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**CULTURE, CAPITAL, AND COMMUNITY CHANGE:
AN ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY OF THE IMPACTS OF TOURISM IN
SANTIAGO ATITLÁN, GUATEMALA**

A Thesis in
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and
Human Dimensions of Natural Resources and the Environment
by
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ABSTRACT

Coupled with the aesthetic beauty of its highland landscape, the modern indigenous culture of descendants of the ancient Maya is a primary pull factor bringing over 300,000 international and domestic visitors to the Lake Atitlán, Guatemala region each year. Santiago Atitlán, capital of the Tz'utujil people, sits tucked in a narrow bay on the southern side of the lake – a protected enclave wherein its residents have weathered nearly 500 years of occupation and persecution. In an increasingly interconnected global environment, the indigenous residents of Santiago Atitlán today navigate rapid changes and seek to preserve a viable and meaningful way of life. This thesis investigates the role that the development and ongoing production of tourism plays in that negotiation.

Across the planet, indigenous communities face numerous threats to their cultural, linguistic, and traditional ecological heritage. Research that determines where and how indigenous peoples are able to better negotiate the accelerating forces of change, including the arrival of international tourism, in ways that support the preservation and perpetuation of increasingly endangered cultural diversity is now timelier than ever. This thesis answers this call, approaching tourism as one of the complex systems that characterize the Anthropocene. In the context of 21st century globalization, the residents of Santiago Atitlán are found to be increasingly enmeshed in processes that are beyond their control, leading to dynamic and diverse outcomes. Here, an ethnographic approach was taken to research the way this indigenous community is accessing the benefits and navigating the impacts of a changing tourism industry.

As a potential pathway to achieving cultural, environmental, and economic stability, tourism has also been shown to cause community disruption. Not surprisingly, evidence from

Santiago supports both of these outcomes. Tourism is contributing to local socio-cultural change. This corresponds to changes in formal and informal institutions, including widened gaps between groups and generations, increased competition and rivalry, reduced social bonds and norm adherence, and an eroded ability to work together. Yet a unique contribution of this study is the finding that Atitecos¹ also moderate cultural outcomes by confronting changing technological, financial, and environmental conditions in unique and hybridized ways. Community capital and assets are also affected in that they are both influenced by tourism as well as are valuable assets that Atitecos hope to leverage to proactively influence tourism in their town moving forward.

The purpose of this research is intellectual merit, through theoretical contributions, as well as broader impact, through practical applications. As one of the first studies to utilize the Community Capitals Framework through the lens of ethnography, and to apply this framework to the study of tourism, this research contributes to the advancement of several bodies of knowledge. Additionally, the use of ethnographic qualitative methods, as well as the pairing of deductive analysis with inductive, thematic analysis are found to be of paramount importance in merging both emic and etic points of view into an accurate representation of community capitals. This thesis provides further support that the Community Capitals Framework can be used translationally to make emically-founded contributions to development planning. When combined with other empirical data and theory, these findings are particularly salient for practical applications such as diagnosing opportunities and most promising areas for investment within the community.

¹ Atiteco is the noun used to refer to a local resident of Santiago Atitlán

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

AMSCLAE	Authority for the Sustainable Management of the Lake Atitlán Basin and its Surroundings
CAT	Tourism Self-Management Committee (Guatemala)
CONAP	National Council of Protected Areas (Guatemala)
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
ICIK	Interninstitutional Center for Indigenous Knowledge
IDH	Index of Human Development
IIED	International Institute for Environment and Development
INE	National Institute of Statistics (Guatemala)
INGUAT	Guatemalan Tourism Institute
INTECAP	Technical Institute of Training and Productivity (Guatemala)
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
OCRET	Office for the Control of State Reserve Areas (Guatemala)
PA	Protected Area
PROSOL	Economic Development Projects Sololá
RUMCLA	Multiple Use Reserve of the Lake Atitlán Basin
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SIGAP	Guatemalan System of Protected Areas
UN	United Nations
UNWTO	World Tourism Organization
WTTC	World Travel & Tourism Council

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Chapter 1.

INTRODUCTION

Globalization, the process of interconnection among people, processes, and societies around the world, is the overarching phenomenon of interest in this thesis. As the result of growing contact between different groups of people, this process has been occurring since the very beginning of mobile human societies. Although it is not a new occurrence, the qualitative difference in the pace of change in recent decades makes ongoing research all the more timely. As the term Anthropocene gains traction as a label for this post-industrial revolution epoch characterized by human-dominated environmental change (Steffen, Crutzen, & McNeill, 2007), and given acknowledgement of the decades since 1950 involving a “Great Acceleration” of this human impact, there is increasing recognition that no environments – natural or human – remain untouched by the processes of globalization.

This thesis approaches tourism as one of the complex systems that characterize the Anthropocene. Scholars have characterized tourism as “the largest scale movement of goods, services, and people that humanity has perhaps ever seen” (Greenwood, 1989, p. 171), as well as “the single largest peaceful movement of people across cultural boundaries in the history of the world” (Lett, 1989, p. 275). It is therefore not surprising that the authors responsible for outlining the Anthropocene and the more recent Great Acceleration literature include international tourism arrivals among the suite of indicators characterizing the post-1950s time period (Steffen, Broadgate, Deutsch, Gaffney, & Ludwig, 2015).

Within the increasingly interconnected global environment, indigenous communities face numerous threats to their cultural, linguistic, and traditional ecological heritage (Gorenflo,

Romaine, Mittermeier, & Walker-Painemilla, 2011). Indigenous communities can provide a powerful draw for tourism (Butler & Hinch, 2007; Greenwood, 1989; Zeppel, 2008), yet indigenous communities can also be increasingly marginalized, undermined, and jeopardized by irresponsible forms of tourism (Coria & Calfucura, 2011; Johnston, 2006; van den Berghe, 1994). In some cases, tourism can lead to improved economic conditions (Wunder, 2000; Stronza, 2007) and strengthened cultural identity (Stronza, 2007; Zeppel, 2008) for indigenous communities. In other cases, it can result in dispossession of land (Coria & Calfucura, 2011), or commodification of culture (Greenwood, 1989), and even dispossession from traditional lands (Johnston, 2006). Research that determines where and how indigenous peoples are able to better negotiate the forces of globalization, including the arrival of international tourism, in ways that support the preservation and perpetuation of increasingly endangered cultural diversity is now timelier than ever.

One location where a geographically restricted indigenous cultural group, composed of just 60,000 members, is negotiating the influences of global tourism is in the highland Maya town of Santiago Atitlán, Guatemala. Coupled with the aesthetic beauty of its highland landscape, the modern indigenous culture of descendants of the ancient Maya is a primary pull factor bringing over 300,000 international and domestic visitors to the Lake Atitlán, Guatemala region each year. Tucked in a narrow bay on the southern side of the lake sits Santiago Atitlán, capital of the Tz'utujil people. Flanked on three sides by towering volcanoes and sparkling blue water on the fourth, this village is a protected enclave wherein its residents have weathered nearly 500 years of occupation and persecution. Since the 1920s or earlier, tourists have been captivated by this town's beauty and its inhabitants' creativity, skill, and spirit. However today, this tiny cultural subgroup faces challenges the likes of which they have never wrought before.

In an increasingly interconnected global environment, the indigenous residents of Santiago Atitlán navigate rapid changes and seek to preserve a viable and meaningful way of life. This thesis investigates the role that the development and ongoing production of tourism plays in that negotiation of capitals and capabilities. In the context of 21st century globalization, the residents of Santiago Atitlán are increasingly enmeshed in processes that are beyond their control, leading to dynamic and diverse outcomes. Here, an ethnographic approach is taken to research the way this indigenous community is accessing the benefits and navigating the impacts of a changing tourism industry.

The overarching goal guiding this thesis is to understand the ways that tourism influences stocks of capital assets and institutions within the community of Santiago Atitlán. To guide such an analysis, theory on capitals and institutions is thoroughly reviewed below. Yet it is of importance to note that these influences and changes are not one-directional, nor are they rigid and consistent over time. Thus, as an etic framework, capital theory is helpful yet incomplete in terms of its ability to document the unfolding of processes of cultural change and renegotiation in the context of tourism in indigenous communities. Therefore, in addition to a deductive analysis using the Community Capitals Framework in Santiago Atitlán, this study also undertakes a more inductive analysis of the emic perspective of Tz'utujil residents, in an effort to convey these processes in their words. This reveals how community capitals and institutions are leveraged to proactively shape future manifestations of, and directions for, tourism in the capital of the Tz'utujil people. Beyond this theoretical component, a secondary objective of this thesis is to contribute to applied broader impacts through the development of evidence-based recommendations for stakeholders at different scales.

The findings and evidence presented herein stem from 10 weeks of ethnographic fieldwork in Santiago Atitlán, Guatemala in 2017. First, Chapter 2 reviews the literature framing this study, including key scholarly perspectives on the inter-related themes of globalization, development, and tourism. Then, a particular focus on the scholarship unique to outcomes of tourism development in indigenous communities is explored. A synthesis of this literature results in the primary research questions, elaborated at the end of Chapter 2, which guide the ethnographic analysis in later chapters. Next, Chapter 3 begins with a more detailed description of the Santiago Atitlán study site, including social, economic, and environmental characteristics of this indigenous community. The chapter then proceeds to explain the methods utilized in this thesis in detail, including a discussion of all fieldwork activities and both primary and secondary data collection techniques. Finally, this chapter outlines both the inductive and deductive approaches taken to comprehensively analyze various types of data gathered.

Chapter 4 then presents the findings of this research, organized according to the research questions being addressed. This lengthy discussion draws heavily on directly quoted data in order to forefront the emic perspective of the indigenous Tz'utujil community members themselves regarding tourism-related changes to local culture, community capital and assets, formal and informal institutions, and the use of technology. The chapter then revisits the research questions and summarizes the findings. Finally, Chapter 5 provides an overall conclusion to the thesis that outlines key contributions of this analysis to a greater understanding of how indigenous communities both react to, and proactively engage in, tourism-related challenges and opportunities.

Chapter 2.

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter reviews and synthesizes the published literature pertinent to tourism and indigeneity as they converge in the context of rural developing communities. Both foundational writings as well as more recent findings are summarized, thus providing a broad understanding of current theory and empirically-based knowledge in this area of study. Importantly, this sets the stage for uncovering what is yet unknown – the purpose of Chapter 4 and beyond. The use of published scientific research to establish a basis for this thesis represents an etic component of the research. This etic perspective led to the development of research questions outlined at the end of this chapter. In subsequent chapters, the etic understanding presented herein will be compared and contrasted with the emic realities of the studied cultural group that were uncovered in the process of the ethnographic research outlined in this thesis.

As the overarching topics of tourism, development, and indigeneity are quite broad, this chapter specifically focuses on several bodies of literature that hold much promise for understanding the ways that tourism and indigeneity converge in the context of rural developing communities. This thesis approaches tourism as a complex system within an increasingly interconnected global environment. Accordingly, this chapter begins in Part I by introducing the topic of globalization, an ongoing phenomenon underlying all of this work. Within this very broad umbrella theme, this thesis focuses on one specific driver and manifestation of globalization: development. At this point, Part II of this chapter introduces a particular *framework for assessing* development – the community capitals approach.

Part III of the literature review shifts the focus to tourism as a quintessential driver of development. Here, writing is reviewed on tourism-related development in general, before more specifically reviewing writing on tourism-related outcomes in developing nations and within indigenous contexts in Part IV. Finally, the literature review chapter concludes in Part V by articulating several research questions that resulted from synthesizing the above-mentioned bodies of literature within the context of the field setting.

Part I: Globalization

Globalization, the process of interconnection among people, processes, and societies around the world, is the overarching phenomenon of interest in this thesis. One commonly-used definition of globalization across the literature is that presented by sociologist Anthony Giddens in his book *The Consequences of Modernity* (1990). Calling it a process of central importance in understanding society, Giddens articulates globalization as “the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa” (1990, p. 64). While Giddens frames globalization as an inherent outcome of *modernization*, it is important to note that globalization is not a new phenomenon. As the result of contact between different groups of people, this process has been occurring since the very beginning of mobile human societies. More recently in human history, “processes of interconnection have been taking place for hundreds of years as part of an ongoing transition in the development of global capitalism” (Mowforth & Munt, 2009, p. 12).

Yet often, the term globalization is used in the context of a much smaller temporal scale, referring to a period of rapid global change and increased interdependence across the span of a few recent decades. So, although it is not a new occurrence, the qualitative difference in the force of globalization that makes it such a timely issue today is this pace at which it now functions (Mowforth & Munt, 2009). Recently, the term Anthropocene has gained traction as a label for a new geologic time period, the post-industrial revolution epoch characterized by human-dominated environmental change (Steffen, Crutzen, & McNeill, 2007). Within the span of the Anthropocene, it is the decades since 1950 that have been identified as comprising the “Great Acceleration,” a period characterized by exponentially dramatic increases in social, environmental, and economic trends across numerous indicators, including international tourism arrivals (Steffen et al., 2015). There are now no environments – natural or human – that have not been touched by the processes of globalization.

McGrew (1992) anticipated the Great Acceleration label by outlining an acceleration of globalization across two dimensions, indicating that globalization is both *stretching* spatially to result in further global reach, and *deepening* through greater intensification of impact. Thus, simply put, the outcome of globalization is that actions taken in any one part of the world can increasingly result in dramatic, lasting effects on other parts of the world, regardless of geographic distance. Globalization in the form of tourism within developing nations is characteristic of this process that enables the stretching and deepening of human impact across all parts of the world (Mowforth & Munt, 2009). The impacts of this process take many forms, including economic, financial, political, socio-cultural, and environmental dimensions.

When drawn into the global tourism market, developing nations enter a global system that they did not create, over which they have a limited amount of control, and which may not be

in their best interest (Britton, 1982; Burns, 1999) – a system which, in fact, may be systematically stacked against them. The processes through which indigenous communities encounter, negotiate, manage, and leverage opportunities and challenges of tourism-related development is the focus of the remainder of this literature review. To set the stage for understanding the impacts experienced by indigenous communities undergoing tourism development, a look is first taken at one influential framework used for analyzing broader development outcomes.

Part II: A Framework for Assessing Development

Part II of this literature review addresses how the impacts of development and globalization have been assessed. The economic and social development theory used here draws on Sen's influential work on capabilities and human development (e.g., 1997; 1999a; 1999b) and Bebbington's analytical framework connecting both capabilities and five types of capital assets with sustainable rural livelihoods (e.g., 1999). Flora, Flora and colleagues extended this work to include seven categories of capitals in their Community Capitals Framework, first published in 2004. They utilize a systems perspective to show how all seven capitals work together in the context of community development, capacity building, and sustainability (e.g., Emery & Flora, 2006). To effectively utilize this framework to guide the deductive analysis outlined later in this thesis, this material is reviewed here.

The Human Development Paradigm

Development can be thought of as an exercise in overcoming problems of deprivation, destitution, and oppression (Sen, 1999b). Yet operationalizing and measuring the “overcoming” of these problems is extraordinarily complex. As further elaborated in Part IV of this chapter, some outcomes of development are easily detected and measured, while other are difficult to quantify, and thus often externalized. According to scholars such as Bebbington (International Institute for Environment and Development [IIED], 1999), early development research seemed to indicate that rural people assess the quality of their various livelihood options based entirely on income potential, wherein sociological evidence presents cultural and social criteria as equally important. Likewise encouraging a deeper understanding of livelihoods that extends beyond income, Sen (1999b) asks, “What is the relation between our economic wealth and our ability to live as we like?” The problem with using economic wealth – typically operationalized as Gross Domestic Product (GDP) – as a proxy for development progress is that it just measures one factor. Just as development goals have transitioned from economic growth-oriented to human-centered wellbeing (see Part III of this chapter), to solve the world’s wicked problems (Rittel & Webber, 1973) we must move from a single silver bullet solution to a more nuanced approach that considers additional quantitative and qualitative factors.

The human development paradigm provides a counter-theory to earlier dominant growth-centric models of assessing development. This approach argues that measures of development should be measures of *human* development. Sen (1999a) equates the assessment of development with the assessment of *personal well-being* and *advantage*. Traditional welfare economics look at wellbeing as indicated by the relationships between people and commodities – concerned with the accumulation and value of commodities (opulence and utility). In contrast, Sen (1997; 1999a)

argues for a focus on capability – not on what one *has*, but what one *can do* or *can be*. In some ways consistent and in some ways contrasting with Sen, Nussbaum (2011) says development should be a proxy for human *quality of life*, but notes that the dominant model of development used by economists and policy-makers is still entirely contingent on per capita GDP, which is not a good proxy. Economic growth is just one part of quality of life.

Alternative to economic models for assessing development is the capabilities approach. This approach articulates ten central capabilities that are central to having “a life worthy of human dignity” (Nussbaum, 2011). These capabilities enable humans to address and face many key social problems, such as poverty and disadvantage, gender inequality, disability and aging, lack of education, declining environmental quality, and issues of law and political structure (Nussbaum, 2011). Consistent among both Sen and Nussbaum is the idea that development requires the presence of multiple opportunities (i.e. capabilities), and thus a measure of freedom of choice with respect to one’s path forward, rather than a single prescribed path. Therefore, in order to properly measure sustainable development, assessment tools must move beyond even the three pillars of economic, social, and environmental sustainability, and acknowledge the additional cultural, human, and political assets created by development.

The Evolution of Capitals Frameworks

As demonstrated in the preceding section, there are many impacts of development, which can be measured using a variety of qualitative and quantitative techniques. Bebbington (1999) states that:

...one part of a useful heuristic framework would conceive of livelihoods and the enhancement of human well-being in terms of different types of capital (natural,

produced, human, social, and cultural) that are at once the resources (or inputs) that make livelihood strategies possible, the assets that give people capability, and the outputs that make livelihoods meaningful and viable. (p. 2029)

In this framing, capital assets influence rural “capability” – not just the presence or absence of resources, but control over resource use and distribution, and ability to live meaningfully. Hence, from *commodities* and capabilities to *capitals* and capabilities.

In order to analyze rural livelihoods using this framework, the author indicates we must understand three factors: (1) access to these capital assets, (2) ways that these assets are combined and transformed, and (3) ways that assets are expanded through governance and market interactions (IIED, 1999). In line with this 2nd factor, Emery and Flora (2006) explored interaction among community capitals from a systems perspective, finding that strategic increases in certain capital stocks can build increases in other capitals, creating what they call a “spiraling up” of capitals; similarly, decreases in capital stocks are found to catalyze a downward spiral of loss. In line with the 3rd factor listed above, Flora and Flora (2013) explore the many ways that consumption, globalization, and issues of governance are transforming these capitals.

Bebbington’s (1999) framework incorporates 5 types of capital assets, listed in the quotation block above. Building upon prior work, Flora, Flora and colleagues’ (2004) Community Capitals Framework includes seven types of capital that jointly and individually contribute, or detract from, community sustainability: 1) human capital, 2) political capital, 3) social capital, 4) natural capital, 5) built capital (Bebbington’s “produced capital”), 6) financial capital, and 7) cultural capital. Each of these individual capitals have a unique body of literature grounded in different disciplines, and have been brought together in these community capital frameworks. While the strength of these frameworks is the holistic understanding they build – the “more nuanced approach” to assessing development called for above – a limitation to the

utilization of these frameworks is delineating the unit of analysis. In other words, a key question must be addressed: is capital individual, or a collective attribute of a group? Further, do individuals' capitals aggregate into community-level capital?

The answer to these questions is founded in one's school of thought; prominent scholars of social capital, which has been the subject of much empirical work, disagree on this. Coleman (1990) writes that social capital functions as an asset or resource strictly for an individual. Conversely, Putnam (1995) writes that "who benefits from [social capital] – the individual, the wider community, or some faction within the community – must be determined empirically, not definitionally" (p. 665). Wrestling with the difference between individual- and community-level measurements of capital becomes even more important in the context of frameworks that build an assessment based on multiple forms of capital. This can be a difficult task, particularly when the framework is applied to qualitative data.

With specific regard to scholarship on tourism-related development, the capitals framework has found little purchase. Although there are examples of individual capitals being assessed in the context of tourism, most often social capital (e.g. Hunt, Durham, & Menke, 2015; Jones, 2005; Marcinek & Hunt, 2015), framing tourism-related livelihoods and enhancement of human well-being in terms of a system of Bebbington's five capitals or Flora and Flora's seven Community Capitals has largely yet to materialize, despite their extensive use in the development literature. The one exception uncovered in this literature search was the work of Bennett, Lemelin, Koster, & Budke (2012), who advanced a framework for appraising and building capacity for tourism development in indigenous communities located near protected areas (PAs). Bennett et al. use the same seven capitals as Flora, Flora, and colleagues in their framework, although they cite a review of the Sustainable Livelihoods approach literature and

the Assets-Based approach to Community Development literature as their source. Their framework was tested by synthesizing qualitative data on tourism development in five different indigenous PA-adjacent communities. Given the work of Sen, Nussbaum, Bebbington, and Flora, Flora, and colleagues reviewed above, and advanced by Bennett et al.'s findings, the Community Capitals Framework is expected to be a useful tool for assessing tourism development, and appropriate in both rural and indigenous contexts.

Although the capitals framework, specifically, has rarely been applied to assessing tourism-related development, the greater body of research on tourism-related development and its outcomes is vast. To the primary threads of that work the following two sections now turn.

Part III: Origins of Tourism Development

Part III of this chapter will address the process of tourism-related development in three sections. First, a historical overview of general development thinking is presented. Next, the scope is narrowed to address tourism's emerging role as one pathway to development in the latter half of the 20th century. In light of the important role that technology plays in today's globalized world, the third section addresses literature relating to the role of technology in the context of tourism and development. This sets the stage for Part IV, which continues with an overview of tourism-related development outcomes, specifically with regards to outcomes in lesser developed regions and indigenous communities.

The Rise of Development Thinking

A legacy of Western capitalist economic history and a Eurocentric worldview, development thinking consolidated into the mainstream in the decades following World War II (Mowforth & Munt, 2009). Derived from the unwarranted optimism of modernization theory, early development theory overemphasized economics, defining development as a societal transformation from the backward and undeveloped into the urban and industrialized (Mowforth & Munt, 2009). This is reflected in economic growth models presented in such prominent writings as Rostow's 1960 *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto*.

It was not until the 1970s that ideas emerged which (1) contested economic-centered development ideals and (2) acknowledged the power and domination exercised by the First World² through its efforts to develop the Third World (e.g., Britton, 1982; Bunker, 1984; de Kadt, 1979; Meadows, Meadows, Randers, & Behrens III, 1972; Molotch, 1976). A lack of political structure within the nations being targeted for development efforts was recognized as making them susceptible to extraction and exploitation (Bunker, 1984). The assertion of asymmetrical power relationships leads to the sociological concept of unequal exchange, wherein the more developed and more powerful countries are able to “gain disproportionate advantages at the expense of [less-developed countries] through patterns of trade and other related structural characteristics” (Jorgenson, 2016, p. 335). In addition to operating at a national or global level, unequal exchange also occurs at a community scale, wherein there is a disproportionate distribution of development-related benefits and risks among the general public and a small group of elite (Molotch, 1976). Molotch's critique of the “growth machine” imperative calls it

² Here, the terms First World and Third World are used to reflect the terminology and thinking of the time

“the most important constraint upon...local initiative in social and economic reform” (1976, p. 310), highlighting its tendency to result in financial and quality of life benefits for some at the cost of social and environmental degradation felt by all.

Thus, a counter-narrative arose about the most effective and sustainable way to combat Third World poverty and widening economic gaps. Prominent scholars, cited above, expressed grave concern with the economic, environmental, and social sustainability of the growth-oriented approaches to development of the time. This was also reflected in the global political agenda, as exemplified in the United Nations (UN)’s 1972 report on the Conference on the Human Environment, and the 1987 publication of a report from the World Commission on Environment and Development, *Our Common Future*. Development focused on economic outcomes was now being considered as a driver of the global inequality that it purported to fix, and the proposed solution – sustainable development – brought social and environmental concerns up to equal footing with economics.

The subsequent decades of the 1990s and 2000s were characterized by even more movement to incorporate social concerns, such as human rights and welfare, into the objectives of sustainable development. While recognizing that development cannot take place in the absolute *absence* of economic growth, more development scholars also acknowledged that many forms of economic growth do not lead to development for *all* (Burns, 1999). In contrast to reliance on traditional welfare economics at a national scale, these “sustainable development” decades saw a renewed policy emphasis on approaches to community-level capacity to withstand social change, accumulate various forms of assets, implement services, and address poverty (Bebbington, 1999; Chaskin, 2001; Nussbaum, 2011; Sen, 1997; Sen, 1999b).

Ushering in the new century, the UN General Assembly (2000) published the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) eight measurable and time-bound international development goals which outlined objectives and targets for the 2000-2015 time period. These goals focused heavily on poverty reduction – and indeed had much success in this regard – yet initiatives for human and environmental health, education, equality, and global partnerships, were also set for achievement by 2015. Reflecting upon what was, and was not, accomplished with the MDGs, and also who was involved with the efforts and who was alienated from them, the United Nations’ post-2015 development agenda negotiations resulted in *Transforming our world: The 2030 agenda for sustainable development*, which includes a new set of 17 expanded Sustainable Development Goals.

Thus, recent decades have seen a shift in interest – within global policy as well as in the scholarship conducted in parallel – toward forms of development that lead to outcomes beyond economic ones, and which place greater emphasis on local-level, community-based outcomes. Accounting for such social objectives of development, new terms have emerged, including social and political capital, empowerment, social and environmental justice, participation, collective action, institutional strengthening, equity, wellbeing, and environmental ethics. The proliferation of these new thematic areas of research parallels an emphasis on promoting development strategies that are economically, environmentally, and socially *sustainable*. The acknowledgement of these inter-dependent factors reflect a shift toward viewing development, including tourism development, as a complex system appropriately assessed with multiple quantitative and qualitative outcome measures. It is not surprising, therefore, that many of these ideas have been explored in the context of tourism development.

Tourism and Development

Just as the understandings, definitional scope, targets, objectives, and policies related to development have shifted to place increased focus on social and environmental concerns, so too have similar shifts occurred related to tourism-specific development. While it is not within the scope of this thesis to fully review all development strategies and associated threads of scholarship, this section of the literature review – and the remainder of this thesis – will use the tourism sector as a particular lens through which to analyze development. This section of the literature will thus begin with a discussion of literature addressing tourism as a means of development. It will then trace the emergence of the alternative or sustainable tourism narratives, which paralleled the broader paradigm shift towards sustainable development. Finally, this review will zero in on a particular, localized view of development as a vehicle for community capacity building.

While tourism is a form of development that can be readily subjected to the same theoretical analysis as other forms of development (e.g., agriculture, commerce, extractive industries), tourism does differ from other forms of development in several key ways (de Kadt, 1979). In terms of the economic balance sheet, tourism is treated as an export product. Yet unlike other export commodities, tourism's goods and services are consumed directly in the countries and communities in which they are produced, resulting in a unique and often intimate interaction or 'encounter' between consumer and producer (Babb, 2011; de Kadt, 1979; Gmelch, 2010; Smith, 1989). Additionally, tourism does not adhere to society's traditional concept of industry boundaries. Tourism goods and services come from a variety of sectors, not just ones that are readily associated with tourism, such as restaurants, hotels, and souvenir shops. The tourism

sector also directly and indirectly affects a wide variety of local businesses, landowners, the government, transportation sectors, construction and other built capital industries, and more.

After pioneering early sociological understandings of tourism, leading tourism scholar Jafar Jafari has gone on to characterize the evolution of tourism research into four phases: pure *advocacy* for tourism, a *cautionary* approach to tourism, *adaptation* toward alternative forms of tourism, and finally, a *knowledge-based* platform for tourism (Jafari, 1990). Much early tourism literature *advocates* for tourism as an opportunity on which developing nations can capitalize to stimulate their economies and thus quality of life (de Kadt 1979, 1992; Jafari, 1990; Mowforth & Munt, 2009). Globalization ushered in this opportunity, enabling tourists to reach even the most remote and undeveloped areas. However, a high degree of overlap between the world's less developed areas, areas rich in natural resources and biodiversity, and areas where indigenous peoples live (e.g. Coria & Calfucura, 2011; Gorenflo et al., 2011) mean that areas ripe for tourism development are often vulnerable to cultural disruption, environmental degradation, and other tourism impacts (Buckley, 2011; Sharpley, 2009).

Thus, as tourism grew steadily on an international scale – from 25 million in 1950 (Glaesser, Kester, Paulose, Alizadeh, & Valentin, 2017) to over 1.3 billion in 2017 (World Tourism Organization [UNWTO], 2018a) – a recognition of the negative consequences of irresponsibly-managed tourism led to more critical and *cautionary* tourism research agendas (Jafari, 1990; Moscardo, 2008; Smith, 1989). Mirroring the transition within development literature towards a focus on sustainable development, the tourism literature saw a shift in focus from mass tourism, with an emphasis on economic outcomes such as contribution to GDP, to *adapted* concepts of sustainable or alternative tourism (Macbeth, 2005; Mowforth & Munt, 2009; Sharpley, 2009; Smith & Eadington, 1992; Stronza, 2001), with greater emphasis on the social

and environmental “promise and peril” of tourism. What Jafari (1990) calls the “knowledge-based platform” for tourism research, then, requires the recognition that “tourism is a complex social, cultural and economic phenomenon” (Moscardo, 2008).

One criterion often cited as integral to tourism development’s success and sustainability is the participation of local community members (Moscardo, 2008; Mowforth & Munt, 2009; Scheyvens, 1999; Stronza & Pegas, 2008). A key step in the participatory development approach is building the community’s capacity to manage the development and resulting benefit flows of its own tourism industry (Chaskin, 2001; Cole, 2006; Moscardo, 2008). Some scholars have advocated for the application of community capacity literature and empowerment frameworks to tourism development theory (Aref & Redzuan, 2009; Scheyvens, 1999). Scheyvens assesses tourism development as manifested in economic, psychological, social, and political empowerment. Other scholars, however, have found limitations in the ability of the empowerment concept to fit the socio-cultural, economic, and political conditions of tourism destinations in developing nations. For example, Tosun (2000, p. 613) critiques the participatory development approach as a top-down solution from the developed world that “requires a total change in socio-political, legal, administrative and economic structure” resulting in many cases in “cumbersome social, economic and environmental trade-offs.”

Overall, the additional scrutiny of recent decades has not only led to greater understanding of the impacts and opportunities that tourism provides, but it has also placed a much greater burden on tourism to take a comprehensive approach that goes beyond economic prescriptions. An important outcome of recent tourism literature is that in order to develop sustainably, the industry must look beyond, even, the three core pillars of sustainability – the

economic, social, and environmental – to recognize other human, cultural, and political dimensions.

Tourism, Development, and Technology

Technology has played a key role in the flow of information, people, and products around the globe, and is thus both an influential component of development in general and tourism development in particular. This is reflected in the use of mobile and wireless technology, multimedia, and increased functionality and usability of websites for tourism research and booking. As technology-enabled tourists become more independent, knowledgeable, and harder to please, the employment of technology is a key way that tourism suppliers can remain competitive (Buhalis & Law, 2009). The use of technology can reduce the cost of competing for tourist business by enabling cheap and effective product marketing, management, and distribution and the ability to leapfrog intermediaries (Buhalis & Law, 2009). However, the initial capital investment required to access technology is an entry barrier to this digitized tourism market that did not exist in pre-Internet era tourism (Buhalis & Law, 2009).

The availability of new industrial technology can create a gap in the economic gain that can be achieved from modern vs. traditional methods of production (Burns, 1999). This change in market incentives, coupled with access to technology, results in changes in materials and methods of production, which can also contribute to environmental changes discussed above, as well as cultural change and questions of authenticity, which will be discussed below.

While the use of the word technology today commonly invokes thoughts of the innovations in communication and information sharing discussed above, theories of structural

economic growth through technological diffusion originated with industrial development, predating the internet and handheld devices (e.g., Perez, 1983; Soete, 1985). Spatially-bound communities no longer function as self-sufficient enclaves that must produce their own food, tools, needs, and comforts. Innovations in machine and production technology have facilitated faster and cheaper modes of resource extraction and product manufacturing. The ability to produce more widgets in a shorter amount of time thus expands widget outputs to levels that can supply a larger geographic market. Meanwhile, innovations in transportation have also facilitated faster, cheaper, and more frequent physical movement of those products – and additionally, people – around the world. Yet the flooding of the global market with cheaper, machine-made products – including within industries core to cultural tourism, such as arts, crafts, and textiles – depresses prices and threatens traditional modes of production.

Access to industrial and communication technology presents opportunities for progress and development on both national and individual scales. In recognition of this, target 8.F of the MDGs was to “make available the benefits of new technologies, especially information and communications technologies” to humans around the world (UN General Assembly, 2000). This goal was measured through numbers of mobile cellular subscriptions and internet users – areas of much relevance to tourism – and by this evaluation, progress was made (UN, 2015). However, the persistence of socioeconomic problems despite decades of flows of technology from more developed to lesser developed nations has led scholars to question the appropriateness of these technologies in a developing world context (Akubue, 2000; Brewer et al, 2005; Soete, 1985). The needs of developing regions are vast and unique, and technology originating in and created for the developed world cannot be expected to fit perfectly in a lesser-developed context. Within

the phenomenon of tourism development, technology has had an influential role, just as it has in broader discussions of development and globalization.

Summarizing this section's focus on the origins of tourism development, it can be said that tourism is often represented in the literature as presenting viable strategies for achieving some or all of the goals of sustainable development. Whether through the use of technology, tourism, or other pathways, in deploying any development strategies, it is critical to consider key questions such as (1) *what* is being sustained or developed (e.g., profits, culture, lifestyles, environment, etc.), (2) *by whom*, and (3) *for whom*? In these areas, there are crucial contrasts in the objectives, methods, and outcomes of tourism development for neo-colonial regions that remain in lesser developed conditions, and for indigenous communities in particular (Johnston, 2006, pp. 79-80). Thus, it is to the outcomes of tourism in those locations that this review now turns.

Part IV: Outcomes of Tourism Development

While the preceding section addressed how development is defined and discussed pathways for achieving development goals, it is of equal importance to consider the complex *outcomes* of development efforts. As the previous section has helped to illustrate, development has historically been done to people in a top-down fashion, instead of stemming from local needs and wants. Hence, it becomes even more important to maintain a critical eye to its impacts – measuring not just target outcomes, but externalities as well (the purpose of Chapter 4 of this thesis).

As elaborated above, the travel and tourism industry is a major development axis and source of economic growth, touted for creating jobs, driving exports, and generating global prosperity (World Travel & Tourism Council [WTTC], 2018). Tourism now accounts for 10.4% of global GDP, and nearly 1 in 10 jobs worldwide (UNWTO, 2018b; WTTC, 2018). In 2017, international tourist arrivals exceeded forecasted growth, reaching 1.323 billion foreign arrivals to destinations around the world (UNWTO, 2018b). In Guatemala, international tourist arrivals grew by 48% from 2010 to 2017 (UNWTO, 2018b), and 2018 forecasts are for increased growth along key axes, including contribution to GDP, employment, exports, and investment (WTTC, 2018).

A hallmark characteristic of the Great Acceleration of the Anthropocene, tourism growth coincides with exponential global growth along other indicators for socio-economic development, including GDP, foreign investment, population, transportation, and telecommunications (Steffen et al., 2015). However, the Great Acceleration has also extended to socio-economic trends such as increased energy use, water use, and fertilizer consumption, indicators that help explain a mirrored increase in detrimental earth systems trends (Steffen et al., 2015). Both in Guatemala and across the globe, tourism is a major economic force that clearly affects global work patterns, standard of living, and income distribution (Mostafenazhad et al., 2015; Mowforth & Munt, 2009; Nepal & Saarinen, 2015; Smith & Eadington, 1992). The relationship between tourism, other global scale changes, and the local-level impacts of both needs to be better understood. Additional research is needed to build better modes of understanding, measuring, and accounting for the types of social outcomes that have traditionally been externalized in economically-focused assessments of tourism development.

Development in indigenous communities in particular has dramatic and disruptive economic, social and cross-cultural effects. These outcomes overlap in some ways with development occurring in non-indigenous regions, yet there are also many unique challenges being faced by indigenous people as they negotiate the arrival of various forms of development. As occurs elsewhere, the effects of tourism in indigenous communities is shaped by qualities and characteristics of the community, including livelihood sources, population, demographics, and geographic location. Yet indigenous peoples have inherited unique cultural worldviews that continue to inform their values and actions. As both a rural community and an indigenous community, Santiago Atitlán and its Tz'utijul residents have been heavily affected by tourism development in recent decades. To set the final stage for this thesis investigating the ways that the market-driven, capitalist enterprise of tourism has influenced the indigenous residents of Santiago Atitlán, the remainder of this section focuses on the research outlining tourism-related impacts in indigenous communities.

Development Concerns for Rural and Indigenous Communities

Tourism development has been presented by some as a beneficial activity, providing a pathway to achieving cultural, environmental, and economic sustainability for indigenous communities (e.g., Borman, 2008; Butler & Hinch, 2007; Coria & Calfucura, 2012; Scheyvens, 1999; Stronza, 2005; Stronza, 2007; Stronza, 2008; Zeppel, 2008). Yet in other instances, tourism has been shown to cause disruption, exacerbation of inequalities, exploitation, and conflict in indigenous communities (e.g., Burnham, 2000; Gross, Poor, Sipos, & Solymossy, 2009; Johnston, 2006; Stronza, 2008; Zeppel, 2008).

Tourism development has the potential to contribute to environmental change in a number of ways. Perhaps most notable in rural communities with access to natural amenities is tourism's potential to lead to abuse of common pool natural resources, or what Hardin (1968) termed a "tragedy of the commons." From a demand side, tourism has been seen as just another facet of the developed world's use of the underdeveloped world as a resource for expanding their own consumerism (Hong, 1985). de Kadt (1992) characterizes this as tourists seeking to take advantage of the natural amenities in undeveloped areas, after ruining all of their own natural amenities. Intent aside, it cannot be denied that many tourists seek the most beautiful and unique natural environments, often putting such places at risk in the process (Gmelch, 2010). This tragedy of the commons has also been played out from a supply side, wherein the attempt of too many tourism projects to capture the benefits of natural amenities has led to unfavorable experiential outcomes such as site degradation and crowding (Eadington and Smith, 1992). Increased visitation to third world rural locations also results in an overload of fragile and/or undeveloped infrastructure. This impact is seen particularly on local supplies of food, water, sanitation, and waste disposal systems (Gmelch, 2010).

Yet beyond these tangible risks, at particular risk in indigenous communities are imperiled cultural and linguistic practices that are being jeopardized and lost at a rate that is on a par with biodiversity loss on the planet (Gorenflo, et al., 2011). In an early critique of the effects of tourism development, de Kadt (1979) argued that cultural development is a critical component of development efforts, yet is often neglected by national and international policymakers who design top-down development plans. He asserts that "there are often non-quantifiable tradeoffs between material and sociocultural costs and benefits" of development (de Kadt, 1979, p. xi-xii). In other words, some development outcomes are *non-material*: they are hard to see, and hard to

measure. It is essential to look critically not only at how tangible gains and assets (e.g., financial capital, natural capital, built capital, technology) are distributed, but also at how increased engagement in neoliberal markets activities, including international tourism, drives undesired socio-cultural change (e.g., social capital, cultural capital, human capital, political capital), especially in indigenous communities (Johnston, 2006).

It is important to note that the lines between the social and cultural changes that result from development are often blurred. Here, they are conceptualized as cultural outcomes that are determined and driven by social processes. However, there are a number of ways that an account of the empirical evidence for the highly intertwined social and cultural impacts of tourism development could be organized. The social processes presented and described below include altered power dynamics at local and global levels, changes in informal indigenous institutions and sense of community, and the demonstration effect. These processes result in change that is manifested across dynamics of negotiated identity, cultural commodification, and appropriation of knowledge.

Social Processes Resulting from Tourism Development

Power dynamics. First, to understand tourism, one must understand the power dynamics involved, which exist on different scales. At a global level, as outlined in The Rise of Development Thinking section above, we can observe superiority as gained at the expense of the inferior. This is played out in political power relationships between developed and lesser developed countries, as well as power wielded by large donors who provide an influx of financial capital. Bunker (1984) argues that underdeveloped nations are purposively suppressed because

their lack of political structure makes extraction and exploitation easier. Many scholars have viewed efforts to increase welfare and community services along with economic development not as a solution to poverty, but rather as a contribution to a cycle of dependency on wealthy and powerful outsiders (e.g. Bryant & Bailey, 1997; McMichael, 2012; Nord, 1994; Robbins, 2012). In this way, domination and marginalization of some parts of the world are seen as imperative steps to growth and development elsewhere (Mowforth & Munt, 2009). As a form of extractive industry, the international tourism industry can be used to reinforce lesser developed countries' dependency on and vulnerability to first world powers (Britton, 1982), especially when dominated by outside investment. In such cases, extra-local ownership can translate to extraction of economic gain.

Power dynamics are also at play on the ground, within the local tourism industry (Mowforth & Munt, 2009; Nepal & Saarinen, 2015; Stonich, 1998). Unequal power relations affect ability of indigenous peoples to have a voice in management decisions (Coria & Calfucura, 2012). Coria and Calfucura (2012) found that ecotourism has potential to improve indigenous livelihood possibilities, but that in practice, the distribution of economic benefit is uneven, and tends to favor “community elites”. Thus power dynamics often flare up at the local level when tourist encounters lead to local competition and rivalry, as has already been noted in Santiago Atitlán (Carlsen, 1993).

The questions of “who benefits?”, and “who pays?” in the context of tourism development are the core of the competition and rivalry within communities (Belsky, 1999; de Kadt 1979; Stronza, 2010). Scholars note that wealth redistribution associated with rapid economic change is often followed by social destabilization, due to the creation of “winners” and “losers” (Eadington & Smith, 1992). Again, this can occur at a local level – resulting in both winners and losers

within the community – or it can occur across regions, in which particular communities benefit while others are left out of the tourism system. When the winners are external to the community, this can create distrust of outsiders and lead to a “closed” community (Eadington & Smith, 1992; Wolf, 1957).

Governance and institutions. A second key process that influences outcomes of tourism for indigenous peoples is the strengthening or weakening of a “sense of community” and informal cultural institutions. Communities are founded in social settings that extend beyond one’s own life, resulting in ongoing relationships and the need to take responsibility for one’s actions (Goodsell, Flaherty, & Brown, 2014). In traditional rural communities, these social settings were established and reinforced by spatial proximity. However, changes in global connectivity and communication technology have “‘melted down’ the various institutions that provided stable contexts and frames of reference” (Goodsell et al., 2014, p. 633). Macro-level processes such as urbanization, industrialization, and centralization of bureaucratic power can weaken the autonomy of once-isolated rural and indigenous communities, aligning them more with the needs and decisions of mass society (Goodsell et al., 2014). This “institutionalized individualism” means that people, especially members of indigenous groups, are forced to adapt to changing life conditions without the support formerly supplied by family, religion, class, and culture, bringing in new elements of risk and destabilizing community.

Demonstration effect. A third process influencing outcomes of tourism in indigenous communities involve the demonstration effect. While it is hard to disentangle the effects of tourism from the effects of other global influences, like increased access to regional and international media, tourism has been blamed for introducing and/or exacerbating local ills (de Kadt, 1979; Gmelch, 2010; Smith, 1989). One obvious conduit for tourists’ impacts on local

behaviors and values is the tourist encounter, or the direct interaction between hosts and guests (van den Berghe, 1994). However, tourism *in general* is also a contributor to community-level demonstration effects, even among those not directly involved in the industry, described as “changes in attitudes, values, or behavior which can result from merely observing tourists” (de Kadt, 1979, p.65). In his studies of ethnic tourism in San Cristóbal, Mexico, van den Berghe (1994) found that “even when playing at being poor” in their search for an authentic ethnic experience, tourists still demonstrated high levels of privilege and consumerism by local standards.

Through their material possessions and attitudes, tourists may represent new desires which local people cannot fulfill, leading to feelings of frustration and deprivation (de Kadt, 1979; Gmelch, 2010). This is further enhanced by the fact that many tourists, contrary to those in van den Berghe’s study, display higher levels of consumption while on vacation than they do in their “normal” lives, projecting a distorted image of their standard of living as even further above the average in the host country (de Kadt, 1979). Inasmuch as tourism contributes to the “values of being” getting “crowded out by values of having,” it contributes to the spread of consumerism from developed society to lesser developed areas (de Kadt, 1992, p. 54).

Cultural Outcomes of Tourism Development

Negotiated identity. Not surprisingly, members of indigenous communities find themselves struggling to maintain or reconcile their identities amidst the growing outside influences that the arrival of tourism brings. Several foundational writings address how ethnic identity is represented, perceived, and reinforced by being the object of the ‘tourist gaze’

(Bruner, 2005; MacCannell, 1984; Urry, 1990). Modernity and industrialization, to which tourism contributes, have been viewed as sources of cultural homogenization and an erosion of local differences (Allen & Massey, 1995; de Kadt, 1992; Mowforth & Munt, 2009).

Particularly salient expressions of identity in indigenous communities come from language and clothing, both of which are highly susceptible to the effects of global change. In part, this stems from the demonstration effect, inasmuch as it reinforces a perception that non-Western modes of consumption (as manifested in dress, food, and other categories) are a proxy for poverty (Bandyopadhyay and Shive, 1989; de Kadt, 1992). In addition, market mechanisms play a role; “fast fashion” and throwaway culture in more wealthy countries to the north has contributed to the arrival of vast amounts of used clothing in Central America that is available to purchase for mere pennies in comparison to the much greater investment of time and money required for handmade garments. Carlsen (2011) has already noted this trend in Santiago Atitlán. This issue has also been framed as a form of cultural dependency, wherein relationships of subordination and domination extend into the cultural realm, and local culture begins to shift its identity to reflect the external culture (Erisman 1983; Reed, 1995; Stronza, 2001).

Cultural commodification. Through visual imagery that includes, but is not limited to, archeological ruins and colorful ethnic clothing, indigenous tourism encourages travelers from around the world to seek out windows into the way the “exotic other” lives (Ardren, 2004; Butler & Hinch, 2006; Johnston, 2006; van den Berghe, 1994; Zeppel, 2008). In the best of cases, this image stems from owners of that visual imagery themselves, the “exotic others” who capitalize on their local heritage, culture, and diversity as way to differentiate and market themselves for tourism (Gmelch, 2010). Yet Johnston (2006) found such outcomes to be rare for indigenous communities. Much more common is commercialization and commodification of culture, leading

to cultural erosion, internal conflicts related to what is or is not authentic, and the permanent loss of cultural practices and traditional knowledge (Johnston, 2006).

Encounters between tourist hosts and guests often involve the sale of a commodity or service (Gmelch, 2010). When these commodities or services are culturally based, the effect of adding an exchange value is warrant for concern, as it can lead to commodification of aspects of material as well as non-material culture (Cohen, 1988). This raises questions of authenticity of cultural artifacts (Bruner, 2005; MacCannell, 1999) as well as concern that when aspects of culture become pure spectacle, they can lose their original importance or meaning (Gmelch, 2010).

Carlsen (1993) found some evidence of this process already underway in Santiago Atitlán, where a radical transition in feelings about selling textiles has been unfolding in recent years. In the 1920s – when tourist boats already regularly crossed the lake from Panajachel to Santiago Atitlán – Atitecos would not sell handwoven textiles to outsiders, for fear of exposing oneself to “witchcraft” (Lothrop, 1948). In 1993, Carlsen says they are “resorting nearly to duress in an attempt to force them to buy.” He attributes this shift to both underlying changes in indigenous social structure and waning levels of agricultural production under ecological decline, both of which are ultimately leading to a shift away from a traditional subsistence economy, and open the door for a market for commodified versions of cultural artifacts and expressions.

Appropriation of knowledge. The tourism industry is fundamentally dependent upon visual imagery (Urry, 1990), and an appropriation of symbols and knowledge occurs in the interest of providing authentic experiences for travelers (MacCannell, 1999). In many cases, the people to whom these cultural artifacts belong have been excluded from both the interpretation of these symbols and the economic benefits derived from tourism-related market integration (de

Kadt, 1979; Nash, 1996), leading to what Johnston (2006) accurately describes as a loss of intellectual property rights. In another example, the *Mundo Maya* project, a government-driven tourism development staged Maya tourism experiences for visitors without providing local indigenous people an opportunity to participate in the staging of activities, costumes, dances, or construction designs (Brown, 1999).

Unfortunately, such practices have become institutionalized across the “Mayan Riviera,” perhaps most egregiously staged at Xcaret, where visitors are provided the opportunity to waterslide down fabricated Mayan pyramids within an enclave resort, while nearby Mayan descendent communities and archeological sites are ignored (Torres & Momsen, 2005). Cultural spaces have been appropriated and transformed by outsiders – both the tourism developers and the tourists themselves – and have thus displaced descendants of the Maya from their landscape and their culture. It is not a coincidence that the result of such situations is cultural disintegration, political disenfranchisement, discontent, increased violence, and conflict.

Counter-Arguments: Preservation and Revitalization

The above sections identified many negative socio-cultural processes and outcomes that result from tourism development. Yet it is imperative to note that in other situations, scholars have identified ways that the commodification of culture through tourism, and the associated enhanced market valuation of cultural artifacts, has provided opportunities for the preservation—and even the revitalization—of indigenous identity, knowledge, and tradition (e.g. Butler & Hinch, 2006; Wunder, 2000; Zeppel, 2008). While empirical evidence articulated above demonstrates the *possibility* of tourism development to result in cultural homogenization, some

scholars contend that “despite the uniformity that does occur as a result of applying international standards in accommodations, travel arrangements, and service, tourism does not *necessarily* destroy cultural differences” (Gmelch, 2010, p. 20, emphasis added).

In some situations, perhaps most commonly, processes of cultural degradation and cultural revitalization can be simultaneously present in the same community. In his examination of touristic representations of Maasai people of Kenya, Bruner found that “ethnicity, culture, and authenticity gain and lose meanings in diverse touristic and world contexts” (2010, p. 231). Likewise, in Santiago Atitlán, Carlsen (1993) found that some indigenous Tz’utujil weavers integrated changes in their traditions in response to disruptions created by integration in the tourism market. While this led to what some would frame as the reduced authenticity of the new woven products, these changes were made in order to maintain the practice as a whole, thus maintaining weaving, a long-held cultural practice, as a livelihood. While the materials, tools, and means of production have changed, many people are still able to dress in *traje* (traditional attire). If weavers had not adapted, perhaps degrading *some* aspects of their culture, they could not have preserved their overall cultural customs of dress.

In addition to these complex negotiations of authenticity, research has also found cases both for and against identity impacts. Bunten (2010) found tourism not only to generate jobs and financial capital, but to allow indigenous people to engage with their natural environment and thus reinforce aspects of their identity manifested through connections with their traditional homelands. Likewise, Borman (2008) and Stronza (2007) have found examples of tourism reinforcing ethnic identities. Additionally, Stronza (2005; 2010) found hosts matching their “front stage” or outwardly manifested behaviors to visitors’ expectations, while simultaneously maintaining traditional customs “back stage” and a genuine internal sense of who they are.

Furthermore, beyond simply providing a means for *maintaining* culture and identity, other scholars have found that tourism even presents new possibilities for *reclaiming* identity and culture. In a study of tourism around a popular Maya ruins in Belize, Medina (2003) found that the opportunity to engage in tourism led to local indigenous people utilizing archaeological publications to acquire knowledge and develop expertise about previously forgotten and abandoned traditions of their ancestors. Yet importantly, as this example demonstrates, often individuals are differentially exposed to these processes of cultural reinforcement and revitalization as a function of their differential access to capital, markets, training, and/or other capabilities.

Summing up the complexities reviewed in this section, Burns (1999) argues that the negative socio-cultural phenomena observed by many tourism scholars (e.g., demonstration effect, acculturation, loss of authenticity, cultural homogenization) have some value, but are by no means ‘proven’. Buntin (2010) contends that, with careful planning, tourism can be a powerful tool for peace and prosperity within indigenous communities – not only by supporting preservation of knowledge and cultural values, but also by bridging across cultural boundaries. She posits that the value judgments attached to “cultural commodification” are rooted in point of view; her point of view is a positive one, in that she frames this as transmuting cultural and spiritual capital into the potential for economic gain (Buntin, 2010).

Part V: Research Questions

In light of the literature reviewed above, Part V elaborates research questions that have been developed to guide the subsequent analysis of globalization, development, tourism, and

indigenous communities that is articulated in the remainder of this thesis. The inductive and deductive analyses these questions imply seek to better understand a) the current state of community capital assets and institutional arrangements in Santiago Atitlán and b) the way that tourism influences the value and arrangement of these community capitals and institutions. The theoretically framed questions outlined below draw on archival research to provide an etic perspective to the analysis, but answers are grounded in ethnographically gathered emic perspectives of Atitecos, the residents of Santiago Atitlán.

RQ 1: The Current State of Community Capitals and Institutions

First, deductive analysis is used to answer a set of descriptive questions regarding the current state of community capitals and institutions at the time research was carried out. Based on the theory presented in Part II of this chapter, the Community Capitals Framework should provide a useful assessment tool for building a holistic understanding of tourism outcomes in the rural, indigenous community of study. As a preliminary component of the larger ethnographic study, this framework is first applied deductively to create a snapshot of the current array of capital assets in Santiago Atitlán. Focusing on the overall community as the unit of analysis, this question asks:

1a. How do community capitals manifest in the Tz'utujil town of Santiago Atitlán, Guatemala in ways that can be qualitatively analyzed?

While the contribution of institutional theory to tourism literature is gaining increasing purchase, much remains to be assessed with respect to how indigenous community institutions, particularly those associated with cultural resources, are manifested in the context of tourism.

Focusing on individual institutions as the unit of analysis, the second part of this deductive analysis seeks to build a descriptive account of the current institutional arrangement, asking:

1b. What are the key institutions, formal and informal, involved in the development and ongoing production of tourism in Santiago Atitlán, Guatemala?

RQ 2: The Influence of Tourism on Capitals and Institutions

While deductive, confirmatory research is well suited to answering the descriptive questions articulated above, the second analysis uses inductive methods to answer explanatory questions regarding tourism outcomes. While RQ 1 is aimed at creating a snapshot of capital assets and institutions, as they exist today, RQ 2 utilizes an exploratory, inductive analysis in an effort to better understand the processes by which tourism influenced the development or led to change in these capital values and institutions. Understanding the nature of processes and how they unfold over time is a particular strength of qualitative, inductive, and ethnographic methods.

Thus, this research question asks:

2a. How is tourism – a market-driven, capitalist-driven form of globalization and development – influencing the overall array of capital assets available to residents in Santiago Atitlán?

2b. How is tourism – a market-driven, capitalist-driven form of globalization and development – influencing individual institutions and forms of collective action in Santiago Atitlán?

These research questions will be addressed in this thesis using qualitative data gathered through ethnographic fieldwork in the area surrounding Lake Atitlán, a popular tourist destination in the Central American country of Guatemala. Primary data collection was carried out from May 24 through July 30, 2017, during which time the author maintained residence with a local indigenous family in the lakeside pueblo of Santiago Atitlán, Guatemala and participated in an ethnographic methods field school administered by North Carolina State University. As is usual when conducting ethnographic research (Babbie, 2013; Bernard, 2012; Creswell, 2013), a bricolage of qualitative data collection techniques were employed throughout this period, including participant observation and several formats of interviews. Additionally, archival research was conducted prior to, during, and after the fieldwork. A detailed description of these methods is outlined in the next chapter.

Chapter 3.

METHODS

This chapter provides a detailed description of the methods utilized to conduct this research. It begins with an introduction to the study site, the contextual foundation upon which the entire project rests. The environmental, social, and historical setting in which this research takes place is vital to its understanding and interpretation. Following this introduction is a detailed description and rationale for the chosen research design, including the ethnographic methods by which data were collected. Data collection techniques are then outlined in detail. The chapter concludes with a thorough explanation of the methods by which the resulting ethnographic data were analyzed.

Study Site and Context

Resting at the base of three towering volcanoes, the picturesque 92-square-mile Lake Atitlán sits within a national large protected area called the *Reserva de Uso Múltiple Cuenca del Lago de Atitlán*³, or RUMCLA. The RUMCLA boundaries encompass the lake's entire watershed, including the rivers and springs flowing into the lake basin, the collapsed caldera left by the ancient eruption of a former fourth volcano. RUMCLA is classified by the Guatemalan National Council of Protected Areas (CONAP), as a multiple-use zone, a protection category with the stated management objective of maintaining a sustainable system of natural resource production; put another way, economic and social outcomes are the driving factors for the

³ Multiple Use Reserve of the Lake Atitlán Basin

conservation of the area (Consejo Nacional de Áreas Protegidas⁴ [CONAP], 2016). As a multiple-use zone, human presence and resource use is permitted throughout the area, as designated by a detailed zoning system that spans a continuum of use restriction and conservation objectives (CONAP, 2007).

The Pan-American Highway⁵ provides easy access to the Lake Atitlán region from the north, connecting it to Guatemala City and Antigua, which are concentration areas of the national population as well as popular access points for international tourists. Due primarily to this road access, the northern part of the lake is more built up and developed, with the town of Panajachel serving as the main entrance hub and jumping off point for visitors. The southern half of the lake, dominated by the three volcanoes that punctuate the iconic views of the region, is more forested and rural (CONAP, 2007). Not only does Santiago Atitlán sit at the heart of the biodiverse southern region – it is the only town with direct access to all three volcanoes – but it is also the largest town (in both area and population) among 17 governmental municipalities within the protected area. Flanked on its north by the lake and leading to coastal plains on the south, the town straddles a border zone of watersheds and climatic environments (Carlsen, 2011; CONAP, 2007). Its integral position within the local and regional geography, depicted below in Figure 1, make it a singular location to study the social-environmental nexus.

There has been much concern for protecting the lake and its watershed – aesthetically for its beauty and touristic appeal; for reasons concerning water quality and human health; and, amid events such as endemic bird species extinction and trophic-level ecosystem changes following

⁴ National Council of Protected Areas

⁵ Network of roads reaching from Northern Alaska to lower parts of South America; also known in this region as Central American Highway 1

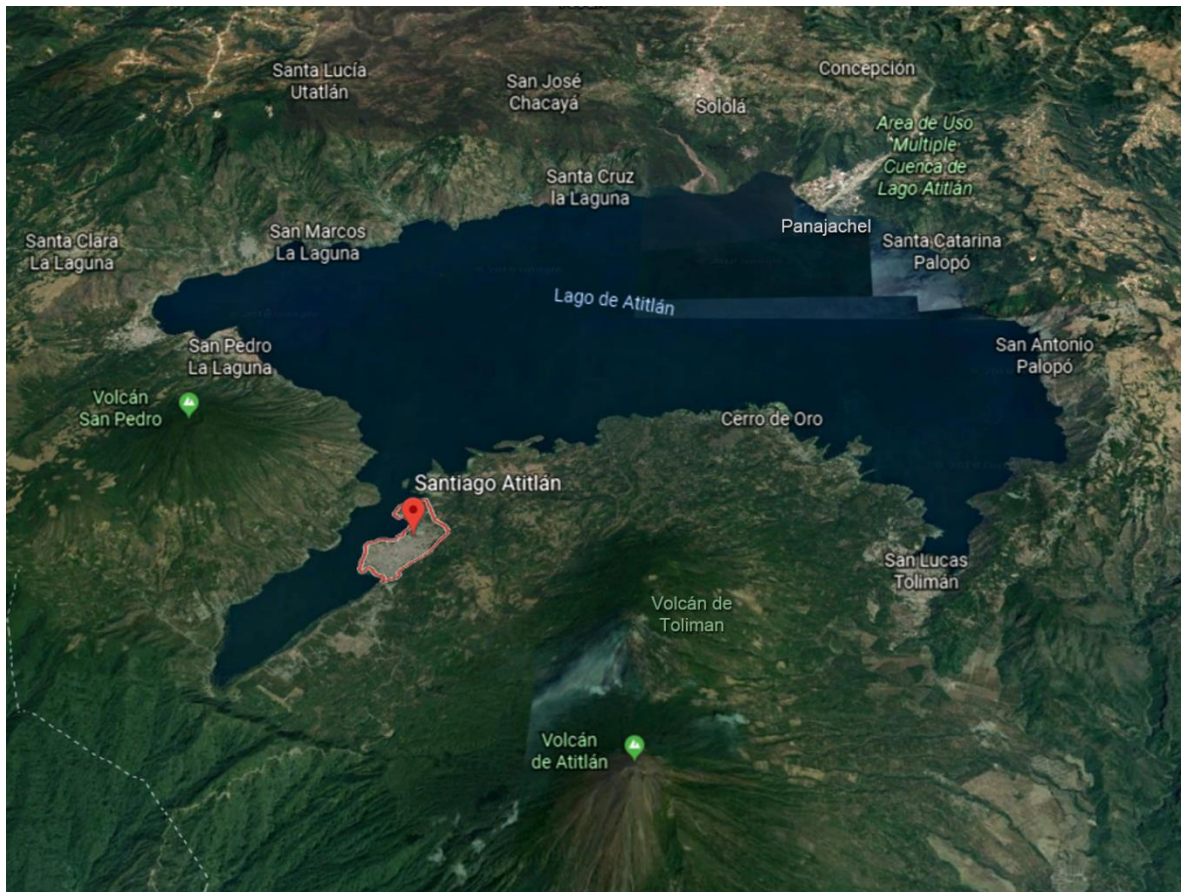


Figure 1. Aerial satellite map of Lake Atitlán and surrounding communities. Source: Google Earth

the introduction of non-native fish species, more broadly for conservation and biodiversity protection (e.g. Autoridad para el Manejo Sustentable de la Cuenca del Lago de Atitlán y su Entorno⁶ [AMSCLAE], 2016; Bentley, Laubach, Spalter, Ginter, & Jensen, 2004; Loehle & Eschenbach, 2012; Skinner, 2005; Skinner, 2014; Rejmánková, Komárek, Dix, Komárková, & Girón, 2011; Zaret and Paine, 1973). Yet in addition to environmental threats, there are myriad social ones (e.g. Carlsen, 2011; Devine, 2016; Ehlers, 1991; Hawkins, McDonald, & Adams, 2013; Lyon, 2007; Skinner, 2005; Universidad del Valle de Guatemala, 2003). This human

⁶ Authority for the Sustainable Management of the Lake Atitlán Basin and its Surroundings

environment is complex, mired in centuries of tradition and discrimination, and thus warrants further exploration by social scientists.

The indigenous population of highland Guatemala “has been repeatedly victimized” (Verrillo & Earle, 1993, p. 226). Most recently, the nation’s brutal 36-year Civil War bore an immense toll, resulting in the genocide of over 200,000 people, 83% of whom were indigenous descendants of the Maya (Commission for Historical Clarification, 1999; de Onis & Yates, 2011; Devine, 2016). Fueled by structural racism and unequal access to natural, financial, and political capital, this period was fraught with violence and characterized by the militarization of rural areas (Smith, 1990 cf. Carlsen, 1993) and the appropriation of indigenous-owned land (de Onis & Yates, 2011; McCreery, 1976 cf. Carlsen, 1993). More than two decades after the United Nations-facilitated Peace Accords of 1996, both indigenous and European-descendent Guatemalans continue to negotiate issues of identity, land tenure, and livelihoods as the national government attempts to guide the way their complex history will define their future (Devine, 2016).

Part of this re-identification of the Guatemalan national identity has been an attempt to capitalize on the “Maya culture” as a source of competitive advantage on the global tourism stage (Devine, 2016). In the 1990s, Guatemala joined forces with Honduras, El Salvador, Belize, and Mexico in the *Mundo Maya*⁷ project, a large-scale promotion supported by the World Tourism Organization (Brown, 1999; Devine, 2016; Johnston, 2006; Magnoni, Ardren, & Hutson, 2007). The multicultural discourse being used by the government in tourism promotion today comes in sharp contrast to decades of discrimination and state-sponsored acts of genocide

⁷ *Mundo Maya* translates to Maya World

against Guatemala's indigenous population. Yet despite controversy surrounding the ethical ramifications of this broad-scale appropriation and commodification of culture (eg. Johnston, 2006), international campaigns that showcase Guatemala as a cultural tourism destination also present the state's indigenous nations with opportunities for economic and cultural revitalization. For example, in the Lake Atitlán area, Devine (2016) identified the successful utilization of tourism to reassert identity and reclaim both territory and economy within the Tz'utujil community of San Juan La Laguna.

Over 95% of the population in the area surrounding Lake Atitlán self-identifies as belonging to one of three indigenous ethnic groups of Maya descent (Instituto Nacional de Estadística⁸ [INE], 2002). This geographic concentration of indigenous population is a relic of the Spanish conquest of the 1500s, during which indigenous people of Guatemala were pushed from their central and coastal lowland homes into the highlands (Carlsen, 2011). Coupled with the highly aesthetic landscape, the modern culture of the local Kakchiquel, Ki'che', and Tz'utujil people is a primary pull factor bringing over 300,000 international and domestic visitors to the Lake Atitlán region each year (Instituto Guatemalteco de Turismo⁹ [INGUAT], 2015). Broadly, tourism to and with Guatemala – and thus to the Lake Atitlán basin – has grown dramatically, right alongside its growth at the global scale (see Literature Review parts III and IV). However, there is limited fine-grain data on travel among the communities within the region. Despite the absence of statistical data, qualitative data show that tourism is an important part of local livelihoods, helping to drive the powerful influence of globalization in introducing new technology, rapid changes, and an encouragement and desire to modernize. Santiago Atitlán is no

⁸ National Institute of Statistics

⁹ Guatemalan Tourism Institute

exception to this phenomenon, despite being tucked in the mouth of a narrow bay, where it is protected by the lake to its front and sheltered by the steep forested *faldas* of the Atitlán and Tolimán Volcanoes to its back.

As the capital of the Tz'utujil people, Atitlán is a pueblo rich with the “living culture” that attracts visitors to the lake region. The town is alight with its vibrant colors, patterns, sounds, and smells. This culture is reflected in the indigenous language, clothing, traditions, customs, and artisan work. However, in addition to the highly visual culturally-based tourism, Atitlán holds a wide variety of lesser-known attractions of the type that tourists travel the world to seek. The town offers religious tourism in the form of *Maximón*, a mysterious deity of blended Maya and Christian origins which is celebrated by local spiritualists; the Catholic Church, impressive not only for its architecture and age of nearly 500 years, but also infamous as the site of the martyr of a revered Roman Catholic priest from Oklahoma during the Civil War; and the “mother church” of Evangelical mega-church Palabra Miel, which brings thousands of visitors to the town from congregations all over North America and Europe during its various retreats each year (Carlsen, 2011; Hawkins, McDonald, & Adams, 2013). The town’s nature-based attractions are also numerous, including a wide range of floral and faunal biodiversity, hiking access to all three volcanoes, archeological sites, beaches and lakefront parks, a wealth of bird species, viewpoints, trails, and more (Carlsen, 2011; Gobierno Municipal de Santiago Atitlán¹⁰ [Muni], 2012; Municipalidad de Santiago Atitlán, n.d.).

The town of Santiago Atitlán lies within a municipality of the same name, which encompasses 136 square kilometers (Muni, 2012). The municipality is comprised of the urban

¹⁰ Municipal Government of Santiago Atitlán

center and small satellite settlements located within expansive rural surroundings that are a mix of forest and agricultural production (Carlsen, 2011; Muni, 2012). The town is growing at a notable rate, close to 3% annually, and projections put the 2018 population of the urban center alone over 37,000 (Centro de Salud Santiago Atitlán, 2011; INE, 2008). Much of the economy is based on farming and the production of artisan goods (Muni, 2012). Individual families manage small plots of farmland, or *milpas*, on the volcanoes' slopes, where they grow coffee, avocados, corn, beans, and other produce for subsistence use, sale in the local market, and – when yield permits – widespread distribution through large corporations (Carlsen, 2011). The town is known for its quality woven fabrics, clothing, and glass beads, which are sold to locals, national and international tourists, and indigenous peoples from other regions of Guatemala.

The Tz'utujil ethnic population, which is heavily concentrated in Atitlán, ranks among the lowest in the department of Sololá¹¹ in Index of Human Development (IDH) rating – a demographic measure based on the three dimensions of health, education, and income level (Programa de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo¹², 2011). Likewise, in the last Guatemalan national census, the municipality of Santiago Atitlán ranked below both the national and departmental averages of IDH (INE, 2002). The 2012-2023 Municipal Development Plan (Muni, 2012) places central importance on investing in the public services sector, which is expected to have a multiplier effect, proving essential for improving both the tourist experience as well as the living conditions of the entire population. As indicated in Chapter 2 of this thesis, tourism has been promoted as a potential driver for economic development in developing countries for decades. Likewise, the current administration of Santiago Atitlán's Municipal Government views

¹¹ The governmental department in which Atitlán is located; the Guatemalan equivalent of a state

¹² United Nations Development Program

tourism as an avenue to employment and income, calling it the area of “most important potential for the economic development of the Municipality” and a way to “provide employment and income to many people with different skills and abilities” (Muni, 2012, p. 39).

A Quick Digression on Semantics

The original indigenous name of the town studied here is simply Atitlán, a name of Tz’utujil origin that roughly translates to “by the water” (Muni, 2012). The Tz’utujil name Atitlán is also used for other landmarks in this region – i.e. Lake Atitlán and Atitlán Volcano. The modern name of the pueblo, Santiago Atitlán, dates back to the Spanish conquest, when the first Christian church – named for Saint James the Apostle, or *Apóstol Santiago* in the Spanish language – was established in the town (Carlsen, 2011; Muni, 2012). Among travelers and non-indigenous Guatemalans, it is common to shorten the name down from ‘Santiago Atitlán’ to just ‘Santiago’. In contrast, when shortening from the full name to one word, the majority of Atitecos refer to the town simply as Atitlán, their own name, rather than Santiago, the imposed name. However, to avoid confusion between references to the town and references to the entire lake region, in the remainder of this thesis, the names ‘Santiago Atitlán’ and ‘Santiago’ will be used interchangeably to refer to the town in which the research took place.

Research Design

The project scope and field site selection stemmed initially from two opportunities: 1) the author’s participation in an ethnographic field school that could provide the methodological preparation necessary to carry out such a project, and 2) a research grant from Penn State’s

Interinstitutional Center for Indigenous Knowledge (ICIK) to support additional independent research beyond the timeframe of the field school. ICIK recognizes that alternative ways of knowing and understanding the world are “particularly important in the era of globalization, a time in which indigenous knowledge as intellectual property is taking new significance in the search for answers to many of the world's most vexing problems” (Interinstitutional Center for Indigenous Knowledge, n.d.). The spirit of this grant perfectly complemented the field school’s unique setting and the research issues likely to be provided there, as described above. It also accounted for the author’s interest in place-based research in local communities. Indigenous knowledge is of paramount important to these interests, as scholars increasingly recognize that “carrying out place-based research requires a major shift in scientific philosophy and planning, as well as in our view of knowledge – away from expert-knows-best science and toward accepting local and traditional knowledge as a partner and complement” (Berkes, 2012). To these interests, the author also brought a focus on the human dimensions of tourism-related social and environmental change as a means of applying graduate training in the Department of Recreation, Park, and Tourism Management and the Human Dimensions of Natural Resources and the Environment program at Penn State University.

As is common in ethnographic and cross-cultural research (Babbie, 2013; Bernard, 2012; Creswell, 2013), the project began by taking an exploratory approach. The author sought to document and understand an indigenous community’s efforts to engage in the global tourism market. As such, the research was emphatically grounded in indigenous knowledge. Systematic understanding about Santiago Atitlán could not be reached without an understanding of the process by which the community’s members think about, know, and see the world – that is, their emic perspective (Harris, 1976). Given that 98% of Atitecos self-identity as Tz’utujil (Centro de

Salud Santiago Atitlán¹³, 2011) – an ethnic group that is unique, beyond the mainstream – this was not an understanding that could be easily found within existing literature (Creswell, 2013), or by using quantitative approaches. Thus, the ethnographic approach to data collection and analysis used here is most appropriately suited to empirically *developing* an emic understanding of the Tz’utijil of Santiago Atitlán.

Stemming from roots in cultural anthropology, ethnography is a form of qualitative inquiry used to study a cultural group (Creswell, 2013; Spradley, 1980), to form a holistic understanding of how the cultural group of interest works, and to “explore the beliefs, language, behaviors, and issues such as power, resistance, and dominance” within the group (Creswell, 2013, p. 70). Ethnographers seek an emic understanding in order to relate that understanding back to theoretically-informed etic perspectives of the scientific community at large, and, where appropriate, propose modifications to that theory that better account for the emic ideas encountered in situ. When used in concert, the tactics of immersive participation in the daily lives of a cultural group’s members, making and recording systematic observations, and conducting a wide range of interviews enable the ethnographer to draw powerful (etic) conclusions that are loyal to the participants’ own (emic) views.

To achieve precision and clarity in designing a research project, it is important to recognize that “qualitative data analysis” is a grammatically ambiguous phrase (Bernard, Wutich & Ryan, 2016). The adjective *qualitative* could be intended describe the *type* of data, the method of data *analysis*, or both. The previous paragraphs describe the rationale for selecting a specific genre of qualitative methods, ethnography, by which to collect data. Once collected, these

¹³ Santiago Atitlán Health Center

qualitative data could be analyzed using either a qualitative approach (inductive interpretation of text, e.g. grounded theory) or a quantitative approach (conversion of portions of text into numbers to permit deductive techniques; e.g. content analysis). Techniques for analyzing qualitative data span this continuum from inductive (identification of themes that emerge from the text) to deductive (derivation of themes from prior theory). It is important that these dimensions of analytical approach – qualitative/quantitative and inductive/deductive – be taken into consideration in selecting the most appropriate tools to answer any given research question.

Here, the utilization of two different approaches to analysis allowed for two distinct outputs. Exploratory questions are addressed using an inductive, qualitative analysis approach. The tactic taken here is to systematically identify emergent themes and patterns within the combined corpus of text (Bernard, Wutich & Ryan, 2016). Prior knowledge of related literature also allowed the researcher to connect the phenomena being observed in Santiago with a body of theory relating to capital assets. This then led to the development of confirmatory questions, which were addressed with a deductive, quantitative approach. Before describing this approach to the analysis in more detail in a later section, the next section elaborates in detail on the data collection strategy.

Data Collection

The data fall broadly into two categories. Existing archival data were sought and compiled, while original ethnographic data were also generated through a variety of methods. The following sections describe the methods used to collect these two categories of data. Figure 2 provides a visual diagram of these sources of data.

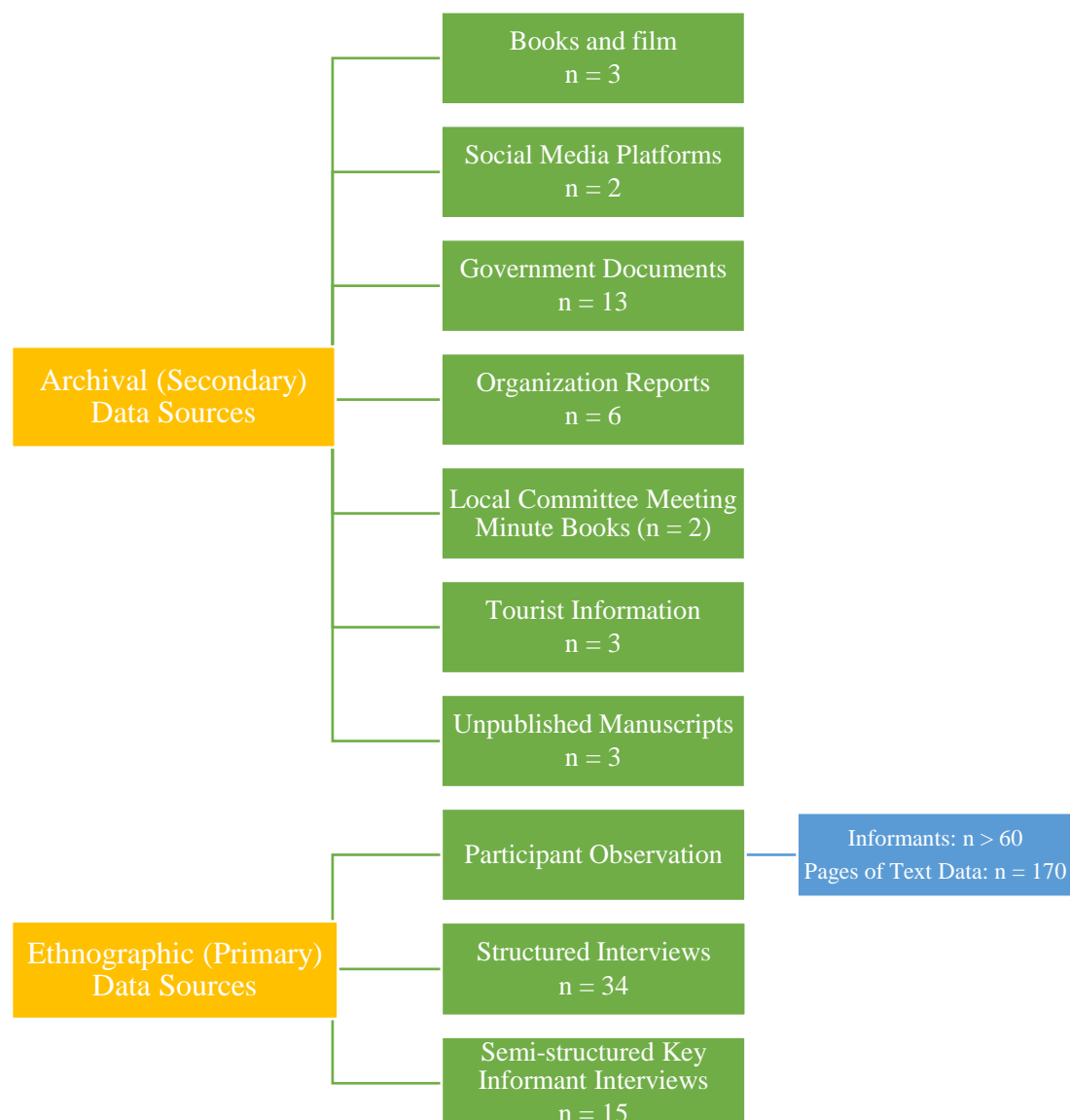


Figure 2: Primary and secondary data sources.

Archival Data

The first step of the research process, collection of background information, began long before the author's arrival in Guatemala. Preliminary work to gather resources on the Lake Atitlán region and its indigenous inhabitants began during the early months of 2017. These

sources primarily took the form of academic books and peer-reviewed journal articles, as well as anthropologist Robert Carlsen's extensive narratives on Santiago Atitlán based on twenty-five years of fieldwork in the town. This preliminary research spanned topics such as the social and political history of Maya-descendent peoples in Guatemala, outcomes of the use of culture in tourism, and tourism in the *Mundo Maya*.

Archival data collection continued when the author arrived in Santiago. Information in the form of local government planning documents, social media posts, external reports, and relevant scientific and academic research was collected from various sources during the fieldwork season. Some of this information was freely available online, while other data only became accessible once personal connections were established onsite in Santiago.

Local sources published by the Municipal Government of Santiago Atitlán include the 2012-2023 Municipal Development Plan; the 2017 Annual Operative Plan; the current administration's statement of Mission, Vision, and Objectives; written posts and photos on the Municipality's public Facebook page; and a current tourist brochure and booklet, each offering photos and crudely-translated English descriptions of "the best of Santiago Atitlán". An additional tourist map that is no longer in circulation was obtained from local guides as well as from user-submitted photos on the travel review site TripAdvisor. An additional source of archival data collection in the field was interview informants, several of whom voluntarily shared resources and documentation they possessed to corroborate and elaborate on their stories.

In addition to these local sources, the author compiled archival data from a number of external sources. These data include the AMSCLAE 2016-2020 Strategic Plan, CONAP reports and technical documents, data and accords published by the Guatemalan Tourism Institute (INGUAT), an unpublished Master's thesis in Community Social Practice written by a graduate

from the University of San Carlos of Guatemala, academic and historical books, and a number of peer-reviewed, scientific journal articles. The process of archival research, which began prior to the fieldwork and continued onsite in Guatemala, has carried on throughout the process of analyzing the data and writing up findings. All sources cited in this thesis are included in the general References section. Additionally, a full list of archival data sources, except for those sourced from published academic journals, is compiled with further detail in Appendix A.

Ethnographic Data

Ethnographic data collection began during the aforementioned field school program, wherein anthropologic research methods were learned through a combination of traditional classroom instruction and in situ practice. In any qualitative research, but especially within a tight-knit community such as Santiago Atitlán – where residents have learned to be wary of and “closed” to outsider intervention (Carlsen, 1993) – local knowledge and rapport is key successful data collection. Accordingly, much of the early fieldwork period was spent learning the culture, establishing connections, and building relationships within the community, a strategy for validation in qualitative research that Creswell (2013) terms *prolonged engagement and persistent observation*. This time was also used to form a baseline understanding of how the community functions through the creation of physical, institutional, and social maps. After the field school concluded, the author remained in Santiago, dedicated full-time to the research, resulting in a total of ten weeks at the field site.

Participant observation. An integral part of ethnography, participant observation has been described by DeWalt and DeWalt (2011) as a practice that can be advantageously applied

to any social sciences research, “irrespective of the topic or principal methods used,” by enhancing the quality of both the data obtained during fieldwork and the interpretation of data (p. 10). By its very definition, participant observation is comprised of two seemingly contradictory processes – participating and observing. Scholars conceptualize this in a variety ways. The researcher’s involvement within the cultural group could be described as falling on a scale between pure participation (“going native”) and pure observation (wherein the researcher is completely removed from the actions and people of focus) (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2011), or characterized as a category of membership within the group (Adler & Adler, 1987).

Participant observation made up a central portion of this ethnographic fieldwork, during which the author navigated between the roles of participant and observer according to setting and audience. The interactions that constitute the participant observation data took place in public and in private settings, with both local residents and visitors. The researcher systematically recorded observations of tourism interactions and exchanges, local transportation systems, and residents’ daily lives. She took the role of participant in casual conversations with locals and tourists alike, by conducting informal interviews, taking part in “touristy” activities, and through a day spent on-the-job with two employees of the Municipal Government. Participant observations were recorded in situ with photographs, drawings, and jot notes taken either during or directly after each interaction. While observing a general meeting of the local Tourism Self-Management Committee (CAT), detailed notes were also accompanied by an audio recording. Contemporaneous jot notes, drawings, and photos were used as prompts for full elaboration of daily field notes. Participant observation resulted in approximately 170 pages of text data.

Structured interviews. Structured interviews (n=34) were used to build understanding of local business stakeholders to the tourism market. Utilizing a typical case sampling strategy

(Creswell 2007; Guest, Namey, & Mitchell, 2013), the researcher systematically surveyed all businesses on one section of the main walking route that tourists take when entering town, a portion of *Calle Real* running from the boat dock to the central square. The respondents were employees and/or owners of souvenir shops, art galleries, coffee shops, cafes, restaurants, and convenience stores. The researcher used a combined interview approach; respondents were given the choice of completing the interview verbally (face-to-face method) or in writing (interviewer-absent self-administered questionnaire method) (Bernard, 2017). While a uniform data collection technique may have been preferred, the approach of combining methods is considered appropriate for maximizing response rate (Bernard, 2017). This effort resulted in responses from 34 local businesses. Nine businesses declined to participate, for reasons including (A) I cannot read or write (B) I do not have time (C) I do not know the answers (e.g. I am a temporary worker or a friend helping out) and (D) I do not speak Spanish.

The two collection methods, face-to-face interviews and self-administered questionnaires, utilized an identical instrument (Appendix B) comprised of both closed and open-ended short answer questions written in Spanish. Face-to-face interviews took about 10 to 15 minutes to complete verbally. A drop-and-collect technique was used for the written questionnaires (Bernard, 2017). These structured interviews resulted in information about the businesses, their products, and supply chain; typical customers; the participants' desire for future tourism; strategies for attracting more tourism in Santiago Atitlán; and participants' perceptions of whose responsibility it is to carry out such strategies.

Semi- structured key informant interviews. In order to build an ethnographic dataset with both breadth and depth of information, participant observation and structured interviews were supplemented with in-depth, semi-structured interviews – conducted in a manner consistent

with Spradley (2016) with a smaller number of local tourism stakeholders. Several purposive sampling strategies were used, including intensity sampling for cultural expertise, stratified sampling to capture key tourism industry sectors, and chain referral (Bernard, 2017; Creswell, 2013; Guest et al. 2013). In an effort to capture a diverse range of perspectives from community members involved in tourism, participants were sought within the following strata: local business owners, tour guides, hotel owners or employees, Municipal Government employees, members of Santiago's original Tourism Self-Management Committee (CAT) formed in 2004, members of Santiago's recently-appointed CAT formed in 2016, and members of other local committees. Some interview subjects belong to two or more categories (see Appendix C for the purposive sampling frame).

These efforts resulted in interviews with 15 different key informants, ranging from 25 to 92 minutes in length, for a total of 13.5 hours of audio-recorded interviews. The term "key informant" is used herein to distinguish the 15 informants with whom semi-structured, in-depth, audio-recorded interviews were conducted from the 34 informants who responded to the structured interviews detailed above. All interviews (including the 34 structured interviews detailed above) except one were conducted in Spanish. Spanish is a second language for the researcher as well as the majority of the informants and key informants. One interview was conducted in English, the first language of both the informant and the researcher. Of the 15 key informants, 6 self-identified entirely with the indigenous Tz'utujil race. One informant identified as a mix of Tz'utujil and Ki'che', while another informant identified as Kakchiquel. As is common within the tourism industry, one informant – a hotel owner – was an expatriate American citizen.

The author approached each key informant conversation with a prepared interview guide listing core questions (Appendix D), but the author allowed the flow of the conversation to be led by the interviewee. The key interview topics included impacts of tourism, cultural/indigenous heritage, specific questions based on the participants' occupation or strata, and demographic information. As the researcher was learning interviewing methods in situ, while also communicating in a second language, she undertook a reflexive process to learn from early interviews and improve her technique in the field. Probing tactics such as repetition and summary feedback were frequently employed, and they were particularly useful, not only in ensuring that an accurate understanding of details and timelines did not get "lost in translation", but also to facilitate further discussion of an idea by reinforcing to the informant that "the researcher has heard what was said, and to encourage the informant to continue and expand on the comments" (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2011, p. 148).

Data Preparation and Analysis

All data sources were converted into a text format. Audio-recorded key informant interviews conducted in Spanish were transcribed directly into English by the interviewer. When translating, the author prioritized preserving the interpreted meaning of the conversation over a strict word-for-word conversion. The transcriptions from the recorded interviews, along with the structured interview data, field notes documenting participant observation, and archival data were then incorporated into a single corpus of text in a MAXQDA¹⁴ project file. This data

¹⁴ A software program for qualitative and mixed methods data analysis

analysis software package enabled the author to reduce and prepare the data by applying advanced structural coding for organization and retrieval of text segments by concept (Saldaña, 2015). This first coding cycle served the dual purpose of both familiarizing the author with the dataset after time out of the field and building an organizational foundation for future coding. Used here as a basic categorization technique, structural coding allowed for easy retrieval of large segments of text, e.g. responses to individual interview questions, which could then be further dissected by occupation, strata, or other factors. In subsequent coding passes, the author both utilized deductive techniques and allowed for the emergence of themes, which guided the systematic analysis of the full text corpus. The analytical approaches taken are further described below.

Deductive Analysis

In order to answer RQ 1a regarding community capitals in Santiago Atitlán, a confirmatory deductive analysis was conducted through the creation of a structural codebook, which was applied to the data ex post facto. First, Bennett et al. (2012)'s Capital Assets Framework (reviewed in Part II of Chapter 2) was adapted to account for expressions of the community capitals specifically related to tourism institutions in Santiago. The authors' framework further divides the 7 capital assets defined in prior literature into a total of 19 discrete subcomponents, which are further segmented into a total of 155 indicators (Bennett et al., 2012). Although specific values were not assigned in this analysis, the subcomponents and indicators were nevertheless incorporated into the qualitative analysis in that they provided a more detailed definition of each capital. The indicators were used as a breakdown of the elements contributing

to an overall assessment of how each capital asset is manifested and influenced by tourism in Santiago Atitlán.

The codebook created in this stage of the research permitted the identification of all references to each of the seven capital assets (Natural Capital, Cultural Capital, Human Capital, Social Capital, Political or Institutional Capital, Financial Capital, Physical or Built Capital) across the full corpus of text data. In a second coding pass, the segments retrieved for each individual capital were further indexed by its subcomponents (there are 19 subcomponents in total, which are not distributed uniformly among the 7 capitals). Thus, all relevant ethnographic and archival data available were incorporated into the systematic assessment of each of the seven categories of capital assets, which will be discussed in the following chapter.

Inductive Analysis

In order to answer RQ 2 regarding tourism's influence on community capitals, individual institutions, and residents in Santiago Atitlán, an exploratory inductive analysis was conducted using both structural and thematic coding. Open coding was employed for the identification of themes, from which meaning and theory could be derived (Bernard, Wutich, & Ryan, 2016). Thus, while the research questions steered the data collection process, the data itself steered the analysis process. Following Bernard, Wutich, & Ryan (2016), the author began by using observational techniques, taking note of *word repetition*, *indigenous categories* recognized only by "cultural insiders," and *similarities and differences* among the interviews. *Linguistic connectors* also played a key role in the thematic coding, revealing the ways different interview subjects linked ideas into a cause-and-effect narrative. After an initial pass that identified many

themes, these were grouped and condensed into overarching meta-themes based on similarity and importance. Factors taken into consideration when qualifying the importance of a theme included how often it appeared within the data, and its pervasiveness across the diverse network of informants.

Through the development of these overarching themes, primary narratives and patterns began emerging within distinct bodies of evidence. Drawing inductively upon existing theory that best fit these narratives, the author was able to further understand these emergent trends by recognizing their placement within a larger body of literature. While not consistent with a traditional definition of “grounded theory” that indicates the development of *new* theory (e.g. Babbie, 2013), the author’s process nonetheless adheres to more liberal interpretations of the method (e.g. Bernard, Wutich, and Ryan, 2016).

Validity and Generalizability of Findings

In qualitative research, the researcher herself serves as the main research instrument, playing many roles. While the standards and definition of validity and reliability differ among and between quantitative and qualitative research methodologies, “the main machine in *all* [emphasis added] research is a human researcher” (Stake, 2010, p.36). All research requires human interpretation, and qualitative research in particular relies heavily on it – drawing on interpretation by the researcher, by the humans being studied, and by the readers of the research reports and written outputs. In light of this use of interpretation, a number of measures can be taken to ensure the validity of the research findings.

In qualitative research, validation refers to a process of assessing the accuracy of the findings – as described by the researcher, but also as described by the informants (Creswell, 2013). Creswell (2013) suggests the employment by researchers of accepted strategies to document the accuracy of their studies, many of which were utilized in this study. As mentioned above, a key component of ethnography employed in this study is *prolonged engagement and persistent observation* of a cultural group, which aided this researcher in determining the information that was most salient to the study purpose. The lengthy field season also enabled the researcher to *triangulate* information using corroborating evidence from multiple sources. In this study, triangulation was achieved by employing multiple data collection methods (participant observation, structured interviews, semi-structured key informant interviews), speaking with a wealth of local informants, and by incorporating documented information from emic and etic archival sources. An added external check of the research process was incorporated through *peer review and debriefing*, which was performed regularly in situ throughout the data collection process with a university professor with over 15 years of research and residential experience in the Lake Atitlán region. Peer debriefing was also a key component of the research design and analysis processes with the researcher’s advisor in the Department of Recreation, Park and Tourism Management at Penn State.

As described above, much of the data used in this research are derived from purposively-sampled key informant interviews; a representative sample was not attempted. Because informants were sought out due to their cultural expertise, involvement in key tourism industry strata, and chain referral, the resulting analysis does not have representational generalizability. However, “the inference that can be drawn from qualitative data concerns the nature of the phenomenon being studied but not its prevalence or statistical distribution” (Ritchie & Lewis,

2003, p. 277). The research findings presented herein are theoretically generalizable inasmuch as they provide a contribution toward a greater understanding of social processes and structures. The scope and subject of this study also calls into consideration the question of inferential generalization to contexts or settings beyond the region and the small cultural group being studied. It cannot be denied that there will be factors in every particular setting and culture that make it unique. However, here the use of *rich, thick description* by the author in presenting these findings – including many detailed vignettes and direct quotations from emic sources – allows the reader to determine how and where the findings are transferable to other settings or themes (Creswell, 2013). By providing sufficient detail of the observations, conversations, and the environment in which they occurred, the researcher has given the reader the ability to gauge and assess the attached meanings and their application in other relevant settings (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003).

Researcher Positionality and Reflexivity

Another key component to the validation of qualitative research is the acknowledgement of the researcher's own position. Reflecting on the way one's values, perceptions, and beliefs may influence the research helps to hold the researcher "accountable to the standards of knowing and telling of the people studied" (Creswell, 2013, p. 257). Throughout the research process, the author undertook this responsibility through self-reflection, journaling, and conversations with peers and advisors. Some of this is described here, using first person voice:

As my first field work experience, this project was a roller coaster ride of emotions, challenges, and excitement. Knowing that many foreign researchers and tourists had come and gone before me, and that many more would follow, I felt uneasy about my place as an outsider in the community. I thought often about my ethical responsibility as a researcher and a student. I believed I would find a community that was wary of outsiders

studying and using its people for their own benefit and professional gain, without investing in the town in return. Instead, I faced an unexpected ethical dilemma. Even though I tried to express that I was a student and still learning how to conduct research, I was regarded by some informants as someone with the power, knowledge, and potential to help transform their lives. Perhaps this was due to differences in schooling systems and access to education, and a misunderstanding of what it means to be a graduate student in the United States. Language was also a contributor. While debriefing with advisors after my first interview, I learned that the direct translation of phrases such “research project” and “thesis” conveyed a higher level of investment and scale of project than the work I was doing. Instead, I learned to say that I was working on my “prácticas,” the word used for graduate level research projects. I wanted to convey my care and respect for the Atitecos, and my desire to contribute my knowledge and give back to them in any way possible. However, I also felt a need to be clear in communicating the exploratory nature of my research and limited financial means, to be careful not to make promises I could not fulfill.

Guatemala, in general, and the tight-knit community of Santiago Atitlán, in particular, are characterized by obstacles to trust and safety. I received a slightly different version of the same story from every person asked, and sleuthing out or triangulating the “truth” felt, at times, to be an insurmountable challenge. I also negotiated trade-offs of self-exposure and safety as I sought to collect the best data possible. Much of the field season was shadowed by an uncomfortable feeling of toeing the line of danger in order to make progress. Though I am aware of differences in culture and worldview in this area, I struggled to stay impervious to discomfort with expressions of machismo. I was subject to what I consider to constitute sexual harassment on a daily basis. Being a woman opened many doors, yet closed others. A research partner of the opposite sex would have been helpful, and more time in the field could have enabled both a greater opportunity to build rapport and the ability to devise alternate ways of getting data when safety concerns prevented initial attempts. I made a lot of quick decisions about the lengths to which I was willing to go in the name of research, and I would be lying if I said that I had no regrets; however, the result was an incredible experience that resulted in both personal and professional growth and insights.

We know that “in the rapid global environmental change experienced in the twenty-first century, indigenous and other rural communities face the challenge, perhaps more than before, of integrating the wisdom of past generations with the reality of the present” (Berkes 2012, 27). This resonates deeply with my time in Atitlán, and I am greatly appreciative of the opportunity afforded to me by ICIK, whose recognition of the importance of this field of inquiry allowed me to apply my interest in community-level work to an indigenous population. This experience has no doubt influenced my long-term research trajectory. As I develop my ethic as a scientist, I will continue to reflect on these fundamental experiences.

The Findings and Discussion chapter of this thesis discusses the initial findings and resultant analysis of the inductive and deductive processes just described. By addressing the two

sets of research questions articulated in Part V of Chapter 2, this thesis contributes to a greater understanding of how tourism is influencing community-level capitals and individual-level institutions, or arrangements of capital, and residents in Santiago Atitlán, Guatemala.

Chapter 4.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter presents the findings of several analyses of ethnographic data collected in Santiago Atitlán, Guatemala during 10 weeks of fieldwork from May-July, 2017. The richness and complexity of the broad body of data means that many interpretations of these findings are possible. This chapter integrates the bodies of theory presented in parts I-IV of Chapter 2 into a discussion of outcomes relating to the two research questions articulated in Part V of that chapter. The analyses are derived from systematic coding of the combined corpus of text data, as described in Chapter 3. The findings presented herein are supported by empirical observations and select quotes drawn from this combined dataset.

The organization of this chapter follows the research questions presented in Chapter 2. First, in response to RQ 1, findings from a deductive analysis are used to create a current snapshot of how the seven forms of community capital are manifested in Santiago, as well as an overview of the current institutions involved in tourism in Santiago. Next, in response to RQ 2, findings from inductive analysis are used to explore how tourism has influenced or affected the present-day manifestations of capitals and institutions in Santiago. Finally, a synthesis of the data derived from both deductive and inductive approaches is utilized to explore an emergent theme – the way that Atitecos leverage capitals and institutions to proactively influence tourism in their town.

Applying the Community Capitals Framework in Santiago Atitlán

The Community Capitals Framework introduced in Chapter 2 provides one way of assessing the impacts of development on community capabilities. Here, it has been adapted for tourism development, using the framework established by Bennett et al. (2012). An understanding of the current manifestation of these capitals in Santiago Atitlán provides a baseline understanding necessary for later exploring how tourism has *already* impacted, and will *continue* to impact the community of Santiago. Thus, this first analysis is expected to contribute to an overall greater understanding of the past, present, and future processes of tourism development in Santiago.

Initial impressions of the data, using a generic and broad level definition of each capital, resulted in clear discrepancies in the assessment of capitals based on theoretical definitions (grounded in archival data and how things were “on paper”) and the onsite reality faced by community stakeholders (built on emic understandings). However, utilizing Bennett et al. (2012)’s framework to create a codebook helped incorporate both of these perspectives into the assessment by further breaking down the capital into its components and indicators. Thus, the assessments elaborated below reflect an understanding of community capitals from a merged emic and etic point of view.

The first part of this chapter addresses Research Question 1a: *How do community capitals manifest in the Tz’utujil town of Santiago Atitlán, Guatemala in ways that can be qualitatively analyzed?* The analysis corresponding to question 1a is organized into sections corresponding to each capital. The richness of this qualitative data means that a full individual paper could have been written about each of the seven capitals. Here, the discussion is restricted to the most salient

evidence of the key ways that each of these capitals manifest in Santiago, particularly as they relate to tourism.

Human Capital

Human capital encompasses many individual-level assets, the most basic of which include skills, education, knowledge and awareness, and health. Human capital is also expressed in personal attributes such as motivation, commitment, and a willingness to invest in long-term outcomes. Human capital is closely tied to other forms of capital; increased human capital has been shown to lead to increased productivity, civic engagement, and resilience in the face of economic uncertainty (Beaulieu, 2014). A full understanding of how human capital is currently manifested in Santiago Atitlán requires a merging of emic and etic points of view. The realm of education provides a particularly insightful window through which to do so.

Santiago's Municipal Development Plan (Muni, 2012) lists a high number of education centers in the town, but notes that the high *quantity* of centers is outweighed by deficiencies in the *quality* of the centers. These schools do not have adequate resources, and decreased enrollment numbers in the upper grade levels – as compared to lower grade levels – reflect the high dropout rates (Muni, 2012). Statistics from the National Literacy Committee (2011) corroborate the poor quality of formal education in the region, indicating a 42% rate of illiteracy in Santiago (cited in Muni, 2012).

Despite this archival documentation, time living in the community as a participant observer provided a more nuanced emic understanding of the strong local systems of informal education, which provide a contrast to these weaknesses in formal education. For example, the

women with whom the author resided during her fieldwork season spend large portions of their days perched on low chairs in their courtyard embroidering complex designs of onto hand-woven fabric, which is purchased from other local artisans. The women work freehand, without using patterns, although they occasionally use a small Wi-Fi-enabled tablet to consult photos of specific bird and flower species on the internet. When finished, these pieces of fabric are sewn into blouses called *huipiles*, which are a key piece of the *traje* (traditional clothing) worn by Tz’utujil women. The women in this family make all of their own *huipiles* by hand, but explain that this is something that many Tz’utujil women do not have the time, nor the specialized skill, to do. Because of this, the women bring in extra household income by selling their handmade *huipiles* – money that they reinvest locally by purchasing goods and services from other local people that, likewise, *they* do not have the time or skill to create or perform themselves.

When asked where she learned to embroider such beautiful designs, the youngest sister, Maria, nods toward the oldest sister – “She taught me.” The oldest sister echoes, “And before that, my mom taught me.” Similarly, when asked where he learned the skills to do his work, a local weaver responded by saying, “It comes from our family race. Our ancestors, our grandparents, great-grandparents, down to our mom and dad. It comes from them to us, the children.” This frequently-mentioned explanation demonstrates the importance of informal education, through the passing down of artisan trades, in contributing to unique forms of human capital, which – for Tz’utujil artisans – provides the meaningful and viable livelihood capabilities conferred by Bebbington (1999).

Thus, education systems in Atitlán are characterized by tradeoffs between formal education (e.g., in schools, in the Western style) and informal education (e.g., outside of schools, from person to person, how most cultural practices would be transmitted). This example of

education represents the overall evaluation of human capital in Santiago that was uncovered by this research – one of mid-range value due to negotiated tradeoffs. While there are clear weaknesses in human capital, there are also strong forms of accessible human capital that adequately contribute to local capabilities.

Political Capital

Political capital is reflected in policies and legislation, political support, civic engagement, governance processes, and formal institutions (Bennett et al., 2012). However, in addition to the existence of these governance processes, political capital is defined by leadership structure: how, and by whom, decisions are made. Characterizing political capital requires understanding which individuals have power and influence, as well as who is able to gain access to those who have the decision-making power and influence (Beaulieu, 2014). In Santiago, weak political capital is articulated in two key themes in the data: 1) a lack of continuity, and 2) a centralized concentration of power.

Political processes are stymied by frequent turnover at the Municipal Government level. Expressing frustration that progress made by a previous Mayor was not carried over by the current administration, elected in 2016, the manager of one local hotel explains:

When an administration arrives, they change all the people. Its four years, no more. Others arrive. They don't continue doing the same work. For example, the good work that one is doing, [the next] should keep implementing it. But they do totally the opposite, they ignore it. Like Trump with Obama... It's something like this, where he doesn't continue the same work. Instead, he wants to do what he wants. (Luis, Hotel Manager)

A lack of continuity in local government officials, explained here by Luis as well as by other informants, slows down formal governance processes and has resulted in a lack of agreement on, and thus enforcement of, local policies and regulation. This is particularly damaging to long-term

governance processes because political capital is perceived by locals as being concentrated, wherein this small group of powerful people tightly holds power and influence.

The central figure of power in Santiago Atitlán is the Mayor, who – as indicated above – serves a 4-year term as the elected head of the Municipal Government, or *Muni*. Regardless of how power relations exist on paper, the emic perspective expressed by Atitecos frequently includes a feeling of powerlessness to make any decisions without the permission and/or support of the Muni. For example, one local business owner and the president of a committee of merchants, describes the inability of the Tourism Self-Management Committee (CAT) to achieve projects, despite having authorization and funding at the national level, from INGUAT:

What happens is... I understand it like this, Lucy. I understand something personally. The Municipality doesn't want us to mess with the administration. They just want to do it themselves. Because...I don't know if its corruption, or if its personal interests... But we as a committee, we want absolutely nothing. We just want the best for our town. (Martin, Committee President and Local Business Owner)

In another example related to the centralized power of the Muni, a local guide named Andres, who specializes in nature-based tourism, brought up recently completed trail work in a popular birding location. When asked who in Santiago is taking action to make changes in tourism infrastructure, he first lists off the external institutions that funded the project. However, he adds that the Municipality also takes credit for the work, saying, “But, although these institutions come, and bring the funds...if the Muni says no, they don't do it. So, obviously, the Muni has lots to do with this.” Here, by reiterating the control that the Municipal Government holds over local management decisions, he exemplifies the concern about centralization of political capital.

Despite deficiencies at the Municipal Government level, as described above, this one faction does not define political capital for the entire community. Political capital is also manifested in Santiago in the form of many local groups and committees, institutions that will be

further explored in the Key Institutions section of this deductive analysis, below. However, the impact potential of these forms of political capital is muted by other deficiencies in political capital, such as the ones explored above. For example, when asked about the recently elected members of his group, the president of one committee of local merchants rattles off a few names, but notes that “they already don’t want to continue [their roles on the committee], because they say, ‘One wastes time sitting there when the Mayor doesn’t show up [to meetings].’” Likewise, a local tour guide explains frustration with his experience as an elected member of the CAT:

I participate in CAT, voluntarily. But of course, if I am voluntarily working and asking for things and asking for things and the Muni doesn’t respond to me, I get tired too. And I lose the will. It’s better if, after returning from [a guide trip to] the volcano, I rest a little at home, and don’t waste time at the Muni. Because it is this way: if we spend five, seven years asking for something and they don’t give it to us - the truth is, we get tired. We get very tired. (Felipe, Tour Guide and Artisan)

These examples demonstrate how a lack of support from the Municipal Government has led to feelings of defeat among Atiteco stakeholders, decreasing political capital by discouraging future civic engagement in local governance. Thus, overall, political capital in Santiago is characterized by a highly centralized, and largely ineffective, leadership structure.

Social Capital

Social capital refers to networks and partnerships, relationships of trust and reciprocity, and collective norms (Bennett et al., 2012). Within a community, social capital takes the form of bonding (e.g., close relationships, strong ties) as well as bridging (e.g., relationships between groups, weak ties). During Guatemala’s 36-year Civil War, Atitecos demonstrated a high capacity to unite in collective action in opposition to a time of extreme threat to indigenous

populations. The Municipal Development Plan (Muni, 2012) specifically cites social capital as the reason Atitecos were able to expel the National Army from Santiago a full 5 years before the signing of the Peace Accords that officially ended the war.

Yet there is also evidence that this history of violence has inhibited the manifestation of social capital to this day. As Diego – a local artist, tour guide, and former CAT member, who has been highly involved in local and national institutions – explains, “After the armed the conflict there was a big difficulty. My people...after the armed conflict, they’ve stayed very angry, you could say. It’s not easy to convince them to reach agreement.” In a subsequent interview the next day, Diego warns:

You have to be very careful who you talk to here. I tell you this, because I... I educated myself more in Canada and in the United States than I did here. And so, how it functions here... First, there’s a lot of envy...acts of envy here. Second, there is a lot of lying. Third, there’s a lot of corruption. (Diego, Local Committee Member)

The lack of agreement, envy, and deceit that Diego mentions indicate an absence of the strong relationships of trust and reciprocity within and among stakeholders that characterizes high levels of social capital (e.g., Jones, 2005).

An illustration of the lack of these relationships, Santiago stands in contrast to other towns around the lake that have tour agencies or guiding cooperatives. One tour guide, who picks up business by waiting for tourists disembarking at the boat dock, explains that he does not have any coworkers: “No, there isn’t an association through which we share work. Everyone is for himself.” This sentiment is also reflected in the words of Miguel – another tour guide from Santiago, who instead uses social media and online review websites to connect with clients. He explains that corruption also plays a role in low social capital, causing individuals to favor self-interest over collective interest:

Miguel: And the other one of the problems, that I'm totally against, is that the organizations in Guatemala - from the smallest groups up to the central government of Guatemala - they're contaminated by corruption. People move for money, money, and money. Yes obviously we need money to survive, but that's what our salary is for. Or if you want to be a volunteer, let's do our work as it should be done. But people do it another way.

Lucy: Yes, and it also seems like to get money the fastest, corruption is the easiest way.

Miguel: Exactly.

Lucy: But if you take more time to organize, and to involve more businesses, it's going to be the best for the majority.

Miguel: The development, or the benefits, are communal. Because if you involve everyone, then this means that there are primary beneficiaries, secondary, tertiary - direct or indirect. So that, in general, increases or improves the economy of the whole town.

Several informants, like Miguel does here, call for unity among the tourism industry, advocating long-term benefit for all over short-term self-interest. Unfortunately, as their statements indicate, this is not reflective of current mechanisms for social capital in Santiago.

Where strong social capital *is* manifesting in Santiago is through the emergence of niche organizations. While these institutions will be further explored in later sections, one example is worth noting here. Andres, a birding guide, explains that he and other birders maintain a shared online platform where they document and report bird sightings. If an international client wants to view a specific bird species, the guides can access recent data about where to find it. While this could provide an institutional means of strengthening social capital, in Santiago it remains weakened by a lack of coordination between the various groups and committees. For example, when asked about the disadvantages of tourism in Santiago, one local restaurant owner responded:

Specifically, here in [Santiago] Atitlán, there isn't a tourism network. The tourist comes and then he goes. There isn't a tourism network, and well, this is what CAT wants to create, a tourism network. Because unfortunately, here, the hotels and restaurants – each one is on his own.” (Ronaldo, Current CAT Member and Local Business Owner)

Put another way, what this CAT member explains is that individual subsets of the community are characterized by strong internal bonding within institutions, yet there is a lack of bridging between these institutional subsets into a cohesive network. With respect to the links and access to resources outside of the community, known as vertical connections (Beaulieu, 2014), in lack of strong bridging social capital at the community level in Santiago, in combination with highly centralized political capital at the national level in Guatemala, have made establishing these vertical links difficult.

Overall, social capital in Santiago Atitlán is weak. While strong cultural capital reinforces some collective norms, as will be explored below, the absence of relationships of trust and reciprocity has prevented the formation of strong networks and partnerships, institutions which are essential to fostering capacity for collective action and vertical connections.

Natural Capital

Natural capital encompasses the natural environment, including resources and ecosystem services that support human life (Beaulieu, 2014). Natural capital is defined not just by the existence of natural resource stock, but also the systems for its protection and preservation (Bennett et al., 2012). In the temperate, wet climate surrounding Lake Atitlán, natural capital is manifested in high levels of biodiversity and endemic species, both of which are threatened by anthropogenic disturbance.

Dense forested areas envelop the outskirts of Santiago Atitlán and climb the sides of the two volcanoes that rise up from the south end of town. According to one informant, a local business owner who studied Environmental Engineering in Costa Rica, this forested southern

half of the lake is home to 75% of RUMCLA's biodiversity. However, amid a growing, modern population, and increased detrimental earth systems trends (Steffen et al., 2015), Santiago's natural resource stock is threatened by poor systems for its protection.

A key area of environmental concern regarding consumption of natural resources is the cutting down of trees for use in construction, cooking, and heating. While this practice has been going on for many years in Santiago, its effects are being exacerbated by the high rate of population growth. Both the Municipal Government and a group of local tour guides supported by external financial funding are currently engaged in various reforestation and environmental education efforts. As one employee from the Muni's Commission for Economic Development, Tourism, Environment, and Natural Resources, explains:

The people here, the people of our town still don't respect nature - they are cutting more trees. And so because of this, I wanted to do something new that might be small, but something good for all people. Not only for myself, but for everyone. And so, that's why. Now we're working on controlling illicit logging and we're also doing reforestation initiatives with schools, with groups of young people... And organizing all of these types of activities. And also taking more trips to the forest - to breathe pure air, new recreation, to be with people. (Jose, Municipal Government Employee)

His stance matches that conveyed in the Municipal Development Plan (Muni, 2012), which attributes environmental degradation to deficiencies in local education and culture. However, other key informants with experience in local agriculture feel that these issues transcend education and culture. One Atiteco, who says he has always identified as an outdoorsman and adventurer, explains these environmental concerns in the following impassioned monologue:

The current problem is that people continuing having those small pieces of land, but the problem is that the large farms that are still managed by the military, or large businesses in Guatemala City. They have been developing a type of very large-scale farming, a very very large agricultural industry. They have cut down the trees. They are planting African palm oil, limes, coffee - and the ones who are most affected by this are us, the towns us who live off, survive off, of nature... He who continues to be affected is the local person, the small rural farmer, because they don't let him do his job. If they let the farmer do his job, what he could cut down is very little compared to what the industry, or

the large farms, destroy. So then, the affected ones have always been us. (Miguel, Tour Guide)

Articulating an issue that many rural agricultural communities face (Lichter & Brown, 2011; Nelson & Hines, 2018), this informant makes connections between the current threats to local natural capital and Atitecos' lack of political capital and vertically-linked forms of social capital, which might bring their concerns to the national stage or even international stage.

In addition to the consequences of agriculture and resource consumption for natural capital, informants indicated a lack of adequate public services – explored in the Built Capital section below – as evidence that the Muni does not highly prioritize the protection of natural capital. Thus, while Santiago has high values of natural capital stock, they remain endangered in the absence of stronger systems for their preservation.

Built Capital

Built capital refers to all man-made infrastructure. At the most basic level this means buildings and public services, but other forms of built capital include design factors, such as urban planning, and land use (Beaulieu, 2014). A prominent theme regarding the weakness of built capital in Santiago was just introduced in the Natural Capital section – the lack of adequate public services, most notably the lack of a wastewater treatment facility, sewage system, and adequate measures for disposing of solid waste.

However, built capital is manifested in Santiago Atitlán in many other forms. The most common means of arrival to Santiago is by boat. This approach reveals a skyline dominated by a large cell tower that rises up from the center of town. The town has several local radio and TV

stations, and the house in which the author resided had access to many major television networks through their subscription to a Mexican cable service.

In addition to the electricity, television, internet, and phone service that are now commonplace in local residences, a number of internet centers have spread throughout the town's neighborhoods in recent years. WiFi can be accessed at nearly every restaurant and café in the urban center, especially those that hope to cater to tourist clientele. Recently, a paving project was completed on a 25-kilometer stretch of road leading southwest from Santiago to the town of Chicacao. Informants explained that this form of built capital provides both a new trade route for exporting produce and importing seafood as well as a new port of entry for tourists.

Residents make use of a network of local transportation services – including boats, pick-up trucks, buses, and motor taxis – to commute to work, get around town, and access the capital city. For the most part, these modes of transportation are not tourist-friendly, as demonstrated in the following field note passages written by the author near the beginning of her field season:

May 26, 2017: Antonio flagged down a passing pick-up truck and we hopped up join the other 5 or so people already standing in the bed of it. Grabbing onto the center rail for balance, he banged on the top of the truck's cab to signal that we were all aboard and ready to go. A few minutes later, as we neared the house, another bang on the cab signaled that we were ready to get off. For 2Q (about 28 cents) it's an excellent way to get around town – but I have no idea how you're supposed to know where they're heading. Another question for another day.

May 31, 2017: The transportation system here is much more chaotic than that which I am used to in the United States, compounded by the lack of signage and published schedules, routes, etc.... I have quickly realized that the system has implicit and assumed rules of operation that the locals all seem to understand.

Thus, while this comprehensive network of transportation options provides value for local residents, those involved in the tourism industry remain concerned that this form of built capital is not conducive to use by visitors. Its value is limited to local use, and it is therefore perceived to be a barrier to Santiago's ability to leverage further tourism-related opportunities.

Another area of concern regarding built capital in Santiago is the outward appearance of the town. When explaining this problem, one manager of local hotel brings up Antigua, Guatemala as a contrasting example. Antigua is the former seat of Spanish power in Central America, features much in the way of historic colonial architecture, hosts large indigenous markets, and is one of Guatemala's primary tourist destinations. This informant explains that in Antigua, building regulations prohibit the use of lighted signs, construction is restricted to a maximum height of two stories, and all roads are required to be cobblestone, as opposed to pavement. In contrast, he points out that the building where the interview is taking place – the hotel he manages in Santiago – is four stories tall, and thus would not be permissible in Antigua. In explaining why he feels that Santiago does not compare to Antigua in appearance, he says, “the changes, for the people, would be personal. Because if I want a pretty house, I'll maintain it well. But if not...well. There are the circumstances, too. If the person doesn't have the ability... they can't. There are poor people, very poor. Different social strata.” He then implicates the Municipal Government as the party responsible for cleaning up the presentation of the town, saying that, “if the Municipality put themselves in charge of seeing to it that all of the places are better presented, more people would visit.” Thus, in Santiago Atitlán, he says, the appearance of the town rests on personal financial capital (individual opinion and investments) rather than political capital (collective top-down regulation), though both of which are incidentally weak.

The overall assessment of built capital is similar to that of human capital – one of medium value. There are forms of accessible built capital assets, such as transportation and communication infrastructure, that adequately contribute to local capabilities. However, there are clear weaknesses in built capital, such as the town's outward appearance and poor mechanisms for waste disposal. The biggest threat of these built capital deficiencies is in their tendency to

contribute to a downward spiral of other capitals (Emery & Flora, 2006) – a dynamic that will be explored below.

Financial Capital

Financial capital refers to the resources needed to fund economic, social, and infrastructure development (Beaulieu, 2014). This capital takes three forms: 1) personal or individual-level financial resources, 2) community financial resources, and 3) financial resources that are external to the community, but to which the community has access (Bennett et al., 2012). In Santiago, the community's financial strengths – according to the economic-sector SWOT analysis conducted by the Municipal Government, and supported by ethnographic data – are in the areas of agriculture, handicraft and textile production, woodworking, and tourism and its associated services. Despite this economic diversification, the Municipal Development Plan characterizes Santiago as a place where “poverty is produced and perpetuated” (Muni, 2012, p. 36). Citing 2005 data, it says nearly 80% of the population lives in poverty, with over 26% living in extreme poverty, indicating high levels of poverty and inequality in Santiago Atitlán (Muni, 2012).

Occupational diversification and multiplicity is one of the adaptive strategies pursued by individuals living in impoverished conditions (Bernstein, Crow, & Johnson, 1992; Cinner et al., 2013). Many of the key informants interviewed in this research who work in tourism, which has become one of the town's principle economic activities, indicate that they rely on multiple sources of income to build adequate personal financial capital to make a living. Occasionally, this multiplicity is attributed to the seasonality of tourism visitation. However, even David, who

earns a consistent salary for his job at the Municipal Government, needs to supplement his salary by working as a weaver, as he explains here:

So that I can hold onto a little advanced money. It gives me the ability to buy something for my family. If I work only in the Municipality, they only give me 2,500 [quetzales]. And I have to spend 100 [quetzales] every day. What I earn for 30 days, I spend in 25 days. That leaves me six days without eating anything. And because of this, I have to dedicate myself to my work, to give me a little support for those 6 days that I'm left with. (David, Weaver and Municipal Government Employee)

Thus, Santiago residents often pursue multiple livelihood strategies, including diversification into tourism-related activities, to overcome weak personal financial capital, a persistent concern across the informants in this study.

External resources play an important role in financial capital assets in Santiago Atitlán. Maria, a local artisan, feels positive about the current presence of foreign-owned businesses in Santiago because they employ local workers. She says that if there are local jobs, the money stays within the community, whereas if there are no jobs available in Santiago, people migrate to find work, and their money is not reinvested in the local economy. Though born and raised in Santiago, Maria spent time living across the lake in Panajachel, working in an artisan shop, before returning home to Santiago Atitlán a few years ago. When she lived across the lake, her salary was used to pay for housing, food, and other goods in Panajachel. Even within the Lake Atitlán region, migration to other neighboring communities can diffuse one's integration with the local economy, and thus the financial capital of Santiago.

While all three major hotels in Santiago are foreign-owned, they each employ almost exclusively local people. Thus, in these hotels, a source of external financial capital has facilitated the creation of businesses that support local financial capital. The foreign owner of one hotel was quick to point out that while he is not a "local," he has owned property in Santiago Atitlán since 1977 and has lived there permanently for the past 28 years, saying "the money stays

here.” Hotels represent a semi-permanent form of local business that can benefit greatly from an initial external investment. However, this same hotel owner acknowledges that issues have arisen when external financial capital is used to jump-start other local projects:

“Unfortunately, a lot of places don’t have the follow-through. It’s uh, they talk about sustainability – a lot of these projects aren’t sustainable. As soon as the foreigner leaves, they fall apart. It’s the foreigner providing the leadership and some capital. And as soon as it’s – you think they’ve got to the point where they leave it, and people fight with each other and bicker and uh, there’s malfeasance of funds... Everything that could go wrong in the third world happens, and they don’t last.” (Rick, Hotel Owner)

This echoes numerous examples in the literature of tourism ventures propped up by external capital collapsing once the capital is removed (e.g., Kiss, 2004)

Not surprisingly then, despite the promise that foreign capital can bring, some informants feel that the ability to access financial resources, and sustain the benefits they bring, is threatened by weaknesses in social capital. Despite economic diversification and several strong industries at the community level, low levels of personal financial capital and inability to access and sustain external financial capital have contributed to overall weak value of financial capital in Santiago.

Cultural Capital

Cultural capital comes from both material and nonmaterial aspects of a shared way of life, expressed in languages, body language, beliefs, values, norms, traditions, and worldview. Similar to natural capital, assessing this cultural capital incorporates not just looking for the *existence* of practices, traditions, and resources, but also examining its preservation, through processes for cultural learning and maintenance (Bennett et al., 2012). Santiago Atitlán is appreciated as “a town that has preserved a clothing – at least for the women, some of the men – and has their language, and has preserved a lot of the Maya customs in spite of a 500-plus-year

occupation” (Rick, Hotel Owner). This exemplifies what many see as one of Santiago’s most valuable assets – its culture.

Tz’utujil cultural assets in Santiago Atitlán are readily apparent in indigenous customs, the maintenance of the traditional dress (*traje*), and the Tz’utujil language. These expressions of culture are those most frequently cited when informants were asked of what aspects of their indigenous identity they are most proud. For example, David, who weaves textiles using a traditional back-strap loom, says, “We are a different race. We’re indigenous. The difference is...capabilities. Santiago Atitlán is a very capable town. Very creative, very exemplar of the indigenous race.” Speaking specifically about clothing, he explains that he is particularly proud of his people’s capability not just to make authentic cultural artifacts, but to create original designs. Others articulate a similar level of pride in the Tz’utujil language:

Field Notes, June 16: At one point during our conversation, Claire saw me talking to [the tour guides] and approached us. I apologized to the guides, telling them that Claire doesn’t speak much Spanish, and that we needed to talk in English with each other. I was explaining so that they wouldn’t think we were being rude. The guides told me not to worry at all... Haven’t I noticed that they sometimes speak to each other in Tz’utujil? I said of course I had. They asked me why I think they talk to each other in Tz’utujil instead of Spanish, and I said because it was their first language, so it was easier for them, just like why my classmates and I speak to each other in English. They said yes, but that’s only one part of it. They have a lot of pride in their language, and it’s an honor to speak it. Thus, they also want to make sure that they don’t lose it. They speak it to keep it alive.

This passage from early in the fieldwork season captures what became a very prevalent theme within the data. With the exception of a dwindling older generation, the majority of modern-day Tz’utujiles speak Spanish – a requirement for communicating with anyone outside of their small cultural enclave. However, while Spanish may be a more “practical” language for thriving in a globalized age, the Tz’utujil language is preserved as an important and valuable component of local culture.

Cultural capital is also expressed in practices of local gastronomy, Tz'utujil ceremonies and artifacts, and religious expressions. For instance, Felipe, an older local guide, explains:

Within the Maya spirituality, well – we base it on the respect of, mainly, Mother Earth. I mean that we need to know to take care of the earth. To take care of the forest, take care of the lake, take care of the volcanoes. That signifies life. Because we are destroying our habitat, and... Everything has to be done this way. We might have a religion, but even if we have a religion, if we don't also respect Mother Nature, we don't have life. (Felipe, Tour Guide and Artisan)

Here, this tour guide explains the important way that the cultural institution of spirituality is integrated with religion, a common form of social capital, to guide Tz'utujil values, norms, and worldview. In another example of cultural preservation, one tour guide mentions the use of social networks, like Facebook, as tools for cultural maintenance through the sharing of recipes for traditional dishes and sources of natural medicine, such as curative uses of lemon, ginger, and aloe vera. As demonstrated by the two examples presented here, cultural capital is seen by some as highly connected to natural capital. This is consistent with work by many scholars that have found high levels of overlap between natural capital and cultural capital in indigenous communities (e.g., Butler & Hinch, 2007; Coria & Calfucura, 2011; Gorenflo et al., 2011).

Overall, cultural capital is one of Santiago Atitlán's strongest assets. This capital is manifested in strong informal institutions that reinforce traditional dress, the use of traditional materials and skills in artisan production, local food and natural medicine, and the Tz'utujil language. However, just as in the case of natural capital, stocks of cultural capital in Santiago are vulnerable to the impacts of development and globalization.

Community Capitals: Interactions and Transformation

This first part of Chapter 4 explored the question of *how do community capitals manifest in the Tz'utujil town of Santiago Atitlán, Guatemala in ways that can be qualitatively analyzed?* Taking the overall community of Santiago as a unit of analysis, the above sections provide much in the way of descriptive information to address this question. The empirically gathered evidence presented here creates a snapshot of the current state of each of the capital assets, placing a particular focus on how those capitals relate to the tourism industry, where relevant. An important finding stemming from this analysis, however, is an understanding not just of how each capital asset is independently manifested, but the myriad ways in which they interact with each other.

Consistent with systems perspectives on flow among community capitals (Emery & Flora, 2009; Stone & Nyaupane, 2017), current weaknesses in individual capitals in Santiago are found to be closely tied to weaknesses in other forms of capital. In this way, low capital values can be seen as compounding upon each other, leading to a spiraling or cascading downward effect, in line with Myrdal's theory of cumulative causation (1957). In this synthesis of the above seven sections, a few examples of these dynamics are explored.

The areas in which the community of Santiago Atitlán expresses low levels of human capital are closely tied to weaknesses in other forms of capital. Weak human capital driven by deficiencies in formal education, as described above, are used to explain two forms of weak political capital: 1) at the Municipal Government level, and 2) within non-governmental institutions. Compounding on the two issues affecting political capital explored above, centralization of power and frequent leadership turnover, is a lack of prerequisite training and job skills among Municipal Government employees. Multiple informants expressed concern that

jobs at the Muni are based on who one knows, rather than on the skills and qualifications one has. For example, Felipe, an older tour guide, explains this in the following conversation.

Felipe: Here in Guatemala – it’s a shame, but it works this way. If I want to enter a political campaign, for example as Mayor of the Municipality, then... I am the Mayor, but I also have my followers. I have followers that are young people, men, and women...they put a lot of time into my political campaign, and so if I win, I start making those people very close to me.

Lucy: Your friends are your employees?

Felipe: Mmhmm. Your friends at your side. But not all friends have the competence to work in these different areas. Because in the Muni we have representatives for education, health, environment, tourism, sports, culture...But each person – no. They don’t know. They don’t have the experience for this.

Thus, weak political systems allow for the hiring of government employees that lack human capital (education, job training, and skills), which in turn feeds back into the weakening and further destabilization of those political systems (manifested in decreased capacity to create and enforce well-informed and supported legislation).

Second, while many self-organized institutions do exist, both archival and ethnographic research support the conclusion that similar deficiencies in skills and knowledge (human capital) contribute to these groups’ lack of capacity for self-management, hindering their capability to develop political capital. In the following passage, for example, Miguel explains why he feels that a key local committee is not able to achieve its goals:

Yes, it’s a small problem, considering that the people that make up this organization, CAT – or the “Tourism Self-Management Committee,” – considering that those people don’t have the knowledge to lead this group. To manage and to drive the direction of an organization toward development... And if there aren’t people like that who are leading these groups, well – we’re going to be in the same place. We can’t advance. But we need people who have new ideas, who have good knowledge, and who share it. (Miguel, Tour Guide)

Similar to the situation within the Municipal Government, this quote illustrates how poorly educated and skilled leaders have been a barrier to political capital for the CAT. At the same

time, the positive feedback loop is again seen, wherein these low levels of political capital are used to explain deficiencies in human capital. For example, a manager at a local hotel observes:

So many local people, like the guides, they don't have the knowledge or specific education to be able to conserve the tourism. It's as if [the tourists] arrive, and people only want to take advantage of them, without taking care of them. So, what has to happen is better organization of the fundamental institutions – which would be hotels, restaurants, guides, agencies, and [boat drivers]. Organize them well, see to it that they use only one tariff, and more than anything we look to ensure that they have this knowledge and education, in order to be able to contribute to tourism. To take advantage of [tourists], but take care of them too. This is what needs to happen. (Luis, Hotel Manager)

The group responsible for organizing these fundamental institutions is the CAT. Thus, in these examples, better human capital (in the form of education and leadership skills) is a necessary step to strengthened political capital (in the form of tourism policies and organization of tourism institutions), which is seen as a necessary step toward further improving human capital (in the form of greater knowledge and education surrounding behavior toward tourists).

Further demonstrating the interwoven complexities among the various capitals, examples of poor built capital mentioned above (e.g., the absence of building codes and wastewater management) are directly related to detrimental impacts on the community's natural and human capital. Low human capital (e.g., lack of environmental knowledge and awareness) is seen to negatively affect natural capital through (e.g., deforestation and the existence of clandestine trash heaps in the forest), while low built capital also contributes to natural capital deficiencies (e.g., poor water quality and environmental hazards). The resultant low natural capital (e.g., poor water quality) negatively affects public health, a form of human capital (e.g., gastrointestinal infections and parasites). Public health issues are compounded by other capital deficiencies; the municipality also reports high rates of preventable deaths from sources such as alcoholism, drug

abuse, and pneumonia, for which the community lacks adequate support through social and financial capital (Muni, 2012).

The above exploration of the manifestation of seven forms of community capital in Santiago resulted in a variety of evaluations: low, medium, high, and endangered. Most importantly, these capitals are found to be highly interconnected and interdependent. Awareness of this interconnectedness, and the potential for cascading or spiraling impacts, is an essential component to understanding the way that the complex system of tourism influences these capitals. Thus, this snapshot of the current state of human, political, social, natural, built, financial, and cultural capital in the community of Santiago Atitlán is the first step toward understanding the role that tourism plays in the increasingly interconnected, global environment in this highland Maya town.

Key Institutions

Institutions are a key way in which various forms of collective action and community capital coalesce into 1) discrete, formal entities and 2) informal practices, both of which can be systematically explored and analyzed. Because they capture heterogeneity of community interests, researchers have identified institutions as critical to understanding community dynamics and change (Agrawal & Gibson, 1999). As such, this section extends one step further from community capitals to the way in which they are configured into formal and informal institutions in Santiago Atitlán, providing a final component of this deductive analysis.

This section is guided by Research Question 1b: *What are the key institutions, formal and informal, involved in the development and ongoing production of tourism in Santiago Atitlán,*

Guatemala? A complex web of agencies, government organizations, non-profits, and local organizations play a role in the governance of the entire area surrounding Lake Atitlán. The analysis corresponding to this question is presented below in a descriptive account of current institutions currently involved in the development and production of tourism in Santiago. This analysis was likewise conducted using deductive, structural coding to identify evidence for formal or informal institutions within the data. This relies heavily on archival data collection, but this archival data is grounded in emic understandings and perspectives elucidated during the ethnographic fieldwork.

RUMCLA

Of the institutions with influence at the local level, the Municipal Government is the institution that appears to have the most decision-making power. This has already been illustrated in the Political Capital section, above, which demonstrates that decision-making power and influence are highly concentrated within the Muni. Yet, as mentioned in earlier sections of this thesis, Lake Atitlán and its surrounding volcanoes and forests are part of a 123,000-hectare protected area known as RUMCLA (CONAP, 2018). RUMCLA extends into the territory of 15 different municipal units (Figure 2), including Santiago, each of which is governed by an elected Mayor and his chosen cabinet. RUMCLA land is a mix of communal land, state property, and private property. It is one of the 339 units making up the Guatemalan System of Protected Areas (SIGAP), which is governed by the National Council of Protected Areas (CONAP).

CONAP is designated as the official administrator for this area, and is responsible for authoring its Master Plan, which includes detailed zoning for land use and management (Figure 3). Side-by-side comparison of RUMCLA's zoning plan with the map of municipal borders (Figure 2), illustrates a potential source of conflict concerning who has the authority to dictate land and resource use throughout the area. In fact, this is made even more complex by the fact that CONAP does not have sole authority to manage this land. A separate non-governmental organization, the Authority for the Sustainable Management of Lake Atitlán and its Environment (AMSCLAE) is responsible for the environmental management of the area. This institution adheres to its own strategic planning process. Complicating things further, the Guatemalan constitution designates a span of 200 meters surrounding the shores of any lake as territorial reserves of the state, which are managed by the Office for the Control of State Reserve Areas (OCRET) (National Constituent Assembly of Guatemala, 2012/1986, Article 122).

In the face of growing populations and changing conditions, understanding the complexity and diversity of players within this institutional milieu is essential to overcoming tragedies associated with overuse of common pool resources (Hardin, 1968; Ostrom, 1990, 2005), including tragedies associated with loss of the various capitals outlined above. Of the many institutions that exist in Santiago, the following sections provide a descriptive overview of the key institutions with influence over tourism-related developments in Santiago.

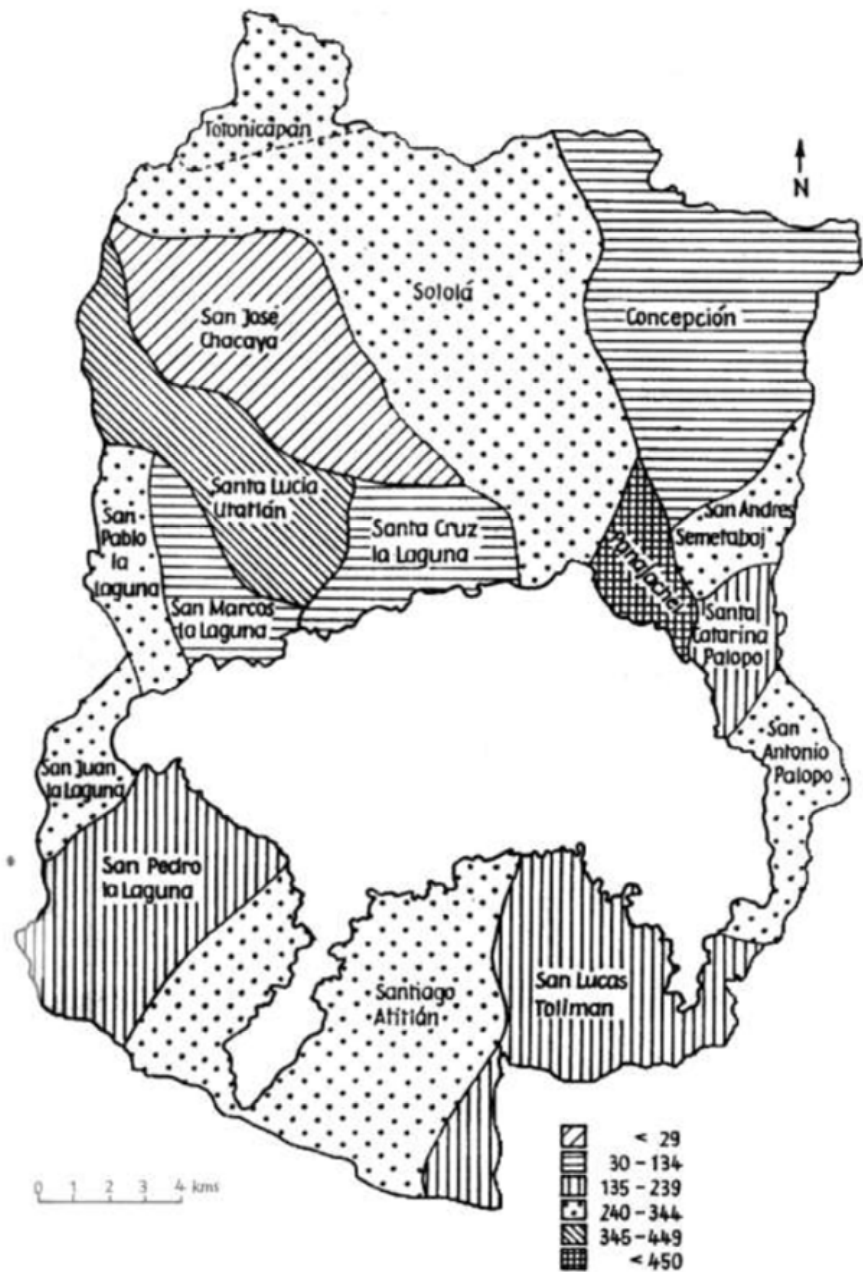


Figure 3. Map of municipalities within the Lake Atitlán basin. Source: Skinner, 2014

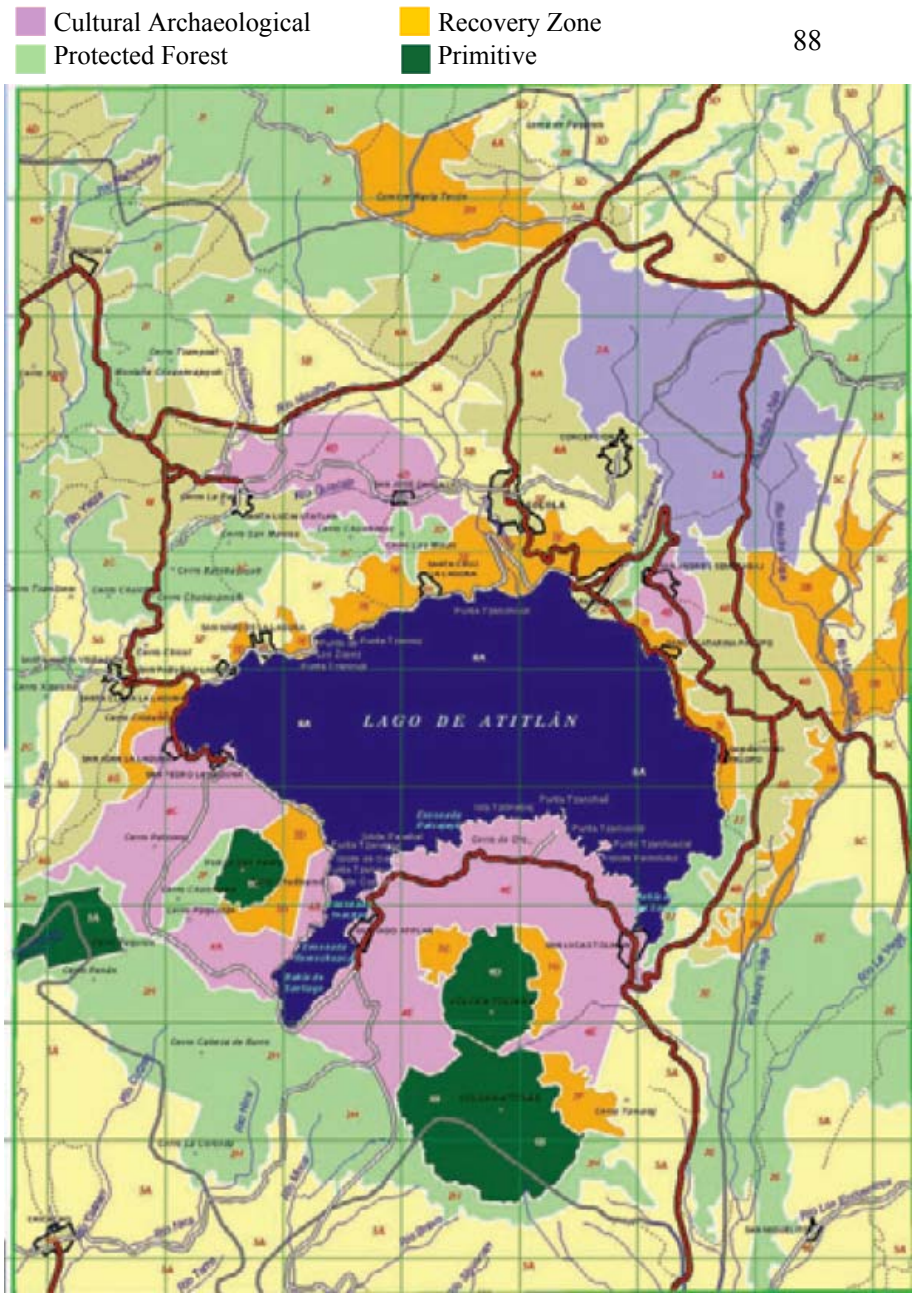


Figure 4. Zoning Plan for RUMCLA Management. Source: CONAP, 2007

INGUAT

The Guatemalan Tourism Institute (INGUAT) governs tourism at a national level. Though largely focused on promoting the image of Guatemala as an international tourism destination, INGUAT also is responsible for tourism legislation and planning as well as providing a quality experience to visitors, which is manifested in their coordination of a tourist assistance and safety program, interpretive materials, and regional information offices.

The two primary ways in which INGUAT is involved in the governance of local-level tourism in Santiago Atitlán are local guide authorization and the Tourism Self-Management Committee (CAT). All operating tour guides in Guatemala – whether working for an agency or individually – are required to hold authorization from INGUAT. Different levels of authorization allow one to operate in different locations. General Guides can lead tours throughout Guatemala, Local Guides can operate throughout the Department, and Community Guides are only authorized to work in one town. Thus, guides who do not live in or come from Santiago Atitlán are permitted to lead tours to and within Santiago, given they acquire the adequate level of authorization. Community Guides who are only authorized to work in Santiago are not able to work in other locations, and therefore have little opportunity to interface with tourists until they have arrived in the community. The Technical Institute of Training and Productivity (INTECAP) works in combination with INGAUT to train tourism guides. The training course needed to become a Community Guide is available locally, while becoming a General Guide requires an investment of time and money spent traveling to attend an INTECAP campus in the capital, Guatemala City.

In addition to authorized guides, a number of Atitecos work without the required license. Authorized local tour guides refer to these individuals as “pirate guides,” but warn the author to

be careful in repeating that particular name, at the risk of offending someone. When asked about the presence of these pirate guides, the authorized guides interviewed here indicate that they do create a problem, but that there is not any person or group that tries to address the issue. When asked why not, Pedro explains:

Pedro: Because - there isn't an institution, or, there isn't an authority that has the capacity to do this, for one. Number two, also, the Guatemalan law doesn't permit this. If I were to say "Hey, why are you working as a guide?" you could say to me "What? I have the right to work." The law says it. I have the right to work. So then...

Lucy: But the law also says that you need authorization, right? Or no?

Pedro: Yes. The thing is, the law in Guatemala is circular. You go here, they send you back over there. You go there, they send you back over here. Its circuitous.

Lucy: Ahh. Yes. And there are many... [then, in English]: loopholes?

Pedro: Exactly. For example, 5 years ago, we wanted an order there, down below [by the dock], not to accept people – the peddlers, the unauthorized guides. Those of us with authority, we made a complaint, and the public administration –

Lucy: Of Santiago, or...?

Pedro: Of Santiago. But they said, "You guys can't tell them not to work."

Pedro is one of the local tour guides who picks up business informally, by waiting for tourists disembarking at the boat dock. Here, he expresses frustration with a lack of political capital and institutional recourse. INGUAT forbids guides to work without authorization, but the policy is not enforced. Thus even when institutions exist, including established national institutions like INGUAT, their ability to influence practices and to administer sanctions for violation of rules and norms is weak at the local level (Ostrom, 2005).

In contrast, Miguel is a self-employed tour guide who uses social media and online review websites to connect with clients and book tours in advance of tourists' physical arrival in Santiago. Miguel explains that while issues occasionally arise due to a bad quality of service or a pirate guide undercutting the market with a cheap price, the reason for a lack of intervention is

not one of political capital, as Pedro indicates above, but one of apathy. Miguel says, “The general population doesn’t do anything, because it’s not their problem,” explaining that pirate guides do not affect him, because he is separate from the guides who wait at the dock, and he does not rely on walk-up clients. Miguel has thus found a contemporary work-around to the lack of institutional strength needed to restrict guiding activities to those who have obtained the officially mandated licensing – the use of social media.

The Comité Autogestión Turística

In part to improve local level governance and institutions associated with tourism, INGUAT created a nation-wide system of local institutions in 2004. These local entities are called *Comités Autogestión Turística* (Tourism Self-Management Committees, or CATs). CATs are civil societies – independent of the local government – that are legally authorized to coordinate the “decentralization of tourism” within the community they represent. As INGUAT is primarily focused on tourism at the national level, promoting Guatemala to international visitors as the Heart of the Maya World, the CATs were created with the specific intention of increasing the capacity to preserve the individual interests of particular localities. According to local informants and sources in Santiago, in a political environment rampant with corruption and distrust of local municipal government, the CATs are intended to serve as an intermediary between INGUAT and the Muni, making sure that local business owners in the tourism sector have adequate representation of their needs.

The committee members are elected by local stakeholders to serve a 2-year term. All business owners from every tourism sector, including but not limited to hotels, tour operators,

taxis, and boat drivers, are invited to participate. The committees are to hold meetings at a minimum of every 15 days. General meetings to which the entire group of stakeholders is invited are also to occur periodically. The committee's objectives include diagnosing local problems, prioritizing needs, strategic planning for tourism development, executing promotional and marketing plans, and creating a sustainable relationship between INGUAT and the local government.

In one interview, a former member and one-time secretary of the group covertly produced the sole copy of an official book, bearing the stamped INGUAT seal, which contains hand-written minutes for all general meetings of Santiago's first CAT. The Book of Acts lists 14 general meetings held between the group's initial ratification on November, 10, to the group's dissolution in 2011 or 2012. Each entry includes detailed meeting minutes and signatures¹⁵ of each attendee.

During this time, no new committee members were elected to lead the group, despite the INGUAT regulations that stipulate 2-year maximum terms. Demonstrating the interwoven nature of formality and informality in certain institutions in Santiago, while no general meetings were held after 2012, the informant told the researcher that a few of the original committee members continued to meet privately. However, in October 2016, the Municipality of Santiago Atitlán held elections to delegate a new CAT, as discussed in the following exchange:

Lucy: How did [CAT] get established again?

Felipe: It established again – they say that the Muni here was demanding things from INGUAT — the construction of a dock, the construction of other tourist things. So –

¹⁵ Illiterate attendees signed with a fingerprint.

Lucy: Without CAT?

Felipe: Without CAT. So INGUAT, well the Muni contacted INGUAT directly, so INGUAT said “No. You – Municipality, you need to go through CAT.” But as there was not a CAT here, the Municipality was not given any other option except to create CAT. But, it was at the demand of INGUAT, because it’s the way it works. So we, right now we exist by demand of the Muni and INGUAT. That’s what has no logic, because they created us again, they reactivated us - but if they don’t give any support, there’s no logic. So now, we have to - well, they have to respond to us. Because, its logical...

Lucy: It seems like... You said that the Muni established CAT because...

Felipe: By the demand of INGUAT.

Lucy: Yes. But, only because it’s something that they had to do.

Felipe: Yes. To build the dock, for example.

Lucy: But, now they’re not using CAT to do things, they’re not collaborating with CAT.

Felipe: No, no. Very little.

As an older tour guide, Felipe is the only member of the original CAT who now serves on the new CAT. By his account above, the reason the Municipality made this effort to recreate a CAT was to avail themselves of the benefits of INGUAT support. Since the prior CAT was no longer active, they held a public meeting to re-establish the group. However, despite the election of new members, the previous informant who retains the Book of Acts strongly disagrees with this interpretation of events. He asserts that the original committee members, including himself, remain the legitimate and rightful CAT of Santiago Atitlán to this day. While Felipe, another member of the former CAT, was actually re-elected, and serves on the new committee, this informant refuses to participate in any collaborative efforts with the new committee.

Created at the national level, CAT is a formal institution intended to preserve local interests and enable local communities to proactively and collaboratively influence how tourism manifests in their communities (Stronza, 2001). However, the emic data presented above show

how in Santiago, weak social capital (e.g., lack of trust and cooperation) lead to conflict that creates barriers to effective collective action (Jones, 2005; Hunt et al., 2015).

Local Tourism Stakeholders

The CAT is intended to initiate self-representation of all local tourism stakeholders in a given community. In this research, tourism stakeholders refer more broadly to the individuals and institutions involved in the tourism supply in Santiago Atitlán. Actors in this broader definition of stakeholders include all individuals involved in the following businesses: hotels; restaurants, coffee shops, and bars; individual guides and guide groups; artists and artisans (including those with and without storefronts), market stall vendors, *vendedores ambulantes*¹⁶; and transportation providers, including *lanchas* (water taxis) and *tuk-tuks* (3-wheeled motor taxis).

In Santiago, a number of additional institutions have been organized within these additional stakeholder categories. Official local committees uncovered during the research process include the Main Street Artisan Committee and Artisan Committee of the Chi Nim Ya' Public Lakeshore. Informants also referred to more informal institutions, such as women's groups, woodworkers, fishermen, weaving groups, and an association of boat drivers. The names of several tour guide groups came up frequently – including Asotur, Milpas Tours, Rilaj Ma'am, and Rqan Tz'kinjaay – though none of these are currently active. Down at the boat dock, a group of about 12 guides describe themselves as an independent, democratic group. Each works for

¹⁶ Directly translated as “traveling saleswomen,” but used here to refer to the peddlers who operate on foot, carrying goods with them and moving around to approach tourists in various locations

himself. They are sure to mention that they do not have a group “business,” but that instead they rotate in an established order, taking turns soliciting business from disembarking passengers.

When asked if they have a leader, they say they don’t like this word. Calling someone a leader is culturally frowned upon, like saying that person is superior to the others. They therefore choose to self-describe as operating as equals.

For many informants, the most sought after institution is a tourist information office. There is hope that such an office, which would be instrumental in facilitating the bridging links necessary for a tourism network, described in the Social Capital section above, will be established by the Muni down by the boat dock soon. Various tour guide and information offices have come and gone in the past, but none have lasted. Experienced tour guide Felipe explains why:

We had the beginning of a guide office. Before, there wasn’t an association, there were guides. We had the office, but the office...tourists didn’t get over to it, because the commission agents, the unauthorized guides - they go down directly onto the dock. So, they divert the tourists, they misinform the tourists, and the office - although it was open, although we had a good display - the tourists didn’t come there. Because of the disorder. So, now - well, now with the regulation, with an office, I think that it will get up and running.

However, according to Juan, a relative and former business partner of Felipe, the committee that controls the coveted lakeshore real estate will not allow any office to be established there if Felipe is involved. He elaborates, “They aren’t giving [CAT] permission, because [CAT] is the group that Felipe organized. Because of this, because... he’s shady on all sides. And because of this, the people don’t want to give him an office.” Once again, a lack of social capital is preventing the successful establishment of what is seen as a key institution – one that is intended to serve as a catalyst for upward spiraling in social capital, among other forms of capital (Emery & Flora, 2006).

The preceding section sought to answer the research question, *what are the key institutions, formal and informal, involved in the development and ongoing production of tourism in Santiago Atitlán, Guatemala?* To answer this question, the structural deductive analysis was extended from discrete capitals to capture the configuration of these capitals in diverse local, regional, and external institutions. Importantly, these formal and informal institutions serve critical roles in the governance of natural and cultural resources in Santiago – areas of capital that currently have high value and provide strong opportunities for engaging with tourist markets, yet are also at risk. Amid the influence of tourism development, which will be explored in the following analysis, to the extent that these institutions can serve as barriers to tragic overuse of common pool cultural and natural resources, they can be expected to support increased tourism-related livelihoods and capabilities for Atitecos. However, a critical component of successfully leveraging these capitals and institutions will be strengthening of social capital (Bebbington, 1999; Hunt, et al., 2015).

Implications of the Current Status of Capitals and Institutions in Santiago

As indicated in Part II of the Literature Review chapter of this thesis, in order to properly measure sustainable development outcomes, assessment tools must move beyond the three pillars of economic, social, and environmental sustainability to account for the additional cultural, human, financial, built, and political assets created by development. Through systematic deductive analysis, the discussion of Research Questions 1a and 1b presented above has provided a more complete assessment of the community-level capital assets and individual institutional

arrangements of those assets present in Santiago Atitlán, Guatemala. This section has utilized ethnographic data to create a snapshot of the *current state* of capitals and institutions, and the complex ways in which they interact and are transformed.

Next, to further zero in on the specific impacts that tourism is having on these assets and forms of collective action, it is necessary to understand how the arrival and negotiation of tourism development has influenced and continues to shape 1) various forms of capital in Santiago, and 2) the ways that they intertwine in the forms of institutions. Further exploratory, inductive analysis beyond the capitals framework is needed to answer the remaining research questions.

Tourism's Influence on Capitals and Institutions

As noted in the literature reviewed earlier, myriad outcomes of globalization and development efforts occur in rural and indigenous communities. In order to properly assess these outcomes, methods must be used that can account not only for material changes (e.g., financial capital, natural capital, built capital, technology), but also capture changes in hard-to-define social and cultural values, practices, and knowledge. In this analysis, a more inductive approach was taken to thematic coding of the full textual dataset to distinguish any impacts that the development and ongoing production of tourism in Santiago Atitlán has had at the individual, institution, and/or community level. To accomplish this objective, this section is guided by Research Question 2: *How is tourism, as a market-driven, capitalist-driven form of globalization and development, influencing the overall array of (a) capital assets and (b) institutions and collective action available to residents in Santiago Atitlán?*

To answer this question, this final analytical section explores evidence of tourism's effects on all seven community capitals, though the focus here centers on the unique social and cultural impacts. These are particularly salient issues in indigenous communities experiencing intense pressure to change inherited practices and assimilate into broader regional, national, and global societies. While the findings in this section are organized by theme in order to emphasize particular influences of tourism, it is acknowledged in advance that many of these themes are highly interwoven.

Economic Impacts

Consistent with tourism development literature, tourism projects have been successful at attracting the attention of regional and multinational institutions to serve as sources of external financial capital for Santiago Atitlán. In line with Emery and Flora (2006), the projects that they fund and organize build up other forms of capital. An ongoing project at Rey Tepepul provides a great case study of this. *El Mirador Rey Tepepul*¹⁷ is a viewpoint located directly south of the urban center of Santiago in the cloud forested slopes of the Atitlán Volcano. Tourist and resident access to the viewpoint has recently become much easier, as it is located on the road to Chicacao, which as noted earlier, was recently paved. Atitecos are leveraging this increased access (which is not directly related to tourism) to promote greater tourism-related opportunities at the site.

¹⁷ Translated as Rey Tepepul Lookout, also referred to as simply *el mirador* or Rey Tepepul

According to the Muni, which posted the following description to its public Facebook page in March 2017, the Mayor and the Municipal Commission on Environment and Natural Resources hosted an important visit from:

The Guatemalan Institute of Tourism (INGUAT), the National Audubon Society, representatives from National Geographic, and international and local tour operators, with the purpose of improving Guatemala's position as a bird tourism destination, and as a tool for observation and economic development, creating trails, and protecting forests as a habitat for birds. (March 17, 2017)

Later Facebook posts indicate that this work began about two months later, on May 8, 2017 and was completed on June 10. The author visited on June 23, 2017 with two Muni employees.

When asked how this improvement project was funded, a local birding guide recited the names of several sources of international aid, including the Audubon International and the World Development Bank [sic], as well as a regional development association called Vivamos Mejor. He indicates that the Municipal Government and INGUAT participated by supervising the project. Meanwhile, the Muni's Facebook page says that the project was funded by the Inter-American Development Bank's Multilateral Investment Fund, Audubon International, Vivamos Mejor, CONAP, INGUAT, and the Municipal Government of Santiago Atitlán. While it is not clear exactly which organizations produced the financial resources, it is clear that this project is supported by external regional and international institutions in addition to Santiago's own internal institutions.

In addition to financial capital, these external institutions have contributed to other forms of capital. Miguel, a local tour guide, describes getting involved in the project in 2015:

This started 2 years ago. We had a program done by Audubon Society, and I took part. Today, we're still continuing the last part of the project, and this last part consists of reforestation. We have 100 native trees - trees that are native species. We're going to plant them, and possibly - we want to invite school children, to take advantage of awareness, and show them a little bit about biodiversity. Many of them don't know about this, so it's an opportunity.

When asked where he got the skills and training he needs to do his job as a birding guide,

Andres also references this project, explaining:

In 2015, I had the opportunity to get a scholarship with Audubon International. They gave me a scholarship to study birds. Last year I finished the first course, the Basic Level, which was only for bird observation guiding in the Lake [Atitlán] area. And so last year, they sent me a scholarship again to continue studying birds, but at the National Level. Studying about all the birds, all the species of birds that we have in Guatemala, in the 7 different regions.

As illustrated in the examples presented above, the case of Rey Tepepul demonstrates how financial capital was used to “spiral up” other forms of capital (Emery & Flora, 2006). Built capital was enhanced in the form of trail improvements, bridges, viewing platforms. Human capital was cultivated through advanced training for bird guides and planned outreach with local schools. Lastly, natural capital was increased via native plants restoration. It is important to note, however, that the data were collected for this research project at a time when the external institutions were still involved. Follow up research on this project would be useful, given the concerns noted in earlier sections about the long-term viability of projects once external funding support has been withdrawn (e.g., Kiss, 2004).

The Municipal Government clearly feels that tourism plays a key role in financial capital, both in attracting external financial resources – as in the case of Rey Tepepul above – as well as providing opportunity for individual and community level financial development. According to the Municipal Government Plan, “the most important economic potential for the development of the municipality is in tourism, because it generates a series of economic activities that provide employment and income to many people who have different skills and abilities. (Muni, 2012, p. 39). In this way, tourism is seen as an opportunity for Atitecos to leverage human and cultural capital to gain economic returns (Stronza, 2007).

Agreeing with the Municipality's assessment, key informants also feel that tourism is a key contributor to both individual and community financial capital. For example, when asked what percentage of his total income is connected to tourism, one informant replied emphatically:

Totally, 100%. 100%, because I don't depend on another activity that isn't tourism. Everything I do is tourism. If I work at a hotel, it's tourism. My work as a guide too...
Yeah. I depend 100% on tourism. The day that tourism ends, I'll be poor. (Miguel, Tour Guide)

This example supports theory that presents tourism as key provider of jobs and financial gains in developing nations (Mowforth & Munt, 2009). Here, tourism has enabled Miguel to reach a level of financial security such that he no longer needs to engage in the occupational diversification strategies mentioned above.

Speaking to community-level impacts, an employee of a local hotel comments on two new coffee shops that opened during the short period in which the author resided in Santiago Atitlán, saying:

Right now we see that in town they just opened another two new places to sell things. So, these are progresses that the town has made. These are developments, but thanks to the tourist. Because there are sales, because there is economy, because there are movements of currency coming in and going out. So yes, the town has made progress. (Luis, Hotel Manager)

In addition to the businesses mentioned above, tourism has also contributed to community-level improvements in financial services and banking institutions in Santiago, including the installation of multiple ATMs. These services are used by tourists and local residents alike.

As shown by the examples presented in the Financial Capital of the prior analysis, to the extent that new tourism development brings income and employment opportunities to Santiago, and thus leads to greater retention of youth and other skilled labor, it is viewed favorably and as contributing financial value to the community (Hunt & Stronza, 2014). The findings of the inductive analysis presented here support this. In line with prior work (e.g., Stronza, 2007;

Bunten, 2010), these data point indicated that tourism has made positive impacts on financial capital in Santiago Atitlán.

Environmental Impacts

Tourism influences both the natural and the built environment in Santiago Atitlán in a variety of interconnected ways. For example, not only do the town's waste management problems (attributed to a lack of built and human capital, as discussed above) negatively affect the natural environment, they are also a source of concern because of the negative impact they present to tourists who seek a comfortable, sanitary destination. Accordingly, the data analyzed here show that tourism provides an increased incentive to solve these problems, using solutions which span the realm of natural capital, built capital, and human capital. The following two sections use exemplary evidence to discuss several of the impacts of tourism on the natural and built environment found in Santiago.

Natural environment. Globalization – including, but not limited to, tourism – has supported the spread and expansion of new consumptive practices, which have resulted in drastic environmental change (Steffen et al., 2015). The impacts of changing consumptive practices in Santiago are well addressed in the following quotation:

If we move back to the 1950s, the jobs were in cotton production. But then sugar cane was introduced, coffee was introduced, and the majority of cotton harvesting was given up. That changed totally. The interesting thing about today, is that we have various productions. We have cotton, we have coffee, we have corn, and we have fish. But when we talk about fishing... In the 1950s, there were many fish in the lake - important fish, valuable fish. But when the bass was introduced, it changed. It radically changed the fishing industry. Then when they also put tilapia hatcheries on the shores of the lake, the tilapia escaped and they went in the lake. Now we have many tilapia in the lake. We have bass and tilapia, which aren't native to the lake. And so, this has changed fishing very much. And the introduction of coffee, the introduction of sugar cane, they also changed work a lot. (Pedro, Tour Guide)

This quote clearly illustrates that global consumption patterns have affected the local environment and livelihoods in Santiago Atitlán, just as scholars have noted in other indigenous communities (e.g., Lu, 2007; Sawyer, 2004; Stronza, 2007). In addition, on the local scale, varying levels of waste production, which correlates to high and low seasons for tourism, are used to demonstrate the contribution that tourists make to local pollution and environmental degradation (Muni, 2012). These data are in line with prior scholars' findings of tourism's potential to overload fragile infrastructure in lesser developed areas (Gmelch, 2010).

However, despite these negative impacts, several key informants also emphasize the role that tourists play in setting positive examples that contribute to environmental awareness – thus building up both natural and human capital. The following two exchanges demonstrate this.

When asked what he sees as the advantages to working in tourism, Felipe, a local tour guide, responds:

Felipe: The advantage is, let's say...one can learn other cultures. Other cultures, and also, to share - right? To share with people, because cultures are different. Here in Guatemala, the reality is, we have a culture, let's say... For example, here the majority of the people - their trash? They throw it in the street. But a tourist, even if it's the smallest piece of plastic, they always put it in the trash bag. So then, that's a culture that we have to copy, because we need it. To conserve our lake, our volcanoes, and... many things. To develop, to treat people well...

Lucy: It's not only to share your culture, but also to learn the cultures of the visitors.

Felipe: Exactly, yes. That's it.

Similarly, David, a weaver and Municipal Government employee, discusses the role that tourists play in building environmental awareness among Atitecos:

David: We are educating the people about this. What importance it has. What value.

Lucy: Who?

David: The people of Santiago Atitlán. If a tourist comes, the tourist already knows what it needs – that the bird needs respect, the lake needs respect. But indigenous people lack a lot of development in education.

Lucy: It's hard for them to understand the value of this?

David: Yes, yes.

Lucy: But this is connected to tourism? It's easier to understand?

David: Yes, yes. The tourist is an example for us, of education. A tourist comes asking where he can put this trash, and the people watch him – this is how you do it. So [the tourists] come, they [the people of Santiago] learn, and they leave their trash there. This is the help, the support, which tourism gives us. Of course, the tourist doesn't feel this, doesn't know. No, no, its that...he thinks about coming to see, to visit. But if he drinks something or eats something, and leaves it someplace, the people come, watch and they start to do this. Tourism is helping us in an education.

These two conversations demonstrate an understanding that the demonstration effect noted by many scholars (e.g., de Kadt, 1979; Fisher, 2004) has, in some ways, been positive here – resulting in positive changes in behavior (littering) and attitudes (environmental appreciation) in Santiago.

Atitecos view their natural capital an asset that can be leveraged to proactively influence how tourism manifests in their community, and thus to optimize tourism outcomes. Recognition of a growing demand for ecotourism and nature-based tourist activities, such as bird watching and climbing volcanoes, has thus created advocacy for protecting natural capital – not just for its intrinsic and cultural value, but also so that it can be leveraged as a means of increasing tourism potential. For example, when asked the reason for doing the improvement project at Rey Tepepul mentioned in the prior section, an employee for the Muni's Commission for Economic Development, Tourism, Environment, and Natural Resources explains:

Because in Santiago Atitlán, there is lots of biodiversity. So, we want to implement this... it was implemented, most, to conserve it. Because right now, well, many people go there, but they don't respect the biodiversity. So, we want to implement this to attract more tourists – foreigners, national and international – in order to generate the economic gains needed to conserve the forest. (Jose, Municipal Government Employee)

Jose goes on to explain that tourism is expected to contribute to financial capital in Santiago through the implementation of a new fee system for visitors to Rey Tepepul. This plan aims to

leverage natural capital as a way of increasing tourism and generating financial capital, which will then be reinvested in protection efforts to maintain a system that sustains both tourism and the environment (Buckley, 2011; Stronza, 2010).

When asked if there was anything else he wanted to say about the life of a guide, or tourism in general in Santiago, one local guide who has been working in tourism for over eight years explains:

Like I told you, I only recently started working independently, but I already have quite a lot of experience as a guide. And this has made me think that it's a good job, a good career to pursue. What I'm trying to implement right now more than anything is bird tourism. Bird tourism, because Santiago Atitlán is known as the House of the Birds. If Santiago Atitlán is known throughout the whole country as the House of the Birds - it's because there is a great concentration of birds here. And it's one of the things that I like to do, because, apart from being a way of life for me, it's something quite interesting for many people from outside. And what I want now basically, is to have the most suitable places to take them, because some of the birders from other places, they're older people. So, this the reason I say that more than a job for me, it's a passion. This is what I want - to convey all my knowledge to people.

This quote explains the value that natural assets play in enabling Atitecos to actively influence tourism development (Borman, 2008; Lu, 2007). Furthermore, it provides further evidence that from an emic standpoint, tourism is perceived quite favorably by Atitecos.

The conclusion drawn by the deductive analysis of natural capital in the prior section is that Santiago has valuable, but endangered, stocks of natural capital. At the end of the day, Atitecos see tourism as a possible opportunity for leveraging their natural capital to increase financial capital, while also creating mechanisms for its protection – through additional conservation funds and overall improvement of environmental attitudes and behavior. This is consistent with other scholars who have identified situations where tourism provides a powerful tool for conservation (e.g., Buckley, 2010; Stronza, 2010).

Built environment. As noted in earlier discussions of built capital, the most notable connection between tourism and built capital in Santiago is the ways in which tourism has *not* influenced it. In sharp contrast to Santiago Atitlán, various forms of built capital have been dramatically changed in other adjacent towns on the Lake Atitlán shoreline, including Santiago's Tz'utujil neighbor San Pedro La Laguna. In this bustling pueblo, one will find a plethora of businesses adorned with colorful signs, written in both Spanish and English, announcing their goods and services. A number of tour agencies advertise local cultural tours, daylong excursions to other nearby attractions, volcano hikes, birding trips, kayak rentals, and shuttle services to different locations across Guatemala and Central America. They offer licensed guides and all the necessary photos, pamphlets, information, and maps of the area and beyond. Having adopted the communication technology necessary to compete for an increasingly technology-enabled supply of tourists, these businesses have phone numbers, websites, email addresses, and reviews on TripAdvisor. Similarly, the décor and products offered by a range of coffee shops, restaurants, and bars appear to cater specifically to backpackers and vacationers, rather than local residents.

While the imagery present in San Pedro would not seem entirely unfamiliar to many travelers who have visited any touristy, tropical location, tourism has yet to lead to such manifestations of built capital in Santiago Atitlán. For example, when asked about recent changes to the tourism infrastructure in Santiago, the owner of one hotel responds by talking instead about what the town still lacks. "Language schools, and shuttle service, travel agencies... All these other towns have those. We don't really have that. Its kinda, we're the biggest town on the lake, but we're not the most touristy" (Rick, Hotel Owner). Thus far, then, tourism has not led to the changes in built capital that have been observed in other booming tourist destinations – such as the extreme impacts from mass tourism seen in the Yucatan Peninsula of Mexico (Torres

& Momsen, 2005) or the popular Mayan tourism destination San Cristobal de Las Casas in southern Mexico (van den Berghe, 1994).

The relationship between tourism and built capital is also manifested in conversations about building materials and regulations. Rick, the hotel owner quoted above, is an American expat who opened a hotel in Santiago Atitlán in the late 1970s. Explaining the changes he has seen in his time in Santiago, he reflects:

You know, it was prettier when I got here in the 70s, but the people who lived here lived in really uncomfortable houses. They had dirt floors, and rough stone walls, and caña for part of the walls - like cane stalks. You know, corn stalks, really. And the roofs were thatched, and you know, it was not as comfortable as... well, most of us when we go camping are more comfortable in our tents [than their houses were]. So. You know, but it was more picturesque for the visitors, and now its these unpainted block and cement buildings, and they're quite ugly. (Rick, Hotel Owner)

In this passage, he addresses the effects of modernization and tourism on building materials, and grapples with ideas surrounding cultural authenticity. As with many Atitecos, he frames the current lack of urban planning and building codes as an aesthetic problem, a departure from traditional building styles and materials that is in turn eroding cultural capital.

According to another key informant, the unpainted cement buildings were the target of a project carried out by Santiago's first CAT, who solicited a donation of 250 jugs of paint from a Canadian institution to improve the appearance of the buildings closest to the boat dock, the main port of entry for tourists.

“We achieved a beautiful project. We painted the facades of the houses... Because of this, when you arrive by boat today, you see over there a little bit of color. Before it was purely concrete. It looked very dirty. But the force of CAT, they brought this here. My contacts and Don Jose, we managed this painting project, and yes - we accomplished it.” (Diego, Local Committee Member)

This example represents an attempt to address issues of “ugly” built capital that are seen as harming tourism, without completely returning to authentic building styles and materials and

thus departing from the modern comforts that Atitecos enjoy. In this way, Atitecos can be seen as approaching tourism by developing hybridized authentic-modern solutions.

In many ways, then, despite a lack of touristy bars and chain hotels operated by multinational corporations, tourism *has* influenced built capital in Santiago. The three most common examples are in the above-mentioned efforts to improve the town's outward appearance, the 2016 construction of a new tourist boat dock, and the maintenance of a large "artisan walk" in the area surrounding this boat dock. The current CAT members, elected in 2016, have set a built capital change as their group's number one priority. According to the current CAT president, "tourism is the backbone of this town," but when tourists arrive, "they are not given an adequate welcome or the information they need" (Nicolas, Committee President and Local Business Owner). CAT's most important goal is establishing the most sought after institution mentioned above – a tourist informant center on the lakeshore, a "necessary compliment" to the newly-constructed dock.

The current snapshot provided in RQ 1a, above, found built capital to be an area in which Santiago Atitlán currently has some value, but also significant areas for asset development. This section has shown that tourism stakeholders in Santiago recognize ways that improvements in built capital are necessary to improve access to tourism's benefits. At the same time, some of the changes in built capital that have already been observed in the town have undermined sources of cultural capital. Given that cultural capital is one of Santiago's most valuable assets, and given prior work that has demonstrated destructive cultural outcomes of tourism development (e.g., Coria & Calfucura, 2011; Johnston, 2006), tourism-related changes to built capital, or exchanges of cultural capital for built capital, should be navigated with care in order to preserve Santiago's market advantage as an authentic destination.

Technological Impacts

As a manifestation of globalization and development, tourism has helped usher in the use of technology in Santiago Atitlán. This has resulted in impacts explored and predicted in the literature review, including the themes of communication technology and mechanized modes of production.

Communication technology. When asked what changes he had noticed in the time he had been living in Santiago Atitlán, one hotel owner described advances in telecommunication resources:

There were no telephones - there were like two in this town in '89. Two community phones. Its terrible to try to run a hotel with that. And uh, mail service was really slow. So, the internet and cell phones really changed this town. (Rick, Hotel Owner)

Similarly, seasoned guide Felipe describes massive changes in these resources. He explains that when he started working in tourism in 1996, he found work by passing out business cards to hotel guests and through word-of-mouth advertising from satisfied customers to their friends and families. His big break came when a journalist from *Lonely Planet* visited Santiago Atitlán, and Felipe happened upon the opportunity to give him a few tours. The journalist published a glowing recommendation of Felipe in the *Lonely Planet* travel guide, which he says helped him a lot. But, Felipe notes, the internet has drastically changed the way tour guides engage with clients today.

Now, with all the social networks – Facebook, the hashtag, all these... One is on top of the volcano, he takes a couple of photos – “Look, this is the view from the volcano” – and he starts to publish this. So the people can see, and the truth is, that helps quite a lot. The technology now, it’s very good. With WhatsApp, well – people send messages: “What type of tours do you offer?” I can send back photos of Chutinamit, Cerro de Oro, the volcanoes. The truth is yes, now the technology helps quite a bit too. (Felipe, Tour Guide and Artisan)

When the author sought to hire a guide in another region of Guatemala for an overnight volcano hike, she likewise started her search on TripAdvisor. There, she found a highly-recommended local guide, whom past clients said could be reached via text message on WhatsApp. A quick text inquiry to the phone number listed by TripAdvisor commenters received a near-instant reply: a photo screen-capture of a list of trip details, typed out in English. Thus, consistent with Buhalis & Law (2009), access to technology presents these tour guides with new ways to interact with tourists, leapfrog intermediaries, and overcome other barriers to compete for a share of the tourism market.

Guides also use key phrases such as “Tour Guide” and/or “Lake Atitlán” in the “name” section of their personal Facebook profiles to improve their chances of being found via web search; some create separate profiles on Facebook and Instagram. By sharing photos and tagging visitors’ social media profiles, they increase their chances of being recommended to visitors’ own social network. Once again these examples demonstrate the integral way that simple technology – accessing free sites like Facebook and TripAdvisor on smartphones – is leveraged by tourism industry players to compete for business. Tour guides who are only authorized to lead tours in the community of Santiago no longer need to passively wait until visitors arrive to compete for business. Technology provides them with opportunities to interact with clients before, and often after, they visit. While not necessarily to key actors of influence at regional and national scale governance bodies, technology is nevertheless increasing social capital by facilitating both horizontal and vertical linkages with key actors in the tourism industry.

Within the small sample of guides interviewed in this study, those who leveraged technology to engage with clients were found to rely less so on secondary sources of employment to supplement their income from tourism. Miguel, a freelance guide who depends

on the internet for work, names many different sites he utilizes to reach clients, including Viator, GetYourGuide, TripAdvisor, ToursByLocals, and GuideTrip. He explains:

For the travelers, that is very popular. But for the guides in Guatemala, that isn't common. Because we're accustomed, the guides, on depending on an agency, on depending on a hotel - they're the middlemen. So then, this way that I'm doing it, there are only a few of us who do this. (Miguel, Tour Guide)

Here, Miguel articulates one possible reason – beyond the financial and knowledge-based barriers to technology adoption mentioned by Buhalis & Law (2009) – that not all guides in Guatemala capitalize on the internet for marketing – they are not accustomed to, or comfortable with, directly connecting with foreign clients. Those who readily adopt communication technologies are thus likely to accumulate tourism-related capital assets quicker than those who refrain from using it.

Machine technology. In addition to information technology, Santiago is also affected by the changes in materials and modes of production that are enabled by mechanized and industrial technology. As mentioned above, another important part of the local economy comes from the artisanal production of handicrafts, textiles, and art. For example, earlier discussions of human capital describe the Tz'utujil women hand-embroidering *huipiles* to sell to other local women. However, other forms of machine-made *huipiles* have reached the market, both those mass produced by automated processes, as well as ones that have simply been embroidered using personal electric sewing machines (as opposed to being done entirely by hand).

Maria, the youngest sister, describes the problem that machine-made *huipiles* present to her family: they are cheaper and faster to make. She explains that while this technology is helpful, it also drives prices down for everyone – meaning she is able to make less money for her handmade ones. Likewise, in a conversation with David, a local weaver, he laments the struggles of contemporary artisans, saying that to have a good life, to make money, they need to make

things by machine. The Municipal Development Plan indicates that Santiago has struggled to compete in the global market based on lack financial capital presenting a barrier to increased production technology and marketing capacity. In contrast, David connects this dynamic to Tz'utujil cultural capital, saying that because of changing practices, they are losing the ways of their ancestors.

Maria and her sisters straddle this line carefully. They continue to hand-embroider *huipiles* for themselves and other Tz'utujil women, yet they use their electric sewing machine to embroider similar patterns on other items that they sell to tourists – such as small change purses, and the author's own denim jacket. Again, this unique response to changing conditions that are largely out of the women's control represents a form of hybridized authentic-modern solution. This economic diversification through selling semi-authentic, machine-made souvenirs serves to support the women's ability to spend two months creating the complex and handmade traditional garments for themselves. This finding is consistent with practices that Carlsen noted in Atiteco weavers in the 1990 -- by “degrading” *some* aspects of their culture by changings modes of production, they are better able to preserve their overall cultural customs of dress.

Social Processes

Coinciding with the processes laid out in Chapter 2, the data analyzed here show tourism to be driving certain negative social outcomes among residents of Santiago Atitlán. These social issues include competition and rivalry within the industry, reduced social bonds and norm adherence, an eroded ability to work collectively, and a widened gap within and between groups

and generations. A few of these processes will be explored in this section of the inductive analysis.

Power dynamics. Although nominal references to issues of power dynamics at higher (international and regional) scales are present in the data analyzed here, from the emic perspective, the most prevalent manifestations of tourism's impact on the social process of power relations was at the local level. The tourism industry in Santiago Atitlán is found to be fraught with competition and rivalry. Tourism has presented an economic potential worth fighting over, negatively impacting social capital in Santiago. Giving his take on the local social culture, Rick – the American expat who opened a hotel in Santiago in the late 1970s – says:

It's kinda like throwing trash on the neighbor's land. They don't really work together on things, they work against each other and they're very competitive. They won't teach someone how to do something if they think they'll take their job. Uh, they... You know, maybe as a foreigner I sound like a, you know, imperialist opinion of the people, but I've seen it more than once. We've had projects here for organic coffee, for weaving, and they found that people here fought with each other so much, and tried to cheat on the system, that they've gone to San Juan¹⁸, where people cooperate with each other. You can feel it, it's a different vibe over there. They have a spirit of cooperation [in San Juan], and here [in Santiago Atitlán] we have a spirit of competition.

Here, Rick is clearly referencing how trust and reciprocity are directly related to improved ability to cultivate capital assets (e.g., Jones, 2005), and even invokes a “tragedy of commons”-type example of throwing trash on a lawn to distinguish between action in individual versus collective interest in Santiago Atitlán and San Juan de la Laguna, respectively (Ostrom, 1990).

A common theme underlying local disagreements was blaming others for the mistreatment of tourists, which is diagnosed by many industry participants as an obstacle to tourism growth in Santiago. Certain industry sectors were likely to be blamed, most commonly

¹⁸ He refers here to San Juan La Laguna, a neighboring community on the shores of Lake Atitlán

the peddlers and commission agents, tuk-tuks (motor taxis), lanchas (water taxis), as illustrated in the following three quotes from separate interviews:

What are the problems? Because here, with these people here, because...they don't have information. They mistreat the tourists. The women, the children in the streets, the peddlers, and these men on the street. The tuk-tuk drivers, they bother a lot. They bother a lot, and there isn't order. There isn't order, there isn't control. (Martin, Committee President and Local Business Owner)

Right now we need to plan a meeting with the boat drivers, because they have problems. They have problems because they....they... I don't know how to tell this to you. For example, you go to the dock. And you have to wait until the boat is filled up, and then it goes. So we tell them, according to INGUAT, you have to have a schedule. (Nicolas, Committee President and Local Business Owner)

And so people, they see the tourist, and they charge excessively. For example, tuk-tuks. A tuk-tuk will charge you at minimum \$20 for a ride. The prices aren't regulated. And there are excessive charges for tour guides. (Ronaldo, Committee Member and Local Business Owner)

Competition and rivalry are an explanation underlying the lack of both an information office and any sort of organized tour agency or tour guide group, though the conflict with the tuk-tuk drivers exemplifies a lack of organized collective action in the common interest within Santiago Atitlán tourism sector.

Felipe, an older guide who has been operating in Santiago Atitlán since 1996, is the center of several dramatic episodes related to power dynamics that were described to the author by other local tourism stakeholders. In his words, as quoted above:

We had the beginning of a guide office. Before, there wasn't an association, there were guides. We had the office, but the office...tourists didn't get over to it, because the commission agents, the unauthorized guides - they go down directly onto the dock. So, they divert the tourists, they misinform the tourists, and the office - although it was open, although we had a good display, the tourists didn't come there. Because of the disorder. (Felipe, Tour Guide and Artisan)

In this example, access to visitors is the common-pool resource being over-exploited by unregulated tour guides. In the absence of effective sanctioning, eliminating the behavior that undermines the collective interest is unlikely (Ostrom, 2005). However, other informants

disagree with Felipe's account for why the office and guide group fell apart, blaming his selfishness. Diego says:

There isn't activity. They left the group... Felipe is a very... He doesn't work transparently. That's why they fall apart, the associations, because if something comes for the group, only one person does it. And he, as president - every group that comes, he's guiding it. And there isn't anything for the others. They get angry. Only one person benefiting, while the others contribute their time. He is everywhere. I don't like how he works. (Diego, Local Committee Member)

But although several informants indicate that Felipe took more than his fair share of the guiding business, Felipe writes this off as jealousy over the attention he received after he had the good fortune to be featured in a *Lonely Planet* travel book, as described above.

A third informant, Juan, describes how Felipe destroyed his business more than twenty years ago, resulting in Juan leaving tourism altogether and starting a new career. Juan describes how he started an office and tour guide cooperative down by the dock but, because he is illiterate, he relied on Felipe, a blood relative, to be his secretary. By Juan's account, Felipe became jealous and angry that Juan was taking more than his share of the tours, extorted 1000 quetzales from Juan, and then sold Juan's office space to the next-door vendor, who now uses the space to sell tourist trinkets. Such exacerbations of inequalities (e.g., Belsky, 1999) and lack of trust (e.g., Jones, 2005) are, unfortunately, well-documented consequences to internal power dynamics when tourism is introduced into traditional communities.

Demonstration effect. One positive example of the demonstration effect is elaborated above, in the natural environment section, wherein tourists are seen as setting a positive behavioral example for Atitecos when it comes to disposing of waste. However, in most other ways, the strong influence of external cultures is affecting the accelerated loss of cultural elements such as clothing and language, especially among youth. Informants cited a loss of traditional values in young Atitecos, often mentioning a shift away from traditional dress, but

also touching on topics such as alternative medicine and respect for elders (Butler & Hinch, 2007; Zeppel, 2008).

The Municipal Development Plan also explores this dynamic, indicating:

“The cultural identity of the municipality is based on the principles, values and practices of the Tz’utujil Culture, which is characterized by a strong sense of cultural belonging and respect for the traditions and ancestral culture, although as a tourist destination, these elements and values are being reduced in the young population, especially by values of foreign cultures, with an impact on the social life of the territory.” (Muni, 2012, p.59)

In this example, then, the Municipal Government seems to implicate tourism in the observed decreases in cultural capital. This is a departure from the traditional application of ideas about demonstration effect between hosts and guests (e.g., Fisher, 2004), yet it highlights an even more important internal practice of transmitting culture through a demonstration effect between older and younger members of the community. This gradual loss of cultural demonstration, seen in the changes in tastes and preferences of young people – especially regarding clothing choices, supports the idea of an internal demonstration effect being diminished.

Cultural Outcomes

Coinciding with the cultural outcomes summarized in Chapter 2, the data show tourism and its influence on social processes to also result in a complex re-arrangement and re-negotiation of identity, the commodification of material and immaterial culture, and the appropriation of indigenous knowledge. A few of these processes will be explored in this section.

Clothing. Within the topic of identity, clothing and language are explored as two of the most salient markers of Tz’utujil identity. Indigeneity across Guatemala is characterized by a very place-based identity, though this is particularly true around Lake Atitlán (Carlsen, 2011). Through the use of specific colors, design patterns, and objects depicted, clothing is used as a

signal not just of one's ethnicity, but of one's village. While many Atitecos, especially women, continue to dress in *traje*, globalization has resulted in a blurring of that very visual signal of identity. In certain ways, this provides a comparative advantage for tourism in this town. As Carlsen (2011) writes, this tourism demand influences the amount of social control Tz'utujil weavers have to experiment with wider color palates and creative new designs. At the same time, access to wider markets mean that more people are buying clothing based on other characteristics – like preference, quality, and price (van den Berghe, 1994)

One example of this is in the increased popularity of used Western clothing, which is imported in great quantities due to the “fast fashion” culture in the United States, and sold by the piece for anywhere from 1 to 10 quetzales (14 cents to \$1.40 USD). Price plays a vital role. Several informants indicated the high price of *traje* as the reason they usually dress in modern clothing, saving their *traje* for special occasions. However, Santiago Atitlán's reputation for high quality handwoven and hand embroidered clothing, in combination with relaxed social norms around *traje*, has enabled Atitecos to expand their market to indigenous people from all over Guatemala, as demonstrated in the following participant observation vignette:

June 11, 2017: I approached a stall hung with row upon row of *huipiles*, stretching across the 3-meter-wide stall from the ground to the roof. The vendor, Rosario, was a young woman in *traje*, perhaps about my age. Her stall was on the outskirts of the market, and it was still early in the day – around her, other stalls were still just setting up. She wasn't busy, and happily obliged to my questioning.

When I asked where the *huipiles* came from, she said here in Santiago Atitlán – pointing to the top two rows. The *huipiles* in the top row were adorned with colorful birds of various sizes; the next row were covered with flowers. The designs in these two rows were embroidered onto the vertically striped fabric that is typical of the Atiteco *traje*. Sometimes the patterns were concentrated just around the collar area, with large areas of open cloth. On others, the vertical stripes had been crossed with embroidered horizontal stripes, turning the cloth into rows of boxes, each of which contained a different bird. They were very detailed, and complex.

Lucy: [pointing to the top two rows] Who made them? You?

Rosario: Yes.

Lucy: By hand, right?

Rosario: Yes, always by hand, these ones from Santiago Atitlán.

Lucy: Wow, they're beautiful. How long does it take you to make them?

Rosario: Two months.

Below the top two rows of birds and flowers, there were several rows of *huipiles* that were completely different. They were entirely covered with colorful geometric patterns, with none of the base cloth visible. The embroidery was much more uniform, and the stitches had a cross-stitch like pattern (a bunch of Xs) instead of the handmade ones, whose patterns were made from longer, straight parallel stitches and no Xs. Below these, there were several more rows of *huipiles* that were more similar to the upper rows (more exposed cloth, distinct objects depicted, like flowers, instead of geometric patterns) but had a more "modern" look. They were adorned with sequins, sparkles, and 3D designs of coiled material.

Rosario indicated that these bottom two sections were all machine made, and not from Santiago. She told me that these ones came from other places, like Xela¹⁹. While she had originally answered in the affirmative when I asked her if she made them, she now spoke of it more as a network of people working together. The hand-embroidered, Atiteco-style *huipiles* in the top two rows were all made by hand here in Santiago Atitlán, by various local women. The other ones that were machine made were purchased from Xela, and brought back here to be sold.

Lucy: So the ones that come from Xela, where do you buy them? From the market?

Rosario: Yes, in the market. We go buy them there, and bring them back here to sell.

Lucy: And do people from Xela also come to Santiago Atitlán and buy your *huipiles*, to take back and sell them there?

Rosario: Yes, it's an exchange of business. We buy from each other to sell in our markets.

Lucy: But in Xela, they're Kakchiquel, right?

Rosario: Yes, they're Kakchiquel and here we're Tz'utujil.

Lucy: But you buy their things and sell them here?

¹⁹ Commonly known as Quetzaltenango, but often referred to in this part of Guatemala as Xela (pronounced SHAY-lah), a shortened version of its indigenous name

Rosario: Yes, these ones [indicating top row] are our traditional *traje*. These are the style of Xela [indicating the middle section described above]. But people like to choose.

These weavers have diversified their offerings in order to specifically target several niche markets simultaneously. Rather than passive reaction to an imposed market, this reflects active negotiation of market-related opportunities, a type of involvement in tourism that Buntén (2010) refers to as “indigenous capitalism.”

In another conversation at the market, a young man selling bolts of the woven cloth that is used by to make *faldas*, the long skirt that is part of the female *traje*, confirms these arrangements:

Lucy: And who buys your fabric? Only locals? Or do tourists buy them too?

Misael: Some tourists. Mostly Atiteca women, but also women come from other places, like Xela and Panajachel. They come here to Santiago to buy their skirts.

Lucy: Why?

Misael: The quality. They know the quality of the weaving here.

Lucy: But in Xela and Panajachel they’re Kakchiquel, right?

Misael: Yes, they speak Kakchiquel.

Lucy: They wear different *traje*, right?

Misael: Yes, but they can choose what they want to wear.

Lucy: When I was in Chichicastenango I saw the women had different skirts – they had a cross on them.

Misael: Yes, there are different styles than how they wear it in Santiago Atitlán. But this is also just the cloth. They make the skirt. Sometimes the women adjust it how they want it, make it shorter, they can cut and sew other fabric together, do what they want.

Lucy: Ah, I see. But this is the traditional way of Santiago Atitlán?

Misael: Yes, when they see this fabric they know it’s from Santiago Atitlán. See this symbol? [pointing to a symbol that is repeated over and over in a vertical stripe of the fabric, a common element to all of the skirts]. That is a woman from Santiago Atitlán carrying a tinaja [traditional water jug].

Indeed emblematic of capitalist modes of production, this vendor conveys the tensions between increasing production due to growing demand, and reducing the costs involved in this production, all while maintaining a high degree of quality that has come to characterize the textiles of Santiago Atitlán.

In an increasingly globalized world, the availability of new technology leads to faster and cheaper modes of production. Meanwhile, throwaway culture in developed nations means that markets in developing nations are flooded with gently used, cheap, and machine-made clothing. Concerns about the arrival of cheap, imported goods specifically appears in a FODA analysis (Spanish version of SWOT analysis, or analysis of strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, threats) of economic systems in Santiago Atitlán's Municipal Development Plan. This analysis identifies the flooding of the global market with crafts mass-produced in China as a threat to the handicrafts industry, an acknowledged economic strength of the community (Muni, 2012). In these ways, with the ongoing transition to a tourism-centered economy, the type of specialized artisan skills that are transmitted through informal education in Santiago Atitlán are increasingly endangered as a means of earning a livelihood.

However, at the same time, globalization in the form of tourism has also led to a relaxation of rigid social norms, and as the examples above show, this has led to an enhanced ability for highly skilled artisans to gain recognition. Additionally, by facilitating encounters between tourist guests and artisan hosts, tourism reinforces the economic value of such specialized artisan skills. When asked about how her encounters with tourists make her feel about her indigenous identity, Maria expressed pride in the ability to share her life and culture with guests. "If you bought a *huipil* that I made," she said, "It would make me happy because it

shows your appreciation for my unique skill and hard work.” In this regards, tourism is clearly a source of pride and self-reflection that yield increased cultural capital (Stronza, 2008).

Language. Language is another key part of Tz’utujil identity, and something of which Tz’utujil informants indicate that they are most proud. However, in an increasingly globalized world, loss of indigenous language is a prevalent concern (e.g., Gorenflo et al., 2011). The data presented here indicate that Tz’utujil culture is no exception. Tourism plays a key role in the pressure to discard indigenous language. The ability to speak Spanish is almost required for engagement in tourism, and “ah yes, of course, it’s even better if you can speak English” (Pedro, Tour Guide). Atitecos who only speak Tz’utujil are nearly entirely excluded from participation in the tourism industry, with the exception of artisans who sell their work through middlemen (van den Berghe, 1994), and a few women who sell souvenirs and get by with a basic vocabulary. When asked if speaking Spanish is a job requirement for his hotel’s employees, the expat hotel owner responds:

I’ve had a maid or two that couldn’t, or a gardener that didn’t speak Spanish very well, but even they have to, have to interact with some of the guests. So it’s really difficult if they don’t speak Spanish.

By nature of the limitation of the author’s own language skills, speaking Spanish is also prerequisite for inclusion in this research regarding the tourism industry in Santiago. These two factors – the author’s lack of ability to speak Tz’utujil, and the vital role of language skills in participation in tourism – help explain the disproportionate number of self-identified Tz’utujiles involved in this research project, in comparison to census data indicating Tz’utujiles make up 98% of Santiago Atitlán’s population.

All of the tour guides who operate in Santiago speak Spanish, which enables them to communicate with the many visitors who come from other parts of Guatemala and Central

America. Some informants indicate that tourism impacts human capital even more directly – not just inspiring locals to seek formal language training, but enabling them to pick up English language skills informally. Hotel owner Rick notes, “Most of my staff that interacts with the guests in the restaurant, etc., they are pretty proficient in English by now, and they’ve learned on the job.” This outcome of having tourism-related livelihood is also reflected in the following field note:

Field Notes, June 16: They said few a people in their [guide] group speak a few words of English. Not enough to give a tour in English, but a few phrases here and there. This has been picked up over time from visitors; none of them have any formal training in English.

The few guides who speak English clearly have a unique competitive advantage that transcends other aspects of their guiding skills and local knowledge. By incentivizing the attainment of advanced language skills, tourism has positively contributed to human capital.

Despite tourism’s positive impact on human capital (through Spanish and English language skills), informants also note a downside for cultural capital. When asked about criteria for being indigenous, Pedro explains:

The negative side is that nowadays, some indigenous people, when a child is born - the first language is Spanish. Only Spanish. But also there are - for example, [pointing to his young son, who he brought with him] - he speaks very little Spanish. He only speaks the Maya language...because my primary interest is the Maya language. Spanish, he’s going to learn in school. (Pedro, Tour Guide)

Thus, tourism contributes to human capital by incentivizing skill development for certain languages, while also devaluing one form of cultural capital – the Tz’utujil language, as has been noted in other indigenous tourism contexts (Coria & Calfucura, 2011; Johnston, 2006;).

Commodification of culture. As indicated in the literature, the sale of culturally-based commodities and services are central to tourist encounters in Santiago. This section presents just

a few examples of the complex ways in which Tz'utujil culture has been commodified in the name of tourism, leading to both positive and negative outcomes.

When asked if he has noticed any misuses of Tz'utujil culture in Santiago Atitlán, Pedro indicates that culture is misused in order to earn money, explaining:

So - this happens more touristically. Sometimes a tourist comes and says, I'm looking for a shaman to talk to with, to do a ceremony. And I could say, "Ah, I'm one!" But I'm not one. (Pedro, Tour Guide)

In this way, tourism has led to questions of staged authenticity in Santiago Atitlán, like those first posed by MacCannell (1984). The Municipal Development Plan also acknowledges this negotiation of culture and authenticity, saying that "The brotherhoods and other cultural values are used as tourist attractions and within a folklorist approach" (Muni, 2012). Yet, as prior studies indicate (e.g., Borman, 2008; Bunten, 2010; Gmelch, 2010; Medina, 2003), the use of cultural objects to earn money is not an inherently negative act.

Indeed, when asked if their capacity to earn money was connected to their indigenous identity, many informants who work in the tourism industry answered affirmatively. For example, Miguel, a tour guide, states:

Yes, it has a lot to do - it means a lot. Because I have friends that aren't indigenous, and although they want to identify as indigenous, but first of all, they don't speak a Maya language. And visually, or physically, it's very noticeable. You can say "I'm indigenous," but if your physical appearance doesn't show it... So then, when people see me - dark-skinned, short stature - they say "Ah, you're indigenous!" and they start to ask me things. And people value that a lot. They ask how I live, how I have overcome all of those social problems, especially discrimination. So then, in the end, they appreciate it, and they can value you for a certain amount of money - they can give you tips.

Here, Miguel acknowledges that his indigeneity is what enables him to earn money in tourism.

He also touches on two features that confirm his authenticity – his physical appearance, and his language. When asked how his interactions with tourists make him feel about his identity,

Miguel continues:

They make me feel very proud - very happy. And them too. When I teach everything that I am, and that I feel – they also appreciate that. They realize that I am proud of my culture, and of my work, what I'm doing. And it's a combination – because they leave satisfied, seeing someone so proud.

Overwhelmingly, informants agree with Miguel, indicating that their interactions with tourists, who travel from across the globe to experience “authentic” Mayan indigenous culture, creates feelings of immense pride in their cultural heritage (Stronza, 2008). They say that their interactions with tourists, in addition to bringing in money, help to reinforce this pride, a finding that has been noted in other indigenous tourism contexts (Bunten, 2010; Coria & Calfucura, 2012).

As mentioned in prior sections of this analysis, tourism also allows local artisans to utilize their cultural capital to generate increased financial capital, thus providing incentives that encourage the maintenance of culture and traditions. This does not always result in less authentic products or the loss of cultural practices, as many scholars have feared (van den Berghe, 1994; Johnston, 2006). In the embroidery and textile example of Maria and her sisters presented in the Technological Impacts section of this analysis, machine technology is utilized to create cultural artifacts that are sold to tourists. Through these transactions, their personal financial capital is secured, thanks in part to this commodification process in tourism, yet it is precisely that enhanced financial capital that provide the ability to maintain cultural capital by continuing to hand-produce *huipiles* in the original mode utilized by their ancestors.

When asked if tourism is related to changes in artisan work, tour guide Daniel responded affirmatively. But instead of leading to a movement *away* from traditional materials and methods of production in favor of advanced technology, as may have been expected based on the literature (e.g., Johnston, 2014; Coria & Calfucura, 2012; Zeppel, 2008), Daniel's answer demonstrates the opposite:

Because for example, an artisan, its more – [tourists] like their work more. Because what the tourists want is more so the craftsmanship. And so, more is made by hand, rather than embroidered by machine. (Daniel, Tour Guide)

Daniel thus experiences increased valuation of the skills developed through traditional, informal educational pathways. Likewise, in the following passage, Felipe describes how working as a guide has encouraged him to continue learning from local elders:

The truth, Lucy... Ok, when I started working as a tour guide, it interested me a lot, because its a very special subject for me. Because within the area of tourism, as a guide, one works in subjects like archeology, anthropology, ecology, the Maya worldview, Maya spirituality... all those subjects. And I take part in the Cofradias a lot, with the elders. Because for me, they're great people, they're the best teachers. Because I use a lot of the customs, the oral traditions from our ancestors, our grandparents, our parents - and today, well, I manage quite a lot of information, and I continue learning. Because when a tourist arrives in Santiago, he asks about everything, he wants to know about everything, right? And as a guide, you have to be well prepared, to give good service. (Felipe, Tour Guide and Artisan)

These examples indicate the complexity of the relationship between tourism, cultural commodification, and notions of authenticity (Greenwood, 1989; Cohen, 1988; MacCannell, 1984). In some ways, the way that culture is leveraged within the tourism industry to earn money has led some to frame these manifestations as “inauthentic”. Yet at the same time, because Santiago Atitlán’s “authentic culture” is a source of comparative advantage in tourism, tourism has reinforced the importance of longstanding cultural traditions, knowledge, and practices.

Tourism’s Influence on Capitals and Institutions Revisited

This section was guided by Research Question 2, which asks: *How is tourism, as a market-driven, capitalist-driven form of globalization and development, influencing the overall array of (a) capital assets and (b) institutions and collective action available to residents in Atitlán?* The analysis presented here indicates that tourism itself – both as a part of broader trends and forces of globalization and development, yet also in several important ways providing

an alternative to other forms of development – is slowing the erosion of cultural capital in Santiago Atitlán. While in some ways cultural capital is being appropriated in the form of knowledge, intellectual property, and archeological resources, by and large Atitecos are negotiating tourism – and even the practice of commodification itself – to support and perpetuate long-standing cultural practices, for instance traditional textile production.

Informants use stories to reinforce the importance of protecting cultural institutions. For example, when asked about how the people of Santiago Atitlán control the ways that typical customs and Tz'utujil culture are shared with tourists, Miguel explains:

Ok. In this situation, people that do know a lot about the culture, the history, the ancestral knowledge - they're very limited in sharing this with tourists. Because they've already experienced that many tourists come - especially some Anthropologists that came to Santiago - they got involved, they became part of things, but then once they obtained all the information, they left for their own country to start a business. And indigenous knowledge isn't a business. That's oversight. (Miguel, Tour Guide)

Clearly through the appropriation of textile products and specific weaving practices, Miguel is concerned about an unenumerated flight of intellectual property from the community, concerns expressed elsewhere with regards to indigenous intellectual property (Johnson, 2006). As David notes, this is now a well-established trend:

There is a European company. On the internet, you see “Designs of Typical Clothes in Guatemala” – and what appears there is the typical clothing of Santiago Atitlán. (David, Weaver and Municipal Government Employee)

While some indigenous groups have been able to maintain a relative degree of control over the export of cultural commodities and artistic traditions, like the Otavaleños of Ecuador (Kyle, 1999; Meisch, 2013), Santiago Atitlán weavers were more likely to lament an inability to control what occurs outside the community, thus providing further evidence that vertical linkages of social capital are lacking (Hunt et al., 2015; Jones, 2005).

By demonstrating the ways that Atitecos are proactively confronting challenges to their culture by creating strategies and institutions that protect traditional cultural practices, this research has answered Stronza's (2001) call for more work on the motives for local (indigenous) residents to get involved in tourism. In contrast with a much larger body of research focusing on local residents as passive recipients of tourism-related impacts, the work presented here provides an important emic perspective of local indigenous residents that reveals the extent to which they leverage their agency to optimize the outcomes of tourism: culturally, financially, and environmentally. While tourism is not without impacts and consequences for community members, with social capital appearing to be especially problematic, it is hard to imagine other forms of development (e.g., commercialized mono-crop agriculture, timber harvest, fossil fuel extraction) not having much greater consequences for the community in general, and culture in particular.

To the extent that tourism can support the accumulation of multiple forms of capital and contribute to the "spiraling up" of these capitals into strengthening institutions for managing tourism and other community resources, it can be expected to remain an overall positive influence on Santiago Atitlán. Should the capacity of tourism to support the accumulation of capital diminish, or if the broader forces of globalization and development overwhelm tourism's net benefits, then the community of Santiago Atitlán could eventually cross a threshold leading to a downward cascade of its assets across multiple capital classes. With the impact of human activities across the planet greater than they have ever been, such thresholds may be crossed regardless of how strong this community's internal institutions are. For now, they are holding back the tide.

Chapter 5.

CONCLUSION

Many manifestations of globalization and development were observed in the highland Tz'utujil town of Santiago Atitlán, Guatemala. Here, ethnographic research led to inductive and deductive analysis of tourism-related community cultural change. Ultimately, this thesis addresses the overarching research question: How is tourism, as a market-driven, capitalist-driven form of globalization and development, influencing the overall array of capital assets, institutions and collective action available to residents in Santiago Atitlán? More specifically, however, this thesis focuses on outcomes of the development and ongoing production of the local tourism industry. Tourism development has been seen as a potential pathway to achieving cultural, environmental, and economic stability, but has also been shown to cause community disruption. Not surprisingly, evidence to support both of these outcomes was evident within this dataset as well.

The primary purpose of this research was theoretical contribution to the understanding of the impacts of tourism development, with a focus on socio-cultural outcomes. A secondary objective of the work was to inform practical applications through the development of evidence-based recommendations for stakeholders at different scales. These two goals – intellectual merit and theoretical contributions, as well as the practical applications and broader impact – are described below.

Intellectual Merits

As one of the first studies to utilize the Community Capitals Framework through the lens of ethnography, and to apply this framework to the study of tourism, this research contributes to the advancement of several bodies of knowledge. This work found the capitals framework to be well-suited to the study of tourism, yet its use in an indigenous community also highlighted some shortcomings of the framework's traditional application. Initial interpretations of community capitals in Santiago Atitlán highlighted clear discrepancies between the assessment of capitals based on etic/theoretical definitions and the assessment based on the emic understandings of community stakeholders. Thus, the use of ethnographic qualitative methods, as well as the pairing of deductive analysis with inductive, thematic analysis was of paramount importance in merging those points of view into an accurate representation.

In line with the literature reviewed in Chapter 2, these data show that as a driver and outcome of globalization and development – processes that are beyond residents' direct control – tourism influences community capitals, and thus social and cultural institutions, in Santiago Atitlán. Reflecting the broad range of outcomes found in prior studies, this research found evidence for both positive and negative impacts of tourist development. A unique contribution of this study is the finding that Atitecos confront changing technological, financial, and environmental conditions in unique and hybridized ways, which directly affect cultural outcomes. Additionally, these influences and changes are not one-directional. Community capitals and institutions are valuable assets that Atitecos hope to leverage to proactively influence tourism in their town moving forward. The current arrangement of assets and institutions in the community present opportunities that Atitecos are clearly already leveraging in order to proactively engage with the tourism that has manifested in their town over recent

decades. However, while Atitecos have significant stock of natural and cultural capital, and institutions in place for their maintenance and preservation, low values of other capital – particularly social, political, and human capital – are seen to hinder their capability to leverage cultural and natural capitals to their advantage, or to protect them.

This work also makes clear that the drivers of development and globalization – including tourism – have many complex and overlapping results. Importantly, this means that not all of the outcomes discussed in this thesis cannot be solely attributed directly to tourism. However, data show clear evidence that tourism has played a vital role in the array of capital assets and institutional arrangements currently manifested in Santiago Atitlán.

Broader Impacts

In terms of the secondary objective of contributing to practical applications, this thesis provides further support that the Community Capitals Framework can be used translationally to make emically-founded contributions to development planning. An improved understanding of this framework in the context of indigenous tourism has implications for the management and practice of tourism in Santiago Atitlán and beyond. Specifically, it has been helpful in illuminating not just areas of strength and weakness, but understanding the way that capitals interact and transform in the context of internal community agency and external change. When combined with other empirical data and theory, these findings are particularly salient for diagnosing opportunities and most promising areas for investment within the community. Emery and Flora's (2006) work on capital stocks and flows found that infusions of built capital or financial capital do not lead to the "spiraling up" process, or Myrdal's (1957) concept of

cumulative causation. Instead, in line with other scholars (e.g. Bebbington, 1999; Hunt et al., 2015), they assert that social capital is the best entry point to spiraling up other community capitals. Given the way that weak social capital is exemplified by and interwoven into many sources of conflict and rivalry in Santiago Atitlán, this appears to be an apt suggestion for development strategies in this community.

It is the researcher's hope that this understanding of how tourism development efforts influence community capitals and institutions can contribute to evidence-based recommendations on best practices and procedures for sustainable tourism development. This research could be incorporated into future efforts to review tourism development literature to determine variables that contribute to community success and variables that lead to negative outcomes for local communities, a task that was not within the scope or time frame of the current work. Another key impact of this work is in the production of useful information that can be disseminated at the local, regional, and national level in Guatemala to inform strategies by which local communities can proactively engage in and shape the way tourism develops.

Concluding Thoughts

In Santiago Atitlán, socio-cultural dynamism was exemplified in changes to indigenous identity, issues of ownership of knowledge, and new forms of constructed authenticity. These changes have contributed to various social changes, including widened gaps between groups and generations, increased competition and rivalry, reduced social bonds and norm adherence, and an eroded ability to work together. Yet despite the internal tensions within this community, and the history of persecution and racism that indigenous peoples across all of Guatemala have faced, the

Tz'utujiles involved with this study expressed nothing but pride when discussing their cultural identity and the opportunity that tourism presents to share it with visitors. When asked how he learned the job skills he needed to be a guide, one respondent replied simply, "It's my life. I lived it."

If there is one constant in this community, it is change. As is occurring across the planet, change in Santiago Atitlán is accelerating. As one informant articulated, "All cultures change, but they aren't always forced to change this fast." For what it is worth, tourism stakeholders in Santiago Atitlán seem prepared for any such hybridization. In the words of one tour guide, "If we talk about living culture - well, the strongest religion in Santiago is the blended religion with the Maya culture. So, the culture is alive."

Santiago is thus somewhere where you can see *cultura viva*, or "living culture." Culture is understood to be dynamic and subject to change – but this does not always mean its authenticity is sacrificed. The owners and creators of the culture – in this case Tz'utujil Atitecos – have the agency to implement this change.

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Appendix A.

Archival Data Sources

Research Stage	Data Type	Scale	Author	Source	Title/Description	Format
Pre-trip	Book	Local	Carlsen, 2011		The War for the Heart and Soul of a Highland Maya Town	Paperback
Pre-trip	Book	National	Hawkins, McDonald, & Adams, 2013		Crisis of Governance in Maya Guatemala: Indigenous Responses to a Failing State	Paperback
Pre-trip	Documentary Film	National	Skylight Pictures		Granito: How to Nail a Dictator	DVD
In the Field	Government Document	Local	Santiago Atitlán Municipal Government	issuu.com/munisantiagoatitlan	Mission, Vision, and Objectives	Digital
In the Field	Government Document	Local	Santiago Atitlán Municipal Government	Personal correspondence: Municipal Government employee	Municipality of Santiago Atitlán 2012-2023 Development Plan, with focus on Territory, Gender, and Cultural Relevance	Digital
In the Field	Government Document	Local	Santiago Atitlán Municipal Government: Planning Office	issuu.com/munisantiagoatitlan	2017 Annual Operating Plan	Digital
In the Field	Government Document	Regional	Guatemalan National Council of Protected Areas (CONAP)	CONAP (conap.gob.gt)	Multiple Use Reserve of the Lake Atitlán Basin (RUMCLA) 2007-2011 Master Plan	Digital
In the Field	Government Document	National	Guatemalan National Council of Protected Areas (CONAP)	CONAP (conap.gob.gt)	Law on Protected Areas and their Regulations, 9th Edition	Digital
In the Field	Government Document	National	Guatemalan Tourism Institute (INGUAT)	INGUAT (inguat.gob.gt)	Regulations for Registration and Functioning of Tour Guides	Digital
In the Field	Government Document	National	National Constituent Assembly of Guatemala	Guatemala Ministry of Foreign Affairs (minex.gob.gt)	Republic of Guatemala 1965 Constitution	Digital
In the Field	Government Document	National	National Constituent Assembly of Guatemala	constituteproject.org	Republic of Guatemala 1985 Constitution, with Amendments through 1993	Digital
In the Field	Government Document: Data File	National	Guatemalan National Council of Protected Areas (CONAP)	CONAP (conap.gob.gt)	Official List of Protected Areas	Digital
In the Field	Organization Report	Regional	Authoring Organizations: Universidad del Valle de Guatemala, Vivamos Mejor, Guatemalan National Council of Protected Areas (CONAP), The Nature Conservancy Financial Support: USAID	Personal correspondence: Author	Study of Ecotourism on the Southwest Side of Lake Atitlán	Digital
In the Field	Organization Report	Regional	Authority for the Sustainable Management of the Lake Atitlán Basin and its Surroundings (AMSCLAE)	AMSCLAE (amsclae.gob.gt)	2016-2020 Institutional Strategic Plan	Digital
In the Field	Organization Report	Regional	United Nations Development Program (UNDP), Guatemala	UNDP Guatemala (desarrollohumano.org.gt)	Human Development Figures for Sololá, Guatemala	Digital
In the Field	Organization Report	National	United Nations Development Program	UNDP Guatemala (gt.undp.org)	Promoting Ecotourism to Strengthen the Financial Sustainability of the Guatemalan System of Protected Areas	Digital

In the Field	Unpublished Manuscript	Regional	Hunt, 2003	Personal correspondence: author	Current and Future Nature-Based Tourism Opportunities around Lake Atitlán	Digital
In the Field	Unpublished Thesis Manuscript	Regional	Skinner Alvarado, 2014	Personal correspondence: author	Vision for Lake Atitlán: A Diagnosis, Analysis, and Proposal of Planning Guidelines for the Use and Sustainable Management of Lake Atitlán	Digital
In the Field	Unpublished Manuscript	National	Skinner Alvarado, 2005	Personal correspondence: author	Ethnic Diversity, Environment, and Natural Resources in Guatemala	Digital
In the Field	Local Committee Meeting Minutes	Local	Tourism Self-Management Committee (CAT) of Santiago Atitlán	Personal correspondence: committee member	Meeting minutes for each general meeting of the CAT from October 2004 through June 2012	Hand-written
In the Field	Local Committee Meeting Minutes	Local	Main Street Artisan Committee of Santiago Atitlán	Personal correspondence: committee member	Meeting minutes and notes from the current committee's election in April 2016 to present	Hand-written
In the Field	Social Media	Local	Municipality of Santiago Atitlán	Facebook	Posts, photos, and videos from the organization's official Facebook page	Digital
In the Field	Social Media	Local	Various (tourists who have visited Santiago Atitlán)	TripAdvisor	Public posts and photos for Santiago Atitlán on TripAdvisor.com	Digital
In the Field	Tourist Information	Local	Author/Sponsors: Santiago Atitlán Tourism Self-Management Committee (CAT), Economic Development Projects Sololá (PROSOL), Council of Andalusia	Personal correspondence: local tour guide	Guatemala Lake Atitlán: Santiago Atitlán Tourist Map Folded map containing local recommendations and information, description and photos of attractions, services, map, and suggested tourist routes. Separate Spanish and English versions.	Paper (printed)
In the Field	Tourist Information	Local	Santiago Atitlán Municipal Tourism Office	Santiago Atitlán Office of Municipal Public Services	[8.5x13 inch tri-fold pamphlet] The best of Santiago Atitlán: Live and enjoy the unique charm of the beautiful Lake Atitlán Printed in color, front/back, written in Spanish and English. Contains descriptions and photos of tourist attractions and a tourist map of the town.	Paper (printed)
In the Field	Tourist Information	Local	Santiago Atitlán Municipal Tourism Office, Central American Educational Innovations Foundation (FIECA), Oxfam.	Santiago Atitlán Office of Municipal Public Services	[8.5x11 inch booklet] The best of Santiago Atitlán: Live and enjoy the unique charm of the beautiful Lake Atitlán 7 pages, printed in color, written in Spanish and English. Contains descriptions and photos of tourist attractions and a tourist map of the town.	Paper (printed)
Post-trip	Organization Report	Local	Santiago Atitlán Health Center	Cited in XX	Report of Vital Statistics and Epidemiological Survey	Digital
Post-trip	Government Document	National	Guatemalan National Institute of Statistics (INE)	INE (ine.gob.gt)	11th National Population Census and 6th National Housing Census	Digital
Post-trip	Government Document	National	Guatemalan National Institute of Statistics (INE)	INE (ine.gob.gt)	Estimates of Total Population by Municipality, period 2008-2020	Digital
Post-trip	Government Document	National	Guatemalan Secretariat of Planning and Programming of the Presidency (SEGEPLAN)	SEGEPLAN (segeplan.gob.gt)	National Policy for Development: Sustainable Tourism in Guatemala, 2012-2022	Digital
Post-trip	Government Document	National	Guatemalan Tourism Institute (INGUAT)	INGUAT (inguat.gob.gt)	Guatemala's Sustainable Tourism Master Plan, 2015-2025: A Nation's Commitment to Competitive Development	Digital
Post-trip	Organization Report	National	Guatemala's Commission for Historical Clarification (CEH)	American Association for the Advancement of Science (aaas.org)	Guatemala: Memory of Silence - a 12-volume report of the findings of the commission's 2-year study of human rights violations and acts of violence that occurred during the nation's lengthy civil war	Digital

Appendix B.

Structured Interviews: Questionnaire Instrument²⁰

I am a graduate student from the United States collecting data for my master's thesis project. You are being invited to participate in a survey. Your participation is voluntary, and you do not have to answer any questions that you do not want to answer. I will not associate your name, the name of your business, or any identifying details with the responses that you give to me. The laws of my country require me to protect your identity throughout the research process.

How is this business classified? (*choose only one*)

- | | | |
|---|--|--------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Grocery Store | <input type="checkbox"/> Café or coffee shop | <input type="checkbox"/> Art Gallery |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Souvenir store | <input type="checkbox"/> Restaurant | <input type="checkbox"/> Vendor |

Other? Please write: _____

What does this business sell? (*check **all** that apply to this business*)

- | | | |
|---|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Jewelry and/or beads | <input type="checkbox"/> Modern clothing | <input type="checkbox"/> Notebooks |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Wooden sculptures | <input type="checkbox"/> Shoes | <input type="checkbox"/> Cooked food |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Backpacks | <input type="checkbox"/> Leather goods | <input type="checkbox"/> Packaged food |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Wallets | <input type="checkbox"/> Paintings | <input type="checkbox"/> Cold drinks |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Textiles | <input type="checkbox"/> Pottery | <input type="checkbox"/> Hot drinks |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Indigenous clothing | <input type="checkbox"/> Keychains and/or trinkets | <input type="checkbox"/> Household items |

Other things? Please write: _____

What types of items are sold here? (*only choose **one***)

- | | | |
|------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Hand-made | <input type="checkbox"/> Machine-made | <input type="checkbox"/> Both types |
|------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|

From whom does the business buy the items that are sold here? (*check **all** that apply to this business*)

- | | |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> My family and I make them | <input type="checkbox"/> From a Guatemalan company |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Directly from the artisans that make them | <input type="checkbox"/> From a foreign company |
| <input type="checkbox"/> From individual artisans, through a distributor | |

From someone or somewhere else? Please write: _____

How would you characterize this business' customers? (check **all types of customers** that shop in this business)

- | | | |
|---|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Locals from Santiago | <input type="checkbox"/> Guatemalan visitors | <input type="checkbox"/> International visitors |
|---|--|---|

Who are the majority of this business' customers? (only choose one type of customer)

- | | | |
|---|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Locals from Santiago | <input type="checkbox"/> Guatemalan visitors | <input type="checkbox"/> International visitors |
|---|--|---|

²⁰ This instrument was administered in Spanish, but has been translated into English for use in this thesis appendix. The same applies to Appendix D.

What is the busiest time of the year for this business? _____

What value of sales does this business make *in one week* during the busiest time of year? Q _____

What is the least busy time of the year for your business? _____

What value of sales does this business make *in one week* during the least busy time of year? Q _____

In the future, how many tourists do you want to see in Santiago Atitlán?

- More than current numbers
- Fewer than current numbers
- The same as current

How can Santiago Atitlán attract the number of tourists that you want to see in the future? _____

Whose responsibility is it to attract more tourists to Santiago Atitlán? _____

What year did this business open? _____

What is the name of this business? _____

What is your job role or title in this business? _____

Who else works here? _____

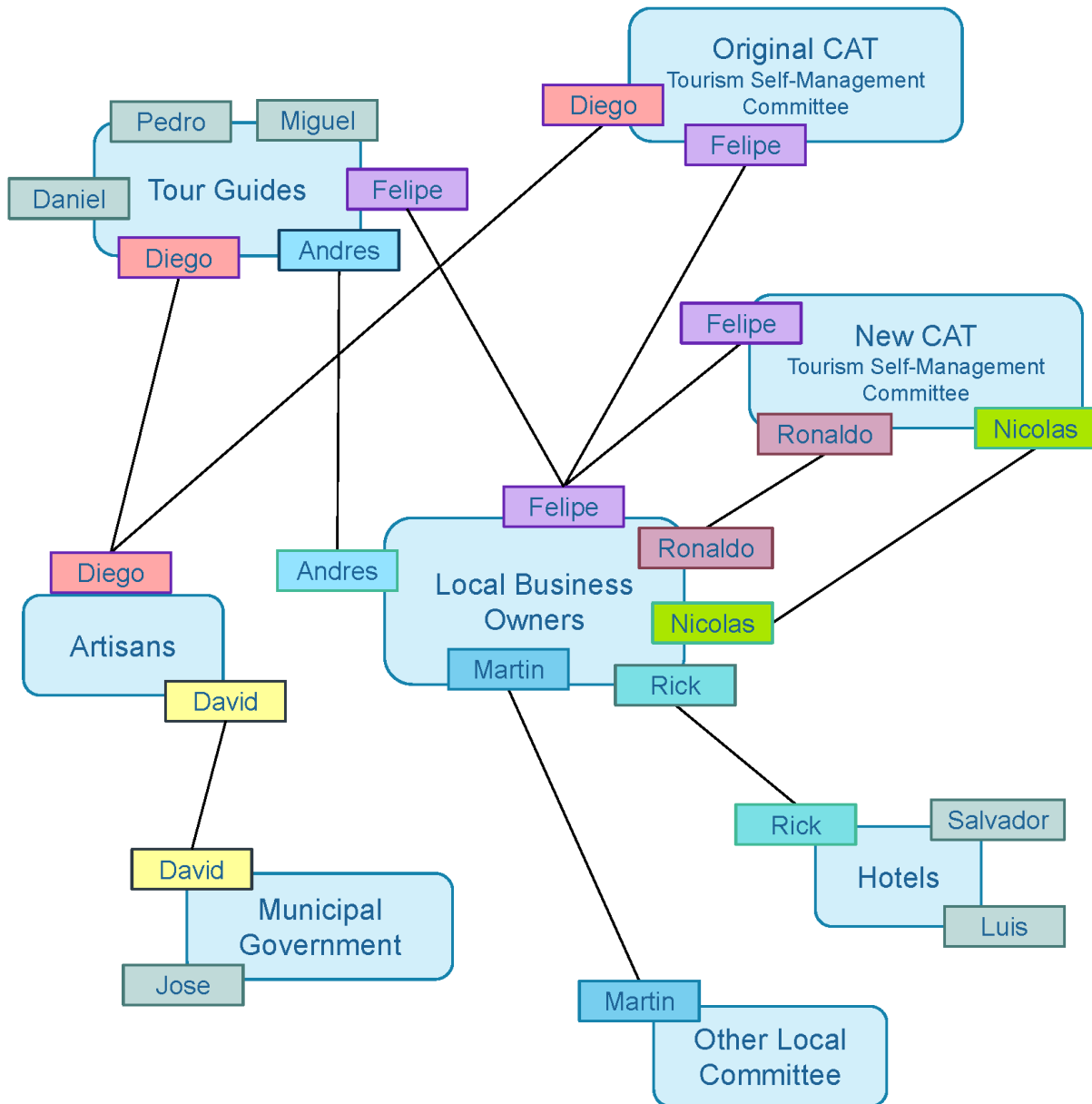
Thank you very much for your time. I (Lucy Harbor) will return to pick up this survey.

CONTACT INFORMATION:

If you have questions or concerns about this study, please contact Lucy Harbor.
 Telephone: 502-4559-0000 (Guate), +11-765-426-7083 (U.S. and/or WhatsApp)
 Email: lharbor@psu.edu.

Appendix C.

Key Informant Interviews: Purposive Sampling Frame



Appendix D.

Key Informant Interviews: Sample Interview Guide – General Questions

Interview Location: _____

Date: _____

Interviewee: _____

I. Cultural Heritage

- 1.1 Do you identify as indigenous?
 - If no: would you identify your parents as indigenous?
 - For what reasons do you identify (or not identify) as indigenous? Do you feel that there are criteria for being indigenous?
- 1.2 What most characterizes indigenous heritage in this community?
 - Is there something that you are most proud of as a Tz'utujil or as a member of this community?
- 1.3 How are indigenous work and customs changing today, or how have they changed, from those of your ancestors?
- 1.4 What makes something authentically indigenous today?
 - Have you observed inauthentic symbols, items, or behaviors here in Santiago?
 - How do you identify them?
- 1.5 In addition to Tz'utujiles, are there other people who use the indigenous culture?
 - How do they use it?
- 1.6 Are there misuses of indigenous culture here in Santiago?
 - What are they, and by whom?
 - What happens when someone uses the culture inappropriately?
- 1.7 In what ways do people in your community control how or which indigenous customs are shared with tourists?
- 1.8 Is there anything else you'd like to say about the history and culture here?

II. Impacts of Tourism

- 2.1 Next, I want to talk about the changes in this community in the last 5 years. I am going to ask you what you have observed here in each category. For example, the first... In the last 5 years has...

Category	Increased, decreased, or the same?	For your family, is this good, bad, or the same?	Is this related to tourism in the region?
Traditional artisanship			
Education			
Job training			
Medical attention			

Price of products (food, clothing, etc.)			
Price of land			
Farming			
Value of flora and fauna			
Deforestation			
Drug/alcohol abuse			
Any other changes you've noticed?			

- 2.2 Personally, in what contexts do you come in contact with tourists?
- 2.3 Here in Santiago, in what ways have you observed indigenous customs incorporated into the tourist experience?
- 2.4 How do your interactions with tourists make you feel about your indigenous identity?
- 2.5 How is your ability to make money connected to your indigenous identity?
- 2.6 How many tourists do you wish to see in the future? More? Fewer? Same? Why?
- 2.7 What are the advantages of working in tourism?
- 2.8 What are the disadvantages of working in tourism?

III. Quality of Life

- 3.1 What are the things that contribute to a good quality of life around here?
- 3.2 How would you describe your quality of life?

IV. Demographic Information

- 4.1 Where born?
- 4.2 Where live now?
- 4.3 How long lived here in this town?
- 4.4 Who else currently lives in your household?

#	Relation to interviewee	Age	Years Education	Current Occupation
1	Interviewee			
2				
3				
4				
5				
6				
7				
8				

- 4.5 Current occupation to bring in food or money to household?
 - o What does a normal day entail for you when you have work?
 - o How did you learn the skills needed to perform your job?

- How long have you worked your current job?
- How do you feel about your job?
- Is there a different job that you'd prefer?
- 4.6 Any other jobs you've done in last five years? If yes:
 - Occupation
 - Main tasks
 - Why did you leave this job?
 - Could you still get a similar job now?
 - Do you prefer your current job?
- 4.7 What portion of your total household income is related to tourism?

Additional, group-specific questions were asked for informants based on group, such as:

- Tour guides
- Hotel employees
- Committee members