

# Outside of social movements:

## Dilemmas of indigenous handicrafts vendors in Guatemala

### ABSTRACT

In Antigua, Guatemala, Maya handicrafts vendors work in a tourism marketplace that brings together multiple ethnolinguistic groups and international visitors. In this article I discuss the interrelationship between occupation and social movements to examine the essentialized identities propagated by the Maya Movement and Ladino racism. I argue that making a living helps shape the interrelated processes of economic and political mobilization. I use work and local political contexts, in particular, to illustrate why vendors do not embrace established social movements. [*political identity, social movements, Mayas, handicrafts vendors, Guatemala*]

For Maya handicrafts vendors who work in Antigua, Guatemala, being “Maya” and acting politically are part of daily life. The dynamics of this interrelationship, however, play out in a variety of ways that do not necessarily lead to vendors’ participation in the Maya Movement (el Movimiento Maya), which is oriented around the politics of being Maya (Esquit Choy and Gálvez Borrell 1997; Fischer 2002; Fischer and Brown 1996b; Warren 1998b), or in class- and labor-based social movements, which are unified around occupational specialization and shared concepts of socioeconomic position in Guatemalan society (Bastos and Camus 1993; Hale 1994; Warren 1998a). Since the early 1990s, these social movements have engendered debates about Maya identity, which revolve around “the reactions that different political sectors” have to the Maya Movement’s attempt to politically unify Mayas on the basis of shared ethnicity and cultural identity (Warren 1998a:166).

The ethnographic example I present here illustrates why economically and politically minded actors do not always choose the cultural paradigms of contemporary social movements for social, economic, and political mobilization. Despite the fact that being “Maya” is important to handicrafts vendors, committing to a particular type of social movement limits them politically as they present their identity to tourists to whom they sell their wares, to Ladino (non-Maya Guatemalan) officials from whom they seek sanctioned and safe locations in which to sell, and to themselves and other Mayas in the course of maintaining their integration into the marketplace and their respective communities.

Recent scholarship that addresses social movements and identity politics (Alvarez et al. 1998; Campbell 1994; Escobar and Alvarez 1992; Fischer and Brown 1996b; Hale 1997; Nelson 1999; Paulson 2000; Radcliffe and Westwood 1993; Warren 1998b) has tended to ignore the dynamic between work and political identity and has not sufficiently addressed the essentialisms of cultural fundamentalism and racism that contribute to concepts of political identity.<sup>1</sup> Looking specifically at how Mayas handicrafts vendors use identity instrumentally can illuminate why they do not embrace the Maya Movement. These vendors practice their identities both

within an economic space, in which Maya identity is, in part constituted by tourists' interests, and within a political space, in which ethnic and occupational identity is tied to Ladino racism. Maya handicrafts vendors' livelihoods, as constituted through the practices of selling and political action, are caught within these dual essentialisms, making vendors cautious about joining established social movements.

Among the diverse Maya handicrafts vendors working in Antigua, I focus on those who sell in the *Compañía de Jesús Artisan Marketplace*.<sup>2</sup> With more than 200 members and additional participation in its meetings by extended family members and, occasionally, peddlers and vendors from other marketplaces in the city, the *Compañía de Jesús Artisan Association* is the largest single organization of handicrafts vendors in Antigua and has the most clearly defined economic and political objectives. From an analytical perspective, the socioeconomic and sociopolitical interactions that vendors have with tourists, government officials, and each other contribute to their self-conscious identity formation. I examine these three social arenas here to discuss the double-edged nature of essentialism and vendors' skepticism of the Maya Movement. It is important to recall, as Warren (1992) and Watanabe (1995:36) point out, that identity formation is not simply a matter of choice—of picking and choosing what makes up one's identity.

Researchers such as Babb (1998), Clark (1988, 1994), and Seligmann (2001) have noted vendors' limited participation in social and political movements in other areas of the world. They have shown how livelihood shapes the ways vendors, women in particular, mobilize politically. Women's political organizing is fragile because of competition from other vendors, household demands, women's relationships with men, and their structural place in the economy. Maya women handicrafts vendors confront these conditions, but they deal with them differently than women elsewhere, as I show below. The global and national economic systems in which Maya handicrafts vendors participate, combined with cultural attitudes of gender complementarity, have transformed gender concepts in the practice of marketplace and household work, which helps explain not only why vendors do not participate in social movements but also why coinciding local, national, and global economic and social factors cannot be conflated.

As participants in the international tourism market, Maya handicrafts vendors are part of global flows of commodities, information, and people (Appadurai 1996; Kearney 1996), but they still deal with the Guatemalan state, which makes laws regarding vending, the importation and exportation of handicrafts, and taxes. Researchers in Chiapas (Nash 1993), in Nicaragua (Field 1999), and in the Andes (Collaredo-Mansfeld 1999; Weismantel 2001)

note how artisans and vendors contend with global and local conditions that affect their means of gaining a livelihood. Like the subjects of those studies, Maya vendors use the global (international tourism market) to help them struggle against political problems and discrimination at local and national levels, as well as to make a living.

## Maya handicrafts vendors in Antigua

### *Ethnographic background*

Mayas representing six different ethnolinguistic groups from 26 municipalities sell handicrafts in Antigua. Kaqchikel Mayas, who constitute roughly three-fourths of all vendors, have regularly sold handicrafts to international tourists since the 1930s (Little 2000) and to other Guatemalans since the 1500s (Swetnam 1975). Until the late 1980s, only a few dozen handicrafts vendors sold on a daily basis in the city, but the same social and political changes in the late 1980s that facilitated the growth of the Maya Movement contributed to the growth of such selling, and roughly five hundred daily vendors were operating throughout the city in the early 1990s. Although government and guerrilla military campaigns (Green 1999; Montejo 1999; Schirmer 1998; Stoll 1993) against Maya communities diminished during that time, real wages and land available to Maya farmers decreased (*Sistema de Naciones Unidas en Guatemala* 1999, 2000). The decrease in political violence and the Guatemalan Tourism Commission's (INGUAT) promotional campaigns contributed to an increase in foreign tourism, despite problems with security and attacks on tourists.<sup>3</sup> The number of tourists entering Guatemala climbed from a low of 191,934 in 1984 to an average of more than 500,000 per year since 1990.<sup>4</sup>

For vendors, 1992 was a pivotal year because the Antigua city government suspended the Sunday handicrafts market that had been held in the plaza for several decades. Vendors who had participated in that market were forced out of the city or into other locations throughout the city. Many relocated to the *Compañía de Jesús* monastery. Since 1986, vendors had gathered to sell within the ruins of this Jesuit monastery and to resist the merchandise seizures and fines by the police that were common during weekday street vending. With the suspension of the market in the plaza, the *Compañía de Jesús Artisan Market* quadrupled in size, as more vendors sought secure places to sell. Subsequently, city officials formally recognized the *Compañía de Jesús Artisan Market*, requiring vendors there to pay for city services.

The roughly two hundred stall marketplace is transnational and draws vendors from towns throughout the highlands. Most numerous are Kaqchikel vendors, followed in descending numerical order by K'iche', Ixil, Mam, Ladino, and Tz'utujil. Only a few vendors are from or are based

permanently in Antigua. All others commute between Antigua and their hometowns. At least 100 of the stalls are owned and run by female vendors from the nearby Kaqchikel Maya town of San Antonio Aguas Calientes. Each stall is maintained by one or more persons, among Kaqchikeles usually the woman running the stall and, perhaps, her husband and children. A Kaqchikel woman sells a combination of items woven by herself, her extended family, and others from her hometown, as well as more generic items produced by larger weaving firms from Comalapa (see Asturias de Barrios 1994) and Chichicastenango. The women purchase generic goods from middlepersons, who also convey to producers the vendors' suggestions regarding stylistic changes based on tourists' preferences. K'iche' vendors, who manage 61 stalls (55 by men), tend to be family representatives of substantial blanket and rug firms, some with sales outlets in Antigua, Panajachel, Guatemala City, and Chichicastenango. The men run the stalls but sometimes hire female Kaqchikel salesclerks, who have better luck than the men enticing foreign tourists to buy. A few K'iche' men work with their wives and daughters, but unlike the Kaqchikel vendors, K'iche' women have less say than the men with regard to business decisions, because men control the means of production (Bossen 1989).

Compared with most other Mayas, Compañía de Jesús vendors are relatively wealthy, earning in excess of \$2,700 per year, with some individuals making up to \$8,000 per year (1997–98 figures). In comparison, manual laborers in agriculture and construction make, at best, roughly \$1,000 per year, rural schoolteachers make roughly \$2,000 per year, and domestic servants make \$1,000 per year. The vendors are informed about current events and follow the news in the daily papers *La Prensa Libre* and *Siglo XXI*, on television, and on the radio, where they have access to information about the Maya Movement. Some even purchase *Rutzijol*, a Maya-run newspaper that publishes articles about the movement's political and social concerns, but they claim to do so because their children find the paper's "Kukuy" supplement entertaining.

The buyers who come into the marketplace include tourists from El Salvador, Europe, Japan, and, primarily, the United States. Occasionally, other Mayas and, sometimes, Ladinos purchase handicrafts in the marketplace. At any one moment, it is possible to listen to bargaining in Spanish, Kaqchikel, K'iche', English, German, and other languages. Vendors take pride in being able to conduct business in three or four languages. Although few claim fluency in a language other than a Maya language or Spanish, business is often initiated in the language of the customer. Spanish tends to be the lingua franca, and Maya languages are used for private conversations involving setting prices, family matters, and comments about the local and state government. French (2000:168–169)

notes that in the utilitarian marketplace in Quetzaltenango Maya women vendors and customers code switch into and out of Maya languages and Spanish during bargaining transactions. Mayas in the Quetzaltenango marketplace, likewise, use Maya languages to keep Ladinos from understanding them. Handicrafts vendors' use of Maya languages also emphasizes difference, thus helping establish vendors' Mayanness and, therefore, that they are deserving of tourists' attention.

Like vendors in marketplaces throughout the world (see Clark 1988), those in the Compañía de Jesús have a tenuous relationship with the local city government. A former president of the Compañía de Jesús Artisan Association claimed, "Antigua has never had a mayor who was interested in helping us." Listening to this comment, the current association vice president concurred, "It doesn't matter who is mayor. He will want us out of Antigua." Other vendors say that the best that they hope for is a mayor who does not pay attention to them. This rarely happens, in part, because the marketplace is located only one block from the central plaza. Since the mid-1980s, the vendors squatting in the Compañía de Jesús monastery have had numerous run-ins with the mayor's office, which charges vendors for nonexistent public services.<sup>5</sup> The city cannot collect rent for the physical space because the former colonial Jesuit monastery is owned by the Spanish government.

Although intimidation by the police has decreased since vendors stopped selling on the street and in the central plaza, national policemen and local sheriffs occasionally harass those carrying merchandise to storage facilities. Babb (1998), Clark (1988), Seligmann (2001), and Weismantel (2001:141–142) all note that vendors in other areas of the world have similar problems. Maya handicrafts vendors do not sell items that consumers need. This makes strikes and other actions that keep consumers from getting products ineffective strategies for handicrafts vendors. Tourists can purchase souvenirs elsewhere, local businesses do not rely on the vendors' products, and the city government gains little revenue from vendors, because it cannot effectively force them to report sales.

Over the years the mayor's office has demanded that vendors reorganize the physical space of the marketplace to make it appear more orderly and to better identify who sells there. Vendors comply with city regulations not out of fear of expulsion, but to demonstrate how organized they are. In September 1997, the government gave orders to completely rebuild the marketplace, following specific measurements for vending stalls and aisles. Vendors complained, "The mayor wants us to do this, because he doesn't think we can do it." The vendors divided into committees to measure the space, find building materials, and help provide meals for workers. Female vendors brought in their husbands and sons to tear down and

rebuild the wooden stalls. They completed the reconstruction two days ahead of schedule, reopening the marketplace with decorations, music, and food.

Despite the fact that vendors sell in the marketplace and not on the street, police officers have continued to harass them, seizing merchandise, fining vendors, and occasionally imprisoning male vendors on charges of theft and illegal street selling when they transport their goods between the marketplace and warehouses. The male vendors who spend time in jail are eventually released without being convicted. Vendors have responded to these "threats" by soliciting the aid of the Human Rights Office in Antigua and the United Nations in Guatemala (MINUGUA) office in Guatemala City and by making the changes the city has demanded. As is the case with Peruvian peasants (Smith 1989), the vendors' problems with the city government show how livelihood is tied to politics, not just economics.

### *Politics of vending*

Seligmann notes that marketplaces are contexts in which "the indeterminacy of real social relations provides a space for contentious reassessment of . . . relational categories of difference" (1993:191). Maya handicrafts vendors in Antigua mark social and ethnic difference through bargaining and other practices. Likewise, French (2000) observes that bargaining speech is a vehicle by which social identities are negotiated in the utilitarian marketplace of Quetzaltenango, Guatemala. The inversion of social order and disruption of racial and ethnic categories of difference, however, that occur in the encounters between vendors and buyers described by Seligmann rarely occur in the handicrafts marketplace. Rather, handicrafts vendors' patterns of bargaining are similar to those described by French, in that there is "a sense of collaboration that works to diffuse the inherent conflict of bartering" (2000:163).

The reasons handicrafts vendors avoid conflict have to do with the sociopolitical context in which they are located, as well as with the types of gender relations that predominate. Unlike vendors of subsistence goods, handicrafts vendors do not insult their customers (Seligmann 1993) or stage strikes (Babb 1998:173–176) because their customer base consists of non-Guatemalan tourists. Handicrafts vendors in the Compañía de Jesús marketplace avoid behavior that alienates tourists. They are preoccupied with countering negative stereotypes about the marketplace. Spanish language school officials and tour guides warn tourists about the dangers of the marketplace: that there are thieves, that the quality of the merchandise is poor, and that the vendors rarely give fair prices. Ladino hosts of tourists studying Spanish also advise their guests to stay away from the marketplace.<sup>6</sup>

Vendors counteract negative stereotypes through a type of theatrical performance. Castañeda (1997) and

Weismantel (2001) use military and theatrical concepts, respectively, to analyze the social, political, and economic interactions of vending. Indeed, for them vending is both economic and political. For Castañeda the everyday struggles of the Yucatecan food and handicrafts vendors who invaded Chichén Itzá can be seen as constituting a "theater of war" over the "politics of representing Maya cultures" and "in terms of the manifold struggles within, over, and for tourism" (1997:116). Maya handicrafts vendors in Antigua are likewise engaged in a war of this sort, an issue to which I return shortly.

Weismantel, on the other hand, conceptualizes the marketplace "as a theatrical space [where] everyone is on stage. Customers appear mostly as amateurs, assigned bit parts and 'character roles'" (2001:133). She describes how vendors used her as an interactive audience and as a foil to amuse other vendors. The play unfolds through the interactions of vendor, customer, and onlookers. For Maya handicrafts vendors, the play is about Maya culture and identity. Tourists are coaxed into dialogues that help reify particular touristic images of Maya women. The predominant image, noted by Annis (1987:13), is of a Maya woman seated at her loom and dressed in a *po't* (blouse; Spanish: *huipil*). Seeing vendor women in the marketplace dressed in splendid, colorful *traje* helps confirm for tourists the image of the Maya woman that illustrates guidebooks and brochures. But astute handicrafts vendors realize that tourists are not so simple as to believe a Maya woman is a Maya woman just by the clothes she wears.

### *Selling identity to tourists*

The following scene, typical of many I observed over the course of my fieldwork, reveals the ways that Maya women emphasize a number of cultural elements to construct a more convincing self-image to project to tourists.

A couple of U.S. tourists enter the Compañía de Jesús marketplace, idly walking from stall to stall as male and female vendors call out in Spanish and, sometimes, English: "What can I offer you?" "Look at the beautiful items I'm selling." "Don't hurry by. You won't see what I have." The couple stops next to one of the women weaving on a small backstrap loom. She tells them in Spanish, "Feel free to look at my *típica*," but they don't move. Instead, they watch her weave. The vendor calls in Kaqchikel to her to husband, who is standing nearby talking to a couple of other Maya men and to me, "Bring me a couple of stools."

The husband nudges me and says in Kaqchikel, "Take them to her."

As I do so, one of the tourists asks me in English, "You speak Maya?"

Before I can answer, the vendor woman says in Spanish, "No, he speaks Kaqchikel. It is our language."

The tourist addresses me again in English, "How long did it take you to learn?"

Again, the vendor answers for me, “Very quickly. He’s teaching it to my daughter.” Her daughter in the next stall smiles uncomfortably, and other vendors within earshot laugh. The vendor woman warns me, “Only speak Kaqchikel, and tell me what they say [in English],” but the tourists speak to her in slow, deliberate Spanish.

One tourist points to the woman’s backstrap loom, “Are you weaving a huipil?”

“No,” she answers. “It is only a *tapete* (covering), but it has Maya figures.” She points them out and then shows the tourists similar figures on her po’t, naming some of them: “*arco* (a zigzag pattern; Kaqchikel: *kumatzin*), *äk* (chicken), *peine* (comb; Kaqchikel: *jicha’n*), *rupan plato* (lit. heart of the dish; Kaqchikel: *rupam läq*). These are very old traditional designs. Pure Maya.”

One of the tourists asks her, “You are a Maya, yes?”

“Yes, we from San Antonio are Mayas, but many have forgotten our language or they mix it with Spanish. Some girls don’t even want to learn how to weave.” Unhooking herself from the loom, the vendor looks at her daughter, who sheepishly looks to the ground.

“Why not?” one of the tourists asks. “Your traje is so beautiful.”

The vendor continues, “Some people are afraid to speak Kaqchikel because the Ladinos don’t like it. They only want Spanish. The girls, they don’t want to weave because they want to be modern. They want to dress like Americans.” “Here,” she says to one of the tourists, “Try the loom.”

As she shows them how the loom works, the vendor woman continues her conversation, teasing the tourists to purchase “Mayan” gifts for their mothers.

Such conversations contain many of the same theatrical elements that Weismantel identifies. The vendor uses me to set up the tourists and make jokes about her daughter for the amusement of other vendors. By ordering her husband and me around, she subtly lets the other vendors know that she is in command. The husband and I merely stand to the side, passively watching and waiting for the woman to give us instructions. By speaking Kaqchikel, weaving at a backstrap loom, and calling attention to the patterns in her po’t, she emphasizes Maya cultural traits. At the same time, she lets the tourists know that Mayas face discrimination from Ladinos and loss of identity because of the influence of U.S. culture.

### **Collective political strategies**

Kaqchikel Maya handicrafts vendors are preoccupied with more than just making sales to tourists to stay in business. Like the vendors described in Babb 1998, Clark 1988, 1994, and Seligmann 2001, Maya handicrafts vendors work in a political context where they often are not welcomed by local politicians, owners of stores and restaurants, and police forces. Different vendors sell different products,

including Mayan and Western clothing with designs inspired by pre-Columbian motifs, wooden ceremonial masks, tablecloths, placemats, bracelets, decorations that incorporate traditional motifs, and T-shirts that have embroidered or silk-screened designs of well-known tourism sites or pre-Columbian Mayan archaeological sites. Nevertheless, vendors share several characteristics. First, they all produce some of the items they sell. Even though some of those items copy their peers’ innovations and designs, all vendors try to conceive of unique designs to out-compete their fellows. Second, all vendors purchase additional items from middlepersons and from individual weavers. Third, all vendors sell products that are made by members of their extended families who do not work as vendors themselves.

Babb (1998:164–173) describes how the participants in the Huaraz, Peru, marketplace are split into various unions based on the types of products they sell or work activities they undertake. She notes that participation in the unions is generally low but that, to achieve certain objectives—for example, to protect prices, reduce fees, or block the entry of *campesino* sellers to the market—vendors give their support to unions and different unions join together. The tension inherent in coordinating all of the different unions does not exist for *Compañía de Jesús* handicrafts vendors, who over the years have maintained a unified front against their city government adversaries and have formulated numerous long-range plans.

*Compañía de Jesús* vendors, however, do not consider their organization to be a union. In this respect, they are similar to handicrafts vendors and artisans at Chichén Itzá, who explain that “they are not wage laborers and thus have no employer against which one would want to organize in the form of a labor union” (Castañeda 1997:114). Unlike the vendors and artisans at Chichén Itzá, who came into conflict over control of market spaces (Castañeda 1997:118), the *Compañía de Jesús* vendors envision themselves as *artesanos* (artisans). They explain, “We are artisans who sell our own handicrafts. That is what distinguishes us from other vendors. That is why we have the *Compañía de Jesús* Artisan Association.”

The association is now approaching its tenth year. It has been and continues to be run as a democratic institution. As in the unions in the Huaraz marketplace (Babb 1998:167), women play important roles in the association’s leadership. Both Maya men and women have held the posts of vice president, treasurer, and secretary, as well as the chairs of committees that have been formed to address specific problems or threats to the marketplace. The office of president is the only position that has not been held by a Maya. The president, for all practical purposes, does not have any power, and anyone who has sought to use this position for economic gain has been removed.

The reasons that the association's president is not Maya are complex, but I suggest that similar reasons explain why Subcomandante Marcos, most public figure of the Zapatista Army for National Liberation (EZLN), is not Maya. According to Gossen (1994), Marcos is effectively a mask for the Maya leadership, allowing them to remain anonymous. With fewer than five percent of the vending locales run by Ladinos, it is appropriate to think of the association president as the public face of the Maya vendors, who prefer to go unnoticed by the city government and police forces that they characterize as Ladino, not *indígena*. In fact, the vendors refuse to affiliate with the Antigua Chamber of Commerce and local business associations because they deem them to be "Ladino" and feel that these organizations would not uphold their best interests.

Only once in 1996 did the Compañía de Jesús vendors link themselves to a larger organization, the National Committee of Small Business of Guatemala (CONMIGUAT), but that was because the association's treasurer at that time had ambitions of securing an accounting position in Guatemala City. He planned to leave his stall to his younger siblings, which he did. In March 1998, the vendors severed all ties with CONMIGUAT, after which, they focused their energy and money on gaining official local and national recognition as an artisan association, hiring a private lawyer and speaking with the United Nations human rights liaison in an attempt to force the Antigua government to acknowledge them. By August 2001, they still had not been successful in these efforts.

In contrast to promoting selling strategies that emphasize Maya identity and culture for individual economic goals, the artisan association continues to be the primary vehicle through which vendors plan economic and political actions. Everything from affiliations with economic organizations and other groups of artisans and vendors to the collective ways they present themselves to tourists and city officials is debated in their monthly meetings. Whereas individual vendors use cultural identity to help make sales to foreign tourists, the artisan association works to keep vendors from being expelled from the city. The association's planning in this regard involves utilizing cultural and occupational identities to maneuver through Antigua's hostile political terrain.

When I first attended a monthly association meeting in November 1996, I asked Compañía de Jesús vendors why they did not ally themselves with Maya Movement organizations. They responded that the movement "doesn't know anything about business," that "we don't want to draw attention to ourselves," and that "we are artisans." I learned that they did not collectively participate in labor-based organizations, aside from the brief affiliation with CONMIGUAT, for reasons similar to those that Castañeda (1997) encountered among vendors at

Chichén: Such organizations were for campesinos and factory workers and "were run by Ladinos, who didn't care about Mayas." Campesino was one identity that the vendors rejected wholesale. They said that they were self-employed artisans and independent farmers, not campesinos, whom they defined as "dependent agricultural laborers." Some vendors even described themselves as *indígenas mayas* whose interests would not be served by labor-based organizations. Outside the marketplace and the artisan association, individual vendors are involved with both Maya Movement and labor-based organizations, but collectively they decided not to be part of either type of organization.

The association's strategies centered on two types of activities: making the marketplace safe for and aesthetically pleasing to tourists and lobbying the city government for public services, official recognition, and a secure central location in which to sell. With regard to the first type of activity, vendors formed commissions or collective work details, whose personnel rotated on a monthly basis, to clean common areas of the marketplace. They policed individual locales to keep them clean, looked out for known pickpockets, and kept aisles clear so that tourists did not feel crowded. They agreed to sell only "handmade" items, because "foreign, manufactured merchandise is less attractive to tourists." T-shirts were the exception to this rule. With regard to the second type of activity, they wrote out their demands, collectively signed the documents, and presented them to the mayor's office. Not having a lease was one of their major preoccupations. They preferred to stay in the Compañía de Jesús, which they have leased from the Spanish government. For 20 years the Spaniards have slowly restored sections of the earthquake-damaged complex, and vendors uneasily awaited the day they would be expelled. They feared that, if no central location had been secured when that day came, they would have to sell on the street.

The ultimate goal of both types of activities was to transform the attitudes of others toward their enterprise. Vendors wanted to convince tourists that the marketplace was clean and safe, which it was. They wanted to project to city officials that they were organized and unified. Despite internal divisions due to economic competition, jealousy of others' success, disagreements about the particular ways the artisan association should work toward its goals, and different community and language allegiances, vendors did not reveal to tourists or to city officials that theirs was not always a cooperative organization. I overheard tourists comment on how pleasant and helpful vendors were to each other and to tourists. Vendors replied, "Under the eyes of the Lord, we are all brothers and sisters."

Attracting and staying in tourists' good graces relates to more than economic motivations. The types of tourists who frequent the marketplace most often are either

independent travelers with leisurely schedules or Spanish language students. Both types spend more time in Antigua than do other tourists. When they make personal connections with the vendors, they return to the market to visit and chat with them. Vendors who experience police harassment or problems with local Ladino businesspersons may solicit assistance from tourists. Ladinos, for instance, have occasionally launched complaints with the city that all indigenous vendors are dealing drugs and stealing, resulting in arrests and fines for the vendors. In response, vendors have drawn up petitions claiming their rights have been violated, and they have convinced tourists to sign them.

### *Handicrafts vendors at home*

For women, the marketplace and the household are interrelated, as has been widely noted (Babb 1998; Clark 1994; Colloredo-Mansfeld 1999; Moore 1988:89–93; Seligmann 2001). Seligmann observes that “women may be compelled to enter the workplace as vendors because of economic conditions eroding the ability of the household to survive” (2001:5). In part, this pattern can be observed among handicrafts vendors in Guatemala. Women vendors from San Antonio, however, have been part of the handicrafts market for generations. What has changed in recent years is the importance of handicrafts sales for the maintenance of the household. With less land available for agricultural production and the insecurity of work in manufacturing sectors, women have assumed more central roles in providing for their households (see Goldín 2001). They have further broken down divisions between the marketplace and the household by literally bringing the handicrafts market into the household, in which they also perform mundane household tasks for tourists to view (see Little 2000).

Most commonly, women work double shifts, taking care of household and market obligations without the help of spouses (Babb 1998; Bossen 1989:336–339; Clark 1994). When they are successful, their handicrafts production and marketing enterprises may be taken over by men. As Nash (1993) explains, this can lead to the perpetration of violent acts against successful women, and women who organize may be raped to keep them in their place (Hernández Castillo 1997). In Otavalo, Ecuador, Colloredo-Mansfeld observes that “subsistence and market spheres do not split along the same gendered lines as they do elsewhere in the Ecuadorian Andes” (1999:21). He and Bossen (1989:337) note, however, that men dominate the more lucrative long-distance handicrafts trade.

Men and women in Kaqchikel Maya households have developed a different model than the aforementioned cases. The most successful vendors are women because the touristic association of Maya women, woven handicrafts, and marketplaces is strong. Tourists enter marketplaces to locate the images of Maya women depicted in

guidebooks and brochures. In utilitarian marketplaces, where goods are consumed locally, a vendor’s gender matters less than in handicrafts marketplaces. In the latter, the products are aimed at international tourists who come with expectations of seeing and interacting with Maya women. Both Maya women and men recognize this. Furthermore, like female vendors in Africa (Clark 1994), women control the marketplace and the money earned from sales. In nearly all of the locales run by Kaqchikeles, the women make all decisions about how the money earned will be used by the household.

As the demands of the marketplace have increased, women have had less time to fulfill household obligations. Men have taken up the slack, performing basic household tasks, such as washing clothes, cooking, childcare, and cleaning. Colloredo-Mansfeld (1999:21) observed a similar situation among artisan-vendors in Otavalo. Clark (2001) shows how African men who take care of children for their vendor spouses gain respect and admiration. Maya men do not feel that they are admired by their peers, but they consider their participation in household chores a pragmatic necessity. As one man bluntly explained, “It is work that has to be done. My wife is too busy.” In another case, a vendor woman told me about a trip she was making to the United States to sell textiles and give weaving demonstrations at museums and cultural centers. When I asked who was going to take care of her four children—the youngest was two years old—she replied, “Oh, my husband does that.”

The success of Kaqchikel Maya women from San Antonio in the Antigua handicrafts market, as well as the reorganization of household gender roles, is one reason the vendors in the Compañía de Jesús Marketplace do not participate in the broader popular or Maya political organizations. In addition to running the handicrafts marketplace, many vendor women run their households, deciding how to allocate money. Although a few Maya women have held high-ranking political positions, such as former congresswoman Rosalinda Tuyuc, both Maya and popular organizations, like Guatemalan politics in general, are dominated by men (see Bastos and Camus 1993; Fischer and Brown 1996b; Warren 1998b). Female vendors in particular are reluctant to participate in these organizations, because they believe that they will lose control of the marketplace and of their households. This is a real concern for Maya women because, as both Bossen (1989) and Nash (1993) have illustrated, men in other Maya communities have seized control of female-operated production and marketing networks.

Not only have the particular characteristics of the tourism marketplace helped transform the performance of gender roles in the household, but they have also influenced vendors to think about the self-conscious use of identity for both economic and political ends. Before

describing the Maya Movement and explaining the vendors' opinions of it, I point out the importance of recognizing that vendors utilize two already existing essentialized identities. One is that of the Maya Indian popularized in tourism and travel literature and mutually reinforced by vendors themselves and by tourists. Tourists vary in their attitudes about the authenticity of this essentialized identity, but even doubters treat the marketplace as a space in which to play with Maya Indians. Vendors dramatize their Indianness by having conversations in Maya languages among themselves and with me. Women weave on small backstrap looms, which are not sturdy enough to make clothing, to demonstrate both the basic weaving process and their own productivity. They monitor their behavior by turning off radios and hiding calculators and schoolbooks from customers.

The other essentialized identity is that of the backward, uneducated, ignorant Indian, which is the stereotype generally held by Ladino residents. Ladinos deny service to Maya bank customers and restaurant patrons, some even refusing to rent storage and living quarters to Mayas. Although some Ladinos claim that Mayas "are fortunate that they have kept their culture, not like us," they assume Mayas are ignorant of such things as the Internet and do not have the capacity to gain higher education. Vendors do not use Indian or Maya identity to further their causes in city hall, because experience has taught them that this strategy does not work. Instead, they position themselves as artisans.

Furthermore, vendors have long since stopped reporting thefts and attacks by thieves to the police, because the police do not pursue the perpetrators. There is not a vendor who does not have a story to tell of having been robbed and receiving no help from the police (Little 2002). As one woman explained, "When my daughters were taking some huipiles home some thieves stole them. When I complained to the police, I was fined for selling in the street. I don't even sell in the street." After a gang of thieves in a pickup truck took most the merchandise two sisters had on display, I asked them if they were going to report it to the police. "No," said one. "It wouldn't do any good, the police would just take the rest of our merchandise and then fine us." Because of these attitudes, vendors rarely let the Ladinos they encounter in daily life learn anything about them, contributing to the perpetuation of stereotyping by Ladinos.

To work in and be successful in Antigua, Maya vendors use these essentialized identity options—Maya Indian for tourists and artisan-craftsperson for Ladinos.

### Maya Movement—Emphases and goals

It is pertinent to outline the central tenets of the Maya Movement to discuss why vendors do not embrace it. I

follow Warren's (1998a) overview and Esquit Choy and Gálvez Borrell's short book, *The Mayan Movement Today* (1997).<sup>7</sup> At the forefront of the Maya Movement are Demetrio Cojtí Cuxil (1991, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997), Irma Otzoy (1996; Otzoy and Colop 1990), Raxche' (1995), Estuardo Zapeta (1998, 1999), Oxlajuuj Keej Maya Ajtz'iib' (OKMA) (1993), and others who have assumed dual roles as scholars of Maya identity and as political activists trying to transform the opinions of Mayas, Ladinos, and foreign scholars.<sup>8</sup>

In Guatemalan universities and places of employment, Maya activists have come into regular contact with U.S., European, and Japanese scholars conducting research in Guatemala. This has led to a fruitful exchange of ideas and dialogue between Maya intellectuals and foreign scholars, as illustrated by contributions to Fischer and Brown's (1996b) edited volume about the Maya Movement and by the publication of the Maya Studies Congress proceedings (Universidad Rafael Landívar 1997, 1998). The Maya Studies Congress was organized by Mayas to provide a forum for Maya, Ladino, and foreign scholars to debate a wide range of topics, including cultural and political identity, linguistic concepts, Guatemalan history, economic and political development, and education. I attended the congress in 1996 and 1997 and was drawn into debates about indigenous people's rights to cultural and political determination and foreign scholars' accountability. It was the first time that many of the non-Maya participants and spectators had listened to Mayan academic analyses.

Since the late 1980s, however, Maya intellectuals have been writing against dominant discourses. According to Warren, these intellectuals are

denouncing the racism of national histories, [critiquing] foreign research practices and scholarship, [promoting] Mayan language retention, [criticizing] Western modes of development, and [using] political psychology to counteract internalized racism ... to undermine the authoritative nature of ... *kaxlan* (non-Mayan) accounts ... which ... had monopolized the representation of Mayan culture and national history. [1998a:169]

Although some Maya activists-intellectuals directly engage non-Maya scholars in academic forums, most Mayas in the movement work in ways that place them firmly in applied settings at all levels of Guatemalan society. Their occupations range from farmers to teachers, to publishers, to government and nongovernmental administrators (Warren 1998a:170). According to Warren, what all of these activists have in common is a goal: "to unite Mayas across language groups and communities to build a national movement" (1998a:171). As the movement institutionalized, it coalesced around Mayan cultural and

symbolic elements related to language, cosmology, reverence for elders, clothing, and ecology. Activists emphasize these elements because they reveal distinctively Maya ways of thinking that address contemporary economic, political, and social concerns.

Like the New Social Movements discussed by Hale (1994, 1997), Escobar and Alvarez (1992), and Laclau and Mouffe (1985), the Maya Movement uses cultural symbols instead of class, labor, or poverty to build a political constituency to challenge non-Maya attitudes about the Mayas and to create a more equitable society. Hale identifies two features of identity politics that are relevant here: First, “heterogeneous identities and social processes” cannot be represented by one “unified subject”; second, there is an “effort to unsettle all forms of essentialism, emphasizing the invention of tradition, the hybridity of cultures, and the multiplicity of identities” (1997:577). Warren (1998a, 1998b) argues that the Maya Movement challenges the notion of a “unified social movement” (Hale 1997:582). Although Maya activists reject *popular* movements and challenge Ladino, foreign, and academic essentializations of Mayas (Watanabe 1995), they are refashioning a Maya subject that comes from a place with a specific history.

At the local level, Maya organizations have focused on Maya language education and general education improvements, Maya political rights, health care promotion and improvement, and cultural practices, such as Maya spirituality (Esquit Choy and Gálvez Borrell 1997:51). At the national level, agendas include improving political participation and representation of Mayas through education to heighten political awareness, redrawing geopolitical boundaries that reflect where linguistic groups live, and promoting Maya culture and identity, including raising consciousness about what Maya identity is (Esquit Choy and Gálvez Borrell 1997:63–67).

Demetrio Cojtí Cuxil, the movement’s theoretical voice, has elaborated on its cultural aspects and on the socioeconomic place of Mayas within Guatemalan society in numerous publications (Cojtí Cuxil 1991, 1994, 1995, 1997). He characterizes Ladino hegemony over Mayas as a form of internal colonialism. The reality Cojtí Cuxil describes is one of fragmented Maya political and cultural structures, depreciated Maya languages and culture, and economic and social discrimination. He argues for Maya political and social autonomy and the territorial redivision of Guatemala to reflect where the 23 ethnolinguistic groups, or “Maya nations,” live (Cojtí Cuxil 1996, 1997).

In general, the scholarly writings of Maya Movement leaders and spokespersons have not circulated widely in Guatemala and have not been widely read by Mayas.<sup>9</sup> Although the perspectives of these scholars on the discriminatory and racist practices of Ladinos and the revalorization of Maya culture are aimed at improving Mayas’

understandings of their place in society and increasing knowledge of their culture, the primary recipients of their publications have been foreigners.

In the more popular format of newspaper columns, Enrique Sam Colop in *La Prensa Libre* and Estuardo Zapeta in *Siglo XXI* contribute Maya perspectives on education, economic development, language, Ladinos, the Guatemalan and U.S. governments, health care, and many other issues facing Mayas today. These columnists have focused on the promotion of Maya languages and cultural identity, demanding that Maya languages and history be taught in schools. For example, Zapeta writes, “The maternal language and culture should be the principal axes of the whole educational process, which should, in the case of Guatemala, be bilingual for Maya communities (Maya-Spanish language)” (1999:386).

As Fischer (1996), Warren (1998b), and Watanabe (1995) note, Maya Movement leaders work to reorient Maya identities away from the local community (or municipality, in Tax’s [1937] phrasing) and toward a more universal conceptualization, uniting Mayas throughout Guatemala—and beyond, in Mexico, Honduras, El Salvador, and the United States. In doing so, they emphasize certain historical and cultural markers, such as Maya language, traditional dress (*traje*), and spirituality–cosmology (including that associated with the Maya calendar). They have encouraged Mayas to call themselves Mayas, not Indians, natives, or *naturales*, labels that are imbued with negative stereotypes. Their efforts are aimed at building Maya constituencies and a Maya political power base that can change Guatemalan society in ways that will help Mayas.

### **Observations and explanations from vendors**

Maya vendors, working between international tourism’s essentialized Maya and Ladinos’ racialized Indian identities, are reluctant to embrace the Maya Movement. On one hand, vendors are interested in and actively promote Maya culture through their marketing practices. On the other hand, they compete with each other, as well as with Ladino and foreign exporters who generally have greater economic resources and fewer problems crossing international borders. It is over labor and economic issues that vendors unite, making alliances with not-for-profit organizations like Maya Works, which distributes handicrafts in the United States, and forming coalitions to protect themselves from the national police, the Antigua city government, and other entrepreneurs.

Vendors choose political strategies that widen their economic and social options. For example, during the monthly meetings of the Compañía de Jesús Artisan Association, vendors debated how to represent themselves to tourists, local and national governments, and residents

and businesses in Antigua. In 1996, when they considered what INGUAT endorsement meant for the marketplace, vendors were under the impression that such endorsement would reduce the marketplace to a list of products. As one vendor said in the November 1996 meeting, "We're artisans and descendants of Mayas. It's not only what we make, but who we are that is important." Another vendor commented, "If only our merchandise is listed, then what makes the Compañía de Jesús marketplace different from other típica stores in Guatemala? Why would anyone come here?" Most of the time vendors described themselves as *indígenas artesanos* (indigenous artisans) because they wanted to distinguish themselves from *indígenas vendedores* (indigenous vendors). The vice president of the association explained, "We are not just vendors; we make what we sell. That is why we're different from other vendors." Representing themselves only through their products or choosing among the labels "vendor," "artisan," or "Maya" ("indígena") results in a narrower, more limited identity. By evoking different ascribed identities, the vendors make sales and attempt to protect themselves from the local government's periodic repression.

Vendors do not embrace the Maya Movement, in part, because of how they identify themselves. By calling themselves "indígenas artesanos," they evoke both cultural and worker identity orientations. They resist calling themselves "Mayas," as Maya Movement leaders encourage, but they do not negate (and they often promote) their Mayanness. All vendors said that they are Maya descendants, that they speak Maya languages, and that they maintain numerous Maya traditions (from the clothes they wear and food they eat to the beliefs they hold). "But we are not Mayas," several emphasized. In the marketplace, their identity was not oriented around their hometowns, unless they were trying to convince a tourist to visit them at home. They often spoke in terms of broader linguistic groupings; they were Kaqchikel, K'iche', Ixil, and Mam, they said, all of which groups are indígenas.

*Maya* is a hyperappropriated and historical term to vendors, because it is used by hundreds of businesses operating in Guatemala, very few of which are run by Mayas. It is a term used to promote tourism and commerce. "Everyone in tourism uses *Maya* for their businesses, the Ladinos, the gringos, the indígenas" one vendor explained. "It doesn't mean anything (*manäq sentido ta*) politically, just for business."

One day I asked a group of K'iche' vendors from Chichicastenango, Totonicápan, and Momostenango if they were Mayas. Referring to the Maya Tour bicycle sold in Guatemala by Shimano (using the promotional slogan "It's capable of everything") and to the fact that foreigners take "Maya tours" of Guatemala, the vendors laughed and said, "Sure, we're the Maya tours. We travel around Guatemala. We can do everything." Only when dealing with

tourists and inquisitive anthropologists did they use *Maya* as their identity label. During vendor association meetings and dealings with the police and city officials they referred to themselves as "indígenas" and as "vendors."

*Maya* is a historical term to vendors and to other Guatemalans, who were taught in school that Mayas lived in the past. "We learned in school that Mayas lived before the Spaniards came," a vendor said. "They are our ancestors, but we're not really Mayas. We've changed too much." Vendors believe that Ladinos have relegated Mayas to the past. Likewise, many tourists equate Mayas with pre-Columbian cities instead of with the people living in Guatemala today. Vendors explained that by claiming a Maya heritage while calling themselves "indígenas," they avoid Ladino backlash ("Ladinos say Mayas don't exist today") and tourist bewilderment because of differences between living Mayas and those from pre-Columbian times ("But we can be Mayas for tourists, if they want").<sup>10</sup>

Another reason Maya vendors do not associate themselves with the Maya Movement has to do with both the Ladino government perspective that Guatemala has a single, unified national identity and the Maya Movement's perspective that there are multiple Mayan national identities, that each Maya group is a separate nation within the Guatemalan state. Vendors had problems with the idea of nation. Few of the vendors in the Compañía de Jesús considered themselves Guatemalans, and those from San Antonio pointedly indicated that they were not part of any nation. They said, "I'm not Guatemalan; I just live in Guatemala." They follow the laws of the Guatemalan state and live within its geographic territory, but they do not feel that they are part of the nation of Guatemala.

According to vendors, the reorientation toward Maya nations is contrary to what they, as vendors, should strive for, which is something less national and more international or global. The nation restricts their social and economic mobility. In their opinion, few Mayas have unshackled themselves from the chains of nationalism. Those few include the Pérez family (see Annis 1987; Little 2000) from San Antonio, whose economic success as exporters of handicrafts has allowed them to travel the world, and Rigoberta Menchú, who is recognized throughout the world as a representative of indigenous people. The Pérez family's and Menchú's ability to exploit global economic and political networks is admired by handicrafts vendors. Several vendors had obtained visas to travel to the United States or Europe to demonstrate backstrap loom weaving techniques and textiles, as well as to visit friends and family. They were quick to point out, "I'm not going illegally; I have my visa."

Hall (1997:19–40) suggests that global processes (mass communication, mass production, and mass consumption) contribute either to the homogenization of people

or to their reaction against homogenization through their rejection of mass-produced commodities and their focus on constructing locally based identities. According to Appadurai, “The construction of locality” takes place “often in the face of the erosion, dispersal, and implosion of neighborhoods as coherent social formations” (1996:199). Maya vendors consume mass-produced commodities and try to travel outside of Guatemala for business and pleasure, but they are based in a local place. Refrigerators, radios, televisions, blenders, and other costly appliances are common possessions. Growing numbers of vendors have computers, fax machines, and telephones. In these respects, they are similar to economically successful producers and vendors from Otavalo, Ecuador (Colloredo-Mansfeld 1999). In both Guatemalan and Ecuadorian cases, indigenous people participate in the global economy as producers and consumers, and they traverse national boundaries. Belying Hall’s and Appadurai’s formulation, they do so not from localities that have eroded, dispersed, or imploded, but from localities that are historically and culturally significant to their residents and that contribute to residents’ social, economic, and political identities.

Another problem vendors associate with the Maya Movement is its emphasis on specific cultural traits to express Mayanness. Although vendors use stereotypical images in their economic dealings with tourists, they interpret the movement as dictating the traits that make up Maya identity. Vendors shift among multiple identities and in some contexts evoke more than one, depending on the social, economic, and political circumstances. They do not always want to be Mayas first, as they feel Maya Movement leaders advise them to be. Identity, for vendors, has to be flexible, but it is not unmoored and floating free of historical and specific economic and social contexts: It is anchored in the internal dynamics of the marketplace and the politics of the town (Antigua) and country (Guatemala).<sup>11</sup> This practice of identity is akin to that of solidarity activists who “attempt to keep [their] vitally important transnational relations open” (Nelson 1999:42). Vendors maintain social, economic, and political relations with various, usually more powerful, forces—the Guatemalan government, wealthy tourists and tour companies, police officers, thieves, anthropologists, and non-Maya Guatemalans—that try to fix particular identities on them.

For example, vendors use identity self-consciously when dealing with INGUAT and the Antigua city government. Strongly self-identifying as Mayas in these situations would increase their problems because, as vendors, they are poorly regarded by these two political entities. “Artisan” is a more neutral identity to evoke than “vendor” or “Maya” when dealing with city officials or police officers. “Artisan” also appeals to Guatemalan sensibilities of national identity and historical patrimony, which are broader categories than narrow cultural and ethnic identities.<sup>12</sup>

Even though vendors ascribed “artisan” to themselves, I overheard numerous police officers and city workers describe them neutrally as “indígenas” and pejoratively as “*burros indios*.” Vendors are aware of these attitudes and work to change them by keeping the marketplace clean, peaceful, and safe from thieves. Within the sphere of international tourism, they have more freedom to choose the identities they utilize. They do not expect international tourists to deprecate them. They call themselves “indígenas” and “vendors” but use “Maya” to play up to tourists’ romantic notions of who Indians and Mayas are, speaking Maya languages, wearing Indian clothes, and selling items “made by Mayas,” that are “part of Maya traditions,” and that are “inspired by Mayas.”

Fischer and Brown (1996a), Hale (1994), and Warren (1998b) note that the Maya Movement uses certain cultural practices to politically mobilize Mayas. Vendors said that language and certain forms of dress, types of food, and beliefs are important to identity, but to emphasize such practices over economic improvements “does nothing to aid Maya culture.” One man said, “We are indígenas, the descendants of Mayas, because of how we live, where we live, and where we come from. For many years, we were discouraged to practice our traditions, but we did anyway and we do. We can’t continue our culture if we can’t afford it.” Over 25 years ago Friedlander (1975) suggested that Indian identity in Mexico relates more to one’s socioeconomic place than to cultural traits and historical traditions. Maya Movement leaders (Cojtí Cuxil 1997; Zapeta 1999) recognize the association of Indianness with poverty in national discourses, but poverty, they contend, is not what constitutes Maya identity. Mayas do not have to be poor to be Maya. Vendors share this belief. Vendors complained, however, that the movement places too much emphasis on culture, to the detriment of economic and social reforms. They asked, “What difference does it make if we call ourselves Mayas,” while the economic base deteriorates?

A final critique from vendors also relates to the Maya Movement’s emphases on language and culture. Generally, vendors are in accord with the promotion of Mayan languages and culture and the positive portrayals of Mayas that are fostered by the movement. They are reserved, however, about pressuring the government to address cultural demands, if that means reading, mathematics, and writing classes are not improved, too. One woman remarked, “I’m happy that my children are learning Kaqchikel in school, but I’d rather they learn something useful, like English.” According to vendors, the Maya Movement has demonstrated a lack of concern in addressing underemployment and poor health care. Vendors do not want Maya Movement leaders fighting for Maya language instruction when Maya towns receive less of the national education budget than schools in

Guatemala City and Antigua, as well as poor social services. In addition, movement leaders' demands that the government become involved in Mayan practices make vendors suspicious. Practicing Maya culture is what vendors do, and it is something they keep separate from the "Ladino government."

Maya Movement leaders are aware that the agendas that they have put into practice do not always mesh with Mayas' interests. Autocritiques have emerged in recent years (Fundación Centro de Documentación e Investigación Maya [CEDIM] 1999), and Esquit Choy and Gálvez Borrell see a

notable gap between discourse and practice ... and the absence of an overall Mayan development strategy that would allow organizations to define their lines of action. The objectives of many organizations do not coincide with the needs of the communities. ... Strategies for involving the population in institutional activities are weak, and there is a lack of unity and coordination between organizations. [1997:57]

Esquit Choy and Gálvez Borrell identify lack of money as one of the movement's most pressing problems. Zapeta (1998) explains that Maya organizations ally themselves with international development organizations to fund basic health, education, and economic programs in regions of the country that are typically ignored by the Guatemalan government.<sup>13</sup> Furthermore, international assistance helps movement leaders and organizers to get into the countryside. Most of the vendors in the *Compañía de Jesús* are aware of and have participated in development programs (see Little 2002). The ideological message that they got out of such encounters is internationalism, which dissolves borders between countries, not pan-Mayanism.

### Politics of identity

It is important to recognize that Maya vendors do not disagree with the basic tenants of the Maya Movement. Their reservations about the movement, like their reservations about worker- and occupation-based organizations, are tied to their contextual use of cultural and occupational identities as they pursue their livelihood. In particular, the Maya Movement engages debates about nationalism that vendors want to avoid.

Handicrafts vendors are caught among competing concepts of national identity. First, tourism promotion by the Guatemalan government and by private (often international) companies relegates Mayas to the past, not to the present nation (Little 2001) and can even cause divisions between communities when shared cultural items are claimed as community property (Little 2003). For example, to attract tourism and international

development money, residents of the neighboring towns of Santa Catarina Barahona and San Antonio Aguas Calientes each claim that their respective town has sole ownership of what is a regional origin story and history. Second, Ladinos contend that both Mayas and Ladinos are biological and cultural mestizos who should unite for the good of the nation (Hale 1996; Morales 1998a, 1998b; Smith 1996). Third, Maya Movement leaders counter these positions by pointing to linguistic, material, and cosmological foundations of Mayanness that are contemporary and autonomous from those of Ladinos (Cojtí Cuxil 1991, 1994, 1995; Esquit Choy and Gálvez Borrell 1997; Fischer and Brown 1996b; Warren 1998b). For Cojtí Cuxil (1997), especially, these foundations are the basis of autochthonous Maya nations and nationalism. Vendors interpret this position to mean that Maya Movement leaders dictate how and who vendors are to be. They feel that the Maya Movement, like international tourism's essentializations and Ladino racism, pegs them to a rigid set of cultural markers that do not allow them to change and adjust to contemporary life.

Instead, vendors both emphasize and downplay "Maya" as a group identity category, depending on the social, economic, or political context. "Maya," as vendors use it conceptually, identifies a particular type of item, place, belief, or practice. Vendors do not merely evoke concepts of Maya culture and tradition to get sales. They really believe that they are connected to Maya culture in its present and past configurations. According to Maya vendors, those who are not "Maya descendants," who do not practice Maya culture (mainly language, but also weaving and maize farming), and who do not maintain ongoing social relations with a "Maya" town, should not claim "Maya" as their cultural identity. The few non-Maya vendors, however, cause controversy when they say that "no Mayas exist today"—an assertion defended by Morales (1998a, 1998b)—and, given that they are all mestizos, that all vendors should be able to use Maya culture to help business.

As I noted earlier, the term *Maya* is downplayed in vendors' dealings with the government. In this context, local (town and departmental) and occupational identities are more salient. Vendors use place and occupation to maneuver within the municipality of Antigua, where one's right to sell depends on where one comes from and what one does. Vendors explained that one of the reasons they have problems with police and city officials is discrimination against Mayas, or *indígenas*. They never use ethnic discrimination, however, to plead their cases. Instead, they demand to be treated the same as other businesspersons working in Antigua.

Because their livelihoods depend on strategic uses of identity, they do not want to limit themselves by allying with labor organizations or cultural organizations. Organized labor's shared poverty ideology, its lack of interest in

culture, and its concerns about land ownership and use (Hale 1994) are not embraced by vendors and do not relate to how most of them practice their livelihoods. Cultural movements, such as the Maya Movement, focus on culture, gender, ethnicity, and human rights to build political constituencies, but they tend not to consider livelihood (Escobar and Alvarez 1992; Hale 1994, 1996; Radcliffe and Westwood 1993). Vendors prefer to use identity to help them earn a better living in the global economy. In the Antigua handicrafts market, on periodic trips to other countries, and by producing for nonprofit organizations such as Maya Works, vendors use specific identities to improve their livelihood and contend with the local government.

Focusing on cultural aspects of collective identity (Escobar and Alvarez 1992; Gupta and Ferguson 1997; Radcliffe and Westwood 1993; and others) can obscure the importance of how making a living helps constitute that identity and position people politically. Hale (1997), for example, ignores this very point in his critical review of Latin American identity politics. What matters most to vendors is providing for themselves and their families, retaining some measure of economic independence, and choosing both what to maintain of their culture, as they see it, and how to maintain it. It is in relation to these priorities that vendors are political and that specific types of identity matter.

## Conclusion

Given the political climate in Guatemala during the 1990s and into the new millennium, the end of the 36-year war between the Guatemalan military and leftist guerrillas, increased educational and economic opportunities for some Mayas, and the emergence of Maya columnists in Guatemala's national, daily newspapers, I assumed that Maya vendors would become, or that they already had become, part of the Maya Movement. The movement's ideas, however, are not hegemonic for all Mayas, and the new Maya identity that scholar-activists are attempting to forge is not monolithic.

By and large, Kaqchikel and K'iche' Maya vendors are not part of the Maya Movement. Certainly, vendors are aware of the movement and have access to the newspapers and other forms of mass media in which Maya activists express their views. Vendors' participation in global economic, political, and social flows, however, is predicated on a different set of conditions than those framing the participation of Maya scholars at the forefront of the Maya Movement. Both groups may be part of the same nation, but global processes intersect the lives of handicrafts vendors distinctly and differently from the lives of Maya Movement leaders. On a basic existential level, the two groups have different needs and interests.

Kaqchikel Maya vendors differ from their fellow Maya scholar-activists in how they use concepts of identity because of the different economic and political contexts in which they are located. According to Friedman, "The processes that generate the contexts in which identity is practiced constitute a global arena of potential identity formation. This arena is informed by the interaction between locally specific practices of selfhood and the dynamics of global positioning" (1992:837). The practices of selfhood and international tourism are constituted, literally, on the bodies of Kaqchikel Maya vendors, especially when the vendors are a tourist attraction.

Hall argues that with regard to blacks, "we are beginning to see constructions of just such a new conception of ethnicity: a new cultural politics which engages rather than suppresses *difference* and which depends, in part, on the cultural construction of new ethnic identities" (1996:446). Difference provides blacks with something that they can use to locate themselves politically within the nation-state. Blacks are engaging and appropriating the very difference that the dominant national society had tried to contain. In a related context, Sandstrom (1991) explains how Nahuatl in Amatlán, Mexico, use differences to distinguish themselves from mestizos and thereby position themselves politically. Although the use of difference can be empowering to blacks, Nahuatls, Mayas, and other subalterns, difference also can be used to justify and maintain inequalities (see Friedlander 1975).

The politically and economically dominant ethnic (Ladino) minority in Guatemala has tried to contain and suppress most aspects of Maya difference, relegating Mayas to unchanging holdovers from the past. Vendors' tempering of "Maya" with "of Mayan descent" allows for change and prevents Mayanness from being relegated to some past. As in the case of the blacks described by Hall, difference is both suppressed and recognized by Mayas and by members of the dominant society of which they are a part. For Maya vendors who sell to tourists, being different puts money in their pockets—allows them to make a living—but the exchanges that they have with tourists, because of this difference, have caused them to think about their cultural identities.

In their daily practices, vendors demonstrate adaptation and incorporation of new materials, ideas, and techniques alongside existing ones. Maya cultural practices have developed for more than two millennia in this way (Gossen 1994). Vendors apply this adaptability to the physical items they sell in the marketplace, to foods they try (like pizza or Thai noodles), and to strategies for dealing with Antigua's mayor and police.

Contemporary ethnic movements are about drawing lines and picking sides, and they involve the delineation of essential characteristics around which constituencies coalesce to address issues related to political, economic,

and social mobilization. The essential characteristics of Mayas, furthered by Maya Movement leaders in the popular media, are not that different from those of the historical Mayas of tourism, according to vendors. Vendors reject the essentialism of pan-Mayanism because it only represents a part of who they are. And they resist describing what their identity is, because as soon as they do so, they limit who they can be.

Identity, for Maya handicrafts vendors, is about living and about making do in a world that is shaped by transnational flows of commodities, media, and people, as well as by local and national forces within Guatemala. Vendors use identities from sources they can easily claim, without being pigeonholed into one identity category.

## Notes

*Acknowledgments.* The fieldwork on which this article is based was generously funded by U.S. Department of Education Summer Foreign Language and Area Studies Fellowships in 1994 and 1996, a Wenner-Gren Foundation grant (#6131), and a U.S. Fulbright IIE grant for dissertation research, 1997–98. Over the past eight years, my annual participation in Tulane University's Oxlajuj Aj Kaqchikel Maya Language and Culture class has kept me in ongoing contact with Maya handicrafts vendors who have given me feedback. This article benefited greatly from the more than generous comments of *AE* editor Virginia Dominguez, *AE* staff associate editor Linda Forman, and four anonymous reviewers. An early version was presented at the American Anthropological Association 97th Annual Meeting, Philadelphia, December 2, 1998, and subsequent revisions profited from discussion in that setting. More specifically, for their comments and constructive criticism, I am indebted to Robert Hamrick, June Nash, John Watanabe (for their multiple readings), Kay Warren, and William Warner Wood. Most of all, my gratitude extends to the Maya handicrafts vendors who let me continue to participate in their lives.

1. An exception is Lind's (1992:136–139) brief discussion of how women's productive and reproductive practices shape their forms of political organizing and demands for change.

2. This article is drawn from fieldwork conducted from June 1996 to August 1998 and shorter follow-up visits in 1999, 2000, and 2001. Because of the ongoing political problems I do not name individual vendors. All translations from Kaqchikel and Spanish are mine.

3. See Adams 1998, Nelson 1999, and Little 2001.

4. See Banco de Guatemala 1994 and *Crónica* 1998.

5. Over the summer of 2002, vendors fully expected to be expelled from the marketplace. During an October–November 2002 visit to Chicago by some Kaqchikel vendors, however, I learned that the Compañía de Jesús group had not yet left the monastery, although an alternative marketplace on the outside of town had been constructed for it. In January 2003, another vendor sent me a brief e-mail indicating that the group still had not moved. In February 2003, after more than 16 years of existence, the Compañía de Jesús Marketplace was closed by the city, despite organized resistance from vendors.

As of March 2003 all vendors had left the Compañía de Jesús, relocating and reorganizing in the alternative marketplace and at other locations. It is yet too early to assess whether or not the artisan association will continue to function.

6. When I began Kaqchikel studies in 1994, I first stayed with a Ladino family who told its U.S. guests not to enter any of the marketplaces and to avoid "Indian" food. Our hostess warned us daily, while we ate our breakfast of Coco Crispies and watermelon, to stay away from vendors. "The vendors kidnap children," she said on some days. "They are attacking tourists," she told us on other days. Most of the time she advised, "If you go to the market you are asking for trouble, you need to associate with good people." In part, her opinions related to the growing political insecurity felt by Ladinos at that time, as well as to attacks on tourists (see Adams 1998), which increased through 1998. The attacks culminated in the rape and robbery of a group of Saint Mary's College students, which received international media coverage, and in the kidnapping and murder of a U.S. citizen, Danita Gonzalez Plank de Orellana, which did not attract international coverage. Although my hostess was more extreme in her opinions than most Ladinos in Antigua, other Spanish language students reported receiving similar warnings from their hosts. Tulane University's Kaqchikel language course, which meets for a couple of weeks each year in Antigua, has stopped using Ladino hosts from the Spanish schools, because their negative comments about Mayas disrupted the students' studies.

7. Also see Warren 1998b for the most thorough description and analysis of this movement.

8. Fischer and Brown 1996b contains articles by some of these scholars. Nelson 1999 and Watanabe 1995 offer examples of how and why scholarly perceptions of Mayas need to change. Nelson (1999:218) even cites a female Maya activist who helps her peers change their attitudes about and perceptions of Mayas.

9. Press runs of scholarly books in Guatemala are typically of 1,000 copies, which are distributed in Guatemala City and Antigua. The linguistic collective OKMA and seminars–workshops offered by the Academia de Lenguas Mayas de Guatemala have played important roles in making Guatemalan research more accessible to the general public.

10. By using *indígena*, they also distinguish themselves from Ladinos in a way that indicates a broader identity orientation than language or community. Vendors say that Rigoberta Menchú was "not Maya" and "not K'iche'," but an "indígena."

11. Wood (2000) observes that Zapotec handicrafts entrepreneurs participating in international art and tourism markets are incorporated into flexible and dispersed commodity production. In turn, some Zapotecs have established households in Oaxaca and in the United States. For Maya vendors, who own residences in their hometowns and rent living space in Antigua, this notion of flexibility in relation to production, household, and identity is a condition of working in a global economy.

12. For example, the Subcentro Regional de Artesanías y Artes Populares has produced two series of books, the "Colección Artesanías Populares" and the Colección Tierra Adentro," which focus on the fabrication of handicrafts and the areas where they are produced without collapsing ethnic and artisan identities into each other, thereby stressing the importance of handicraft production for Guatemalan nationality.

13. As Field observes, New Social Movements in general are linked to global organizations and are "organized around cultural practices that ... resist the power of the state" and "are not limited by national boundaries" (1999:229).

## References cited

Adams, Abigail  
1998 *Gringas*, Ghouls and Guatemala: The 1994 Attacks on

- North American Women Accused of Body Organ Trafficking. *Journal of Latin American Anthropology* 4(1):112–133.
- Alvarez, Sonia E., Evelina Dagnino, and Arturo Escobar, eds.  
1998 *Cultures of Politics/Politics of Culture: Re-Visioning Latin American Social Movements*. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Annis, Sheldon  
1987 *God and Production in a Guatemalan Town*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Appadurai, Arjun  
1996 *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Asturias de Barrios, Linda  
1994 *Mano de mujer, mano de hombre: Producción artesanal textil en Comalapa, Guatemala*. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, State University of New York, Albany.
- Babb, Florence E.  
1998 *Between Field and Cooking Pot: The Political Economy of Marketwomen in Peru*. 2nd edition. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Banco de Guatemala  
1994 *El turismo en Guatemala: 1993*. Boletín Informativo 5(105):1–7.
- Bastos, Santiago, and Manuela Camus  
1993 *Quebrando el silencio: Organizaciones del pueblo maya y sus demandas (1986–1992)*. Guatemala City: FLACSO.
- Bossen, Laurel  
1989 *Women and Economic Institutions*. In *Economic Anthropology*. Stuart Plattner, ed. Pp. 318–350. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Campbell, Howard  
1994 *Zapotec Renaissance: Ethnic Politics and Cultural Revivalism in Southern Mexico*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Castañeda, Quetzil  
1997 *On the Correct Training of Indios in the Handicraft Market at Chichén Itzá: Tactics and Tacitility of Gender, Class, Race and State*. *Journal of Latin American Anthropology* 2(2): 106–143.
- Centro de Documentación e Investigación Maya  
1999 *Valores de la cultura maya y desarrollo con identidad: Compilación de documentos y experiencias*. Guatemala City: Fundación CEDIM.
- Clark, Gracia  
1994 *Onions Are My Husband: Survival and Accumulation by West African Market Women*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.  
2001 “Nursing-Mother Work” in Ghana: Power and Frustration in Akan Market Women’s Lives. In *Women Traders in Cross-Cultural Perspective: Mediating Identities, Marketing Wares*. Linda J. Seligmann, ed. Pp. 103–126. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Clark, Gracia, ed.  
1988 *Traders versus the State: Anthropological Approaches to Unofficial Economies*. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Cojtí Cuxil, Demetrio  
1991 *La configuración del pensamiento político de pueblo maya*. Quetzaltenango, Guatemala: Asociación de Escritores Mayances de Guatemala.  
1994 *Políticas para la reivindicación de los Mayas de hoy (Fundamento de los derechos específicos del pueblo Maya)*. Guatemala City: Editorial Cholsamaj.  
1995 (Waqi’ Q’anil) Ub’aniik ri una’ooj uchomab’aal ri maya’ tinamit: La configuración del pensamiento político de pueblo maya, vol. 2. Guatemala City: Seminario Permanente de Estudios Mayas and Editorial Cholsamaj.  
1996 *The Politics of Mayan Revindication*. In *Mayan Cultural Activism in Guatemala*. Edward F. Fischer and R. McKenna Brown, eds. Pp. 19–50. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- 1997 (Waqi’ Q’anil) Ri maya’ moloj pa Iximulew: El Movimiento Maya (en Guatemala). Guatemala City: Editorial Cholsamaj.
- Colloredo-Mansfeld, Rudi  
1999 *The Native Leisure Class: Consumption and Cultural Creativity in the Andes*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Crónica  
1998 *Guatemala en números: Las cifras más importantes de la sociedad, economía y las finanzas*. Crónica (August 7–13, 1998), No. 538, supplement.
- Escobar, Arturo, and Sonia E. Alvarez, eds.  
1992 *The Making of Social Movements in Latin America: Identity, Strategy, and Democracy*. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Esquit Choy, Alberto, and Víctor Gálvez Borrell  
1997 *The Mayan Movement Today: Issues of Indigenous Culture and Development in Guatemala*. Guatemala City: FLACSO.
- Field, Les W.  
1999 *The Grimace of Macho Ratón: Artisans, Identity, and Nation in Late-Twentieth-Century Western Nicaragua*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Fischer, Edward F.  
1996 *The Pan-Maya Movement in Global and Local Context*. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, Tulane University.  
2002 *Cultural Logics and Global Economies: Maya Identity in Thought and Practice*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Fischer, Edward F., and R. McKenna Brown  
1996a *Introduction: Maya Cultural Activism in Guatemala*. In *Maya Cultural Activism in Guatemala*. Edward F. Fischer and R. McKenna Brown, eds. Pp. 1–19. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Fischer, Edward F., and R. McKenna Brown, eds.  
1996b *Maya Cultural Activism in Guatemala*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- French, Brigittine M.  
2000 *The Symbolic Capital of Social Identities: The Genre of Bargaining in an Urban Market*. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 10(2):155–189.
- Friedlander, Judith  
1975 *Being Indian in Hueyapán: A Study of Forced Identity in Contemporary Mexico*. New York: St. Martin’s Press.
- Friedman, Jonathan  
1992 *The Past in the Future: History and the Politics of Identity*. *American Anthropologist* 94(4):837–859.
- Goldín, Lilitiana R.  
2001 *Maquila Age Maya: Changing Households and Communities of the Central Highlands of Guatemala*. *Journal of Latin American Anthropology* 6(1):30–57.
- Gossen, Gary  
1994 *From Olmecs to Zapatistas: A Once and Future History of Souls*. *American Anthropologist* 96(3):553–570.
- Green, Linda  
1999 *Fear as a Way of Life: Mayan Widows in Rural Guatemala*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Gupta, Akhil, and James Ferguson  
1997 *Beyond “Culture”: Space, Identity, and the Politics of Difference*. In *Culture, Power, Place: Explorations in Critical Anthropology*. Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson, eds. Pp. 33–51. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Hale, Charles  
1994 *Between Che Guevara and the Pachamama: Mestizos, Indians and Identity Politics in the Anti-Quincentenary Campaign*. *Critique of Anthropology* 14(1):9–39.  
1996 *Mestizaje, Hybridity and the Cultural Politics of Difference*

- in Post-Revolutionary Central America. *Journal of Latin American Anthropology* 2(1):34–61.
- 1997 Cultural Politics of Identity in Latin America. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 26:567–590.
- Hall, Stuart
- 1996 New Ethnicities. In Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies. David Morley and Kuan-Hsing Chen, eds. Pp. 441–450. London: Routledge.
- 1997 The Local and the Global: Globalization and Ethnicity. In *Culture, Globalization and the World-System: Contemporary Conditions for the Representation of Identity*. Anthony D. King, ed. Pp. 19–40. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Hernández Castillo, Rosalva Aída
- 1997 Between Hope and Adversity: The Struggle of Organized Women in Chiapas since the Zapatista Uprising. *Journal of Latin American Anthropology* 3(1):102–120.
- Kearney, Michael
- 1996 Reconstructing the Peasantry: Anthropology in Global Perspective. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Laclau, Ernesto, and Chantal Mouffe
- 1985 *Hegemony and Social Strategy*. London: Verso Press.
- Lind, Amy Conger
- 1992 Power, Gender, and Development: Popular Women's Organizations and the Politics of Needs in Ecuador. In *The Making of Social Movements in Latin America: Identity, Strategy, and Democracy*. Arturo Escobar and Sonia E. Alvarez, eds. Pp. 134–149. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Little, Walter E.
- 2000 Home as a Place of Exhibition and Performance: Mayan Household Transformations in Guatemala. *Ethnology* 39(2): 163–181.
- 2001 Transnational Market and Community: The Social Relations of Kaqchikel Maya Vendors. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.
- 2002 Living and Selling in the “New Violence” of Post-Peace Accords Guatemala. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, New Orleans, November 21.
- 2003 Common Origins/“Different” Identities in Two Kaqchikel Maya Towns. *Journal of Anthropological Research* 59(2): 205–224.
- Montejo, Victor
- 1999 *Voices from Exile: Violence and Survival in Modern Maya History*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Moore, Henrietta L.
- 1988 *Feminism and Anthropology*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Morales, Mario Roberto
- 1998a La identidad y la patria del ladino. In *La construcción de la nación y la representación ciudadana en México, Guatemala, Perú, Ecuador y Bolivia*. Claudia Dary, ed. Pp. 411–466. Guatemala City: FLACSO.
- 1998b Construyendo la identidad ladina. *Revista de Estudios Sociales* 59(4a):15–21.
- Nash, June
- 1993 Maya Household Production in the World Market: The Potters of Amatenango del Valle, Chiapas, Mexico. In *Crafts in the World Market: The Impact of Global Exchange on Middle American Artisans*. June Nash, ed. Pp. 127–153. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Nelson, Diane
- 1999 *A Finger in the Wound: Body Politics in Quincentennial Guatemala*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Otzoy, Irma
- 1996 Maya' banikil maya' tzyaqb'äl Banikil Maya' Tzyaqb'äl: Identidad y vestuario maya. Guatemala City: Editorial Cholsamaj.
- Otzoy, Irma, and Enrique Sam Colop
- 1990 Identidad étnica y modernización entre los Mayas de Guatemala. *Mesoamérica* 19(June):97–100.
- Oxlajuuj Keej Maya' Ajtz' iib'
- 1993 Maya' Chii': Los idiomas mayas de Guatemala. Guatemala City: Editorial Cholsamaj.
- Paulson, Susan, ed.
- 2000 Identity Politics in *Bolivia la Nueva* of the 1990s. Theme issue, *Journal of Latin American Anthropology* 5(2).
- Radcliffe, Sarah A., and Sallie Westwood, eds.
- 1993 “Viva”: Women and Political Protest in Latin America. London: Routledge.
- Raxche' (Demetrio Rodríguez)
- 1995 *Las ONGs y las relaciones interétnicas*. Guatemala City: Editorial Cholsamaj.
- Sandstrom, Alan R.
- 1991 *Corn Is Our Blood: Culture and Ethnic Identity in a Contemporary Aztec Indian Village*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Schirmer, Jennifer
- 1998 *The Guatemalan Military Project: A Violence Called Democracy*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Seligmann, Linda J.
- 1993 Between Worlds of Exchange: Ethnicity among Peruvian Market Women. *Cultural Anthropology* 8(2):187–213.
- Seligmann, Linda J., ed.
- 2001 *Women Traders in Cross-Cultural Perspective: Mediating Identities, Marketing Wares*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Sistema de Naciones Unidas en Guatemala
- 1999 Guatemala: El rostro rural del desarrollo humano. In *Valores de la cultura maya y desarrollo con identidad*. Pp. 67–161. Guatemala City: Fundación CEDIM.
- 2000 Guatemala: La fuerza incluyente del desarrollo humano. Guatemala City: SNUG.
- Smith, Carol
- 1996 Myths, Intellectuals and Race/Class/Gender Distinctions in the Formations of Latin American Nations. *Journal of Latin American Anthropology* 2(1):148–170.
- Smith, Gavin
- 1989 *Livelihood and Resistance: Peasants and the Politics of Land in Peru*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Stoll, David
- 1993 *Between Two Armies in the Ixil Towns of Guatemala*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Swetnam, John J.
- 1975 *The Open Gateway: Social and Economic Interaction in a Guatemalan Marketplace*. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Pennsylvania.
- Tax, Sol
- 1937 The Municipios of the Midwestern Highlands of Guatemala. *American Anthropologist* 39:27–42.
- Universidad Rafael Landívar
- 1997 Primer Congreso de Estudios Mayas (7–9 de agosto de 1996). *Cultura de Guatemala (Segunda Época)* 18(1, 2, 3). Guatemala City: Universidad Rafael Landívar.
- 1998 Segundo Congreso de Estudios Mayas (6, 7, y 8 de agosto de 1997). *Estudios Sociales* No. 59. Guatemala City: Universidad Rafael Landívar.
- Warren, Kay
- 1992 *Transforming Memories and Histories: The Meanings of*

- Ethnic Resurgence for Mayan Indians. *In Americas: New Interpretive Essays*. Alfred Stephan, ed. Pp. 189–219. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- 1998a Indigenous Movements as a Challenge to the Unified Social Movement Paradigm for Guatemala. *In Cultures of Politics/Politics of Culture: Re-Visioning Latin American Social Movement*. Sonia E. Alvarez, Evelina Dagnino, and Arturo Escobar, eds. Pp. 165–195. Boulder: Westview Press.
- 1998b Indigenous Movements and Their Critics: Pan-Maya Activism in Guatemala. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Watanabe, John M.  
1995 Unimagining the Maya: Anthropologists, Others, and the Inescapable Hubris of Authorship. *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 14(1):25–45.
- Weismantel, Mary  
2001 *Cholas and Pishtacos: Stories of Race and Sex in the Andes*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Wood, W. Warner  
2000 Flexible Production, Flexible Households, and Flexible

Fieldwork: Participant Observation among Petty Commodity Producers in the Era of Late Capitalism. *Ethnology* 39(2): 133–148.

Zapeta, Estuardo

1998 La ONG-ización del movimiento maya. *Siglo XXI*, January 6: 15.

1999 *Las huellas de B'alam*. Guatemala City: Editorial Cholsamaj.

*accepted November 11, 2002*

*final version submitted April 25, 2003*

Walter E. Little  
Department of Anthropology  
Arts & Sciences Building, Room 237  
University at Albany, SUNY  
1400 Washington Avenue  
Albany, NY 12222  
wlittle@albany.edu