‘Really Maya?’

The precarious practice of propagating indigenous identity on the market in Antigua, Guatemala

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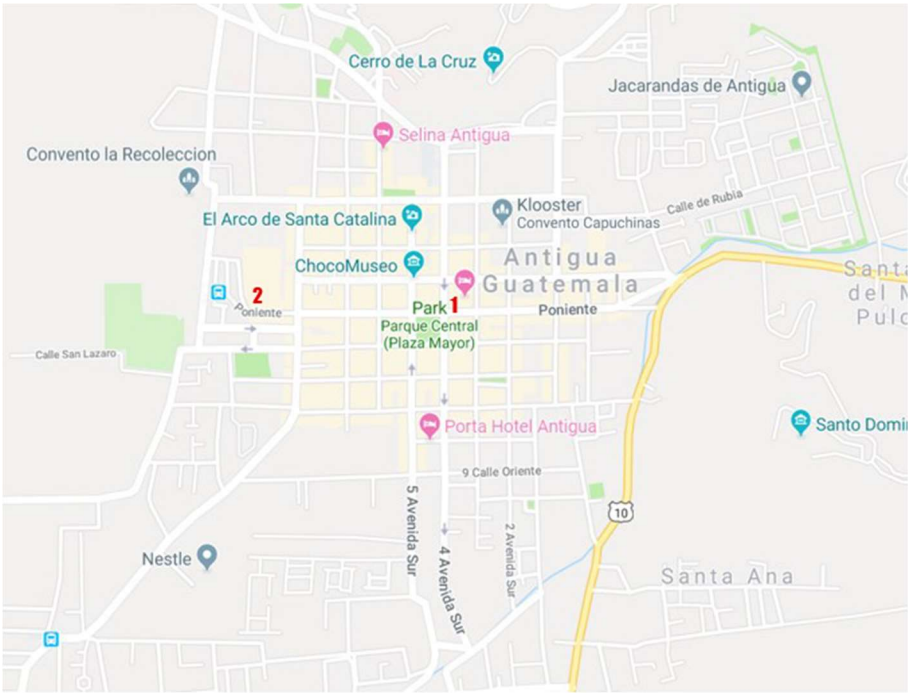

Parque central (1) and the *Mercado de Artesanías* (2) located in Antigua (Google Maps)

Introduction | Selma & Annemarie

"Guatemala is an extraordinary fusion of cultural and natural treasures. A remarkable historical heritage and a rich biodiversity come together to offer travelers an authentic and unique experience. The varied colour of indigenous markets and the delicate embroidery of their regional costumes are the perfect frames for the beautiful views of volcanoes, lakes, and unending mountain ranges."

This promotional text originates from a tourist flyer that is distributed by the office of the INGUAT in Antigua, Guatemala. The text emphasizes, among other things, Guatemala's 'cultural treasures' and the 'uniqueness' and 'authenticity' of its indigenous culture. The emphasis on its authentic 'colours', 'delicate embroideries' and 'regional costumes', creates a certain image and therefore contributes to tourists' expectations of indigenous identity. Tegelberg (2013) and Salazar (2009) argue that the presentation of a certain culture, by for example promotional texts, create, shape and reinforce imaginaries tourists hold surrounding a certain place and its culture. However, promotional texts do not necessarily represent a complete image of a place, as they always highlight aspects that are considered attractive by tourists (Tegelberg 2013). Tourism imaginaries, the whole of ideas and expectations surrounding a place and its people, are contested and recreated when tourists encounter the actual social situation and its people (Salazar 2009). According to Little (2004), the marketplace is a sociocultural and socioeconomic space of interaction between tourists and Maya vendors, where ideas and expectations surrounding indigenous identity and authenticity are negotiated. In order to find out how imaginaries surrounding indigenous identity and authenticity are (re)constructed in negotiation, we conducted a complementary research in the place where tourists and Maya vendors meet: the marketplace of Antigua.

With its "pleasant climate, obvious indigenous presence, tourist-friendly services, and its colonial architecture, Antigua is one of Guatemala's most celebrated tourism destinations" (Little 2004; Little 2014). The number of tourists visiting Guatemala is rising significantly: in 2018, 2.405.902 tourists visited Guatemala, which is an increase of 14% compared to 2017 (INGUAT 2019). As a result of the increase of tourism, many vendors of handicrafts, who frequently identify as Maya, came to Antigua to make a living (Little 2004). Nowadays, the city of Antigua is filled with tourists and Maya vendors selling cultural artefacts which are propagated as 'traditional' and

'authentically Maya'. Steiner (1994) argues that cultural artefacts should be perceived as intercultural mediators that attain cultural meanings in the process of exchange. He thereby states that classifying cultural artefacts as 'authentic' and 'traditional' is a way to attract tourists' interest and meet their expectations of authenticity. MacCannell (1973) states that experiencing something 'authentic' is an important motive for tourists to travel and visit 'exotic' and culturally distinct places. According to Olsen (2002) the notion of authenticity should be understood as a dynamic idea that is continuously constructed and reconstructed in social processes and interactions. These social processes in which the authenticity of products and people is negotiated are conceptualized by Taylor (2001) as 'authentication'.

Since tourism can be financially beneficial for touristic destinations and the people involved, the notion of authenticity holds the power to be used by locals as a strategy to attract tourists (Stronza 2001). Cohen (1988) conceptualizes the conversion of a multilayered 'culture' into an economically valued object of tourism and consumption as 'commoditization'. Tourist-orientated products frequently acquire new meanings to locals as they become a mark of their cultural identity and a vehicle of self-presentation to an external public (Cohen 1988). However, Tegelberg (2013) and Stronza (2001) state that this presentation of 'the Self' is inevitably shaped by tourists preferences and expectations of authenticity. Since a major stimulus for development of tourism is economical (Stronza 2001), tourists' preferences are important for locals to anticipate on in order to attract tourists. 'Social performances' by locals in order to meet tourists' expectations of authenticity are defined by MacCannell (1973) as 'staged authenticity'. In these 'social performances', Maya vendors anticipate on imaginaries tourists hold surrounding indigenous identity and authenticity, in order to improve their sales.

Little (2004) states that the marketplace is a site where the anticipation on tourism imaginaries becomes visible and concretized. To investigate how imaginaries surrounding indigenous identity and authenticity are negotiated in social interactions between tourists and Maya vendors in Antigua, we will answer the following question:

"*How do tourists and Mayas negotiate and (re)present indigenous identity and perceptions of authenticity in the marketplace in Antigua, Guatemala?*"

To answer our main question, we operationalized it into three sub questions. The first sub question will give insight into the marketplace of Antigua as a social space and a junction of tourists and

Mayas. Herein, we will elaborate on perceptions of indigenous identity from both tourist and Maya perspective. Subsequently, we will investigate by which means imaginaries surrounding indigenous identity are (re)presented and negotiated between tourists and Mayas in the marketplace in Antigua. Finally, we analyze how perceptions of authenticity are (re)presented and (re)created on the market in relation to indigenous identity.

Davis and Konner (2011) argue that one of the powers of conducting anthropological fieldwork is the possibility to gain insight into differences and (mis)understandings between people with different cultural backgrounds. Salazar (2005) argues that tourism brings people with different cultural backgrounds together, which often results in intercultural dialogue and cultural exchange. By using tourism as a lens, we aim to analyze the intercultural dialogue between tourists and Mayas on the market in Antigua. By investigating the sociocultural dynamics on the market, we give a thick description of how social encounters between tourists and Maya vendors (re)create perceptions of indigenous identity and authenticity. In this way, we intend to understand the continuous negotiation that takes place on the market as a space of sociocultural and socioeconomic exchange. Conducting a complementary research on imaginaries surrounding indigenous identity and authenticity from both tourist- and Maya perspective, we shed light on both sides of the dialogue and therefore provides a multilayered description of the situation. Castañeda (2004, 37) states that academic discourses contribute to "a monolith stereotype that erases the heterogeneity and cultural diversity of Mayas". The question of what Mayas themselves consider 'authentic' is rarely raised. Therefore, showing perspectives of both tourists and Mayas on indigenous identity and authenticity allows us to gain a deeper understanding of surrounding imaginaries and how they are continuously (re)constructed in social interaction.

In order to answer our questions, we have conducted complementary ethnographic research from the 25th of February until the 20th of April in Antigua, Guatemala. Our fieldwork took place on the market in Antigua, which we define as 'all places in Antigua where cultural artefacts are sold from Maya vendors to tourists'. Selma has focussed on the perspectives of 'Maya vendors', which entails all people selling cultural artefacts in Antigua and identify as Maya. Annemarie has worked with 'tourists', which entails all people temporarily staying in Antigua and visiting the market. In order to collect data from both tourist and Maya vendor perspective, we have used several methods. We used *methodological triangulation*, which is the examination of social phenomena from different methodological angles (Boeije 2010), as a means to prevent our research to be 'a single

story'. Throughout the process of collecting data, we considered it important to constantly reflect on our position as researchers. We are conscious that by asking questions about specific topics, we influence the (re)construction of imaginaries, and therefore our data. Reflecting helped us to be aware of this inevitably influence throughout the process of collecting data.

In order to get insight into the social situation and dynamics of the marketplace, we used the research methods of *hanging out* and *participant observation* (deWalt and deWalt 2011). Both of us spent time on the market to observe what is happening and what conversations are taking place. Since tourists and Maya vendors participate differently in the social dynamics of the market, it was necessary to deviate our approaches of *participant observation*. Selma spent time with Maya vendors and participated in their daily activities in order to gain understanding of their lived realities. In order to apprehend tourists' experiences, Annemarie has walked with tourists on the market.

The method of *hanging out* has helped to gain more trust, confident relationships, and therefore *rapport* within our research groups, and helped us to meet informants. For Annemarie, *hanging out* has helped to become 'a familiar face' in hostels and to build *rapport* with the employees and tourists. Marco, an employee of *Three Monkeys Hostel*, became Annemarie's *gatekeeper* and introduced her to many tourists who were staying in his hostels. However, *hanging out* in hostels also resulted in the ethical struggle to stay professional. Annemarie, as a white, relatively wealthy, female foreigner, was sometimes perceived as 'one of the tourists' instead of an anthropologist conducting research. It was in some situations difficult to find a balance between creating a confidential relationship with tourists, and simultaneously keeping a professional distance. By reflecting, both personally and together with Selma, Annemarie found a way to adapt her position in the field onto the situation. Eventually, *hanging out* in hostels and emphasizing the fact that she was there to conduct a research helped her find this balance.

To Selma, *hanging out* helped to build *rapport* with, among others, her *gatekeeper* Sofía, who introduced her to other vendors on the market. In the beginning of the research, Selma experienced ethical difficulties positioning herself in 'the field'. As a wealthy, white, female foreigner, she was frequently perceived and approached by vendors as a potential buyer, which inevitably influenced the collection of data. Sofía's introductions to other vendors helped her to gain trust and to transform the vendor-buyer relationship into a more confidential relation. This proved fruitful in conducting more personal and therefore profound interviews. Moreover,

hanging out has helped Selma to find locally appropriate ways of reciprocity to maintain an equal relationship and to show vendors her gratitude for their help. Thus, both *participant observation* and *hanging out* have been used as a means to gain trust, access, and a position in which it was more likely to collect valid data (deWalt and deWalt 2011).

Combining *participant observation* with *(semi-structured) interviews* has also helped us to validate our data. *Participant observation* helped us to gain insight into social dynamics and 'thick' knowledge about different perceptions of the market (deWalt and deWalt 2011). The data we collected by means of *participant observation* frequently served as relevant input in *(semi-structured) interviews*. It helped us check whether our observations and insights were valid and perceived in a similar way by the people we worked with. Next to that, *(semi-structured) interviews* have served as a relevant research method since it gave us the possibility to gain insight into tourists' and Mayas' perceptions of the market, indigenous identity, and authenticity. At the beginning of every *(semi-structured) interview*, we have asked for *informed consent*. Since the people we worked with often needed time to think about the topics, and their opinions and ideas could change over time, we conducted several *follow-up interviews*. Conducting multiple interviews with the same person gave us the opportunity to get deeper understandings in their ideas and perceptions, and helped us validate our data. Meeting *key informants* gave us the opportunity to conduct multiple interviews with the same informants. Selma's *key informants* were Elisa, Sofia, and Sílvia, who all sell cultural artefacts in different places in Antigua. Annemarie's *key informants* were Clara, Jack, and Jessica, who are tourists that stayed in Antigua and visited the market. Another method to get deeper insights was conducting *photo-elicitation interviews* (Clark-Ibáñez 2004). According to Boeije (2010), photos taken by participants can draw out meaning during photo elicitation interviews that would otherwise not have been found. This proved to be true in our research: tourists and Maya vendors found it surprising that by visualizing what they perceive as 'Maya', they could talk about perceptions and ideas they never explicitly realized beforehand.

In the following chapter, we elaborate on the theoretical foundations of our research by giving an overview of relevant theories concerning our research topic. We give an overview of the most significant theories surrounding authenticity, indigenous identity and tourism imaginaries and show how these fit together within the conceptualization of the marketplace. In the second chapter, we apply these theories on the marketplace in Antigua, Guatemala. Subsequently, we

discuss our results in three empirical chapters that are thematically organized based on our sub questions. In the third chapter, we demonstrate how the market of Antigua is a sociocultural space of interaction. Herein, we elaborate on tourism imaginaries surrounding indigenous identity, from both a tourist- and Maya vendor perspective. In the fourth chapter, we focus on how tourists and Maya vendors (re)present and negotiate ideas surrounding indigenous identity within the context of the marketplace. In the fifth chapter, we elaborate on how notions of authenticity are (re)created within social interactions between tourists and Maya vendors. We conclude by integrating our main findings from both tourist- and Maya perspective. Moreover, we critically evaluate our research within our theoretical framework and empirical findings, thereby opening up a discussion for future research.

Chapter 1: Theoretical framework

Anthropology of tourism | Annemarie

Within the study of cultural anthropology, the concept of globalization has been growing in significance since the socio-cultural aspects of globalization have a tremendous effect on the way people perceive their daily lives (Salazar 2005). Globalization is not only the compression of time and space, but also the intensification of consciousness about the world as a whole (Robertson 1992, 8). According to Eade (1997 in Teo & Li 2003, 288), this intensification of consciousness results in the adoption of the world as an 'arena for social action'. As Meethan (2003, 11) puts it, globalization is "[…] the widening, deepening and speeding up of worldwide interconnectedness in all aspects of contemporary social life". Globalization thus has an impact on many different aspects of life, varying from the expanding of capitalism to the increased (and increasing) mobility of people. Theorists of globalization (e.g. Robertson 1995; Eriksen 2014) have frequently stumbled upon the question of homogenization: does globalization override the local and eventually produce global uniformity, or are there other forces at stake that can preserve uniqueness of different places and thereby the heterogeneity of the world?

Even though this in an interesting question, both Robertson (1995) and Eriksen (2014) attenuate their statements by arguing that this complex question of homogenization is grounded in the inevitable interrelatedness of the global and the local. The question is not whether the global will override the local or vice versa, but rather how these two are interrelated. Since tourism is an important beneficiary and vehicle of globalization, studying tourism can be a relevant way to gain insight into this complex interrelatedness (Teo & Li 2003, 290; Meethan 2001). Tourism brings people with different cultural backgrounds together, which often results in intercultural dialogue and cultural exchange. Tourism is thus "more than an ensemble of economic practices solely driven by capitalist interest; it is a global, dynamic sociocultural phenomenon" (Salazar 2005, 629). However, the economical aspect is important to keep in mind, since representations of a culture can serve as a financially triggered strategy within tourism (Little 2004).

Eriksen (2014, 109) states that since the number of tourists is growing and their interests diversify, it would be more correct to speak of a plurality of tourisms. In order to analyze intercultural dialogue and cultural exchange between tourists and locals, two types of tourism can be relevant to focus on: ethnic tourism and cultural tourism. This is a relevant focus since in both

types, the goal of tourists is to see local people and local customs. Even though Smith's (1977) types of tourism are a bit dated and give a rather static idea of tourism, they can still function as a useful lens to look at social and cultural dynamics of tourism today. According to Smith (1977), ethnic tourism is merely focussed on the interest of tourists in seeing the 'quaint' local customs of ethnic people. Even though ethnic and cultural tourism are at some points overlapping, cultural tourism is more focussed on not just seeing the people but also their ways of living, their traditions, and the material aspects of their culture, for example their cultural artefacts. Since the definition of cultural tourism includes material aspects of culture and is not tied to a specific ethnic group, we believe it is the most relevant lens to use within our study.

The explanation of these two types of tourism are built around the viewpoint of 'the tourist'. Although 'the tourist' is often defined by several theorists, the definition of Smith (1997) is most frequently used. According to Smith, "A tourist is a temporarily leisured person who voluntarily visits a place away from home for the purpose of experiencing a change" (Smith 1977, 2). However, tourism is not only determined by tourists. An important shift in tourism studies was the renewed perspective that tourism is a dynamic social ingredient of a local culture, rather than an outside force that 'flattens' it (Oakes 1997). Tourists and the places and people they visit inevitably impact each other, since tourism brings together global processes and local actors. Since locals use tourism to symbolically construct culture, tradition and identity, globalization cannot be seen as overbearing, but is instead always mediated by local factors (Teo & Li 2003).

This process of interconnectedness and mutual exchange between the global and the local is often referred to as glocalization (Salazar 2005). Roudometof (2015) states that scholars should be careful with using the term, since it is easy to lose some of the theoretical value of this complex concept when it is simplified. In his proposal for a new conceptual interpretation of glocalization, Roudometof states that glocalization is globalization refracted through the local. With the conceptual metaphor of refraction, Roudometof (2015) is referring to the phenomenon of light or radio waves being deflected when passing through the interface between one medium and another, or through a medium of varying density. A 'wave' of globalization passes through the local and is refracted by it. The result is glocality, which is an experience of the global through local lenses. Teo and Li (2003, 302) state that "for tourism, the global and the local form a dyad acting as a dialectic process", which thus makes glocalization a highly relevant lens to study the processes and outcomes of tourism.

Authenticity and commoditization | Selma

As discussed in the previous paragraph, the inevitable interrelatedness of the global and the local is highly apparent within tourism. MacCannell (1973) states that tourism is often motivated by tourists' desires to gain insight in 'the local' and experience 'the real' and 'authentic'. The concept of 'authenticity' has played a prominent role in tourism research and is still conceived as a 'fertile idea in the debates about tourist motivation and experience (Olsen 2002, 159)'. According to Appadurai (1986, 45) '"authenticity' is an eminently modern value, whose emergence is closely related to the impact of modernity upon the unity of social existence'. In other words, authenticity is a value invented in relation to the notion of modernity, what makes the two inherently intertwined and by definition contradictory. MacCannell (1973) states that the quest for authenticity is founded in the idea that modern society is often experienced as something artificial, inauthentic and shallow. In this sense, authenticity can only be found in something that is untouched by modernity and therefore the quest for it can be perceived as a prominent motif within tourism (Cohen 1988).

In conceptualizing the notion of authenticity in this binary manner, MacCannell (1999) states that a touristic experience of 'authenticity' is by definition inauthentic because the tourist destroys the authentic by its presence. He argues that the tourist is by definition trapped in his role, and that the experienced authenticity is merely a "staged social performance" (MacCannell 1973, 590). In conceptualizing the notion of authenticity as 'staged', MacCannell (1973) refers to a social performance specifically aimed at tourists in order to meet their expectations of authenticity. Thus, tourists' preferences to locals who look and behave in ways that are 'authentic' and 'traditional', shape and reshape the form of touristic encounters. Olsen (2002) rejects MacCannell's approach on authenticity and states that it is too reductionistic to present 'authenticity' simply as the opposite of 'modernity'. He argues that authenticity should be understood as a dynamic idea that is continuously constructed and reconstructed in social processes and interactions.

Bruner (1994) argues that the crucial question is how people themselves think about objects and people as authentic. He states that the aim should be to understand the different meanings and interpretations of authenticity as employed in social practices rather than emphasize the dichotomy between what is and what is not authentic. Olsen (2002) articulates that authenticity should not be analyzed as an intrinsic characteristic of objects or relations, but rather as an important value in 'modern' thought: authenticity should not be seen as a quality of an object, but as a cultural value

constantly created and reinvented in social processes. Cohen (1988) underlines this and argues that 'authenticity' is a socially constructed concept which is 'negotiable' and perceived differently by different groups. Taylor (2001) conceptualizes the social processes in which notions of authenticity are negotiates as 'authentication'. According to Olsen (2002, 163-164), conceptualizing authenticity as "something that emerges in social practice", "opens up for analysis how social processes elevate some objects by ideas about authenticity, how different groups apprehend the concept differently, how it is intentionally sought/created, and how these ideas are contested''. Cohen (1988) conceptualizes the financially triggered creation of authenticity, in which a multilayered 'culture' is converted into an object of tourism and consumption as 'commoditization'. He defines the concept of commoditization as follows: "[...] a process by which things (and activities) come to be evaluated primarily in terms of their exchange value, in a context of trade, thereby becoming goods (and services); developed exchange systems in which the exchange value of things (and activities) is stated in terms of prices form a market (Cohen 1988, 380)"

Salazar (2009, 61) emphasizes that the transformation of traditional and cultural values of commercial ones, is aimed to meet tourist expectations and desires. In this transformation, cultural products are affected and become increasingly orientated to an external public and the market. There are different discourses concerning the effects of commoditization on the meaning of cultural products. In the early debates about commoditization, Greenwood (1977) stated that the meaning of cultural products and traditions is altered and reduced by commoditization. He states that cultural objects and traditions are made meaningless to the people "who ones traditionally valued them". Cohen (1988, 381) regards this statement as an 'overgeneralization' and argues that commoditization not necessarily reduces the meaning of cultural products, but rather changes it. He claims that, although a cultural product is changed through commoditization, it can acquire new meanings to its producers and the identity they represent. He adds that "tourist-orientated products frequently acquire new meanings for the locals as they become a mark of their ethnic or cultural identity and a vehicle of self-presentation before an external public" (Cohen 1988, 283). However, Tegelberg (2013) and Stronza (2001) plead that this self-presentation is inevitably shaped by tourist preferences and expectations of authenticity. According to both authors, this results in an incomplete and essentialized representation of a culture. In this way, expectations of

authenticity are, in the process of commoditization, translated to reshaped cultural products, that are in the end sold as a presentation of 'original culture' and cultural identity.

Imaginaries and (re)construction of identity | Annemarie

As discussed in the previous paragraph, tourists preferences can result in commoditization of cultural products and cultural identity. Since the major stimulus for development of the tourism industry is economical (Stronza 2001), these preferences are an important factor for locals to keep in mind, in order to attract tourists to potential places and people of interest. As Little (2008) shows in his article on strategies for Maya handicraft vendors, this economic drive results in locals anticipating on existing imaginaries that tourists might have of certain places and people. Imaginaries surrounding a certain touristic place are thus of high importance for the presentation of this place and its people involved. According to Salazar (2009), imaginaries are representational systems that mediate reality and form identity. Elsewhere, Salazar defines imaginaries as "socially transmitted representational assemblages that interact with people's personal imaginings and are used as meaning-making and world-shaping devices" (Salazar 2012, 864). Imaginaries are thus both personal and collective, and involve among other things the expectations and imaginings of the tourist, the self-conscious collective identity of locals, globally circulating images of particular (touristic) places, and the ideas and beliefs tourists hold about locals - and vice versa (Leite 2014). Within the context of tourism, people always travel with a set of expectations derived from various sources. As Salazar (2012, 866) describes: "If anything, tourism is part of the "image production industry", in which identities of destinations and their inhabitants are endlessly (re)invented, (re)produced, (re)captured and (re)created in a bid to obtain a piece of the lucrative tourism pie." Tourism imaginaries are thus dynamic representational systems that mediate reality and (re)form identity. These processes are not solid, but instead constantly altered by the context and the people involved.

As Nagel (2003) states, in performing a certain identity according to a certain existing image, social identities are continuously (re)constructed. Tourism imaginaries can thus result in the performativity of 'being different'. In line with Nagel, Barth (1969) argues that the (re)construction of identity is a mutual and dynamic process, based on defining the self and being defined by 'the Other'. This mutual negotiation and (re)presentation of identity is highly apparent within tourism, since tourism is "the quintessential business of 'difference projection' and the

interpretive vehicle of 'Othering' par excellence" (Hollinshead 1998). Imaginaries exist by virtue of representation, and they are the means by which individuals understand their identities and their place in the world (Salazar 2012).

Within the process of representation, it is important to keep in mind that both tourists and locals are not just puppets controlled by the tourism industry. Several authors (e.g. Wood 1997; Tegelberg 2013; Salazar 2009) have argued and illustrated how both tourists and the locals they encounter are able to practice their own agency within this framework of performativity and (re)presentation. However, these representations are not just negotiated between tourists and the locals they encounter, but also profoundly structured by other, often "invisible" actors involved in the tourism industry (Wood 1997, 4). These circulating ideas about representations form a 'representational loop' (Salazar 2012), or 'circles of representation' (Tegelberg 2013). Tegelberg uses the example of backpackers producing images of Australia that reinforce cultural myths initially constructed and circulated by tourism marketers, and thereby unwittingly contributing to the circles of representation (Tegelberg 2013, 82). When following this line of thought, these circles of representation may seem static entities with little or no room for personal interpretation. Nevertheless, Salazar (2009) shows that within this framework, there is room for a dynamic dialogue and mutual negotiation within the mediation of identity.

Authenticity and indigenous identity on the marketplace | Selma

In the previous paragraphs we discussed the theories of Barth (1969) and Nagel (2003) about construction of identity and concluded that construction of identity should be seen as a continuous dialogue of self-identification and ascription by others. Furthermore, we elaborated on how tourism imaginaries take part in the reconstruction and representation of identity and showed how these imaginaries can be highly influential in the presentation of a certain place. Deriving from Salazar's (2009) notion that tourism imaginaries include tourists ideas and expectations, we argue that perceptions of authenticity are an important component of tourism imaginaries. In this paragraph we attempt to make this process more particular by elaborating on how this is manifested in the context of the marketplace as a place of intensive cultural exchange.

According to Little (2004), the marketplace can be seen as a sociocultural and socioeconomic space of interaction between tourists and locals, observers and observed and consumers and producers. Little (2004) makes a distinction between periodic marketplaces and

tourism/*típica* marketplaces. He states that tourism markets, in contrast to periodic markets, are mostly oriented to tourists. Little (2004) emphasizes that there should be attention paid to both economic and social conditions of the tourism market. The social conditions entail among other things the ways vendors on the tourism marketplace encounter their potential buyers. The economic conditions involve what commodities are sold and how these commodities are presented to tourists. Little (2004) argues that indigenous identity and cultural artefacts are often perceived as authentic. In anticipation to tourist desires of authenticity, different markers of indigenous identity are often emphasized and can serve as tools to attract tourists (MacCannell 1973). He therefore describes the tourism market as a junction of the 'modern' and the 'authentic' (2008).

Although the marketplace is a space of economic, social and cultural exchange, Applbaum (2005, 276) states that marketplaces as primary exchange locations are "both sites of global commercial integration as well as one of the principal vehicles by which it is accomplished". In other words, the market is both a space of (global) economic exchange and a way of presentation on the worldstage. Applbaum (2005, 276) adds to this, that "the marketplace as a medium of exchange becomes part of the commodity itself". He states that vendors are generally aware of this connection and incorporate this into their selling strategies. In this line of thinking Bestor (1999, 203) argues that the structure and presentation of a market both reinforce and ascribe cultural meanings to this place. In this way, the market can serve as a medium that generates and confirms the indigenous or ethnic identity presented by locals selling on the market. A common thread running through these statements is that marketplaces should be perceived as a cultural space, where both the presentation of the market and personal encounters that take place within this space ascribe meaning to the commodities that are sold.

Several authors (Applbaum 2005; Little 2004; Tegelberg 2013) argue that vendors selling on the tourism market play an active role in mediating cultural meaning of products. Steiner (1994, 2) states: "The merchandise that the traders sell is defined, classified and evaluated largely in terms of Western concepts such as 'art' and 'authenticity,'. The traders are not only moving a set of objects through the world economic system, they are also exchanging information – mediating, modifying, and commenting on a broad spectrum of cultural knowledge." Thus, cultural artefacts and commodities can be perceived as intercultural mediators but attain their cultural meaning in the process of exchange. Classifying objects sold on the market as 'authentic' and 'traditional' is in this way depicted as an anticipation on tourist desires and expectations of authenticity.

Simultaneous, this exchange can be perceived as a transfer of indigenous identity and cultural knowledge. Steiner's statement underlines Olsen's (2002) argument that the notion of authenticity should be understood as a dynamic idea that is continuously constructed and reconstructed in social processes and interactions. The marketplace as space of cultural exchange is an apparent example of these processes wherein the meaning of both authenticity and indigenous identity are negotiated between vendors on the market and the visitors (Little 2004). According to Cohen (1988, 283), the same negotiation takes place in social practice surrounding the presentation of indigenous identity, as he describes 'tourist-oriented cultural products' as "vehicles of self-presentation before an external public". In this dialectic process of self-presentation and self-identification, Little (2004) emphasizes that the process of identity construction is embedded in social relations. The marketplace is a prominent, intercultural arena in which the negotiation of identity continuously and inevitably takes place.

Chapter 2: Context

In this chapter we apply our theoretical framework on the case of Antigua, Guatemala. We start with providing some historical context of Mayas in Guatemala and their sociocultural position. From here we zoom in on tourism in Antigua, and specifically on the marketplace, in order to give an overview of the context of our research field.

Maya identity and history in Guatemala | Selma

'Maya culture' is often understood as the foundation of ancient and sophisticated civilization (Fischer and Hendrickson 2003, XI). Although Maya culture is often thought of as something from the past, today Mayas still make up about half of the population of Guatemala (Fischer & Hendrickson 2003). Although Guatemala has a wide variety of ethnolinguistic groups, among which populations of Garifuna and mestizo, it is frequently divided into two major ethnic groups: the *indígenas* and the *ladinos* (Fischer and Hendrickson 2003).

Indígenas or *Mayas* are generally considered to be persons whose ancestors lived in Pre-Conquest times, have the ability to speak one of the country's twenty-one Mayan languages and/or self-identify as indigenous (Fischer & Hendrickson 2003, 25). *Ladino* is a term frequently used to describe people of, non-indigenous, mixed and Spanish descent (Tegelberg 2013). The recent history of Guatemala's Maya population or *indígenas* has been turbulent and is marked by colonial rule and a devastating civil war (Rothenberg 2012). Both resulted in enduring violence, poverty, racial discrimination, high levels of illiteracy and low levels of education (Tegelberg 2013). The majority of Guatemala's Maya population is located in the Western Highland region, where the legacy of colonialism and further damage inflicted by decades of civil war continue to linger (Tegelberg 2013).

In the report of the Guatemalan truth commission is advocated that a small group of descendants of German landowners, identifying itself as ethnically and culturally distinct, has long dominated Guatemala's land and wealth (Rothenberg 2012). From the colonial era on, Guatemala's social and political system has maintained gross inequality, linking the economic dominance of a minority with systematic discrimination against the majority, especially the nation's indigenous Mayan population (Rothenberg 2012). This systematic inequality reached its height in the Civil war, that lasted until 1996 and has taken the lives of more than 200,000 people

(Jonas 1996). The Guatemalan Truth commission determined the war as "a genocide of the state against its own indigenous people" (Rothenberg 2012, XVIV). In November 1995, an agreement outlining a commitment to defend indigenous rights was signed (Rothenberg 2012). The final peace accord, definitively ending the war, was signed in December 1996 (Fischer & Hendrickson 2003). In this post-war climate, the country's diverse natural sceneries, its ancient archeological sites and indigenous cultures began arousing interest among global tourists. The successive rise in tourism numbers created new economic opportunities in popular touristic sites like the Western highlands and cities like Antigua (Tegelberg 2013).

Antigua and tourism | Annemarie

An important development with regard to the tourism industry in Guatemala is the foundation of the *Instituto Guatemalteco de Turismo* (INGUAT). In their promotional material, INGUAT promotes Guatemala as an attractive destination for tourists, and thereby plays a role in the ways tourists perceive Guatemala. For example, INGUAT describes Guatemala as '*The Heart of the Mayan World'*. In so doing, they claim that there is a magical, mystical and ancestral history of Maya civilization to be found in Guatemala. Tourists are encouraged to visit the highlands to experience 'living Maya culture' in a place where "ancient traditions and beliefs of the Mayan people are reflected in every habit inherited from the ancient historical diversity of that region" (INGUAT 2010 in Tegelberg 2013, 87). According to Tegelberg (2013, 86), these promotional texts frame encounters with Mayas as one of the nation's primary attractions. In so doing, the encounters (and thereby Mayas and their cultural artefacts) can become commoditized, since they are framed in terms of their exchange value (Cohen 1988).

The city of Antigua, the country's former national capital, has been incorporated into Guatemala's tourism routes since 1930 (Little 2008). With its pleasant climate, obvious indigenous presence, tourist-friendly services, Spanish colonial architecture that got the city a place on the UNESCO World Heritage list, and the surrounding volcanoes 'Agua', 'Fuego' and 'Acatenango', Antigua is one of the country's most celebrated national and international tourism destinations (Little 2004; Little 2014). As a result of the increase of tourism, many indigenous vendors of handicrafts moved to Antigua to make a living. As Little (2004) states, Antigua is a place of contradictions. It is colonial, modern, and post-modern; Ladino, Maya, and foreign; a tourism site and a place for tourists to rest. There is thus an interesting mix of different people with different

interests to be found in Antigua. Little (2004, 64) further argues: "To tourists, Antigua is both inauthentic, corrupted by tourism and tourists themselves, and authentic, a place where "Indians"[1], colonial architecture, and Western conveniences blend together". To outline how experiences of authenticity and indigenous identity are negotiated and (re)presented between tourists and Mayas, we zoom in into the place where these two groups meet: the marketplace in Antigua (Little 2004).

The marketplace in Antigua | Annemarie

The marketplace of Antigua can be seen as a space where people with diverse backgrounds meet and engage in economic and social relationships (Little 2004, Applbaum 2005), and where the anticipation on tourism imaginaries becomes visible and concretized (Little 2004). The most prominent tourist-markets in Antigua are the places where cultural artefacts are sold, since these markets specifically target tourists. Maya vendors sell their handicrafts throughout the whole town: on the streets, in souvenir shops and in authorized (tourists)markets (Little 2004). The marketplace and handicrafts can serve as a medium for Mayas to express their indigenous identity (Little 2004). Since a visit to a market in Antigua gives opportunities for tourists to encounter Maya vendors and to buy cultural artefacts, it fits into the description of cultural tourism, because cultural tourism includes tourists' interests in material aspects of a certain culture (Smith 1977). The handicraft vendors in Antigua are mainly *Kaqchikel* and *K'iche'* Mayas, but there are also *Ixil*, *Mam*, *Tz'utujil* and *Ladino* vendors who sell their goods on the market (Little 2008).

There is a rather complex and interesting relation between Maya vendors and tourists that visit Antigua's markets. Vendors are usually the first and often the only Mayas that foreign tourists meet. They are in a position to provide tourists with face-to-face social and economic exchanges in tourism markets (Little 2008). As Little (2008, 92) explains, tourists and vendors can negotiate the terms of these marketplace exchanges. According to Little (2004, 103), one of the reasons why Maya vendors sell cultural artefacts, is because they are aware of tourists interests in (the material aspects of) indigenous culture.

Within the negotiation and exchange of cultural artefacts from Maya vendor to tourist, both utilitarian and aesthetic meanings change. Little (2004, 103) exemplifies this statement by describing how utilitarian items like handwoven blouses are sometimes transformed into

[1] Literal quote from Little (2004). Nowadays, the term 'Indians' is not used anymore, due to discriminative connotations.

slipcovers for pillows, to eventually arrive at their final destinations as gifts for friends or relatives. However, this negotiation is not only about cultural artefacts that are sold on the market, but also about who 'the real Mayas' are, in comparison tourists' expectations of authenticity and indigenous identity. Guidebooks, other media, and tourists among themselves frequently refer to Mayas by locating them in historic terms or particular roles. This often results in tourists' expectations when encountering Mayas and their handicrafts (Little 2004, 74).

When ideas and perceptions of what is 'authentic' are reinforced by Maya vendors, this will often result in more products that are sold (Little 2004, Little 2008). Therefore, encounters between Mayas and tourists can result in increasing self-consciousness of Mayas about their practices and identities (Little 2004). The search of tourists for authenticity on the marketplace of Antigua effects tourists' experiences and shapes the way Mayas present themselves to them (Little 2008, 92). As Little (2004) states, for tourists who discover that "[...] Mayas are not isolated or ignorant of the so called modern and postmodern world, the way they imagine Guatemala and Mayas can be challenged" (Little 2004, 62). Thus, the marketplace of Antigua, as a junction of Maya identity and tourism, is a relevant and interesting site to explore how imaginaries of both tourists and Mayas concerning indigenous identity and authenticity are (re)shaped and (re)created within constant negotiation. In the next chapter, we zoom in into the marketplace as a sociocultural and socioeconomic place of interaction between tourists and Maya vendors.

Chapter 3: Maya identity on the market

Tourists in *parque central.* Picture made by Annemarie.

In this chapter, we demonstrate how the marketplace in Antigua is a space where tourism imaginaries surrounding Maya identity are created and recreated. Firstly, we conceptualize the marketplace as a social and economic space where tourists and Maya vendors meet. In the second paragraph, we describe tourists that visit Antigua and ideas and expectations they hold about Mayas. We illustrate the changeability of tourism imaginaries surrounding Maya identity by describing tourists' ideas before coming to Antigua and how these are contested while visiting the city. In the third paragraph, we describe perspectives of Maya vendors in Antigua by elaborating on their perceptions of Maya identity and how they (re)present their identity towards tourists in the context of the market. To conclude, we demonstrate how indigenous identity is (re)constructed in a dialectic process between tourists and Maya vendors.

The market as a social space | Selma & Annemarie

"As you can see, the park is surrounded by colonial buildings. During the colonial period, Mayas from surrounding villages were brought into the city to build these buildings", explains a woman who is holding a blue flag to a group of tourists. The grey-haired tourists are well equipped with hats and decent walking shoes. While they pass by the big cathedral and a vivid strip of bars and cafés, they walk into *parque central*, a green oasis in the middle of the city-center of Antigua. The park is filled with tourists, peacefully strolling around or enjoying the shade on a bench. Vendors of nuts, wooden flutes, cigarettes, candy, selfie-sticks and handicrafts pass by the benches to offer tourists their goods. Their voices merge into the cacophony of sounds: flute vendors playing short melodies, tourists scraping their wheeled suitcases over the pavement, children screaming while chasing pigeons, and water clattering from the central fountain of the park. In the shadow of the big trees, groups of vendors are having lunch. While passing on a pile of tortillas[2], they chat[3], reorganize their baskets with handicrafts, feed their children and exchange products to sell. While making pictures of the vivid scenes, the group of tourists follows the blue flag. As the tourists listen attentively to the tour guide, a group of vendors with brightly coloured clothes surrounds them. They wear baskets on their heads filled with magnets, wallets, and bracelets. Their arms are full of necklaces and bags and they carry tablecloths draped around their shoulders. Despite the vendors' attempts to catch the attention of the group, the tourists stay focused on the story of their guide. Wrapping up her story, the tour guide announces: "Let's have a fifteen minute break and meet at the fountain afterwards! You can buy some souvenirs, but make sure you haggle!" Instantly, the vendors start approaching the tourists: "What are you looking for my friend? I have *típicas Mayas*, special price for you!" A short woman with spiked hair enthusiastically screams: "Look at that, a tea-cozy. For only two dollars!" A man and women, wearing matching grey hats look at the scene from a distance. A vendor walks towards them, shows them a scarf and says: "Look, it is handmade" The man looks at it and frowns: "No thank you, we are not looking for Chinese rubbish. We only want something that is really from here." The vendor raises her eyebrows and replies: "No, my family made it. Look." She shows the stitching on the inside. The

[2] Small bread like pancakes made from corn. Tortillas are an important component of the daily diet of many Guatemalans. Generally, it is part of every meal.

[3] Vendors usually speak in Spanish or the language of their own ethnolinguistic group with each other. Most vendors in Antigua speak *Kaqchikel* or *K'iche'* - fieldnotes Selma, from 28/02/2019 to 20/04/2019.

man and woman exchange a glance, where after the woman says: "Okay, we should help her. Let's buy it."[4]

This situation is exemplary for interactions that frequently take place in Antigua due to the high amount of both tourists and vendors in the city. The market, in this case located in *parque central,* is one of the main places where tourists and Maya vendors meet[5]. Little (2004) conceptualizes the marketplace as a sociocultural and socioeconomic space of interaction. Encounters between tourists and Maya vendors take place throughout Antigua. Therefore, we define the marketplace as all places in Antigua where cultural artefacts[6] are sold from Maya vendors to tourists. This includes *parque central*, the streets, tourist markets[7], and 'souvenir' shops located throughout the city. Applbaum (2005) defines the marketplace as a primary exchange location. As illustrated in the situation above, intercultural interaction between tourists and Maya vendors merely revolves around the sale of cultural artefacts. Applbaum (2005), Little (2004) and Tegelberg (2013) argue that cultural artefacts serve as intercultural mediators that transfer cultural knowledge from Maya vendor to tourist. As illustrated in the situation above, it is often emphasized that products are handmade by locals and connected to 'Maya culture'. Thus, the market serves as a place where, next to cultural artefacts and money, ideas surrounding indigenous identity and authenticity are negotiated between Maya vendors and tourists. In the next paragraph we will elaborate on tourists' imaginaries surrounding Maya identity.

[4] Fieldnotes Annemarie 11/03/2019.
[5] Multiple fieldnotes Annemarie and Selma, from 26/02/2019 to 19/04/2019.
[6] Handicrafts, *típicas Mayas,* souvenirs, and cultural artefacts are all terms used to define the products sold on the marketplace from Maya vendor to tourist. However, there is a difference between how tourists and Maya vendors name (and thus value) the products that are sold. Maya vendors usually use 'handicrafts' (or *artesanías*) and '*típicas Mayas*', whereas tourists use 'souvenirs'. When approaching the concept theoretically, we use the term 'cultural artefact'. We use the terms 'handicraft', '*típicas Mayas*' and 'souvenir' interchangeably, depending on how our informants name it. For an elaboration on difference in value of these products between tourists and Maya vendors, see chapter four.
[7] For example: *Mercado de Artesanías*, *Nim Po't*.

Tourists imagining Mayas | Annemarie

Antigua is a city that consists of a 'plurality of tourisms' (Eriksen 2014, 109), since it attracts different kinds of tourists with different interests and backgrounds. Tourists pass by Antigua in organized tours, cruise ship tours that stop in Antigua for a few hours[8], people that make day trips from other Guatemalan cities, students who follow Spanish classes in Antigua, and backpackers who travel around Central- and South America for a duration of a few months[9]. The latter is by far the biggest group of tourists in Antigua. Backpackers stay by average around four days in the city before they continue their trip. They come to Antigua because they find it colourful, chill, and calm, but they also often describe it as 'too touristy'[10]. As Louise, an adventurous American girl who came to Guatemala to hike volcanoes, describes: "Antigua is a bubble that is created for tourists, not for Guatemalans. So if you want to experience the culture, it is easier in another place."[11] To Louise, the high amount of tourists in Antigua result in 'the culture' being more difficult to experience.

The main motivation to travel for most tourists that I spoke with is to meet locals and gain perspective in how they live[12]. This is in accordance with MacCannell (1973), who states that tourism is often motivated by tourists' desires to gain insight into 'the local'. However, since everyone is constantly on the move, relationships between tourists and locals usually stay superficial[13]. As Oscar, a German tourist who is travelling by hitchhiking and couch surfing[14], explains about Antigua: "A touristy place is also that it is harder to connect with the locals, because sometimes it feels like I am a walking dollar bill for them, so just in general, I feel like more of them are trying to rip me off."[15] The fleetingness of contact between tourists and local Maya vendors results in difficulty for tourists to make a connection as more profound than a possible

[8] The group of tourists described in the situation at the beginning of this chapter is one of those groups. They sail from country to country, stopping in every place to visit a city for only a few hours.
[9] Multiple interviews and fieldnotes, from 12/02/2019 to 14/04/2019.
[10] Fieldnotes, 05/03/2019; interview Oscar, 02/03/2019; interview Louise, 07/03/2019; interview Jack, 13/03/2019, interview Clara, 30/03/2019.
[11] Interview Louise, 07/03/2019.
[12] Multiple interviews, from 02/03/2019 to 14/04/2019.
[13] Multiple interviews and fieldnotes, from 12/02/2019 to 14/04/2019.
[14] Couchsurfing is a social networking service where members can arrange homestays by sleeping on someone's couch for free.
[15] Interview Oscar, 02/03/2019.

source of income[16]. This difficulty comes together with a language barrier[17] and tourists finding vendors too pushy in selling their goods[18]. Despite the fleetingness of contact, tourists' expectations and imaginings are a way in which tourism imaginaries surrounding Mayas are (re)shaped and (re)constructed when tourists visit Antigua. Another way in which tourism imaginaries are (re)created is through promotional texts:

"*The dizzying pyramids of Tikal are Guatemala's most famous tourist drawcard. And what's not to love about this mighty monument to Central America's greatest civilization? But those who stop to ask whatever happened to the Maya are sometimes surprised by the simple answer: nothing. Maya culture continues to evolve today. The Maya villages in the highlands, where locals still wear traditional dress, are the most visible indicators of this centuries-old culture.*"[19]

This promotional text from the Lonely Planet[20] is an example of ways in which imaginaries surrounding Mayas in Guatemala are (partly) constructed. Texts like these are spread to tourists before and while visiting Guatemala. In combination with stories tourists tell each other while travelling, stories heard beforehand, and information from tourist offices and tour guides, these texts serve as materials that (re)shape expectations and ideas tourists hold about Mayas[21]. However, as Little (2008) states, the texts and stories are often a simplified version of reality: they are packaged into a compressed story in order to attract tourists to a certain place and people. Promotional texts and stories surrounding Mayas in Guatemala form only part of the whole of tourism imaginaries (Leite 2014). Since most tourists state tourist offices and travel guide books do not highly influence their imaginaries[22], expectations and imaginings of tourists themselves[23] receive most attention in this paragraph.

[16] Multiple interviews, from 07/03/2019 to 14/04/2019.
[17] Most tourists speak English, whereas most vendors do not. They often speak Spanish and/or a Maya language.
[18] Multiple interviews and fieldnotes, from 12/02/2019 to 14/04/2019.
[19] From: https://www.lonelyplanet.com/guatemala.
[20] A well-read travel guide book publisher.
[21] Multiple interviews, from 12/02/2019 to 14/04/2019.
[22] Multiple interviews, from 02/03/2019 to 14/04/2019.
[23] This includes personal imaginings, which often derive from stories, books and movies tourists have read in the past, and stories tourists tell each other, both offline and online - Multiple interviews, from 02/03/2019 to 14/04/2019.

Most tourists did not explicitly imagine Mayas living in Guatemala[24]. Often, the only way in which tourists have learned about Mayas before coming to Guatemala is through high school education. However, they find this topic 'overlooked' and the Mayas 'misrepresented' in their classes[25]. Since high school classes mostly focus on 'Mayas that built Maya pyramids', this simplified image creates an apparent contradiction between 'Mayas from the past' and 'modern day Mayas'. For example: Amber, a North-American girl who told me about her high school classes concerning Mayas, explained: "We learned about the ruins, in school, but you don't realize that the culture is still alive too. [...] Because I talked to a lot of people that were like 'oh, Mayas still exists? That wasn't just something of hundreds of thousands of years ago?'"[26] Tourists seem to struggle how to put their image of 'Mayas from the past' and 'modern day Mayas' together in ways they imagine Mayas. Tourists consider themselves and the city of Antigua as something 'modern', which is conflicting with the presence of Mayas, whom they perceive as 'traditional from the past'[27].

When tourists visit the market, they become aware of this struggle. Jessica, a German tourist wearing self-made gemstone necklaces and comfortable second-hand clothes, takes me on her quest for souvenirs since Antigua is her last stop before departing home. While passing by racks full of souvenirs, I ask her how she feels about a Barbie doll dressed in *traje típico*. She replies: "It is [an interesting mix], because these Barbies present something really modern, and the Mayas really traditional. But maybe it is also strange to say that it's so traditional, because it is also modern. I mean it's, you can buy it now, and they make it now, and it is… So, it has tradition, but it is also modern."[28] Through thinking about these Barbie dolls, Jessica realizes that something made by Mayas does not by definition mean the product (and the Mayas who made it) is traditional and 'from the past', since Mayas live nowadays and make these products today[29]. What is

[24] Multiple interviews, from 12/02/2019 to 14/04/2019.
[25] Focus group interview, Feline and Eva, 07/04/2019; photo-elicitation interview Ralph and Laura, 07/03/2019; interview Jack, 13/03/2019.
[26] Focus group interview, Amber, 07/04/2019.
[27] Multiple interviews, from 12/02/2019 to 14/04/2019. This apparent contradiction is reinforced by promotional texts like the one described above, as well as by INGUAT. In their promotional material, INGUAT makes a distinction between 'Maya civilization', which concerns Maya ruins in Guatemala, and 'Living Maya culture', which refers to Mayas living today. From interview Sasha, employee of the INGUAT office in Antigua, 02/04/2019.
[28] Interview Jessica 04/04/2019.
[29] However, Jessica's statement comes with a lot of doubts about the way she wants to perceive the relationship between 'the modern' and 'Mayas'.

perceived to be 'really Maya' is not by definition something that is contradictory to what tourists perceive to be 'really modern', since they do realize, through visiting the market, it is possible that 'the real Mayas' still live in present day society. However, the intertwinement of modernity and Mayas continues to (implicitly) be perceived as a friction between two different worlds. As Oscar states about vendors on the market: "So many of them were looking at their smartphone, while sitting in their traditional dresses. [...] That is just an interesting contrast. But mostly, and I am not sure if I should feel bad about that, but it just made me feel like 'no it can't be, you are a Maya, you can't have a smartphone!'"[30] Even though Oscar knows Mayas can live a modern life, actually seeing them holding an object which is a symbol for this modernity makes him feel like something is out of place, since he thinks of smartphones and Mayas as conflicting.

Tourists' imaginings of Mayas as 'something from the past' can thus be both challenged and confirmed when visiting the market. Salazar (2012) states that imaginaries are not something solid, but instead dynamic and continuously reconstructed by the people involved. This becomes clear from the ways in which imaginings of Mayas in Guatemala are often changed while (or after) tourists visit the country. As Stephanie, a Canadian tourist who is travelling for two weeks through Guatemala with her husband, states while sitting on the roof terrace of a café: "When I opened my Lonely Planet book, there were two women, wearing traditional costume, with tortillas. And it was one of the photos in the Lonely Planet. And I remember thinking 'I hope I am going to see that!'" Stephanie takes a sip of her cappuccino, smiles, and continues: "And then I realized that it was all around! Not in Antigua, but in the highlands. So, as a tourist, I was hoping to see that. And I thought you had to be lucky to see it. But then I realized it was still it."[31] As an expectation to most tourists I spoke with, Stephanie read the Lonely Planet about Guatemala as a preparation for her journey. By visiting Guatemala, she realized she had to adapt her image of Mayas, since it was much more present than she expected, something which she realized through seeing Mayas wearing their traditional costume. Stephanie's use of the word 'still' indicates how she implicitly sees Mayas as something from the past that had survived time and thus is 'still' present today.

Tourists consider wearing *traje típico* as one of the most important markers of indigenous identity[32], next to physical aspects like dark hair, dark skin colour and short length. Tourists

[30] Interview Oscar 02/03/2019.
[31] Interview Stephanie 14/04/2019.
[32] Multiple interviews, from 02/03/2019 to 14/04/2019. However, the motivations behind wearing *traje típico* is one of the most contested points by tourists. I will elaborate on this point in chapter four and five.

perceive the practice of weaving as something 'traditionally Maya', which is still practiced today[33]. Maya languages are also considered as prominent identity markers, and thus as ways for tourists to recognize who is Maya[34]. However, many tourists have admitted to only have little knowledge about the facts, history, and actual situation of Mayas[35]. Tourists I spoke with that stayed in Antigua for longer state to have more knowledge about Mayas in comparison to tourists that stay for only a few days, due to the opportunity of making a more genuine connection. For example: During a focus group interview I talk with Eva, a girl with glasses and a silver Christian cross around her neck. She is from the United States and is staying in Antigua for two months to do voluntary work as a missionary. She explains to me she feels like next to visual markers of indigenous identity, she gets to know Mayas in a more personal way, which she values highly[36]. She learned that Mayas try to preserve their culture, they are welcoming and passionate, and their culture is becoming increasingly adapted to tourism, especially in Antigua[37]. She elaborates: "It's all just like 'boom, boom, boom', just hit the experience, okay it's over. But it is so much bigger than that! It's real people, and real lives, and inventions and discoveries."[38] Through staying in Antigua for a longer time, Eva realizes the way Maya culture is 'showed' to tourists is not the complete story, but instead a compressed story catered at attracting short-term tourists[39].

Thus, by staying in Antigua for a longer period, Eva feels like she receives a deeper understanding of who Mayas are, which simultaneously makes her more critical on the (re)presentation of Maya culture to tourists. Moreover, this exemplifies how her perception of Maya identity is dynamic and reconstructed over time (Salazar 2012), since her image of who 'Mayas' are changes into a more profound one. However, tourism imaginaries surrounding indigenous identity do not only exist through imaginings of tourists, but also (among others) through self-conscious collective identity of locals (Leite 2014), so in this case of Mayas themselves. In the next paragraph we will therefore describe how Maya vendors perceive indigenous identity and tourism imaginaries surrounding it.

[33] Multiple interviews, from 13/03/2019 to 14/04/2019.
[34] Multiple interviews, from 12/02/2019 to 14/04/2019.
[35] Multiple interviews, from 12/02/2019 to 14/04/2019.
[36] Even though Eva based this statement on personal encounters with Mayas, she generalizes this image to all Mayas in Guatemala.
[37] Focus group interview Eva, 07/04/2019.
[38] Focus group interview Eva, 07/04/2019.
[39] I will elaborate on this point in chapter five.

"They all come to see us" | Selma

Because 'Maya' is a generic name for different ethnolinguistic groups (Fischer & Hendrickson 2003), some vendors prefer to identify themselves with the name of their ethnolinguistic group.[40,41] Many vendors explain that there are several cultural differences between Maya groups; they speak different languages, wear other designs of *traje típico* and have distinct traditional dishes. However, the tradition of weaving and the shared consciousness of 'being indigenous' bonds them in the collectivity of 'being Maya'[42]. The majority of Maya vendors I spoke with, is part of the groups '*Kaqchikel*' and '*K'iche*'' and live in villages surrounding Antigua, like *San Antonio Aguascalientes* or *Santa Catarina*. Some vendors moved from other parts of Guatemala to Antigua, because the amount of tourists makes the city a fruitful place to sell handicrafts[43]. Vendors tell that their main motive to sell handicrafts is to make a living: the income they generate by selling handicrafts is a necessity to sustain their families. Moreover, selling handicrafts is a tradition that is frequently passed on from generation to generation[44]. Blanca, a street vendor from *San Antonio Aguascalientes*, explains how selling handicrafts always has been a source of income for her family: "My mother also sold handicrafts in Antigua. She came to sell with my grandmother, from a very young age: she had a big basket with handicrafts on her head and offered them to tourists. In these times, there were not so many vendors in Antigua yet… Tourists bought way more than nowadays."[45] Blanca illustrates how selling handicrafts is a profession that is often maintained as a tradition within Maya families. Nevertheless, she also states that times have changed since her mother and grandmother sold handicrafts in Antigua because of the increase of vendors of handicrafts in the city.

The big amount of vendors in Antigua resulted in a lot of competition[46]. Among others, Blanca argues that it is hard to make money by selling handicrafts and therefore considers it as an insecure profession[47]. To compete with others, vendors need to lower their prices and develop

[40] Most vendors also identify with the terms *'naturales'* or *'indigenas'*.
[41] Informal conversation Melísa, 07/03/2019; informal conversation Sofía 05/03/2019; informal conversation Carlos 10/03/2019; interview Juana 14/03/2019; informal conversation Maria 11/03/2019.
[42] Multiple interviews and informal conversations, from 28/02/2019 to 10/04/2019.
[43] Interview Sílvia 10/03/2019; interview Joanna, 08/04/2019, interview Elisa 31/03/2019.
[44] Multiple interviews and informal conversations, from 05/03/2019 to 20/04/2019.
[45] Interview Blanca 15/03/2019.
[46] Multiple interviews and informal conversations from 28/02/2019 to 20/04/2019.
[47] Interview Juana, 14/03/2019; informal conversation, Carlos 10/03/2019; interview Blanca, 15/03/2019; interview Magda, 04/04/2019; informal conversations Melísa from 08/03/2019 to 20/04/2019; informal conversations Sofía from 05/03/2019 to 15/04/2019.

strategies to attract tourists[48]. Sílvia, a street vendor dressed in *traje típico*, tells that she always tries to have a chat with tourists to whom she sells her products. "I ask them if I can join them on their bench. I give them a nice smile, ask them how they are… Where they are going… Sometimes we practice a little bit of Spanish, and after that I start explaining about my products. I tell them that my sons made the bracelets, how I weave my fabrics and about the healing power of the jade stone. Jade is a Maya stone, you know?"[49] Although Sílvia describes her conversations with tourists as short and superficial, she argues that making a chat and telling about her products is advantageous for her sales because it "attracts the attention of tourists"[50]. Among many other vendors, Sílvia states that also her *traje típico* is considered as attractive by tourists, and that they therefore frequently want to take pictures of her[51].

While Sílvia and I are sitting on a bench in *parque central*, she points with a subtle movement with her head to a scene happening nearby. In front of the fountain, two women dressed in *traje típico* are posing with a tall, blond woman while a man with a big backpack takes a picture. After taking the picture, the man walks towards the women and smilingly shows them the little screen of his camera. Amused by the scene, Sílvia says: "There are pictures of me in so many countries in the world: Switzerland, England, Canada… They all take pictures of my face and my clothes and take them to their houses, I do not know what they do with them." Curiously, I ask her why she thinks people want to take pictures of her. Pointing to her blue *güipil,* decorated with birds and flowers, she tells: "They all[52] come to see our clothes: our children, our women… We are all dressed in *traje típico*. They like it because it is different from the clothes they wear themselves. They want to see everything that Guatemala has to offer: volcanoes, lakes, our weavings, handicrafts and the clothes that we, *naturales*[53], wear. For me it is an honor to show them. [...] Some women tell me: "No Sílvia, do not give them a picture without paying.' But I do not care, I feel proud to show them my clothes."[54]

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[48] Multiple interviews and informal conversations from 10/03/2019 to 20/04/2019. I will further elaborate on the developed selling strategies in chapter four and five.
[49] Informal conversation Sílvia 25/03/2019.
[50] Informal conversation Sílvia 25/03/2019.
[51] Multiple interviews and informal conversations from 10/03/2019 to 20/04/2019.
[52] Referring to the tourists that come to visit Antigua.
[53] Many Mayas refer to themselves and the other groups of Mayas as '*naturales'*. In Guatemala this word is often used as a synonym for '*indígenas'* or 'indigenous people'.
[54] Informal conversation Sílvia, 25/03/2019.

The situation described above exemplifies how Maya vendors are conscious of the tourism imaginaries surrounding Maya identity. Sílvia enumerates characteristics of Maya identity that tourists find interesting, which indicates that she is aware of the imaginaries tourists hold. Together with Sílvia, many vendors argue that the aspects of Maya identity tourists are mostly attracted to are *traje típico*[55], the traditional art of weaving, and the handicrafts Maya vendors sell[56]. Because tourists are specifically interested in these aspects of Maya identity, vendors become conscious that these identity markers distinguish 'them' as Mayas, from tourists. Sílvia emphasizes this dichotomy between 'us' and 'them' when she argues that tourists like her *traje típico* because "it is different from the clothes 'they' [tourists] wear". Barth (1969) argues that the (re)construction of identity is a dynamic process based on defining 'the Self' and being defined by 'the Other'. The presence of tourists and the consciousness surrounding tourism imaginaries they hold, (re)constructs the image Mayas have of themselves, and therefore their perceptions of their own identity. Sílvia perceives tourists as 'the Others' who are interested in her because of her distinguishing markers of identity. Tourists taking pictures of her, displays their imaginaries of Mayas and affirms to her that she is 'different than they are'. Therefore, it (re)constructs how she perceives her 'Self'.

Nagel (2003) states that tourism imaginaries can result in the performativity of 'being different'. This 'performativity' becomes apparent in vendors' statements to emphasize identity markers that are considered interesting and recognizable by tourists[57]. Sílvia, for example, consciously elaborates on the traditional mode of production of her textiles and emphasizes that her products are 'typically Maya' because she knows that tourists are attracted to these aspects[58]. In this sense, the 'difference' that attracts tourists when imagining Mayas is emphasized and therefore used to improve the sale of cultural artefacts. In this way, the self-representation of Maya vendors towards tourists is shaped by tourism imaginaries surrounding indigenous identity. Tegelberg (2013) and Stronza (2001) plead that the financially triggered reinforcement of tourism imaginaries results in an incomplete and essentialized representation of a culture. Magda, a vendor

[55] Multiple interviews and informal conversations, from 05/03/2019 to 20/04/2019.
[56] Informal conversation Sílvia, 25/03/2019; interview Carlos, 09/04/2019; Interview Magda 04/04/2019; interview Juana, 14/03/2019; interview Jessica, 31/03/2019; interview Norma, 15/03/2019.
[57] Multiple interviews and informal conversations, from 20/03/2019 to 20/04/2019.
[58] Informal conversation Sílvia, 25/03/2019.

and weaver in her sixties, confirms this statement and argues that tourists only have a superficial image of what Maya identity entails, as most tourists stay for a short period and therefore only see the most 'obvious' markers that are presented to them. "They only stay one, two, three days! Maybe they visit some places [...], go to the market... but they do not know how we live, who we are… You cannot know what our culture is when you only stay for three days."[59] In this statement, Magda makes a distinction between what is presented to tourists as 'Maya culture' on touristic places and the market, and 'who Mayas are'. She argues that the limited time tourists stay in Antigua, is not enough to gain insight into 'who Mayas are'. Maya vendors state that the identity markers they emphasize while presenting themselves towards tourists are intrinsically meaningful to themselves[60]. However, they argue that tourists not necessarily know why these markers are important for Mayas[61].

While Juana, a street vendor and weaver, is skillfully weaving a flowery design out of a tangle of threads, she tells how her mother taught her to weave when she was seven years old. "Learning how to weave is a custom in my village, generation to generation all the girls learn how to weave and so did I… For me it is something important"[62]. Juana explicitly connects the tradition of weaving to her Maya *Kaqchikel* identity because it is a unique skill that is passed from generation to generation by means of tradition. Thereby, she explains that the designs of the weavings have symbolic meanings that refer to histories of the *Kaqchikel* and therefore connects her to her origin[63]. Juana argues that weaving to her is "the expression, practice and maintenance of her culture and knowledge."[64] In conversations about what 'being indigenous' means, vendors state that they identify as Maya because of their 'origin' and therefore the knowledge that they descend from an indigenous family[65]. Vendors argue that the tradition of weaving, speaking a Maya language and wearing *traje típico* are ways to express identity and to maintain the connection

[59] Interview Magda 04/04/2019.
[60] Traditional weaving of fabrics, *típicas Mayas* and *traje típico.* Multiple interviews and informal conversations from 08/03/2019 to 20/04/2019.
[61] Interview Magda, 04/04/2019; interview Sílvia, 10/03/2019; informal conversation Carlos, 10/03/2019; interview Jessica, 07/04/2019; interview Sofía 26/03/2019.
[62] Interview Juana 14/03/2019.
[63] Interview Juana 14/03/2019. The importance and meanings of the symbols on the weavings is thereby mentioned by many other vendors in informal conversations and interviews from 05/03/2019 to 16/04/2019.
[64] Interview Juana 14/03/2019.
[65] Multiple interviews and informal conversations, from 05/03/2019 to 20/04/2019.

to their origin[66]. After Magda explained some words and sentences in *Kaqchikel*, she states that she can express herself more accurate while speaking this language and considers speaking *Kaqchikel* as a bonding factor within her community. Therefore, to Magda, speaking *Kaqchikel* is an important way to express and maintain her Maya identity[67]. Although nowadays the majority of Mayas in Guatemala speaks Spanish[68], Magda considers it important to maintain her language[69]. She explains that she frequently practices *Kaqchikel* with her grandchildren, because to her "losing the language" would be equal to "losing a part of her culture"[70,71]. Most frequently, wearing *traje típico* is mentioned as an expression of Maya identity[72]. Many vendors state that they never wear 'popular clothes'[73] because this gives them a feeling of 'discomfort'[74]. They tell that they adjusted to wear *traje típico* from a young age and therefore do not feel comfortable in a t-shirt and trousers[75]. To them, wearing *traje típico* is a custom that is intrinsically motivated and rooted in a connection with Maya culture and identity.

However, nowadays there is a growing number of Maya women that stop wearing *traje típico*. Often, these women are of a younger generation and state that they consider 'popular clothes' more comfortable and cheaper[76]. Many vendors of the older generation like Juana, speak about this as a "loss of culture" because they consider *traje típico* as an important aspect of Maya identity that connects them with their origin[77]. Elisa, a twenty-two year old vendor who does not wear *traje típico*, argues that she is not "losing her identity" by not wearing *traje típico*, but that her expression of Maya identity is changing[78]. Elisa feels strongly connected to her Maya origin,

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[66] Multiple interviews, from 15/03/2019 to 20/04/2019.
[67] Interview Magda 04/04/2019.
[68] Multiple interviews and informal conversations from 04/02/2019 to 20/04/2019.
[69] Interview Magda 04/04/2019.
[70] Interview Magda 04/04/2019.
[71] Often is mentioned that the younger generation is 'losing the language' because they are primarily raised in Spanish. Some schools started to teach traditional languages again, to not lose this cultural heritage. Interview Magda, 04/04/2019.
[72] Multiple interviews and informal conversations, from 08/03/2019 to 03/04/2019.
[73] Popular clothes refer to clothes that are not 'traditional' like t-shirts, sweaters and trousers.
[74] Many women use the word '*vergüenza*' in describing the experience of not wearing *traje típico*. Although literally translated this word means 'shame', many explain that it is more a feeling of 'discomfort' they experience while not wearing *traje típico*.
[75] Multiple interviews and informal conversations, from 08/03/2019 to 03/04/2019.
[76] Multiple interviews and informal conversations, from 04/02/2019 to 20/04/2019.
[77] Informal conversation Carlos, 10/03/2019; interview Magda, 04/04/2019; interview Juana, 14/03/2019; informal conversation Blanca, 12/03/2019.
[78] Interview Elisa 07/04/2019. I will further elaborate on the changing tendency surrounding *traje típico* in chapter four.

although she does not express this by wearing *traje típico*[79]. The decrease of Mayas wearing *traje típico* and speaking Maya languages indicates a change in ways to express collective identity and affirms the changeable and dynamic character of imaginaries as described by Salazar (2012) as perceptions surrounding Maya identity are changing. Although the older generation, like Magda, pleads convincingly to maintain the traditions "like they always practiced them"[80], the younger generation develops new ways of expressing identity while preserving the connection to their indigenous roots. However, these connections are not necessarily visible. Carlos, a vendor usually dressed in jeans and a grey polo, argues that 'being Maya *Kaqchikel*' is not only defined by tangible and recognizable identity markers like clothes and language, but that the knowledge that he descends from an indigenous family is enough to feel connected to his roots: "Although I don't wear *traje típico* and I don't speak *Kaqchikel*, I am from an indigenous family and therefore I feel indigenous."[81] Carlos' description demonstrates the multilayered character of his experience of Maya identity, which is not necessarily corresponding to the image tourists have of Mayas. Carlos describes his Maya identity rather as a "way of life"[82] which cannot be captured in a one-dimensional picture.

Conclusion

To conclude, the marketplace can be perceived as a social and economic space of intercultural encounters. Encounters between tourists and Maya vendors result in the (re)construction of tourism imaginaries surrounding indigenous identity. Imaginaries surrounding Maya identity are dynamic and continuously reconstructed over time. Tourists, when visiting Antigua, often experience a friction between their expectations of Mayas as 'something from the past', and the realization that Mayas are not untouched by modernity. Thereby, tourists that stay for a longer period in Antigua argue how the fleetingness of tourism results in a rather 'superficial' experience of Maya culture. This statement is confirmed by many Maya vendors who argue that tourists' imaginaries surrounding Maya identity are based on the most recognizable identity markers. Although these markers are also intrinsically perceived as important, many Maya vendors state that these markers

[79] Interview Elisa 07/04/2019. I will further elaborate on the changing tendency surrounding *traje típico* in chapter four.
[80] Interview Magda 04/04/2019.
[81] Interview Carlos, 09/04/2019.
[82] Interview Carlos, 09/04/2019.

are emphasized in encounters with tourists. The consciousness surrounding tourists' expectations of Maya identity results in a renewed image of 'the Self' which results in the performativity of 'being different'. However, to both tourists and vendors, the image of Mayas is not static but is continuously negotiated and (re)constructed in a dialectic process between tourists and Mayas. In the next chapter, we elaborate by which means this negotiation takes place on the marketplace in Antigua.

Chapter 4: Negotiating Maya identity

Artesanías on the *Mercado de Artesanías.* Picture made by Elísa, photo-elicitation interview 31/03/2019.

As discussed in the previous chapter, there are different imaginaries surrounding indigenous identity. These imaginaries are not fixed, but dynamic and constantly negotiated. In order to find out how this negotiation takes place, we will zoom in into the marketplace of Antigua. This chapter focuses on the ways in which both tourists and Maya vendors perceive and (re)present their ideas surrounding indigenous identity. What consequences do (changing) imaginaries have on the ways in which cultural artefacts, personal encounters and presentation of Maya vendors are perceived? To get an overview of both sides of the negotiation between tourists and Maya vendors, we elaborate on both perspectives. Firstly, we focus on the ways tourists perceive cultural artefacts, personal encounters and presentation of Maya vendors as media to convey messages about Maya identity. Thereafter, we elaborate on how the presence of tourists challenges the form of cultural artefacts and the (re)presentation of Maya identity according to Maya vendors. We conclude this chapter by bringing the tourist- and Maya perspective together.

'Typically Maya?' | Annemarie

While walking on the *Mercado de Artesanías* with Jack, a young American doctor who took a few months off to travel through Central- and South America, he tells me he is not planning on buying anything today because he only wants to buy souvenirs at the end of this trip[83]. In a few weeks, he will come back to Antigua to buy souvenirs before flying home. When I ask him what he would like to buy, he says it is important that the souvenir fits in his backpack[84]. Moreover, he would like to buy a souvenir that reminds him of Guatemala and Maya culture[85]. I ask him what he perceives as a reminder of Maya culture. He explains: "Like these designs in the back here." He points to a scarf with colourful symbols of birds and flowers. "You can see that it's a type of bird there, right? Maybe that is the Quetzal. I know that it is very important to their history and everything. So that's kind of cool."[86] Jack uses the scarf as an example because the symbols on it tell him something about the history of Mayas. Steiner (1994) states that products sold on the market can serve as mediators of cultural knowledge. To Jack, the scarf with symbols mediate Maya history. When discussing the symbols with him later, he argues how he sees fabric with symbols as the most interesting souvenir, since they are "the most Mayan product" and thus the strongest mediator of Maya culture. However, only because he knows the symbols contain specific meanings concerning Maya history, Jack could see the scarf as a mediator of Maya culture. According to Bestor (1999) and Applbaum (2005), personal encounters that take place on the market can ascribe meaning to the commodities that are sold. One way in which knowledge about cultural artefacts is conveyed to tourists, is through personal encounters between tourists and Maya vendors. The following situation exemplifies how personal encounters ascribe meaning to the artefacts sold:

Clara, a spontaneous Dutch girl who is travelling around Guatemala to learn more about Maya culture, is holding a package of little worry dolls. The dolls are little wooden puppets at the size of a match, dressed in miniature *traje típico*. Clara and I have been walking on the market in search

[83] Since Antigua is close to the main airport of Guatemala, it is usually the place where tourists search for souvenirs to take back home. Multiple interviews, from 12/02/2019 to 14/04/2019.
[84] This statement is confirmed by several tourists in multiple interviews, from 03/03/2019 to 04/04/2019.
[85] Walking interview Jack 13/03/2019. This statement is confirmed by several tourists in multiple interviews, from 12/02/2019 to 14/04/2019. Next to the search for something 'typical Guatemalan', all tourists I spoke with stated to desire something handmade instead of machine-made. I will elaborate on this point in chapter five.
[86] Walking interview Jack 13/03/2019.

for souvenirs for a few hours already, and I notice how Clara is becoming a little tired of my questions about whether she thinks the many products we see tell her something about Maya identity. While holding the worry dolls, she looks at me and says: "I think this is very Maya". However, the tone of her voice makes clear she is being sarcastic. At that moment, the vendor comes up to her. Clara decides to see what the vendor has to tell about the dolls, and asks her: "Are these dolls typical Maya?" The vendor answers: "Yes, they have been used by Mayas as a tradition for a long time. There is this legend that you should put them under your pillow when you have worries, and the next day you throw the doll away and it takes the worries with it." Even though Clara started the conversation with a slightly sarcastic tone, she now seems to be intrigued by the explanation. She asks the vendor: "And where in Guatemala do they use this?" and she answers: "Everywhere in Guatemala." Clara seems to be surprised by this answer. She looks at the dolls again, and then decides to buy two packages. "It is a nice souvenir for my nieces and nephews." she says with a smile.[87]

Clara talks about the worry dolls with the vendor, which makes their meaning change for Clara during the conversation. The encounter between Clara and the vendor contributes to Clara's perception of the worry dolls as 'really Maya'. Conversations like these exemplify how both vendors and tourists can play an active role in mediating cultural meaning of cultural artefacts, as stated by several scholars (Applbaum 2005; Little 2004; Tegelberg 2013). Despite tourists' difficulty to connect with vendors[88], encounters between tourists and vendors can add layers of significance to artefacts as mediators of Maya culture. In this case, the story of the vendor about the Maya tradition of the dolls, in combination with her explanation about the dolls being used in the whole country, transforms the dolls into a special souvenir that contains a story about Maya culture to Clara. The encounter between the vendor and Clara thus ascribes meaning to the commodities sold, since the dolls change from wooden puppets into a souvenir with a story.

Most tourists have the idea that 'traditional' Maya, which they see in this case as the fabric and symbols of *traje típico*, and 'modern Maya', come together in the clothes, bags, wallets, and other products that are made with the same fabric and symbols, but are transformed into souvenirs

[87] From fieldnotes 08/04/2019.
[88] Multiple interviews, from 07/03/2019 to 14/04/2019. See chapter three for an elaboration on this point.

tourists want to buy[89]. The same counts for the act of weaving, which is both perceived as a Maya tradition and something that nowadays counts as a way to convey Maya culture through products[90]. The adaptation of cultural artefacts to souvenirs tourists want to buy, combined with some part of Maya fabric in order to fulfill the wish for local souvenirs, results in doubts about the meaning of the products. As Laura explains: "There was a shop we walked by that had like a hoodie, with the smallest bit of Mayan print. And I think it is a bit strange, combining the two that much. I think the patterns are really pretty, but I think it suits traditional clothing a bit better than a hoodie. But I guess that goes back to, if they think people are buying them, they can sell it."[91] Laura asks herself until when a product continues to convey a message about Mayas when it is transformed into a tourist souvenir. She explains how to her, the meaning of a product decreases when it is specifically designed for tourists, but nevertheless continues to convey some message about Maya culture[92]. The conversion of a multilayered 'culture' into an object of tourism and consumption, is what Cohen (1988) defines as commoditization. By thinking about the message the hoodie with Maya print conveys, Laura realizes how the adaptation of the Maya print into a hoodie results in a commodified product.

Tegelberg (2013) and Stronza (2001) state that expectations of tourists are translated into commodified cultural products, that are in the end sold as an incomplete presentation of 'original culture' and cultural identity. As Clara states in another conversation: "I think that really everything that is catered to tourists just gets linked to some sort of slogan."[93] In this case, the 'slogan' Clara is talking about is 'Maya', a term which she perceives to be decreasing in meaning since it is extensively used by vendors trying to sell a product. Even though in the above situation of the worry dolls, the vendor could 'convince' Clara about the products being 'really Maya', the continuous emphasis of vendors on products as 'typically Maya' makes her doubt whether what they are saying is true[94]. Several tourists explained how they feel like 'Maya' is becoming a

[89] Multiple interviews, from 12/02/2019 to 14/04/2019.
[90] Multiple interviews, from 02/03/2019 to 14/04/2019.
[91] Photo-elicitation interview Ralph and Laura 07/03/2019.
[92] Confirmed by other informants: Jessica, walking interview 04/04/2019; Clara, fieldnotes 08/04/2019; Jack, walking interview 13/03/2019.
[93] Translated from Dutch, interview Clara 30/03/2019.
[94] Her critical stance on vendors continuously emphasizing products as 'typically Maya' could be an explanation why Clara was asking the sarcastic question to the vendor about whether the worry dolls were 'typically Maya'.

marketing term, catered for tourists in order to make a better sale.[95] The commoditization of cultural artefacts into souvenirs is thus perceived by tourists as an incomplete presentation of 'original culture' and cultural identity[96].

Next to encounters, the presentation of Maya vendors can ascribe meaning to cultural artefacts and the ways tourists imagine Mayas. As Stephanie states: "Because most of the people you see, they wear just normal clothes like we do. Except the sellers. The people selling souvenirs or stuff, they wear the Maya costume. So I am wondering if here it's not more of an attraction in itself. It is like their uniform to sell things to tourists."[97] Stephanie points out how the presentation of Maya vendors can add meaning to the message cultural artefacts convey about Maya culture. Since the way Maya vendors dress is perceived as the most prominent identity marker by tourists[98], it is what immediately comes up when discussing the presentation of Maya vendors with tourists. However, Stephanie expresses doubts concerning the motivations to wear *traje típico* of vendors on the market[99]. It makes her wonder whether the market and its vendors should be perceived as an attraction, played into the expectations of tourists, in order to make a better sell.

When following Cohen's definition of commoditization (1988), the presentation of Maya identity by vendors becomes commoditized as well, according to tourists. The intentional wearing of *traje típico*, and thereby the emphasis on Maya identity, is perceived by tourists as the conversion of a multilayered 'culture' into an object of tourism and consumption, simply aimed at making more money[100]. Nevertheless, despite the doubts tourists have about the motivations of Maya vendors wearing *traje típico*, most of them do admit they would prefer to buy from a vendor that is traditionally dressed over a vendor who is wearing jeans and a t-shirt, since they perceive the vendor in *traje típico* to have more knowledge about the goods he/she is selling[101]. Thus, there is a precarious line between the propagation of indigenous identity as contributing to the tourist experience of encountering indigenous identity, and on the other hand making tourists doubt about the authenticity of the indigenous identity of vendors. In the next paragraph, we will elaborate on

[95] Interview Oscar, 02/03/2019; photo-elicitation interview Ralph and Laura, 07/03/2019; interview Clara, 30/03/2019; fieldnotes informal conversation Jessica, 04/04/2019.
[96] As stated by Tegelberg (2013) and Stronza (2001).
[97] Interview Stephanie 14/04/2019.
[98] Multiple interviews, from 02/03/2019 to 14/04/2019.
[99] Other tourists have stated to have the same doubts concerning the motivations behind wearing *traje típico*: multiple interviews, from 02/03/2019 to 14/04/2019.
[100] Multiple interviews, from 02/03/2019 to 14/04/2019.
[101] Multiple interviews, from 03/03/2019 to 04/04/2019.

how the presence of tourists challenges the representation of indigenous identity according to Maya vendors.

"*Popular pero tradicional*"[102] | Selma

Standing on the tips of her toes, Elisa reorganizes a pile of blankets in the corner of her stall. Elisa is twenty-two years old, wears a pair of jeans, a blue t-shirt and matching sneakers. Since the age of twelve, Elisa has worked in the family business and sells cultural artefacts in the *Mercado de Artesanías.* It is quiet this Monday morning, so Elisa can study for her university exams in the back of her stall. The stall is three by three meters, and densely filled with handicrafts in all shapes and sizes: oven gloves, notebooks, worry dolls[103], tablecloths, IPad covers and wallets, all decorated with colourful prints. Dog leashes, bags, belts, t-shirts and *güipils* are hanging from the ceiling, next to a small speaker which provides the stall with a pleasant timber of *Marimba* music, alternating with reggaeton and Spanish pop songs. After rearranging her stall, Elisa sits down on a small stool located among the sea of handicrafts. She passionately tells about the different handicrafts and the regions where they are from. Enthusiastically, she highlights the ponchos from Comalapa[104], the department where she grew up. With wide hand gestures, she explains how her family produces the ponchos in a traditional manner and tells how she used to wear these ponchos as part of her *traje típico*, but that she changed them for the comfort of jeans and t-shirts. Smilingly, Elisa shows a picture on her mobile phone of her younger self in *traje típico*. Every now and then, Elisa interrupts her story to welcome the tourists that pass by: "What are you looking for? Walk in, take a look!" Most of the time, they respond with "*No gracias*"[105] or a friendly smile, continuing to the next stall. Talking about the great variety of products she sells, Elisa explains that it is necessary to keep innovating products to compete against other vendors in Antigua and meet tourists' desires. Exemplifying her statement, she picks an IPad cover filled with Maya symbols from a pile in front of her: "We have to produce what the market asks us to keep selling products.

[102] "Popular but traditional".
[103] As elaborated on in the previous paragraph.
[104] Comalapa is a municipality located in the Chimaltenango department. They are well-known for the production of ponchos which is part of the traditional dress of Comalapa. Informal conversation Elisa, 26/03/2019.
[105] "No thank you".

Sometimes people ask us 'do you have this, do you have that?' We know that it is important to satisfy their requests, otherwise we will not sell anything."[106]

The situation described above offers a glimpse into the daily life of Elisa, a university student accountancy and vendor in the *Mercado de Artesanías*. It illustrates how vendors like Elisa[107] adjust and expand their assortment in anticipation on tourists' preferences. Elisa states that tourists prefer handicrafts that are of practical use, fit in their suitcases and contain 'traditional' elements that remind them of Guatemala[108]. According to Elisa, wallets and IPad covers made from 'traditional fabric'[109] are perfect souvenirs and therefore very popular among her customers[110]. Also 'popular fashion' decorated with 'traditional accents', which Elisa jokingly calls '*ropa popular pero tradicional'*[111] is attractive for tourists[112]. Elisa states that t-shirts and hoodies decorated with traditional symbols are an attractive mixture of 'something new' and 'something traditional'. While pointing to a colourfully decorated phone cover, Elisa tells me that the majority of handicrafts she sells are "new things". "The mode of production remains the same, but they modify these fabrics into new and different products. The products are 'modernized' and adjusted to the modern era. We keep producing new things to continue the sale."[113] The "new things" in Elisa's assortment, show how 'the traditional' is challenged by 'the modern' because of the continuous development of products aimed to meet tourists' desires. Although the products are adapted to tourists' preferences, they nevertheless maintain a 'traditional value' to vendors[114], and therefore remain to be a representation of Maya identity.

Elisa considers 'modernized' cultural artefacts equally traditional to 'unchanged' cultural artefacts' like *güipils*, because the material and the traditional mode of production remain the same[115]. According to Elisa, an *artesanía* is "an art made by Mayas from Guatemala. It is their

[106] Informal conversation Elisa 26/03/2019.
[107] Interview Carlos, 10/03/2019; Interview Magda, 04/04/2019; informal conversation Sílvia, 07/03/2019; informal conversation Juan, 10/03/2019.
[108] Interview Elisa 07/04/2019.
[109] Fabrics are often considered 'traditional' by vendors when they are weaved by hand- or waistloom, or if they entail symbols and patterns that are characteristic for Maya culture.
[110] Photo-elicitation interview Elisa 31/03/2019.
[111] "Popular but traditional clothes".
[112] Photo-elicitation interview Elisa 31/03/2019.
[113] Photo-elicitation interview Elisa 31/03/2019.
[114] Multiple informal conversations and interviews, from 05/03/2019 to 20/04/2019.
[115] Interview Juana, 14/03/2019; interview Norma, 15/03/2019; informal conversation Sofía, 08/03/2019.

history, elaborated by their own hands."[116] Therefore, also 'modernized' products can be 'traditional' as they are still produced by people who identify as Maya. Steiner (1994) conceptualizes cultural artefacts as "intercultural mediators that transfer cultural information and knowledge". As mentioned in the previous chapter, the technique of weaving is considered as an important tradition to Mayas, which is passed from generation to generation. Moreover, the designs of the weavings frequently contain a symbolic meaning that refer to Maya (hi)stories[117]. Therefore, the cultural artefacts sold on the market in Antigua can be seen as tangible transmitters of cultural knowledge, Maya history and ideas surrounding indigenous identity. The development of new cultural artefacts and their adaptation to 'modernity' can be understood as the continuation of their history in which 'traditional elements' are preserved.

According to many vendors, the main reason to modify cultural artefacts is to convert them into attractive souvenirs for tourists[118]. In the process of adaptation to tourists' preferences, global demands are integrated into 'local products'. Consequently, the newly developed handicrafts can be seen as a tangible example of the fusion of the global and local. In this fusion, the global and the local become indistinguishable. Roudometof (2016) conceptualizes this intertwinement as 'glocality' in which global requests - like cultural artefacts fitting in a suitcase - are mediated through tourism and merge with the local and 'traditional'. Cohen (1988) conceptualizes the process in which cultural artefacts are converted into products of consumption, and therefore become primarily evaluated by their exchange value, as 'commoditization'. Salazar (2009) states that in this process, the meaning of a product and the (re)presentation of a 'culture' is affected as the handicrafts become increasingly oriented to an external public and 'the market'. Like Elisa explains, many handicrafts are modified into tourist-orientated products and therefore acquire a monetary value. This monetary value plays an important part in vendors' motives to sell handicrafts and to (re)present their Maya identity[119]. While Sílvia demonstratively shows her bracelets and jade stones, she emphasizes that she needs to support her entire family by selling

[116] Photo-elicitation interview Elisa 31/03/2019.
[117] For further information, see chapter three.
[118] Interview Sílvia, 10/03/2019; interview Carlos, 09/04/2019; informal conversation Magda, 04/04/2019; interview Norma, 15/03/2019; informal conversation Juana, 14/03/2019; informal conversation Alejandra, 26/03/2019.
[119] Interviews and informal conversations with: Carlos 09/04/2019, Juana 14/03/2019, Sofía 26/03/2019, Elisa 07/04/2019, Sílvia 10/03/2019, Juan 10/03/2019.

these handicrafts, since it is her only source of income[120]. Sílvia and other vendors, state that the presence of tourists in Antigua is fundamental to economically manage their families[121]. To many, cultural artefacts are a significant source of income and are therefore also defined by their monetary value[122]. Thus, to the Maya vendors the meanings of cultural artefacts change as they also have an additional monetary value.

Although cultural artefacts serve an economical purpose, they remain to be meaningful to their producers and continue to be a (re)presentation of Maya identity[123]. Cohen (1988) argues that cultural artefacts, when commoditized, acquire new meanings to the people who produce and sell them and are therefore 'vehicles of self-presentation to an external public.' Elisa's ponchos from Comalapa[124] exemplify how cultural artefacts can both be a source of income and a vehicle to (re)present identity. Although Elisa sells the ponchos with an economical motive, to her, they continue to be a medium to present Comalapa and its traditions to the global customers in her market stall. To Elisa, the ponchos have a special meaning as they remind her of Comalapa and her Maya identity[125]. Thereby, she argues that "she feels proud to show the art of Comalapa"[126] to tourists. By explaining elaborately about the ponchos, Elisa gives tourists insight into their origin and mode of production, and therefore their 'traditional value.' Both Little (2004) and Applbaum (2005) emphasize the importance of presentation of cultural artefacts to ascribe cultural meanings to the products. Elisa mediates cultural knowledge by presenting her products in connection to her own Maya identity.

Applbaum (2005, 276) states that "the marketplace as a medium of exchange becomes part of the commodity itself." Therefore, the ways in which a vendor presents itself and its products towards customers ascribe meanings to these products. Alejandra, a woman who sells handicrafts and provides weaving-workshops to tourists, explains the importance of wearing *traje típico* while doing her job. "It is important that tourists associate the products with the person who sells them.

[120] Interviews and informal conversations with: Sílvia 10/03/2019, Magda 04/04/2019, Carlos 11/03/2019, Juana 14/04/2019, Blanca 24/03/2019, Sofía 09/03/2019.
[121] Multiple interviews and informal conversations from 05/03/2019 to 20/04/2019.
[122] Multiple interviews and informal conversations from 05/03/2019 to 20/04/2019.
[123] Multiple interviews and informal conversations from 05/03/2019 to 20/04/2019.
[124] See the beginning of paragraph 'Popular pero traditional'.
[125] Interview Elisa 07/04/2019.
[126] Interview Elisa 07/04/2019.

Traje típico catches the attention of tourists"[127] Alejandra emphasizes that wearing *traje típico* is advantageous while selling handicrafts, but that is not her main motive to wear it[128]. Elisa, who does not wear *traje típico*, agrees that wearing *traje típico* can positively influence the sale. Tourists regularly doubt her Maya identity because they cannot recognize her by her clothes[129]. She pleads that tourists think that vendors wearing *traje típico* produce their handicrafts themselves and are therefore more eager to buy their products.[130] In this way, the physical appearance of Maya vendors becomes part of the products they sell, which can positively influence the sale since they are directly associated with their products.

Thus, although the form of cultural artefacts changed through time and is inevitably adapted to a more 'global' public, vendors still perceive handicrafts as products that (re)present Maya identity and therefore serve as 'intercultural mediators'. In addition to the cultural artefacts themselves, their presentation in interaction with tourists is considered fundamental in ascribing (cultural) meanings to cultural artefacts. Vendors, verbally and non-verbally, provide information about their products and therefore mediate cultural knowledge to tourists.

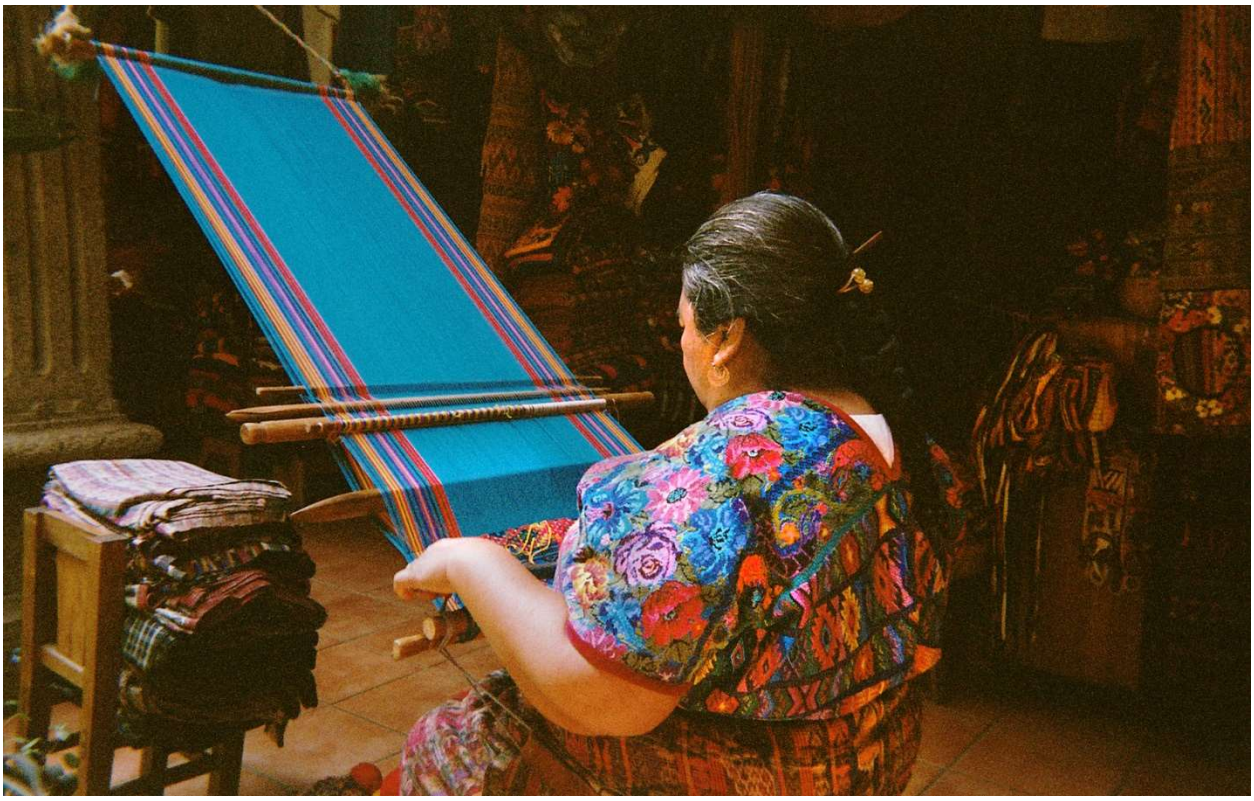
Conclusion

Both tourists and Maya vendors notice how cultural artefacts are adapted to accommodate tourists. Cultural artefacts are transformed into practical and desirable objects and 'reminders of Guatemala' but remain to be conveyors of Maya culture and therefore 'intercultural mediators'. In the process of adaptation to tourists' desires, global demands are integrated into 'local' products and become tangible examples of the fusion of global and local. According to tourists, the main motivation to adapt products to tourists' preferences is economical. As a result, products are commoditized and Maya identity is converted into an object of tourism and consumption. Beside cultural artefacts, the ways in which Maya vendors (re)present their cultural identity on the market is perceived as 'a marketing strategy' by tourists, because they believe that Maya vendors emphasize their identity to make money. Even though cultural artefacts, personal encounters and presentation of vendors continue to be 'vehicles of self-presentation' to tourists, commoditization

[127] Informal conversation with Alejandra, 26/03/2019. This statement is confirmed in multiple informal conversations and interviews from 05/03/2019 to 20/04/2019.
[128] Informal conversation with Alejandra 26/03/2019.
[129] Interview Elisa 07/04/2019.
[130] Interview Elisa 07/04/2019

of identity also results in tourists doubting the authenticity of the vendors. In the next chapter, we will elaborate on how the authenticity of Maya identity is negotiated between tourists and Maya vendors on the market.

Chapter 5: Authenticity of Maya identity



Weaver in the *Mercado de Artesanías*. Picture made by Annemarie.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, commoditization of cultural artefacts and Maya identity results in tourists questioning the authenticity of vendors and the products they sell. In this chapter we will elaborate on different perceptions of authenticity and how notions of authenticity are (re)created in social interactions between Maya vendors and tourists. Firstly, we give insight in the several ways in which cultural artefacts are 'authenticated' according to tourists, and how this affects the meanings they ascribe to these products. Secondly, we elaborate on how vendors, both verbally and non-verbally, authenticate the cultural artefacts they sell. Moreover, we demonstrate how the local and handmade production of artefacts is challenged by the presence of tourists. Thirdly, we explain how commoditization of Maya identity results in doubts of tourists surrounding authenticity of Maya vendors and their motives to show their identity. Lastly, we bring these two perspectives on authenticity together and demonstrate how the intentional creation of authenticity by vendors causes paradoxical feelings surrounding the presentation of Maya identity by tourists.

Authenticating Mayas | Annemarie

"Nowadays, there are many imitations of Maya weavings made by big machines. If you don't know the difference, it is difficult to tell and easy to be fooled by buying goods that are not real." A French white man with grey hair explains to a group of tourists how to recognize handmade products. Three Maya women who made the products he is trying to sell, are standing next to him. He continues: "They have had a very difficult time[131], so you should buy their products as a way of recognizing them and their work." At the end of the talk, Jessica, a German tourist who sits next to me, asks me to join her to the table where the products are displayed. While walking towards the table, I ask her whether she is interested in buying a product that tells her something about Maya culture. She replies that she is not; she just wants to find something as a reminder of Guatemala. A pile of little fabric bags, decorated with colourful symbols of animals and utensils, immediately catches her attention. A vendor who is wearing colourful Maya clothing is standing next to the table and notices Jessica's interest. She explains: "The symbols on this bag mean a lot to us. This bird is called '*Quetzal*'. It has a very special meaning. And this one [points to another symbol on the bag] signifies the way we plant the seeds in the ground." Jessica seems intrigued and immediately decides to buy two bags.[132]

A few weeks later, Jessica tells me she became more interested in the meaning of Maya symbols through this event. Because of the woman's explanation, Jessica does not only see the bags as a reminder of Guatemala anymore, but also as a reminder to learn more about Maya culture. Jessica's ideas about Maya culture changed from something she was not specifically interested in, into something that intrigues her. She later explains that not only the conversation with the vendor, but also the presentation of the French guy intrigued her: it convinced her that the products were actually handmade by the Maya women present during the presentation. Through the conversation with the Maya women, Jessica realized how the fabric bags tell her something about the actual, 'real' culture of Guatemala[133]. MacCannell (1973) states that tourism is often motivated by tourists' desires to gain insight in 'the local' and experience 'the real' and 'authentic'. All tourists I spoke with confirmed to prefer and search for authentic products and experiences[134]. The notion

[131] With 'difficult time', the French guy is referring to the civil war of Guatemala.
[132] From fieldnotes 26/03/2019, NGO presentation 'Cooperativa Tejidos Cotzal', Rainbow Café.
[133] From fieldnotes 26/03/2019, NGO presentation 'Cooperativa Tejidos Cotzal', Rainbow Café.
[134] Multiple interviews, from 12/02/2019 to 14/04/2019.

of authenticity is constantly under negotiation and (re)constructed in social processes (Olson 2002, Cohen 1988). The whole of social processes that can result in something to be perceived as authentic, is called authentication (Taylor 2001).

In the situation described above, authentication takes place through transference of knowledge by the vendor. Many tourists state to believe something is 'really Maya' when the vendor has knowledge about the origin and mode of production of the product[135]. Most tourists prefer handmade over machine-made products, since they perceive something handmade as 'more real' and thus as the biggest indicator of authenticity[136]. However, this is conflicting with their desire to buy something cheap, since it takes a lot of time to make something by hand and the price is thus always higher than a machine-made product. Because tourists are not always able to tell exactly when something is handmade or not, they search for other indicators of authenticity[137]. Vendors displaying the mode of production, especially by weaving in front of their market stall, serves as an indicator for tourists to believe the product is handmade. For example: while walking with Jack over the *Mercado de Artesanías*, we stop by a stall with a vendor who is weaving. Jack and the vendor have a little conversation, wherein she explains how she is weaving blankets. Continuing our walk, Jack tells me he would buy from her, because she can explain how she makes her products. Therefore, he believes that her products are more authentic than products from a vendor who cannot elaborate on them[138]. The display of weaving and the explanation of the vendor thus serve as indications of authenticity to Jack.

Connecting the product to the person who made it is also perceived as an indication of authenticity[139]. In the situation described above, this is attained by the French man when saying "you should buy their products as a way of recognizing their work". The products he sells become more than just products. He turns them into cultural artefacts made by the Maya women standing next to him, and thereby connects the products to the producers. Another way to make this connection is by putting information signs above the products. In *Nim Po't* hangs a poster with information about the origin of the products. It contains a picture of three Maya women who are

[135] Interview Marco, 03/03/2019; walking interview Jack, 13/03/2019; walking interview Jessica, 04/04/2019; focus group interview 07/04/2019.
[136] Multiple interviews, from 02/03/2019 to 14/04/2019.
[137] Multiple interviews, from 02/03/2019 to 14/04/2019.
[138] Walking interview Jack 13/03/2019.
[139] Walking interview Jack, 13/03/2019; walking interview Jessica, 04/04/2019; focus group interview 07/04/2019.

weaving and wearing *traje típico*, and the phrases: "weaving for a better world", "connect directly to the producer", and "preserve cultural traditions". This poster proclaims that the products are handmade, weaved, and entail a 'cultural tradition'. When I asked Jessica how she felt about this poster, she said "It is just a way to connect more to the Mayan people."[140] For Jessica, the poster results in a more direct connection between the authenticity of the products and the indigenous people who made it. In the next paragraph, we show how cultural artefacts are perceived and presented as authentic by Maya vendors, and how authenticity is challenged by the adaptation to tourists' preferences.

From *Chino* to *Típico* | Selma

"*Hola*, you want to buy something? Good price for you!" With a loud voice, Sofía offers handicrafts to the groups of people that pass by. Surrounded by decorated tablecloths, napkins, and bracelets that match her colourful outfit, Sofía sits on the pavement in front of Hotel Antigua. Focused on her mobile phone, a woman with a big pair of sunglasses walks through the guarded door of the hotel and lights a cigarette. Surprised by hearing Sofía's voice, she looks up from her phone and glances at Sofía and her products. From behind her dark sunglasses, the woman tells Sofía that she has "hands of an artist". With sparkling eyes, Sofía tells the woman that she started embroidering when she was seven years old. "I raised my six kids by working with my hands" she adds proudly. "My God" answers the woman impressed, while she lifts her sunglasses to take a closer look. "This one took me twelve days" says Sofía while she shows her a tablecloth. Intrigued, the woman asks how the fabric is made. "In order to make this you have to kneel down right?" Nodding convincingly, Sofía confirms the woman and tells her the price. "It is only thirty dollars, way cheaper than in the shops. I make them myself! I also have scarves, different colors! You want to see them?" Before the woman is able to answer, Sofía already handed her a few scarves. "Handmade" ensures Sofía. "Only twenty five dollars". The woman drapes the scarf around her neck. "This is really my color… I like the design… That's from here right?" Again, Sofía nods her head and explains that the products she sells are "*típicas Mayas".* While touching the fabric, the woman looks from Sofía to the scarf. "I want it" she decides, after which she reaches in her bag to get her wallet. "Or give me two, because I admire your work." Sofía beams. "*No problema*!

[140] Walking interview Jessica 04/04/2019.

Gracias, mi amiga."[141] While the woman re-enters the hotel, Sofía contently smiles. "*Gracias a dios,*[142] it is a good day today."[143]

This encounter between Sofía and the woman is illustrative for how ideas surrounding indigenous identity and authenticity are exchanged and negotiated in interactions on the streets of Antigua[144]. As mentioned in the previous paragraph, Olsen (2002) argues that the notion of authenticity is constantly (re)constructed in social practice, which Taylor (2001) conceptualizes as 'authentication'. Although the word 'authentic' is rarely raised by vendors, the terms 'traditional', 'original' and 'typically Maya' are often used to indicate the authenticity of products[145]. In the conversation with the woman, Sofía elaborates on the hand- and self-made production of the cultural artefacts she sells. She thereby emphasizes that her products convey a message about Maya identity by arguing that they are *típicas Mayas*. The woman, on the other hand, expresses her own ideas about what 'real Mayan handicrafts' should be by asking questions about the mode of production and the origin of the scarves. Her questions indicate certain expectations about Sofia's products, and therefore about what 'typically Maya' entails. Although the conversation is short and merely aimed at selling, ideas about what 'really Maya' is are mutually exchanged between Sofía and the woman. In this way, notions surrounding authenticity are exchanged, negotiated and (re)constructed in social interaction between Maya vendors and tourists on the market. Within this negotiation, cultural artefacts are authenticated.

In the conversation between Sofía and the tourist woman, there is a clear emphasis on the mode of production of the cultural artefacts. Many vendors argue that the traditional production of cultural artefacts is a distinguishing feature of Maya identity and is therefore frequently highlighted towards tourists[146,147]. Carlos, a vendor from *San Antonio Aguascalientes*, states that "'a real *artesanía*' is an 'origin', handmade with human labor and emotion."[148] He argues that machine-made handicrafts are merely "imitations" and "copies of 'real *artesanías*'"[149]. Nevertheless, the

[141] "No problem! Thanks my friend!"
[142] "Thanks to God".
[143] Informal conversation Sofía 26/03/2019.
[144] Fieldnotes from 05/03/2019 to 20/04/2019.
[145] Fieldnotes from 05/03/2019 to 20/04/2019.
[146] See chapter three, paragraph 'They come to see us' for further elaboration.
[147] Multiple interviews and informal conversations from 05/03/2019 to 20/04/2019.
[148] Informal conversation Carlos 10/03/2019.
[149] Informal conversation Carlos 10/03/2019.

production of machine-made products requires less time and labor and is therefore way cheaper than the handmade production of cultural artefacts[150]. Despite his personal preference for handmade artefacts, Carlos also sells machine-made products to satisfy tourists' desires for cheap products[151]. Many other vendors confirm to include machine-made handicrafts in their assortment to fulfil tourists' demand for lower prices[152].

While Magda, a vendor who owns a stall in the *Mercado de Artesanías*, holds a handmade tablecloth in one hand and a machine-made tablecloth in the other, she explains: "This one is handmade and therefore more expensive, but it is made with time and attention. This one [machine-made tablecloth] is the work of '*Chinos'*[153]. It is not purely Guatemalan, but an imitation made by a machine"[154]. Vendors frequently use the term '*Chino*' when they talk about machine-made products. Although the term refers to China, the well-known, highly industrialized country that distributes machine-made products worldwide, the products are not necessarily made in China[155]. To many vendors, the term '*Chino*' became a symbol for machine-made and globalized production of goods and is therefore contradictory to local and handmade cultural artefacts that are sold as *típicas Mayas*[156].

The distinction between machine-made '*Chino'* and handmade '*típicas'* indicates a friction between perceptions of 'the modern' and 'the traditional'. Following MacCannell's (1973) line of thought, the term '*Chino*' refers to a globalized and industrialized world and can therefore be seen as a symbol for 'modernity'. The presence of 'modernity' on the market of Antigua, by means of machine-made products, challenges what is perceived and presented as 'traditional' and 'authentically Maya'. As a result of the increased machine-made production of 'traditional cultural artefacts', many Maya vendors on the market wear machine-made *traje típico*[157]. Vendors prefer machine-made *traje típico* because this is more economical and visually similar to the handmade

[150] Multiple interviews and informal conversations from 05/03/2019 to 20/04/2019.
[151] Informal conversation Carlos 10/03/2019.
[152] Multiple interviews and informal conversations from 05/03/2019 to 20/04/2019.
[153] The literal translation of the words 'Chinos' or 'Chino' is 'Chinese.' However, these terms are frequently used to refer to products that are made in big numbers and by machine.
[154] Interview Magda 04/04/2019.
[155] Interview Sílvia, 10/03/2019; informal conversation Magda, 04/04/2019; interview Elisa, 31/03/2019; interview Sofía, 26/03/2019; interview Carlos, 09/04/2019.
[156] Multiple interviews and informal conversations from 05/03/2019 to 20/04/2019.
[157] Interview Juana, 14/03/2019; interview Magda, 04/04/2019; interview Sílvia, 10/03/2019; informal conversation Maria 09/03/2019; informal conversation Melisa, 07/03/2019; informal conversation Alejandra 26/03/2019.

version[158]. Although their machine-made *güipils* are 'touched by modernity', they still remain to perceive them as their 'traditional dress'. Bruner (1994) argues that the crucial question is how people themselves think about objects and people as authentic, rather than emphasize the dichotomy between what is, and what is not authentic. Juana smilingly shows her machine-made *güipil* with the recognizable design of *San Antonio Aguascalientes*, and tells me that she bought it for only 300 *Quetzales*[159]. To Juana, this *güipil* remains to be a representation of her Maya identity because it contains the design of 'her' village *San Antonio Aguascalientes.* Therefore, she does not perceive her machine-made *güipil* as 'inauthentic', but rather as a 'modernized' and cheaper version of 'traditional'. This shows how the notion of authenticity is challenged by 'modernity', but that these two values are not necessarily contradictory.

However, many vendors argue that tourists are explicitly looking for products that are 'local' and 'handmade' because they associate these features with 'authenticity' and 'typically Maya.'[160] By emphatically presenting cultural artefacts as local and handmade, and therefore authenticating them, the association with 'modernity' is avoided. Sílvia and other vendors argue that many vendors on the market present their handicrafts as 'handmade', whereas the products are actually mass produced by machines[161]. Hence, handicrafts are represented differently in order to attract tourists' and meet their expectations. MacCannell (1973) refers to the mechanism of 'authenticating' products aimed to meet tourists' expectations of authenticity as 'staged authenticity'. He therefore argues that encounters between vendors and tourists are merely a 'staged social performance' shaped by tourists' preferences. As illustrated in the beginning of this paragraph, Sofía catches the woman's attention by embroidering her products 'live' on the street. Because Sofía gives insight in the traditional and handmade production of cultural artefacts, the woman's expectations of Maya identity and authenticity are reinforced. Later on, Sofía explains: "tourists want original, handmade products. In this way [embroidering on the street], I show that my products are self-made and traditional products."[162] By showing the mode of production, Sofía

[158] Interview Juana, 14/03/2019; interview Magda, 04/04/2019; interview Sílvia, 10/03/2019; informal conversation Maria 09/03/2019; informal conversation Melisa, 07/03/2019; informal conversation Alejandra 26/03/2019.
[159] Approximately 34,55 euros. Normally handmade *güipils* cost around 6000 Quetzales which is approximately 685,70 euros.
[160] Multiple interviews and informal conversations from 08/03/2019 to 15/04/2019.
[161] Multiple interviews and informal conversations from 05/03/2019 to 20/04/2019.
[162] Informal conversation Sofía 05/03/2019.

'proves' the authentic value of her products in social interaction with the woman and therefore authenticates them. Since working 'live' on the street is aimed to satisfy tourists' expectations of authenticity, it can be perceived as a 'staged social performance' shaped by tourists' preferences. In the next paragraph we will elaborate on how the authentication of products is experienced by tourists on the market of Antigua.

Questioning authenticity | Annemarie

As discussed in chapter four, many tourists perceive the ways vendors present themselves and their products as a marketing strategy, adapted to tourists' desires[163]. As a result, tourists perceive the presentation of indigenous identity as commoditized[164]. Through this realization, not only the products, but also the vendors lose some of their authenticity for tourists. As Ralph, a Canadian tourist who is travelling with his wife around Guatemala, elaborates: "In theory, Mayas themselves could actually be wearing what they want to wear, but we know that is a tourist perception. We know that is what they want to sell, and we know there is this thins and bits of circularity about what people perceive to be what Mayan is, and therefore what they are going to try and sell to you as Mayan, regardless of what they actually… You know, what they actually wear in their own time or wherever else."[165] This quote describes Ralph's doubts concerning the presentation of Maya vendors on the market. His idea that vendors might wear their *traje típico* because that is what tourists want to see, results for him in the loss of authenticity of Maya vendors. He feels like Maya vendors are 'putting up a show' for tourists in order to show them authenticity. As mentioned in the previous paragraph, MacCannell (1973) conceptualizes the social performance aimed at tourists in order to meet their expectations of authenticity as 'staged authenticity'. In the marketplace in Antigua, Ralph and other tourists expect to see certain forms of authenticity in relation to indigenous identity, for example Maya vendors wearing *traje típico*[166] or Maya vendors weaving on the market to show the tradition of making Maya fabric by hand[167]. Ralph and other

[163] Interview Oscar, 02/03/2019; photo-elicitation interview Ralph and Laura, 07/03/2019; interview Jane, 25/03/2019; interview Clara, 30/03/2019.
[164] See end of chapter four for an elaboration on this point.
[165] Quote from Ralph, photo-elicitation interview Ralph and Laura 07/03/2019.
[166] As for example expressed by Stephanie (interview 14/04/2019) in her quote in chapter three.
[167] As for example expressed by Jack (walking interview 13/03/2019), in the first paragraph of this chapter, where he explains how displaying weaving can serve as a mode of authentication.

tourists perceive this behaviour to be 'staged' since they feel like the main reason why it is 'showed' to them is because of their presence[168].

Moreover, Ralph explains how he experiences vendors presenting 'to be Mayan'. According to him, their presentation is not only based on how they intrinsically perceive their indigenous identity themselves, but also adapted to the expectations of tourists. The constant representation of a certain culture based on tourism imaginaries is what Tegelberg (2013) defines as 'circles of representation'. As Ralph explains about the (re)presentation of Maya vendors, the constant negotiation between tourists and Maya vendors about what is 'the real Maya' results in 'circles of representation'. As Jessica states: *"*Mayas adapt to tourists, and tourists adapt to this adaption. Do you understand what I am saying? Mayas present themselves differently to tourists [...]. And tourists only see this form of Maya culture, and so they adapt to this image."[169] The 'circulating ideas about representation' (Salazar 2012) thus both originate from and are sustained by the adaptation of Maya vendors to tourist expectations[170].

Paradoxically, the moment tourists realize that what they are seeing is 'staged' and adapted to their expectations, they immediately doubt the authenticity of it. This makes playing into tourist desires of authenticity precarious, since tourists should not realize that what they see is staged. It reduces the value of authenticity, the thing that is strived towards the most. As MacCannell (1999) states, a touristic experience of authenticity is by definition perceived as inauthentic because the tourist destroys the authentic by its presence. Especially in Antigua, which is often described as 'a tourist bubble' and 'not the real Guatemala', tourists express their difficulties in finding something 'authentically Maya', exactly due to the high amount of tourists present. However, the tourists I spoke with do not experience the presence of tourism in Antigua by definition as inauthentic. They do question whether what they see is authentic or not, and thus whether the message about indigenous identity that is conveyed is true. It is not the dichotomy between what is authentic and what is not, but instead how different interpretations and meanings of authenticity are (re)shaped within social practices (Bruner 1994). In the marketplace of Antigua, social practices such as personal encounters between Maya vendors and tourists and the presentation of indigenous

[168] Multiple interviews, from 02/03/2019 to 04/04/2019.
[169] Informal conversation Jessica 05/04/2019.
[170] This works the other way around as well: tourists adapt their expectations to (what they know from) the ways Maya vendors present themselves.

identity[171], result in tourists doubting authenticity. As Clara notices: "I was really wondering about that. Are these people walking around in these beautiful clothes for us, or for real?"[172] Clara exactly points out the friction here: when tourists think Maya vendors adapt themselves to tourist expectations of 'the real Maya', they immediately doubt the authenticity of it.

Conclusion

Authentication of cultural artefacts takes place in encounters between tourists and Maya vendors. Therefore, notions of authenticity are continuously (re)shaped and negotiated when selling cultural artefacts. Within this negotiation, Maya vendors extensively elaborate on the origins of the cultural artefacts and their mode of production. Tourists consider vendors' knowledge as an important aspect to perceive something as authentic and thereby prefer to see a connection between the vendor and its products. The handmade and local production of cultural artefacts is frequently emphasized in interactions between tourists and Maya vendors, since this is considered as a significant feature of authenticity by both tourists and Mayas. The presence of machine-made products on the market causes a friction between 'the modern' and 'the traditional' and challenges perceptions and presentations of authenticity. To authenticate their products, vendors emphasize 'authentic' features towards tourists. However, because this exposure is aimed to meet tourists' expectations of authenticity, it can be perceived as a 'staged social performance'. As a result, tourists experience the presentation of Maya identity and its authenticity as something 'staged' and question the 'realness' of what is presented to them.

[171] See chapter four for an elaboration on how personal encounters and presentation of indigenous identity take place.
[172] Interview Clara 30/03/2019, about Maya vendors and their *traje típico* in the central park. With 'us', she is referring to 'the tourists'.

Discussion and conclusion | Selma & Annemarie

In this research we aimed to answer the following question: 'How do tourists and Mayas negotiate and (re)present indigenous identity and perceptions of authenticity in the marketplace in Antigua, Guatemala?' We investigated how notions surrounding indigenous identity and authenticity are (re)presented and negotiated between tourists and Maya vendors. Tourism, as a beneficiary and vehicle of globalization, brings people with different cultural backgrounds together, which results in intercultural dialogue and intercultural exchange (Teo & Li 2003, 290; Meethan 2001). Antigua, as a popular tourist destination, served as a suitable place to research intercultural exchange due to its high amount of visitors and Maya vendors. Tourist markets, as places of social and economic encounters (Applbaum 2003, Little 2004), serve as spaces where intercultural exchange between tourists and Maya vendors takes place. By looking through the lens of tourism imaginaries, we found that notions of indigenous identity and authenticity are closely intertwined and constantly negotiated. In order to gain insight in this negotiation, we focussed on the perspectives of both tourists and Maya vendors.

We conducted our research on the same locations, but with different informants. Therefore, our three empirical chapters are closely intertwined and entail the dialogue between tourists and Maya vendors on the marketplace in Antigua. The insights of our empirical chapters aim to represent a holistic understanding of the market as a space of negotiation and intercultural exchange. In this chapter, we bring the insights of our theoretical framework and our empirical chapters together. First, we argue what role tourism imaginaries play within the (re)construction of indigenous identity. Secondly, we explain how cultural artefacts are vehicles of Maya identity and how they are commoditized. Thirdly, we discuss how not only cultural artefacts but also indigenous identity is commoditized. Thereafter, we argue how commoditization of cultural artefacts and indigenous identity results in tourists questioning authenticity of both Maya vendors and the products they sell. We conclude by reflecting on our research and discussing gaps and possible topics that could receive more attention in further research.

By conducting a complementary research with both tourists and Maya vendors in Antigua, we gained insight in which different ideas and expectations exist surrounding Maya identity. By using Leite's (2014) multidimensional conceptualization of tourism imaginaries as lens for our research, we were able to gain insight in the different actors and mechanisms in the (re)construction

of tourism imaginaries. By focussing on the negotiation between expectations and imaginings of tourists and the self-conscious collective identity of Maya vendors, we analyzed what role these aspects play within the (re)construction of imaginaries surrounding Maya identity. We discovered that many tourists visiting Antigua do not have clear expectations of what Maya identity entails, but that they associate Mayas with 'something from the past'. This image causes friction with the realization that Mayas are not 'untouched by modernity'. Tourists struggle to give 'the modern day Maya' a place within their imaginings. Encounters with Maya vendors challenge their expectations, which confirms Salazar's (2012) conceptualization of tourism imaginaries as dynamic and changeable.

The dynamic character of tourism imaginaries is confirmed by tourists who stay in Antigua for a longer period. Since they are able to start more profound relations with Mayas, they feel like they get a more complete image of what Maya identity entails. Thereby, they realize that the representation of Maya identity towards tourists, is rather a 'superficial' image, due to the fleetingness of tourism in Antigua. This statement is confirmed by Maya vendors who state that tourists' imaginaries surrounding Maya identity are based on the most recognizable identity markers and therefore are an incomplete image of what 'Maya identity' entails. Recognizable identity markers like *traje típico* and the tradition of weaving are considered important within the expression of Maya identity, but are not a complete representation of what it entails. Many vendors state that their experience of indigenousness is merely based on the knowledge that they descend from an indigenous origin. However, since many Maya vendors are conscious that tourists are attracted to these markers, they emphasize them while encountering tourists. Barth (1969) states that identity is (re)constructed in a dialectic process with 'the Other.' Because of the presence of tourists in Antigua, Maya vendors' perceptions of their own indigenous change as they become more aware of the 'distinguishing features' of Maya identity. Nagel (2003) states that representing a culture according to a certain image results in the 'performativity of being different'. The emphasis on recognizable identity markers towards tourists is exemplary for this 'performativity' and results in a distinction between Mayas' perceptions and representation of their identity.

As a result of the increase of tourism in Antigua, tourists became an important source of income for locals. In order to benefit from the presence of tourists, Maya vendors emphasize identity markers tourists find interesting. MacCannell (1973) states that indigenous identity is used as a tool to attract tourists. To do so, indigenous identity is expressed by means of cultural artefacts,

personal encounters and the presentation of vendors towards tourists. In encounters, vendors mostly emphasize the traditional mode of production of cultural artefacts and its connection to Maya identity. Salazar (2009) states that in the process of commoditization, traditional and cultural values are transformed into commercial ones aimed to meet tourist expectations and desires. Since cultural artefacts on the market in Antigua become primarily evaluated in terms of their exchange value they are commoditized. Cultural artefacts are modified to meet tourists' desires to buy practical souvenirs that convey a message about Maya culture. By modifying cultural artefacts, global desires of tourists are integrated into local products which results in 'glocal' products as conceptualized by Roudometof (2015).

Cohen (1988) states that tourist-oriented products can serve as a vehicle of self-presentation to an external public. Despite the commoditization of cultural artefacts into commercial objects, they continue to be a vehicle of expression of indigenous identity according to Maya vendors. Steiner (1994) argues that cultural artefacts, and the ways in which they are presented to tourists, mediate ideas and cultural knowledge. By emphasizing the 'cultural value' and their connection to Maya identity, ideas surrounding Maya identity are transmitted from vendor to tourist. Applbaum (2005) emphasizes the importance of presentation of products and states that "the presentation becomes part of the commodities itself". By showing and explaining about the origin and mode of production of cultural artefacts and exposing the connection between cultural artefact and vendor, cultural artefacts are authenticated as conceptualized by Taylor (2001). We observed that vendors' presentation of cultural artefacts contributes to tourists' perceptions of products as conveying a message about Maya identity. Maya vendors anticipate on this mechanism by emphasizing aspects that are linked to 'Maya identity' like the meaning of 'Maya symbols' and the traditional mode of production.

However, commoditization and tourists' demands for cheap souvenirs inevitably resulted in the mass production of cultural artefacts. Vendors refer to these products as '*Chino*' which can be analyzed as a symbol for 'modernity'. The presence of modernity, by means of machine-made products, on the market causes a friction between 'the modern' and 'traditional'. Bruner (1994) argues that the crucial question is how people themselves think about objects and people as authentic, rather than emphasize the dichotomy between what is, and what is not authentic. Vendors' perceptions of 'tradition' and authenticity are dynamic since machine-made products are nowadays perceived as a 'modernized' version of 'traditional'. Nevertheless, tourists desire local

and handmade products instead of machine-made ones, which makes it urgent for vendors to present cultural artefacts by their authentic features.

Following Cohen's (1988) definition of commoditization, not only cultural artefacts but also Maya identity is commoditized since the presentation of Maya identity gets a commercial purpose. Since Cohen (1988) merely focuses on commoditization of 'things and activities', our findings are an addition to his theory. We found that (the expression of) identity can be commoditized and conversed from a multilayered 'culture' into an object of consumption. However, tourists question the meaning of commoditized products. They doubt whether the message concerning Maya identity vendors convey is true, or merely catered at tourists as a marketing-strategy. The conversion of a multilayered 'culture' into objects of consumption thus results in an essentialized and compressed image of cultural identity as argued by Tegelberg (2013) and Stronza (2001). When tourists realize vendors present their Maya identity as a medium to make a better sale, they perceive authenticity to be 'staged' (MacCannell 1973). According to MacCannell (1999), a touristic experience of authenticity is by definition inauthentic because the tourist destroys the authentic by its presence.

However, we found that tourists do not consider authenticity to be destroyed by their presence, but rather that their presence makes them question the authenticity. It is thus not the dichotomy between what is authentic and what is not, but instead how different interpretations and meanings of authenticity are (re)shaped within social practices (Bruner 1994). In the marketplace of Antigua, social practices such as personal encounters between tourists and Maya vendors and presentation of Maya identity result in tourists questioning the authenticity of Maya vendors. In order to experience something authentic, tourists want to forget vendors' economic motives to 'show' indigenous identity. Therefore, commoditization of indigenous identity blurs notions of authenticity. There is thus a precarious line between the propagation of indigenous identity as contributing to tourists' experiences of encountering indigenous identity, and on the other side, making tourists question the authenticity of the indigenous identity of Maya vendors.

By researching social dynamics on the market in Antigua, we were able to trace down the local outplay of the theoretical concepts 'authenticity' and 'imaginaries' and gain insight into the dialectic processes of identity (re)construction. The marketplace has proven to be a fruitful location to research the negotiation between tourists and Mayas surrounding indigenous identity and authenticity. However, due to the limited timeframe and scope of this research, we were not able

to include all aspects that showed up as relevant in the field. Several aspects remain underexposed, and could be relevant as focus for further research.

A topic that we did not elaborate on in this thesis is the colonial history of Guatemala, and specifically of Antigua. For further research it might be interesting to include Antigua's colonial history as a contrasting decor for the considerable presence of 'Maya culture' in the city. Antigua, as a tourist destination, is often advocated by its cultural heritage and colonial architecture[173]. Therefore, these aspects are inevitably part of the tourism imaginaries surrounding the city and impact tourists' expectations in relation to indigenous identity and authenticity. It might be interesting to study the role of the (formerly) colonial environment in the (re)construction of ideas about Maya identity and authenticity from a tourist perspective. In addition, it would be interesting to conduct a complementary research to how Mayas relate to this 'colonial decor' in expressing their Maya identity since the colonial period has had a considerable impact on how Mayas were positioned in the Guatemalan society.

Another aspect left out in this thesis is gender. In the context of the marketplace in Antigua, we noticed that female vendors are more often wearing *traje típico* than male vendors. The main explanation given by several male and female vendors we spoke to, is that the amount of men wearing *traje típico* has been decreasing for the last few decades. Therefore, most men do not consider it as part of their tradition anymore[174]. Several tourists noticed this difference. Most of them conclude that there must be unequal gender relations within Maya culture, since Maya women still 'need' to act according to the tradition, whereas men can 'dress how they want to'[175]. The difference in expression of Maya identity between men and women thus contributes to tourists' ideas about indigenous identity. A follow-up research focusing on imaginaries surrounding gender relations within Maya culture could contribute to the analysis of the negotiation between tourists and Mayas concerning authenticity and indigenous identity.

Lastly, it might be interesting to conduct a more profound study to the role of social media in the (re)construction of tourism imaginaries surrounding Maya identity and authenticity. Since the Internet, and specifically social media, plays a big part in the (re)creation of tourism imaginaries, it is relevant to trace down how this medium is used by Mayas to (re)present

[173] Informal conversation INGUAT 27/02/2019, interview INGUAT 02/04/2019.
[174] Multiple fieldnotes Annemarie and Selma, from 04/03/2019 to 03/04/2019.
[175] Multiple interviews Annemarie, from 02/03/2019 to 14/04/2019.

themselves to the world in virtual space. During our fieldwork we found several initiatives that use social media to reach a larger audience to convey their message about Maya identity and therefore take an active position in the creation of imaginaries. Web shops and Instagram accounts are examples of the media used to convey a message about Maya identity and to promote cultural artefacts on a world stage. Focusing on the use of social media within the negotiation of indigenous identity and authenticity could contribute to Tegelberg's (2013) study about agency of local Mayas by active use of online media to present and position themselves to tourists.

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Appendix A: Glossary

Artesanías There are multiple definitions of what *artesanías* entail. In this thesis, they could be described as handicrafts that are 'typical' for Guatemala or Maya culture. The term is alternately used with *'típicas Mayas'*, handicrafts, and souvenirs.

Chino The literal translation of the word 'Chino' is 'Chinese'. However, these terms are frequently used by Maya vendors to refer to products that are made in big numbers and by machine.

Güipil The upper part of *traje típico* of Maya women. Every indigenous village has its own güipil with a recognizable design. Therefore, güipils are also meaningful cultural artefacts to Mayas.

INGUAT *Instituto Guatemalteco de Turismo*, or the Guatemalan Tourism Institute.

Kaqchikel An ethnolinguistic Maya group that mainly lives in the departments *Chimaltenango*, *Sacatepéquez*, and *Sololá*. *Kaqchikel* is also the name of the traditional language of this ethnolinguistic group. Many vendors in Antigua identify as *Kaqchikel*.

K'iche' An ethnolinguistic Maya group that mainly lives in the departments *el Quiché, Quetzaltenango, Sololá* and *Totonicapan.* The language the *K'iche'* originally speak has the same name. Many vendors in Antigua identify as *K'iche'*.

Marimba A xylophone-like instrument that is played by multiple persons. The music is very popular throughout Guatemala and is often played on special occasions. Many villages have their own Marimba band.

Mercado de Artesanías The most well-known authorized handicraft market of Antigua, especially aimed at tourists. In 1984, the municipality of Antigua constructed this place in anticipation of the growing number of tourists and vendors.

Nim Po't A big indoor souvenir hall where cultural artefacts are sold. On their website[176], they describe themselves as 'Traditional Textiles and Handicrafts Center'.

Parque central Central park of Antigua Guatemala.

Típicas (Mayas) Many products sold by vendors in Antigua are presented as '*típicas Mayas*'. Translated this means 'typical Maya products'. Some Mayas explain that the designs and symbols convey a message about Maya culture, others merely emphasize the mode of production.

San Antonio Aguascalientes Village on eight kilometers away from Antigua Guatemala. *San Antonio Aguascalientes* is by INGUAT promoted as the closest place from Antigua where you can see 'Living Maya culture'[177].

Traje típico The traditional dress of Mayas. Historically, men also worn *traje típico*, but nowadays it is mostly Maya women who wear this traditional dress. The *traje típico* of women generally consists of a *güipil* and a *corte* [a skirt]. Although the designs vary, all ethnolinguistic Maya groups have a *traje típico* which has symbolic meanings.

[176] www.nimpotexport.com
[177] Interview Sasha, employee of the INGUAT office in Antigua, 02/04/2019.

Appendix B: Summary

In this research we investigated how ideas and expectations surrounding Maya identity and authenticity are negotiated between tourists and Maya vendors in the marketplace of Antigua, Guatemala. As part of this research, we have conducted a complementary ethnographic fieldwork in Antigua, from the 25th of February until the 20th of April 2019. The fieldwork took place on several locations where cultural artefacts are sold from Maya vendors to tourists. Among these places are the central park, the streets of Antigua, several organized tourist markets and smaller 'souvenir shops'. Since 'the market' is one of the main places where tourists and Maya vendors meet, it is a fruitful location to analyze the negotiation of imaginaries surrounding Maya identity and 'authenticity'. To capture both perspectives of this negotiation, Annemarie focussed on tourists' ideas and expectations, while Selma focussed on Maya vendors'. Together, these practices formed a complementary understanding of how notions surrounding indigenous identity and authenticity are continuously (re)constructed on the market in Antigua.

Tourists often associate 'Maya culture' with something from the past and are confused by seeing the juxtaposition of Mayas to 'modernity'. Most Maya vendors state that Maya identity is in constant development, but also argue that several traditions - like speaking traditional languages, wearing traditional clothes and the art of weaving - are maintained and are still considered important identity markers. Therefore, the friction between 'modern' and 'traditional' is a significant factor within the negotiation of what Maya identity entails. The presence of tourists in Antigua impacts Mayas' perceptions of their own identity, since identity (re)construction takes place in a dialectic process between identity ascription by 'the self' and by 'the Other'. The concept of 'authenticity' is closely related to what is considered 'really Maya' by both tourists and vendors. The question whether something is 'really Maya' is constructed in a continuous negotiation between tourists and Maya vendors.

In this research we found that there are several ways by which ideas surrounding indigenous identity and authenticity can be conveyed: cultural artefacts, personal encounters between tourists and vendors, and the presentation of Maya identity by vendors and their products. Cultural artefacts are often associated with Maya identity by both vendors and tourists because they contain traditional symbols and are traditionally weaved by hand. Therefore, cultural artefacts sold on the market are perceived as intercultural mediators that tell something about 'Maya

culture'. Most encounters between tourists and Maya vendors revolve around cultural artefacts. By giving explanations about the origin, meaning and mode of production of the artefacts, vendors provide information surrounding Maya identity to their potential clients and therefore make their products more attractive. Providing information about the 'traditional value' of cultural artefacts is a way of authenticating products, a process that takes place in social interaction between vendors and tourists. Tourists argue they value the knowledge of the vendor and perceive products as more 'authentic' when the vendor is able to explain about its products.

Thereby, tourists generally perceive products more 'authentic' when they are handmade and when there is a clear (visible) connection between the products and the person who sells them. Wearing traditional clothes (*traje típico)* is a part of the presentation of cultural artefacts and is, perceived by vendors as something that attracts tourists. However, cultural artefacts are modified into souvenirs to sell and therefore obtain an economical purpose, which results in commoditization. Although cultural artefacts are commoditized, they remain to be 'traditional' and 'typically Maya' according to vendors, and therefore an expression of Maya identity. Tourists, on the other hand, are conscious that the majority of products are commoditized and modified to improve the sale. The knowledge that products are adapted on tourists' preferences causes that tourists question the 'traditional value' and therefore the 'authenticity' of products. To 'prove' authenticity of products, vendors aim to make a visible connection between them and the products they sell. They do this, among other things, by giving insight in the mode of production by elaborating products 'live' on the streets. This action also can be defined as the 'authentication' of products. Both vendors are aware that tourists are attracted by *traje típico*, but none of the vendors we spoke to state to wear *traje típico* with the main motive to attract tourists and improve their sale since it is also considered an important intrinsic expression of identity.

Nevertheless, because tourists perceive products to be commoditized and modified according to tourists' expectations, they start questioning vendors' motives to express their Maya identity. Tourists think that vendors wear *traje típico* and express their identity for economic reasons. Therefore, tourists perceive that 'Maya identity' is commoditized and their authenticity is therefore questioned. When tourists think vendors present their identity in order to improve their sales, they perceive the authenticity of Maya identity as 'staged'. In order to be perceived as 'really' and 'authentically Maya' by tourists, vendors should hide their motives to sell products. We found that tourists question authenticity in the presence of tourism. However, the notion of

authenticity does not refer necessarily to the dichotomy between what is authentic and what is not, but consists of different interpretations and perceptions which are (re)shaped in social practice. There is thus a precarious line between the propagation of indigenous identity and authenticity as contributing to the tourist experience of encountering indigenous identity, and on the other side making tourists doubt about the authenticity of the indigenous identity of vendors.

Appendix C: *Resumen*

En el siguiente estudio hemos investigado como las ideas y las expectativas alrededor de la identidad y de la autenticidad Maya son negociadas entre los turistas y los vendedores Mayas en el mercado de Antigua, Guatemala. Como parte de esta investigación, hemos adjuntado un estudio etnográfico de campo complementario en Antigua, desde el 25 de febrero hasta el 20 de abril de 2019. El estudio de campo fue realizado en diferentes lugares donde los objetos culturales son vendidos por los vendedores Mayas a los turistas. Entre estos lugares encontramos el parque central, las calles de Antigua, algunos mercados para turistas y algunas tiendas de souvenirs. El mercado, que es uno de los principales lugares donde los turistas y los vendedores Mayas se encuentran, es un fructífero lugar para analizar la negociación alrededor del imaginario de la identidad y autenticidad Maya. Para capturar ambas perspectivas de esta negociación, Annemarie se centró en las ideas y expectativas de los turistas, mientras Selma se centró en los vendedores Mayas. De forma conjunta, estas prácticas han formado un entendimiento complementario sobre cómo las nociones alrededor de la identidad y autenticidad indígena son reconstruidas en el mercado de Antigua.

Los turistas asocian a menudo la cultura Maya con algo del pasado y están confundidos cuando ven la yuxtaposición de los Mayas con la modernidad. La mayoría de los vendedores Mayas afirman que la identidad Maya está en constante desarrollo, pero argumentan que algunas tradiciones, como el habla de las lenguas tradicionales, el uso de *traje típico* y el arte de tejer, se mantienen y todavía son consideradas importantes marcadores de la identidad Maya. A su vez, la fricción entre lo moderno y lo tradicional es un factor significante dentro de la negociación de lo que implica la identidad Maya. La presencia de turistas en Antigua tiene efecto en la percepción que tienen los Mayas sobre su propia identidad, ya que la reconstrucción de la identidad tuvo lugar en un proceso dialéctico entre la adscripción por si misma y por "el Otro". El concepto de autenticidad está estrechamente relacionado con lo que se considera la realidad Maya, tanto por los turistas como por los vendedores. La cuestión entre si algo es realmente "Maya" está sujeta a la continua negociación entre turistas y vendedores.

En esta investigación hemos encontrado que hay varios caminos por los cuales, las ideas alrededor de la identidad y la autenticidad indígena pueden ser expresadas: artefactos culturales, encuentros personales entre turistas y vendedores y la presentación de la identidad Maya por los

vendedores y sus productos. Los artefactos culturales son frecuentemente asociados con la identidad Maya tanto por los vendedores como por los turistas porque contienen símbolos tradicionales y están tejidos a mano tradicionalmente. Además, los artefactos culturales vendidos en el mercado son percibidos como mediadores interculturales que dicen algo sobre la cultura Maya. La mayoría de los encuentros entre los turistas y los vendedores Mayas giran alrededor de los artefactos culturales. Gracias a explicaciones dadas sobre el origen, significado y modo de producción de los artefactos, los vendedores dan información sobre la identidad Maya a sus potenciales clientes y además hacen sus productos más atractivos. Dar información sobre el valor tradicional de los artefactos culturales es una forma de autenticar los productos, un proceso que tiene lugar en una interacción entre el vendedor y el turista. Los turistas defienden que ellos valoran el conocimiento del comerciante y perciben los productos como más auténticos cuando el comerciante es capaz de explicar cosas sobre estos productos. De esta forma, los turistas perciben generalmente los productos más auténticos cuando están hechos a mano y cuando hay una conexión visible entre los productos y la persona que los vende. Llevar el traje típico es parte de la presentación de los artefactos culturales y es percibido por los comerciantes como algo que atrae a los turistas. Sin embargo, los artefactos culturales son transformados en souvenirs para venderlos y además, obtener un beneficio económico, lo que es el resultado de la mercantilización.

Aunque los artefactos culturales están mercantilizados, siguen siendo tradicionales y típicos de la cultura Maya de acuerdo con los vendedores, y además son una expresión de la identidad Maya. Los turistas, por otro lado, son conscientes de que la mayoría de los productos están mercantilizados y modificados para mejorar la venta. El conocimiento de que los productos están adaptados para las preferencias de los turistas, lleva a los propios turistas a preguntarse el valor tradicional y además la autenticidad de los productos. Para probar la autenticidad de los productos, los comerciantes, intentan hacer una conexión visible entre ellos y los productos que venden. Hacen esto, entre otras cosas, con el objetivo de dar una perspectiva del modo de producción al elaborar productos “en vivo” en las calles. Esta acción también puede ser definida como la autenticación de los productos. Los vendedores son conscientes de que el *traje típico* atrae a los turistas pero ninguno de ellos afirma que llevan el *traje típico* con este objetivo, ni el de mejorar la venta de los productos; simplemente está considerado como una importante expresión intrínseca de la identidad.

Sin embargo, debido a que muchos turistas perciben que los productos están mercantilizados y modificados de acuerdo a las expectativas de los turistas con el objetivo de mejorar la venta, empieza a cuestionar los motivos de los vendedores para expresar su identidad Maya. Los turistas piensan que los vendedores llevan el *traje típico* y expresan su identidad por motivos económicos. Además, los turistas perciben la identidad Maya como algo mercantil y su autenticidad es puesta en duda. Cuando los turistas piensas que los vendedores presentan su identidad para mejorar sus ventas, ellos perciben la autenticidad de la identidad Maya como una "puesta en escena". Con el objetivo de que los turistas los perciban como reales y auténticos, los vendedores deben ocultar sus motivos para vender los productos. Descubrimos que los turistas cuestionan la autenticidad en la presencia del turismo. Sin embargo, la noción de "autenticidad" no se refiere necesariamente a la dicotomía entre lo que es auténtico y lo que no lo es, sino que consiste en diferentes interpretaciones y percepciones que están (re)formuladas en la práctica social. Por lo tanto, existe una delgada línea entre la propagación de la identidad indígena y la autenticidad, que se suma a la experiencia turística de encontrar la identidad indígena, y por otro lado, hacen que los turistas duden sobre la autenticidad de la identidad indígena de los vendedores.