questions are used to obtain a list or partial set of items from each informant, with the goal being to get a comprehensive sample of items with

unknown boundaries (Weller, 1998). Respondents were asked to list the pros and cons (*cosas buenas y cosas malas*) of tourism in their community. The benefit of free listing exercises (as opposed to survey methods) is that the researcher is not imposing pre-determined categories on the informants. The authors worked closely with local informants and bi-lingual speakers of the Tz'utujil and Spanish languages to develop and adapt research instruments to be appropriate in the local context. Furthermore, the researcher provided respondents with the option to have the questionnaire read aloud. This addressed some issues surrounding literacy in Spanish for respondents. Although some residents of the communities do not speak Spanish, all those encountered working in the tourism industry were competent in spoken Spanish. Additionally, perspectives from the two communities in regards to tourism were also captured through field notes from the ethnographic fieldwork and tourism marketing materials were collected for document analysis. Photography of the research setting provided additional data to ensure accuracy and enhance analytical objectivity (El Gundi, 1998). The focus of this paper relies on data from the free listing exercise and is supplemented with data from the in-depth interviews as well as observations from field notes. All informants have been provided with a pseudonym to protect their identity

This study addresses some of the methodological weaknesses in prior research on residents' perceptions. In a thorough review of previous research, Sharpley (2014) argues that resident's perceptions and attitudes are likely to be influenced by the difference in social and cultural norms among international tourists, which has not been routinely studied. He also suggests that there is a dearth of qualitative studies in this area. Additionally, he argues that there is a noticeable lack in longitudinal approaches and that many studies take place at one moment in time. While this study is not longitudinal in nature, the researcher did spend seven weeks in an international context and was therefore able to observe social processes ethnographically rather than take only a snapshot of residents' perceptions.

Data Analysis

Data analysis involved qualitative and quantitative techniques. Qualitative data were analyzed using an inductive Grounded Theory approach (Charmaz, 2006) and began in the field. Qualitative field notes as well as transcriptions and summaries of interviews were first open coded, followed by axial and theoretical coding as suggested (Charmaz, 2006; Henderson, 2006). The codes were subsequently compared between the three authors to increase trustworthiness. Free-listing data were coded into categories and then grouped into broad dimensions, which were then analyzed quantitatively using frequency counts (Weller, 1998; Weller 2007). I conducted fieldwork and took primary role in data managing and analysis. A second researcher contributed integrally in the analysis but did not participate in fieldwork. A third researcher brought insight from 15 years of prolonged fieldwork in the region to examine raw findings and provide validation to their interpretation. All three researchers are fluent in Spanish. Two of the researchers worked together closely and negotiated the codes to ensure consensus and increase trustworthiness (Henderson, 2006). This included the researcher who collected data in the field and another who did not, providing a fresh perspective on the raw data. I was then able to place the phrases in context and use data from the interviews to better interpret their meaning. The initial codes and broader dimensions were then analyzed quantitatively using frequency counts.

Findings

The data presented reflects results from the free listing exercise and is supplemented by data from in-depth interviews as well as observations from ethnographic field notes. The findings also reflect the validation of a researcher with 15 years of experience in the region. Further, I confirmed preliminary findings with select local key informants via email to get their impressions of the results.



Figure 2.5. Good things about tourism San Juan (English)



Figure 2.6. Good things about tourism San Pedro (Spanish)



Figure 2.7. Good things about tourism San Pedro (English)

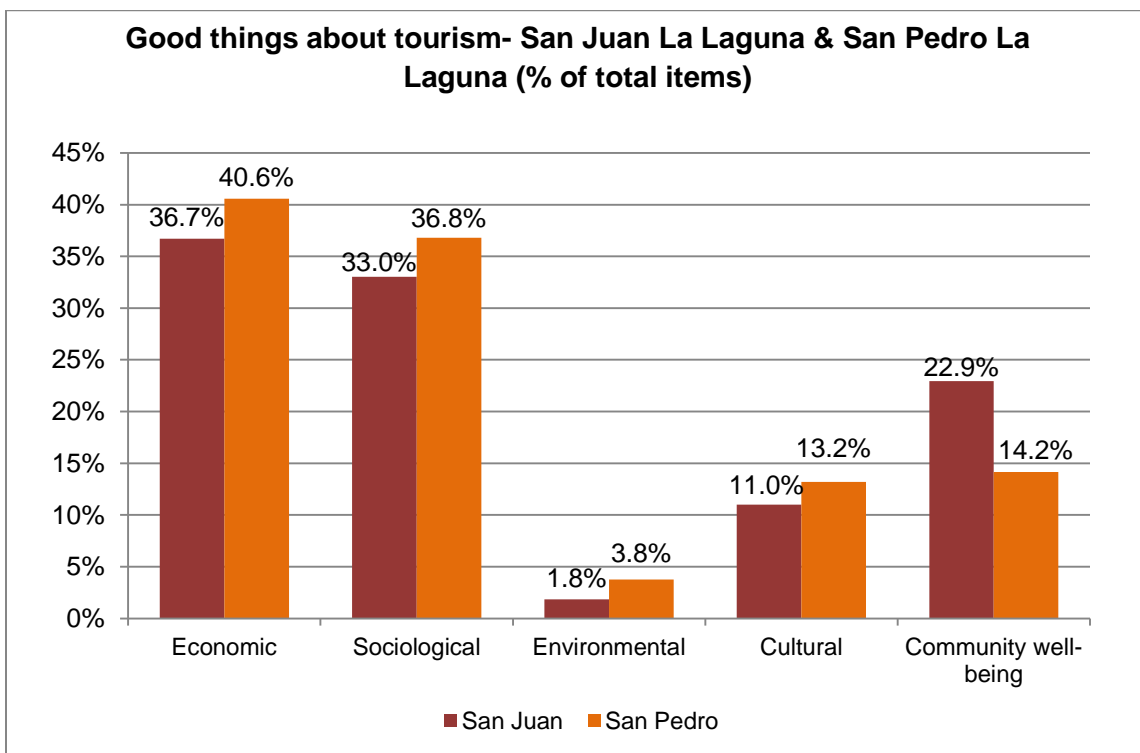


Figure 2.8. Good things about tourism in San Juan and San Pedro

Sociological benefits (i.e., learning new ideas and languages, friendly exchanges with tourists and good examples set by tourists) were also mentioned frequently (33.0% of items in San Juan and 36.8% of items in San Pedro). Residents of both communities mentioned benefits from tourism related to Community well-being (i.e., community development, support for community projects, and help for the vulnerable), but these themes were more prevalent in San Juan (22.9% of items mentioned) than San Pedro (14.2% of items). Positive cultural influences (i.e., support of traditional handicrafts, heritage conservation and cultural exchange) were observed by residents in San Juan (11.0% of items) and San Pedro (13.2% of items), but fewer expressed an improvement in environmental benefits from tourism (San Juan—1.8%; San Pedro—3.8%).

Economic benefits. Despite similarities in benefits expressed by residents of both towns, some differences did emerge. In terms of economic benefits, residents of San Pedro (*Pedranos*) listed economic development (16.0% of total items listed), jobs (15.1%) and income (6.6%) most often. *Pedranos* listed these benefits as “*más voluntad de trabajar* (more willingness to work),” “*oportunidad de trabajo* (opportunities for work),” and “*generan trabajos* (generating jobs).” Calista, a 24-year-old female worker at a tourism shop explains, “*a través del turismo uno puede ganar mucho dinero* (through tourism one can earn a lot of money).” Related to work, but in a broader sense, *Pedranos* recognized that tourism was good for the economy of their town. Respondents explained that, “*en la económico sí nos beneficia* (in economics, yes we benefit),” “*beneficio económico* (economic benefits),” “*apoya recursos económicos* (it supports economic resources),” and “*fortalece la economía* (strengthens the economy).”

Residents of San Juan (*Juaneros*) also recognized the overall economic benefits of tourism, but specifically mentioned how this affected the broader community rather than only themselves. *Juaneros* talked about how tourism has helped a number of families or the town more broadly. They

listed good things about tourism as related to economic development (12.8%), income (11.0%), and jobs (10.1%) most often. In terms of economic development, they listed, “*mejoramiento en la economía* (improvement of the economy),” “*recurso económico* (economic resource), and “*los ingresos mejoran la economía de las familias* (the income improves the economy the families).” Godofredo, a 21-year-old male artist explains how tourism in San Juan is being developed to bring benefits directly to families. He explains,

Aunque también la mayoría quiere quedarse en San Juan, pero como te decía no hay hoteles. Pero hay otra forma que tiene San Juan, en turismo... se le llama como Posadas Mayas. Entonces conviven, comen, se quedan durmiendo cada día con una familia... Esto es mejor porque el desarrollo o el ingreso se queda directamente en cada familia, no solo una persona cuando tenga un gran hotel. Eso es la diferencia—si vienen personas de quince, veinte personas es porque vienen a beneficiar esta cantidad de familias. El desarrollo sirve para el pueblo en general.

(Although most want to stay in San Juan, but as I said there are no hotels. But there is another way that San Juan, in tourism ... they call it Posadas Maya. Then they live, eat, and sleep there every day with a family ... This is better because the development or income stays directly with each family, not just one person like with a large hotel. That's the difference—if fifteen, twenty people come, they come to benefit this number of families. The development serves the town in general.)

To further elaborate on this shared sense of benefit, Fabiana, a 40-year-old female artisan in San Juan explains,

Porque el turismo...por ejemplo, si no vienen a comprar cuadros con nosotros, pero pueden comprar cuadros de otros compañeros o pueden comprar otras bolsas o pueden comprar tejidos o una gaseosa o una agua pura o menos vienen a beneficiar los que están aquí. Porque el turismo, si no lleva cosas así, cosas como artesanía—que no es eso—pero vino a comprar su agua pura o su fruta, es al menos allí. Dejan un poquito.

(Because of tourism...for example, if they do not come to buy paintings with us, but they can buy paintings from other colleagues or they can buy other bags or weavings or a soda or bottled water or at least they come to benefit those here. Because of tourism, if they do not take things like crafts with them, that's not it, but they came to buy their bottled water or fruit, at least there's that. They leave a little bit here.)

Fabiana understands that while tourism may not benefit her directly, it is still a boost for her neighbors, therefore she is supportive. While *Juaneros* and *Pedranos* recognize that tourism brings economic development to their communities, the discourse they use to express this varies. In San Pedro, tourism workers tend to be concerned with their personal income and wages, while *Juaneros* often speak of a broader community benefit. Furthermore, *Juaneros* pointed to the individualism present in San Pedro as one of the explanations for the problems they experience. In a conversation with a communitarian tour guide in San Juan, the guide suggested that the long history of community organization in San Juan was responsible for positive tourism development and suggests that this is lacking in San Pedro. He explains that despite the presence of some organizations, many people prefer to work alone in San Pedro (Fieldnotes, May 30, 2013).

Sociological benefits. Many of the sociological benefits that stem from tourism were mentioned by respondents in both communities. *Pedranos* believed that sociological benefits from tourism include friendly exchange with tourists (9.4%), a good example set by the tourists (7.6%), the opportunity to learn new ideas (5.7%) and new languages (4.7%), as well as supporting education in their community (3.8%). *Juaneros* similarly listed friendly exchange with tourists (11.9%), a good example set by the tourists (5.5%), and the opportunity to learn new ideas (4.6%). In terms of friendly exchange, *Pedranos* listed “*amables* (friendly)” and “*buenas amistades* (good friends)”. Similarly, *Juaneros* listed “*llegan buenos comportamientos de otras amigos* (other friends bring good demeanor)”, “*sembrar amistades* (sow friendship)”, and “*a divertirse con la gente* (have fun with the people)”.

Additionally, residents felt that sometimes tourists set a good example for the residents. *Pedranos* explained this as “*buenas practicas* (good practices)”, “*son muy educados* (they are very educated)” and “*respetuosos* (respectful)”. Similarly, *Juaneros* listed “*responsables* (they are responsible)”, “*la puntualidad* (punctuality)”, “*educados* (educated)”. Residents also felt they were able to learn new ideas from the tourists. *Pedranos* explain, “*aprendemos cosas nuevas* (we learn new things)” and “*ideas positivas* (positive ideas)” and “*nuevas ideas para los negocios* (new ideas for businesses).” Ernesto explains, “*aprendí a trabajar en artesanía por medio de la gente que se llaman jipis* (I learned to work on handicrafts from the people they call hippies).” He explains that 35 or 40 years ago, the hippies began to visit San Pedro and that, “*por contacto empezamos a ver cómo trabajaban y todo eso y allí es como uno empieza a aprender a tener algunos ideas como ser artesanías* (through contact we began to see how to work and all that and there one begins to learn to have some ideas on how to be an artisan).”

Juaneros added, “*nos enseña cosas buenas* (they teach us good things)”, “*intercambio de ideas* (exchange of ideas), “*recomendaciones* (suggestions)”. *Juaneros*, in particular, have benefitted from foreigners coming to support local non-profits and non-governmental organizations (NGOs), specifically in support of the many weaving cooperatives in town. Most residents do not distinguish between the tourists that come to help and those that come to vacation. Joaquina, a 18-year-old barista at a café adds, “*Los turistas están apoyando—en este caso ellos tal vez vienen a visitar de sus país porque San Juan necesita apoyo. Los grupos están creciendo más, como las organizaciones de tejidos.* (The tourists are supporting—in this case they may come to visit from their country because San Juan needs support. The groups are mostly growing the weaving cooperatives.)” And later she explains, “*Está bien que ellos vengan de visita. Pero así como grupo que vino, vino hacer algo bueno para el pueblo.* (It's good that they come to visit. But like the group that came, they do something good for the people.)”

Residents of both communities discussed the opportunity to learn new languages as a result of tourism, though this was listed more frequently among *Pedranos*. Respondents listed “*aprender otros idiomas* (learn other languages)”, “*a través de ello se aprende otros idiomas* (through them one learns other languages)”, “*intercambio de idioma* (exchange of language)”. One resident of San Juan also explained that they now had the opportunity to “*hablar más español* (speak more Spanish)”. Since the first language of nearly all residents is Tz’utujil, interactions with tourists also give them the occasion to practice their second language, Spanish.

Pedranos also listed support of education as a benefit. Most listed simply “*educación* (education)” or “*apoya la educación* (support education).” There are several projects in San Pedro that use tourist dollars to support the education of residents. One informant explains how she was able to attend school on a scholarship paid for by tourists. She says,

Las turistas que llegan aquí apoyan a las familias que no pueden dar a sus hijos en las escuelas. Y dan becas a los hijos para beneficio. Porque hay padres de familia que, como te digo, que no tienen trabajo y los niños se quedan en la casa—no pueden estudiar. En cambio, los turistas que llegaron aquí, los benefician a los niños en que pueden desenvolverse. También, es una ayuda una beca también...Sí, yo he estudiado. Me gradué de una administración. Y también, yo recibí una beca gracias a los turistas.

(The tourists that come here support families who cannot give to their children to go to school. And they give scholarships to children to benefit them. Because there are parents who, as I say, who are unemployed and the children have to stay in the house cannot study. In contrast, the tourists who came here benefit children so that they can develop. Also, the scholarships are a help too... Yes, I have studied. I graduated from an administration program. And also, I received a scholarship thanks to tourists.)

The social interactions between tourists and residents were listed nearly as frequently as benefits of economic development during the free-listing exercise.

Community well-being benefits. Informants in both communities expressed how tourism contributed to the improvement of their community; however this theme was most common in San Juan where *Juaneros* often talked about how tourism brings benefits within the context of their community, rather than only for individual profit. People listed that the benefits of tourism for their community include, “*beneficia a toda la comunidad* (benefits the entire community),” “*fortalecimiento comunitario* (strengthening the community),” and “*crean proyectos para el beneficio de la comunidad* (create projects to benefit the community),” Agustín, a young painter, explains,

A veces también el turismo trae beneficios a la comunidad. Como, vienen grupos—vienen por grupos. Digamos que vienen dos grupos acá, dos grupos en San Pablo, en Santa Clara, San Marcos, en San Pedro y en Santiago. Construyen casas. Sí, yo he visto muchos. Construyen casas, trae—no se—beneficios de la comunidad. Buscan las personas más pobres. Más pobres, sí—gente que ya no tienen casas. Bueno, gente que no tienen muchos recursos y llegan a ayudarlos.

(Sometimes tourism also brings benefits to the community. Groups come—they come in groups. Say that two groups come here, two groups in San Pablo, Santa Clara, in San Marcos, in San Pedro and Santiago. They build houses. Yes, I have seen many. They build houses, they bring—I don't know—benefits of to the community. They look for the poorest people. The poorest, yes—people didn't have homes. Well, people who do not have many resources and they come to help them.)

In addition to tourists that come on vacation, San Juan receives a number of visitors that come to volunteer or work on projects that have been developed by national and international organizations. For *Juaneros*, the benefits of tourism are represented by all types of foreigners that come to visit, including groups of both volunteer and educational tourists. The positive influence these groups have had on the community is reflected in the positive image *Juaneros* express regarding tourists and tourism.

Cultural benefits. Culture is an important aspect of the daily lives of the residents of these two communities. Mayas in Guatemala (as elsewhere) have historically suffered from discrimination and exclusion from the political process (Rasch, 2011). Yet, in Guatemala, specifically, they have retained many outward markers of their culture, namely language and dress. The Tz'utujil communities of San Juan and San Pedro speak often of their culture. Culture appeared to be

understood in two senses for residents of San Juan and San Pedro, first as a learning or exchange of cultures, and second pertaining specifically to the representation of the Tz'utujil Maya culture. Respondents in San Pedro listed things such as, “*compartir cultura* (sharing culture),” “*conocer otras culturas* (getting to know other cultures),” and “*la relación de compartir cultura* (the relationship of sharing culture).” They also listed, “*realizar más actividades culturales* (perform more cultural activities),” “*dar a conocer más nuestra cultura* (to increase awareness of our culture),” and “*conocer su país a través de ellos* (to get to know their country through them).” Similarly, *Juaneros* listed, “*intercambio de culturas* (exchange of cultures),” and “*protección de la cultura* (protection of culture)” as benefits of tourism.

Environmental benefits. While the residents of San Juan and San Pedro are highly dependent on the natural environment for their livelihoods, both through tourism and through coffee cultivation, this theme was not prominent in their responses. *Juaneros* did, however, list “*conservación del patrimonio natural* (conservation of natural heritage),” and “*ecológico* (ecological)” as benefits from tourism. *Pedranos* added that tourists bring “*ideas sobre basura y limpiar* (ideas about trash and cleaning)”.

Perceived costs of tourism.

Respondents listed a total of 94 items related to negative outcomes derived from tourism development (34 in San Juan, 60 in San Pedro). Individual items listed by *Juaneros* in Spanish (Figure 2.9) were coded into 14 topics expressed in English (Figure 2.10). *Pedranos* listed benefits that were coded into a total of 13 topics (Figures 2.11 & 2.12). The items also fell into the same five dimensions as the positive outcomes (Economic, Sociological, Environmental, Cultural and Community well-being). Despite the many benefits listed by respondents, they did identify a number of challenges related to tourism (Figure 2.13). Overall, costs of tourism were seen to be largely

related to sociological interactions (i.e., the setting of a bad example by tourists, the consumption of alcohol and drugs, smoking of cigarettes, and creating a bad reputation for the town). While this was a major theme for both towns, it was particularly salient in San Pedro. Nearly three quarters (73.3%) of the items listed by respondents fell under this category. More than half (52.9%) of the items listed by respondents in San Juan also addressed this issue.



Figure 2.9. Bad things about tourism San Juan (Spanish)



Figure 2.10. Bad things about tourism San Juan (English)



Figure 2.11. Bad things about tourism San Pedro (Spanish)



Figure 2.12. Bad things about tourism San Pedro (English)

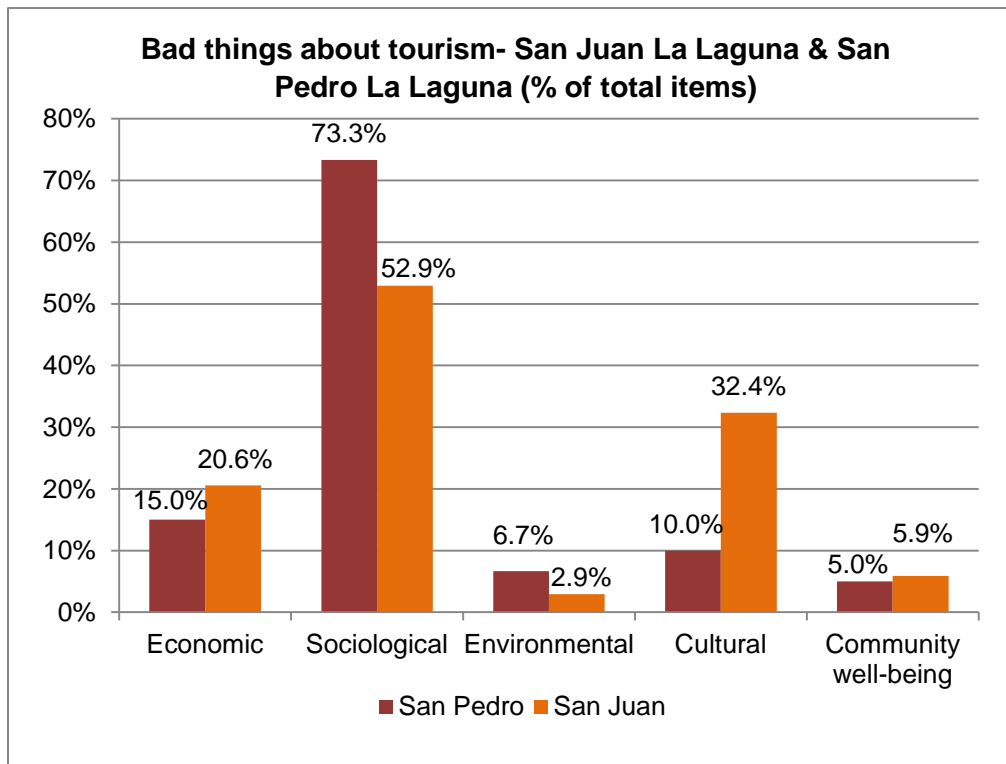


Figure 2.13. Bad things about tourism in San Juan and San Pedro

In San Pedro, respondents listed sociological issues in relation to tourism as “*vicios de alcohol* (vices of alcohol)”, “*más droga* (more drugs)”, “*más perdición para los del pueblo* (more destruction for those of the town)”, “*mala reputación al pueblo* (bad reputation for the town)”, “*tener sexo al aire libre, en bares* (they have sex outdoors, in bars)”, and “*turistas que sólo vienen a endrogarse* (tourists that only come to do drugs)”. In regards to the issues *Pedranos* perceive regarding drugs and alcohol, Gilberto, a 21-year-old cook in a tourist restaurant in San Pedro explains,

Hay lugares donde uno puede divertirse. Pero ahora, los jóvenes vienen a Buddah [un bar local] a tomar y todo. Para ellos es diversión tomar. Pero el turista, vienen a tomar cerveza pero es controlado. Pero ellos exageran. Después de aquí, suben al pueblo a buscar más cerveza y así los siguientes días se quedan en la calle. Este es el problema ahora. Si, de los jóvenes que quieren tener más ambiente, pero ellos exageran... Es muy difícil ahora.

(There are places where one can have fun. But now, young people come to Buddah [a local bar] to drink and everything. For them it is fun to drink. But the tourists come to drink beer, but it is controlled. But them [the locals], they overdo it. After here, they go up to the town to get more beer and are left on the street the following days. This is the problem now. Yes, young people want to have more atmosphere, but they overdo it ... It is very difficult now.)

Most often, when *Juaneros* discussed the drawbacks of tourism, they explained what they had observed in San Pedro. In fact, of the 30 individuals who filled out the questionnaire (Appendix B) in San Juan, 15 (50%) did not list any negative issues related to tourism. The 15 respondents who did list drawbacks listed issues such as, “*consumen drogas algunos* (some consume drugs)”, *dar mal*

ejemplo a la juventud (they give a bad example to youth)” , “*turismo que enseña a los jóvenes a fumar la marijuana o el alcohol, de esto no estoy de acuerdo* (tourism that teaches young people to smoke marijuana or alcohol, I do not agree with this),” or simply “*alcoholism* (alcoholism)” or “*drogadicción* (drug addiction)”. Agustín, a 21-year-old painter from San Juan, explains how problems with drugs have played out in San Juan and San Pedro. He says,

También, muchas personas son narcotraficantes en San Pedro. Traen la droga y tal vez eso es porque los jóvenes llegan poco a poco en las discotecas y lo llevan y se endrogan allí. Pero no creo que el turismo es la causa de, bueno, de la violencia—no... Pero, no es la causa de turismo... .. Bueno he escuchado pocas personas que hacen aquí (San Juan). Yo sé de algunas personas que hacen aquí. No es un problema tan grande... Acá, las personas—bueno los papás—aquí son muy obedientes. Si tu papa te dice hay nada que hacer esto, tienes que venir en esta hora o si llegas tarde, no quiero que—no se—que vengas tomando—quiero que vengas bien. Es que le dicen. Tienen un horario. Y las personas acá si trabajas, comes. Si no trabajas, no comes. Es todo lo que dicen a los jóvenes para que no hagan algo malo.

(Also, many people are drug dealers in San Pedro. They bring the drugs and maybe that's why young people gradually arrive in the disco and they take drugs there. But I do not think that tourism is the cause this, of the violence—no ... But tourism is not the cause... Well ... I've heard a few people doing it here (San Juan). I know of some people doing here. It's not as big of a problem. Here, people—dads—here they are very obedient. If your dad says don't do anything, you have to come home at this time or if you're late, I do not want—I don't know—for you to come home drinking—I want you come home well. This is what they say. They

have a schedule. And for people here if you work, you eat. If you don't work, you don't eat. It is everything that they say to the young people to not do something bad.)

Cultural problems. In addition to issues associated with the social interaction of individuals, respondents also identified cultural issues (i.e., cultural pollution, disrespect of local ways) as an important concern, though this was mentioned much more often in San Juan (32.35%) than San Pedro (10.00%). Cultural issues were identified by respondents in San Juan as; “*pérdida de las costumbres por optar por la forma de vida de los extranjeros* (loss of customs for choosing the lifestyle of foreigners)”, “*culturización de otros países* (acculturation of other countries)”, and “*algunos no respetan los que viven aquí* (some do not respect those who live here)”. Respondents in San Pedro added, “*hacer perder más nuestra cultura* (to lose any more of our culture)” and “*no respetar* (no respect)”.

Economic problems. While respondents mentioned a number of economic benefits derived from tourism, they also identified economic problems that come as a result of tourism (i.e., stealing business from locals and tourists not spending money). This was an issue in both communities, but was mentioned slightly more often in San Juan (20.00%) than San Pedro (15.00%). *Juaneros* listed issues such as “*regatear precios* (the haggling of prices)”, “*llevan nuestras ideas a su país para que ellos lo hagan una industria en su país* (they take our ideas to their country so that they can create an industry in their country)”, and “*no promoción* (no promotion)”. *Pedranos* added, “*se apoderan de lugares y privatización* (they take over places and privatization)”, “*la comunidad pierde el espacio de trabajo* (the community loses the workspace)”, “*ellos hacen su propio negocio* (they make their own business)”, and “*no compran* (they don't purchase)”. Competition with foreigners is a serious concern

of *Pedranos* as reflected in the excerpts above. In the touristic area of town, a number of foreigners own businesses and are perceived by residents to own land.

Despite the concern in both towns about pressure from tourists to lower prices through bargaining, this practice takes place much more often in San Pedro than San Juan. In nearly all weaving cooperatives in San Juan, the women individually set the prices they want to earn from their weavings. The representative working in the store has no authority to lower the price, ultimately eliminating the possibility for bartering. This affords the workers in San Juan more power in the negotiation of prices. While they struggle with consistency in quality and selection, by organizing themselves in the cooperatives, the women are able to negotiate these challenges and meet the overall demand of the tourism consumers.

Mentioned less often, but still noteworthy, were issues related to community well-being, namely violence and illnesses. The rate of occurrence was very similar among both communities (5.00%- San Pedro; 5.71%- San Juan). Residents of both towns spoke of violence that originated in bars and was fueled by alcohol, but this was mentioned more often in San Pedro. The violence mentioned was sometimes exclusively between residents and other times involved tourists.

Discussion

Findings indicate that despite challenges, residents of San Juan and San Pedro are overall supportive of tourism in their communities. While SET has been used to describe tourist-resident interactions, a deeper look at the dynamics within and between the two communities problematizes its assumptions. Themes of power and altruism are observed in San Juan in ways that are not evident in San Pedro. Although tourism development in San Juan has been influenced by observations of

challenges in San Pedro, cooperative models of business ownership have existed in the town since the 1970s (Fieldnotes, July 9, 2013). Morais, Dong and Yang (2006) found that that the cycle of development in ethnic tourism destinations are dependent on the development of neighboring destinations. Similarly, tourism development in San Juan has been influenced by the development of tourism in San Pedro. However, tourism development in San Juan has also been influenced by existing social structures and collaborative tendencies. The communitarian model of tourism development has been shaped by NGOs, particularly one local NGO (Atít Ala), but examples of cooperative entrepreneurship pre-existed these organizations.

Two themes emerged from the data that distinguished the communitarian model from the *laissez faire* model: power and altruism. Through the communitarian tourism model, tourism workers are able to exercise greater collective power, something that has not been fully addressed in the tourism literature. This model is heavily influenced by a local NGO, which has been integral in shaping the tourism development in San Juan. *Juaneros* are able to set what they perceive as fair prices and are not vulnerable to the intense bargaining that goes on in San Pedro. While there are some organized groups (e.g., *lancha* drivers and tour guides) in San Pedro, the model is not as pervasive as in San Juan. In San Pedro, economic exchange is characterized by aggressive selling tactics and haggling for prices. On the contrary, visitors to San Juan will experience virtually no pressure to buy in the cooperatives or other retail locations in town. *Juaneros* also expressed fewer economic drawbacks to tourism in their community than in San Pedro, indicating that they are able to somewhat insulate themselves from these issues. This is likely due to the influence of the local NGO and their role in shaping the tourism infrastructure to follow a communitarian philosophy, but could also be influenced by the types of visitors each community attracts. Visitors to San Pedro are mostly young backpackers, whereas San Juan attracts older day-trippers. As Barbieri and Mahoney (2010)

concluded, consumption patterns vary by type of tourist, therefore this is an area deserving of further exploration.

Under communitarian tourism, as observed in San Juan, there is an effort toward a more equal distribution of wealth than in San Pedro. Communitarian economics is a centrist position between a *laissez-faire* economy and a centralized authority (Garfinkle, 1997). A high level of community coordination is noticeably lacking in San Pedro where tourism has been approached in a typical *laissez-faire* manner. Results suggest that the mere presence of an entrepreneurial spirit and resulting economic benefits are not enough to guard against the negative aspects of tourism. Rather, strong community cooperation, either organically acquired or aided by the assistance of a committed organization (non-profit, NGO, governmental, private) appears to be necessary to truly shape tourism for the benefit of residents. Prevailing theories of resident-tourist interactions are based on the assumption that the group is simply made up of individual rational actors. I would suggest, however, that the individual actions cannot be separated from their social structure- in the case of San Juan, organized cooperatives. These organizations provide the residents with greater power in the tourist-resident social exchange than they would have on an individual level.

Implications for future research

This study has explored the role of altruism and cooperative power in under communitarian tourism. It has also questioned the appropriateness for the use of SET to understand tourist—resident interactions across a variety of contexts. While this theoretical framework may be helpful in explaining interactions under certain circumstances, this research suggests that it might not be appropriate in a number of scenarios. It suggests that this is the case in non-western communities that do not subscribe to a *laissez faire*, liberal economics approach to tourism development. The lesson to

be learned from San Juan and San Pedro is that planning through strong community collaboration can help to mitigate the problems that can sometimes stem from neoliberal tourism development. Lessons from San Juan and San Pedro La Laguna can offer warnings to towns interested in developing tourism as to how important collaboration and planning are, as well as the possibility for more equitable distribution of resources.

While community participation in tourism has been widely advocated, namely through frameworks such as community-based tourism and ecotourism, communitarian tourism goes beyond a simple framework for tourism planners. It is an economic philosophy adopted by the community prior to implementing tourism development. Communitarianism is relevant to a variety of industries, but hold special promise for tourism. More research is needed to better understand the motivations behind adopting a communitarian model as well as methods to ensure the success of communitarian tourism among diverse communities, particularly in non-western countries and that are in varying stages of the destination life cycle. Attention should be paid to the types of tourists that visit a location since they may also influence the tourism product. Further, communitarian tourism should be studied in diverse locations to better understand if certain conditions must be met to ensure its success.

Conclusion

It is clear from the data that rational choice (expressed as pure self-interest) is not always at play in San Juan. As described, community members are satisfied if tourists spend money with their neighbors even if they do not purchase from them. Residents of San Juan often expressed the benefit of tourism for their community, even when personal benefits were not immediately apparent. This is a major challenge to the assumptions of current theories of residents perceptions (namely SET), which suggests that social exchanges are based on perceived social rewards. In the tourism literature, this

has often been generalized to encompass any type of reward (economic, environmental, social, etc.; Ap, 1992; Nunkoo, Smith, & Ramkissoon, 2013; Sharpley, 2014). However, residents of San Juan are generally supportive of tourism even if it does not bring them personal rewards. While there is still some debate as to whether or not communitarian communities are inherently more altruistic than those that subscribe to liberalism, the data suggests that this may be the case in San Juan and offers the possibility for additional research.

In sum, this study indicates that collective power and altruism are enhanced under alternative models of tourism, specifically communitarian tourism. This offers many opportunities for future research on the influence of varying economic models on tourism-dependent communities, particularly the role of different models of entrepreneurship in harnessing the potential of tourism to improve well-being of host communities.

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CHAPTER 3: Gender, work and tourism in the Guatemalan Highlands

Introduction

Tourism research often focuses on the phenomena of leisure activity. However, it is important to note that to provide touristic leisure services, a number of individuals must engage in work behaviors. While research on tourism work is becoming more common (Apostolopoulos & Sönmez, 2001; Cone, 1995; Feng, 2013; Gentry, 2007; Gmelch, 2003; Kempadoo, 2004; Sinclair, 1997; Vandegrift, 2008), it is rarely conducted outside the “comfort zones” of disciplines (Veijola, 2009b). Veijola suggests that most often hospitality and tourism researchers study the skills and qualifications of the workforce and sociocultural researchers are repeatedly concerned with the authenticity of the tourism product. Although scholars have begun to study the non-leisure side of tourism, studies have less often considered the role of gender in influencing the production and consumption of tourism (for notable exceptions see Apostolopoulos, Sönmez & Timothy, 2001, Kempadoo, 2004; Sinclair, 1997).

Many studies that have been conducted on gender and work in tourism have utilized a developmental framework, particularly related to women in traditional communities (Gibson, 2001). This assumes that the income generated through tourism will lead to economic independence, enhance women’s status in society, and allow them to explore new roles for themselves and their families (Cone, 1995; Swain, 1995). More recent contributions have, however, challenged the relationship between access to tourism revenue and an increase in social status (Morais, Yarnal, Dong & Dowler, 2005). Tourism work for women often can be seen as an extension of traditional domestic duties (Garcia-Ramon, Canoves & Valdovinos, 1995) and women are often excluded from higher-paying stable tourism employment (Vandegrift, 2008). Therefore, more research is needed to fully

understand the capacity of tourism employment to empower women, improve livelihoods and shift cultural norms.

Tourism is often perceived as an extension of modernization or a vehicle of modernization for developing countries (MacCannell, 1976; Swain, 1995). Yet, scholars are criticized for applying concepts of Western modernization to non-Western countries and expecting them to follow the same trajectory (Beck, 1999). Further, feminist studies are often critiqued due to the common assumption that women in developing countries should follow the Western trajectory of women's emancipation (Swain, 1995). This essentialist point of view (i.e., that there is one common female experience) is not appropriate for studies of women's labor in developing areas, including work in tourism. It cannot be assumed that women in non-Western societies have the same (or even similar) needs, wants and goals as Western women. Mohanty, Russo and Torres (1991) define third world feminism as "imagined communities of women with divergent histories and social locations, woven together by the *political* threads of opposition to forms of domination that are not only pervasive but also systematic" (emphasis in original; p. 4). She suggests that these are "imagined" communities in that they are not bound by location, race or class, but instead can cut across these divisions. These forms of oppression can take the form of high illiteracy, rural and urban poverty, religious fanaticism and overpopulation. Therefore, this study addresses the capacity of tourism to shift cultural beliefs about gender norms among the Maya of Guatemala using a third world feminist lens.

Review of the Literature

Tourism and work.

Mass tourism receives ample attention from researchers as a means by which local residents can earn income; however, evidence reveals that income earning opportunities from tourism are rarely equitably accessible to under-served segments of the host communities, particularly to women

(Gentry, 2007; Sinclair, 1997). Similar to other global industries, tourism destinations rely on the constant supply of flexible labor to remain competitive with other destinations (Vandegrift, 2008). Yet, local participants are often excluded from any but the lowest paid, un-skilled positions (Cabezas, 2008). Cabezas argues that while tourism has succeeded in becoming the largest foreign-exchange earner in the economy of the Dominican Republic, it also marginalized much of the country's workforce. Despite perceptions that most Latin America and Caribbean countries are paradisiacal places of escape and hedonism, for many individuals these destinations represent a place of difficult work rather than a place of escape (Vandegrift, 2008). Gentry (2007) argues that women's work in mass tourism frequently perpetuates traditional notions about female roles and "feminine" skills can become commoditized. Kempadoo (2004) describes how the lack of well-paying tourism jobs has led women to engage in sex work throughout the Caribbean. This type of economic and service exchange can take many forms and is particularly salient surrounding all-inclusive resorts, which exclude locals from the tourism economy in the most extreme manner. These "enclave" resorts hire a minimum number of locals for low-paying service work and keep tourists securely contained within their walls, guaranteeing that they spend almost no money in the local economy (Pattullo, 2005). Excursions are planned and executed by the resort using their own employees, ensuring that all proceeds are retained by the resort (Cabezas, 2008; Carlisle, 2010; Kempadoo, 2004)

For those individuals "lucky" enough to gain entry into formal and informal work in the tourism sector, they face a host of other challenges. Gmelch (2003) illustrates the issues service workers face in their interactions with tourists in Bermuda. Building on concepts from Arlie Hochschild's influential work The Managed Heart (2003), Gmelch explains how service workers must manage their emotions in their service roles. He explains that the interactions between tourism workers and visitors often represent an extension of neocolonial relationships in that oftentimes black and brown workers are seen serving white, Western tourists. Although Gmelch's analysis takes place

among traditional mass tourism (i.e., sun, sea and sand based), these issues sometimes extend to alternative forms of tourism as well (e.g., ecotourism, community-based tourism, responsible tourism; Gentry, 2007).

Tourism, gender and culture.

As Nash (1989) points out, tourists are agents of contact between cultures. Cohen (2001) suggests that as tourism penetrates remote areas where ethnic groups reside, cultural change can occur. He argues that at the early stages of tourism exploration little change occurs, but as the tourism industry matures in a destination the ethnic group will gradually become incorporated into the national culture. This then leads to an acculturation to the dominant national culture and a *deculturation* of the ethnic culture. Ultimately, this erosion of the ethnic culture diminishes the group's appeal to tourists and threatens their livelihoods from tourism (Figure 3.1). Matheson and Wall (1982) suggest that while tourism is a space of cultural contact, acculturation usually happens for the host population, but not the tourists who visit. As mentioned previously, tourism can also create conflicts between modernization and tradition, with tourists expecting to view 'primitive' cultures, but local residents striving to 'modernize' (Cole, 2008).

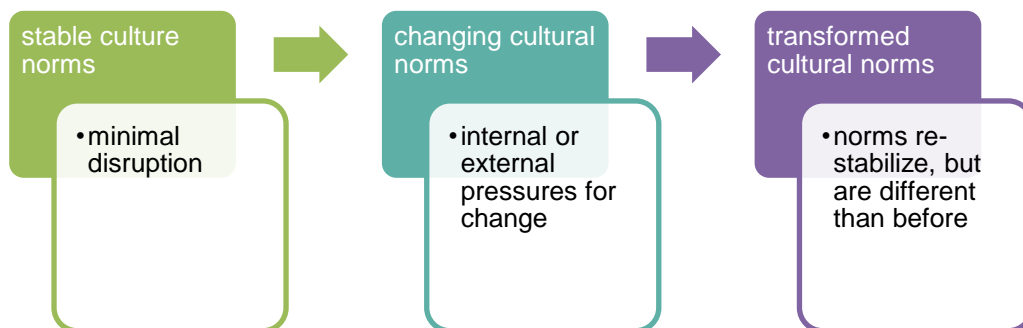


Figure 3.1. Tourism and culture change

Yet, destination communities can also move beyond this dichotomy where tourism happens in the frontstage and authentic life happens in the backstage (MacCannell, 1976). This, however, can also raise concerns. Tourism can become so embedded in the local culture that new cultural performances are developed for visitors, resulting in a 'touristic culture' (Bruner, 2005; Cohen, 2001). While some of these characteristics may already be present, emphasis on certain behaviors or traits may shift and others that were originally created to please the tourists now become part of the host culture. MacCannell (1984) terms this "reconstructed ethnicity" and suggests it is both "artificial and deterministic" (p. 385). This is perhaps an oversimplification since human cultures are dynamic and adapt to both internal and external pressures. Tourism cannot necessarily be blamed for cultural change, but the interaction of distinct cultures offers an important nexus for observations of these phenomena.

Many of the concerns expressed above refer to mass tourism, however new forms of tourism have begun to emerge to tackle these challenges. While alternative forms of tourism (e.g., ecotourism, community-based tourism) have been argued to offer opportunities for women, they are not devoid of problems. These can include a change in gender norms, ecologic implications (e.g. an increase in tourists in fragile ecosystems) and poor working conditions (Gentry, 2007). Furthermore, alternative forms of tourism often blur the divisions between work and the domestic sphere, bringing tourists to the homes and personal spaces of residents (Gentry, 2007; Little, 2000; Veijola, 2009a). Veijola, terms this the "fourth shift", where the border between work and home has dissolved and the relationship between life and work has become "both precarious and intimate" (p. 112). Tourism is often produced in women's homes (Vandegrift, 2008), and this is particularly common among alternative forms of tourism, including homestays and artisan demonstrations. In many instances, shops and commercial spaces are connected to residential spaces. While tourism offers easy entry into

the industry through these informal endeavors, they also distort the distinction between work space and domestic space.

Service work is particularly problematic for women, and for women who work in tourism, their work is often service-oriented. As Hoschchild (2003) noted, women often suffer through service work disproportionately. She explains that women are especially subjected to the indignities of service work since they lack the “status shield” men are awarded due to their higher social rank. Women also experience the impact of tourism development differently than men. For the Maya of Mexico and Central America, women are often the face of tourism and are active performers for the tourism industry (Little, 2004). While this role can provide additional income, allowing for a bigger contribution to household decisions, women are often expected to maintain the same amount of household duties as they did before engaging in tourism (Garcia-Ramon, Canoves & Valdovinos, 1995; Gentry, 2007; Veijola, 2009a). Though women are expected to maintain their household duties, Stronza (2010) found that even when men were the primary participants in tourism, they neglected their household duties, creating an increased burden of domestic labor for their spouses. This puts women in a double-bind (or no-win situation) which causes issues for them if they choose to work in tourism or if they choose to stay at home. Although there are opportunities through tourism for women to benefit, they also disproportionately suffer in terms of domestic labor, essentially working a double-shift at work and at home (Gentry, 2007; Hochschild, 1997).

Women’s work has been undergoing a shift in Guatemala since the turn of the 21st century (Bonder, Bazyk, Reilly, & Toyota, 2005). Since the signing of the Peace Accords in 1996, there have been efforts to both modernize the country and revitalize Maya culture. Morelli, Rogoff, and Angelillo (2003) found that in the past 15 years, more parents in San Pedro now work outside the home. For women, this work outside the home is often in tandem with efforts to revitalize Maya

culture and takes the form of weaving traditional garments and preserving traditional forms of dress (Bonder et al., 2005). Morelli et al. (2003) also found that children engaged in work activities and in their play often mimicked adult work behaviors. Yet, they found that more children were now attending school and for longer. This dynamic could have long-term impacts on the work behavior of both men and women, but could be particularly evident among women's employment patterns since they have historically received less education than men. These ongoing changes open new areas for study of shifting perceptions of work roles among men and women.

Tourism work is sometimes problematic for individuals working in both the formal and informal sectors. Cone (1995) argues that through tourism craftspeople that once produced for themselves and their families are now thrust into the global economic system. She suggests that this is particularly problematic for women and that they confront issues of identity that are interwoven with sociocultural concepts of gender. Swain (1995) suggests that women are disproportionately represented in artisanry work, so in many developing countries women are the face of tourism. Morais et al. (2005) explain that while women often make a substantial contribution to household income, their jobs are often at the fringes of the tourism economy. Their work is frequently informal and unstable, and therefore the added income they bring to their households and communities is not paired by proportionate improvements in their agency and wellbeing. There is great variation in wages in tourism (Gentry, 2007), yet women struggle to find employment in the top tiers. This is further complicated by social issues of race and ethnicity.

Apostolopoulos & Sönmez (2001) discuss how involvement in the tourism sector can create dependency for women and suggest that they are essentially placed in a situation of double-jeopardy. Due to low-wage work and an increased reliance on men who earn greater income, they become dependent on both multinational corporations and the men in their lives. Cone (1995) suggests that as

women step outside the domestic sphere and engage in tourism, they can suffer from existential issues that stem from a shifting sense of self. Therefore, despite increasing opportunities for women that come through tourism, they face a host of complications due to the changes it brings. Bonder et al. (2005) argue that women's work may be particularly subject to change in shifting cultural norms. Specifically, they suggest that paid work both inside and outside the home has been influenced by changing social, political and cultural contexts for the Maya of Guatemala.

As cultures undergo change, there is a period of confusion or conflict during the process. Geertz (1973) likens this change to the tentacles of an octopus, not occurring in harmony or in a unidirectional manner. Cultures change in response to both internal and external stimuli, and tourism is but one example of an external stimulus that can arouse cultural change. While it may result in confusion and conflict, it also creates a space of opportunity, particularly in terms of new employment. Newly touristic cultures as described by Cohen (2001) have re-stabilized but do not appear as they did before. Feminist movements are another example of cultural change and can be spurred by internal or external stimuli (Mitchell, 2000). Therefore, this paper explores the role of culture change surrounding to male and female employment in Maya communities in Guatemala. Specifically, it seeks to determine community consensus regarding women's and men's jobs in San Juan La Laguna and San Pedro La Laguna.

Setting

Guatemala has been a tourist destination since the 19th century, with tourists from the United States beginning to arrive by train in the 1920s (Sincal Lopez, 2007). There was a substantial dip in tourism during the latter part of the 20th century, however, as Guatemala was engaged in a 30 year civil war. Nevertheless, after the signing of the peace accords in 1996 tourism steadily grew until the global recession of 2008 (Williams, 2011). Tourism contributed 8.4% to Guatemala's Gross Domestic

Product in 2012 (WTTC, 2014). The *Global Post* reported in April of 2013 that Guatemala is investing heavily in marketing and publicity in the international markets of the United States, Canada and Mexico, El Salvador and Honduras (Agencia EFE, 2013). The country, overall, reached a new record of 2 million tourist arrivals in 2013 (Globovisión, 2014). However, tourism in Guatemala is subject to both annual and seasonal fluctuations and respondents in Lake Atitlan generally perceived tourism arrivals to be down compared to previous years). The region of Lake Atitlan is the second most popular tourism destination in Guatemala (Lyon, 2013) and the Maya culture is an important aspect of its touristic appeal.

The research for this study took place in the area of Lake Atitlán, Guatemala. Lake Atitlán is an ancient volcanic lake in the Guatemalan highlands in the regional department of Sololá (Figure 2.2). There are approximately a dozen small towns along the shore of the lake. The area is primarily inhabited by Tz'utujil and Caqchikel Maya and the main industries are agriculture and tourism. Although international tourism has been popular since the 1980s, Maya communities have maintained many of their cultural attributes. In fact, a number of their traditional practices have flourished and have become supported by tourism. The Maya are skilled artisans, crafting a variety of goods from colorful weavings, paintings, pottery and leatherwork. Other individuals find work in restaurants, hotels, transportation, and agriculture.

The research for this study was carried out in two neighboring communities surrounding Lake Atitlán, Guatemala (Figure 2.3). San Juan La Laguna (San Juan) and San Pedro La Laguna (San Pedro) are located approximately one kilometer apart on the western shore of Lake Atitlán. Each town is easily accessible by *lancha* (small boats) from Panajachel, the tourist center and transportation hub of the lake. Both towns are tourist destinations in their own right. While the towns offer similar attractions in terms of the natural environment and local culture, San Pedro has a much

more developed tourism infrastructure (e.g., hotels, restaurants, tourist transportation) than San Juan and has a longer history with tourism. San Pedro has hosted visitors for several decades, whereas the growth in tourism in San Juan has primarily occurred over the past ten years. In San Pedro La Laguna, tourism has developed in response to external demand and tourists are often young backpackers traveling on a small budget. Tourism in San Juan, on the other hand, has been heavily shaped by the presence of a local non-governmental organization (NGO) and features communitarian tourism ventures (LaPan & Morais, in progress) including a number of weaving cooperatives run primarily by women. The town attracts day trippers of a variety of ages that visit largely for shopping.

Methods and Data collection

The purpose of this study is to better understand how tourism has influenced gender norms regarding work in ethnic Maya communities. This study utilized an ethnographic approach to data collection. The primary author conducted 7-weeks of fieldwork in the region, staying with a family in San Juan La Laguna and living in the two communities over the duration of the study. She spent the initial two weeks interacting informally with community members in congregating areas in the two communities as well as frequenting tourism businesses and touristic locations. In addition, during the first weeks, the primary author began to gradually form connections with key informants to be recruited for follow-up interviews. These informants were invariably individuals that participated actively in the tourism economy, as they were most often found in and around areas of tourism exchange. Sharpley (2014) suggests that, “this group of people is most significant in terms of understanding perceptions of and responses to tourism and tourists” (39). Therefore, it made sense to focus on this group for the purpose of this study.

Free listing exercises were conducted with a total of 60 respondents regarding their perception of tourists and tourism in their community. Free listing is a technique that explores cultural

domains by asking respondents to list all of the things that are part of a particular domain (Trotter & Schensul, 2000). Respondents were asked to list the appropriate jobs for Tz'utujil men and women in their corresponding community. The benefit of free-listing exercises (as opposed to survey methods) is that the researcher is not imposing pre-determined categories on the informants. In addition to the free listing exercises, a questionnaire was used to capture demographic and background information on the respondents (Appendix B). The authors worked closely with local informants and bi-lingual speakers of the Tz'utujil and Spanish languages to develop and adapt research instruments to be appropriate in the local context. Furthermore, the researcher provided respondents with the option to have the questionnaire read aloud. This addressed some issues surrounding literacy in Spanish for respondents. Although some residents of the communities do not speak Spanish, all those encountered working in the tourism industry were competent in spoken Spanish.

Additionally, during the fieldwork, the primary author utilized both direct observation and participant-observation. Beginning in week four, she also conducted in-depth semi-structured interviews. A total of 30 interviews were completed ranging between 15 minutes to one hour in length. These interviews included 16 in San Juan (9 women; 7 men) and 14 in San Pedro (6 women; 8 men). Twenty-seven of the interviews were audio recorded with the permission of the informant. The remaining three interviews were documented through extensive note-taking. Interviews took place in a location comfortable for the informant (i.e., their home or tourism business location) at a time of their choosing. Interviews were designed to cover broad topics related to the informants' views about their work in tourism, the economic development of their community, the efficacy of the municipal political system, as well as the perceived differences between tourism in the two communities. The interview protocol was pilot tested among a few initial respondents and revised to reflect the local respondent's language usage.

Additionally, perspectives from the two communities in regards to tourism were also captured through field notes from the ethnographic fieldwork and tourism marketing materials were collected for document analysis. Photography of the research setting provided additional data to ensure accuracy and enhance analytical objectivity (El Gundi, 1998). The focus of this paper relies on data from the free listing exercise and is supplemented with data from the in-depth interviews as well as observations from field notes and summary data from the questionnaire.

Data Analysis

This study utilized free listing, a technique where open-ended questions are used to obtain a list or partial set of items from each informant, with the goal being able to get a comprehensive sample of items with unknown boundaries (Weller, 1998). Women and men were asked to list jobs that are appropriate for Tz'utujil men and women in their community. They were then given several minutes to list the jobs they could think of pertaining to each gender. The free listing data were analyzed for frequency and salience using Visual ANTRHOPAC 4.98, a cultural domain analysis software (Borgatti, 1996). UCINET 6.0, social network analysis software (Borgatti, Everett & Freeman, 2002), was used to conduct cultural consensus analysis (CCA). UCINET uses principal components analysis to produce eigenvalues and calculate the dimensionality of the solution. Cultural consensus analysis tests empirically the similarity or dissimilarity in the cultural knowledge of groups (Romney, Batchelder & Weller, 1987). If the ratio of the first to second eigenvalue is three or more, consensus exists within the group. Eigenratios below three indicate weak consensus and that more than one culture exists (Borgatti et al., 2002; Romney et al., 1987). UCINET produces an answer key that indicates culturally correct/true answers.

Cultural competence measures the cultural expertise of an individual with respect to a set of questions (Weller, 2007). The correct answer is not previously known, but is calculated from the

responses given by the respondents. Weller (2007) suggests that mean competency scores should reach a value of 0.50 or higher (50%) to indicate cultural understanding. Cultural consensus analysis can be used with a relatively small sample size. To achieve a high level of validity ($\alpha = .90$) with an average level of cultural competency (.50), each group analyzed should have a minimum of 13 respondents (Weller, 2007). Cultural consensus analysis was run on each community (San Juan, $n = 28$; San Pedro, $n = 26$), among the sub-groups of men (San Juan, $n = 12$; San Pedro, $n = 14$) and women (San Juan, $n = 15$; San Pedro, $n = 13$) within the communities, and among men ($n = 26$) and women ($n = 27$) across communities. A total of six eigenratios were calculated to test for consensus.

Qualitative data were also collected to provide deeper interpretations of the aforementioned analyses. Qualitative field notes as well as transcriptions and summaries of interviews were first open coded, followed by axial coding and theoretical coding as suggested by Charmaz (2006) and Henderson (2006). The analysis process began in the field (Charmaz, 2006), with coding of preliminary interviews informing development of the questionnaire (Appendix B) and additional questions for probing in the semi-structured interviews (Appendix A).

Results

Summary statistics.

Data from a total of 60 respondents (30 in San Juan; 30 in San Pedro) were analyzed. In San Juan, most respondents were female (15 female; 12 male; 3 unspecified) and averaged 30 years old, with the youngest respondent being 19 years old and the oldest 59 years old. The gender distribution among respondents in San Pedro was more even (14 male; 13 female; 3 unspecified) and represented individuals between 18 and 63 years old (mean = 33 years old). Every respondent in San Juan spoke Tz'utujil, the indigenous Mayan dialect, and the vast majority (89%) also spoke Spanish; 11% also spoke English. In San Pedro, most spoke Tz'utujil (80%) and Spanish (83%); 37% spoke English. On

average, respondents in both towns reported similar monthly incomes, Q1378 *Quetzales* in San Juan and Q1373 *Quetzales* in San Pedro (approximately \$178 and \$177 USD, respectively), estimates consistent with those gathered by a the *Universidad de San Carlos*, a Guatemalan university, in 2002 (Facultad de Ciencias Económicas, 2008a; 2008b). These incomes are well below the national minimum monthly wage for agricultural and non-agricultural workers (2,421.75Q) and textile workers (2,246.25; Wage Indicator.com, 2013).

Data showed that the population of San Juan is more educated overall than San Pedro (60.72% of individuals having attended at least secondary school vs. 51.85%). Respondents in San Juan reported a range of formal educational attainment (Table 3.1) with 14.3% receiving education through elementary school, 25.0% through middle school, 46.4% achieving the level of *diversificado* (advanced secondary school; grades 10-11) and 14.3% attending some university. Similarly, in San Pedro 18.5% of respondents reported having received education through elementary school, 25.9% through middle school 33.3% achieving the level of *diversificado* and 18.5% attending some university. One respondent in San Pedro indicated that they had received no formal education. Primary school dropout in Guatemala is among the highest in Latin America and attendance rates for women are comparatively low (Marshall, 2011). Yet, these historic trends are not reflected in the data collected in San Juan and San Pedro. Although in San Juan, a larger proportion of men (69.2%) reported having attended at least secondary school as compared to women (50.0%), level of education was higher among women in San Pedro (66.7%) as compared to men (36.3%).

Table 3.1. Education levels of responding men and women in San Juan and San Pedro			
	Overall	Men	Women
San Juan			
No education	0.0%	0.00%	0.00%
<i>Nivel primaria</i> (elementary school, grades 1-6)	14.3%	15.4%	16.7%
<i>Básico</i> (middle school; grades 7-9)	25.0%	15.4%	33.3%
<i>Diversificado</i> (secondary school; grades 10-11)	46.4%	53.9%	33.3%
<i>Universitario</i> (college/university)	14.3%	15.3%	16.7%
San Pedro			
No education	3.8%	9.1%	0.00%
<i>Nivel primaria</i> (elementary school, grades 1-6)	18.5%	36.4%	8.3%
<i>Básico</i> (middle school; grades 7-9)	25.9%	18.2%	25.0%
<i>Diversificado</i> (secondary school; grades 10-11)	33.3%	18.2%	50.0%
<i>Universitario</i> (college/university)	18.5%	18.1%	16.7%

Appropriate jobs for women.

In both communities, weaving was listed as the top appropriate job for Tz’utujil women among San Juan (66.7%) and San Pedro (60.0%) participants (Table 3.2, Figure 3.2). Following were artisan (40.0% San Juan; 26.7% San Pedro), housewife (20.0% San Juan; 30.0% San Pedro), cook (10.0% San Juan; 36.7% San Pedro), school teacher (23.3% San Juan; 10.0% San Pedro), tour guide (13.3% San Juan; 13.3% San Pedro), office clerk (13.3% San Juan; 13.3% San Pedro) and cultural guide (10.0% San Juan; 13.3%, San Pedro).

Table 3.2. Frequency and salience of top women's jobs (>10%)

<i>Jobs for women in San Juan</i>	Frequency (%)	Average Rank	Salience
weaver	66.7	2.1	0.525
artisan	40.0	1.8	0.324
school teacher	23.3	4.00	0.099
housewife	20.0	2.00	0.157
organize more	13.3	3.3	0.076
tour guide	13.3	3.3	0.077
office clerk	13.3	2.5	0.081
cultural guide	10.0	3.3	0.055
cook	10.0	5.0	0.035
<i>Jobs for women in San Pedro</i>	Frequency (%)	Average Rank	Salience
weaver	60.0	1.9	0.474
cook	36.7	2.7	0.244
housewife	30.0	1.9	0.237
artisan	26.7	2.1	0.207
entrepreneur	16.7	2.8	0.102
tour guide	16.7	3.8	0.062
office clerk	13.3	4.3	0.042
professional	13.3	3.3	0.073
cultural guide	13.3	4.8	0.044
seamstress	13.3	2.8	0.086
sales	13.3	1.8	0.110
projects	10.0	3.7	0.038
language teacher	10.0	1.3	0.094
school teacher	10.0	4.0	0.031

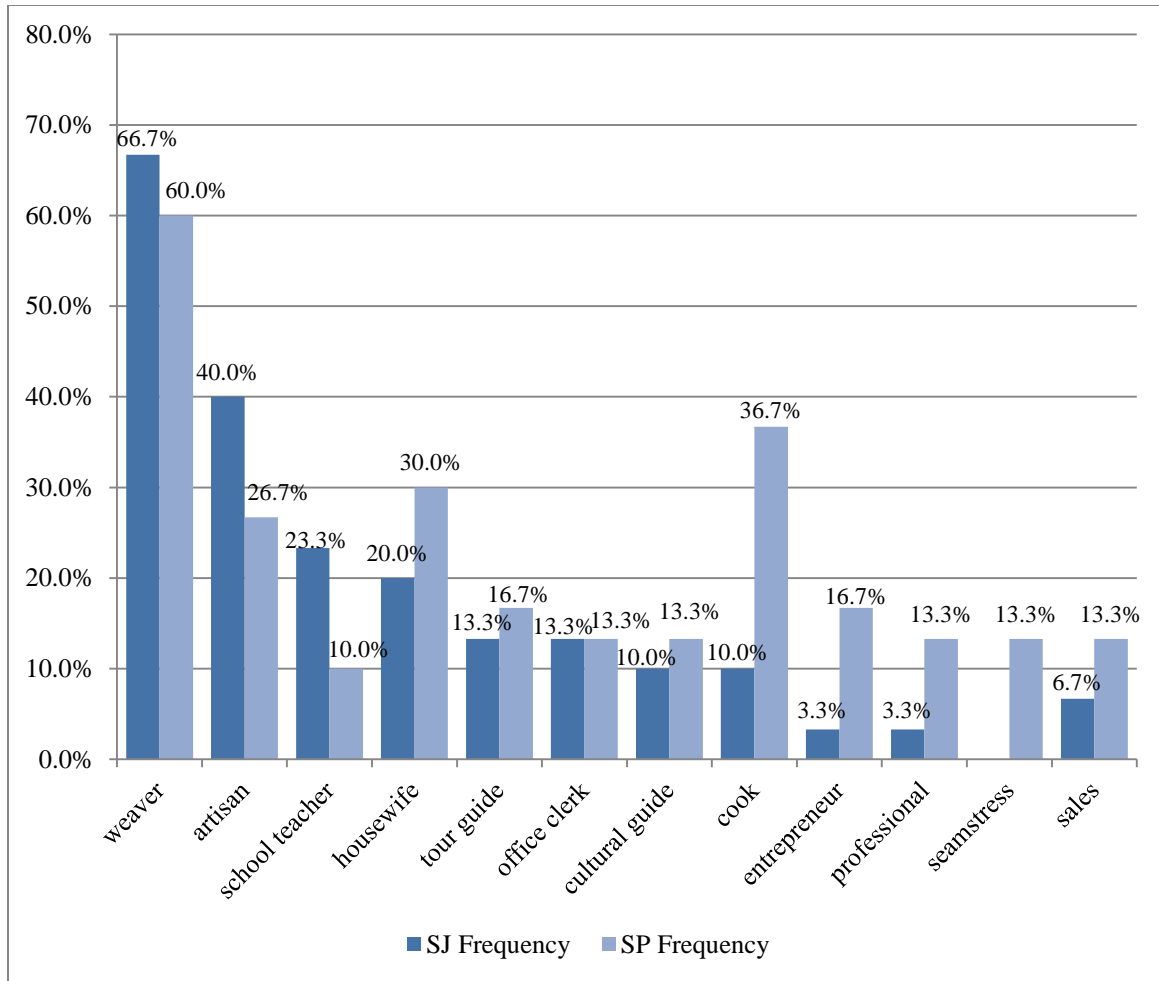


Figure 3.2 Top listed jobs for women

Appropriate jobs for men.

Farmer was the top job listed for men in San Juan (70.0%) and San Pedro (66.7%; Table 3.3, Figure 3.3). The next most commonly listed jobs were construction worker (23.3% San Juan; 23.3% San Pedro), tour guide (10.0% San Juan; 43.4% San Pedro), fisherman (20.0%, San Juan; 20.0%, San Pedro), school teacher (20.0%, San Juan; 13.3%, San Pedro), and artist (10.0%, San Juan; 10.0%, San Pedro). Respondents in San Pedro listed a number of jobs that were listed less often or were not listed in San Juan. These included office clerk (6.7%, San Juan; 16.7%, San Pedro), artisan (6.7%, San

Juan; 10.0%, San Pedro), carpenter (6.7%, San Juan; 10.0%, San Pedro), entrepreneur (3.3%, San Juan; 13.3%, San Pedro), merchant (3.3%, San Juan; 10.0%, San Pedro), *lancha* driver (10.0%, San Pedro only), driver (16.7% San Pedro only), and day laborer (10.0%, San Pedro only).

Table 3.3. Frequency and salience of top men's jobs (>10%)			
	Frequency (%)	Average Rank	Salience
<i>Jobs for men in San Juan</i>			
Farmer	70.0	2.2	0.477
construction worker	23.3	2.9	0.145
school teacher	20.0	4.5	0.085
Fisherman	20.0	2.7	0.122
Artist	10.0	2.0	0.087
tour guide	10.0	2.3	0.061
	Frequency (%)	Average Rank	Salience
<i>Jobs for men in San Pedro</i>			
farmer	66.7	2.1	0.519
tour guide	43.3	2.8	0.261
construction worker	23.3	2.9	0.151
fisherman	20.0	3.2	0.098
Driver	16.7	2.8	0.100
office clerk	16.7	3.6	0.082
school teacher	13.3	3.3	0.070
entrepreneur	13.3	2.3	0.080
lancha driver	10.0	2.7	0.067
day laborer	10.0	2.3	0.078
merchant	10.0	3.3	0.056
artisan	10.0	2.3	0.072
carpenter	10.0	4.0	0.048
artist	10.0	4.3	0.028

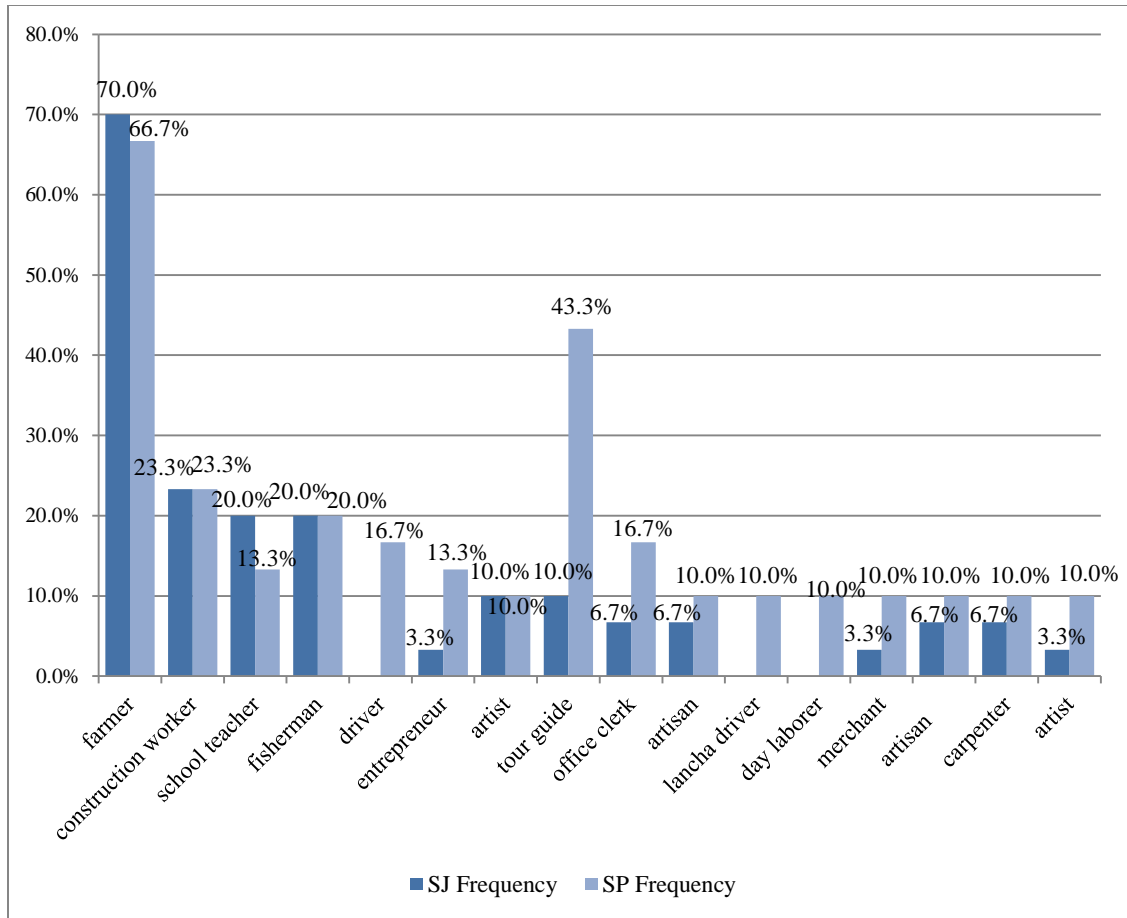


Figure 3.3. Top listed jobs for men

Cultural Consensus.

The free listing job data were collapsed into job domains, as suggested by Cultural Consensus Analysis (Borgatti, 1996). Women’s jobs were categorized into eight domains including craftspeople (e.g., artists, artisans, seamstresses), public and service sector professionals (e.g., office clerks, working for the government, secretaries, nurses, teachers), merchant and retail workers (e.g., entrepreneurs, business administrators, street sales), tourism and hospitality services (e.g., tour guides, culture guides, hotel and restaurant workers), agriculture (e.g., harvesting coffee, chopping

firewood), domestic work (e.g., working in the home as a housewife or hired help), traditional medicine (e.g., natural plant medicine, healer), and miscellaneous (e.g., working on projects or organizing more).

Men's jobs were categorized into 10 domains including craftspeople (e.g., artists, artisans), public and service sector professionals (e.g., office clerks, working for the government, accountants, lawyers, teachers), merchant and retail workers (e.g., entrepreneurs, business managers, street sales), tourism and hospitality services (e.g., tour guides, culture guides, hotel and restaurant workers), agriculture (e.g., farmers, harvesting coffee, chopping firewood, fisherman), domestic work (e.g., helping women at home), construction (e.g. carpenters and stone masons), day laborers, transportation (e.g., taxi drivers, *lancha* drivers) and miscellaneous (e.g. organizing, working in a cooperative).

Competency scores suggest there is a strong degree of shared cultural understanding or cultural truth (Weller, 2007) regarding appropriate jobs for Tz'utujil Maya men and women in the communities of San Juan La Laguna and San Pedro La Laguna (Table 3.4). A very strong cultural pattern is indicated by average competency scores above 0.66. The highest average within-group competency scores among female respondents in San Juan regarding men's jobs (0.68). Other groups with high competency scores included both men (0.63) and women (0.63) in San Juan regarding women's jobs. Men indicated competence regarding men's jobs in San Juan as well (0.53). While there was a high level of competence among men (0.59) and women (0.51) regarding appropriate jobs for women in San Pedro, neither group reached the 0.50 threshold for competence regarding men's jobs.

Despite the high level of competence demonstrated by members of many groups, consensus was only determined to be reached regarding men's jobs in San Juan La Laguna (Table 3.4). Eigenratios of community members of San Juan overall (4.3), as well as the sub-groups of men (3.6)

and women (4.8) indicated consensus on appropriate jobs for Tz'utujil men. Respondents did not indicate consensus regarding women's jobs in San Juan (2.36), women's jobs in San Pedro (1.58) or men's jobs in San Pedro (1.66). There was also an overall lack of consensus by women (2.19) and men (1.43) regarding women's jobs across the communities as well as by women (2.98) and men (2.96) regarding men's jobs across the communities.

<i>Measure</i>	N	Eigenratio	Mean Competence (SD)
<i>SJ women's jobs (male & female respondents)</i>	26	2.36	.64 (.29)
<i>SJ women's jobs (male respondents)</i>	12	2.2	.63 (.29)
<i>SJ women's jobs (female respondents)</i>	13	2.2	.63 (.30)
<i>SJ men's jobs (male & female respondents)</i>	27	4.3*	.61 (.46)
<i>SJ men's jobs (male respondents)</i>	12	3.6*	.53 (.53)
<i>SJ men's jobs (female respondents)</i>	14	4.8*	.68 (.42)
<i>SP women's jobs (male & female respondents)</i>	26	1.58	.55 (.26)
<i>SP women's jobs (male respondents)</i>	13	1.66	.59 (.23)
<i>SP women's jobs (female respondents)</i>	12	1.77	.51 (.30)
<i>SP men's jobs (male & female respondents)</i>	27	1.66	.38 (.52)
<i>SP men's jobs (male respondents)</i>	12	2.16	.36 (.42)
<i>SP men's jobs (female respondents)</i>	12	1.80	.49 (.38)
<i>All women's jobs (SP & SJ female respondents)</i>	25	2.19	.56 (.33)
<i>All women's jobs (SP & SJ male respondents)</i>	25	1.43	.53 (.33)
<i>All men's jobs (SP & SJ female respondents)</i>	26	2.98	.55 (.43)
<i>All men's jobs (SP & SJ male respondents)</i>	24	2.96	.50 (.40)
* Eigenratio >3.0 indicates consensus			

Discussion

Research has indicated that tourism often creates spaces of negotiation that results in cultural change (Cohen, 2001). Therefore, it is not surprising that the presence of tourism would result in a lack of consensus. In ethnic tourism destinations such as San Juan and San Pedro, tourism has created new employment opportunities, which have subsequently destabilized cultural norms regarding appropriate jobs for men and women. Changes in gender norms are consistent with the type and duration of tourism in the communities. Early adopters first engage in the tourism industry, and then their success leads others to follow their example. This creates confusion and opens room for cultural change. Often, local people begin to adopt an essentialized narrative of ethnic culture constructed for visitors since tourists struggle to accept the nuances of the host culture (Cohen, 2001; MacCannell, 1976; Swain, 1995). Since cultures are by nature dynamic (Rochon, 1998), it is conceivable that there would eventually be a consolidation of norms again, in a way that bridges local desires with tourists' and tourism's preferences.

No consensus regarding appropriate jobs for men and women was found in San Pedro, where residents have been involved in tourism for several decades. In fact, "tour guide" was listed as an appropriate job for men by 43.4% of respondents in San Pedro, but only 10.0% in San Juan. Despite the presence of tourism in San Juan, consensus still exists regarding appropriate jobs for men. There are several possible explanations for why consensus exists for men's jobs, but not for women. First, tourism in San Juan has actively involved women. Many of the tourism offerings center around women's weaving cooperatives which have taken them outside of the home and expanded their traditional roles. Second, men's participation in tourism is still somewhat supplementary to traditional agricultural work. This is evident from the findings, with respondents listing a number of agricultural activities as appropriate jobs for men.

While women's involvement in tourism is in many ways an extension of their domestic duties (e.g., weaving, handicrafts, culture guides, hosting homestays), it has also opened up a variety of jobs that are outside this realm (e.g., entrepreneurs, tour guides, organizing). However, not all women are eager to enter the paid job market, but rather do so out of necessity. Employment is limited in San Juan and San Pedro and two income households have become essential to make a living and support a family. As Bonder et al. (2001) have suggested Maya women's work (as defined by tasks of obligation) is often intertwined with domestic work. It is sometimes difficult to distinguish work for pay from household duties. However, tourism has provided women with the opportunity to earn income from tasks that previously went unpaid (e.g., weaving). Furthermore, as suggested by Iakovidou and Turner (1995), participation in cooperatives has provided women with additional skills and leadership opportunities they would not have acquired by continuing to weave independently in the home. This, in many ways, allows women to be recognized for work that previously went unrecognized.

Residents of San Juan also listed "*organizarse más* (organize more)" as an appropriate job for both men and women, reflecting the importance of collective work in that community. In San Juan, it is important to note that many of the jobs that were considered appropriate for Tz'utujil women were closely aligned with traditional roles (e.g., weaving), whereas a number of jobs listed in San Pedro were part of the tourism and hospitality industry (e.g., cook, tour guide). Interestingly, housewife (*ama de casa*) was listed more often in San Pedro (30%) than San Juan (20%), which may possibly be explained by the different type of work available to women through tourism in the two towns. Since San Juan offers more tourism-related work that fits within traditional roles, they have more opportunities to work outside the home. Therefore, while the increasing presence of women in tourism has created jobs that do not on the surface challenge existing cultural norms, they have provided women with culturally appropriate employment that allows them to increase their income

and expand their skill set. It also allows them to move out of the domestic sphere and interact with tourists, increasing both their Spanish and English language skills. Women in San Pedro also reported a higher level of education than in San Juan, with 66.7% of respondents attending at least secondary school (as compared to 50.0% in San Juan). Women in San Pedro also reported higher levels of education than men (36.3% had received at least a high school education). While this may be due to a relatively small sample size (n=55), it does suggest that patterns of education according to gender are shifting.

Although trends in Lake Atitlán may not follow the trajectory of women's emancipation favored by Western feminists (i.e., white, middle-class; Amos & Parmar, 2005, Arizpe, 1982; Margolis, 1993), it does challenge patriarchal forms of domination that are pervasive throughout Latin America by moving women outside of the home and into the workplace (Mohanty et al., 1991; Chant, 1992). Maya women have described themselves as being constantly at work (Bonder et al., 2001), reminiscent of the fourth shift as suggested by Veijola (2009a). Bonder et al. also observed that paid work for women (both inside and outside the home) did not result in shared domestic duties with men. Despite the possible perception of paid work through tourism joining seamlessly with domestic obligations, care should be taken in tourism development schemes so that women are not expected to take on increasing work in both arenas, potentially suffering from the burden.

In terms of the Maya culture, residents often expressed an understanding of its value for tourism. Informants were aware that visitors came to observe Maya culture and expressed pride in this. As one young artist points out,

En San Pedro ya no hacen [celebrar una fiesta tradicional]... Tal vez las personas ya tienen vergüenza. O tal vez no ya quieren. Sí, es porque están perdiendo su cultura.

[¿Y por qué tienen vergüenza?]

La verdad es... pues, no sé. A veces ya no quieren hacer. Tal vez los mayores ya tienen trabajo o tal vez no quieren. Bueno, tal vez porque no interesa o tal vez le interesan más otras cosas que la cultura lo que hacen. Porque si practicas la cultura, los turistas les gustan eso—llama atención al turismo. Y tal vez por eso que a San Juan está viniendo mucho turismo, porque todavía mantienen una tradición.

In San Pedro they do not [celebrate a local festival] ... Maybe people already are ashamed. Or maybe they no longer want to do it. Yes, it is because they are losing their culture.

[And why are they ashamed?]

The truth is ... well, I don't know. They no longer want to do. Perhaps the older ones already have work or perhaps they do not want to. Well, maybe because it doesn't interest them or perhaps they are more interested in other things that they do than culture. Because if you practice culture, tourists like that—it calls attention to tourism. And maybe that is why a lot of tourism is coming to San Juan, because they still maintain a tradition.

Although this young man believes that San Pedro is losing its culture, residents of San Pedro repeatedly spoke about the rich culture in that town, with some suggesting that San Pedro actually has more culture than San Juan. This is reflective of the competition that goes on between the towns in terms of tourism. Yet, residents in both communities recognize the important role of the Maya culture in drawing tourists. Despite the importance of retaining cultural characteristics for tourism, however, the presence of tourism has created new opportunities for employment in the two communities. This has resulted in a shift in cultural norms in relation to appropriate work for men and women.

Therefore, while ethnic tourism is important in strengthening certain characteristics of culture, the work opportunities it provides can erode cultural gender norms.

Conclusion

This study has explored the role of tourism in influencing culture and gender norms in relation to men and women's work in traditional Maya communities in Guatemala. It contributes to the theoretical body of knowledge by suggesting that tourism can create opportunities for women's employment, but that it may function within existing patriarchal structures rather than challenging the system. Women are entering the workforce out of necessity, but gender norms restrict ideas regarding appropriate jobs for women. However, results indicate that cultural norms are changing.

Results support previous research by Bonder et al. (2001) and Morelli et al. (2003), but suggest that the length of contact with tourism may influence consensus regarding appropriate jobs for men and women. Despite shifts in women's work among the Maya in Guatemala generally, it appears that these changes are more pronounced in spaces where tourism is prevalent. This also appears to be the case with men's work. Consistent with Bonder et al. (2001) and Morelli et al.'s (2003) findings, observations indicated that many children are attending school, which has particularly influenced the roles of young girls. Fewer are learning to weave and while many do speak both Tz'utujil and Spanish, Spanish is becoming the common language of discourse for these children. Therefore, follow up studies should be done in several years, as these children become young women, to explore how their gender roles and employment has shifted from that of their mothers.

From a third world feminist perspective, it is clear that cultural norms regarding gendered work are shifting among the Maya of Guatemala. However, these changes have yet to fully challenge the overarching patriarchal structure and women are assuming additional burdens, with little relief

from male partners. With greater shifts occurring in communities with prolonged exposure to tourism, it is important for tourism development scholars and practitioners to consider these implications when making recommendations for tourism as a tool for women's emancipation. In sum, tourism offers a space where traditional patriarchal roles can be challenged, but also create a contested space where women may struggle with both changing expectations of themselves and increased labor burdens.

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CHAPTER 4: Maya women's self-determination in communitarian tourism micro-enterprises

Introduction

The topic of microcredit has become popular in the development discourse over the past decade. It sprang onto the world stage in 2005, with the United Nations declaring it the International Year of Microcredit (Ahmed, 2009). In 2006, Muhammad Yunus and the Grameen Bank also won the Nobel Peace Prize for pioneering work on microcredit. The provision of credit and financial services to the poor is seen as a powerful tool for both poverty alleviation and economic development. The assumption holds that access to small amounts of credit through microfinance will allow them to earn their way out of poverty, and as it expands will in turn lead to widespread economic development. Advocates also extol gains in social capital and empowerment because microcredit schemes are purportedly designed to engage even the most alienated segments of society (e.g., women) in productive economic activity. When considering both the economic and social gains claimed by microfinance, the potential rewards appear to be quite great.

In the tourism field, micro-entrepreneurship has not been well defined or examined (Morais et al., 2012). Small-scale entrepreneurs have proliferated around the world who sell their goods to tourists, whether as handicrafts, souvenirs, food or by offering tours and services (Usher & Morais, 2009). Yet, this population has been difficult to define and challenging to study. Nonetheless, the United Nations has lauded both tourism and microcredit as effective tools for poverty alleviation (UNWTO, 2006), therefore, the intersection of these trends deserve the attention of researchers. It is important to ensure that these tools are used to their greatest ability as they may impact development plans in countries around the world. This paper looks at the ability of microfinance and tourism to

alleviate poverty, increase social connectedness and contribute to overall well-being of female tourism micro-entrepreneurs.

Review of Literature

What is microfinance?

Defining microfinance and microcredit. Microcredit (or microfinance) has garnered quite a bit of international attention over the past decade, particularly since Muhammad Yunus and the Grameen Bank won the Nobel Peace Prize in 2006, however it is not a new concept. Yunus gave out his first loan to rural women in Bangladesh in 1976, and informal lending operations have existed for centuries (e.g., *susus* in Ghana, *Chit* in India, *Hui* in Taiwan, *Tontines* in Senegal and *Kye* in Korea; Besley, 1995). However governments and international organizations have begun to advocate microcredit as a tool for economic development only more recently. According to Opportunity International (2012), a microfinance organization that targets women, microfinance is the provision of financial services and capacity building to people living in poverty. The Virtual Library on Microcredit reports on the definition established at the 1997 Microcredit Summit as, “programmes [that] extend small loans to very poor people for self-employment projects that generate income, allowing them to care for themselves and their families” (Srinivas, 1997, para. 1). Neither of these definitions is very specific and do not provide a clear representation of what these small loan programs might entail. Regardless of the definition used, perceptions of microcredit are generally positive. Ahmed (2009) suggests that microfinance has the ability to lift all nations’ people out of poverty and restore peace around the world. If microcredit truly has the ability to restore world peace, it is important to define it and study it with rigor.

How it works. Although there are several models within microfinance and microcredit, there are some commonalities shared among them. The Grameen Model relies on lending very small

amounts, primarily to women in village groups, who are communally responsible for the repayment of the loans. Grameen originated in Jobra, Bangladesh in 1976 when Yunus made personal loans of approximately US\$26 to women in a nearby community (Yunus, 2012). Microcredit loans are offered collateral-free and are primarily targeted at rural areas. This is a common model that has been replicated around the world among a number of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs). Typically, the loans come with relatively high interest rates, averaging around 35% (Kneiding & Rosenberg, 2008). Some scholars, however, report much higher interest rates (Cull, Demiirgüç-Kunt & Murdoch, 2009). Cull et al. (2009) suggest that rates are raised so high in an effort to make the microfinance institutions (MFIs) financially sustainable or, in some cases, to turn a profit. Despite these high interest rates, many MFIs frequently report repayment rates over 95% (Grameen Foundation, 2012). The argument is often made that the poor can afford to pay these high interest rates due to the short repayment terms of the loans (thus accruing less total interest), but repayment terms vary widely from one MFI to another.

Microfinance is in many ways considered an innovative direction in international development. It is perceived as an alternative to many of the large, government-driven interventions that had been advocated in the past. Vargas (2000) argued that macro-economic solutions have often been offered as tools for poverty alleviation, but that micro-economic approaches are necessary to reach the “most vulnerable and marginalized” (p. 11). She suggests that microfinance might be one way to achieve this goal. Moodie (2012) argues that the concept of microfinance also appeals to lenders in the West because it is helping people help themselves, rather than providing a handout. Certainly, in theory microfinance would appear to be a win-win situation, but there are a number of challenges associated with it as well.

Who is a micro-entrepreneur? Determining who constitutes a micro-entrepreneur is critical in determining the unit of analysis in micro-entrepreneurship research. The literature suggests that there might be more to distinguish an “entrepreneur” from a “micro-entrepreneur” than simply the size of their business. In thinking about entrepreneurs as a group, Shapero (1975), suggests that definitions of entrepreneurship generally include three components: “(1) initiative taking, (2) the organizing and reorganizing of social and economic mechanisms to turn resources and situations to practical account, (3) the acceptance of risk or failure” (p. 187). Yet, micro-entrepreneurs do not necessarily fit this description. Risk has a different meaning for the poor than for other entrepreneurs and this distinction is essential in understanding the particular characteristics of micro-entrepreneurs.

Micro-entrepreneurs span many sectors and serve many needs. They live in developed and developing countries and in rural and urban areas. Chandy and Narasimhan (2011) point out that among urban households in Peru living on less than \$2 per day, 69% are self-employed and in India, this figure is approximately 40%. They argue that most rural farmers in developing countries would also fall into the category of micro-entrepreneurs. Woller (2002), however, argues that most individuals receiving loans from micro-credit institutions are actually “moderately poor”, that is the top 50th percentile of households below the poverty line.

Micro-entrepreneurship, poverty and well-being

Microcredit and poverty alleviation. At its most basic level, access to credit is thought to help alleviate poverty through consumption smoothing (e.g., the ability to save for future purchases) as well as increased household incomes (Aigbokhan & Asemota, 2011; Besley, 1995). The very poor are vulnerable to shocks in their income and microcredit can provide a mechanism to insulate against resulting changes in consumption patterns after a shock. According to Morduch, “households can smooth consumption by borrowing and saving, depleting and accumulating nonfinancial assets,

adjusting labor supply, and employing formal and informal insurance arrangements (1995, p.104).” Microcredit programs offer the opportunity for this to occur because they remove credit constraints for rural, oftentimes very poor, households. The assumption holds that access to credit will lead to poverty alleviation and many also make the leap that in the aggregate poverty alleviation will ultimately lead to widespread economic development. This implicit reward is what has drawn millions of borrowers to microfinance and brought about mounting international attention.

In theory, microcredit programs can also bring social benefits (Jain & Jain, 2012; Rankin, 2002). These programs are expected to build social capital as well as lead to the empowerment of women. At its best, the microcredit model brings women together to form social networks, allows them to work outside of the home and increase income for their family, as well as provides them with an opportunity to earn new skills in developing a business. However, the empirical results for the social benefits are at best tenuous and the research on microfinance’s ability to alleviate poverty also yields mixed results.

Credit, risk and gender. Access to credit is seen as an important component of poverty alleviation. It is assumed to foster income generation as well as lessen risk by providing a cushion of sorts for the poor when they face unexpected expenses (Aigbokhan & Asemota, 2011; Chowdhury, Ghosh & Wright, 2005; Morduch, 1995). Aigbokhan and Asemota write, “Access to credit also increases the poor households’ risk-bearing and risk-coping abilities and enables consumption smoothing over time” (2011, p. 40). According to Morduch (1995), there are two ways to cope with risk—by smoothing income and by smoothing consumption. In order to smooth income, he suggests that households will most often make conservative production or employment choices and diversify economic activity. Therefore, micro-entrepreneurship could both alleviate and exacerbate the fragile situation of the rural poor. Including micro-entrepreneurship as one component of a diversified

economic strategy could very well help to smooth income. However the very nature of entrepreneurship is oftentimes risky (with definitions of entrepreneurs often involving a component of risk-taking). Consequently, becoming an entrepreneur would be the opposite of a conservative employment decision and could have destructive ramifications. Therefore, it is critical to consider these issues when relying on microcredit as a development tool.

Moodie (2013) in her analysis of Kiva.org, an online micro-lending platform, makes a distinction between risk and peril. She analyzes microfinance from a feminist perspective and suggests that it might actually exacerbate social vulnerability. Moodie equates risk with peril, but proposes that they are genderized sides of the same coin. For Moodie, risk is inherently a male, Western notion, while peril is to be associated with female, non-Western microfinance clients. She defines peril as “those daily threats to life and limb when one just doesn’t have enough and is either subjected to the routine violence of deprivation or must perform the difficult work of getting by” (p. 279-280). For her, the risk of investment is converted into the peril faced by women in developing countries. She argues that microfinance is targeted to groups that are thought to be too risky to be creditworthy, often poor women, who are actually low risk since they are easy to control. Her feminist critique lies on the notion of turning a profit out of women’s peril. She writes that “The separation of these two worlds—the world of risk and the world of peril—is a necessary illusion for risk to remain profitable” (p.281). Her central argument is that there is commercial value in risk when it is converted into peril and passed along from the lender to the borrower through the global process of microfinance. It is important to recognize the power differential between the lenders and borrowers when advocating microcredit as a tool for poverty alleviation.

Non-economic benefits: Social capital, human agency and empowerment. Over the past two decades, poverty has begun to be viewed more holistically and many scholars recognize that

access to financial capital alone does not necessarily alleviate poverty nor contribute to overall wellbeing. One noticeable indicator of this shift was the introduction by United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) of the Human Development Index (HDI) in 1990 (UNDP, 2012). The use of the HDI resulted in a change in the indicators used to study poverty from purely economic data to incorporate human welfare measurements including dimensions of health, education and living standards.

Due to a broader understanding of poverty and the factors that contribute to it, people are often quick to point out that microcredit programs can also increase non-economic benefits (e.g., increasing social capital and leading to the empowerment of women). Microcredit is generally conducted on the premise that forming work groups of women borrowers can build social capital as well as provide a mechanism to increase repayment (Maclean, 2010; Rankin, 2002). Group lending with shared liability is an underlying premise of the Grameen Model (Jain & Jain, 2012). The formation of groups with unrelated female members is thought to build social capital among the women borrowers. Rankin writes, “At the micro level, [this] accounts for both intra-community ties (‘bonding’ social capital, or ‘integration’) and extra-community networks (‘bridging’ social capital, or ‘linkage’)” and that, “Social opportunity requires high levels of both integration and linkage” (2002, p.1). Her argument would suggest that in order to turn social capital into social opportunity, women must be able to forge both bonding and bridging ties. Alternatively, some scholars suggest that the group lending format could even have negative results. Maclean (2010) suggests that the trust of relationships within the lending groups functions as collateral for the bank, subsequently reducing administration costs. Women lose their reputation if they default and the shame can be difficult for borrowers to bear (Fishman, 2012; Maclean, 2010). Fishman (2012) even suggests that suicides in India have increased over the past several years among borrowers who have succumbed to the social pressure to repay. Shetty (2010) has also suggested that microcredit programs have moved away

from their initial goals of empowerment and now more closely resemble traditional financial institutions.

Theories of development have long focused on concepts of human agency (Sen, 1999), capability (Frediani, 2010; Sen, 1977) and self-determination (Deci and Ryan, 2000). Nobel Prize winning economist, Amartya Sen, suggests that achieving human agency is more important than economic development in understanding well-being. He argues that we must think of people as agents rather than patients as well as focus on capability deprivation rather than poverty (1999). Possessing human agency, according to Sen (1999) refers to, “someone who acts and brings about change, and whose achievements can be judged in terms of her own values and objectives, whether or not we assess them in terms of some external criteria as well (p.19).” Self-determination theory (SDT) is premised on the notion that in addition to basic physical needs, humans must also fulfill essential psychological needs in order to thrive (Deci & Ryan, 2000). Fundamental to self-determination theory are concepts of autonomy, competence and relatedness. Autonomy is the need to experience freedom, competence is the need to be perceived as capable and knowledgeable, and relatedness is the need to feel connected with others. Self-determination also explores the impact of the meeting of these needs on physical and psychological well-being. Research on agency and self-determination among Maya women who participate in tourism, however, has shown mixed results (Usher & Morais, 2010). Usher and Morais (2010) found that the impact of education and income are interrelated in determining self-determination and agency, but that the results might be hierarchical. That is, when education levels are very low additional income may not be sufficient to create sustained improvements in agency and self-determination.

Many scholars have also made the connection between access to credit and female empowerment. While access to financial capital through microloans by women has the potential to

lead to greater empowerment, researchers have found that this is not necessarily the case. In some instances, women are pressured by their husbands to take out loans and this money is not always invested into enterprises. Ngo and Wahhaj (2012) argue that under certain conditions female empowerment can actually be diminished through access to microcredit, particularly when she is solely in charge of decision-making. They suggest that the husband in this scenario is likely to veto the loan or appropriate it for his own use to maintain a higher bargaining position. However, they explain that if the loan funds are put toward a joint venture it can actually shift the balance of power toward the party initially in a weaker bargaining position (assumed to be the female), leading to greater empowerment. They also claim that access to skill-building opportunities might increase women's bargaining position within the household. Ngo and Wahhaj concluded that women are in a better position of empowerment when household decisions are *shared*, rather than if women take on the decision-making role by themselves.

In a similar study of the effect of access to microcredit on self-determination in Bangladesh, Cons and Paprocki (2010) found that the ready availability of microloans was actually having a negative impact on self-determination. Not only were the women who were targeted by these agencies becoming burdened by carrying debt from three or four different lending agencies, but they also were feeling pressure from their husbands to secure additional financing, even if they were not confident they could pay it back. The criticism Cons and Paprocki leverages is that even through something as seemingly beneficial as access to capital, lenders are still perpetuating neoliberal economic policies rather than asking the individuals (or communities) how they prefer to manage their finances, limiting their true autonomy. Individual freedoms are sacrificed for the common good; however this issue is rarely addressed in the development literature.

Although there is evidence that microcredit can stimulate micro-entrepreneurship and allow individuals to earn their way out of poverty, research suggests that this desired change will greatly depend on the social structures that harness the force of microcredit and micro-entrepreneurship. Microcredit, specifically based on the Grameen model, is thought to generate social dynamics between borrowers that are essential during their acquisition of the microloans and endure through their progress out of poverty (Woodworth, 2008). It is assumed that the poor are among the most disenfranchised members of society and that group borrowing can generate linkages that aid in improved well-being. Yet, the frequency and duration of social contact can affect microcredit outcomes (Feigenberg, Field & Pande, 2013) and the term is often used loosely to describe any type of social connection (Ito, 2003). Further, little research exists about the role of existing social structures in comparison to the relatively artificial social networks created by group lending in enhancing economic and non-economic benefits of micro-credit.

Cooperative models of entrepreneurship.

Microfinance has risen in popularity because it is said to foster micro-entrepreneurial involvement among under-resourced and generally economically inactive (e.g., unemployed or underemployed) individuals. Many microfinance schemes include collaborative aspects in an effort to foster social capital so individuals are more likely to succeed as well as pay back the loans. Savings groups, group micro-lending (such as the ones now frequently found on Kiva.org) and micro-credit schemes often have embedded collaborative policies. Further, development efforts tend to include various kinds of mechanisms that encourage inter-member cooperation, perhaps as a reflection of the deeply accepted idea that cooperation enhances social capital which in turn enables self-development (Maclean, 2010; Rankin, 2002).

Cooperatives have become common worldwide and are similar in many ways to micro-entrepreneurship ventures. Although collaboration between workers is timeless, today's understanding of worker cooperative structures are a way for micro-entrepreneurs to work together and have more power in the marketplace (Bergman, 1997). Cooperatives originated in the 19th century England when a group of weavers and tradespeople formed a cooperative society (Wilhoit, 2005). Wilhoit (2005) suggests that cooperatives emerged in response to the demand for mass produced products that were less expensive and of poorer quality as well as unfair labor practices during the industrial revolution. Small producers were unable to compete and formed cooperatives in an effort to achieve economic security. Some scholars suggest that cooperatives only develop in cases of market failure (Bajo & Roelants 2011), but others have suggested that they are most effective in situations where the market is functioning properly (Mikami, 2011). There has been substantial research on agricultural cooperatives (Wadsworth, 2011), but less on cooperatives in developing countries, particularly those that have primarily indigenous women as members. Additionally, community capacity building is viewed as an important tourism development strategy (Aref & Redzuan, 2009), but few researchers in tourism have looked specifically at the role of cooperatives in tourism development. Morais and Usher note that "Women are typically the first to suffer from poverty and are paradoxically the pillars for many successful poverty alleviation efforts (2009; p.7). Furthermore, Torri and Martinez (2014) suggest that women deserve special attention due to numerous social, cultural, economic and political burdens that undermine their wellbeing. Therefore, the purpose of this study was to explore the role of weaving cooperatives in improving the well-being of indigenous Maya women.

Methodology

Fieldwork for this study was carried out in the region of Lake Atitlán, Guatemala from May through July 2013. The women interviewed for this study were part of a larger project that interviewed both men and women working in tourism in the neighboring towns of San Juan La Laguna and San Pedro La Laguna. The five case studies selected for this study represent women's weaving cooperatives of different formats and funding structures in San Juan La Laguna. I chose to focus on women only in San Juan due to the larger representation of cooperatives in San Juan than San Pedro (approximately 40 versus 13) and greater presence of women within cooperatives. The women interviewed represent weaving cooperatives ranging from being located in formal, permanent structures to more informal, wooden lean-tos. They range in age from 23 years old to 84 years old. Three are unmarried with no children, one is unmarried with children, and two are widows with children. All women identify as part of the Tz'utujil Maya ethnic group.

The cooperatives operated by the women reflect various management styles and levels of involvement of their female members. All of the cooperatives are officially licensed, but have been so for varying lengths of time (ranging from less than one year to ten years or more). Several of the cooperatives were organized in some capacity for several years prior to becoming licensed. Some women have participated in more than one cooperative throughout their lifetime, but others have just recently become involved in cooperative weaving organizations.

In-depth interviews were semi-structured and consisted of 15 core questions, but left room for probing and prompting when necessary (Guest, Namey & Mitchell, 2013). In addition to basic demographic data (age, income, community of residents, languages spoken, etc.), the open-ended questions included topics related to how the women had organized in a cooperative, perceptions of tourism in their community, and overall wellbeing in their community. The open-ended questions

enabled the respondents to talk freely, however the depth of the information retrieved varied. Interviews averaged a half-hour in length. All of the interviews were recorded using an audio recorder.

In addition to ethnographic fieldwork and in-depth interviews, content analysis was performed on brochures from the associations following an inductive, content-driven approach as suggested by Guest et al. (2013). Careful field notes were taken and offered observations of the tourism context in the San Juan. Interviews were transcribed verbatim and uploaded into QDA Miner (Provalis Research, 2011). Brochures were scanned and uploaded to QDA Miner for analysis. Interviews, brochures and field notes were initially open coded, followed by axial and theoretical coding as suggested by Charmaz (2006) and Henderson (2006). Open coding refers to the process of grouping similar words, ideas or concepts into common headings. Axial coding is the process of relating categories to subcategories to uncover relationships (Henderson, 2006). Theoretical coding specifies possible relationships between categories and integrates axial codes into a theory (Charmaz 2006). Coding was performed inductively, as there were not pre-set categories, but rather the themes emerged from the data (Henderson, 2006).

In the following section, I will explore five in-depth selected case studies of women's micro-entrepreneurship through weaving cooperatives in San Juan La Laguna. The stories of these women have been selected on the basis that they illustrate a range of ages and experiences weaving and participating in tourism in San Juan. They also represent different models of cooperative micro-entrepreneurship, with varying degrees of participation by female members. All women have been provided pseudonyms to protect their identity.

Results

Women's micro-entrepreneurship in San Juan La Laguna: Case studies.

Coding of the in-depth interviews and the brochures revealed several themes that cut across the lives of women working in weaving cooperatives in San Juan as well as the messages they communicate about tourism in their community (Table 4.1). Coding of the brochures and interviews revealed eight axial codes: motivations for cooperative membership, market conditions, market constraints, capabilities, social support, community benefits, and social/cultural tensions. Data will be used to illustrate the themes present in the in-depth interviews. The broad themes can be theorized as having to do with self-determination (i.e., an individual's intrinsic motivation to act). Ryan and Deci (2000) argue that there are three components to self-determination, which directly impact well-being: autonomy, competence and relatedness. Autonomy refers to the ability of a person to act in their authentic interests and desires. Competence can also be thought of as self-efficacy (i.e., the belief in one's own ability to accomplish a goal; Bandura, 1977). Relatedness refers to our attachment to others (Ryan & Deci, 2000). Case studies will be presented characterizing each woman and the cooperative she represents followed by a discussion of the themes and how they work together.

Table 4.1. Qualitative coding of interviews and brochures			
Theoretical coding	Axial codes	Open codes	
High	Autonomy	motivations for cooperative membership	earn more money from weavings fill a market gap improve livelihoods increased income self-help employment for women diversification be a market leader acquire prestige penetrate national and international markets improved opportunities for children supplement husband's income
		market conditions	competition seasonality low tourist arrivals issues with unemployment gatekeepers pre-tourism economic structure <i>turistas de paseo</i> limited lodging limited publicity
		market constraints	debt increased overhead poverty cost of living health challenges
High	Competence	capabilities	capacity building feelings of self-worth skills gained through tourism skills hoped to gain in the future demonstrating scientific knowledge
			high quality handmade variety
Low			variation in quality copying designs lack of language skills

Table 4.1. (continued)

High	Relatedness	social support	parental support sibling support support of children support of women in cooperative strengthen cultural patrimony reconstruct ethnicity
		community benefits	support education support community projects shared community benefits expand organizations community pride
Low		social/cultural tensions	conflict resolution discrimination changing gender norms age tensions constrained by children domestic issues drugs

Josefa, ASOAC. The Asociación de Autoayuda Chinimayá (ASOAC) was established in 1992 by a core group of 10 women. It obtained legal licensing and was recognized by the municipality of San Juan La Laguna in 2000. The cooperative now has 27 female members. On marketing materials (e.g. brochure, website), the group emphasized that the motivation for establishing the cooperative was to both conserve cultural heritage and increase income for the women to support their children. The name of the group also indicates that self-help (*autoayuda*) is a central goal of the organization. Josefa, one of two women who work at the ASOAC store explains that the majority of the cooperative members are widowed mothers who primarily joined to improve the economic situation of their families. ASOAC was originally funded by several sources (Table 4.2), including a German political organization and a local non-governmental organization (NGO). They were able to use the money to get established by purchasing raw materials for the women to use in weaving and renting a store front. They were not, however, satisfied with the terms of participation

with the local NGO, which had them selling weavings from other women affiliated with the NGO, but not members of the cooperative. The women of ASOAC didn't feel like their weavings were being prioritized, so they paid off their debt to the NGO in 2011 and branched out on their own without the support of the organization. The cooperative covers administrative costs (e.g., rent, electricity, salary for women who staff the store) by retaining a percentage of sales earned from the weavings. Although the women were initially struggling to maintain *autonomy* within the NGO, they were able to relieve themselves of the financial and supervisory burden by leaving the organization.

Members of ASOAC conduct weaving primarily at home, where they can balance this task with childcare and domestic activities. Once a weaving is completed, they bring it for sale in the store. The store is staffed by two young women, one that works from Monday through Friday, and Josefa, who staffs the store on Saturday and Sunday. Josefa is 24 years old, unmarried and does not have any children. She lives with her mother because she cannot afford a home of her own on the 300 quetzales (approximately US\$39) she earns per month. She was previously employed on an environmental project, but the work was contractual and the contract expired. She has a high school education, but laments the lack of job opportunities in San Juan. She explains how she is constrained by her life and family situation. She says of her inability to find her own home,

Pero en una familia, sería los padres y los hijos... reúnen con lo poco que ganan y aportan para poder pagar mensualmente. Pero, en el caso de mi mama—es mama de casa y porque tuvo que cuidarme—es viuda... Ya no puede tejer, no puede levantar cosas pesadas...entonces ella no me podría apoyar en este caso.

But in a family, there would be the parents and the children... they would come together with the little they earn to support each other and make monthly payments. But, in the case of my

mother—she is a stay-at-home mom and because she had to care for me—she is a widow...

She already can't weave, she can't lift heavy things... then she couldn't help me in this case.

Therefore, Josefa is not only constrained by her current economic situation, but she sees the vulnerable economic status and poor health condition of her mother as contributing to her current position. Therefore, her lack of social support or *relatedness* is threatening her ability to secure a stable livelihood.

Table 4.2. Membership structure			
Micro-entrepreneurship organization	Membership		
	Year established *	Number of women involved	Collaborates with local NGOs
ASOAC	2000	27	Previously worked with NGO, but has left
Asociación de mujeres de telar de pie y cintura	2012	26	No
Batz'	2013	13	No
Ch'ejkeem	2013	18	No
Ecologic Maya	2012	20	No
*Year recognized by the municipality; cooperative may have been organized as a group for longer			

Camila, Asociación de mujeres de telar de pie y cintura. The *Asociación de mujeres de telar de pie y cintura* is the most informal of the organizations presented here. It is a group of 26 women,

although it is primarily staffed by Camila, a 64-year-old widow. Camila has participated in women's weaving organizations for the past 40 years and has been involved with several of the more well-known cooperatives in town. Currently, however, she weaves every day in a small open air wooden lean-to with a dirt floor. She displays several weavings by other women, but the selection is rather sparse. She is, however, one of the few women who can easily be seen weaving in her stall throughout the day, which draws onlookers. Despite a visible location on the main street leading up from the dock, Camila argues that it is very difficult for them to attract tourists due to the practices of the tour guides and *tuk tuk* (small 3-wheel taxis) drivers. These individuals essentially work as gatekeepers who craft the tourist experience and choose to highlight certain attractions and ignore others. Camila explains,

A veces solo entran. Van a ver, nada más. Algunas... pero la mayoría van a otra—las otras tiendas. Sí. Tal vez, están pagando a los guías, por eso, sí... ellos están recibiendo el dinero, los guías. Sí, pero nosotros también pagamos si quisieran. Cinco, diez por ciento, pagaríamos...

Sometimes they just come in. For they will look, nothing more. Few... but most go to another—the other stores. Yes, maybe they are paying the guides, so, yeah... they are getting the money, the guides. Yes, but we would also pay if they wanted us to. Five, ten percent we would pay...

Camila's perception is that the tour guides and the taxi drivers only bring tourists to those cooperatives that pay and she suggests later in the interview that they would pay if tourists actually bought something and didn't only come to look. Whether the guides actually receive a percentage, it is true that they generally stop at the same well-known cooperatives in town. Therefore, Camila's lack of *relatedness* with these influential gatekeepers is hindering her ability to earn income.

An additional challenge for the women who participate in cooperatives in San Juan is the debt burden they suffer once they receive a line of credit to establish the organization. Camila explains that,

Hicimos un crédito. El crédito nos dio de Alemania. Nos dio un poco crédito, pero solo por tiempo, nada más y cumplimos todo tres años nos dio y recibir dinero del señor y nos dejó solo entonces ahorita. Por eso, estamos aquí, pero lastima no hay compradores.

We did a credit. Germany gave us credit. They gave us a little credit, but only for a time, nothing more and we complied for three years and we received money from the man and now he is leaving us alone. That is why we are here, but it is a shame there are no buyers.

The line of credit that the *Asociación de mujeres de telar de pie y cintura* has with the Germans remains unpaid. With the precarious situation of the cooperative, this debt burden has limited the group's *autonomy* to pursue other avenues, such as partnerships with local NGOs.

Malena, Batz' *Batz'* is another new cooperative. It has been formed primarily by young married mothers. The goal of this group is to supplement the income earned by their husbands, many of which work as day laborers in agriculture. They feel there are few job opportunities in town and that those that are available do not pay much. The cooperative started with three women, but has grown to include 20. Malena is a 23-year-old single woman with no children who is paid 25 quetzales per day (approximately US\$3) to work in the small store. She lives with her parents. She explains that the husbands of the women in the cooperative only earn between 30 and 40 quetzales (between US\$4 and US\$5) per day and that their sales through the cooperative are essential to support their children.

Malena discusses how the level of competition in the town makes it difficult to sell the products. She explains,

Bueno, es que aquí hay varias asociaciones. Pero, más bien es el mismo trabajo. Es de tinte natural, pero cada institución trabaja diferente... Pero lo que yo pienso... uno no puede cambiar el trabajo aunque quisiera porque está haciendo lo mismo. Es una línea. Sólo que uno puede sacar sus experiencias y sacar diferentes materiales o diferentes tipos de bolsas o bufandas. Uno tiene que ser bien creativa. O si no hay ventas y no sea igual el producto. Yo pienso que si hay diferente productos para comprar aquí y comprar allá....para cada gusto. Y eso es lo que yo pienso.

Well, here there are several associations. But rather it is the same work. It is natural dye, but each institution works differently.... But what I think ... is that one cannot change the work even if they wanted to because they are doing the same thing. It is a line. Only one can take their experiences and take different materials or different types of bags and scarves. One has to be very creative. Or if there are no sales and the product is not equal. I think that if there are different products to buy here and buy there... each to their liking. And that's what I think.

Malena is articulating a sentiment that was expressed by a number of women working in cooperatives. Although many of the women are working in a similar fashion (e.g., natural dyed textiles), there is little coordination among them. Several women talked about the challenges of copying designs and the lack of diversification among the cooperatives. A few suggested that each cooperative should have its own designs that could not be replicated by other groups. Here, she talks about how the lack of *competence*, or what she terms creativity, of the women can constrain their

ability to make sales. Women often expressed wanting training on how to make new designs and their lack of knowledge in this area was seen as a challenge to participating fully in the tourism economy.

Adela, Ch'ejkeem. *Ch'ejkeem* is a cooperative made up of 18 women, many of whom are widows. Although the women have worked together informally for many years, they received formal recognition from the municipality only recently. *Ch'ejkeem* is spearheaded by Adela, who is 53 years old, unmarried and has no children as well as her 84-year-old mother, Marta. The store is attached to their domestic residence. Marta spent 40 years traveling to Panajachel to sell her weavings before tourism came to San Juan. Adela explains that she has not received an education because her father did not believe in sending girls to school. She speaks limited Spanish and struggles to read and write, hindering her tourism transactions. Her nephew helps her with the bookkeeping. Adela was nominated by the women of the cooperative, primarily on the basis that she has no husband or children and is therefore perceived to have adequate free time to devote to running the store. While she is grateful for the opportunity, she laments the lack of *competence* she has to carry out her assigned tasks. She explains,

Nosotros no tenemos capacitación. Tenemos capacitación—pero del señor alcalde. Ellos nos llaman aveces. Vienen de la capital y nos reúnen aquí en el salón de reunión o otros como Atit Ala'. Nos invita y nosotros estamos... yo estoy participando porque las compañeras a veces que no quieren. Entonces, sólo yo estoy participando con ellos. De recibir capacitación, de recibir ideas como trabajan, como unira las mujeres porque uno, dos no se puede trabajar... Entonces nos podemos unir para trabajar y sacar ideas allí, de los que nos capacitan.

We have no training. We have training—but from the Mayor. They call us sometimes. They come from the capital and we meet here in the meeting room or other gathering such as Atit

Ala' [local NGO]. They invite us and here we are ... I am participating because sometimes the members don't want to. So only I am involved with them. To receive training, to receive ideas about how to work, how to unite the women because one, two cannot work.... Then we come together to work and get ideas there and with those who trained us.

This quote not only illustrates the lack of training the women of *Ch'ejkeem* have, but also the importance of *relatedness*. There are a number of opportunities that arise in San Juan, but as Adela points out, sometimes those without the proper connections might not be made aware of these opportunities or they simply aren't interested in attending. They might not feel welcome in some of these situations or they are unable to attend due to domestic responsibilities.

Evita, Ecologic Maya. Ecologic Maya is a new weaving cooperative located in the town of San Juan La Laguna. It has 20 members and was established in 2012. Members weave a variety of goods made from natural dyes to fill the shelves of the store and they also take turns staffing it on a rotating basis. The members range from 25 to 52 years old. Ecologic Maya was formed when the women recognized that individually they did not have enough artisanal products to fill a store, nor did they have enough capital to forge out on their own, but by joining with others they found they could more easily sell their weavings. They have received funding from an international NGO based in Mexico and volunteer assistance from Japanese NGOs (Table 4.3). The cooperative retains 10% of sales to pay for renting the space and for electricity.

Table 4.3. Funding structures						
Micro-entrepreneurship organization	Funding bodies					
	Local/national bank	Inter-national bank	National NGO	Inter-national NGO	National government	International government
ASOAC		✓	✓		✓	✓
Ecologic Maya				✓		
Ch'ejkeem	✓					
Asociación de mujeres de telar de pie y cintura						✓
Batz'				✓		

Many of the women specialize in a specific accessory (e.g. scarves, shawls, purses) and each creates their own designs. It is expected that all women spend some time in the store interacting with customers and making sales. The group recognizes, however, that some women do not have the capacity to staff the store on their own, particularly those who only speak Tz'utujil. Therefore, they pair women who do not speak Spanish with those that do and two women staff the store together. While some women might feel that they lack *competence* to interact with tourists, the manner in which responsibilities are structured ensures that all the women are exposed to the same opportunities to practice and enhance their language and customer service skills. Ecologic Maya serves as a gathering space for the women members. There is a courtyard area behind the store for women to weave if they wish and throughout the day women and young children are often in the back crafting products for sale or teaching classes. Women are in and out of the store throughout the day even if it is not their day to staff the store. Women also help cover the store for each other when they need to tend to their children or fulfill other domestic responsibilities. The store itself is not only a place where materials can be sold, but it serves as a social space for its members. In these ways, Ecologic Maya enhances the *relatedness* between the women of the cooperative by encouraging social support among the women.

Evita, a member of Ecologic Maya, is 28 years old and a single mother. She has two young children under the age of six and left a difficult domestic situation. Her participation in Ecologic Maya has allowed her to make a better life for her children. She has taken a leadership position in the group and has worked to expand the group's tourism offerings, recently developing several tour experiences as well as organizing *Posadas Mayas* (homestays). Evita explains that it is particularly difficult for women and children to find work that allows them to balance these responsibilities. For her, working in the store can be challenging to balance with childcare, but also affords her flexibility. Her siblings sometimes help care for the children, and her son attends daycare that is provided by the government, but she also must bring them to the store on occasion. Evita earns 150 quetzales a week (approximately US\$19) when she is working in the store, which she supplements by selling weavings. Although it is still challenging for her to get by on the salary from Ecologic Maya, she is grateful for the work since employment opportunities, particularly for women, are limited in San Juan.

Evita explains how training programs provided by the government and NGOs have allowed her to earn new skills to use in tourism. She tells of a recent training program she participated in, which provided by INTECAP (*Instituto Técnico de Capacitación y Productividad*) that was partially subsidized by the government. Twelve individuals received training on how to be tour guides. In the interview, Evita emphasized that more women than men were involved. She explains,

[Hay] más mujeres que hombres [su énfasis]. Más mujeres que hombres. Entonces en esto estamos ahorita viendo como formar algo de turismo comunitaria. Entonces, y aparte de eso, pues se educada a señoras. Tenemos lo que son Posadas Mayas. Tenemos reuniones... es un base que estoy haciendo para que ellas. Pues, aparte de esto, pues que tengan otro ingreso económico porque podemos hacer muchas cosas. Tenemos potencial.

[There are] *more* women than men [emphasis hers]. More women than men. Now in this we are seeing how to form something of communitarian tourism. Then, and otherwise, they have educated the women. We have what are Posadas Mayas. We have meetings...it's something basic I am doing for them. Well, otherwise, they have another economic income because we can do many things. We have potential.

These capacity building initiatives have led Evita to believe in her own abilities or *competence*, one of the critical components of self-determination, as outlined by Ryan and Deci (2000). Whereas these initiatives lead to increased competence, they can also lead to complications in social relations, particularly when they challenge gender norms. This can actually erode *relatedness* in some instances. Evita adds,

Tal vez ha escuchado Entremundos en Quetzaltenango... Ellos están capacitando a estos—entre hombres y mujeres—porque lo que hemos hecho es no que sólo la mujer se incluya sino también el hombre. Porque anteriormente, digamos las personas que tienen de 35 años hasta—de 35 verdad sufren mucho de discriminación. Entonces, lo que yo les he dicho—bueno está bien que participe la mujer, pero que también participe el hombre para que así pues nuestro mundo sea uno solo. Sí, porque lastimosamente en nuestra áreas se da mucho la discriminación. Es como ver las mujeres aquí—no podemos decir, “tienes que estar un día allá” porque tiene que atender a sus hijos. Tiene que atender el marido. Y si el marido no está de acuerdo... mejor estamos trabajando de esta manera...una compañera una semana y otra compañera otra semana... para poder ayudarlas, allí está... Pero cuando hay capacitaciones, somos exigentes en eso.

Maybe you've heard of *Entremundos* in Quetzaltenango... They are training these men and women—because what we have done is not only include the women but also the men.

Because previously, we say that people who are 35 years old until—those 35 and older truthfully suffered a lot of discrimination. So what I have said—well, it's good that the woman participates, but also that the man is involved because our world is one. Yes, because unfortunately in our areas, they have discriminated a lot. It's like watching the women here—we cannot say, “you have to be here one day” because she has to care for her children. She has to care for her husband. And if the husband does not agree.... it's better we are working this way... a member working one week and another member another week... to help them, there it is... but when there are trainings, we are picky about that.

Despite the opportunities the training events provide to the women, it can also cause tensions for women who are expected to maintain the home in addition to these added responsibilities. While other cooperatives have selected women who do not have families to tend to (i.e., are young and unmarried or older and widowed), Ecologic Maya integrates these wives and mothers into the operation of the association. As Evita explains, one way to combat these tensions is by also including men in the capacity building. If they see value in what the women are doing, they may be more likely to support it.

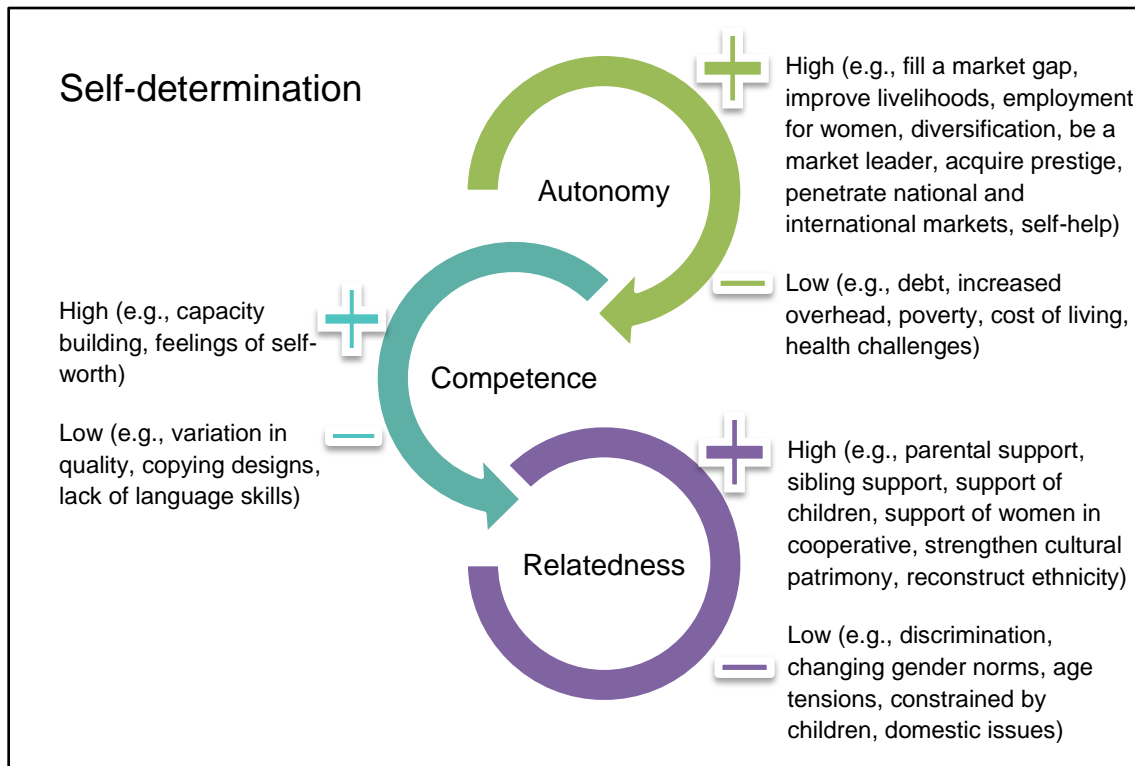


Figure 4.1. Self-determination in San Juan La Laguna

Discussion

Tourism is often identified as a strategy for poverty alleviation in economically underdeveloped countries (Cabezas, 2008; Croes & Vanegas, 2008; UNWTO, 2006; Usher & Morais, 2010). Micro-entrepreneurship has also been praised as a tool for poverty alleviation (Ahmed, 2009; Chandy, & Narasimhan, 2011) and women have been specifically targeted due to their role in influencing child outcomes (Littlefield, Morduch, Hashemi, 2003). Therefore, micro-entrepreneurship among women working in tourism holds great promise. However, not all micro-entrepreneurship is equally successful in achieving poverty alleviation or improving quality of life. Karides (2005) suggests that women in the Caribbean have long turned to self-employment due to

race and gender discrimination in the formal labor market. She questions, however, the “win-win” assumptions of development experts who advocate micro-entrepreneurship. She suggests that the microfinance framework reproduces women’s role as guardian of the household, while at the same time taking advantage of her labor and economic contribution to society. Karides also suggests that these schemes subject women to capitalist domination. She argues that despite the rhetoric, microfinance does not address women’s inequality, but in many ways actually reproduces it. Cooperation through communitarian tourism businesses provides an alternative to individual micro-entrepreneurial efforts.

Results indicate that cooperative models of tourism entrepreneurship, particularly though communitarian tourism (LaPan & Morais, in progress) can afford women greater self-determination, but gains in some areas may result in losses in others (Figures 4.1, 4.2). Therefore, credit alone does not appear to substantially increase well-being; additional inputs (e.g., training, network-building) are essential for women to improve their economic situation and achieve self-determination. These must, however, be culturally appropriate so that women do not suffer alienation due to non-conformity to cultural norms.

Competence.

Although women can gain skills organically by owning their own business, respondents repeatedly stressed how important *capacitación* (training) has been for them. Women have traditionally woven textiles at home for sale or exchange among individuals of nearby communities. As they have transitioned to a tourism-based economy, women have felt they needed to learn more about what tourists expect, how to interact with them, and how to expand their business. Women’s *competence* can be influenced by both personal characteristics (e.g., level of education) as well as cooperative characteristics (e.g., type and quality of training programs). Despite access to credit lines,

Asociación de mujeres de telar de pie y cintura and *Ch'ejkeem* struggle to break even. In these instances, the group leaders are both older women who received no formal education and lack the *competence* or skills to fully participate in the tourism economy. *Competence* can also interact with *autonomy* and *relatedness*. Ecologic Maya and *Batz'* are relatively new, but are aggressively pursuing capacity-building initiatives to enhance their members' *competence*, which subsequently strengthens their *relatedness* within the cooperative (bonding ties) and outside the cooperative (bridging ties; Putnam, 2000; Rankin, 2002). Both of these cooperatives are made up of young women, most of whom are married with children. As these women gain competence, they may begin to expect more *autonomy* in household decisions, particularly in terms of finances, since they are now contributing in that regard. Capacity building activities (*competence*) also take them away from domestic responsibilities, leading to tensions between husband and wife, ultimately eroding familial support or *relatedness* (Figure 4.2).

Autonomy.

Although microcredit claims to empower women and there is some evidence to support this (Ahmed, Siwar, Idris, 2011; Jain & Jain, 2012), results are mixed, with some scholars suggesting that in some circumstances microcredit actually disempowers women (Keating, Rasmussen & Rishi, 2010; Selinger, 2008). In reality, empowerment is often dependent on household dynamics, with husbands having the ability to facilitate or limit women's strategies for use of financial resources (Vonderlack-Navarro, 2010). In San Juan La Laguna, many women are widows having lost their husbands to either natural causes or the 30 year Guatemalan civil war that ended in 1996 (Green, 1995). Therefore, access to credit provides them with opportunities to build businesses or provide income-smoothing in times of need (Morduch, 1995). In many ways, this enhances their *autonomy*. However, women also become constrained by the burden of debt and bound to the funding

organization and the terms of the loan, ultimately limiting their *autonomy*. Josefa at ASOAC explains how that organization was able to pay off their debt to a local NGO when they were not satisfied with the terms. This demonstrates a rather high level of autonomy as the group was able to navigate these relationships and move beyond the status of borrower to become fully in control of the future of the organization. However, it is impossible for women to be empowered through microcredit if they continue to face an overarching patriarchal structure (Kabeer, 2011; Selinger, 2008). *Autonomy* is associated with *relatedness* in the sense that as women begin to expect more decision making authority, they may confront conflicting patriarchal social norms (Selinger, 2008), which can strain social relationships. This can erode *relatedness* among familial and social groups (Figure 1.3), which can limit their ability to fully achieve self-determination.

Relatedness.

Kabeer (2011) stresses that *relatedness* has been a particularly important focus of development schemes directed at women on the premise that they rely heavily on relationships with others (e.g., spouse, family, other women). Prilleltensky and Prilleltensky (2006) stress the interdependence of personal, relational, organizational and community well-being. This is particularly relevant here, as individual women rely on relational well-being inside the cooperative and with family members. Well-being is influenced by both the personal *relatedness* a person has and the *relatedness* afforded by the cooperative. Furthermore, organizational well-being is essential. While the organization of women in groups can enhance *relatedness* as well as social capital, not all organizations are created equal, with some being more successful than others at fostering these connections. In many instances, the women simply weave at home and come together once a month to collect their earnings. Beyond that, they interact minimally. This is observed in the cases of *Ch'ejkeem*, *Batz'* and ASOAC. In the examples, of *Batz'* and ASOAC, young women who are not

members of the cooperative are hired to staff the store. In the example of *Ch'ejkeem*, Adela works in the store alone each day. The women gather once a month to discuss issues with the cooperative and to distribute the money earned from sales. In the case of Ecologic Maya, on the other hand, women are encouraged to physically be in the cooperative, lending to a shared social space that not only enhances *relatedness* but allows for an exchange of ideas, enhancing *competence*. Women support each other in their designs and with childcare while in the store, something that was not observed at any of the other cooperatives.

Members of ASOAC, *Batz'* and Ecologic Maya have also benefitted from connections they have made with national and international NGOs. Members of *Asociación de mujeres de telar de pie y cintura* and *Ch'ejkeem*, on the other hand lack *relatedness* to connect with the trainers who come to San Juan to conduct capacity building initiatives. Their lack of *relatedness* hinders their ability to gain additional *competence* they need to grow their business. They have incrementally improved their livelihoods, but have not been able to move beyond poverty and truly increase their wellbeing since they are deficient in these areas. Further, they face market inequalities and are therefore less successful in penetrating both the local and international markets (Aigbokhan & Asemota, 2011). The *relatedness* ASOAC, *Batz'* and Ecologic Maya have fostered has resulted in a web presence for each group as well as the selling of their weavings online.

Camfield, Choudhury & Devine (2009) argue that relatedness may subsume *autonomy* in importance and that in some instances it is the primary means through which *relatedness* is realized. However, *relatedness* can be seen as a contraction to *autonomy*, particularly from a feminist perspective (Kabeer, 2011). Kabeer (2011) explains that the feminist focus is often on the construction of identities in terms other than that of the relations of marriage and family. These tensions have been evident in San Juan La Laguna and as women work to forge relationships outside

their familial network (e.g., bridging ties; Putnum, 2000), it can cause strain on their spousal and family relationships (e.g., bonding ties).

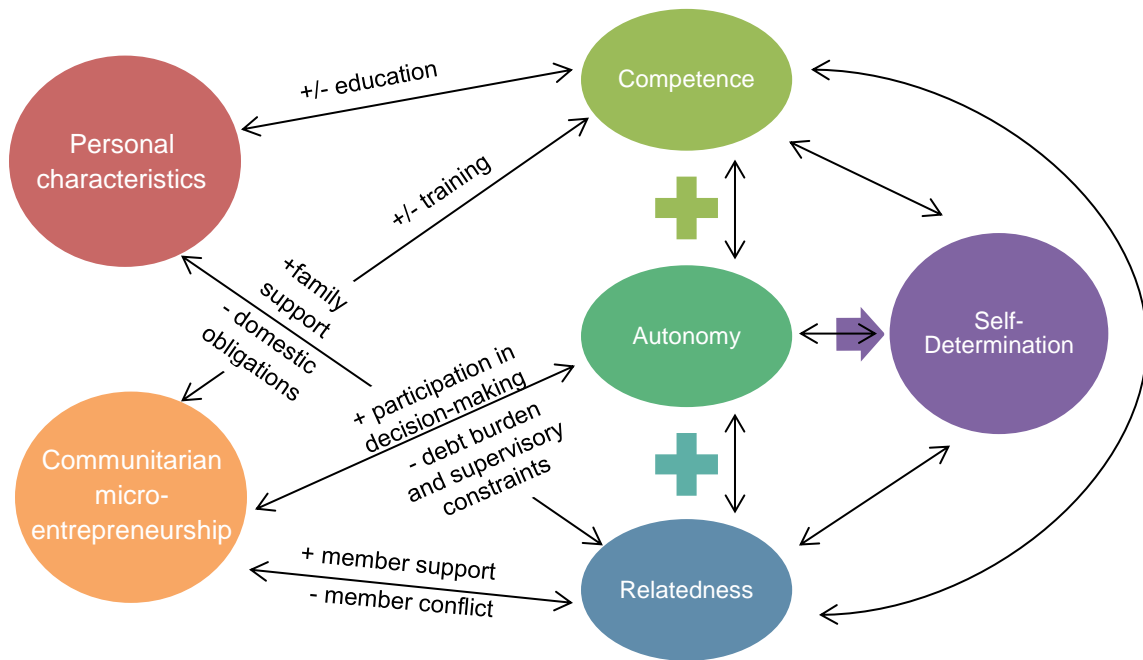


Figure 4.2. Components that foster and erode self-determination in communitarian tourism organizations

Conclusion

Self-determination theory has been argued to be an important guiding framework for development scholars and practitioners (Pugno, 2007). This study confirms the arguments by Sen (1977) and Deci and Ryan (2000) that economic improvement alone is not sufficient to enhance overall wellbeing. Therefore, it questions the premise of microcredit schemes that rely primarily on

access to credit to achieve poverty alleviation. This study uses the concept of self-determination to understand the role of communitarian tourism initiatives and cooperative micro-entrepreneurship in fostering well-being among indigenous women. The broad conclusion that emerges is that while cooperative entrepreneurship offers opportunities for enhanced *competence*, *relatedness* and *autonomy*, a number of competing factors can erode gains in these areas. Current gender norms and an overarching patriarchal structure constrain women, particularly if husbands are not supportive of women's involvement (Kabeer, 2011; Selinger, 2008). Although gains may be made in *competence*, *relatedness* suffers and *autonomy* is difficult to achieve. *Relatedness* within the cooperative can also be an important place of support (Camfield, Choudhury & Devine, 2009), both in terms of entrepreneurial involvement as well as helping with childcare and domestic burdens, but levels of participation in the cooperative vary greatly, as do the benefits gained.

Therefore, if microcredit programs are to be successful, they should not only provide financial resources, but should offer training programs and aim to foster a true sense of *relatedness* among its members, not simply artificially fostered peer pressure (Fishman, 2012; Maclean, 2010). Further, if the true goal of these programs is poverty alleviation and increased wellbeing (rather than shareholder profits) they should consider the role of debt burden in eroding the micro-entrepreneur's *autonomy* and look for creative ways to maintain repayment rates without shackling the borrower to terms they have no hope of repaying. Evidence suggests that both microfinance and tourism can reach their potential in economic development, but they aren't there yet. Precautions must be taken to ensure that benefits reach the most vulnerable. Access to capital alone and the arrival of tourists are not enough to lift the poorest out of poverty nor alleviate social problems. An integrated and culturally sensitive approach will be necessary.

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CHAPTER 5: Conclusion

This study has been presented in three articles. Chapter Two addressed dynamics of social exchange between tourists and residents under different economic models of tourism development; Chapter Three explored shifting gender norms in relation to appropriate employment for Maya men and women; Chapter Four discussed Maya women's self-determination within cooperative micro-entrepreneurship ventures.

Part 1: Chapter 2

Chapter Two offers a broad overview of positive and negative outcomes within the communities in regards to tourism development. It explores the themes of power and altruism under varying models of tourism development. Findings indicate that despite challenges, residents of San Juan and San Pedro are overall supportive of tourism in their communities. However, it problematizes the assumptions of dominant theories of resident-tourism interaction (specifically Social Exchange Theory; SET), particularly as they have been applied in tourism. Issues such as power and altruism are complicated under the model of communitarian tourism in San Juan, distinguishing it from the *laissez faire* approach used in San Pedro. Under communitarian tourism in San Juan, rational choice (expressed as pure self-interest) is not always at play and altruistic tendencies are apparent. The tourism literature has suggested that residents seek personal rewards from tourism. These have often been generalized to encompass any type of reward (economic, environmental, social, etc.; Ap, 1992; Nunkoo, Smith, & Ramkissoon, 2013; Sharpley, 2014). Yet, residents of San Juan are generally supportive of tourism even if it does not bring them personal rewards. While there is still some debate as to whether or not communitarian communities are inherently more altruistic than those that follow

a *laissez faire* approach, the data suggests that this may be the case in San Juan and offers the possibility for additional research.

Results suggest that the presence of an entrepreneurial spirit as well as related economic benefits are not sufficient in guarding against the drawbacks of tourism. Instead, strong community cooperation appears to be integral to shaping tourism for the benefit of residents. Prevailing theories of resident-tourist interactions are based on the assumption that groups are made up of individual rational actors. This research suggests, however, that the individual actions cannot be separated from their social structure and that organizations can play a role in providing residents with greater power in the tourist-resident social exchange than they would have on an individual level.

Part 2: Chapter 3

Chapter Three explores the opportunities created by tourism, particularly in regards to employment and the subsequent negotiation of cultural norms that coincide with these changes. In ethnic tourism destinations such as San Juan and San Pedro, tourism has created new employment opportunities, which many residents see as a benefit. However, the introduction of these opportunities has destabilized cultural norms regarding appropriate jobs for men and women. The introduction of new job roles creates confusion and opens room for cultural change. Results indicate that there was no consensus regarding appropriate jobs for men and women in San Pedro, where residents have been involved in tourism for several decades. Despite the presence of tourism in San Juan, however, consensus still existed regarding appropriate jobs for men, but not for women. Data suggests this could be a result of the active role women play in tourism in San Juan, particularly in the form of weaving cooperatives, whereas the participation of men in tourism is still somewhat supplementary to traditional agricultural work.

While women's involvement in tourism is in many ways an extension of their domestic duties (e.g., weaving, handicrafts, culture guides, hosting homestays), it has also opened up a variety of jobs that are outside this realm (e.g., entrepreneurs, tour guides, organizing). Participation in cooperatives has also provided women with additional skills and leadership opportunities they would not have acquired by continuing to weave independently in the home (Iakovidou and Turner, 1995). Therefore, while the increasing presence of women in tourism has created jobs that do not on the surface challenge existing cultural norms, they have provided women with culturally appropriate employment that allows them increase their income and expand their skill set. It also allows them to move out of the domestic sphere and interact with tourists, increasing both their Spanish and English language skills.

Although trends in Lake Atitlán may not follow the trajectory of women's emancipation favored by Western feminists (i.e., white, middle-class; Amos & Parmar, 2005, Arizpe, 1982; Margolis, 1993), it does challenge patriarchal forms of domination that are pervasive throughout Latin America by moving women outside of the home and into the workplace (Mohanty, Russo and Torres, 1991; Chant, 1992). Care should be taken in tourism development schemes, however, since Maya women have described themselves as being constantly at work (Bonder, Bazyk, Reilly, & Toyota, 2001) and tourism work can often extend to a "fourth shift" (Veijola, 2009a). Due to the fact that tourism work can be seen as joining seamlessly with domestic obligations, with little evidence that men are picking up the slack, women could potentially suffer from extra burdens.

Part 3: Chapter 4

Chapter Four further explores issues of gender, with a focus the role of communitarian tourism ventures in fostering micro-entrepreneurship and increasing overall self-determination among women in weaving cooperatives. Chapter Four showed that existing social structures are integral in

determining the success of cooperative micro-entrepreneurial ventures. Unlike most of the development discourse that suggests that micro-credit schemes will foster social capital (Maclean, 2010; Rankin, 2002), this study suggests that robust social networks should be in place prior to the implementation of group credit schemes or the injection of capital through microcredit. Ensuring that there are existing healthy social networks has the potential to minimize some of the negative outcomes found by Fishman (2012) and Maclean (2010) where social networks were manufactured by the micro-credit organization and women felt oppressed by social pressure and shaming.

Chapter Four applies self-determination theory (SDT) to understand the processes that are encouraged and hindered through cooperative micro-entrepreneurship ventures. Specifically, it looks at the concepts of competence, autonomy and relatedness as they are manifested in women's weaving cooperatives. Findings suggest that both personal characteristics as well as the characteristics of the individual cooperative influence gains and losses in competence, autonomy and relatedness. Cooperatives offer the opportunity for women to gain competence through training and capacity building initiatives. Women in the cooperatives also gain increased autonomy due to participation in cooperative decision-making as well as through increased income. However, increased competence can erode relatedness, as it puts a strain on spousal relationships. Women are taken away from domestic duties to attend training, which can cause marital tensions. Further, increased autonomy can challenge these structures in a similar way. While they may improve bridging ties (Putnam, 2000) through participation in the cooperative, they may erode bonding ties due to improvements in other areas.

Methodological considerations

This study utilized a number of qualitative and quantitative methods. Some methods were found to be more appropriate to the study context than others. The following section will be a reflection of the methods used throughout the study.

Validity and generalizability.

Since the research took place in a real-life field setting, true control was impossible to achieve. However, attempts were made to adequately explain existing differences between the communities that may influence both the type of tourism development as well as well-being outcomes. Although these case studies refer to a subset of two communities in Lake Atitlán, Guatemala and are not generalizable to a larger population, the study does provide insights to the dynamics of tourism development in ethnic communities. By comparing similar communities with different outcomes, it also offers new understandings of well-being under different models of tourism development. Additionally, all qualitative analysis was discussed with committee members, with at least two researchers coming to consensus on all codes, increasing trustworthiness of the data (Henderson, 2006).

Language.

The individuals in San Juan La Laguna and San Pedro La Laguna speak Mayan dialects (primarily Tz'utujil) as well as Spanish. The primary researcher is proficient in Spanish and conducted all interviews (informal and semi-structured) in this language. Although some residents do not speak Spanish proficiently, this study focused on individuals working in the tourism industry. Spanish is the language of commerce in tourism and therefore all respondents were fluent in Spanish. The researcher also provided the option to read questionnaire materials to all informants, since some residents are proficient in spoken Spanish, but not so in its written form.

Free-listing.

Free-listing is a method that originated in quantitative anthropology. It can be used as the basis for a number of analyses, including domain analysis and cultural consensus analysis (Trotter & Schensul, 2000). Free-listing techniques ask respondents to list the possible items they believe pertain to a topic. The responses can then be collapsed into domains and analyzed by frequency and salience (Weller, 1998). Cultural consensus and cultural competence can also be analyzed utilizing cultural consensus analysis (Weller, 2007). I found this technique particularly useful in the field and relevant to the study context. A researcher is able to elicit a lot of information in a relatively short time and sophisticated analyses are possible. I did, however, have to adapt the method to suit this research context. I initially attempted to incorporate free-listing into qualitative interviews, usually at the end of the semi-structured interview. This was not successful in producing usable lists pertaining to the topic at hand. I found that respondents usually wanted to explain their choices and provide detailed answers rather than simply list items, even if I provided them with a sheet of paper to write their responses. While this was exactly what I had been looking for in terms of the in-depth interviews, it was not useful for free-listing. Therefore, after careful consideration, I decided to include the free-listing components on the questionnaire that was distributed during the final weeks of fieldwork. This resulted in much more useable data than had previously been acquired.

Given the opportunity for follow-up research, however, I would also include pile-sorts in the research methodology. Pile-sorts are a subsequent step that can be taken in the process of free-listing. It involves asking informants to review all items and place them into piles, with similar items being grouped together in the same pile (Weller, 1998). Pile sorting is used as a way to estimate the similarity among items. While this study did not look specifically at the similarity of items, it would certainly be interesting to explore in a follow-up study among a different, but comparable sample (i.e., different respondents in the same communities or respondents in neighboring communities). It

could help us better understand what types of tourism challenges and benefits are seen as being related as well as what types of jobs are perceived as similar.

Interviews.

This study utilized in-depth semi-structured interviews that were conducted in Spanish. While I am proficient in spoken and written Spanish, it is not my first language. Therefore, some nuances may have been missed, including opportunities to probe and prompt the respondent. The interviews were audio recorded, which allowed me to capture the greatest amount of information; however, follow-up interviews may have offered an opportunity to correct for missed opportunities. Data analysis did begin in the field and I transcribed several interviews verbatim soon after they were conducted. This allowed me to familiarize myself with some of the phrasing and vernacular of the area and assisted me in future interviews. However, follow-up interviews would allow for further clarification and enhancement of the collected data.

River of Life.

The River of Life exercise is one that has been adapted from NGO workshops that facilitate cooperation and planning (Fisher & White, n.d.; Moussa, 2009). It asks respondents to draw their lives as a river, including branches with new paths, areas of “rough waters” or challenges and visions for the future. This methodology was not included in this study for several reasons. First, my experience has shown that it works better when it is included as part of a second interview, as it asks respondents to explore sensitive topics and share personal information with the researcher. A certain level of rapport should be reached prior to introducing this exercise. As follow-up interviews were not included in this study, it was determined to be less appropriate in this context. Second, it asks informants to draw on a piece of paper, a task that is challenging in field conditions. This research was conducted in the rainy season of Guatemala in a variety of contexts that ranged from

respondents' homes to retail booths to street curbs. A solid, stable, dry surface was often difficult to come by. Therefore, this protocol was not utilized in this study. It is recommended, however, that a follow-up study would include this valuable tool and that provisions would be made to include an appropriate location for respondents to complete the exercise.

Pre-study site visit.

While this study did not utilize a pre-study site visit, the ethnographic nature of the study allowed me to explore the study site and context in depth. A pre-study site visit may have been useful in helping me to identify respondents sooner and finalize research protocols. However, the length of my visit allowed me to adapt research instruments to the study setting and utilize a variety of tactics. I worked closely with my committee members to modify research protocols and formulate questions appropriately suited to the research context. If time in the field, however, is more limited, it is suggested that researchers consider a preliminary site visit to maximize their time in the field.

Homestay.

Throughout the course of this study, I resided with an indigenous Maya host family in the community of San Juan La Laguna. While this allowed me access to the family and the community in a way that would be otherwise difficult to achieve, it did situate me within the community as well as in San Juan La Laguna, specifically. The family I lived with was well-known and respected in the community, but my affiliation with them may have influenced who I was able to talk to and how open respondents were willing to be with me. The family I resided with was very active in the Catholic church and relatively well-off financially. San Juan and San Pedro are nearly split between Catholic and Evangelistic Protestant followers. Although religion was not a primary focus of this study, it is possible that my connection to this family shaped how I was received by members of both faiths.

Further, they run one of the more successful art galleries, which may have been a source of jealousy for other

Theoretical implications and future research

This study has shown that residents perceive complex benefits from communitarian tourism. Results show that there is a tendency to look at collectivist benefits of tourism under communitarian models. Future research could investigate under what conditions communities might withdraw support for tourism and what the mechanisms might be for doing so. Issues of power were explored in this study and results indicate that power is a greater asset for organized workers than those who work independently. Future research could offer a comparison in other contexts among organized communities and unorganized communities who go about withdrawing support of tourism and explore the mechanisms by which they are able or unable to do so. Furthermore, research is lacking regarding the role of altruism under communitarian. This study indicates that respondents display more tendencies toward altruism under the communitarian model, but more research would further enhance this understanding.

Results indicate that tourism creates a space where gender roles are negotiated. This has consequences for women's autonomy and self-determination. With shifting gender norms among the Maya and more women being educated, follow up studies are recommended to explore how these changes impact tourism development in the future. Since tourism is frequently an extension of traditional roles and duties for women, future research is recommended to explore if these patterns persist among future generations, particularly as expectations for young girls change. Research should also investigate whether their new roles are symbiotic with the type of tourism development found in the community.

This study shows that collaborative micro-entrepreneurship enhances women's self-determination in some ways and erodes it in others. Additionally, social structures play an important role in determining the success of cooperative micro-entrepreneurial ventures and in providing social support for women. As interest in microcredit development schemes continue to grow and tourism continues to be looked to as a source of income generation, more studies are needed to explore this nexus. Pre and post studies are recommended with the cooperative micro-entrepreneurial venture serving as the intervention to better understand the role of intact social structures in ensuring the success of collaborative tourism ventures.

Practical implications and policy recommendations

The results of this study have a number of practical implications for organizations working with vulnerable populations, particularly those that strive to increase the well-being of the poor through tourism development. It offers specific insights into interventions for women. First, the results suggest that programs by governments and NGOs should consider non-individual benefits when they engage with communities in tourism planning initiatives. Although some individuals are concerned with increasing personal income, the results of this study indicate that this is not the only, or even primary, concern of residents. Additionally, interventions aimed at women must also engage men or women may suffer from tensions at home as well as increased labor burdens or issues of the 4th shift (Veijola, 2009a). Finally, this study indicates that simply offering money in the form of credit does not foster self-reliant development. The structures of cooperative models determine outcomes, particularly as related competence (e.g., levels and type of training offered), relatedness (e.g., quality of interaction among participants) and autonomy (e.g., degree of participation in decision making). Therefore, whenever possible cooperative micro-entrepreneurship models should be modified to enhance these components.

Summary

Overall, this study provides a picture of the negotiation strategies employed by indigenous communities to maximize the benefits of tourism while working to minimize the drawbacks. It has made both theoretical and practical contributions and introduces possibilities for future research and policy interventions.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Semi-structured interview protocol

Entrevistado:

Fecha:

Hora de empezar:

Hora de terminar:

1. ¿Qué haces para trabajo en el turismo?
2. ¿Participas en una cooperativa u otra organización de turismo?
3. ¿Piensas que hay diferencias entre el turismo en San Pedro y San Juan? ¿Cómo son diferentes? [¿Cuáles son las palabras que podría describir como es San Pedro contra San Juan?]
4. La gente son muy trabajadores en San Juan/San Pedro, pero ¿hay problemas en fuentes de ingreso y empleo?
5. ¿Cómo ha cambiado la comunidad con el turismo?
6. ¿Piensas que en el futuro cosas van a mejorar o empeorar?
7. ¿Qué necesita San Juan/San Pedro para poder realmente llegar a su potencial?
8. ¿Estás de acuerdo con la dirección del desarrollo de turismo hasta ahora?
9. ¿Qué necesitamos para mejorar el desarrollo de turismo?
10. ¿Qué papel juegas tú en este desarrollo? ¿Hay algo que puedes hacer?
11. ¿Quiénes toman las decisiones políticas en esta comunidad? ¿Cómo participas tú en estas decisiones?
12. ¿Siempre están pensando los alcaldes en el bienestar de la comunidad? [¿Depended los alcaldes en apoyo popular para tomar decisiones en el desarrollo del turismo?]
13. ¿Cuándo te pones a pensar sobre las cosas verdaderas importante en su vida, cuales son las más importantes?
14. ¿Cuáles capacidades tienes que usas en tu vida y en tu trabajo?
15. ¿Cuándo cosas siguen malas, que haces para mejorarlos? ¿Qué cosas podrías hacer para ayudar a las cosas salgan bien?
16. ¿Hay personas quienes te apoyan en tu vida? ¿Quiénes? ¿Cómo te apoyan?

Información Demográfica:

1. ¿En qué pueblo vives? ¿Has vivido aquí por todo tu vida?
2. ¿Cuáles idiomas hablas?
3. ¿En general, cuantos quetzales ganas cada mes?
4. Sexo:
5. Edad (¿Cuántos años tienes?:

Appendix B: Questionnaire with free-listing exercises

NC STATE UNIVERSITY

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Las percepciones del turismo en Lago Atitlán

Su participación en esta encuesta es completamente voluntaria. Los resultados son anónimos y su información se mantendrá confidencial.

1. ¿Dónde vive usted? _____
2. ¿Trabaja usted en el sector turístico? Sí No
3. ¿Cuál es su profesión? _____
4. ¿Qué ofrece su comunidad a las turistas? (seleccione todas las que correspondan)
 Actividades de medio ambiente (por ejemplo, subir a la montaña, kayak) Actividades culturales (por ejemplo, demostración de tejer, tour de café, aprendiendo sobre las hierbas medicinales) Visitar artesanos (por ejemplo, ir a galerías, cooperativas de tejido)
 Ir de Compras (por ejemplo, compra de recuerdos) Oportunidades de voluntariado (por ejemplo, misioneros, trabajar en escuelas) Divertirse en fiestas (por ejemplo, ir a bares / clubes)
 Otras (describe) _____
5. ¿Dónde se hospedan los turistas cuando visitan su comunidad? (seleccione todas las que correspondan)
 Hotel Hostal [e.g., dormitorio] Casa local [e.g., Posadas Mayas] Otro _____
6. ¿Por general, cuánto tiempo duran las visitas de los turistas a su comunidad?
 Unas horas Un día 2-4 días 4-6 días 1-2 semanas >2 semanas Viven aquí
7. Los turistas traen _____ a mi comunidad. (seleccione todas las que correspondan)
 Dinero Trabajos Ideas Cultura Basura Drogas Violencia
8. El turismo _____ la cultura Tz'utujil en mi comunidad. (seleccione solo uno)
 ha fortalecido ha disminuido ha cambiado (pero no es bueno ni malo) noha cambiado
9. Por favor, haga una lista de las cosas buenas sobre el turismo en su comunidad.

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____
10. Por favor, haga una lista de las cosas malas sobre el turismo en su comunidad.

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____
11. ¿Las cosas malas superan a las cosas buenas? Sí No
12. ¿Quién(es) tienen la responsabilidad de asegurar que el turismo siga bien? (seleccione todas las que correspondan)
 los turistas los vecinos el alcalde el gobierno central de Guatemala

Appendix B (continued)



Investigador principal:
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Por favor, indique en una escala de cero a diez si estás de acuerdo con las siguientes afirmaciones. (Cero significa que no estás en absoluto de acuerdo y diez significa que estás completamente de acuerdo.)

	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10					
	De ninguna manera										Extremadamente					
13. Me gusta hablar con los turistas						0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
14. A veces es difícil comunicar con los turistas						0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
15. Sería mejor si los turistas hablaran español						0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
16. Sería mejor si yo hablara Inglés						0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
17. El dinero que traen los turistas es una ayuda						0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
18. Yo preferiría si hubiera más turismo						0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
19. Los turistas causan problemas cuando visitan						0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
20. Estos problemas nos afectan mucho						0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
21. Yo preferiría si no hubiera turismo						0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Trabajos

<p>22. ¿Cuáles trabajos son apropiados para las mujeres Tz'utujiles en su comunidad? (haga una lista)</p> <hr/> <p>1.</p> <p>2.</p> <p>3.</p> <p>4.</p> <p>5.</p>	<p>23. ¿Cuáles trabajos son apropiados para los hombres Tz'utujiles en su comunidad? (haga una lista)</p> <hr/> <p>1.</p> <p>2.</p> <p>3.</p> <p>4.</p> <p>5.</p>
---	---

Información sobre Usted:

Sexo: Hombre Mujer

Edad: _____

Cuales idiomas habla (seleccione todas las que correspondan): Tz'utujil Español Ingles Otro _____

¿Cuántas Quetzales gana usted por mes?: _____

Nivel de educación _____

Appendix C: Select excerpts of field notes

Thursday May 30, 2013

I have just been introduced to communitarian tour guide Vinicio. We talked briefly about tourism in San Juan and he explained that tourism there had mostly centered around the local culture and that tourism had helped develop this community since the 1970s and 80s. He said that there was a lot more poverty before tourism had developed. I told him that I would be comparing tourism in San Pedro and San Juan and he told me that they were very different. I asked why he thought this was the case and he said it was because of all of the community organizations and cooperatives in San Juan and that in San Pedro people worked independently. I asked if there were not organizations in San Pedro and he said that supposedly there were, but that people still worked alone. He said that the reason that San Juan had developed so well was because everyone worked together in community organizations. He works as a guide in a communitarian tourism organization. However, when there are no group tours he can go down to the dock and recruit tourists on his own. He explained that tourism had allowed people in San Juan to maintain their culture. He offered to take me around and introduce me to more people because he thinks it is important for international people and organizations to learn more about San Juan.

Thursday June 6, 2013

I walk down toward the water and see a place with weavings near all the tourist bars. I step inside and there is a group gathered around the table. There are three Maya women and two men. The women are all dressed the same with deep blue cortes and hupiles and wraps in their hair. One woman says hello and tells me to come in and look around. I explain that I am studying tourism in San Pedro and may I ask her a few questions? Her attitude towards me perceptibly shifts. I attempt to ask her a few questions and she answers them curtly. I ask her how much a scarf costs and she says 150Q, but she explains that there will be a discount when I am ready to buy. I continue to walk around the store and notice the exact same pattern a pushy vendor in Panajachel sold to me last week. I ask if everything is made in San Pedro and she says yes. I ask if everything is handmade and she says yes. While I am in the store, they talk in hushed tones in a Mayan dialect. After a few minutes of my browsing the merchandise, she asks me, "All you are going to do is write? You aren't going to buy anything?" I explain that I have just arrived and that I am exploring her town and learning. She makes a sort of grunting sound. I thank her for her time and exit the store.

Wednesday June 19, 2013

It is just before 3:00 in the afternoon as I approach Ecologico Maya. I have visited before. Ecologico Maya is a neat and tidy store, with cleanly swept cement floors. It is painted in soothing neutral colors that reflect the natural dyes. The weavings are displayed nicely and they make good use of the space, with bags hanging on the wall and scarves draped along wooden rods. Here, the selling tactics are not overtly aggressive, but instead the women share stories about how purchases help women and children.

Outside, there is a group of approximately 12 men and women of various ages who appear to be Guatemalan tourists (a mix of Ladino and indigenous) standing outside and guide is explaining something about the mural of the Maya calendar painted outside. Inside, the woman working in the store is talking to a customer. The woman is trying to bargain and is saying that the scarf is too

Appendix C (continued)

expensive and that the quality isn't good. The woman explains that she can't change the price and that the woman weavers set their own price. The woman leaves without buying anything.

Shortly after, a very tall female European tourist walks in and is looking to purchase several very small change purses. She doesn't speak very good Spanish and struggles to explain what she wants. There is a young girl playing in the shop. It is the daughter of the woman working. She watches the tourist intently. The tourist wants to buy 13 purses, but they don't have enough. She does end up buying the several that they do have before leaving nonetheless.

Appendix B: River of Life Protocol

Description

River of Life is a methodology employing visual narrative to encourage people to tell stories of the past, present and future. It can be used to encourage individuals share about their lives in a relaxed and descriptive way. Since River of Life focuses on drawing rather than text, it may be useful in groups that do not share a language and is an active method for engaging people.

Instructions

Step 1

Introduce the method to participants. Explain that they are invited to use the symbol of a river to reflect on their own personal lives. Explain that a river is a meaningful symbol in many cultures and that they may find it helpful to think of their own lives in terms of a river. Draw an example river to help people visualize what it might look like (you can use examples from your own life or invent a story). Answer any questions they may have and assure them that their drawing skills will not be judged in any way. We are much more interested in *what* they wish to express.

[As this will not be voice recorded, the interviewer should take careful notes throughout the process, both observations of the process and details of the participants' responses]

Step 2

Pass out materials. Please provide each participant with a River of Life sheet, pens, pencils, markers and/or crayons.

Step 3 (15-20 minutes)

Ask participants to take 3 minutes to list significant life events they have experienced (they can do this on the back of the sheet provided).

Next, ask participants to draw rivers representing these significant life events leading up to today on the left two-thirds point of the page. This section should represent key stages in their lives. The facilitator keeps time during the drawing and explanations, announcing when to start drawing, sharing, drawing again, sharing again and when to stop.

You can explain that they may use the following indicators, but these are simply guidelines:

- tributaries to demonstrate significant experiences and influences
- rough waters to demonstrate difficult challenges
- twists for turning points in their life

[For helpful prompts and probes, please see **Step 5**]

Step 4 (10-15 minutes)

Now ask the participants to think about how they imagine their future and draw this on the right third of the sheet.

Step 5

Participants share and explain their drawings.

Suggested probes and prompts to stimulate drawing [advice to the interviewer]

- What were some significant events you experienced in your life?
- Have you ever moved your residence?
- Were there important people in your life?
- What has been your greatest challenge?

Interviewer observations:

Process notes [Please note how the participant approaches the tree of life drawing—Are they hesitant? Do they start drawing immediately? Do they make many changes?]

River of Life Explanations [Please take careful notes of the participant’s explanations. Pay particular attention to descriptions they may use that are not demonstrated in the drawing, but rather are elicited by the conversation.]

