

JUSTICE AND FAIRNESS IN TOURISM: A GROUNDED THEORY STUDY OF
CULTURAL JUSTICE IN QUINTANA ROO, MEXICO

A Dissertation

by

BLANCA ALEJANDRA CAMARGO ORTEGA

Submitted to the Office of Graduate Studies of
Texas A&M University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

May 2011

Major Subject: Recreation, Park and Tourism Sciences

Justice and Fairness in Tourism: A Grounded Theory Study of Cultural Justice in
Quintana Roo, Mexico

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Approved by:

| | |
|---------------------|---------------------|
| Chair of Committee, | Tazim B. Jamal |
| Committee Members, | Ulrike Gretzel |
| | Corliss Outley |
| | Norbert Dannhaeuser |
| Head of Department, | Gary Ellis |

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ABSTRACT

Justice and Fairness in Tourism: A Grounded Theory Study of Cultural Justice in
Quintana Roo, Mexico. (May 2011)

Blanca Alejandra Camargo Ortega, B.S., Universidad Autónoma de Bucaramanga,
Colombia; M.S. Purdue University;

M.S., Associazione Istituzione Libera Università Nuorese, Italy

Chair of Advisory Committee: Dr. Tazim B. Jamal

Equity and fairness in the distribution of tourism benefits and participation in tourism decision-making are key tenets of sustainable tourism. However, little attention has been paid to the study and conceptualization of justice in tourism and robust theoretical or methodological foundations to examine fairness and justice; in particular, in regards to the well-being of ethnic, minority and/or disadvantaged groups are especially lacking in tourism studies. This dissertation reports the results of a grounded theory study of justice and equity in relation to tourism and the Yucatecan Maya in Quintana Roo, Mexico. A robust framework is offered to guide the study of cultural justice in tourism, which was developed based on theoretical contributions from environmental justice, social justice, and political philosophy, among others, and empirical data from multiple sources. Data were collected through in-depth interviews with 47 tourism stakeholders, participant observation, and examination of tourism-

related government reports, statistics and other data related to legislation, planning and development.

Issues of justice were found to be complex and multifaceted, rooted in post-colonial and contemporary power dynamics that affect the economic, social, and cultural status of the Yucatecan Maya in society. The study identified four major issues directly related to tourism that affected the economic and cultural well-being of this ethnic group: cultural exploitation, cultural marginalization, cultural racism, and cultural domination. The extensive research also identified the positive role of tourism in providing for cultural justice, in particular, recognition and respect for cultural, ethnic and minority groups and the cultural sustainability of their cultural manifestations.

Based on the above findings and drawing upon theoretical contributions in the extensive literature on justice and fairness, it is argued that discourses of justice and equity in tourism should look beyond the distribution of tourism benefits and access to political power and address intangible matters of respect, recognition, and cultural valuation. A number of key principles to help address cultural injustices are suggested and implications for tourism policy and practice discussed.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many people contributed to the completion of my doctoral program and the development of this dissertation. My first and most sincere appreciation is to my committee chair and mentor, Dr. Tazim Jamal, for guiding me through the Ph.D. process and being such a positive influence in my academic and personal life. Tazim, thank you for investing your time in me, encouraging me to think outside the box, and believing that I could do this work. This dissertation is dedicated to you. Also, thank you for being such a positive role model and friend. I enjoyed each and every one of our conversations and look forward to many more in the future. I would also like to thank Dr. Joseph O’Leary for convincing me to join the RPTS department and Dr. Michael Schuett for his support throughout the program. To the members of my committee, Drs. Ulrike Gretzel, Corliss Outley, and Norbert Dannhaeuser, thank you for your time and valuable insights to improve this dissertation.

There are several people who also contributed to the completion of this dissertation work. I would like to express my gratitude to all participants in this study who volunteered their time to talk with me. In particular, I want to thank Miguel and Mary for showing me the special places in the Zona Maya and opening their house to me, Margarita, Nelly, Chuck Williams, Heidel, and Lupita for a wonderful time in Cozumel and Romano Segrado for the opportunity to work at the UQROO. In the Zona Maya, I want to acknowledge Marcos Canté and maestro Ricardo for showing me the “heart” of the Maya culture in Quintana Roo. I would like to thank Julio Alvarez, Nora

Mejía, and Martha Camargo for assisting with the transcriptions of the interviews and Yessenia Rodriguez and Sonia Gangotena for taking the time to review my translations.

I am also grateful to the RPTS staff, in particular Marguerite Van Dyke, Tina Vega, Irina Shatruck, Connie Lara, and Terrell Johnson, as well as graduate students for their support and friendship throughout my time at Texas A&M. Linda Lelo, thank you for being there since day one and for all your patience, support and good humor. We had a great time! Thanks to Ann Gillard, Hyungsuk Cho, Naho Maruyama, Jinhee Jun, Thorn Vajirakachorn, Jerry Lee, Samuel Robertson, Jee In Yoon, Ji-Yeon Lee, Rick Arnold, Smriti Dahal, Amanda Bentley, Ramaa Shingote, and Sunwoo Lee. Amy Sotherden, thank you for all your long distance encouragement. You are a great friend always willing to talk to me from an outsider perspective. Cheers!

To my parents and siblings, there are no words to express my love and gratitude. Thank you for your unconditional support, care, and love throughout all these years. It is, finally, my turn to take care of you.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: EQUITY AND JUSTICE IN TOURISM

Sustainable tourism is defined as the tourism that “meets the needs of present tourists and host regions while protecting and enhancing opportunities for the future” (World Tourism Organization [WTO], 1997, p. 30). Embracing the principles of sustainable development (World Commission on Environment and Development [WCED], 1987), sustainable tourism is concerned with the optimal use of environmental resources, viable and long-term economic operations, respect for the socio-cultural authenticity of the host communities, and equity in the distribution of socio-economic benefits (WTO, 2004).

A key aspect of the sustainability paradigm is *equity*, both inter- and intra-generational. Intergenerational equity refers to the ability of present generations to meet their needs without compromising the ability of future generations to do the same. Intra-generational equity, on the other hand, is concerned with present generations’ access to environmental resources, economic and political power, and participation in decision-making processes (WCED, 1987). Following the equity principle, sustainable tourism needs to ensure equitable participation in tourism development and fair distribution of tourism costs and benefits among present and future generations (Bramwell, 2005; Lee & Jamal, 2008; Telfer & Sharpley, 2008; Wall & Mathieson, 2006; WTO, 2004).

However, the tourism literature provides numerous examples of inequities facilitated by tourism development. Examples of economic inequities include disparities in average income and standards of living between international tourists and their hosts (D'Sa, 1999; Shoesmith, 1978), leakage of foreign exchange to multinationals and to foreign investors (Mowforth & Munt, 1998), and appropriation of tourism revenues by local elites (Crick, 1989; Krippendorf, 1987). Moreover, there may be limited and differential access to well-paid positions in tourism industry (Schellhorn, 2010; Urry, 1996). Social inequities can occur when, for example, scarce public resources are diverted to fund or maintain projects serving tourists while local residents may be restricted from using tourism and recreation facilities (Cohen, 2002). Environmental inequities are said to result in the following kind of instances: overexploitation of natural resources by the tourism industry (see Sorensen, 2006), eviction and appropriation of indigenous lands to promote protected areas and ecotourism initiatives (see Akama, 1999; Bramwell, 2005; Schroeder, 2008), unequal distribution of recreation and tourism sites among different class or ethnic groups (Porter & Tarrant, 2001), etc.

Culture, too, may be a site of injustice¹. Robinson (1999) argued that inequalities in power between different tourism stakeholders have often resulted in imposing tourism development upon marginalized cultural groups without their consent. Other scholars

¹ For the purpose of this study, I draw upon Taylor's definition of culture as a "complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society"(as cited in Moore, 1997, p. 17) as well as George and Reid's (2005) view that culture also involves "the social and psychological practices on which people or society understands and interprets the world around them" (p. 89).

have commented on problems related to the differential impact of tourism on cultural minority groups (e.g. Camargo, Lane, & Jamal, 2008) or the exclusion of groups from visiting sites of their heritage (Cohen, 2002). Finally, lack of access to electronic communication technologies, known as the digital divide (Rogers, 2001; Suárez & Guillén, 2006) can create further inequities. For example, certain destinations or certain groups with access to communication technologies can develop a competitive advantage over those without these technologies in that such communication means afford the opportunity to promote tourism enterprises to a wider and more affluent audience.

Several scholars argued that inequities are most profound in developing countries where colonial legacies, poverty, lack of economic development alternatives, or severe imbalance of payments make them more vulnerable to the dominance and control of national and foreign powers. For these scholars, tourism is seen as a new form of imperialism and colonialism that perpetuates western countries' domination and expansion of their interests abroad (Mowforth & Munt, 2003; Mowforth, Charlton & Munt, 2007; Nash 1989). Mowforth & Munt draw some similarities between the tourism industry and classic colonialism: 1) affluent tourist-generating countries dictate the nature and scale of tourism in developing destinations; 2) most of the revenues generated by tourism is sent abroad; 3) most of the jobs that the industry generates in the local community are unskilled, menial and poorly paid; and 4) the needs and rights of indigenous people are often ignored by tourism developers. The authors suggested that (Latin American) countries had changed in nature from the provider of primary products

('banana republics') to becoming the playground of the wealthy from the world ('playground' republics).

Scant research is available on issues of equity and justice in tourism. An examination of all articles published in the *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* from 1993 to 2007 (Lu & Nepal, 2009) showed that the majority of research focused on tourism impacts, sustainability assessments, tourist behavior and attitudes, and tourism planning. By contrast, only three articles (Cohen, 2002; Higgins-Desbiolles, 2008; Lee & Jamal, 2008) explicitly discussed issues related to equity or justice. This trend is the same for other top tier tourism journals; only three articles in *Tourism Management* (Kim, Kim & Kim, 2009; Lee & Kang, 1998; Park, Ellis, Kim & Prideaux, 2010) and two studies in the *Journal of Travel Research* (Lee & O'Leary, 2008; Porter & Tarrant, 2001) explicitly address tourism impacts from an equity or justice perspective. Hence, it is not surprising to see sustainability scholars like Bramwell and Lane (2008) suggest that matters of equity and justice need to take priority in tourism research. It is this topic that my dissertation hopes to contribute towards.

Research Purpose and Approach

The purpose of this dissertation is to conduct an empirically informed study of justice and equity for minority, low-income, and cultural groups in a tourism context. A theoretically informed framework to study cultural justice in tourism will be developed based on the justice-based study of perceptions, opinions, and experiences of key tourism stakeholders in a highly visited tourism destination area, as well as secondary

data on tourism policies, tourism legislation, and tourism planning and development information.

The locations chosen to conduct this study were Cozumel and Playa del Carmen, two key tourism destinations in the Caribbean coast of Mexico. They were selected based on two important factors. First, they experience high levels of tourism development and tourism visitation. They are located in the state of Quintana Roo, a zone targeted by the Mexican government to serve as the first state-sponsored, large-scale planned development of modern, postindustrial tourism centers in the country (Torres & Momsem, 2005b). Tourism represents the number one economic activity in the state. In 2008, Quintana Roo received 35% of all international tourists who generated approximately 60% of all tourist revenue in the country (Secretaría de Turismo de Mexico [SECTUR], 2009b). Second, Cozumel and Playa del Carmen are inhabited by a minority ethnic group, the Yucatecan Mayan, the ancestral inhabitants of the area and now a minority group within the state². The presence of a cultural minority groups permits examining issues related to cultural equity and justice in the context of tourism. There were also pragmatic reasons for selecting this area to conduct this study. They had to do with the convenience of distance, language, and availability of contacts at the sites. However, as the research unfolded and new theoretical perspectives emerged, I found it necessary to corroborate the data and conduct additional research in other

² According to the 2005 Mexican census data, 19% of Quintana Roo's population is indigenous (Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía [INEGI], 2008). In Cozumel and Playa del Carmen, Maya people represent 20% and 15% of the total population respectively (Enciclopedia de los Municipios de México, 2008).

locations within and outside these locations. In addition to the two sites selected for the study, I interviewed people in Cancun and Puerto Morelos in the Riviera Maya as well as several towns in central Quintana Roo, more specifically, the area known as the *Zona Maya* (Maya Zone).

Rationale for the Study

Little research has assessed matters related to equity in the distribution of tourism impacts, allocation of tourism resources, or participation on tourism decision-making by diverse stakeholder groups. Some scholars have investigated disparities in income by gender or social class (Lee & Kang, 1998; Lee & O' Leary, 2008; Muñoz-Bullón, 2010; Santos & Varejão, 2006; Sparrowe & Iverson, 1999) or distribution of tourism and recreation amenities among different class groups (Porter & Tarrant, 2001); however, very few studies (van der Berghe, 1992; Schellhorn, 2010) have specifically investigated equity and justice for ethnic minorities or other disadvantaged groups, especially in regards to their culture and cultural heritage. Appendix A provides detailed information about these studies.

An initial literature search on Maya culture and/or Maya residents and tourism in Quintana Roo revealed a number of studies that provide general accounts of tourism development and its impacts on this ethnic group (Daltabuit & Pi-Sunyer, 1990; Murray, 2007; Pi-Sunyer & Thomas, 1997; Pi-Sunyer, Thomas & Databuit, 2001; Torres & Momsem, 2005b). A few studies addressed specific issues related to migration (Cruz, 2003; Juárez, 2002b; Sierra Sosa, 2007) or the commodification of Maya landscapes for tourism purposes (Brown, 1999). Only two studies (Juárez, 2002a, 2002b) provided

information about the perceptions of Maya people about tourism development and their cultural heritage. Juárez (2002a) reported that indigenous Maya people in Tulum, Quintana Roo complained about inequalities derived from tourism development, loss of cultural autonomy, and their subordinate position within contemporary global economies. Furthermore, the few empirical studies available have focused on the Maya residents of Cancun or Tulum; little attention has been paid to those in Playa del Carmen or Cozumel, even though they represent 19% and 20% of the population respectively.

Preliminary findings from an earlier study that examined local residents' feelings about tourism in Cozumel (Jamal, Camargo, Sandlin, & Segrado, 2010) suggested that respondents perceived some cultural inequities. For example, some felt that many tourists arriving to Cozumel were not familiar with the local culture and, moreover, were not interested in learning about it. Others felt discriminated against because they could not access tourist sites where international tourists were welcomed. A few commented on the necessity to learn and speak English in order to secure a job in the tourism industry (suggestion of cultural domination). These findings, in addition to the lack of literature on stakeholders' perspectives on issues of culture presented above, corroborated the need to conduct further and more in-depth research on the topic of cultural justice in tourism in these areas in Quintana Roo.

Research Questions

Floyd and Johnson (2002) suggested using an environmental justice perspective to examine how the costs and benefits associated with outdoor recreation and tourism were distributed by race, ethnicity, and income. Environmental justice is defined as “the

fair treatment and meaningful involvement of all people regardless of race, color, national origin, or income with respect to the development, implementation and enforcement of environmental laws, regulation and policies” (US Environmental Protection Agency [EPA], 2009). Because of its emphasis on examining fairness and equity in the distribution of (environmental) impacts, principles of environmental justice provides a good starting point for the study of cultural justice in tourism. However, culture is highly complex, with both tangible (e.g. artifacts, built structures) as well as intangible dimensions (e.g. individual and group identity, sense of belonging, rituals, traditions, values, and beliefs); hence additional components were needed. Using theoretical insights from tourism, political theory, social justice, and feminist literature, I developed a set of preliminary questions which were framed around the little researched topic of cultural justice:

1. How do Maya residents in Cozumel and Playa del Carmen relate to their culture and cultural heritage?
 - 1.1. For those participants who self-identify as Maya, what characteristics do they use to describe themselves as Maya?
 - 1.2. What practices relate to Maya cultural heritage for Maya residents in Cozumel and Playa del Carmen?
2. In general, how do issues of cultural justice play out for Maya residents in Cozumel and Playa del Carmen?
 - 2.1. How does discrimination and racism affect Maya residents in Cozumel and Playa del Carmen?

- 2.2. What are the experiences of Maya residents with respect to cultural domination, respect, recognition in Cozumel and Playa del Carmen?
3. How do issues of cultural justice play out for the Maya residents through the tourism industry in Cozumel and Playa del Carmen?
 - 3.1. How has tourism affected the well-being of Maya residents in Cozumel and Playa del Carmen?
 - 3.2. What are the opinions, perspectives, or concerns of the different tourism stakeholders, including Maya residents, regarding tourism in Quintana Roo, in general, and Cozumel and Playa del Carmen in particular?
 - 3.3. How do tourism officials and managers/owners of tourism-related business relate to Maya culture and Maya residents in Cozumel and Playa del Carmen?
 - 3.4. How do issues of discrimination and racism play out in the tourism industry with respect to the Maya residents in Cozumel and Playa del Carmen?
 - 3.5. At the government level, what are the policies and planning process, if any, that address matters related to discrimination, cultural protection and participation in tourism decision-making for Maya residents?

These questions are explored in subsequent chapters as follows. In Chapter II, I provide the initial theoretical foundation that guided this research, namely the different conceptions of justice and cultural justice. This is followed by a discussion of the methodological approach to this research (Chapter III), the presentation of the findings of this study (Chapters IV and V), and a grounded theory discussion of cultural justice in

tourism (Chapter VI). The dissertation ends with conclusions and implications for practice and further research (Chapter VII).

Significance of the Study

This dissertation provides a first detailed empirical and theoretical examination of justice and equity in relation to tourism, making a significant contribution to the little researched area of fairness, equity and justice in tourism. More specifically, this study 1) provides insights on issues related to justice and equity in general and in relation to culture and cultural heritage; 2) identifies the local-level processes and practices which, tacitly or explicitly, negatively affect cultural, ethnic, and low income groups; and 3) sheds light on the role of different tourism stakeholders in facilitating or redressing injustices. Theoretically, this dissertation offers a conceptualization of cultural justice in tourism and a robust framework to examine justice and fairness for cultural, ethnic, and marginalized groups in a tourism destination. It also suggests ways to solve practical and relevant tourism policy and management issues in regards to labor conditions, distribution of tourism resources, participation in decision-making, and marketing and representation among others.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES ON JUSTICE

Conceptions of Justice

Studies of justice have occupied thinkers from Plato and Aristotle (justice as a character of all humans) to contemporary thinkers like John Rawls (justice as fairness), Nancy Fraser (justice as recognition), and feminist scholars such as Carol Gilligan and Grace Clement (justice as the ethics of care)³. In this chapter, I present several views of justice that I believe are relevant to the study of cultural justice for minority groups in tourism⁴.

The first contemporary perspective of justice to be discussed here is distributive justice, which is concerned with allocating all members of a society a fair share of the benefits and resources available (Maiese, 2003). Resource allocation can be based on the principles of equality (all persons received equal share of benefits), equity (a person's benefits are equal to his/her contributions to society), or needs (individuals who have the

³ For an overview of the different conceptions of justice see Capeheart and Milovanovic (2007).

⁴ Although not in the context of justice, Jamal and Menzel (2009) draw upon classic and modern philosophers to discuss three ethical paradigms particularly relevant to tourism: The utilitarian ethic of the greatest good, the Kantian ethic of respect for persons, and an Aristotelian virtue ethics. A utilitarian ethic dictates that other things being equal, the goodness of an action is to be judged in terms of its consequences. Therefore, the action that creates the greatest amount of pleasure (i.e. happiness) is the most morally correct. The Kantian ethic of respect for persons is guided by the categorical imperative that people should be treated as ends and never simply as means; the Aristotelian ethic involves treating others so as to facilitate and enhance their ability to live a good life, in other words to "flourish".

most needs receive the most benefits). Associated with the distributive paradigm is the notion of *justice as fairness* (Rawls, 1971), which argues for distribution of social and economic resources based on a hypothetical, original position of equality in which no one is advantaged or disadvantaged by the outcome of natural chance or the contingency of social circumstances. In this initial situation, distributions can be made following an equality principle, that is, all individuals are assigned the same basic rights and duties, or the principle that holds that social and economic inequalities are just “only if they result in compensating benefits for everyone, and in particular for the least advantaged members of society” (p. 15).

Procedural justice is concerned with people’s participation and deliberation in decision-making affecting their lives and the rules and procedures according to which decisions are made. It is therefore concerned with making and implementing decisions using fair processes that ensure fair treatment (Maiese, 2003). Procedural justice implies that (a) people carrying out the procedure are neutral; (b) rules are impartial so that they do not favor some people over others from the outset; (c) people affected by decisions have voice and representation in the decision-making process; and (d) all implemented processes are transparent (Maiese, 2003, 2004).

Restorative justice is concerned with repairing the harm done to individuals, interpersonal relationships, and the community (Maiese, 2003). It focuses on restoring damage and reintegrating offenders to society. Capeheart and Milovanovic (2007) argued that restorative justice, although having a long history, gained most support since the early 1990s with the increase of informal justice and restitution programs, victim

movements, and victim-offender mediation programs as well as truth and reconciliation commissions.

The distributive justice paradigm has received strong criticism (see Warren, 1999; Young, 1990) for three main reasons. First, it ignores the institutional contexts that determine unfair distributions. Young argued that distributive approaches to justice “tend to presuppose and uncritically accept the relations of production that define an economic system” (p. 21). A second criticism is that a distributive paradigm takes into consideration only the distribution of material goods and resources, ignoring intangible aspects such as decision-making, culture, self-respect, etc. Third, egalitarian distributive schemes are considered elitist and dominant (Deveaux, 2000; Walzer, 1983) because, by emphasizing notions of equality for all and taking a neutral stand to people’s differences and interests, these distributive schemes seek to impose universal points of view on others.

Instead of a matter of equality, some scholars consider justice a matter of *recognition*, not only of people’s identities and cultural differences (Carens, 2000; Deveaux, 2000; Fraser, 1995; Young, 1990) but also of their being full partners in social interaction (Fraser, 2000). Carens argued that treating people fairly meant regarding them “concretely, with as much knowledge as we can obtain about who they are and what they care about”. (p.8). Young asserted that recognizing particular rights for certain groups is a way to promote their participation in decision-making, and Fraser (1995) stated that justice “requires *both* redistribution *and* recognition” because:

...economic injustice and cultural justice are usually interimbricated so as to reinforce one another dialectically. Cultural norms that are unfairly biased against some are institutionalized in the state and the economy; meanwhile, economic disadvantaged impedes equal participation in the making of culture, in public spheres and in everyday life. The result is often a vicious circle of cultural and economic subordination. (pp. 111-112).

To remedy cultural and distributive injustices, Fraser (1995) called for transformative measures that can restructure underlying generative frameworks. For cultural injustices, she suggested remedies that aimed to transform underlying cultural-valuation structures and raise the self-esteem of marginalized and disrespected groups.

Capeheart and Milovanovic (2007) drew attention to types of justice developing from “below” (p.2) that are more inclusive and oriented towards obtaining justice “that has gone unmet” (p.2). Desires for such unmet justice usually materialize grassroots movements that mobilize the people affected by unjust distribution of resources, lack of recognition of their particular needs or their rights to participate in decision-making on issues affecting their lives. Examples of these include movements for racial/ethnic justice, environmental justice, gender justice, sexual justice, and cultural justice. In my study, I focus on cultural justice.

Cultural Justice

Defining cultural justice is an elusive endeavor, but an attempt is made here to frame and situate this study. Fikentscher (1991) defined cultural justice as “justice that is due to another culture” (p. 314). Kwenda (2003) argued that there is cultural justice

when “people live by what they naturally take for granted” (p. 70). Other scholars equate cultural justice with cultural protection and cultural rights for minority groups (Arneil, 2007; Deveaux, 2000). Instead of providing a concrete definition, several scholars identify instances of cultural injustice and suggest certain conditions through which justice can be attained. A brief examination of themes associated with cultural (in) justice is provided.

Iris Marion Young (1990) argued that a conception of justice (for social and cultural groups) should begin with the concepts of *domination* and *oppression*. She defined domination as “the institutional conditions which inhibit people from participation in determining their actions or the conditions of their actions.” Young characterized oppression as “the systematic institutional processes which prevent people from learning, and using satisfying skills in socially recognized settings” (p. 38). Domination and oppression might take several forms and affect groups differently. Young described five forms through which oppression can occur. These “five faces of oppression” (pp. 48-63), she argued, did not necessarily involve the exercise of tyranny by a ruling group but rather, were exercised through the everyday, unquestioned norms, habits, and symbols in society⁵: These five faces of oppression are:

⁵ This argument resembles Bourdieu’s notions of symbolic violence and symbolic domination. These refer to the subtle forms of domination that are exercised “through the schemes of perception, appreciation and action that are constitutive of habitus” (2004, p. 340) and which the dominated not only fail to recognize but also perceived as natural. Moreover, the victims contribute to their own domination by tacitly accepting what is being imposed to them. Gender domination is one of the most prominent examples of symbolic violence.

- *Exploitation*: Oppression occurs through a steady process of the transfer of the results of the labor of one social group to benefit another.
Relations of power and inequality within a society are produced and reproduced through a systematic process in which the energies of the oppressed groups are continuously expended to maintain and increase the power, status, and wealth of the dominant groups.
- *Marginalization*: Oppression occurs when a whole category of people is expelled from useful participation in social life and potentially subjected to severe material deprivation and even extermination.
- *Powerlessness*: Oppression occurs when people lack significant power to participate in making decisions that affect the conditions of their lives and actions. Powerlessness also designates the positions where people have little opportunity to develop and exercise skills, creativity, or judgment in their work, have no technical expertise or authority, or do not command respect.
- *Cultural Imperialism*: Oppression occurs when the dominant meanings of a society render the particular perspective of other groups invisible at the same time as stereotyping and marking it as the Other, resulting in a society whose cultural products only express the experiences, goals and achievements of dominant groups.

- *Violence*: Oppression occurs when members of some groups are subjected to unprovoked attacks as well as harassment, intimidation, or ridicule for the purpose of degrading, humiliating or stigmatizing them.

Similar to Iris Marion Young, other scholars link cultural (in) justice to issues of cultural imperialism or cultural domination (Armitage, 2006; Arneil, Deveaux, Dhamoon, & Eisenberg, 2007; Carens, 2000; Fraser, 1995; Kwenda, 2003). According to Kwenda, cultural injustice occurs when people are forced to surrender, by coercion or persuasion, what they normally took for granted (i.e., their culture) and began depending on what others take for granted (i.e., other people's culture). This cultural imposition, he argues, makes the subjugated person lose his/her language, cultural ways, customs, manners, gestures and postures that facilitate uninhibited, unselfconscious action.

Misrecognition is also a form of cultural injustice (Fraser, 1995; Taylor, 1994). Fraser (1995) defined misrecognition as 'being rendered invisible via the authoritative representational, communicative, and interpretative practices of one's own culture' (p. 110). In latter works (2000, 2001), Fraser argued that misrecognition was also a form of social subordination that denied some individuals or groups the status of full partners in social interaction through institutionalized patterns of cultural values that constitute some social actors as normative and others as inferior, deviant or unworthy of respect and esteem. In a similar vein, Taylor (1994) defined misrecognition as being subject to confining, demeaning, or contemptible pictures of oneself. He argued that both non- and mis-recognition were forms of oppression that imprisoned people "in a false, distorted,

and reduced mode of being” (p. 25) which, if internalized, could cause great injury to people’s identity and sense of self. Injustices of recognition include trivializing, objectifying, and demeaning stereotypical depictions in the media; harassment and disparagement in all spheres of public life; attitudinal discrimination; exclusion or marginalization in public spheres; and denial of full rights and equal protection (Fraser, 1995).

Respect and disrespect emerge as additional themes in cultural justice discussions (Deveaux, 2000; Fraser, 1995; Kwenda, 2003; Ross, 1998). Fraser argued that disrespect, like cultural domination and misrecognition, was a cultural injustice “rooted in social patterns of representation, interpretation, and communication” (p. 110) that subjected people to be maligned or disparaged in stereotypical public representations and/or every day life interactions. Honneth (1992) distinguished three forms of disrespect (pp.190-191). The first one pertains to a person’s physical integrity in which s/he is deprived of any opportunity to dispose freely over his/her own body, such in the case of rape or torture. The second form of disrespect involves people’s structural exclusion from the possession of certain rights within the society, which violates their expectations to be recognized as subjects capable of reaching moral judgments. The third type of disrespect refers to the denigration of individual or collective lifestyles by categorizing them, for example, as inferior or deficient. Honneth argued that the experience of social degradation and humiliation harmed the identity of the victims, as they no longer considered themselves worthy of esteem.

Remedies for cultural injustices related to misrecognition and disrespect require, among others, recognition of and respect for cultural differences (Deveaux, 2000; Fraser, 1995; Honneth, 1992; Kwenda, 2003; Ross, 1998), revaluation of disrespected identities and cultural products of subordinated groups (Fraser, 1995), and establishments of these groups as full partners in social life (Fraser, 2000; Honneth, 1992). Honneth (1992) argued that such acts of recognition can re-establish individuals' sense of dignity and integrity that was lost when subjected to different types of disrespect.

Lastly, some scholars drew attention to aspects of equity in relation to culture. For example, Lomax (1977) called for a principle of "planetary cultural equity" (p. 138) that would ensure all cultures in the world receive a fair share of electronic communications accessibility and fair weight in the educational systems. Throsby (1995, 1997) discussed cultural equity in terms of fairness in the distribution of cultural resources, access to cultural participation, and the provision of cultural services for disadvantaged groups.

The following section expands on the discussion on cultural justice and examines how this concept has been discussed in (sustainable) tourism research.

Cultural justice in tourism

Robinson (1999) drew early attention to the lack of intra-generational equity and justice in tourism and called for collaboration and cultural consent to be the focus of sustainable tourism agendas. Specifically, he suggested that tourism developers seek permission to develop, represent and sell culture, and reward those groups granting the right to be gazed upon. In addition, he emphasized the allocation of cultural rights,

transfer of ownership of resources, and the right to determine one's actions as key issues in achieving cultural equity in tourism. However, it was not until very recently that scholars followed up on Robinson's discussion and started to write about cultural equity and cultural sustainability in sustainable tourism research.

Jamal, Borges and Stronza (2006) drew attention to matters of equity with respect to the use, protection, and valuation of cultural resources for ecotourism. In particular, they warned against the potential impacts of (eco)tourism on residents' cultural heritage, identity, and sense of belonging to their surrounding natural landscapes. For these scholars, *cultural equity* related to "the fair consideration of the changes being brought to the community's cultural fabric" (p. 164). It involved two important aspects: (a) factoring of experiential relationships and potential cultural changes into a sustainability framework and (b) effective participatory processes at the local destination level so that those who stand to be impacted by development can make informed decisions on development projects and proposals (p. 165).

Drawing upon the environmental justice literature, Camargo et al. (2008) provided a preliminary description of cultural justice as "the active involvement of low-income and minority groups in decision-making related to their (eco) cultural goods and their (human-environmental) relationships" (p.75). These authors suggested examining issues of cultural justice in natural area destinations from the perspectives of procedural justice, distributive justice, and especially, cultural equity (the fair distribution of tourism impacts among different cultural groups), cultural discrimination (disproportionate amount of tourism impacts bore by cultural minority groups), and

cultural racism (the exclusion or prevention of minority and indigenous groups from conducting their traditional practices by tourism initiatives, laws, policies, etc). Camargo et al.'s framework offers a good starting point for exploring issues of cultural justice in tourism; however, their broader categories need further explication of tangible plus intangible dimensions related, for example, to issues of cultural recognition, cultural respect, and other aspects noted in the literature review earlier.

This chapter provided the initial theoretical foundation for this research. As Carens (2000) argued, one cannot really understand the meaning of general principles and theoretical formulations of justice until they are interpreted and applied in specific contexts, a task undertaken in the following chapters. In the next chapter, I explain the methodological approach used for this research.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this dissertation is to assess whether and how issues of equity and justice were played out through the through the tourism industry for the Maya residents Cozumel and Playa del Carmen in the state of Quintana Roo, Mexico. Specifically, I sought to understand: (1) How did Maya residents, tourism-related business owners and managers, and tourism government officials relate to Maya culture and cultural heritage? (2) How, in general, did issues related to equity and justice, as identified in the preliminary literature review, play out for Maya residents?, and (3) How these issues have been taken up through tourism and interactions with the tourism industry. In this chapter I describe the research design and methods that were used to address these research questions. The first part will discuss the methodological approach chosen for conducting this research, followed by a discussion on participants' selection, methods for data collection, data analysis, as well as the trustworthiness, credibility, ethical, and positional considerations that shaped this dissertation.

Rationale for a Qualitative Research Design

Since the purpose of the investigation was to gain an understanding of participants' opinions, perceptions, and experiences related to equity and justice, a qualitative approach was deemed the most appropriate to conduct this research.

Through qualitative research, researchers “study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meaning people

bring to them” (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994, p. 2). Denzin and Lincoln indicated that qualitative research (a) places emphasis on processes and meaning, (b) stresses the socially constructed nature of reality, the intimate relationship between the researcher and what is being studied, and the situational constraints that shape inquiry, and (c) seeks answers to questions that stress how social experience is created and given meaning.

Creswell (1998, pp. 17-18) provided a rationale for the use of qualitative research. Creswell suggested that qualitative approach should be undertaken when:

1. The research question under investigation starts with a *how* or *what*, in other words, when the goal is to describe what is going on in a particular situation
2. The topic needs to be explored because variables cannot be easily identified, theories are not available to explain behavior or participants, or theories need to be developed.
3. There is a need to present a detailed view of the topic
4. Individuals are to be studied in their natural setting
5. There is an interest in narrative writing style, bringing oneself into the study
6. There are sufficient time and resources to spend on extensive data collection in the field and on detailed data analysis of text information
7. The audiences (advisor, committee members, publication outlets, etc) are receptive to qualitative approaches
8. The researcher’s role is that of an active learner who will tell the story from the participants’ view rather than as an expert who passes judgment on them.

Four major competing paradigms structure qualitative research: Positivistic and post-positivistic, constructivist-interpretive, critical (Marxist, emancipatory), and feminist-poststructural (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). Denzin and Lincoln defined a paradigm as the “basic belief system or worldview that guides the investigator, not only of choices of method but in ontologically and epistemologically fundamental ways” (p. 105). Each research paradigm presents different ontological (*what is the nature of reality?*), epistemological (*how is knowledge made?*) and methodological (*how do we go finding what we want to know?*) assumptions, which are illustrated in Table 1.

Table 1

Basic Beliefs of Inquiry Paradigms

| Item | Positivism | Postpositivism | Critical Theory et al. | Constructivism |
|--------------|---|--|--|---|
| Ontology | Naïve-realism- “real reality but apprehendable” | Critical realism- “real” reality but only imperfectly and probabilistically apprehendable | Historical realism- virtual reality shaped by social, political, cultural, economic, ethnic, and gender values; crystallized over time | Relativism- local and specific constructed realities |
| Epistemology | Dualist/objecti- vist; findings true | Modified dualist/ objectivist; critical tradition/commu- nity; findings probably true | Transactional/ subjectivist; value mediated findings | Transactional/sub- jectivist; created finding |

Table 1

Continued

| Item | Positivism | Postpositivism | Critical Theory et al. | Constructivism |
|-------------|--|---|------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Methodology | Experimental/ manipulative; verification of hypothesis; chiefly quantitative methods | Modified experimental/ manipulative; critical multiplism; falsification of hypothesis; may include qualitative methods | Dialogical/dialectical | Hermeneutical/ dialectical |

Note. Reprinted from “Competing paradigms in qualitative research,” by E. G. Guba and Y. S. Lincoln, 1994, in N. K. Denzin and Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (1st ed.), pp. 105-117.

I approached my research from a **constructivist** paradigm, which presupposed a specific set of assumptions that guided the research questions as well as the data collection, analysis, and interpretation in my study. In general, the constructive paradigm assumes (a) **relativist ontology**, that is, the existence of multiple constructed realities; (b) **subjectivist epistemology**, through which understanding is co-created by the interactions of the knower and respondent; and (c) **naturalistic methodological procedures**, in other words, the study is situated in the natural setting where the phenomenon under examination is occurring (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). Hollinshead (2006) argues that a constructivist approach for tourism research should be applied for local and high-contextualized studies, in particular, in those scenarios where multiple worldviews contend against each other. In my study, the multiple realities are those of Maya residents, business and/ or owners of tourism businesses, and tourism government

officials; knowledge was co-created by my interactions with the participants; and the study took place in a naturalistic setting, that is, in various locations in Quintana Roo where participants lived and worked.

Research Strategy

Within the qualitative approach, there are several strategies for collecting, analyzing, and reporting information. Examples of these include case study, ethnography, life histories, phenomenology, grounded theory, and action research. Among these, a constructivist grounded theory (Charmaz, 2000, 2005) was chosen as the most suitable strategy to study cultural (in) justice through tourism. Grounded theory is defined as “a set of flexible analytical guidelines that enable researcher to focus on their data collection and to build inductive middle-range theories through successive levels of data analysis and conceptual development” (Charmaz, 2005, p. 507). The guidelines include a) simultaneous collection and analysis of data, b) a two-step data coding process, c) comparative methods, d) memo writing aimed at the construction of conceptual analysis, e) sampling to refine the researcher’s emerging theoretical ideas, and f) integration of the theoretical framework (Charmaz, 2000, pp. 510-511).

The constructivist approach to grounded theory rests on a set of assumptions that differentiates it from the earlier and more objectivist approach and rigid techniques of Glaser and Strauss (1967) or Strauss and Corbin (1998). Ontologically, the constructivist approach does not seek a single, universal truth; rather, it seeks to find what the participants define as real and where their definitions of reality take them. The end result is “an image of *a* reality, not *the* reality- that is, objective, true and external (Charmaz,

2000, p. 523). Second, constructive grounded theory recognizes an interactive epistemology that allows the researcher create data and conduct ensuing analysis through interaction with the participants. Third, this approach studies experience from the standpoint of those who live it. The analysis is therefore interpretive, taking the form of a story about people, social processes, and their situation. Fourth, Charmaz's approach supports the use of sensitizing concepts (p. 515); those are the researcher's background ideas, ways of seeing, or theoretical directions that serve as starting points to guide the research process and from which to study the data. Lastly, it does not claim theoretical saturation; that mean data that no longer generates additional theoretical insights or category properties.

Charmaz (2005) advocated the use of constructivist grounded theory for equity and justice studies. The most important advantage, according to Charmaz, is that it allows taking certain sensitizing ideas and perspectives, about justice and exploring them in the field. Examining if, how, to what extent, and under which conditions injustice becomes relevant to the study can offer integrated theoretical statements about the conditions under which (in) justice develops, changes, or continues. In short, this approach can show how various groups construct and enact (in) justice. In addition, the constructive grounded theory approach places special emphasis on resources, hierarchies, and policies and practices, how they influence respondents' constructions of (in) justice, and to what extent they find support from the participants. In tourism research, this methodology has not been widely used (see Table 2 for tourism studies using grounded theory).

Table 2

Tourism Studies Using Grounded Theory

| Study | Purpose of the study | Setting | Methods |
|----------------------------|---|--|---|
| Riley, 1996 | To investigate the underlying dimensions of travel-related prestige and the relationship of prestige conferrer to the conferree. | Texas, USA | “Long interviews” to 36 residents of Texas |
| Hardy, 2005 | To develop insights into perceptions of tourism and the relationship between sustainable tourism and stakeholder involvement | Dandree region, Queensland, Australia | In-depth interviews to 4 main stakeholder groups: local people, tourism operators, visitors to the study area, and regulators; focus groups; short questionnaire. |
| Jennings, 2005 | To provide insights into the lived experiences of long-term cruising women. | Australia | Participant observation, interviews, surveys |
| Lepp, 2007 | To investigate residents attitudes towards tourism | Bigodi village, Uganda | Active interviews to 48 residents of Bigodi, informal conversations and participant observation. |
| Santos & Buzinde, 2007 | To examine representational dynamics of a given contested space in which social agents and institutions interact to commodify cultural identity for touristic purposes. | Humboldt Park neighborhood, Chicago, USA | Interviews to 14 Puerto Rican community members. |
| Kim, Eves, & Scarles, 2009 | To gain deeper insight into motivations to consume local food and beverages on trips and holidays. | United Kingdom | Semi-structured interviews to 20 participants |

Research Setting

Quintana Roo

The area known as Quintana Roo today was a peripheral and inaccessible part of the Yucatan peninsula until the late 1960s. It was a low population density region, approximately 27, 000 people in 1950, inhabited mostly by Maya dwellers in the interior and some indigenous enclaves along its coast. Historically, due to its isolation and inhospitable features, this region was not of interest to the Spanish colonizers. Instead, it became a zone of refuge for indigenous people escaping from Spanish control in other regions and, after the Mexican independence, for those Maya unwilling to come under the Mexican rulers. Maya people escaping from the bloody “Caste War” (1847-1901) settled in what it is Quintana Roo today and developed their own society, a mix of Spanish colonial and pre-Hispanic Maya culture (Reed, 2001).

Starting in the 1970s the federal government fostered and sponsored tourism development initiatives and alliances with international tourism developers. These initiatives include the first Integrally Planned Resort of Cancun (FONATUR, n.d.), all-inclusive resorts, cruise ports, and tourism corridors linking several Mayan sites (i.e. La Ruta Maya), among others. These initiatives made Quintana Roo the most important tourism destination in Mexico; in 2008, the state received approximately 8 million visitors that generated an estimated US \$ 6 billion (SECTUR, 2009b).

The Riviera Maya

The tourist area known as the Riviera Maya is located in the East coast of the Yucatán Peninsula, in the state of Quintana Roo. It extends approximately 130 kilometers from the town of Puerto Morelos in the north to the town of Punta Allen in the south (Figure 1). After Cancun, it is the most important tourist destination in Quintana Roo. In 2009, this area received approximately 2 million tourists, 33% of all who visited the state (Table 3). This popular area features several communities (i.e. Puerto Morelos, Playa del Carmen, Puerto Aventuras, Akumal, and Tulum), natural and cultural heritage sites (beaches, cenotes, Maya archeological sites, Sian Ka'an biosphere reserve), and popular tourist attractions (e.g. the eco-themed parks Xcaret and Xel-há). In 2009, it had a hotel capacity of 32,363 rooms, 81% of which were in 5 star hotels (DATATUR, 2010).

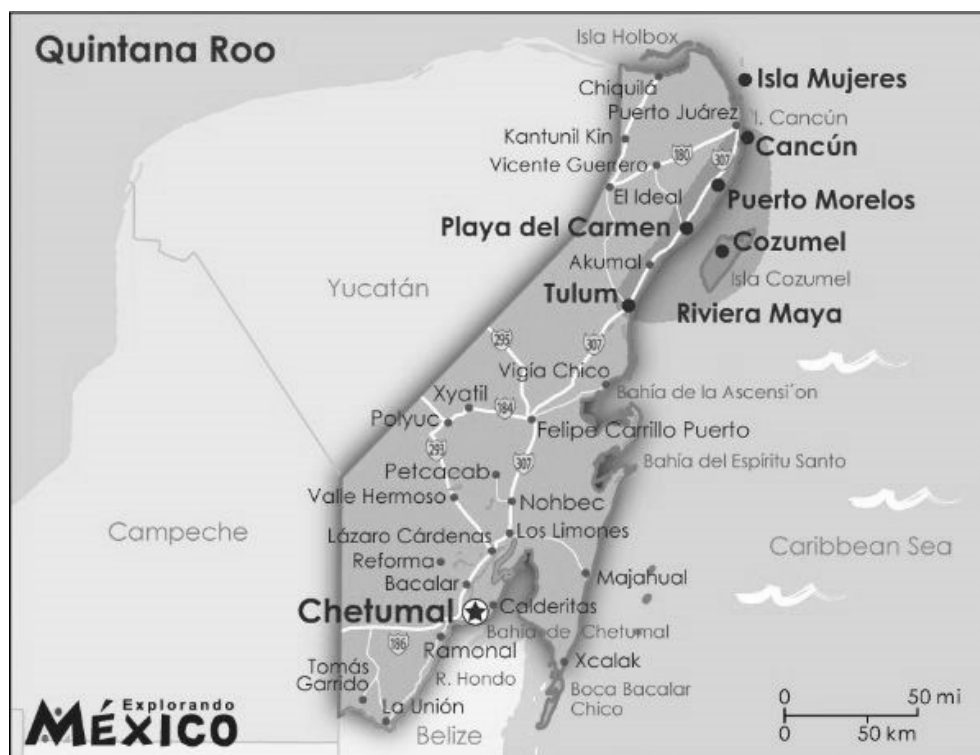


Figure 1. Map of Quintana Roo. Reprinted from Municipio de Solidaridad website, 2010.

Table 3

Tourism Statistics for Study Locations from 2007 to 2009

| Location | Tourist Arrivals (Millions) | | | Tourism Revenue (US Million) | | |
|------------------|--------------------------------|------|------|---------------------------------|---------|------|
| | 2007 | 2008 | 2009 | 2007 | 2008 | 2009 |
| Riviera Maya | 2.83 | 3.21 | 2.32 | \$1,787 | \$2,026 | - |
| Playa del Carmen | .58 | .57 | .49 | - | - | - |
| Cozumel | .55 | .92 | .57 | \$501 | \$708 | - |

Table 3
Continued

| Location | Tourist Arrivals (Millions) | | | Tourism Revenue (US Million) | | |
|------------------------------|--------------------------------|-------|-------|---------------------------------|----------|----------|
| | 2007 | 2008 | 2009 | 2007 | 2008 | 2009 |
| Cozumel (Cruise visitors) | 2.48 | 2.56 | 2.22 | \$254.4 | \$ 205 | \$230.6 |
| Total Quintana Roo | 7.00 | 8.02 | 7.56 | \$5,452 | \$6,187 | - |
| Total México | 21.3 | 22.63 | 21.50 | \$10,340 | \$10,817 | \$11,275 |

Note. Adapted from Administración Portuaria de Quintana Roo [APIQROO] website; SECTUR (2008); SEDETUR website, Florida-Caribbean Cruise Association [FCC] (2009).

Within the Riviera Maya, Playa del Carmen was one of the core two locations for this study. A brief overview of these two sites follows.

Playa del Carmen

Playa de Carmen, colloquially referred to as *Playa*, is the third largest city of Quintana Roo after Cancun and Chetumal (pop. 135,589 in 2005). Known as Xaman- Há in Maya, Playa was a rest point for those embarking on journeys to Cozumel in pre-Hispanic times. The modern history of the town started in the late 1800s with the arrival of a few families escaping from the Caste War and looking for a peaceful territory to settle in. Starting in the 1970s, Playa started to experience rapid and steady growth⁶, and

⁶ With an annual growth of 15%, Playa del Carmen was the city with highest growth rate in Mexico in 2007 (Montezuma, 2007)

from a fishing village, it developed into an international destination which attracts tourists and expatriates from all over the world.

Playa is the center of the Riviera Maya and the starting point to many natural, cultural, and archeological sites around the area. Tourism in Playa revolves around la *Quinta Avenida* (Fifth Avenue), the most popular street in the town. It hosts many international restaurants, bars, nightclubs, boutiques, handcrafts shops, and clothing stores, which give the town a cosmopolitan ambiance. In 2009, this area had a hotel capacity of 5,471 rooms, which represents 17% of the total capacity for the Riviera Maya (SEDETUR, 2010)

Cozumel

Known to the Maya as *Cuzamil* or “the land of the swallows”, Cozumel is Mexico’s largest inhabited island, located 30 kilometers off the coast of Playa del Carmen. Occupied by the Mayan as early as 300 A.D., it was one of the most important trade and religious centers of the Yucatán Peninsula and worshipping place for *Ixchel* goddess of the moon, medicine, and fertility. In 1518, Cozumel was discovered by Spanish explorer Juan de Grijalva, who declared it as the property of the Kings of Spain. The island soon became the starting point for the colonization of Mexico. During this period, Spanish colonizers destroyed several of the Mayan temples, blocked Mayan trade, and suppressed religious practices. The Spanish colonization together with an outbreak of smallpox left the Mayan civilization in ruins. Between 1519 and 1570, the population declined from 30,000 to only 70, and the island became uninhabited by 1700.

The modern history of Cozumel started in 1848, when a group of white Yucatecan families escaping from the Caste War in Yucatán, migrated to the island. By 1850, the population had grown to 324 residents. The migration from mainland Mexico made Cozumel, once again, an important port with a booming economy derived from the extraction of chicle and fishing. Tourism activities in Cozumel started in the late 1920s as an alternative economic activity to the declining chicle industry (Arguelles, Bellos, Romero, Cupul, & Coral, 2003). However, tourism did not take off until three decades later because of the economic depression post-World War II and the increasing loss of traditional activities. During the late 1950s and early 1960s, Cozumel gained popularity as a tourism destination due in part to the positive comments from the French explorer Jacques Cousteau about its coral reefs and a subsequent documentary in 1961. The island soon became a world-recognized destination for scuba diving and snorkeling. The first hotel opened in 1960 followed by several other locally-owned lodges and restaurants. By the late 1970s, foreign capital started to flow reflecting the tourism boom on the island.

The 1970s marked the birth of the cruise ship industry in Cozumel. During this time, tourism development focused primarily on the construction of cruise ports, hotels, stores, and infrastructure to satisfy the needs of the tourists and cruise passengers. The employment prospects and investment opportunities deriving from tourism attracted many people to the island. Due to this second migration, the population in Cozumel grew from 10,000 in the 1970s to approximately 80,300 in 2008 (Honorable Ayuntamiento de Cozumel [City of Cozumel], 2009b).

Cozumel is one of the most important tourist destinations in Mexico. The island has unique natural and cultural heritage sites that attract millions of visitors a year. Its natural features include the world's second largest coral reef barrier, two natural parks (i.e., Parque Marino Nacional Arrecifes de Cozumel and Parque Natural de Chankanaab), white sand beaches, lakes, mangroves, and diverse species of fish and migratory birds. On the cultural side, Cozumel hosts several festivals and religious rites throughout the year and it is the home to important archeological sites, which include the ruins of the sanctuary of the Mayan goddess Ixchel (called San Gervasio). It is important to note that 90% of the visitors arrive in Cozumel via cruise ships and the rest via ferry from Playa del Carmen or one of the airlines serving the island (see Figure 2 for geographic origin of tourists to Cozumel).

La Zona Maya (The Maya Zone)

In contrast to the popular and cosmopolitan Riviera Maya, the Zona Maya, located in central Quintana Roo, is rural, traditional, and less known to mainstream tourists. Because of its immense living and historical cultural significance, this area is widely recognized as the “center” or the “heart” of the Maya culture in Quintana Roo. The Zona Maya is inhabited by the descendants of the *cruzoob*, the Maya rebels who fought for autonomy and independence from the Yucatecan elites during the Caste War (1847-1901)⁷. Living in small communities throughout this area, Mayas have been able to maintain their language, beliefs, and traditional subsistence and cultural practices.

⁷ For a complete account of the events that took place during this war see Reed (2001)

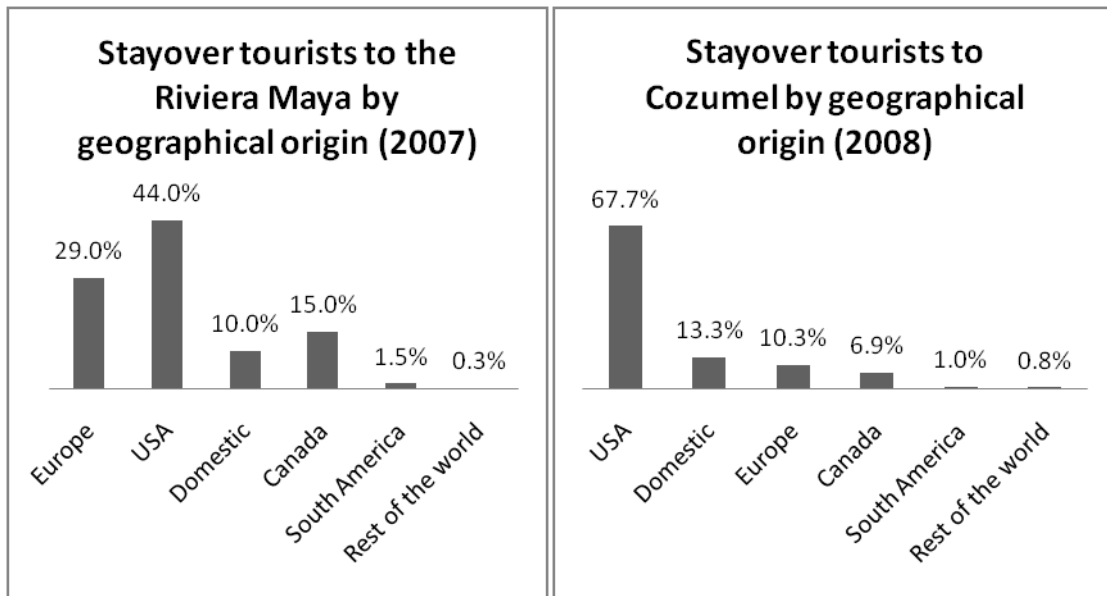


Figure 2. Stay-over tourists to the Riviera Maya and Cozumel by geographic origin. Adapted from Dirección de Turismo Municipal de Cozumel [Cozumel's Tourism Division] (2009b). *Procedencia geográfica 2008*. [Data file] and Gobierno del Estado de Quintana Roo (2008). *Respuesta a solicitud de información 428-2008*. Oficio N. UTAIPPE/DG/CAS1869/XI/2008. Unidad de transparencia y acceso a la información pública del poder ejecutivo. Chetumal, Quintana Roo, México.

The Zona Maya has important cultural and natural heritage sites. It is home of natural lakes, lagoons, cenotes, as well as rich fauna and flora. Several unique animal species are found in this area, including endangered primates, felines, bears, and small mammals. Although there are only a few archeological sites (e.g. Chacchoben), the Zona Maya is rich in colonial heritage, sites related to the Caste War, and living cultural traditions such as farming in milpas, apiculture, traditional medicine, weaving hammocks, and broidery.

The political and economic center of the Zona Maya is Felipe Carrillo Puerto (formerly known as Chan Santa Cruz). This town is of high significance to the Maya of Quintana Roo. It is the home of the sacred site of *La Cruz Parlante* (the Talking Cross), which according to the legend, spoke to the Maya rebels during the Caste War. Other important communities in the Zona Maya include Tepich and the colonial towns of Tihosuco, *Señor*, Chunhubhub, and Muyil. The total population of Carrillo Puerto and the Maya communities under its jurisdiction is approximately 72,000, 67% of whom are of Maya ethnicity (Municipio de Felipe Carrillo Puerto [Municipality of Carrillo Puerto], 2010), the highest concentration of ethnic Maya population in the state of Quintana Roo.

Tourism in the Zona Maya is incipient and revolves around Carrillo Puerto and nearby communities where tourists can experience Maya life, colonial heritage and nature tourism (Figure 3). Carrillo Puerto features a cultural center and several small museums of Maya culture. Tihosuco (pop. 4,607) hosts the museum of the Caste War (El Museo de Guerra de Castas) and remains of Spanish colonial heritage, including the ruins of a colonial church destroyed during the war. Señor is a traditional Maya community (pop. 2,872) with a near-by clear water lagoon where tourists can take both cultural and natural guided tours; Muyil is known for its archeological sites, wetlands, and jungles. Tourism operations are small scale, usually in the form of struggling community-based projects that offer one-day cultural and nature tours. Accommodations and tourist services are very scarce and mainly located in the city of Carrillo Puerto.



Figure 3. Felipe Carrillo Puerto and surrounding communities.

Data Generation

Data were generated during the summer 2009 through different methods: 1) semi-structured interviews, 2) informal conversations, 3) participant observation, and 4) secondary data gathered during and after fieldwork. Furthermore, I kept a reflective journal with daily detailed notes of my experiences, observations, and reflections on methodological, theoretical, and personal insights on my research.

Interviews

My method of choice for generating data on the opinions, perceptions and experiences of the three tourism stakeholders on issues related to cultural justice was in-

depth, face-to-face interviews. Like an informal conversation, this approach allows the researcher to explore a general topic to help obtain the participant's view while respecting how s/he frames and structures the responses (Marshall & Rossman, 1999). I conducted interviews with a purposive sample of 47 participants representing key tourism stakeholders: self-identified Maya residents working in the tourism industry (23), owners, or directors of tourism-related businesses and organizations (16), and tourism government officials at the local and regional level (8). I conducted 4 additional interviews with participants who had been working and doing research related to the Maya culture and tourism, for a total of 50 formal interviews. Furthermore, I had several informal conversations with people I met during the fieldwork, in most cases Maya residents working in tourism. These informal conversations, which took place during visits to local places, while engaging in participant observation in coffee shops or bars, or even during bus rides to fieldwork locations, provided insightful information for this research.

As suggested by Charmaz (2006), my interview protocol contained general open-ended questions that could generate detailed ample discussion of the participant's experiences with the topic under investigation. The initial questions covered three general topics: (a) participant's background information and his/her involvement in the tourism industry, (b) overall opinions and perceptions of the tourism industry and its impacts, and (c) issues related to cultural justice, including discrimination, recognition, and respect (Sample interview guides for the three key tourism stakeholders is presented in Appendix B). However, due to the emergent nature of the research and special

circumstances taking place during the time of the research (e.g. H1N1 virus travel warning, language issues, etc.), I changed, eliminated or added questions to the interview protocols. On occasions, I did not follow a protocol at all. Participants freely expressed their concerns and opinions and I felt it was neither necessary nor sensitive to redirect the conversation towards a particular topic.

All interviews were conducted in Spanish and, with the exception of two, digitally recorded. When possible, I interviewed participants on more than one occasion to follow up on information s/he had provided or to gain deeper understanding of their experiences. Out of 50, I had the opportunity to re-interview 11 participants. I also spent two weekends traveling through the Zona Maya and sharing family life with the Maya couple who participated in the study. In some of the interviews, participants felt more comfortable talking to me when accompanied by a family member or a friend, an unforeseen situation that actually resulted in richer insights for this study.

Despite having taken several qualitative research courses and conducted smaller studies in other settings (which had given me a feeling of confidence about my abilities to conduct in-depth interviews), the interview process in this study presented several challenges. First, some of the interview questions were not very clear to the participants, especially to the Maya participants. Certain terms used in the questions did not hold the same meaning to them as they did to me. For example, the word “tourism” was used by several respondents, across all groups, to refer to “tourists”. In that way, being happy with tourism meant being happy with the tourists. In addition, some participants had a difficult time understanding and discussing terms such as “impacts”, “benefits”, and

“well-being”. To overcome this, I had to rephrase several questions and provide examples of what was being discussed so participants could understand some of the concepts. Additional challenges included getting comfortable with the interview process, letting go of the interview protocol, and probing. While some participants shared a lot of information, many tended to be very short and dry in their answers and therefore a lot of probing was needed. One of the first interviews, for example, lasted only 15 minutes because the participant, despite all my probing efforts, would only provide short and superficial responses. As the research progressed and I felt more at ease with the interview process, the quality and richness of interview data increased.

Participants

A purposive sampling approach was undertaken in this study. Bernard (2006) described purposive sampling as a “you take what you get approach” (p. 190) through which the researcher identifies people who meet the criteria for the study and asks them to participate. According to Bernard, purposive sampling is most appropriate for research related to or about special or hard to find populations, which is my case included 1) self-identified Maya residents who were or had been involved with the tourism industry; 2) managers and/owners of tourism- related business; and 3) representatives from state and municipal tourism organizations. Detailed information for participants in each group is provided next.

Maya residents

Self-identification was deemed necessary to avoid imposing simplistic ethnic categories to participants based on assumptions of homogeneous ethnic and cultural

characteristics. Stanfield (1993) discouraged social science researchers from using taken-for-granted objectified conceptions of racial identity. Specifically, he warned against the *fallacy of homogeneity* and the *fallacy of monolithic identity* (p. 19-21). The former refers to homogeneous examinations of people of color, through which terms such “African-American”, “Latino”, or “Indian” are taken to connote internal sameness. The latter, fallacy of monolithic identity, refers to the assumption that people of color have no differential identities, denying the possibility of a broad range of identities within the same group of people. Identity issues can be even more problematic in Latin America, where categories of identity can be based on criteria of race, culture, class, nation, etc. (Castañeda , 2004). Furthermore, Castañeda argued, racial and identity categorization complexity is most present in the Yucatán peninsula where its unique processes of colonization, independence, and incorporation to a larger nation-state have had an influence on the Maya identity. Therefore, he suggests scholars be cautious when using the label “Maya”, as it is a zone of contestation of belonging, identity, and differentiation:

Ethnographers of Yucatán quickly learn to overcome and then forget their shock when they first hear a monolingual Maya speaker tell them that he or she is not a Maya, that all the Maya are long gone (they are the ones who built the pyramids), and, in the same breath, that the real Maya live in a town “just over there” where “they” speak the *bilhach*—or authentically true, “really real”—Maya. Yet if one goes “there,” “they” will tell you the same story about some others who live elsewhere, and who are indeed the real Maya... Sometimes

“non-speakers” will speak Maya; other times, Maya speakers feign total ignorance of the language (p. 41).

He added,

Those that are known as “Maya” in anthropology books and tourist discourses use a variety of self-identific terms that are based on cross-cutting criteria of class, gender, and language, but not ethnicity. Thus, a male “Maya” might be Maya, but more likely *masewal*, *otzil*, *humilde*, *mayero*, *catrín*, and *mestizo*. Note that a female “Maya” is a *mestiza* because she dresses like a Maya, speaks Maya, and lives “Maya culture.”... Since Mayas are *mestizos* and non-Maya *mestizos* are Mexicans, this leaves open the term of identifying the non-Maya Yucatecos.“White” is also a possibility, but not all non-Maya are “white” (*blanco*); some are *mestizo* (in “racial-ethnic” and cultural terms) and even consider themselves as such at the same time that they do not identify as *Mestizo* (in the sense of the national ideology of Mexican *mestizaje*) since this term of identity refers to non-Yucatec Mexicans....In the final analysis, not all Yucatecos are “Maya” and some “Maya” are the Maya, but all are Yucatecos” (p. 53).

Like Castañeda, Gabbert (2001) and Hervik (1999) raised concerns about scholars who assume a cultural continuum of the Maya people since prehistory or a general ethnic consciousness as “Maya”. This criticism applies to tourism scholars who, with a few exceptions (e.g. Magnoni, Ardren, & Hutson, 2007; Medina, 2003) seem to presuppose a homogenous and essentialized “Maya” culture and identity of their

subjects, or a cultural continuity between present day and pre-Hispanic Maya people, as exemplified by the following quote from a seminal study of tourism, environmentalism, and cultural survival in Quintana Roo (Pi-Sunyer & Thomas, 1997, p. 188).

We should recall that these are the native people of the Yucatán, the descendants of the builders of the pre-Hispanic cities and ceremonial centers....[I]n relative isolation, they lived in small communities dependent on slash-and-burn agriculture, beekeeping, hunting and the utilization of forest resources....[T]his way of life is severely challenged. The customs, rituals, and languages that have held Maya communities together, binding them to their ancestors, their spirit world, their land, and one another, are being challenged externally by agents of change, and internally by members of their own communities.

To avoid the unreflective representation of Maya ethnic identities, Hervik (1999) suggested that questions of self-identification be integral and the starting point to any research studies of this (or any other) ethnic groups.

In addition to self-identification as Maya, two other criteria used to select the participants for this first group: being born in the Yucatán peninsula and having working experience in the tourism industry. I attempted to have a balanced sample in terms of occupation, age, and gender. I sought participants who have had working experiences in positions with and without contact with tourists (front and backstage) as well as different types of job settings (e.g. hotels, food establishments, tour companies, retail stores).

Gaining entry and initial contact with Maya participants

Ok, now what? Where do I start meeting potential participants for the study? How do I start establishing rapport with people in a strange setting?

These were some of the questions in my mind upon my arrival in Cozumel. After solving the practical issues of lodging and transportation and familiarity with the area, I had to start meeting people. This was not an easy matter. The first person I met in my fieldwork was Señora⁸ Amelia, a friend's aunt and owner of a car rental agency. Her welcoming attitude and knowledge of Cozumel boosted my confidence in undertaking this study. I started "hanging out" in touristy places so I could become a familiar face for people working there. I would spend several hours hanging out at coffee shops, restaurants, bars and/or museums and start informal conversations with people working there. With time, I would tell them about my study and ask them if they would be willing to grant me an interview. Recruiting participants who held frontstage positions was easier as it was expected of them to talk to tourists and visitors. On the other hand, recruiting people who worked in backstage positions was very challenging, as participants could get in trouble for speaking with strangers during their work hours. I also had difficulties recruiting female participants, as many positions, especially those that require direct contact with tourists/customers, are held by men.

⁸ *Señor/Señora* and *Don/Doña* are formal and respectful ways to address people who are older.

To aid my recruiting efforts, I used a snowball technique, and asked participants or people I met during the fieldwork to introduce me to people they knew who meet the selection criteria and who were willing to participate in my study. In addition, as Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggested, I used gatekeepers who helped me recruit potential participants. For example, a gentleman I met in Cozumel and who worked promoting timeshare packages helped me recruit three participants and gain access to upscale resorts which otherwise I would not have been able to visit. Likewise, a female American expatriate, whom I met at a bar, put me in contact with Don Pablo, a Maya healer who would become a key participant and a friend in Cozumel.

In regards to age, when possible, I asked the participant's age during the interview. This was not always possible due to cultural norms (in some Latin American countries it is not always proper to ask a person's age if you do not know them well, if they are older than you, or if they are women). On some occasions, participants would mention their age during the interview. For the rest of the participants, I made an educated guess of their age. The demographic information of all Maya residents is provided in Table 4.

Table 4
Maya Residents

| Pseudonym | Gender | Occupation | Age | Place of birth | Location |
|---------------|--------|---|-----|-------------------------|----------|
| Francisco | Male | Shopkeeper, jewelry store | 38 | Tulum, QR | Cozumel |
| Señora Carmen | Female | Cultural interpreter, Museum of Cozumel | 50s | Baca, Yucatán | Cozumel |
| Carlos | Male | Snack bar worker | 37 | Chemax, Yucatán | Cozumel |
| Enrique | Male | Waiter | 31 | Carrillo Puerto, QR | Cozumel |
| Nancy | Female | Hotel housekeeper | 20s | Mérida, Yucatán | Cozumel |
| Alfonso | Male | Hotel houseman | 30s | Telchal Puerto, Yucatán | Cozumel |
| Darío | Male | Shopkeeper, souvenir store | 37 | Motul, Yucatán | Cozumel |
| Helena | Female | Hotel housekeeper | 35 | Umán, Yucatán | Cozumel |
| Juan Carlos | Male | Locker room attendant, all-inclusive resort | 20s | Cozumel | Cozumel |
| Señora Inés | Female | Housekeeper | 50 | Espita, Yucatán | Cozumel |
| Ezequiel | Male | Line cook | 20s | Izamal, Yucatán | Cozumel |
| Olga | Female | Seasonal employee, private beach club | 20s | Umán, Yucatán | Cozumel |
| Pablo | Male | Engineer, chiropractic & Maya healer | 54 | Mérida, Yucatán | Cozumel |
| Rosalba | Female | Spa masseuse & Maya activist | 41 | Mérida, Yucatán | Cozumel |

Table 4
Continued

| Pseudonym | Gender | Occupation | Age | Place of birth | Location |
|------------|--------|---|-----|---------------------|------------------|
| Javier | Male | Tourism office information agent | 23 | Señor, QR | Playa del Carmen |
| Diego | Male | Hotel front desk agent | 20 | Uh-May, QR | Playa del Carmen |
| Don David | Male | Security guard | 50s | Valladolid, Yucatán | Playa del Carmen |
| Victor | Male | Shopkeeper, souvenir and jewelry store | 41 | Izamal, Yucatán | Playa del Carmen |
| Don Alvaro | Male | Taxi driver | 50s | Km 102, QR | Playa del Carmen |
| Humberto | Male | Shopkeeper, souvenir and jewelry store | 32 | Ticuch, Yucatán | Playa del Carmen |
| Don Julio | Male | Security guard, private second home complex | 50s | Ticul, Yucatán | Playa del Carmen |
| Beatriz | Female | Laundry attendant | 20s | Izamal, Yucatán | Playa del Carmen |

Note. Total Maya participants: 23 (16 male, 7 female).

Tourism-related business and organizations

The second group of participants consisted of managers, owners, or directors of tourism related businesses and organizations (Table 5). A total of 14 participants, representing different types of organizations were interviewed: nine in Cozumel, five in Playa del Carmen, and one in Señor, Quintana Roo. The only selection criterion was that they be in a leadership position, irrespective of ethnicity or place of birth (two

participants in this group self-identified as Maya). Similar to the first stakeholder group, the majority of participants were male (11), but, in contrast, only six were born in the Yucatán Peninsula.

Table 5
Tourism-related Organization Representatives

| Pseudonym | Gender | Position | Place of birth | Location |
|---------------|--------|---|----------------|----------------------|
| Señora Amelia | Female | Owner & manager, car rental agency | Yucatán | Cozumel |
| Germán | Male | General manager, cruise terminal | Cozumel, QR | Cozumel |
| Mauricio | Male | Owner & manager, ecological reserve and scuba diving operator | Mexico City | Cozumel |
| Martín | Male | Co-owner & manager, upscale restaurant | n/d | Cozumel |
| Andrés | Male | Owner, water front restaurant | Cozumel, QR | Cozumel |
| Fabián | Male | General manager, water front restaurant | Yucatán | Cozumel |
| Alejandro | Male | Manager, scuba diving operator | Mexico City | Cozumel |
| Luis | Male | Cozumel Hotel Association's Representative | n/d | Cozumel |
| Gregorio | Male | Hotel workers union representative | Yucatán | Cozumel |
| Roberto | Male | Tour guide union representative | Yucatán | Cozumel |
| Hernando | Male | Director, community based ecotourism project | Quintana Roo | XX ^a , QR |

Table 5
Continued

| Pseudonym | Gender | Position | Place of birth | Location |
|-----------|--------|---|-------------------|------------------|
| Luisa | Female | Division manager, all-inclusive resort | n/d | Playa del Carmen |
| Fanny | Female | Sustainability manager, tour operator | Cuernava, Morelos | Playa del Carmen |
| Carolina | Female | Division manager, eco-cultural theme park | Mexico City | Playa del Carmen |

Note. Total 16 (11 male, 5 female).

^aThe name of this location is omitted to protect the participant identity.

Government officials

The third group of participants consisted of high level representatives of state and municipal organizations in charge of tourism and/or cultural affairs (Table 6). The organizations represented in this study are, at the state level, the Secretariat of Tourism of Quintana Roo (*Secretaría de Turismo de Quintana Roo* [SEDETUR])⁹; at the local level, the municipal Divisions of Tourism (*Dirección de Turismo*) of Solidaridad (Playa del Carmen), Felipe Carrillo Puerto, and Cozumel, the Divisions of Cultural Affairs of Playa del Carmen and Cozumel, Cozumel Tourism Promotion Board, and Cozumel's Parks and Museums Foundation [FPMC]. To protect the identity of participants, his/her position within these organizations is omitted.

⁹ SEDETUR is the organization in charge of designing, monitoring, and evaluating policies for tourism development and promotion in the state. In addition, it serves as a liaison between municipal and federal agencies related to tourism (SEDETUR, 2010). Its organizational structure is available in Appendix D.

Table 6
Tourism Officials

| Gender | Organization represented | Location |
|--------|---|------------------|
| Male | Cozumel Tourism Promotion Board (<i>Fideicomiso de Promoción Turística</i>) | Cozumel |
| Male | Cozumel Division of Tourism (<i>Dirección de Turismo de Cozumel</i>) | Cozumel |
| Female | Cozumel Division of Cultural Affairs (<i>Dirección de Cultura</i>) | Cozumel |
| Male | Cozumel Parks and Museum Foundation | Cozumel |
| Male | Playa del Carmen Division of Tourism (<i>Dirección de Turismo de Solidaridad [Playa del Carmen]</i>) | Playa del Carmen |
| Female | Felipe Carrillo Puerto Division of Tourism (<i>Dirección de Turismo de Felipe Carrillo Puerto</i>) | Carrillo Puerto |
| Female | Playa del Carmen Division of Culture (<i>Dirección de Cultura, Playa del Carmen</i>) | Playa del Carmen |
| Male | Secretariat of Tourism of Quintana Roo | Cancun |

Note. Total 8 (5 male, 3 female).

For the second and third group (i.e. business managers and government officials), the majority of participants was recruited via email. In general, after obtaining contact information from their website, I sent emails explaining the purpose of my study and requesting an interview with the person in charge. Many participants from the business group responded quickly to my request and were eager to meet me for an interview.

Government officials, on the other hand, were harder to recruit due to their busy schedules and regular trips out of town. It took several emails and phone calls to be able to contact a government official, or his/her assistant, and obtain an interview appointment. Establishing a good rapport with their assistants was crucial in being able to schedule appointments with government officials.

Building rapport

I learned the value of establishing rapport after a couple of disastrous interviews in Cozumel. A memorable one was with Nancy, a young housekeeper working in a resort in Cozumel. I “recruited” her through the owner of the residential building I was staying at, who also was her English teacher. Compelled to talk to me by her teacher, the interview had an unnecessary power dynamic that could have been avoided, had I resisted the temptation of the easy interview opportunity. After this lesson, I made efforts to spend meaningful time getting to know the participants before engaging in discussions about my research. On occasions, I did not disclose the purpose of my presence in the setting until after several conversations or interactions with potential participants. I also learned a few phrases in Maya which helped break the ice and ease my interactions with the participants. Several of the Maya participants were pleasantly surprised that I had taken the time to learn some words and phrases in their language and encouraged me to learn more. They taught me additional words and phrases that I kept using during my time in Quintana Roo.

Pablo, the Maya healer requested that I take and pass a spiritual “test” before he would take me to Mayan rural towns. We spent a day together at the archeological site of

San Gervasio because he needed to evaluate if I was ready to receive information from him. We climbed some of the vestiges, an action not allowed according to site regulations, to make offerings to the Maya spirits and go on a spiritual journey. Luckily, I passed most of the tests (I failed one, but he would not tell me what it was) and we spent a weekend together with his family visiting Maya sites and families in rural Quintana Roo (Figure 4).

For the tourism-related managers and government officials, I directly introduced myself, explained the purpose of my research, and asked if there would be a possibility to meet. Except for one, all participants were generous with their time and opinions, making the interviews very pleasant. One participant, a prominent representative of Cozumel's Hotel Association, took a very defensive attitude towards me and the study, implying that studies like mine, not serving a good purpose at all, were a waste of his time. His answers to some of my questions were short and defensive and with such dynamics, it was best for me to cut the interview short.



Figure 4. Visiting sites in Quintana Roo with Pablo and his godson. Published with participants' consent.

Participant Observation

In every location of my field work, I actively sought to attend community gatherings, government-sponsored events, cultural performances, or tourism events. I also participated in regular day-to-day activities such as church services, shopping at the local market, meals with local families, and even having a few drinks with my participants. On several occasions, I assumed the role of a regular tourist and “hung out” in restaurants, bars, cruise terminals and other places geared to tourists so that I could observe tourist-employee, boss-employee, and employee-employee interactions and dynamics. My observations lasted between three and six hours a day but when I was visiting rural Maya towns, I would record observations for almost 12 hours a day. I also

joined several cultural tours which sold “Maya life” experiences (names omitted), with the aim of assessing, among others, the participation of the locals on tour interpretation and services, relationships and dynamics between tour operators/guides and local people, and quality and quantity of host-guest interactions. I took extensive notes of all my observations, conversations and interactions with locals and tourists, and personal reflections, which enrich the information presented in this dissertation. While I took handwritten notes of on-site observations, I logged my theoretical and personal reflections electronically (word document).

Secondary Data

In addition to interviews with tourism stakeholders and participant observation, I conducted online and *in situ* library research to gather information about Maya history and cultural heritage in Quintana Roo. I also searched statistical and governmental records regarding tourism development, tourism policy and legislation, and tourism statistics. Furthermore, I conducted an extensive literature search in local educational institutions and city libraries in Cozumel and Playa del Carmen to find previous studies and research not available in English or through US university library sources¹⁰. I found

¹⁰ As Ren, Pritchard and Morgan (2010) noted, western authors, agendas, practices and epistemologies dominate and shape tourism scholarship. Specifically, they argued that “in order to gain access to and to be recognized as part of the research community, one must perform research in recognizable ways, not only in terms of one’s language, writing, and researching, but also in terms of one’s gender, social class, and race” (p. 888). With a few exceptions, tourism scholars make an effort to incorporate valuable studies conducted by local researchers and written in languages other than English. This dominance of western over non-western research has been discussed in terms of academic imperialism (Alatas, 2000) or academic dependency (Alatas, 2003; Gareau, 1985, 1988), but it can also be argued that the (un)intended scholarly omission of non-western, non-English research can also be a matter of (academic) injustice, for 1) it prevents non-western scholars (as well as the research subjects) from participating in the shaping of research agendas and knowledge and 2) excludes them from obtaining the potential benefits that comes with publishing in leading journals.

several studies on issues relevant to this dissertation, including works on Maya culture and identity (Burns, 1996; Damjanova, 2006; Lizama Quijano, 2007) and Maya cultural change (Ramírez, 2008; Rejón, 1992). The representatives from the local and state tourism offices also provided valuable information and data files on present and future tourism development projects in the region as well as tourism statistics not yet released to the general public.

Data Analysis

Following Charmaz's (2006) grounded theory guidelines, I started data analysis early in the research process. When possible, I transcribed each interview verbatim and did an initial open coding of the data. However, due to the dynamic nature of the fieldwork and the challenges in obtaining interview appointments (sometimes I had to interview two or three people the same day followed by days with no interviews), I was not able to transcribe and code each individual interview before doing the next one. I made sure nevertheless that I listened to each interview, analyzed the information, and wrote down general themes that emerged in the interviews before moving to the next one. This informal coding process allowed me to make changes, add and/or delete questions as well as explore new theoretical directions.

Focused coding was conducted at a later stage during the fieldwork. I dedicated several days solely to identifying the most significant and frequent initial codes and to synthesizing and organizing the large amount of data coming from the interviews. The process of focused coding allowed me to compare responses across participants, uncover gaps in their responses, and see emerging theoretical developments. It is important to

note that a significant amount of focused re-coding took place post-fieldwork in order to “clean up”, condense, and refine the large amount of codes, many of them redundant, that resulted from the data analysis. I used the qualitative research software *Atlast.ti* in the coding process. This software helped me organize and compare the data from the interviews and informal conversations. I engaged in memo-writing to record my analysis of the data, emergence of initial codes, comparisons and connections among codes and data, as well as potential directions to pursue. These memos contained analytic notes that helped me explain categories, the assumptions behind them, the data they covered, and any potential gaps that needed to be filled.

Codes were grouped under key themes and categories, which reflect my theoretical understanding and interpretations of the phenomena under study. The categories in this study should not be treated as a theoretical end product (of cultural justice in tourism); rather as an interpretive guide to understand how issues of justice were experienced or enacted by the participants in this study. I use a narrative style and rely on multiple voices and stories to convey my interpretation of participants’ stories. I use terms such as “several”, “some”, or “a few”, as opposed to indicating the number of participants who had a specific experiences or responses, which in some cases might be as few as one or two. The objective is to gain an understanding of participants’ experiences, meanings and actions, not to demonstrate the robustness of a particular theme or category.

Credibility and Trustworthiness

Because interpretive studies focus on experience and meaning, they cannot be judged on positivistic criteria of truth, validity, and reliability (Jamal & Hollinshead, 2001). Therefore, other evaluation criteria need to be applied that consider the philosophical assumptions of constructivist-interpretive research methodology.

Lincoln and Guba (1985) offered four trustworthiness criteria for naturalistic inquiry. Credibility refers to carrying out the inquiry in such a way that the probability that the findings will be found credible are enhanced as well as demonstrating the credibility of the findings by having them approved by the constructors of the multiple realities being studied. Transferability requires the researcher to provide thick descriptions and other relevant information that makes transferability judgments possible on the part of potential appliers. Dependability refers to taking into account changing conditions in the phenomenon under study as well as changes in the design as a consequence of a more in-depth understanding of the research setting. Finally, *confirmability* refers to whether the findings of the study can or cannot be confirmable by another study. The authors recommended several techniques to meet their trustworthiness criteria. These techniques include prolonged engagement, persistent observation, triangulation of data, peer debriefing, or member checks to improve credibility; thick descriptions of the research setting to facilitate transferability; and audit processes to assess that the finding are grounded in the data to ensure confirmability.

Jamal and Hollinshead (2001) offered three useful evaluation criteria for interpretive studies: credibility, engaged interestedness, and reflexivity. To enhance

credibility, the authors suggested including multiple points of views, narratives, and emotions in the text. Engaged interestedness and reflexivity refer to the researchers' need to demonstrate their specific interests in engaging with the topic and their own positions, interests and roles in the re-telling of the participants' narratives. Charmaz (2005) offered four criteria for interpretive grounded theory studies, especially those that investigate issues related to justice and inequity: credibility, originality, resonance, and usefulness. For each criterion, Charmaz posed a set of questions that the researcher can use as guidelines throughout the research process (Table 7), which I took into consideration during my dissertation work.

Credibility

Credibility in this study was established in several ways. First of all, I ensured I became familiar with the research setting before starting the interview process. I stayed approximately one month and a half on each location, Cozumel and Playa del Carmen, and spent the first two weeks in each location getting to know the sites, its community places and tourist points, as well as meeting and talking to people.

Second, this study included not only multiple sources of information (interviews, informal conversations, field notes, and secondary data) but also multiple points of view, narratives, and emotions from the participants. I made sure I took into considerations the experiences of men and women, young and older participants, entry level and upper level employees, as well as government officials. The objective was not to corroborate or cross-check participants' responses, but rather obtain different perspectives on the phenomena under study. Besides fostering credibility, the inclusion of multiple

perspectives can also serve to foster social (and gender and cultural) justice by, among others, calling attention to the needs and questions of local people and encouraging the participation and perspectives of women, men, and children (González y González & Lincoln, 2006).

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Table 7

Evaluation Criteria for Grounded Theory Studies

| Credibility | Originality | Resonance | Usefulness |
|--|--|--|--|
| Has the researcher achieved intimate familiarity with the setting or topic? | Are the categories fresh? Do they offer new insights? | Do the categories portray the fullness of the studied experience? | Does the analysis offer interpretations that people can use in their everyday world? |
| Are the data sufficient to merit the researcher's claim? | Does the analysis provide a new conceptual rendering of the data? | Has the researcher revealed luminal and taken-for-granted meanings? | Do the analytic categories speak to generic processes? |
| Has the researcher made systematic comparisons between observations and between categories? | What is the social and theoretical significance of the work? | Has the researcher drawn links between larger collectivities and individual lives, when the data so indicate? | Have these generic processes been examined for hidden (social) justice implications? |
| Do the categories cover a wide range of empirical observations? | How does the work challenge, extend or refine current ideas, concepts and practices? | Do the analytical interpretations make sense to members and offer them deeper insights about lives and worlds? | How does the work contribute to make a better society? |
| Are there strong logical links between the gathered data and the researcher's argument and analysis? | | | |

Table 7

Continued

| Credibility | Originality | Resonance | Usefulness |
|---|-------------|-----------|------------|
| Has the researcher provided enough evidence for his/her claim to allow the reader to form an independent assessment and agree with the researcher's claims? | | | |

Note. Adapted from “Grounded theory in the 21st century: Applications for advancing social justice,” by K. Charmaz, 2005, in N. K. Denzin and Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of qualitative research* (3rd. ed.), pp. 507-535.

Third, in order to enhance credibility, I conducted members checks (Merriam, 2009) with several of the participants to clarify meanings and insure the accurate interpretation of their responses. I had the opportunity to revisit several Maya residents and one of the business managers. During the follow up interviews, I summarized what they had told me in the first interview and asked them if interpretation of their responses was accurate and if there was information they would like to add. I also asked additional questions to fill gaps that I had identified during the data analysis process. Information technologies enabled me to communicate with several participants, either through e-mail or instant messaging programs, after I left Mexico. Fourth, during my fieldwork I had three virtual meetings with my academic advisor (June 16, June 30, and July 17, 2010) in which we discussed the progress of my fieldwork and ways to improve the research process. Lastly, I also discussed the findings of this research with a colleague outside my committee who has conducted cross-cultural research in Latin America to ensure my codes and categories made sense given the data I collected. Peer debriefing/evaluation is another way to ensure credibility of qualitative research (Merriam, 2009).

The Influenza A (H1N1) crisis

A thick description of the research setting and a detailed account of special conditions that may affect data collection are a key requirement to ensure the credibility and transferability of the findings of any qualitative research enterprise (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). In the case of this dissertation, participants responses could have been influenced by an unexpected event that took place during the late spring and early summer of 2009, the H1N1 Influenza pandemic, colloquially known as the “swine flu”.

My arrival to Cozumel took place during one of the worst economic crises that had taken place in Mexico, particularly in the state of Quintana Roo. In April of 2009, after an usual number of pneumonia and broncopneumonia incidents in young adults in Mexico City, the Mexican Government issued a contingent sanitary health warning to prevent the spread of the H1N1 influenza virus. To prevent people from getting sick, the government took several measures including the closing of educational establishments, churches, sport venues, bars, restaurants, and other venues¹¹ Comisión Económica para América Latina [CEPAL]/ Organización Panamericana de la Salud [OPS] (2010).

The effects on tourism were immediate. On April 27, 2009 the US Department of State issued a travel advisory to US citizens traveling to Mexico. Several countries from the European Union and Asia followed, advising their citizens to avoid any non-essential travel to this country. The travel warnings along with the closing of hundreds of businesses, caused a monumental economic crisis throughout Mexico. According to preliminary estimates by CEPAL/OPS (2010), Mexico had an economic gross loss of \$127,360 million pesos (approx. US\$ 9.1 billion¹²)- 1% of the country's GDP. Mexico City had the highest economic loss in the country, \$ 58,470 million pesos (approx. US\$ 4.6 billion), followed by the state of Quintana Roo with \$ 14, 614 million pesos/ approx. US\$ 1.04 billion). Tourism was the industry most affected by the H1N1 crisis.

¹¹ On April 28 and 29, 2010, approximately 35,000 restaurants in Mexico City and 175 archeological sites and museums around the country were temporarily closed to avoid the spread of the disease (Monterrubio, 2010).

¹² The average exchange rate at the time of the H1N1 crisis (May-June 2009) was MXP\$ 13.98 to 1 US Dollar

Nationally, this industry suffered an estimated economic loss of \$ 47,646 million (approx. US\$ 3.4 billion) (CEPAL/OPS, 2010).

Due to its dependence on tourism, Quintana Roo was one of the states most affected with estimated losses of \$ 10,182 million pesos (approx. US\$ 810 million) (Ibid). In Cancun, hotel occupancy rates dropped to as low as 21%; in the Riviera Maya to 16%. Historically, the normal occupancy rates for that time of the year in these two locations had been between 67% and 72% (ibid). In Cozumel, the local government issued a *cerco sanitario* [health warning] which restricted cruise arrivals to the island. The warning lasted from April 26 to May 27, 2009, six days before I arrived to Cozumel to start fieldwork. During May 2009, there were only three cruise arrivals, compared to 71 in the previous year, a situation that caused a loss of US\$ 8.8 million in tourism revenue (Dirección de Turismo Municipal de Cozumel [Cozumel's Tourism Division], 2009b). The number of tourists arriving by air decreased from 21,626 in April to 9,960 in May 2009. Hotel occupancy levels dropped to 29%, forcing several lodging establishments to close while the health warning was in effect. Visitation to the island's natural and cultural parks also dropped significantly and the Parks and Museums Foundation had to take measures to reduce operating expenses, including the closure of the parks on Sundays, elimination of phone lines, and urging staff to take mandatory time off.

In addition to tourism revenue, approximately 160,710 tourism jobs were lost nationally as a consequence of the health crisis (CEPAL/OPS, 2010). Restaurants had the biggest loss, 94,477 jobs, followed by lodging establishments with 66,233.

Participants in this study were impacted by this unforeseen event. Three participants were laid off from their jobs. Others were scheduled to work fewer days. Those who worked selling jewelry and souvenirs had their income drastically reduced due to the lack of sales. This particular situation could have influenced participants' opinions, perspectives, and attitudes towards the tourism industry in general or more specifically, their employers, the government, and even themselves. For several participants the crisis was an eye opening experience. Many realized that the tourism industry in Quintana Roo was vulnerable and could collapse any given moment. Others, having lost their jobs or seeing people lose theirs, reflected on their own consumption patterns and saving habits realizing how much they had changed since they started working in the tourism industry.

Reflexivity

Everett (2010) argues that personal aspects of fieldwork (e.g., gender, age, ethnicity, loneliness, physical demands) combined with overcoming practical issues (e.g., transportation, weather, etc.) should inform the contextual foundation of any research for it is from these “seemingly insignificant and overlooked moments...where tourism knowledge is truly cultivated” (p. 161). She calls especial attention to the issues of physicality, performativity, and positionality that can become central in shaping the production of tourism knowledge. Reflexivity was an important and constant aspect of my study. I kept a daily journal where I recorded how my role and position affected the research process as well as personal thoughts, reactions, and feelings towards participants, myself and even my advisor and committee members.

Positionality is addressed by examining how our personal biography situates us in the research, the way we are treated and understood as researchers, and the impact of our identities on the response of participants (Everett, 2010). I had anticipated, from past research experiences, that my perceived position and privileges as well as education, class, gender, and cultural differences between myself and the participants could influence how participants interacted with me. Nevertheless, the cultural similarities that I shared with the participants helped minimize the perceived differences in socio-economic status emanating from my role as a doctoral student from a United States university. When interacting with Maya residents, I emphasized my Colombian nationality which facilitated establishing rapport with the participants as we would share stories of growing up watching the same television shows and soap operas, for example, or discussing political issues (e.g. drug related problems, corruption, etc.) that were common to both our countries. I felt that very few participants saw me as an “upper class” student and if they did, they might have changed their perceptions once we got to know each other better.

Only a couple of male participants in Cozumel perceived a difference in economic status among us and acted upon it. One of them felt very comfortable ordering plenty of beer and food during the interview, correctly assuming that I would pay the bill. Perhaps to make the situation less obvious, he mentioned a couple of times that instead of spending his time with me, he could be doing something else: “It is not like I am doing you a favor, but I could be with my friends now” (*No es que te esté haciendo un favor, pero yo podría estar con mis amigos ahora*). The gatekeeper who helped me

recruit Maya residents in Cozumel would occasionally tell me about his economic hardships while subtly suggesting that I could lend him money. I did not think giving him cash was appropriate; instead, as a token of appreciation, I sponsored a family barbeque dinner party for him and the participants he introduced me to.

In contrast, when trying to obtain appointments with business owners or government officials, I deliberately emphasized my affiliation with Texas A&M University. The fact that I came from a university in the United States seemed to spark interest from the business owners. Similarly, mentioning that I was a researcher from abroad helped obtain appointments with representatives from the different tourism and cultural organizations in this study. Being a female researcher did not make much of a difference except for the occasional (and annoying) question about my marital status.

During the fieldwork, I experienced a handful of emotions including sadness, anger, guilt, loneliness, and depression. Although a student, I was still in a better socio-economic position than many of the people with whom I interacted, which made me feel guilty. Even having a meal at a restaurant made me feel bad when I realized that the cost of my food (and drinks) could feed a poor family for a week. I found myself trying to ease my guilt by buying things for the participants or inviting them to have meals with me, which on many occasions they refused. Anger was another feeling that I commonly felt during my time in the Riviera Maya. On several occasions, I experienced a lot of conflicting emotions towards academics including myself, my advisor, and committee members. The constant concern of scholars about what I thought were unimportant things (e.g. ontology, epistemology, cultural authenticity, etc.) in a context where people

are struggling to meet their basic needs and the thought of me and other scholars theorizing about economic, social, and/or environmental justice from the comforts of an office or a coffee shop, created a personal conflict that made me question if I wanted to continue pursuing a career in academia. The following two journal entries reflect some of the feelings I experienced during my time in the Riviera Maya:

The night show was really cool; I liked it a lot. It showed many performances from different parts of Mexico. It was very well done and I saw many locals really excited, a woman even crying. I did not think it was a “freak show” as many people told me it would be. I think the problem these scholars have is that, while they are not familiar with the culture, they don’t hesitate to make judgments about its authenticity. I wonder how much they (including myself) have read about the culture before coming to do studies here. How can you judge the authenticity of the Mexican show if you have not heard a Norteño band or the Jarabe Tapatío [Traditional Mexican music/dances]???

July 27th, 2010

I went to the market for lunch. There I saw a lot of Maya women some selling local products such as Habanero seeds, guayas, etc. It broke my heart that they were trying to hard to sell a few things hoping to get a few pesos. As I was having lunch I was thinking again about the lack of touch with reality that some of us/them have. Have they been in a Maya house?? Do they stay in a less than a 3 star hotel when they travel/do

research abroad? Have they eaten beans and tortillas like the poor people do? Would they?

August 7, 2009

In addition to guilt and anger, towards the end of the fieldwork I experienced several episodes of anxiety and depression. On several occasions I experienced lack of confidence and feelings of failure. I felt I was not making any progress in the research or that I was not asking the right questions. The anxiety developed into a case of insomnia and a depression triggered by the lack of friends, boredom, and the feeling that I should always be on “research mode”. I coped with the anxiety by talking with family and friends or spending time with my American neighbor. Luckily, I also had an acquaintance in the city of Mérida whom I visited in order to take a break from research activities.

Besides emotions, there were a number of physical issues that had an impact on my research. Everett (2010) refers to this as physicality and encouraged the researcher to locate ourselves relative to the local scene and the environment, acknowledging our physical presence and impact on our studies and subjects. In my case, it took me a long time to get used to the inclement summer heat which, at the beginning of the fieldwork, prevented me from spending more time doing participant observation. I also struggled to find comfortable lodging and furnishings. The two apartments where I stayed in Cozumel and Playa del Carmen lacked ergonomic desks and chairs so I constantly had backaches and fatigue.

Finally, I approached this research as a person who has not suffered from poverty nor oppression. However, I was biased in the sense that I have witnessed ethnic and cultural discrimination, stereotyping, and disrespect towards different groups (African-Americans, Hispanic, Eastern Europeans) in places where I have worked and among some of my family and social circles. I also had strong biases towards government officials in Latin America, many of whom, in my very personal opinion, I considered political puppets who lack the competences required to do their jobs. The reflexive journal entry below illustrates my feelings and bias towards a high official of one of the tourism associations in Cozumel:

*What an a** Who the f*** he think he is to have such an arrogant attitude? Clearly the guy got there as a political move. That is why he asked me to turn the voice recorder off when I asked how he got involved in the association. He said this question was not relevant at all and he did not understand why I was asking him that. He said he got there because of the city major had asked him...What a joke.*

June 29, 2009

Influenced by my personal travel experiences and observations, I also had a bias towards U.S. tourists abroad. I had the perception that most tourists visiting Cozumel and Playa del Carmen were uneducated, uninterested in the local culture, and only looking forward to partying and drinking. This negative perception was, at times reinforced, at times weakened by my observations of tourists' behavior during the

fieldwork. In either case, I paid close attention to how my preconceptions and biases would affect my interpretations and analysis of the phenomenon under study.

Language Issues

It has been argued that the presentation of bilingual data can be one way to help decolonize academic research which is characterized by the polished, objective, neutral, and “scientific” presentation of results that in most cases serve Western interests and agendas (González y González & Lincoln, 2006). In fact, González y González & Lincoln state that:

...for social scientists to reach across cultures and work democratically with local groups, the results of research must be available and accessible, as well as usable, locally and indigenously. This means that texts must be produced in two or more languages simultaneously. One implication of producing bi- or multi-lingual texts is that texts will be longer, but as was mentioned before, with the purpose of keeping the richness of the data in its original language [24]

By presenting participants quotes in their original language, I hope to make the results of this study *somehow* more accessible and usable by the Spanish-speaking audience, especially those people who have power to make positive change for the Maya people of Yucatán and/or other underrepresented cultural groups elsewhere. I conducted, transcribed, and analyzed all interviews and informal conversations in Spanish. The interpretation of data, however, is presented in English (some key and frequently used words are left in Spanish in italics) supported by participants’ quotes in Spanish

accompanied by their English translation. The decision to present direct quotes in the original language was also influenced by the realization that no linguistic translation, as accurate as it could be, would capture the exact meanings and context of the original responses, including colloquial expressions that could be difficult to understand even by another Spanish-speaker from another country. Lastly, acknowledging that the English translations of the original text could be influenced by my own linguistic and (Colombian) cultural filter, I engaged two bilingual Spanish-English speakers to review my translations and provide suggestions as needed.

Ethical Considerations

Protection and well-being of participants were crucial to this study. Participation in this study was voluntary and confidential. Interviews took place at the time and a place suggested by the participant in order to cause minimum interruptions and/or potential problems in their workplace. I also asked permission to digitally record the interviews. Several participants, in particular Maya residents, did not sign the consent form (Appendix C). The signing of formal document, in addition to being culturally offensive and perceived as meaningless - low income participants do not have the financial means to make international phone calls or access the internet to email the investigator or his/her advisor, was resisted by several participants. For this reason, in most cases I sought oral consent to tape the interviews. Each participant was informed that they could stop the interview at any time if they wished to do so. To protect participants' identities, I used pseudonyms throughout this dissertation report.

In addition to fulfilling protection of human subject requirements, additional ethical considerations are important in this study. Stanfield (1993) suggested attention be paid to important moral and ethical situations that may affect the research process when studying racial or ethnic groups different from one's own. During the fieldwork, I confronted an ethical dilemma and chose to engage in a behavior that can be ethically questionable, but I deemed necessary to obtain richer data. In order to meet people working in all-inclusive resorts, I posed as a potential buyer of timeshare vacations. By taking the role of an interested tourist and after a one hour tour and sales pitch, not only did I gain access to resorts, but also obtained entrance tickets for Xcaret park, which came in handy taking into account the limited financial funding I had to do this research.

In the following chapters I examine participants' perspectives on issues of equity, justice, and tourism. I start by providing background information on Maya participants and exploring their experiences in the tourism industry.

CHAPTER IV

THE “MAYA” PARTICIPANTS

This chapter focuses on the first stakeholder group of this study, the 23 Maya residents of Cozumel and Playa del Carmen. It presents an overview of participants’ socio-demographic characteristics followed by an exploration of their cultural self-identification. The aim is not to provide an in-depth analysis of (Yucatecan) Maya identity and/or determine who *was* or who *was not* Maya in this study¹³; rather, this section identifies the determinants of participants’ ethnic self-identification and explores how they related to their culture and cultural heritage, the first research question of this dissertation. In addition, this chapter explores participants’ experiences with the tourism industry, exploring the extent to which working in tourism has impacted their lives and well-being. The chapter ends with a summary and a discussion of the implications of these findings for participants’ cultural well-being and cultural sustainability.

The data presented in this chapter comes mainly from the formal interviews I conducted in Cozumel and Playa del Carmen but also from informal conversations I had with several Maya people in these two locations as well as other regions in Quintana Roo. They too had a story to share.

¹³ For studies on Yucatecan Maya identity see Castañeda (2004), Hervik (1999), or Lizama Quijano (2007)

The Many “Mayas” in This Study

As several scholars noted (e.g. Castañeda, 2004; Gabbert, 2001; Güemez Pineda, 2001; Hervik, 1999), the label "Maya" was not always used by all participants in this study. For several participants, in particular those in Cozumel, the “Mayas” were the people who built the temples and pyramids in the Yucatan peninsula in pre-Hispanic times. Instead, participants used terms such as *mestizo-a*, *mayero*, *humilde*, *paisano*, *antiguo-a* (elder), *indio*, *del monte* (from the field), *del pueblo* (from the village), or *del campo* (peasant) to refer to themselves or others of the same cultural group.

Demographic Characteristics

Fifteen Maya residents, nine male and six female, were interviewed in Cozumel. Out of the fifteen, only two were born on the island; eleven had migrated from different towns in Yucatán, and two from communities in Quintana Roo. Of these participants, six arrived to the island as children and eight as adults. The length of residence on the island for those who migrated was between 2 and 34 years. All participants were 18 years or older; five were between 20 and 30 years old, six between 30 and 40, one was in the early 40s, and three were older than 50 years¹⁴. Except for three, all were married and had children. One female participant was a single mother of three children, one male was single, and one participant did not want to provide information on her family status.

Eight residents were interviewed in Playa del Carmen, seven of whom were male. There was a balance in terms of participants’ age; three were in their early 20s,

¹⁴ For several participants age was estimated.

two between 30 and 40, and two older than 50 years. Five participants were married with children; two single, and one divorced with children. None of the participants in this group were born in Playa; five were from towns in Yucatán and three from nearby communities of Quintana Roo.

Different Perspectives on Ethnic Self-Identification

Recognizing that ethnic boundaries are constantly changing, being negotiated, revised, and revitalized by ethnic group members and outsiders (Nagel, 1994) this section explores the determinants of ethnic self-identification used by the Maya participants in this study.

Although all participants identified themselves as "Maya," there were noticeable differences in how they defined their ethnic identities. While some characteristics (e.g. speaking Maya or working in the milpa) were mentioned by most participants, others (e.g. place of origin, descent) were mentioned by a few or by participants in one location, which shows that participants' ethnic identity is far from being a homogenous, clear-cut one. The determinants of ethnic self-identification for participants in this study (Figure 5) are discussed.

| | | |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|---|
| Determinants of ethnic self-identity | Descent | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Identifying as descendants of the <i>antiguos</i> (Pre-Hispanic Mayas) - Having <i>mestizo</i> parents and grandparents |
| | Place of Birth | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Being <i>Yucateco-a</i> (from Yucatán peninsula) - Having Yucatecan parents - Being from Quintana Roo |
| | Language | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Speaking <i>la maya</i> - Speaking <i>la maya mestiza</i> - Speaking <i>el dialecto maya</i> |
| | Last Name | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Having both maternal and paternal Maya last names - Having one Maya last name |
| | Subsistence Activities | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Working in the milpa with family - Hunting - Making <i>palapas</i> (traditional houses) - Working with <i>maiz</i> (corn) - Weaving, embroidery |
| | Food and cooking traditions | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Eating traditional foods <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o Natural foods from milpa o Handmade tortillas o <i>Cochinita pibil, relleno negro, salbutes</i>, etc. - Ways of cooking <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o <i>Leña</i> (wood) o <i>Comal</i> (flat griddle) o <i>Pib</i> (underground cooking) |
| | Customs, traditions, celebrations | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Celebrations <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o Fiestas del pueblo o Corridas - Dances and folklore <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o Jaranas o Baile de la cabeza del cochino (dance of the pig's head) o Mayapax - Traditions <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o <i>Jéets Méek</i> (baptism) o <i>Ch'a' Cháak</i> (rain ceremony) o <i>Janal Pixan</i> (the day of the dead) o <i>Primicias</i> (first fruits) |
| | Clothing | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Mestizas wearing the huipil (hipil, ipil) |

Figure 5. Determinants of participants' ethnic identity.

Descent

Mi gente, mis padres, mis abuelos, mis ancestros son mayas. Yo soy maya.

My people, my parents, my grandparents, my ancestors are Maya.

I am Maya.

Pablo, Cozumel

Yo me siento maya porque mis antepasados fueron mayas. A pesar que yo no soy original pero soy descendiente de mayas. Entonces yo me siento, pues con mucho orgullo, mis antepasados tuvieron una cultura muy bonita.

I feel Maya because my forefathers were Maya. Even though I am not original, but I am a descendant of Mayas. Therefore, I feel with a lot of pride... my forefathers had a very pretty culture.

Señora Carmen, Cozumel

Being descendants of the *antiguos* (pre-Hispanic) Mayas, those who built the pyramids and temples in the Yucatán peninsula, or the *mestizos*, those who live in the village (*el pueblo*) or in the countryside (*el campo*), work in the milpa, speak Maya, and dress and cook traditional foods, was a determinant for self-identification for participants in Cozumel. These participants referred to their forefathers and mestizo parents and grandparents in the Yucatán peninsula as the “real”, the “original”, the “Maya-Maya”, while considering themselves their descendants. They were brought to Cozumel as children and had lived “in the city” for most of their lives. Many did not speak *la lengua*

o el *dialecto maya* [Maya dialect], dress in traditional clothes, or practice the traditions and rituals of their ancestors. Participants in Playa del Carmen, on the other hand, did not use *descent* as a marker of identity. They considered themselves part of a living and thriving Maya culture. All of them spoke Maya, grew up working with their families, and traveled constantly to see their families in the pueblo.

In addition to descent, several participants in Cozumel, and only one in Playa del Carmen, attributed their Maya identity to their *place of birth*. Like Ernesto's quote shows below, participants stated that they considered themselves Maya because they were *yucatecos*; that is, they and/or their families were born in the Yucatán peninsula¹⁵.

*Soy de padres Yucatecos, de toda la descendencia de Yucatán,
puro Maya.*

I am of Yucatecan parents, of the entire descendants of Yucatán,
pure Maya.

Ernesto, Cozumel

Language: Speaking la Maya

Mayeros son los que hablan maya.

Mayeros are those who speak Maya.

Alfonso, Cozumel

¹⁵The Yucatán peninsula is home of the Mexican states of Yucatán, Quintana Roo and Campeche. In the 19th century, the three states were part of the formerly political and historical state of Yucatán. Campeche formally separated from Yucatán in 1858, becoming a sovereign state in 1863. Quintana Roo became a sovereign state in 1974.

Maya self-identification was also strongly associated with speaking *la lengua o el dialecto maya* (the term used varied among participants)¹⁶. Carlos, a *mayero* (Maya) from Chemax, Yucatán, proudly explained his Maya identity while we were having a drink at a beach-front bar in Cozumel:

Me siento maya. Mi descendencia luego es maya, soy maya.

Hablo maya 100%. ¿Que me hace ser maya? Pos me hace ser maya porque yo trabajo con la lengua maya. Hablo mucha maya, hablo con la gente. Yo hablo con la lengua maya, soy mayero, soy del pueblito. Hablo maya, yo domino la lengua maya. Hablo mucha maya!

I feel Maya. My descent of course is Maya, I am Maya. I speak 100% Maya. What makes me Maya? What makes me Maya is that I work with the Maya language. I speak a lot of Maya, I talk to people. I speak the Maya language, I am Mayero, I am from the pueblito (little village). I speak Maya, I master the Maya language. I speak a lot of Maya!

Suddenly, Carlos stood up and showing me his muscles, he yelled:

100%! 100% Maya! --- [dice palabra en maya]. Yo soy jefe; jefe indio maya!

¹⁶ According to the 2005 census data (INEGI, 2009), Mexico has a total of 759,000 Maya speakers. Yucatán has the highest number of Maya speaking people (527,107) followed by Quintana Roo (155,960) and Campeche (69, 249).

100%! 100% Maya!--- [says a word in Maya]. I am a chief, a
Maya Indian chief!!

I further asked:

¿Que lo hace sentirse tan orgulloso de ser maya?

What makes you so proud of being Maya?

Carlos: Mi lengua maya. Ahí nadie me rebasa en lengua maya.

Así es. Tomamos la chela. Salud!

My Maya language. No one surpasses me in the Maya language.

That's how it is. Let's drink the beer. Cheers!

José, a tour guide from the Maya town of Cobá, Quintana Roo, also identified the Maya *dialect* as the most important factor of Maya identity. The Maya language is what which distinguished him and his caste from the mestizos (by mestizos he referred to non-Maya or Mayas who have mixed with other groups):

*Lo más importante pues el dialecto. Es lo único. Lo único. Sin eso
no podríamos pensar en otras cosas. El dialecto es lo principal.*

*Imagínate, si desaparece el dialecto que ¿vas a ser? No vas a ser
maya ya vas a hacer un mestizo. Nosotros somos mayas castas
todavía. No somos mestizos, somos castas.*

What is most important is the [Maya] dialect. That's the only
thing. Without it, we couldn't think about anything else. The
dialect is the main thing. Imagine, if the dialect disappears, who
are you going to be? You're not going to be Maya; you're going

to be a mestizo. We are still Maya castes. We are not mestizos, we are castes.

Last name

Si, por supuesto [me considero maya]. Mi apellido es maya de hecho: Poot.

Of course, [I consider myself Maya]. In fact, my last name is Maya: Poot

Enrique, Cozumel

A few participants attributed their Maya identity to having a Maya last name.

During an informal conversation in a souvenir store in El Cedral¹⁷, Raúl identified himself as 100% Maya “because both my last names are Maya” (*porque mis dos apellidos son maya*). He further explained that for person to be “real Maya”, both paternal and maternal names had to be Maya. For others, the lack of a Maya last name did not influence ethnic self-identification. In fact, two participants explicitly stated that they considered themselves Maya despite having Spanish last names. Mixed marriages and last names changes to avoid discrimination were reasons why not all Mayas had Maya last names, participants explained. This raised an issue related to cultural discrimination which will be discussed in the following chapter.

Descent, place of birth, language, and last names were the determinants rapidly mentioned by most participants. Upon probing, ethnic identities were further described in terms of participation in specific activities, customs, traditions, and celebrations.

These additional categories are explored below.

¹⁷El Cedral is a small town in located in the south part of Cozumel. It is known for a 5-day historic and cultural festival honoring La Santa Cruz (The Holy Cross), a small wooden cross that saved a local man from the attack of rebel Mayas during the War of Castes. El Cedral is also home of a small pre-Hispanic archeological site.

Subsistence activities

Participants in both locations expressed that an important part of their Maya identity was growing up working in the milpa with their parents or grandparents, planting (and eating) maize (*maíz*), beans (*frijol*), or squash (*calabaza*), cutting wood (*leña*) for cooking, or raising a few animals. Don Julio and Don David, the oldest male participants in the study, also used to hunt with their fathers and uncles. Deer (*venados*), wild pigs (*puerco de monte*), and lowland pacas (*tepezcuintles*) were commonly hunt animals before government restrictions and loss of wildlife in the Yucatán region. Participants in both locations, older and younger, male and female, shared the similar experience of having worked with their families. Helena, who moved to Cozumel when she was fifteen, got very emotional sharing stories from her childhood in Umán, Yucatán:

La verdad, horita (sic) que lo estoy viendo me siento emocionada porque mi tiempo que era yo niña, me acuerdo nos llevaban al campo a sembrar y a mí me vestían como machito.... Me llevaba mi papá y mi papá me decía “aquí vas a ser huequito” y yo hacía huequito con la madera y sembraba en la milpa. Ponía maíz y mi papá me enseñó a sembrar y cuando íbamos a la milpa nosotros veíamos lo que es el elote, el camote, el tomate, chile y es algo muy bonito que te enseñan tus padres.

Truthfully, now that I see it, I feel very emotional because when I was a little girl, I remember they would take us to the field to

plant and they would dress me like a little boy....My dad would take me and tell me “make a little hole here” and I would make the little hole with the wood stick and plant in the milpa. I would plant the corn and my dad taught me how to plant and when we would go to the milpa, we would see the corn (*elote*), the sweet potato (*camote*), the tomato (*tomate*), chiles...and that is something very nice that your parents teach you.

Even the few participants who grew up in “the city” (e.g. Izamal, Mérida) also helped their parents with subsistence activities. Víctor, the 41 years old salesman from Izamal, Yucatán, used to travel with his mother to sell *huipiles*¹⁸ (traditional embroidered dress worn by Maya women) and other clothes that she made at the public market in Mérida. During his vacations, he also used to accompany his grandfather (*abuelito*) to work in the milpa.

Several participants experienced a tranquil rural life when living in their pueblos. Going to bed early and waking up at dawn to start the daily activities was the norm; men would go to the milpas and the women would take care of the household chores, prepare el *maiz* for the tortillas, or engage in sewing or embroidery. There were no schedules, no pressure. People lived off their crops. In the words of Don David, “When you work in the field (*campo*) you can see your crops, you see how your harvest is going. You feel at ease; there is no work pressure, there is no work schedule, there isn’t a boss to tell ‘I’m

¹⁸ This name of this traditional dress is found written in different forms: huipil, hipil, ipil, jipil.

not working today or I didn't work today' ” (*Cuando uno trabaja el campo pues ves tú producto, ves como va tu cosecha y todo. Se siente uno tranquilo, no hay presión del trabajo, no hay horario del trabajo, no hay patrón que le digas –“no voy a trabajar hoy o no trabaje hoy”*).

However, for the majority of participants, working in the milpa was a thing of their past. They engaged in this activity when they were younger, to help their fathers and grandfathers, but once they became adults and left their pueblos, they engaged in other occupations¹⁹. Only one participant, Francisco, returns to his pueblo to work in the family milpa during the low tourism season in Cozumel.

Food and cooking traditions: La comida

Esa es una tradición, porque en mi casa casi no compramos tortillas. Todo el tiempo a mano, a mano, a mano, en mi casa, porque mi mamá es una... bueno, somos de la raza india entonces lo hacemos todo manualmente.

[Hand-made tortillas] is a tradition because back home we don't buy them.

We make them by hand all the time because my mom is...well, we are an Indian race so we do everything manually.

Humberto, Playa del Carmen

Food (*la comida*) was an important aspect of the participants' culture. Of high significance were the hand-made tortillas made in a flat griddle (*la tortilla hecha a mano en el comal*), which participants considered both a food and a cultural tradition. Other

¹⁹ In regards to occupation, 25% of indigenous Maya in Quintana Roo work in subsistence activities; 19% in industrial jobs; and 55% in the service sector (INEGI, 2005).

traditional foods mentioned repeatedly by participants were *la cochinita pibil* (slow roasted pig marinated in strongly citric juices), *relleno negro* (turkey meat stewed with a black paste made from roasted chiles), *chaya* (tree spinach) soup, and corn-based foods like *panuchos*, and *salbutes*. These foods, especially the handmade tortillas, are usually made by *las mestizas*, the older Maya women who speak Maya and wear the huipil. For the majority of participants, *las mestizas*, in many cases their own mothers and grandmothers, and their huipiles were the most significant symbols of the Maya culture in Yucatán²⁰. Víctor commented: "Our culture is Maya. Then the culture is the clothing, the *hipiles*, the clothes" (*La cultura de nosotros es maya. Entonces la cultura es la vestimenta, los hipiles, la ropa*)²¹.

Celebrations and traditions

Participants identified specific celebrations and traditions that they considered important for the Maya culture. Participants in Cozumel mentioned the festival of El Cedral, the four-day celebration honoring the Holy Cross (*Santa Cruz*) as a key cultural event. In Playa de Carmen, participants mentioned *las fiestas del pueblo* (the traditional annual festivals in honor of a pueblo's saint patron) and *corridos* (bullfights). Participants explained that during these celebrations men and women dance the

²⁰See Güemez Pineda (2001) for a discussion of the identity and role of Maya women in cultural conservation in Yucatán.

²¹ Despite the importance placed on the huipil for Maya identity, it should be noted not all Maya women wear them on a daily bases. In this study, only one of the seven female participants wore a huipil.

*jaranas*²² and *el baile de cabeza de cochino* (the dance of the pig's head), and the Mayapax, all traditional music and dance styles from the Yucatán Peninsula performed at local festivities and events. In addition to celebrations and folklore, participants talked about traditions that, even though they were not necessarily or regularly practiced, especially participants in Cozumel, were nevertheless important for their culture. These included the *jéets méek* (a Maya baptism, the introduction of a child to the Maya group); the *ch'a' cháak* (rain ceremony), the *janal pixán* (the day of the dead)²³, and las *primicias* (first offerings)²⁴.

In summary, participants' ethnic self-identification was based on four major determinants: descent, language, place of birth, and last names. A further exploration revealed important aspects related to subsistence activities, foods, customs, traditions, celebrations, and clothes (huipil). Despite certain cultural similarities, it cannot be said that the participants in this study were linguistically and/or culturally homogenous. For example, while participants in Cozumel self-identified as "descendants" of the Maya (the "real" Mayas were long gone or were the mestizos living in the pueblitos), participants in

²² The Jarana is one of the most popular dances and music forms in Yucatán peninsula. The music is a combination of European songs and rhythms and Maya ancestral expressions. The dance is done in pairs dressed as "mestizos"; women wear a traditional Yucatecan huipil and men are dressed in a white shirt and pants, traditional sandals and hat. For more information: <http://www.merida.gob.mx/capitalcultural/Paginas/Vaqueria%20regional/Vaqueria%204.htm>

²³ Celebrated each second of November, *el día de los muertos* (*janal pixán* in Maya) is a Mesoamerican ritual to honor and commemorate the return of the dead. In each house, families prepare offerings, cook traditional food, visit the resting place of dead relatives, and pray (Lizama Quijano, 2007). In 2008, this ritual was inscribed in the UNESCO list of Intangible World Cultural Heritage of Humanity.

²⁴ For a detailed description of these practices see Lizama Quijano (2007).

Playa del Carmen stated they were members of the living Maya culture. They spoke the language, worked with their families, actively participated in celebrations and traditions, and visited their pueblo on a regular basis. In contrast, only four participants in Cozumel spoke Maya fluently; five could understand and speak a few words; and six did not speak the language at all. Most of them migrated to the island as children or adolescents and therefore have grown up distant from the pueblos and the cultural practices of their parents and grandparents.

In the next section, I explore participants' experiences with the tourism industry, including the impacts that working in tourism have had on their lives and well-being. Because with the exception of two, all participants had migrated to Cozumel or Playa del Carmen, it is important to start with background information about the reasons and circumstances of participants' departures from their hometowns.

Migrating: Me Fui del Pueblo Para No Morirme de Hambre

[I Left the Pueblo to Avoid Starving to Death]

Pues en mi pueblo la verdad ahí no hay nada. No hay trabajo, no hay nada.

Ahí vives del campo, del sembrado y de todo eso. Ahí no hay trabajo, no hay nada. Por eso nos venimos acá a Cozumel, porque aquí hay trabajo.

In my pueblo, the truth is, there's nothing. There is no work, there's nothing.

You live off the land, the crops and all that. There is no work, there's nothing.

That is why we came here to Cozumel, because there is no work there.

Ezequiel, Cozumel

In Cozumel, six participants arrived to the island with their families during the tourism boom of the 70s and 80s and seven arrived as adults, searching for jobs and economic opportunities not available in their hometowns. Participants were long-term residents of the island; the average length of residence was 17 years, with some participants living there for as long as 34 years. In Playa del Carmen, five participants were from towns in Yucatán and three from near-by communities in Quintana Roo. None of them was born in this location. The length of residence was between 4 months and 16 years. They too arrived to Playa looking for a better life for themselves and their families.

Employment and economic betterment were the main reasons participants (and/or their families) migrated to Cozumel and Playa del Carmen. In their pueblos, several participants experienced economic hardships that forced them to look for opportunities elsewhere. Señora Inés, who at 50 years cleans apartments in a housing complex for tourists and expatriates in Cozumel, remembers her life in Espita, Yucatán:

Crecimos pobres. Mi papá era pobre, mi mamá es pobre. Bueno, somos pobres nosotros. Mi papá era de monte. Solo una vez a la semana comíamos carne. Una vez a la semana se come carne. [De resto comíamos] frijol, a veces jitomate, huevos sancochado con tortilla. Desayunábamos galleta con café. Nos daban como a cinco galletas y una jarra de café pa que tomáramos. Éramos muy humildes. Yo entre a trabajar...mi papá era de monte... dejé de trabajar, me fui con mi papá, cosechaba sandías, melón, elote. Yo

los salía a vender, yo vendía, yo. Sancochaba mi mama los elotes, cortaba melón, cortaba sandía, me preparaba mi palangana y yo salgo a vender...[Mi papá] tenía su casita, una casita de guano, tenía sus gallinas, sembraba calabaza....., yo me fui con mi papá, hice ocho días, pero vi que era muy pobre allá más que en el pueblo, porque puro pan, pura tortilla así tostada.

We grew up poor. My dad was poor, my mom is poor. Well, we were all poor. My dad era *de monte* [from the woodlands]. We would only eat meat once a week. You eat meat once a week. [Otherwise] we would eat beans, sometimes tomatoes, boiled eggs with tortilla. We would have cookies and coffee for breakfast. They would give us five cookies and a pot of coffee. We were very modest. I started working...my dad *era de monte*...I stopped working and went with my dad [to the milpa]...He grew watermelon, melon, corn. I would go out and sell all that. I sold all that. My mom would boil the corn, cut the melon, cut the watermelon, prepare my bowl (*palangana*) and I'd go to sell that. My dad had a small house, a house made of *guano* (fan palm), he had his hens, he grew squash...I went [to the milpa] with him for eight days but I saw how poor it was, more than in the pueblo... There was only bread, only toasted tortilla.

Like Señora Inés, many participants' families made a living selling the produce from their milpas. But often times, the harvest was barely enough to cover the family's food needs and there was no extra produce to sell for a few pesos. For two participants, Don Julio and Ezequiel, leaving their pueblos in Yucatán was a matter of survival, to avoid, in their own words, "starving to death" (*morirse de hambre*).

Poverty and the need to work with their families also prevented several participants from completing their education. Of the twenty-three Maya participants, five finished high school and only two had university degrees. The rest could not continue their education because their parents did not have the means to send them to school or they had work with and for their families. Five male participants had to take care of their mothers and siblings when their fathers passed away and could not go to high school. Don Alvaro did not even finish first grade because he had to support his family. Without education, participants could only work in the milpa or get sporadic jobs in construction, as bricklayers (*albañiles*), or domestic service. Participants with higher education could not find jobs in their own communities either. Diego, who finished high school and attended a vocational school in Carrillo Puerto, looked for jobs in his and several other towns in Quintana Roo before arriving in Playa del Carmen, where he now works in the hotel industry.

Only two participants, Don Pablo and his wife Rosalba, moved to Cozumel for a reason different than a search for economic improvements. They temporarily moved from Mérida (Yucatán) to take care of a sick acquaintance. Within a short period of time, this couple was seduced by the tranquility and small-island feeling of Cozumel and

decided to establish permanent residence there. While waiting for his pension to be approved, this retired agronomy engineer works as a landscaper in one of the island's hotels and a chiropractor and masseur at a downtown spa with his wife Rosalba. In addition, being a Maya shaman and healer, he conducts traditional Maya weddings for local and tourist couples.

Although most participants moved to Cozumel and Playa del Carmen attracted by the booming tourism industry, their involvement in tourism was not always immediate. A few participants worked in other trades before turning to tourism. Francisco, for example, worked in construction and also made *palapas* (traditional dwelling with a thatched roof made of dried palm leaves); Darío and Ernesto worked at retail stores; and Don Alvaro had a carpentry shop and sold Yucatecan foods at local gas stations before starting working as a taxi driver in Playa del Carmen. Female participants also held jobs outside the tourism industry. Señora Inés used to wash clothes by hand, Nancy worked in a textile factory, and Helena cleaned houses, babysat children, and worked as a cashier at a local restaurant. For the rest of the participants, especially the younger ones, jobs in the tourism industry were the first ones they had in their lives.

Next, I present a discussion of participants' experiences with the tourism industry. I sought to gain an understanding of the impacts of tourism on participants' well-being. I do not discuss these impacts using a "positive vs. negative" dichotomy or a "economic", "social" or "cultural" classification (Mason, 2008; Mathieson & Wall, 1982); doing so could hide the interrelatedness, complexity and extent to which impacts are influenced by variables such as gender, age, and other personal characteristics as

well as external conditions and structures that shape these experiences. Due to the focus on justice of this dissertation, the analysis of participants' experiences with tourism paid particular attention to processes and matters of equity, inclusion, exclusion, opportunities, and constraints (Charmaz, 2005).

Working in Tourism: A Life-Changing Experience

Most participants joined the tourism industry with the hope of improving their economic conditions and provide a better future to their families, an escape from the poverty they grew up with in their pueblos. Several heard from family and friends of the abundance of jobs in Cozumel and Playa del Carmen; the prospect to have an income year round was hard to resist. Working in tourism became a life changing experience. Many saw their dreams accomplished; cash was flowing everyday. They acquired material things and sent their kids to school. But besides their economic conditions, other things changed. Through their work in tourism, participants obtained additional benefits. They learned new skills and became more confident. They also met tourists, learned from them, and formed new friendships. These participants got recognition and appreciation they had not experienced before. For other participants, in particular female participants, working in tourism had a different meaning. It meant working long hours doing physical work for minimum wage. It meant being subject to pressure, mistreatment, and harassment from their bosses and tourists. It meant neglecting the families whose lives they sought to improve.

Tourism changed participants' lives in other ways as well. Money from tourism transformed many participants. Some became focused solely on money and material

things. In addition, while tourism gave participants economic means, it also stole their time and restricted their mobility, taking them away from their families, traditions and culture. Using the participants' voices, what follows is a detailed discussion of these themes. These experiences will be used to develop a framework for cultural justice provided in the last chapter of this dissertation.

Economic Benefits: Escaping From Poverty?

La verdad, desde que tengo uso de razón lo que es el turismo aquí en todo lo que es Quintana Roo, yo creo que le ha cambiado su vida de mucha gente.... Gracias a ellos [turistas] tenemos empleo.

The truth is, since I am aware, tourism in all Quintana Roo has changed many people's lives. Thanks to them [tourists], we have jobs.

Helena, Cozumel

The quote above reflects the most tangible impact of tourism on participants' lives, employment and economic benefits. Tourism provided most participants, through a permanent or a seasonal job, the income that they did not have in the pueblo, the escape from their poverty. Francisco went from making \$ 50 pesos (approx. US\$ 4) a day as a bricklayer up to US\$ 80 a day selling souvenirs and jewelry in Cozumel. As a waiter in one of the most traditional restaurants in Cozumel, Enrique could make up to US\$ 100 a day during the high season; in the low season, an average US\$ 15 a day, which is three times the minimum wage he would make elsewhere. If he wants, he said, he can work only two days a week and not worry about money. He was also sending his

daughter to a private school where she was learning English and computers. “More than satisfied, I am a blessed person” (*Más que satisfecho, soy una persona bendecida*), he told me after picking me up in his recently bought car. Equally “blessed” were Dario and Gabriel, who could make between US\$ 50- US\$ 100 a day in sales commissions and tips. One participant, Ezequiel, proudly showed me the humble one-bedroom house with a kitchen and a small terrace that he rents with his salary and tips from the restaurant where he worked as a line cook. “At least I have a few things here. Here you don’t starve to death” (*Aquí por lo menos tengo algunas cositas. Aquí no te mueres de hambre*). In Playa del Carmen, Diego makes between \$ 3,000 and \$ 5,000 pesos (US\$ 235- 390) biweekly working part-time as a tourism information agent on Quinta Avenida. With this salary, he was taking care of his wife and daughter, paying for his college, and sending school supplies to children in his hometown in Quintana Roo.

Several women in this study, however, had a different situation. For them, working in tourism was not an opportunity to get generous tips and commissions. Their stories are rather of *exploitation, disappointment and frustration*. They moved to Cozumel and Playa hoping to improve their lives, but after years of hard work, they continue to live in poverty. The stories of Señora Inés and Helena help illustrate this point.

Señora Inés, who used to sell fruits and vegetables from her father’s milpa in Yucatán, moved to Cozumel in 1997. When she arrived to the island, she started hand-washing clothes for construction workers and friends until her hands were severely damaged by fungus. Not having any education or any practical skills, she got a

permanent job cleaning apartments in a small housing complex for tourists and expatriates. She makes \$750 pesos per week (approx. US\$ 236 per month) and after paying her rent and sending a few pesos to her mother in Yucatán, all she has left to buy food is \$ 200 pesos (approx. US\$ 15). She rarely gets a tip. In order to save some money, she rides her bike to work everyday. She expressed her frustration about her situation when we had our interview sitting in the stairwell she had just washed:

No me están pagando así bien. Por ejemplo porque es mucho trabajo que hago, yo corto la palma, a veces trabajo de hombre, yo siembro zacate, limpio la escuela, limpio los departamentos, lavo las escaleras, lavo acá, que si me mandan a comprar, voy también a comprar.

They are not paying me that well because it is a lot of work that I do. I cut the trees, often times I do a man's job, I plant the grass, I clean the school²⁵, I clean the apartments, I wash the stairs, I wash here and there, if they send me to buy things, I also go and buy things.

Me: Y usted le ha dicho eso a (sus jefes)?

And have you told that to (your bosses)?

Señora Inés: Una vez le dije que era poco lo que me estoy ganando, pero después me dijeron que no me podían subir más.

²⁵ The building owner also owns an English language school that she is required to clean three times a week.

Ya no le volví a decir nada....Y así ya tengo nueve años.

I told them once that what I was making was very little, but after that they told me they could not give me more. I didn't tell him anything else anymore....And I have been like that for nine years.

For Señora Inés, insisting on getting a raise was a waste of time. She knew she would not get it. But for her, life in Cozumel, working six days a week for the minimum wage is much better than in Yucatán, where, for doing the same amount of work, she would only get enough money “to buy bread” (*para comprar el pan*).

Helena arrived to Cozumel when she was fifteen years old. During her first years in the island, she worked as a babysitter, house cleaner, kitchen assistant, and a cashier in a fast food restaurant. Hoping to get a better salary (and tips) and buy a small house for her and her children, she decided to join the hotel industry as a fulltime housekeeper. For the last twelve years, she has been cleaning 15 to 18 hotel rooms a day in several resorts throughout Cozumel. Her last salary was \$ 950 pesos a week (approx. US\$ 75). She gets occasional tips which help her take care of her three kids she is raising by herself, but after twelve years *of continuous physical work*, she is tired and about to give up her life dream:

Yo ya me canse de trabajar de camarista. Son doce años, yo siento que ya no puedo....A veces no nos da tiempo de bajar a almorzar y eso. Pues a veces yo llego cansada de tanta presión, llego cansada y los niños están acá y tengo que seguir trajinando

porque arreglar acá, cuidar a los hijos...pero no sé hacer otra cosa.

I am tired of working as a housekeeper. It has been twelve years, I can't take it anymore....Sometimes we don't even have time to come down for lunch and all that. I come home tired from all the pressure, I come home tired and the kids are here and I have to keep working, take care of the house, take care of the children...but I don't know how to do anything else.

Lo único que yo quisiera es tener un terreno y en ese terreno construiría mi manera y a mi gusto porque a mí me gustan los animales. Me gusta lo que es lo pavos, los patos, todo lo que es animal me encanta a mí...

Pero hace veinte años he querido lograr mi casa pero no se ha podido... Entonces este pos ahorita estoy viendo a ver tengo puesta de limite dos años más. Si en dos años más no logro nada me regreso para mi tierra porque no tiene caso que me quede.

The only thing that I would like is to have a piece of land and build something to my taste because I like animals. I like turkeys, ducks, all types of animals I love....I've been wanting to have my house for twenty years but I have not been ableWell, I am looking into it now, I have given myself two more years. If in two

years I can't get anything, I'll go back to my land (Yucatán)
because there is no point in staying here.

A few days before the interview, Helena had been laid off from her job due to the lack of occupancy caused by the H1N1 warning. She was also evicted from the house she was renting because she was two months behind in the rent. She was living in the backroom of her uncle's humble house, where we had our interview and a dinner night with her family a few weeks after.

Personal Benefits

Besides employment and economic benefits, working in the tourism industry fostered personal growth in many participants. Through their jobs, they had the opportunity to interact with tourists, and through these interactions, they learned about new places, cultures, and life styles, while sharing their own. Lasting and meaningful friendships with tourists were formed. In addition, some participants learned new skills which helped them get better jobs. But as with economic benefits, personal benefits were not available nor enjoyed by all participants in this study.

Interacting with tourists

Me gusta platicar con la gente, saber también sus costumbres, contarles mis costumbres. Es un orgullo para mí.

I like talking to people, learning about their customs; telling them about mine.

It's pride for me.

Señora Carmen, Cozumel

For several participants, meeting and interacting with people from all over of the world was one of the most enjoyable and satisfying aspects of their jobs. Interacting with international tourists was an opportunity to learn about other places, cultures, languages, and life styles. To Juan Carlos, a locker room attendant in an all-inclusive resort in Cozumel, talking to tourists is like taking imaginary trips to other places:

Mi experiencia ha sido bien bonita, conoces gente de todos los lugares. Por medio de la gente puedes escuchar como son otros lugares, aun no conociéndolos pero te los imaginas. Muy, muy padre de verdad interactuar con la gente. A mi me gusta saber que existen otros idiomas. Es muy, muy interesante. Como le digo, tanto me interesa mi cultura como otras culturas.

My experience has been very nice. You meet people from all places. Through people you can listen how other places are, you don't even know them, but you can imagine them. It is very, very cool to interact with people. I like to know that other languages exist. That is very, very interesting. Like I am saying, I am just as interested in my culture as in other cultures.

Interacting with tourists is also an opportunity to teach others about the Maya culture and promote less known areas of Quintana Roo. Javier and Diego take advantage

of these interactions with tourists to share aspects of their culture and encourage them to visit their pueblos:

Si, [me gusta] conversar con [turistas]... Como es allá, de donde vienen... [Me dicen] “Allá es muy diferente, allá no tenemos tiempo para nada” y así intercambiamos cosas... Y a veces me preguntan “Y tu de donde vienes? - “Ah yo vengo de dos horas de aquí, se llama Carrillo Puerto, allá toda la gente habla maya, toda la gente habla maya” y uno puede aprender muchas cosas, y es muy interesante. Yo empiezo a platicarle sobre el lugar y entonces eh...ellos se dan cuenta que México no solo es Cancún o Playa del Carmen, tiene muchas cosas más interesantes

I like talking to [tourists]... [learning] how it's there; where they come from...[They tell me] “It is very different there, we don't have time for anything” and that's how we share things... Sometimes they ask me “And where do you come from?”- “I come from two hours from here, it's called Carrillo Puerto, all people there speak Maya, all people speak Maya” and one learns a lot of things and that's very interesting. I start telling them about the place and then they realize that Mexico is not only Cancun o Playa del Carmen, it has more interesting things.

Diego, front desk agent, Playa del Carmen

Me gusta trabajar [en turismo] porque me gusta conocer a las personas que vienen de Europa y todo, me gusta tratar a los franceses....[Me gusta] pues el contacto y el ayudar a las personas, que cuando vengas y que me pregunten, no sé, darles un poquito de información para que, más que nada, para que conozcan la parte de atrás porque muchos conocen esto [Playa] pero hay unas personas que vienen y dicen: “Oye, no quiero nada de esto, dime un pueblito por aquí”. Y siempre les recomiendo primero a mi pueblo, en mi pueblo hay una laguna....les doy un mapita de toda la zona y ahí aparece mi pueblo. Les recomiendo que hay una laguna azul muy espectacular

I like working [in tourism] because I like meeting people that come from Europe and everywhere, I like interacting with the French....[I like] the contact and helping people, so that when they come and ask me, I don't know, give them a little bit of information so they, more than anything, get to see backstage because many of them know this [Playa], but there are some people who come and say “Hey, I don't want any of this, tell me about a pueblito around here”. And I always recommend my pueblo first, there is a lagoon in my pueblo...I give them a small

map of the area which shows my pueblo. I tell them that there is a spectacular blue lagoon there.

Javier, tourism information agent, Playa del Carmen

Although mostly superficial and sporadic, some of these interactions resulted in genuine, long-term friendships between tourists and participants. These relationships, which were born from casual information exchanges, grew into friendships that participants said, were characterized by trust, care and concern.

Tengo varios amigos de fuera. Ni siquiera conozco donde viven pero siempre que vienen nos visitan, nos escriben por email- “Cómo está tu hijo? Cómo está tu esposa?”. Eso siempre es lindo que la gente te tenga en cuenta, que sepa de ti. Siempre va a ser algo especial, te hace sentir un poco más especial.

I have several friends from abroad. I don't even know where they live but every time they come, they visit us, they write to us through email – “How is your son? How is your wife? That is always beautiful that people notice you, that they know about you. It is always going to be something special, it makes you feel a bit more special.

Juan Carlos, locker room attendant

Tengo muy buenos amigos turistas de Colorado, de Nueva Jersey, de Minnesota, mucha gente de Minnesota viene. Tengo muy buenos amigos que primero fueron mis clientes, tengo uno de

California que se preocupan mucho por nosotros cuando hay huracanes. A veces cuando hay época de huracanes me hablan que “Cómo estás? Cuidate!”, cosas así, que se siente uno bien. Es bueno eso.

I have very good tourist friends from Colorado, New Jersey, Minnesota; many people from Minnesota come here. I have many good friends that were my clients before. I have a friend from California who worries a lot about us when there are hurricanes. Sometimes when there is a hurricane season they call me -“How are you? Take care!”- Things like that make one feel good. That is good.

Señora Amelia, Cozumel

But, as with economic rewards, opportunities for meaningful host-guest interactions were available mostly to male participants who held positions that involved ample and direct contact with tourists (e.g. waiters, tour guides, bartenders, and salespersons). Female participants did not have time to talk to people; any distraction would put them behind in their daily assignments or upset their supervisors. Only Señora Carmen’s job required direct interactions with tourists on a daily basis. For seventeen years, she and her husband have been the cultural interpreters of the Casita Maya (Maya house) in the Museum of Cozumel. However, in the occasions I saw them working together, it was her husband who did the interpretation and collected tips from tourists. She stood quietly and shyly behind him, which suggested subtle gender dynamics among

these participants (Participant observation June 4 and June 25). Gender and power dynamics are also present in other female participants' encounters with tourists. Sexual harassment, for example, was often cited. Nancy and Helena reported that tourists often asked them for sexual favors or expose themselves to them. Señora Inés, along with another participant in the study, said that she is usually suspected of or even wrongfully accused of stealing guests' money or any of their items. The fear of losing her job over a guest complaint makes her avoid any interaction with the people, especially foreigners, who stay in the property.

Learning opportunities

Working in tourism provided outlets for learning new things. Languages, especially English, were of the most important and useful skills participants learned (and needed) in their jobs. Languages were also the enablers of participants' job improvement, promotions, and higher income. For instance, since he started working as a salesperson in Playa del Carmen, Víctor has learned English as well as basic Italian and German. He said speaking several languages has helped him increase his commissions from selling jewelry and other items at the shops he works in Quinta Avenida. Similarly, Enrique, whose first job in Cozumel consisted of washing floors and dirty dishes, said learning English helped him get a permanent job as a waiter in several restaurants. Señora Amelia, one of the two self-identified Maya business owners also stated that learning English helped her car and bike rental business prosper. A few years ago, she could not work in sales because "If I have to be honest, I could barely rent a bike" (*Si eres de ser sincera, a duras penas podía yo rentar una moto*). With time, she

learned how to speak better English which allowed her to communicate and take care of her customers while making more money in the process.

Besides languages, participants learned other skills that helped them get better jobs. These included culinary, computer, customer service, and supervisory skills. Ezequiel, for instance, learned how to cook international dishes and got promoted from bus boy to line cook. After many years of cleaning and picking up trash from tourists at a local beach club, he never thought he would enjoy working in a kitchen. He is planning to continue his culinary training and specialize in making desserts or another type of international cuisine.

In addition to specific skills, some participants felt they also learned new things when parts of their job required them to seek information to complete a task or help a tourist, or when they had to solve a problem they had not encountered before. As Diego in Playa del Carmen explained:

[Me gusta] aprender más cosas, aprender más cosas definitivamente. Porque uno cuando entra a trabajar en un lugar de repente no se pregunta ¿Cómo hago esto?, ¿Cómo digo esto?, y de repente pregunto o investigo por mi mismo, y si ya a la próxima o enfrentándose a muchos problemas del trabajo se aprende. Si. Por ejemplo un día te preguntan algo y no se, ya sea que me explique el mismo turista que es y yo le entienda, o yo pregunte e investigue, y ya a la próxima lo haré mejor (risas). Hay que aprender más cosas.

[I like] learning new things, learning new things definitively.

Because when one starts working, one doesn't always ask oneself, "How do I do this? How do I say this? But I ask or research on my own. Then, next time..., or even by facing many problems at work, one learns. Yes. For example, if one day [tourists] ask for something and I don't know, either by the tourist explaining to me or by me asking or researching, next time I will do better (laughs).

There are more things to learn.

Participants in low entry, unskilled positions (e.g. housekeepers, cleaning staff, and house attendants) experienced little enjoyment or learning opportunities. For Señora Inés, the only break from her daily routine of cleaning and washing was when she talked to her mother on the phone or engaged in very short conversations with people staying in the building. For these participants, there are no opportunities to learn other skills, they do not interact with tourists, learn from coworkers or supervisors, or perform tasks that are meaningful and challenging. Yet, small tasks which demanded some creativity were considered a break from the tediousness of their daily jobs. Helena, for instance, entertained herself by doing flower decorations in the suites she cleans everyday because, at least, she feels she is doing something that she likes (*siento que estoy haciendo algo que me gusta*).

Respect

A un americano le preguntas "A donde vas?" y te responde amablemente. El mexicano es prepotente. El turista es más

*correcto, más amable, más respetuoso... pero los mexicanos...
ufffff!*

You ask an American “Where are you going?” and he answers nicely. The Mexican is arrogant. The tourist is more polite, more courteous, more respectful...but Mexicans... ufffff!

Don Julio, security guard, Playa del Carmen

Respect was a recurrent theme in participants’ discussions of their positive experiences with tourism. In general, there was a feeling that tourists were very cordial and respectful in their interactions with local people. Several participants felt that tourists gave them the respect they did not get from other Mexicans, in particular from the *chilangos*²⁶, people from Monterrey, and those from other northern cities. These people, many stated, often insult Maya people by using derogatory names like *yuca*²⁷, *mayita*, *pinche maya* [insignificant Maya]; make fun of their accent or look; or treat them like inferior human beings. Tourists, on the other hand, were considered kind and friendly to all local people. “I greet them and they greet me and give me a smile; they chat with me” (*Yo los saludo y ellos me saludan y me dan una sonrisa, cotorrean conmigo*), said Diego in Playa del Carmen. Other participants said tourists, unlike Mexicans, do not discriminate people based on their ethnicity or social class, “[Tourists] approach [the Maya] more than the people with money” (*Se acercan a ellos más que a*

²⁶ The term *chilango-a* is a colloquial term for people from Mexico City.

²⁷ Derogatory demonym for people from the state of Yucatán

los que tienen dinero), commented another participant in Playa del Carmen. But respect, as it is discussed below, involved more than amicable social exchanges with tourists. It was also experienced through a recognition and appreciation of participants' individual and cultural characteristics and the trust that others place upon them.

Recognition: “Me dan mi lugar” [They give me my place]

Several participants indicated they felt respected when there was recognition of their talents, skills and /or job performance. Enrique explained that in Cozumel, it is very common for employers to hire and promote people from other parts of Mexico as they are perceived to be more qualified than the local Maya. For him, respect is shown through people's recognition that local (Maya) people also have talents and skills and can outperform outsiders in many job positions, not only those related to cleaning and doing physical work. In his case, he feels respected because he is “given his place” (*Me dan mi lugar*); that is, he has been given job positions that match his skills and years of experience in the restaurant business, not the lack of formal preparation for the job.

He trabajado en varios lugares. He trabajado en restaurant El Cenote, restaurant El Cangrejo, restaurant Cozumel Lindo, restaurant Pomodoro, he trabajado también en una cafetería muy bien que fui el gerente de allí. He sido capitán de meseros, yo les he ganado donde hay muchos chilangos de afuera, del norte, cuando ellos fuertemente vienen preparados y no les dan ese puesto sino yo como maya, me entiendes?... Me siento respetado. Me dan mi lugar y me siento orgulloso porque no solamente la

gente muy estudiada puede tener esos puestos, sino también nosotros los mayas que venimos de abajo pero hemos crecido y hemos aprendido.

I've worked in several places. I've worked at El Cenote, El Cangrejo, Cozumel Lindo, Pomodoro²⁸. I have also worked in a cafeteria, I was the manager there. I've been a captain waiter, I have succeeded where there are many chilangos, people from the north, when they come very prepared and they don't get that position but I do being a Maya, you understand? I feel respected... They give me my place and I feel proud because not only educated people can get those jobs but us Mayas too who come from below but we have risen and learned.

Participants also liked to receive feedback and compliments for a job well done. They stated that receiving praise was more gratifying than getting tips, and it was commonly noted that tourists, in particular foreign tourists, were more appreciative of their efforts than their own supervisors and managers. But for some participants there is no recognition. Their experience, ideas or opinions do not matter. Javier complained that the (Italian) owners of the hotel where he worked did not take into consideration any suggestions he provided to improve guest satisfaction.

²⁸ The name of these restaurants have been changed to protect the participant's identity

The same happens when Nancy brings an issue to her supervisor's attention, she is not heard. At the end, as some were told, they were "mayita", what do they know?

In addition to individual characteristics, respect was associated with the recognition of participants' culture. Participants felt respected when people acknowledged, in a positive manner, they were part of the Maya culture. They value when tourists show a genuine interest in their culture, for example, by asking them about Maya life or by learning or practicing words and phrases in their language. And participants looked for the opportunity to share their culture with them as well. When Don Alvaro hears that his friends or colleagues get to interact and speak Maya with tourists, he gets a bit jealous, he wishes it was him who would meet these tourists: "I want to interact with those people, but I don't get them, I don't get them" (*Yo quiero que me toque a mí esa gente y no me toca, no me toca*). Many participants contrasted the treatment they received from tourists and other Mexican people.

Los de Monterrey nos tratan como poquita cosa y se burlan de nuestro acento. Llegan acá en son de burla y nos dicen "¿Que onda yuca?" sin ni siquiera conocernos.... La gente extranjera te pregunta "¿Sabes maya?" y me preguntan cosas en maya y yo les explico. Me hace sentir... porque hay personas como los de Monterrey que son muy agresivos con los mayas, te menosprecian.

The ones from Monterrey treat us like if we were nothing and make fun of our accent. They come here wanting to make fun of us and they tell us “What’s up, Yuca?” without even knowing us...Foreign people ask you, “You know Maya? and they ask me things in Maya and I explain to them. It makes me feel...because people like those from Monterrey that are very aggressive with the Maya, they despise you.

Beatriz, laundry attendant, Playa del Carmen

Había mucha gente que se burlaba de uno, mayormente gente mexicana que trabajaban con uno. Decían “tienes cara de maya”, “no sabes, eres maya”, “no sabes coger una cuchara”. Pero como te las vas a cambiar (la cara)?! Siempre dicen alguna indirecta.... Los gabachos te tratan mejor. Ellos nos piden que hablemos en maya y apuntan lo que uno dice en maya. También te animan a que vengas a trabajar con el hipil.

There were many people that made fun of us, mainly Mexican people that worked with us. They used to say “you have a Maya face”, “You don’t know, you are Maya”, “You don’t know how to hold a spoon”. But how are you going to change it?! [the Maya face]. They always say an insinuation ...Los gabachos²⁹ treat you

²⁹ *Gabacho* is a colloquial term to refer to North American people

better. They ask us to speak in Maya and write what we say in Maya. They also encourage us to work wearing the hipil.

Doña Maria, cleaning lady, Playa del Carmen

It should not be assumed that tourists were always respectful. Two female participants stated that some male tourists make sexual advances or use obscene language in their presence, behaviors that they considered not only rude but humiliating. Another participant complained about tourists who made unreasonable demands and get very upset, even insulting, if employees do not do what they request. These types of behaviors, however, were tolerated because, in participants' view, they are "part of the job" (*parte del trabajo*) and complaining could cause them to lose their jobs or jeopardize their tips.

Trust: Me tienen confianza [They trust me]

Being trusted (*tener confianza*) was an important aspect related to the notion of respect. Participants stated that respect was given when people treated them as trustworthy (*confiable*), responsible (*responsables*), and honest (*honestos*) individuals and when they could trust others as well. Some participants felt offended because their supervisors usually considered them suspicious (*sospechosos*) of doing dishonest things at work (i.e. overcharging customers, lying, etc.), taking advantage of the company, or stealing things from tourists. For example, Señora Inés is always questioned when tourists' things are missing. Her boss, Don Felipe, rarely takes her side even though she has worked for him for almost ten years and proven to be a trustworthy employee. She told me about the latest incident when she was accused of taking guest money:

Hubo un señor que es, bueno es Americano. Cuando llegó acá dijo que se le perdió 100 dólares, pero como ya está viejito no se acordaba él donde lo asentó. Entonces me fue a reportar, que yo lo había agarrado. Y si lo lloré, porque yo soy pobre, ni conozco yo el dinero grande de dólar. Me enseñó Don Felipe, “este es de 5 dólares, este es de 10 dólares, este es de 20 dólares, de 50 dólares, de 100 dólares” así, así. Pues fue la única vez tuve problemas con ese inquilino, pero como ya tiene edad se le olvidó él donde lo tenía puesto. Cuando se puso a leer su biblia, entre su biblia, ahí estaba su dinero....Si fue y se disculpó con don Felipe, vino y se disculpó conmigo, pero y que? ya me habían llamado, ya yo había llorado.

There was a gentleman that was, well he was American. When he came here he said that he lost 100 dollars, but because he was old, he didn't remember where he put them. Then he reported that I had taken them. I cried so much because I am poor; I don't even know big dollar bills. Don Felipe showed me “this is a 5 dollar bill, this is a 10 dollar bill, this is a 20 dollar bill, 50 dollar bill, 100 dollar”, and so on. It was the only time that I had a problem with that tenant, but because he was old, he had forgotten where he had put the money. When he started reading his Bible, inside the Bible was his money....He went and apologized with Don

Felipe, he came and apologized to me, but what was the point? I had already been questioned, I had already cried.

In contrast, other participants felt proud that many long-term tourists and expatriates trusted them to take care of their homes and their possessions while they were away, or when their supervisors assigned them important tasks or new responsibilities. Participants were proud to be considered reliable and dependable, and this contributed to their sense of confidence, as I discuss next.

Personal Change

Increased self-confidence

Working in tourism helped some participants overcome some of their perceived shortcomings and increase their confidence in dealing with new responsibilities or difficult situations. Some participants talked about how they were able to overcome their shyness and fear of dealing with strangers and now enjoy working and interacting with others, locals and tourists alike. Determination, new and challenging responsibilities, as well as recognition and trust from employers and tourists seemed to contribute to participants' confidence as illustrated by Dario's story. When his father died, Dario quit school to support her mother and siblings. He worked in construction, sold fruits in the local market, and supervised a grocery store for twelve years until it went out of businesses. After a long search, he found a job as a tour guide assistant in an American-owned vacation home rental/ tour company. For the first time in his life Dario had to interact with foreigners, a very challenging experience since he did not speak a word in English. But he was *determined* to keep his job and his hard work did not go unnoticed:

Yo era muy tímido... Sí, eso me lo decían los americanos y se lo decían a mí guía, y los gabachos - “Bueno, ah que bien, que bien, échale ganas, eres muy bueno”- me dicen. “Ah gracias!” digo. De ahí ya sigue mi vida y el patrón ve como estoy trabajando; él ve que no me rajo en nada. Los días que no había tours... pues, limpiando los carros, limpiando el terreno donde estábamos, el área de trabajo, y el americano, mi patrón, nos ve y nos dice – “Putá Darío, cada vez que te viro a ver estás inclinado trabajando.... Si eres chingón”- El así hablaba, ya hablaba español con el acento de inglés ese, y me empiezan a ver, y cada vez que el me veía, me veía trabajando; no me rajaba. Hasta que uno de los compañeros renuncia de las casas de Cozumel Vacation Home y ven a quien poner -“¿Quién? ¿Quién? , y cruzan y me ven. “Caramba vamos a poner a Darío en lo de las casas de Cozumel Vacation”. Me hablan y me llevan a la oficina - “De ahora en adelante -me dice- ya no vas a ser a guía, ya no vas a ser asistente de guía, ya no te quiero ahí”- “Chinga me van a correr! -“¿Me va a correr?- “Hay algo mejor para ti - me dice- “Es que quiero que tú seas encargado de las casas. Renuncio Frank y tú eres el más activo, el más movido, el que más le echa las ganas” – “Ah, pos gracias por verme así”, le digo, “¿pero que hay que hacer?” –“Pos, ver que las casas estén limpias,

llevar camaristas, llevar jardinero, llevar plomeros, ver que las casas estén bien.... ¿Crees poder? me dice. “Pues patrón, no me rete”- “Bien hombre, chingón”, me dice.

I was very shy...that is what the Americans used to tell me and my supervisor. And the *gabachos* (Americans) would tell me “Good, very good, do your best, you are very good”. “Thank you!”, I’d say. My life goes on and the boss sees how I work; he sees that I don’t bail out on anything. The days when there weren’t any tours, [he sees me] cleaning cars, cleaning the work area, and the boss sees us and tells me “Damn Dario, every time I turn around and see you, you are bent over working...you are *chingón* [very good]. He spoke that way, Spanish with an American accent, and he started noticing me, and every time he saw me, he saw me working; I was not goofing around. Until one day one of the coworkers quit from Cozumel Vacation Homes and they were looking to replace him...“Who? Who?” and they looked around and saw me. “Gee, let’s put Dario in charge of the Cozumel Vacation Houses”. They called me and took me into the office. “From now on, he tells me, you are not going to be a guide anymore, you are not going to be a guide assistant, I don’t want you there”- “Damn, I’m going to be fired! Am I going to be fired?”- “There is something better for you”, he tells me. “I want

you to be in charge of the houses. Frank quit and you are the most active, the one who moves the most, the one who does his best”- “Well, thanks for seeing me that way”, I tell him, but what is to do?”- “Well, oversee that the houses are clean, bring the housekeepers, gardeners and plumbers, and oversee that all houses are okay. You think you can? ”, he tells me. “Well, boss, don’t dare me!” - “All right man. Chingón”, he tells me].

Dario took the challenge and got promoted. The trust and feedback from his boss and tourists gave him the courage to start his new supervisor position. At that moment, he said, his life took a new turn:

Pues empieza mi vida hablando, tratar de hablar el inglés. Llego a la casa “Mira está es la casa, tiene cuatro cuartos, tiene dos baños tiene alberca, el aire acondicionado como funciona; alguna pregunta?” – “No, ¿qué playa me recomiendas?” Y todo eso en inglés, chinga! Y yo...ni hablando maya, tratando de hablar en ingles le digo “Discúlpame, es que soy nuevo en esto y te voy ayudar lo mejor que pueda” y me dice “No te preocupes” y empiezo a hablar con ellos y empieza a dar mi vida un giro diferente...muy bueno. Económicamente muy bien. Sé desenvolverme más en la vida, ahora no puede venir alguien y decirme “Es que tú no puedes”- Si puedo!! “Es que tú no sabes”- Si sé!! “No, pero es que tu no estudiaste”- No importa!!

Then my life starts by talking, trying to speak English. I go to show the house “Look, this is the house, it has four rooms, two bathrooms, a pool, this is how the a/c works, any questions?” - “What beach do you recommend?” And everything in English, damn! And me... not even in Maya...trying to speak in English I tell him “I am sorry, the thing is that I am new in this but I will help you as best as I can”. And he tells me “Don’t worry” and I start talking to them and my life starts to take a different turn... a very good one. Economically, very good. I know how to better develop in life; nobody can come and tell me “You can’t”. I can!! ... “You don’t know”. I know!!... “But you didn’t go to school”. So what?!!

Dario worked in this rental agency until it went out of business. After that, he worked at the city hall (*palacio municipal*) and later as a cashier and acting manager at a boot store in downtown Cozumel. He was proud and confident that he can handle supervisory duties, “I only went to third grade, I don’t need to be educated, because if you ask me how to manage, how to supervise, I’ll show you, I’ll tell you” (*He llegado al tercer grado de primaria, no necesito ser estudiado, porque si tú me dices cómo administrar, cómo ver, yo te lo pongo, yo te lo digo*). But like other participants, he was laid off his job after the government issued the H1N1 health warning. When I met him he was working with his wife and sister, running a small cafeteria in one of the educational establishments on the island. When I returned to Cozumel after fieldwork in

Playa del Carmen, he had gotten a job working in a souvenir store, “Fighting!”
(Luchando!), he told me when we ran into each other at the store.

Becoming materialistic: We get wrapped up in tourism

The tourism industry in the Riviera Maya, including Cozumel and Playa del Carmen, provided seemingly endless economic benefits for the (Maya) local people in the form of plenty of jobs and fast cash. Suddenly, some people went from “starving to death” to making hundreds of dollars in a few days. The quick and easy access to money made many people start idolizing the tourism industry (and tourists); many saw it/them as the saviors of the Maya people of the Yucatán and Quintana Roo:

Si no por esa gente [turistas], no tenemos vida, no tenemos ni dinero.

If it were not for that people [tourists], we have no life, we have no money.

Don David, Playa del Carmen

Pienso que en Cozumel sin ningún turista, mira, aquí nos morimos de hambre. ¿Por qué? Porque no todos somos pescadores. Entonces si no hay turista, aquí no hay nada. No comes, no te la llevas.

I think that in Cozumel, without any tourists, look, we starve to death here. Why? Because we are not all fishermen. Therefore, if

there aren't any tourists, there is nothing here. You don't eat, you can't make it.

Enrique, Cozumel

Without a doubt, tourism improved participants' lives. It provided them with jobs and a stable income. But along with participants' economic situation other things started to change. Many participants started to focus exclusively on money and material things (*“Nos enfocamos en el dinero”*). Money was never enough; even if participants were making plenty, through tips and/or sales commissions:

Nos acostumbramos a eso. Hoy gano 50 [dólares], mañana quieres 60, pasado quieres 70, y si te pones los cien dólares, los consigues. Nosotros nos acostumbramos, en el caso mío, yo me acostumbre a que tenía (sic) dinero en la bolsa.

We got used to that [making money]. Today I make \$50 [dollars], tomorrow you want \$60, the day after you want \$70, and if you want \$100, you can get them. We got used to it, in my case, I got used to money in my pocket

Dario, Cozumel

Feeling they would always have access to money, participants did not hesitate to spend it, in many occasions, on things they said did not need. The consumerist culture of the city absorbed them. “We spend like “city people”... Even though I have shoes, I'd buy another pair, then I have two pairs of new shoes lying on the floor...or if I want to buy a guitar, I'd buy it, I don't even know how to play guitar but I have it there”

(Gastamos como la gente de la ciudad... Aunque lleves tu zapatos, voy a comprar un par de zapatos más, ahí los tienes tirados, dos pares nuevos ... o si quiero comprar una guitarra, la compro, ni la sé tocar, ahí la tengo levantada allí), said Don David, comparing Maya people who work in tourism with those who work in the pueblo. “We are not careful with the money” (*No cuidamos el dinero*), he added.

Very few participants who had a good income saved for the future. In their minds, the money spent one day would be recovered the next. (Un)fortunately, it took a national tourism crisis for participants to realize the consequences of their own choices regarding money and lack of foresight:

Ahorita que vino el problema de la influenza, ahorita andaban tristes. Ahorita algunos que se habían dedicado a la milpa tienen que sembrar, algo para que luego tengan algo que comer todo el año. Entonces los afecto pero así terrible y más cuando tuvieron la oportunidad de ahorrar. Es lo malo igual, se gana tanto dinero que llegan y en la esquina esta un expendio de cerveza y “Vámonos” y hay van y empiezan a tomar y no se ahorra. Y ahora que hubo este problema, algunos todavía ahorita están aguantando, pero algunos que nada, nada, ni para comer.

Now that there was the problem with the influenza, now everybody is sad. Now, those few who worked in the milpa have something to grow; they will have something to eat for the rest of the year. To the rest, the crisis affected them terribly and worse

when they had the opportunity to save. That's the bad thing, people make so much money that when they go [back home] and there is a beer store in any corner, "let's go!", and they start drinking and don't save. But now that there was this problem, some are still holding out, but others have nothing, nothing, not even to eat.

Diego, Playa del Carmen

Cuando hay vacas gordas no las cuidamos para cuando van a venir las vacas flacas, no. O sea, ese algo de que nosotros mismos hemos causado todo esto, como le decía, no; si yo, Dario hubiera guardado todo ese dinero que yo gane en ese tiempo, que voy a estar andando así, no. Estuviera yo en otra cosa, mis hijos en un mejor colegio. Pero a veces tenemos que pasar por eso, para que tú vayas aprendiendo.

We did not save for a rainy day. No. That's something we did to ourselves. Like I was telling you, If I, Dario, had saved all that money that I made at that time, I would not be like this [broke]. I would be something else, my children in a better school. But sometimes you have to go through this so you can start learning.

The H1N1 virus crisis became an eye opening experience for many participants as well as for other tourism stakeholders participating in this study, especially in Cozumel. Issues of economic dependence, competition from other destinations,

diversification of the tourism offer and tourist markets, and long-term planning started to be discussed in the media as well as community meetings and political rallies (participant observation).

To recap, working in tourism brought several positive benefits to all participants. These included economic benefits through a permanent jobs or flow of cash from tips and commissions, personal benefits through their interactions with (international) tourists, respect and self-confidence. The degree to which participants enjoyed these benefits depended on factors such as gender and type of job, to name a few. For instance, male participants had more access to positions that required direct interactions with tourists, which in turn contribute to more cross-cultural interactions and learning opportunities. By the nature of the positions they held, they also received more income through tips and sales commissions. Women, on the other hand, often were at a disadvantage. Although they had permanent jobs and therefore a stable source of income to take home, their jobs did not allow the opportunity to interact with tourists, obtain learning experiences or exert any agency in the completion of their tasks. In addition, they were often subject to disrespect and harassment by their supervisors and tourists alike.

Most participants moved to Cozumel or Playa seeking a better future for themselves and their families. They obtained many economic benefits and personal gains. These, however, should be analyzed against the costs and personal sacrifices that participants have to pay to improve their lives, for example, health issues from long

hours and physical work, changes in diet or disrespect from tourists. Participants identified two additional negative aspects resulting from their involvement in tourism.

Separation from the Family

A recurrent theme in participants discussions of the negative aspects of working in tourism was the separation from both their immediate and extended families. This was experienced in the past, when they left their pueblos to go work in tourism centers in the Riviera Maya, and at the present, when the nature of their jobs (in terms of salary and working schedule) prevents them from spending quality time with their children or visit their relatives in Yucatán or Quintana Roo. In the first case, some participants specifically lamented the separation from their grandparents as a very emotional moment for them. Grandparents were a very significant part of participants' lives; they took care of them, comforted them, taught them life lessons and things about their culture, and the strong bond between them was broken when participants left their pueblos. For Víctor, for instance, his abuelo was the most important figure in his life, the source of affection and love that he did not received from his abusive father. He talked about the relationship with his *abuelito*:

El (mi abuelito) me llevaba a trabajar. Yo iba al monte con mi abuelito. Teníamos una carreta y tenía su caballo y temprano a las 4 de la mañana, 3, me levantaba mi abuelo "Hijo levántate, vamos". Y a mí me gustaba más ir con mi abuelo que con mi papá a trabajar. Mi papá era más estricto, me pegaba mi papá, me tiraba sus cosas. Pero mi abuelo no. No. Mi abuelito me

levantaba, me preparaba mi chocolate a mano ah tenía su batidora, preparaba el café y vámonos. ...Yo quisiera que el tiempo volviera como antes. Si me gustaría, la verdad yo si añoraría volver a ese tiempo.

He [my abuelito] used to take me to work. I used to go to the *monte* [woods] with my abuelito. We had a cart and a horse and very early, at 4 in the morning, 3 in the morning, he would wake me up “Wake up son, let’s go”. And I liked to go to work with my abuelo more than with my dad. My dad was stricter; he hit me, he threw things at me. But not my abuelo. No. My abuelito used to wake me up, make me handmade hot chocolate...he had a whisk, he would make coffee and we will go. I wish that time would be like before. I’d like that, the truth is, I wish I could go back to those times.

Tired of poverty and his authoritarian father, he stole money from his grandfather and ran away to Cancun and later to Cozumel to search for employment. He had a rough time in Cozumel. Not knowing anybody in the island, he had difficulties finding a job. Many times he did not even have money to buy food and had to eat leftovers from other people. He started to steal in order to survive. It was in those moments of desperation that he would think of his abuelito:

Llevo una vida en Cozumel... sin dinero ni donde estar. Entonces una amiga de mi mamá me lleva a casa de un muchacho

drogadicto, un drogadicto. Yo llegué con 15 años te digo. Desde la escuela de la secundaria no conozco nada, nada, nada, cerrado y llegan con marihuana, una bolsa de marihuana, yo tenía miedo porque llegaban varios estaban fumando, y yo me subía en el techo a dormir... yo me dormía en el techo. A los tres días que estaba yo en la casa, porque yo no salía, yo no conozco a nadie luego y tres días y no tengo dinero ni tengo que comer, entonces en la mesa había así una mesa estaban las tortillas de varios días, estaba comiendo y llorando acordándome de mi abuelito, mejor estuviera con mi abuelo en el campo temprano y comida. Pero bueno fue una experiencia muy bonita.

The life I had in Cozumel...without money or a place to stay. A friend of my mother takes me to a house of a drug dealer. I was 15 years old. I didn't know anything, anything, I was naïve and people came with marihuana, a bag of marihuana, I was scared because they were many of them who came to smoke and I would go to the roof to sleep. I slept in the roof. After three days of being in that house, because I didn't go out, I didn't know anybody, after three days and without money or anything to eat, there were some old tortillas, I ate them and cried remembering my abuelito wishing I were with my abuelo in the campo [countryside] and with food. But, that was a very nice experience.

Victor said that remembering his grandfather at that particular moment was a life changing experience. The image of his abuelito made him realize he was on the wrong path and decided to run away from that house. He stopped hanging out with the wrong people and found a job as a waiter. He spent the following twelve years working in food establishments in Cozumel before moving to Playa del Carmen to work in jewelry stores. It was in one of these stores where I met him while I was “hanging out” along Quinta Avenida.

Javier, the young man from Señor (Quintana Roo), shared a similar story. To escape from his father’s verbal and physical abuse, he would seek refuge at his *abuelita’s* [grandmother’s] home. But his father’s decision to move to Playa del Carmen separated him from his abuelita and cousins, causing him a lot of emotional distress as he no longer had a safe and comforting place to go to when his father got drunk and violent.

Cuando nos quitamos, si afectó mucho [mi vida] porque nosotros éramos de estar diario con mi abuelita. Cuando éramos niños llegábamos allí y como era una abuelita muy apapachadora, cuando llegábamos “¿Ya comiste?” pero en maya. “¿Ya comiste?”. No, no hemos comido. “Pues siéntate, ahora te voy a hacer tortillas amarillas”, y torteaba para nosotros, hacia huevitos. Hay la comida que hacía mi abuelita, buenísimo.

When we left, it affected [my life] very much because we used to be with our abuelita every day. When we were kids, we used to go

to there [her house] and because she was so caring, she'd ask "Did you eat?", but in Maya. "Did you eat?" - "No, we haven't" - "Then, seat down and I will make you tortillas", and she *torteaba* [made tortillas by hand] for us, she made eggs, all the food she used to make, that was very good].

Javier acknowledged that the move to Playa del Carmen benefited his family, "we are prospering [here] with my family" (*estamos prosperando con mi familia*), he admitted, "but my family is there in the pueblo and I will never forget them.... I am always thinking about them" (*pero mi familia esta allá en el pueblo y nunca los voy a olvidar....Siempre estoy pensando en ellos*). These feelings of longing for their families (and friends) were echoed by many people I talked to during the study. "I miss my family...my pueblito. All my family" (*Extraño a mi familia...mi pueblito. Toda mi familia*), said Alfonso in Cozumel.

A second theme associated with family separation was participants' not able to spend time with their spouses and/or children. As federal law in Mexico provides for a 48-hour work week³⁰, most participants only get one day off per week. Furthermore, they often have to work overtime, up to 11-12 hours a day, especially if employed in hotels or restaurants establishments. For female participants work continued on their only day off. They had to take care of their households, cleaning, washing, cooking for their husband and children. Women in this study were much more affected by the

³⁰ Ley Federal de Trabajo, Capítulo 2, Artículo 69 [Mexican Federal Labor Law, Chapter 3, Article 69]. Available at <http://www.diputados.gob.mx/LeyesBiblio/pdf/125.pdf>

separation from their children as they felt they were failing as mothers, as illustrated by the comments of Helena:

Por conservar mi trabajo estoy descuidando a mis hijos y no puedo dividirme en los dos. Porque el otro va a la secundaria y este va a la primaria. Hay que estar pendiente de los hijos, como están yendo al estudio, y a veces llego tarde, no tengo tiempo y eso me está afectando demasiado porque estás trabajando y no estás tranquilamente trabajando pensando en los hijos... Yo siento que los estoy descuidando demasiado porque ellos necesitan más cuidado.

To keep my job I am neglecting my children and I can't divide myself in two. One of them goes to middle school and the other goes to primary school. You have to keep an eye on the children, how they are doing in school and sometimes I come home late, I don't have time, and that is affecting me too much because you are working but you are not working in peace because you're thinking about your children....I feel I'm neglecting them too much because they need more care.

Since Helena, as most female participants in this study, only makes the minimum wage, she cannot afford to pay a babysitter to take care of her children. She relies on her neighbors and her mother to watch them. In addition to the feeling guilty for not taking care of her children, she also felt she was missing the best years of her children:

La verdad a veces yo no disfruto su niñez porque yo no desde que nacen mi mamá los está cuidando y yo estoy trabajando como dice el dicho, yo solo sirvo pa' mantener nada más, para eso sirvo. Porque yo no veo que jueguen, convivir con ellos y eso si me afecta mucho. ...Porque hay que trabajar porque si no trabajamos, ¿de que vivimos?

To tell you the truth, I don't enjoy their childhood because my mom has been taking care of them since they were born and I am working, I'm only good, like the saying goes, *pa' mantener nada más* [to provide for them only], I'm only good for that. Because I don't see when they play, I don't spend time with them and that affects me too much...But we have to work because if we don't work, how do we survive?

To spend time with her family, Señora Ines used to bring her grandchildren to work when the owners of the housing complex were out of town until one of the tenants reported her. During the interview she asked me, "If my daughter stops by, buys breakfast, and we all go in an [empty] apartment and eat it, is that wrong?" (*Si viene mi hija, compra desayuno, entramos a un departamento y comemos, ¿está mal?*) Her question took me by surprise and brought back memories of my own actions as manager in the hotel industry when I terminated employees for the same reason. I was not able to answer. Luckily, she broke the awkward silence and told me her boss had allowed her to

bring her grandchildren on weekends under the condition that she does not cook food in any of the empty apartments.

Many participants in Cozumel got separated from their families, mostly by their choice to move to the island to work. Francisco, Pablo and Rosalba's children live in Yucatán as do Alfonso, Señora Ines and Helena's mothers. Lack of time and money prevents them from visiting each other. For a person making the minimum wage \$55 pesos, approx US \$4.20/day, as many participants did, paying a roundtrip fare of \$ 280 pesos (US\$ 22) to go visit his/her family on a regular basis is almost impossible³¹. For this reason, many limit their family visits to one or two per year, if not less. As one participant put it "We can't go out, we are kidnapped here in Cozumel" (*No podemos salir, estamos secuestrados aquí en Cozumel*). The separation from their families is less drastic for participants in Playa del Carmen. Not only do they live closer to their pueblos but they also have access to plenty of inexpensive transportation options³². However, they too are constrained by 6-day work schedules or, in the case of participants who worked in retail stores, the two or three jobs they have at the same time.

³¹ There are only two companies offering sea transportation from/to Cozumel. They are not in competition with each other, potentially driving prices down for its users. On the contrary, these two *navieras* [boat companies], owned by two powerful local families in Cozumel, have arranged to alternate their departure times to keep prices high. This oligopolic situation was mentioned by all stakeholders as one of the most pressing issues affecting tourism and the residents of Cozumel.

³² Bus rides to towns in Quintana Roo could cost as little as \$50 pesos (approx. US \$3.85) to Tulum to as much as \$90 pesos (approx. US\$ 6.40) to Señor. The fare to Carrillo Puerto, Quintana Roo's capital, was \$70 pesos (approx. US \$5.40). Fares to towns in Yucatán are slightly more expensive and a 4.5 hour trip to Merida, the farthest town a participant was from, cost \$ 300 pesos (approx. US \$23). (Participant observation June to August, 2010).

An in-depth look at participants' experiences and narratives allows to uncover additional issues and concerns which have important implications for not only equity and justice, the focus of this dissertation, but also for cultural sustainability, "the ability of people of a group of people to retain or adapt elements of their culture that distinguish them from other people" (Mowforth & Munt, 2003, p. 109). These cultural issues are not readily evident, for instance, the cultural impacts of migration and working in tourism on residents' cultural identity, sense of belonging, or cultural well-being. Issues like these are hard to identify or measure due in part to the intangible, dynamic, political and performative characteristics of culture (Jamal et al., 2010). Some of these issues are briefly discussed below.

Cultural Disconnection

Participants' migration from their pueblos and separation from their (grand)parents in Yucatán had important implications for cultural sustainability since grandparents are /were a central figure in the transmission of language, traditions, and other cultural traits.

Yo desde que tenía esta edad [señalándome a su hijo] me hablaban maya, maya, maya. Pues fui creciendo hasta los 8 años yo les entendía mi papá, siempre me hablaban maya. Yo les entendía y a veces yo les contestaba en maya. Pero a lo que vine aquí a Cozumel y entre a la escuela, ya se me fue perdiendo la lengua. Ya aprendí a hablar más español que maya. Si yo me hubiera quedado en mi pueblo, estuviera hablando maya.

Since I was that age [*showing me his 2 year old son*] they spoke to me in Maya. Maya, Maya. I understood my father until I was around 8 years old; they always spoke to me in Maya. I understood and sometimes responded in Maya. But when I came here to Cozumel and entered school, I started losing the language. I learned to speak more Spanish than Maya. If I had stayed in my pueblo, I would be speaking Maya.

Ezequiel, Cozumel

Si, los más viejitos, de hecho mi abuela habla pura Maya y entonces por eso aprendimos Maya, por mi abuelita.... Si, entonces con mi abuelita también lo practico... y si, una semana que haga allá en mi pueblo es suficiente para que lo retome perfectamente.... De hecho cuando nació mi hija le prometí a mi abuela que cada semana la iba a llevar para que le enseñe maya mi abuela.

The elders [speak Maya], in fact, mi grandma speaks only Maya and that's how we learn Maya, because of my grandma...I practice with my grandma too... one week in my pueblo is enough for me to speak perfectly again....In fact, when my daughter was born, I promised my grandma that I would take her to see her every week so she could learn Maya from her.

Javier, Playa del Carmen

In addition, the low wage and the 6-work day nature of many jobs in the tourism industry prevented participants from visiting their communities and participate in everyday and traditional activities that were part of their culture. Besides having fewer opportunities to practice their language, participants talked about *lack of access to traditional food*, lesser *participation in cultural celebrations*, and *change in family dynamics* as three additional cultural impacts of Mayas' migration to tourist centers in Quintana Roo. Regarding traditional foods, many participants indicated that in the city they were not able to eat the natural foods from the Maya milpas but most important, the handmade tortillas that the mestizas make in the pueblos. "In the city nobody makes tortillas by hand in the *comal* (flat griddle), that [tradition] is lost" (*En la ciudad ya nadie hace tortillas a mano en el comal, eso ya se perdió*), lamented Carlos in Cozumel. Señora Carmen and Humberto also talked with certain nostalgia about the traditional foods they used to eat before:

Hasta la comida [ha cambiado]. Porque hace mucho tiempo habían (sic) comidas sencillas pero muy ricas que los maya cocinaban, pero ahorita también ya se esta perdiendo la costumbre....Por ejemplo la salsa maya, el consomé de hojas de chaya, los papatzules, el venado ya que no hay venados porque como ya no hay monte, pos hace mucho tiempo la gente comía venado, jabalí, palomas del monte. Ahora acá o en Yucatán pues.... como uno trabaja pues de lo que alcance ¿verdad? Porque no te alcanza el tiempo para cocinar.

Even the food has changed. Long time ago there were simple but delicious foods that the Maya used to make, but we are losing that custom too... For example the Maya salsa, the chaya (tree spinach) broth, the papatzules, deer, well there are no deer because there are no woods, but long time ago people used to eat deer, wild pig, wild doves. Now here in Cozumel and in Yucatan one eats whatever is convenient because you don't have time to cook.

Señora Carmen, Cozumel

Lo que comíamos allá me agradaba tanto que la forma en que lo hacíamos nosotros....Acá hay que comprarlo y aunque traten de hacerlo lo mejor, no es lo mismo... No hay nada mejor que lo de la casa, hacerlo... tortillas y todo eso. ...La comida original, así buena, buena, sale de los pueblos... Comida típica y eso ya no existe para nosotros, acá para buscar tortilla Maya para nosotros... Acá, si llego a ver tortilla de mano compro un kilo, dos kilos ¿Por qué? Porque acá no hay.

I used to love what we used to eat there, the way we made food... Here we have to buy food and even if people try to make it that way, it's not the same... There is nothing better than homemade food, tortillas and all that... The original [Maya] food, the real good one is from the pueblos. ... Traditional food doesn't exist for us anymore, to find Maya tortillas here... If I find

handmade tortillas I buy one or two kilos, why? Because they are not available here.

Humberto, Playa del Carmen

Participants also indicated lesser participation in traditional celebrations and festivities in their communities. Juan Carlos in Cozumel said that due to the lack of time, he no longer celebrates the traditional día de los muertos (the day of the dead) and moreover, does not have time to teach his children about this important holiday, “They will hear on TV that today is the day of the dead... On the other hand, we remember that my mom used to do the altar, the hot chocolate...not anymore” (*Lo escucharán en la tele que hoy es el día de los muertos...en cambio nosotros si nos acordamos que mi mamá hacia el altar, chocolate, ya ahorita no*). Diego and Victor in Playa del Carmen said that in their pueblos, there used to be several celebrations per year, lasting several days but now the number has decreased because many people have migrated to the Riviera Maya.

Me contaba mi papá que hace tiempo todos traían algo, traían cerdos, pollos, no se, algo de allá. Se reunían todos en el pueblo y la fiesta duraba una semana. Las fiestas duraban una semana y todos, todas las personas se quedan allá, una semana en el pueblo, eh...haciendo sus peticiones a los dioses. También una parte también hay música y todo pero la música era mayapax, música maya y todos bailan y todo una fiesta...Pero ahorita de fiestas ya no hay.

My dad used to tell me that a long time ago, everybody used to bring something [to the celebration]; they would bring pigs, chickens, something from the milpa... Everybody got together in the pueblo and the celebration lasted one week. The celebrations lasted one week and all people would stay a week in the pueblo, doing their offering to the gods. There was also music, but the music was Mayapax, Maya music and everybody dance and celebrated ... But now we don't have those celebrations anymore.

Lastly, some of the older participants felt that younger Mayas that had migrated to tourist centers changed the values they were raised with. They said young people began adopting certain behaviors that were not common in the communities- drinking, smoking, engaging in casual sex (especially women), wearing western clothing, having long hair, or getting tattoos. Participants also said that young people started to behave disrespectfully towards their parents, to the point of insults or even physical aggression. "Now, they come back drunk and insult the fathers in front of their guests. The culture is disappearing... there is no respect for people, it's a horrible thing...Children hitting their parents...Yes! Children insulting their mothers" (*Ahora llega hasta borracho e insultando al papá con la visita. La cultura se está acabando...ya no hay respeto, ni a la gente, una cosa horrible...hijos pegándoles a los padres....Si, hijos insultando a la mama*"), shared Victor in Playa del Carmen.

Summary and Further Discussion

The purpose of this chapter was twofold. In the first part, I sought to provide background information on the Maya participants, including socio-demographic characteristics and the determinants of their ethnic identities. Self-identification was deemed essential to avoid an unreflective and homogenous representation of the Maya participants in this study (Heroic, 1999). The guiding questions for this part were 1) What characteristic(s) do the Maya participants use to describe themselves? and 2) What cultural practices relate to participants' Maya identities? This study found that participants' identities were far from being homogeneous. First, there was a major difference between participants in Cozumel and Playa del Carmen in regards to self-identification. Participants in Cozumel, especially the younger ones, tended to consider themselves the direct descendants of the pre-Hispanic Mayas, challenging previous arguments (e.g. Gabbert, 2001; Magnoni et al., 2007) that contemporary Yucatecan Mayas did not see themselves as descendants of pre-Hispanic Mayas. Participants in Playa del Carmen, on the other hand, saw themselves as members of a living Maya culture. They spoke the language, regularly visit their pueblos, and actively participated in traditions and celebrations.

Second, participants evoked several overlapping characteristics to explain their Maya identities: descent, place of birth, language, last name, food, and participation in traditional subsistence activities, traditions, and celebrations. These cultural markers are similar to those identified by Maya scholars (e.g. Lizama Quijano, 2007): *la lengua* (language), *los apellidos* (last names), *el vestido* (clothing), *las costumbres* (customs), *la*

cosmovisión (cosmovision), and an "other" category, which included type of housing (palapas) and occupation (milpa, construction worker, etc). While many of these characteristics were shared by several participants; others were used exclusively by participants in one location. One thing that linked them all together was the fact that they migrated from their hometowns to look for a better future for themselves and their families. Overall, these findings corroborate previous arguments and studies about the complexity and heterogeneity of Maya cultural identity (Castañeda, 2004; Gabbert, 2001; Hervik, 1999; Medina, 2003; Magnoni et al., 2007).

In the second part, I sought to understand participants' experiences in regards to their involvement with the tourism industry, specifically the impacts of tourism on their well-being. Although several scholars have discussed the impacts of tourism in the (Yucatecan) Maya people in Quintana Roo (Pi-Sunyer et al., 2001; Pi-Sunyer & Thomas, 1997; Torres & Momsen, 2005b), very few studies have actually empirically examined the *actual* experiences of Maya people working in tourism³³. Participants in this study indicated that working in tourism provided several benefits, among them, economic improvements, learning opportunities, respect, and a sense of confidence they lacked before. At the same time, they identified certain personal sacrifices and problems associated with working in tourism. These included long hours of physical work, separation from families, instances of disrespect and mistreatment from supervisors and tourists, and changed consumption patterns and attitudes towards money. The extent to

³³ Sierra Sosa (2007) provides an in-depth study of Maya migrants in Cancún, Quintana Roo.

which participants had access to these benefits or experienced the negative impacts depended on factors such as gender, age, or the type of job they had. As most Maya women in the tourism industry in Quintana Roo³⁴, female participants in this study tended to be employed in unskilled, lower wage, physical work (e.g. domestic service, cleaning staff), while younger male participants tended to be in positions that required regular interactions with tourists and hence opportunities for higher income and meaningful social and cultural exchanges (e.g. waiters, tour guides, tourism information agents). A summary of themes that emerged in this chapter is provided in Figure 6.

³⁴ See Tamborini (2007) for a study on work, wages, and gender in Cancún.

| | |
|------------------------|--|
| Economic benefits | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Having a permanent job - Getting tips & sales commissions - Ability to buy material things - Sending children to school |
| Personal benefits | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Interacting with tourists <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o Learning about other places, cultures, lives o Sharing own culture with tourists o Making friendships - Learning opportunities <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o Learning languages o Learning new skills o Learning through problem-solving - Self-confidence |
| Respect | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Cordial and friendly interactions with tourists - Recognition <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o Recognition of participants' talents and skills, experience and/or performance o Receiving praise for good performance o Acknowledgment and interest in participants' culture - Trust <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o Being treated as trustworthy individuals o Being trusted with important/new tasks |
| Disrespect | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Sexual harassment <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o Sexual advances, tourists exposing themselves - Belittlement - Use of derogatory names - Mockery, being made fun of accent - Being ignored/unheard - Being treated as unworthy, dishonest |
| Exploitation | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Low pay for amount of work done - Physical work - Overwork (long hours, 6 days week) |
| Personal change | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Developing confidence - Becoming money-driven - Changing consumption habits - Living for the moment |
| Separation from family | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Intergenerational: Being separated from grandparents - Intra-generational: Not spending time with spouse and/or children; missing out on family life - Not visiting families in Yucatán/Quintana Roo |
| Cultural disconnection | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Language <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o Fewer opportunities to practice Maya o Learning Spanish - Food <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o Lack of access to traditional foods o Not having time to cook - Not visiting families in Yucatán/Quintana Roo - Lesser participation in traditional celebrations |

Figure 6. Participants' experiences in relation to working in tourism (themes).

CHAPTER V
AN EXPLORATION OF JUSTICE AND EQUITY THROUGH TOURISM IN
QUINTANA ROO: A MULTISTAKEHOLDER PERSPECTIVE

The previous chapter described the different aspects of Maya participants' ethnic and cultural identity, provided information about their lives prior and after leaving their hometowns, and explored their experiences working in the tourism industry. The purpose was to provide sufficient background information, a thick description (Geertz, 1973) about the Maya participants' that allows to understand and contextualize the findings in this and subsequent chapters.

This chapter examines specific issues related to equity and justice in relation to tourism in Quintana Roo. Specifically, the purpose of this chapter is twofold; 1) to explore multiple stakeholders' perspectives on matters of equity, justice, in general and in relation to Maya cultural heritage and culture and, 2) to examine the role of government and the private tourism industry, in addressing (or perpetuating) these issues. Using a multi-stakeholder approach allows to identify the tensions between different interest groups, while paying particular attention to the voices and concerns of those whose well-being are most affected by tourism policies and practices in these popular tourism locations.

The findings presented in this chapter come from formal interviews with Maya residents of Cozumel and Playa del Carmen, representatives from the private tourism industry, and government officials as well as secondary data on tourism, including

statistics, government records, and data provided by participants. I also included the perspectives and experiences of the directors of a community-based ecotourism project and a Maya cultural organization located in the “heart” of the Zona Maya in Quintana Roo.

Harris (2001) warned against using pre-conceived definitions and measurements of equity and equality. He argues that “if people’s experiences... are to be taken seriously, it is important to listen to what they have to say in the subject, as well as to how they say it” (p. 455). To start the analysis, I used “sensitizing concepts” concerning equity and justice in general (e.g. fairness, equity, discrimination, distribution of resources) and cultural justice (e.g. respect, recognition, cultural change) to explore how participants of different groups defined, experienced, or enacted them (Charmaz, 2005). In my analysis, I explored *what* participants felt was happening in regards to equity and justice in Quintana Roo, while trying to identify *how* (e.g. practices, policies, hierarchies) and *why* these issues took place. In addition to participants’ perspectives, I also analyzed secondary data (e.g. statistics, government documents) to support and enrich my analysis. What follows is a discussion of the main themes that emerged from participants’ discussions of equity and justice in the Riviera Maya.

Tourism in Quintana Roo: Economic and Cultural Inequities

Inequities and injustices have been and are present in the development and consolidation of the tourism industry in Quintana Roo. These inequities can be grouped in three main categories; distribution of and access to tourism economic benefits, allocation of tourism resources, and lack of meaningful participation in tourism decision-

making. In addition, participants raised attention to issues related to discrimination of Maya people; these included mistreatment by their Mexican counterparts, selective hiring practices that don't allow them to obtain well-paid jobs in the tourism industry, and, restricted access to recreation and tourism sites. Each of the above themes is developed next.

Unequal Access to Tourism Benefits

Undoubtedly, tourism has been an engine for economic development for the state of Quintana Roo, providing jobs and economic opportunities for thousands of local people³⁵. Tourism is the number one economic activity in Quintana Roo; in 2008, the state received US\$ 6 billion in tourism revenue (SECTUR, 2009b). The economic impact of tourism in the Riviera Maya, which included Playa del Carmen, was US\$ 2 billion (Ibid); in Cozumel, US\$ 507 million (US\$ 228 million from the cruise tourism and US\$ 279 million from stay-over tourism) (Asociación de Hoteles de Cozumel [AHC], 2009).

The billions of dollars generated in tourism revenue in Quintana Roo do not trickle down to all tourism stakeholders equally. Foreign investors³⁶, the cruise industry, powerful local families, and the government are stakeholders who capture most of the tourism revenue; entry-level workers, local (Maya) people, and small business owners, on the other hand, receive the least economic benefits from tourism. In addition to help

³⁵ In 2009, the employment rate in Quintana Roo was 96.4% (INEGI, 2010).

³⁶ In 2009, 25% of all tourism investment in Mexico (US 2.9 billion) was made by foreign investors; 39% from US and 24% from Spain (SECTUR, 2009a)

identify hierarchies (e.g. *who* receives the most economic benefits from tourism), a grounded theory approach is useful to explore the practices and policies that allow these benefits to stay in the hands of a few stakeholders. These findings are presented below.

Disproportionate capture of tourism revenue by the private industry

Findings from this study indicate that most of the tourism revenue is appropriated by foreign investors, powerful local families, and the government sometimes through exploitative and exclusionary business practices that prevent local people and small, independently owned businesses from accessing the economic benefits from tourism. Participants in all locations criticized the private tourism industry, in particular international hotel and resort chains³⁷, because, while using the local natural, cultural and human resources of Quintana Roo, they only provide minimum benefits for the local people (e.g. minimum wage and meals). A clear example of (labor) exploitation is the common practice of hiring employees on temporary (28 day) service contracts. This type of contract, renewable at the employer's convenience, allows hotels (and other establishments) not only to terminate employees at their will, a convenient tactic during low tourism season, but also evades the labor responsibilities of paying health insurance, social security, vacations, Christmas bonus (*aguinaldos*), severance pay (*cesantías*), and other federal-mandated employee benefits³⁸. Four participants in Cozumel were

³⁷ The hotel and restaurant industry are the largest employers in Quintana Roo; combined, they generated 75% of all employment in the state in 2004 (INEGI, 2004). The hotel sector alone generated 58.3% of all jobs.

³⁸ A 2005 study of labor force in the hotel industry in Cozumel revealed that 45% of all hotel employees were hired under a 28-day service contract (Gutierrez, 2005).

working under short term contracts as well as several other people I spoke to during participant observations in local hotels. I asked one of the division managers of a popular all-inclusive resort in Playa del Carmen about this hiring practice at her property. She confirmed:

Los contratos son de 28 días. Cada departamento tiene cierto número de plantas, entonces no a todos se les puede dar planta. ...A los veintiocho días, su jefe inmediato hace una evaluación del desempeño y ve como está y le renueva el contrato por la cantidad de días que ellos quieran. Generalmente los primeros 3 meses son por 28 días, mientras conocemos que es un periodo en el que ya se va a conocer bien al trabajador. De ahí manejamos tres meses, de ahí seis meses y de ahí la planta.

The contracts are for 28 days. Every department has a fixed number of permanent positions; therefore you can't give a permanent position to all. At the end of the 28 days, the immediate supervisor conducts a job performance evaluation, determines how the employee is doing, and renews the contract for the number of days [the supervisors] want. In general, in the first 3 months of employment, [the contracts] are for 28 days, which is a period of time we know we can learn about the employee. From there we extend [the contract] to 3 months, then 6 months, and then permanently.

But a young woman who worked as a recreation specialist in another all-inclusive resort belonging to the same chain told me she had been working under a temporary (28-day) contract for 4 years. “When they want, they will let me go” (*Cuando quieran me corren*), she said before leaving the bar where we were chatting to start her next show.

Another unfair practice related to hotels and resorts was the disregard of workers’ rights to participate in employee profit sharing³⁹, which, according to a representative from the Hotel Workers Union in Cozumel (*Sindicato de Trabajadores de Hoteles de Cozumel*), is done by manipulating financial statements to show losses instead of profits. He explained this situation:

Hay inversionistas hoy en día aquí en Quintana Roo, hoteles españoles, ellos son los que se llevan todo. ...Los empresarios recogen todo su dinero y se la llevan para España, y aquí en México pues nos quedamos con poco....En este mes de mayo, que apenas pasamos, tuvimos la revisión de las utilidades, de las

³⁹ Mexico’s federal labor law establishes that, with the exceptions of new companies, mineral extraction companies (during exploration phase), non-for-profit and humanitarian organizations, the Mexican Institute of Social Security, decentralized public institutions dedicated to cultural, social, and humanitarian goals, and companies with capital below the established by the law, all companies must share a percentage of their profits with their employees (except upper management and executive staff). The percentage of profits to be distributed among employees is determined by the *Comisión Nacional para la Participación de los Trabajadores en las Utilidades de las Empresas* [National Commission for Workers’ Participation in Profit-sharing] based on the type of activity the company does. (Federal Labor Law, Chapter VIII, Article 117). However, the organized labor organization *El Congreso de Trabajo* [The Congress of Labor] estimated that only 0.01% of all companies shared share profits with their employees (Gomez, 2007).

famosas utilidades.... al hacer las declaraciones fiscales, las empresas, las empresas manejan dos razones... pues a la hora de hacer la declaración pues no declaras lo que realmente ganaste, declaras en zeros.... Tampoco se vale que diga una empresa que gane mil pesos, y pretenda la repartición de 1000 pesos y la repartición sea entre 200, 300 trabajadores... una burla...Lo que nosotros queremos es lo que realmente se aplique la ley y que nos paguen lo que es justo. Nosotros tampoco queremos que nos regalen dinero para el trabajador, que nos paguen lo que realmente el trabajador generó durante todo un año de trabajo y es lo que nosotros queremos y es lo que nosotros pedimos.

There are investors here in Quintana Roo, Spanish hotels, they are the ones which take everything. The business owners pack all their money and take it to Spain and here in Mexico, we are left with little. This month of May, we had the profit statement review, the infamous review... When companies do their financial statements, they don't declare what they really made; they declare zero profit. It's not fair either that a company declares 1,000 pesos⁴⁰ in profits and dare to distribute the 1,000 pesos among 200

⁴⁰ Approximately US\$ 79.

or 300 employees... it's a joke. What we want is that they apply the law and we get paid what is fair. We don't want them to give away money to the employees, but to pay what the employee deserves for a year of work and that is what we want and what we ask for.

I sought to get the perspective from the hotel side and interviewed a high level representative of the Cozumel Hotel Association⁴¹ on this matter. He defended hoteliers and said that all hotels have to abide by the federal law, but if a hotel says it did not make any profit, "it just didn't. That's all." (*Si la empresa dice no, es no. Nada más*). I tried to probe but this participant was very defensive and condescending. He ended the interview after 16 minutes.

Enclavic capture of tourists

In addition, by offering all-included, pre-paid vacation packages, hotels and resorts were seen to prevent independent workers and local, small entrepreneurs from potentially benefiting from tourists expenditures in the destination. Several participants felt that all-inclusive hotels "kidnap" tourists by offering *showcitos* (tacky cultural shows), food, drinks, and water sports around the clock. Being fed and entertained 24 hours a day, tourists do not have the need to leave their enclaves⁴² (Freitag, 1994) to explore the island.

⁴¹ Cozumel Hotel Association [*Asociación de Hoteles de Cozumel*], founded in 1975, represents 23 hotels (85% of all hotels) in the island.

⁴² Enclave tourism is a well-known type of tourism development common in developing destinations (Freitag, 1994; Mbaiwa, 2005). Enclave resorts are highly criticized for not promoting economic linkages

Si un turista llega a un hotel y tiene el all-inclusive entonces que pasa con esa gente, con ese turismo? No sale del hotel y esa es la gente que podría gastar en algún otro lugar o algún otro sitio y no sale del hotel, se queda en el hotel. No conoció, no hizo, no compro en la tiendita, no fue al restaurant del centro, no fue al tour de aquí de al lado. Entonces esa gente si estuvo en Cozumel pero estuvo encerrada.

If a tourist arrives to a hotel and has an all-inclusive package, what happens with that people, with that tourism? They don't leave the hotel and those are the people that could spend money in another place and they don't leave the hotel, they stay in the hotel. They didn't explore, didn't do anything, didn't buy anything at the store, didn't go to a downtown restaurant, didn't join a tour. Yes, these people did stayed in Cozumel, but stayed locked up.

Alejandro, Manager, Scuba diving operator, Cozumel

With the help of one of my gatekeepers, and posing as a potential timeshare buyer, I gained entrance to three all-inclusive resorts, two in Cozumel and one in Playa, to do participant observation and talk to employees. In all of them, the sales agents who gave me a property tour mentioned that their resorts provided everything, “so you don't need to leave the premises” (Participant observation June 21, June 27, and July 11).

at the community level and restricting interaction between the tourists and local community to improve their own profits.

A more severe economic inequity was identified in regards to the domination of cruise tourism in Cozumel. Participants from all stakeholder groups complained about the industry's exploitation of the island's resources, low economic impact from taxes, fees, and passenger expenditures on local businesses. Furthermore, they talked about deceptive and monopolistic practices that prevented local and/or small business from accessing the economic benefits from cruise passenger visits. Each of these issues is discussed below.

Cruise industry in Cozumel

Son unos mercenarios y muy poca gente se da cuenta

They are mercenaries and very few people realize it.

Government official, Cozumel Tourism Division

After the Bahamas, Cozumel is the most important cruise destinations in the Caribbean⁴³. Between 2000 and 2009, the island received an average of 2.3 million passengers (Figure 7), who disembark in one of the three cruise terminals; Puerta Maya, Punta Langosta, or the International Pier. The economic impact of this industry is no less important. In 2009, Cozumel received US\$ 225.3 million in cruise tourism expenditure; US\$ 205 million from passenger expenditures, US\$ 25.6 million from crew expenditures, and US\$ 24.6 million in port fees (FCCA, 2009). In addition, this industry

⁴³ It is estimated that a record 13.445 million passengers cruised in 2009, 77% of whom originated in the U.S. (FCC, 2010a). The Caribbean is the dominant cruise destination, receiving 37% of all cruise itineraries in 2009. In the same year, the top 5 cruise destinations in the Caribbean in terms of number of cruise passengers (in millions) were the Bahamas (3.25), Cozumel (2.22), U.S. Virgin Islands (1.58), Cayman Islands (1.52), and St. Marteen (1.21) (The Caribbean Tourism Organization, 2009).

generated 7,089 jobs on the island, 4,344 of which were direct jobs (Ibid). Despite its economic significance (Table 8), participants from all stakeholder groups had strong negative opinions of this industry. One business manager born and raised on the island said cruise tourism was “the worst thing that could have happened to Cozumel” (*lo peor que le ha podido pasar a Cozumel*).

Why does an industry which generates such economic impact be so repudiated by participants across all stakeholder groups? Several themes emerged from participants’ observations of the cruise industry in Cozumel that have important implications for discussion of equity and justice.

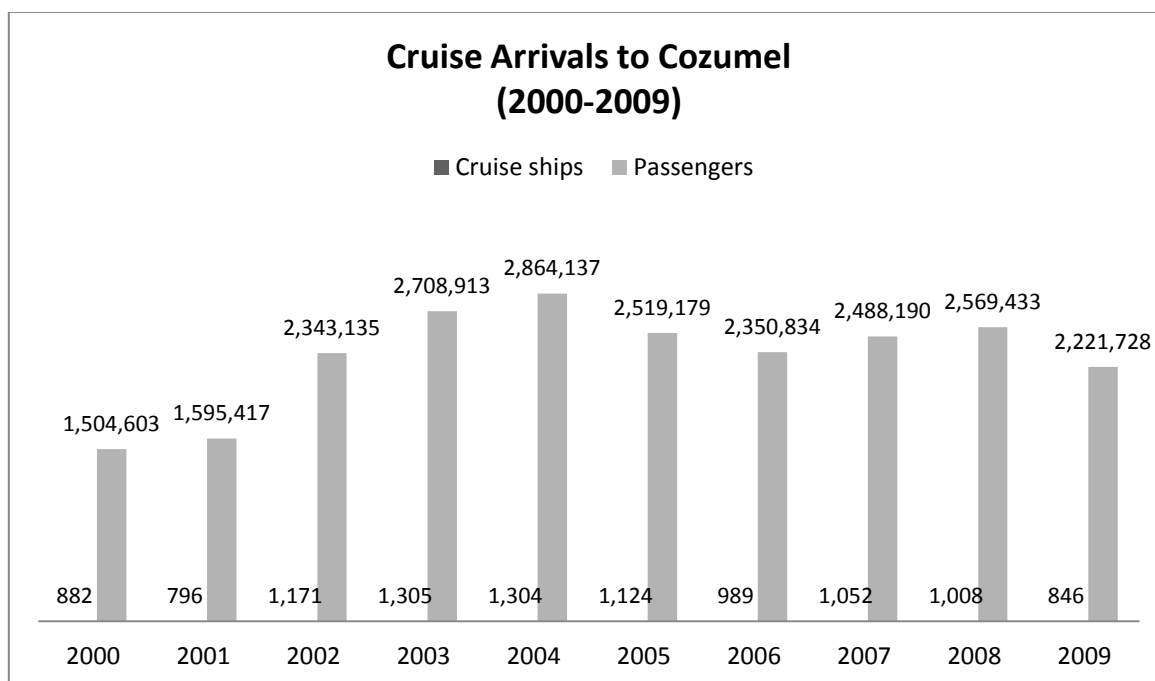


Figure 7. Cruise arrivals to Cozumel (2005-2009). Adapted from APIQROO website, 2010.

Table 8
Cruise Tourism Statistics for Cozumel (2009)

| | |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------|
| Passengers | 2.22 million |
| Passenger average time spent ashore | 5 hours |
| Cruise passenger and crew expenditure | US\$ 230.6 million |
| Average Expenditure per passenger | US\$ 104.58 |
| Port fees | US\$ 24.6 million |
| Jobs | 7,089 |
| Employee wage income | US\$ 52.8 million |

Note. Adapted from Florida-Caribbean Cruise Association website, 2010a.

Unequal (exploitative) economic relationship with the island.

La industria de cruceros no tiene nada invertido aquí y el día que quieren se van y nos deja una población sin empleo.

The cruise industry does not have anything invested here and the day they want, they'll leave and leave us a jobless population.

Martín, restaurant manager, Cozumel

One recurrent theme that emerged in interviews with business owners and tourism officials was the exploitative nature of the economic relationship between the cruise industry and Cozumel. Many participants mentioned that, while the cruise lines use the island's tourism (e.g. beaches, coral reefs, archeological sites) and infrastructure (e.g. transportation, garbage disposal, police staff) resources to make profit, they provide very little in return. First, the revenue generated in taxes and port fees do not go to the

local government to cover the expenses related to the handling the thousands of passengers arriving every day. As a prominent official from the island's tourism division explained:

Los cruceros nos usan, nos usan y se van, ellos ganan todo....El gobierno municipal no recibe un peso de los cruceros, ni uno. Cuando vienen diez mil turistas al mismo tiempo tú necesitas el doble de policías, el cuádruple de basura, la huella que dejan los turistas es muy, muy grande, que necesitas pavimentar las calles más pronto por el tráfico que hacen, o sea el gasto del gobierno se multiplica al tener todos esos turistas y el presupuesto del gobierno es exactamente el mismo. Entonces dijimos que nos paguen un impuesto como pagan a nivel mundial en todos los puertos que llegan. Los cruceros pagan un impuesto menos en México....Ellos tiene un lobby en México para que no paguen y necesitamos 3, 4, 5 dólares. Hay lugares que les cobran 69 dólares. En Alaska les cobran 50, su propio país le cobra 50 dólares por pasajero.

The cruise lines use us, they use us and leave. They get everything....The local government doesn't get one peso from the cruises, not one. When ten thousand tourists come at the same time, you need to double your police force, quadruple the number of garbage collectors. The footprint that tourists leave is very,

very large. You need to pave the roads more often due to the traffic; in other words the government expenses multiply when we have all those tourists and the government budget stays exactly the same. Therefore we said they should pay a local tax like they do worldwide in every port they arrive. Cruises pay a tax, except in Mexico... They have a lobbyist here in Mexico to avoid paying and we need 3, 4, 5 dollars. There are places that charge them 69 dollars. Alaska charges them 50 dollars; their own country charges them 50 dollars per passenger.

Indeed, Mexico is the only cruise destination in the Caribbean that does not charge Cruise Passenger Head Tax (see Appendix E for a list of head tax by cruise destination). Cruise companies do have to pay port fees and services, but they are appropriated by the federal government. In 2007, the *Cámara de Diputados* [House of Representatives] of Mexico approved a cruise passenger tax [Derecho a No Inmigrante (DNI)] of \$56 pesos (approx. US \$5), 80% of which would go to local government for infrastructure improvements, conservation programs, cleaning, coast patrolling, among others. By mandate of Mexican president Felipe Calderón, this tax was later reduced to \$25 pesos (approx. US \$2) (Cárdenas, 2009) and was to take effect in 2008, postponed to 2009, and later to January 1, 2010. However, the legislative mandate that approved this tax was revoked in 2009 (Noticaribe, 2009).

Some participants suggested that given the use of the island resources and the lack of a mandatory cruise tax that stays in the local community, cruise companies

should make contributions to or investments in the island. Andrés, the owner of a waterfront restaurant and active member of the local business community said:

Ellos no nos han visto como un socio comercial, ellos nos han visto como un muelle. Ellos vienen, se atracan, te utilizan y se van. Nunca nos han visto como un socio comercial. El punto más importante que tienen de venta las líneas de crucero, es Cozumel y por qué? Porque la seguridad que ofrece es enorme, la cantidad de tours que ofrece es enorme.... Entonces que es lo que sucede? El crucero nunca nos ha visto como socio comercial porque nunca ha apostado para poder decir "Si es mi punto de referencia económicamente más fuerte invierto para qué? Primero, le meto lana o aportación para que crear una policía de más categoría. Para qué? para que el turista que yo traiga se sienta mejor cuidado. Le apuesto dinero a las escuelas para que tengan una educación y puedan tener más ingles y elevar mi calidad de servicios....No hay una contribución socio-comercial...Se atracan y se van.

They have not seen us as a commercial partner; they've seen us just as a pier. They come, dock, use you and then leave. They have never seen us a commercial partner. The most important [selling] point that cruise lines have is Cozumel and why?

Because the safety that it offers is enormous, the amount of tours

that that it offers is enormous... Then what's happening? A cruise line has never seen us as commercial partners because it has never taken the risk to say "If [Cozumel] is my strongest economic point, I'll invest in it. What for? First, I invest money or make a contribution to create a better police force so that the tourist that I bring feels better taken care of. I give money to schools so that [students] have an education and more English and improve service quality"....There isn't any commercial or social contribution..... They dock and leave.

Other participants blamed cruise lines for the government's delay in the approval of the cruise passenger tax. In their opinion, cruise companies, taking advantage of the island's dependence on cruise tourism, lobbied and even threatened local and state governments to stop coming to Cozumel if this tax would take effect. I interviewed the general manager of one of the cruise piers, which is owned by a well-known cruise company, to obtain his perspective on the controversies surrounding cruise tourism. In regards to cruise lines' responsibility to contribute to the local economy of the island, this participant commented:

Es culpa de [nombre de la naviera] que el gobierno federal se quede con todo ese dinero?...Y por qué me vas a querer cobrar otro impuesto igual cuando yo te estoy pagando mis impuestos? Quién dice que no pago impuesto? Claro que pago impuestos! Si la federación no te los da, peléate con ellos, yo estoy pagando.

Ahora, en los otros puertos países, vamos a poner Jamaica, en Jamaica tú pagas 10 dólares. Si, yo pago 10 dólares pero se lo pago al puerto y el dinero se queda en el puerto y no se va a la federación. Qué culpa tengo yo?

Is it [cruise line name]'s fault that the federal government keeps all that money? Why would you [referring to the general public] want to impose another similar tax when I'm already paying my taxes? Who says I don't pay taxes? Of course I pay taxes. If the federal government doesn't give you the money, fight with them, I am paying [taxes]. Now, in the other port countries, let's say Jamaica. In Jamaica you pay 10 dollars. Yes, I pay 10 dollars but I pay them to the port and that money stays in the port and doesn't go to the federal government. What am I guilty of?

When I mentioned other participants' perception that cruise lines were threatening the government with stopping arriving to Cozumel if the passenger tax was approved, he responded:

Una compañía como XX no tiene porque amenazar. Ahora, qué pasa? Si hay un conflicto de estado, es un conflicto que puede afectar a los pasajeros...Muchos dicen que en Cozumel los barcos no van a dejar de venir, que tienen que venir forzosamente. No es así. El día que abra Cuba, escucha mis palabras, si Cuba abre hoy, Cuba en un mes, Cuba tiene 7 puertos habilitados....Cuba

tiene para ofrecer 7 puertos....Pero que hace el gobierno ahorita tanto federal como estatal? Buscando como poderle quitar dinero a las navieras, cobrarles algo, imponerles impuestos. Cuando no es así. Como se dice, no puedes matar a la gallina de huevos de oro.

A company like XX doesn't have to make threats. What happens? If there is a conflict with the state government [*the cruise tax*], that is a conflict that can affect passengers....Many people say that cruises will never stop coming to Cozumel, that they have to come by force. It is not like that. The day Cuba opens, listen to my words, if Cuba opens today, within a month Cuba has seven operating ports....Cuba has seven ports to offer...But what do the government, federal and state government do? They look for ways to take money from the cruise lines, collect something, impose taxes. It is not like that. Like it's said, you can't kill the goose that lays the golden eggs.

I further inquired if, besides federal port fees and services, the cruise operator made any contributions to the local community in Cozumel. He stated that even though financial contributions were made to local charities in cruise destinations through the

Florida-Caribbean Cruise Association Charitable Foundation⁴⁴, X Corporation [name withheld] was always willing to consider requests from the community. In addition, the participant added, X corporation built six water fountains throughout the cruise terminal, each one assigned to a non-profit organization, where passengers can throw coins. At the end of each year, the money collected from these fountains, between US\$ 300 and \$900, is given to a different social cause. This amount, in my opinion, is a form of tokenism for a cruise line that posted a net income of US\$ 1.8 billion in 2009 (Citation omitted to protect participant's identity).

Exclusionary business practices

Tú no tienes derecho a entrar ahí, al club de los privilegiados

You don't have a right to enter the privilege club.

Andrés, restaurant owner, Cozumel

The second major theme associated with the cruise industry related to exclusionary business practices that cruise lines engaged in order to capture a significant percentage of tourism revenue offshore. Specifically, participants mentioned that cruise lines working hand in hand with powerful families of Cozumel, created a *monopoly on the provision of tourism services*, in particular with respect to offshore tours, retail stores and food establishments, in which small and/or independent businesses have been

⁴⁴ The mission of the Florida-Caribbean Cruise Association Charitable Foundation is to provide "a tangible mechanism for the cruise industry to fund a range of humanitarian causes in the Caribbean and Latin America". Since its creation in 1994, this foundation has donated US\$ 3 million in funding to deserving [my emphasis] causes and charities in throughout the Caribbean and Latin America (FCCA, 2010b). No information on specific causes or destinations where contributions were made was available in the foundation website.

restricted from participating. For example, the sale of pre-paid, all-included tour packages onboard is a practice that discourages passengers from choosing small, independently-owned tour companies onshore and from spending any money in other tourism-related businesses (e.g. food, equipment rental, etc). A study of cruise tourism economic impact in the Caribbean estimated that the vast majority (80%) of passengers who purchased a shore excursion in Cozumel (50.7% of all cruise passengers), did so from the cruise line; 11.5% purchased their tour directly from an inland tour operators; and 6.5% percent through a travel agent (FCCA, 2009). Furthermore, this study revealed a significant price difference between the price paid for an excursion purchased from the cruise line or through a local tour operator. On average, cruise lines sold excursions at twice the price than local tour operators (US\$ 65.61 versus \$ 30.95).

In order to prevent passengers from taking tours from agencies not affiliated with the cruise line, independent tour guides and/or companies are banned from the terminal premises. Roberto explained the restrictions that he, as an independent and certified tour guide, faced when trying to offer his services at any of the cruise terminals:

Sentimos que al turista, por ejemplo, se le debe dar más información cuando baje del crucero, que muchas veces se les da no más ciertas opciones por así decirlo y no le dejan a la gente decidir a cerca de otras... No sé y a lo mejor y en dado caso la gente no quiera agarrar un tour y quiera caminar al centro. Quizás no sea beneficioso para nosotros como guías de turistas pero al fin y al cabo la gente se va a ir contenta. Muchas veces se

monopoliza todo esto y no hay mucha oportunidad para nadie, ni siquiera nosotros como guías de turistas certificados...Por ejemplo, ...yo como guía de turista tengo todo el derecho del mundo de ir a algún muelle y estar en una caseta de información pues para dar la información de turista y de cierta manera si ellos quieren agarrar mis servicios como guía, el día que yo no trabaje en un autobús, pues yo tengo todo el derecho de hacerlo. Sin embargo si no voy a buscar yo a alguna gente de alguna agencia, yo no puedo pasar al muelle. No dejan. O sea es un monopolio que hay por parte de las mismas agencias.....no nos dejan pasar a los muelles, nos dejan pasar y nos dicen: “oye, con quien vienes”, “vengo a buscar a la gente de [nombre del tour operador]”... “ah okay, adelante”.

We feel that tourists should be given more information when they come down the cruise, that many times they are not given many options and they don't let them decide about other [alternatives]...I don't know maybe they don't want to take a tour but instead walk around downtown. That may not be beneficial for us as tour guides but [tourists] will leave happy. Many times all of this is monopolized and there is not much opportunity for anybody, not even for us who are certified tour guides....For instance, ... as a tour guide I have all the right in the world to go

to a cruise terminal and work in the tourism information stand giving information to tourists. And if they want to take my services, on one of the days I am not working with buses, well, I have all the right to do it. However, if I don't go with people from a tour agency [hired by a cruise operator], I can't enter the terminal. They don't let me. I mean, it's a monopoly that they have, the tour agencies....They don't let us enter the terminal, or they ask "Hey, who do you come with"- "I came to pick up the people of [tour company name]"... "Ah, okay, come in".

A similar situation occurs with other tourism services. In addition to tour companies, participants indicated that cruise lines have established commercial agreements with food establishments, retail stores, and beach clubs which are either owned by the cruise lines, international chains, or rich families of Cozumel. Several participants identified some of these powerful families by name. They explained that these [non-Maya] families have lived and worked in Cozumel for decades; they own retail businesses, tour companies, the ferry service that transports people from/to Cozumel and Playa del Carmen, gas stations, etc. These same families are also the political power of the island (and Quintana Roo), representing Cozumel's "interests" at the local, state, and national level.

Hay un grupo de personas que pudiéramos decir que mayormente ellos son los que se apoderaron del turismo. Son los que mayormente se han enriquecido a base de estar en trato con el

turismo. De por si ya tenían manera, no? y como fueron llegando más cruceros fueron ellos adentrándose mas en el negocio y enriqueciéndose más. Es un grupo pequeño el de las familias que tienen una compañía de nombre XX. El de la familia XX y algunos de sus colaboradores más inmediatos son los que se han beneficiado mas con lo que es el turismo.

There is a group of people who we could say they seized tourism. They are the ones who have benefited the most by their involvement in tourism. They had the means anyway, right?, and when cruises started coming, they got more involved in the [tourism] business and became richer. It is a small group of families who own a company named XX. It's the XX family and some of its closest collaborators who have benefited the most from tourism.

Doña Amelia, owner and manager of a car rental agency

Los más beneficiados son las empresas grandes. Por qué? Porque ellos tienen empresas grandes que abarcan mucha gente y ellos venden miles de dólares. Como, no se si usted ha escuchado de los XX. XX tiene como 20 tiendas y no se cuantos barcos. Entonces cuando el turismo llega, ellos lo abarcan todo, entonces queda la mayor parte con ellos porque toda la empresa está como monopolizado todo. Tienen joyerías, barcos, hoteles, restaurantes.

Entonces si yo vengo y me siento aquí contigo a comer y sé que tengo una tienda de artesanía, te digo “Sabes qué?, ve con este cupón a la tienda de artesanía y te van a dar un 50%” y tú te lo coges y vas; son del mismo dueño. De ahí te mandan a otro lado y así vas caminando pero vas dejando, vas dejando beneficios en la misma empresa.

The most benefits go to the big companies. Why? Because they own big establishments that capture a lot of people and they sell thousands of dollars. I don't know if you've heard about the X family. They own about 20 stores and I don't know how many boats. Therefore, when tourists come, they take everything; they keep the majority [of benefits] with them because everything is monopolized. They have jewelry stores, boats, hotels, restaurants. If I come and sit here with you and I have a handcraft store, I'd tell you “you know what, take this coupon to the store and they'll give you a 50% discount” and you take it and go. They are owned by the same people. Then they send you somewhere else and so on. Yes, you are buying, but leaving the benefits to the same companies.

Enrique, waiter

Many of these businesses are located within the cruise terminals. When passengers disembark they pass through a mall which features an array of international

and Mexican-themed restaurants, bars, apparel stores, souvenir shops, tequila and jewelry stores (Figures 8 and 9). Many passengers do not venture out of these Disney-type enclaves; they are captured by the fun and lively environment of restaurants such as Fat Tuesdays, Carlo's and Charlie's, or the "exclusive offers" from the diamond stores (Participant observation at Puerta Maya and Punta Langosta terminals). One of these terminals even recreates Yucatecan Maya temples (Figure 10), to provide an (exotic) Maya feel to the premises. However, there are no signs, much less interpretive materials or information for passengers to know what temples they are taking pictures of (Participant Observation July 13, 2009).



Figure 8. Punta Langosta cruise terminal, Cozumel.



Figure 9. Puerta Maya cruise terminal, Cozumel.



Figure 10. Replicas of Maya temples at cruise terminal, Cozumel.

For those passengers wanting to explore the island, the cruise lines list a number of “recommended” or “approved” businesses in the destination information packages and shopping maps distributed to passengers on board. They also require cruise crews (port lecturers) or staff working at the terminals to direct passengers to these stores. Most of these selected establishments, in their majority jewelry stores, are located along *la avenida principal* [Main Avenue], being the most visible and accessible to the thousands of people who visit Cozumel everyday. Not surprisingly, watches and jewelry rank number one on the list of cruise passenger spending in Cozumel (Figure 11).

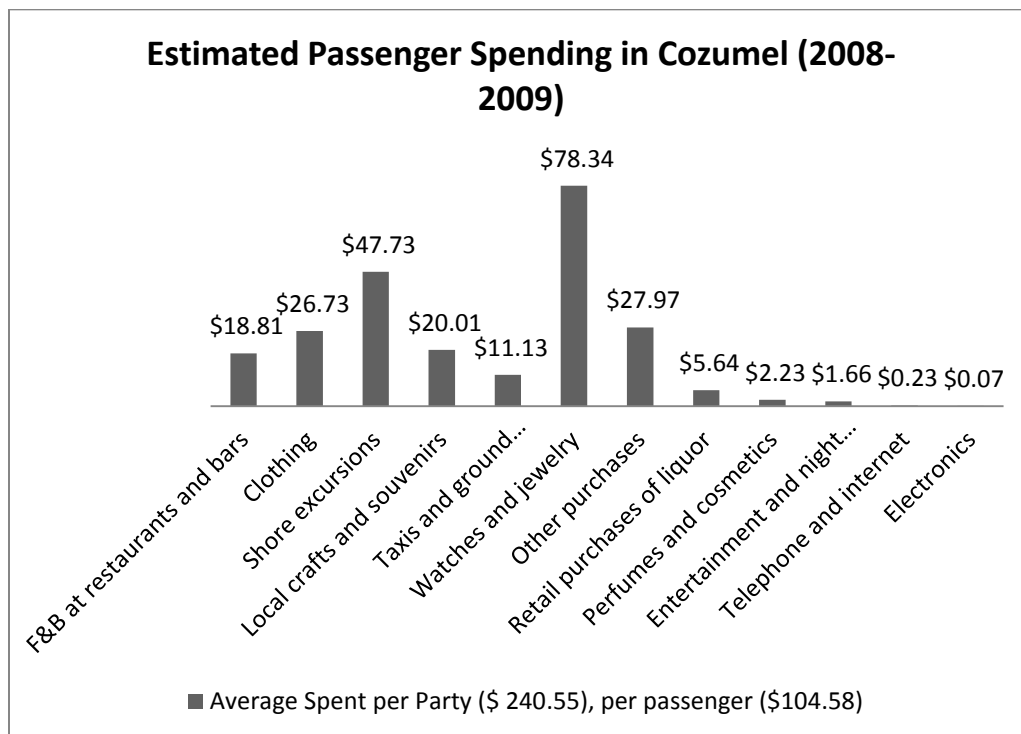


Figure 11. Estimated passenger spending in Cozumel (2008-2009). Adapted from Florida-Caribbean Cruise Association website, 2009.

During formal interviews and informal conversations, several people who used to work at cruise terminals, in particular tour guides, told me they had to recommend these stores in order to keep their jobs.

Tour guide: Nosotros como guías de turistas cuando llegamos a lo que es el área de compras, el área del centro, tenemos que recomendar las tiendas que recomienda el crucero, que son las grandes tiendas, que son obviamente las que aportan dinero también. Entonces, pues tristemente la gente local que tienen sus negocitos, que tiene sus tiendas, nosotros como guías, como compañeros, como gente nativa pues también los ayudamos

When we are giving a tour and arrive to the shopping area, the downtown area, we have to recommend the stores that the cruise tells us. Those are the big stores, the ones who pay money [to the cruises]. It's sad for the local people who have small businesses, stores, and we as guides, as friends, as native people, we try to help them too.

Blanca: ¿y ustedes específicamente les dicen que tienen que recomendar estas tiendas?

Are you specifically told that you have to recommend these stores?

Tour guide: Con el flyer, con el brochure que tiene el turista a bordo son las tiendas que tenemos que recomendar. Cuando

pasamos al frente, le tenemos que indicar en donde están las tiendas porque son las que recomienda el crucero. Entonces, es parte del trabajo de nosotros hacerlo obviamente y no podemos hacer nada al respecto porque si por allá recomendamos alguna que no este y hay algún problema, obviamente el guía va a tener la culpa de lo que pase.

The [stores] in the flyers, in the brochures that tourists get on board, those are the stores we have to recommend. When we walk in front of them, we have to show tourists the stores because those are the ones which the cruises recommend. It is part of our job to do it and we can't do anything about that because if we recommend one that is not [on the list], obviously the tour guide is responsible for what happens.

For a small, independent, or family-owned businesses, being included in the “privileged club” (el club de los privilegiados), as one small business owner called the list of approved businesses, is practically impossible. Cruise lines impose hefty “advertising” fees and other requirements that local businesses cannot possibly afford. Sorensen (2006) estimated that a jewelry store in Cozumel could pay up to US\$ 500 per ship per day in “kickbacks” to get promoted on the ships. At an average of four cruises per day, the total paid in advertising fees by a jewelry store can reach US\$ 60,000 a month. A restaurant owner in this study said that it would cost him US \$ 50,000, in addition to a percentage of his sales, to appear in the shopping map, coupon booklets,

and TV advertising onboard for six months, a fee that he could never be able to afford.

He added:

Ya el negocio en si ya no es el crucero, es lo que están cobrando de comisiones en todo el crucero y en todo el Caribe y en todos los puertos. Ese es el negocio realmente de los cruceros... Entonces que gana Cozumel con todo esto? Nada. Nada...Y todavía así ellos mismos pasan y recogen dinero y recogen todo lo que es regalos frente a las narices de todos. Y que hacen ellos por Cozumel? Nada en lo absoluto...Los poco beneficiados si venden muy bien y les ha ido muy bien en sus negocios pero a costa de qué? Imagínate que llego un momento que los propios programas de cruceros prohibían que caminaran dentro de Cozumel, que caminaran nada mas el malecón.... “que no se metan a ninguna calle ni para ningún lado, ni para allá. Es peligrosísimo”.

The profits don't come from the cruise operations anymore; they come from what they charge in commissions in the Caribbean and in every port they go. That's what cruise business is all about.

And what does Cozumel gain with all this? Nothing. [Cruise crews] come and collect their money and gifts in our faces...and what do they do for Cozumel? Absolutely nothing....The few who benefit sell a lot and they have made good businesses but at what

cost? There was a time that when cruises banned passengers from walking inside Cozumel, they could only walk along the main avenue...they would tell them “don’t go anywhere else, it’s very dangerous”.

His complaint raised attention to another questionable practice cruises use to prevent passengers from visiting small, independent local businesses; discrediting the reputation of local businesses and local people. Several participants said that cruise passengers are told on board to avoid small local stores with the pretense that they sell fake or low quality products; that the water or food provided in local restaurants can make them sick; or they could be robbed if they venture outside the tourist area. What passengers are not told, participants mentioned, is that the real Cozumel is precisely in those “backstage” areas that cruise lines advice them not to visit.

Cozumel no es no solamente la Avenida Melgar, la avenida principal. Cozumel lo es todo y es increíble como el mercado que viene a Cozumel a través de cruceros, se enfoca solamente en la avenida principal y si acaso una cuadra nada más pero no hay un gran interés en involucrarse y en adentrarse a todo lo que es el contacto lo que es la gente del pueblo, que somos muy, muy amables....y entonces dicen “Ya yo conozco a Cozumel”. La realidad es que se llevan una percepción, pues, no completa de lo que realmente somos.

Cozumel is not only Melgar Avenue, the main avenue. Cozumel is the whole thing and it's incredible how people who come from the cruises only focus on the main avenue and they don't have any interest in getting in touch with the people from here. We are very, very friendly... they leave and say "I've been in Cozumel". The truth is that they don't leave with a whole picture of how we really are.

Official, Cozumel Tourism Board

En la parte de atrás que es el área del parque, en la parte de atrás donde está la cultura, donde están los edificios que reconstruyeron, que hicieron con el mismo estilo que eran de madera hace, en los años cincuenta quizá. Entonces, hay un tour que nosotros hacemos que llamamos "walking tour"... A veces cuando hay 3 o 4 barcos y está llena, caminas una cuadra detrás y no hay nadie. Entonces, yo siento que no es justo en esta parte. Entonces, no es equitativo porque los que están en la avenida principal van creciendo, van teniendo más, en cambio los demás se van rezagando.

In the back area is where we have the park, the culture, the buildings that were rebuilt [after the hurricane] in a 1950s style. We do a walking tour and when there are three of four cruises and the main avenue is full, but if you walk one block behind it, you

don't see anybody. I don't feel it's fair to that area ... because while the businesses on the main avenue are growing, the others are falling behind".

Roberto, tour guide

Even the general manager of the cruise terminal admitted that most benefits from cruise tourism go to the stakeholders affiliated with the cruise lines, more specifically, "the large businessmen and investors from the private sector, the private industry, and the people who come and offer their services to the ships" (*los grandes empresarios e inversionistas de la iniciativa privada, el sector privado, la gente que viene y oferta sus servicios a los barcos*). He explained that the choice to work exclusively with these companies is due to several reasons. First, in the case of tour operators, they meet the financial requirements established by X Corporation [name withheld] in terms of insurance policies to cover any potential incidents or accidents. He explained:

Aquí hay un monopolio de las compañías de excursiones, son dos o tres compañías que ocupan todo, pero también no voy a llevar a una gente en un barquito donde su seguro de daños y pérdida total asciende a la cantidad de 7,500 dólares y tiene una capacidad para diez personas van en total embarcación y pasajeros siete mil quinientos dólares cuando si a mi si me pasan un pasajero a mi me demandan por un millón de dólares por regulación de la compañía....Para yo trabajar contigo tú tienes

que darne a mí una póliza que puedes cubrir a cada pasajero un monto razonable....

Here there is a monopoly of tour companies. There are two or three companies that take all the business, but I'm not going to take people in a small 10-passenger boat which has a total insurance policy of only 7,500 dollars because if a passenger dies, I'd get sued for a million dollars according to company regulations. For me to work with you, you have to give me a policy that can cover every passenger for a reasonable amount.

The same reasoning applied to restaurants and retail stores. He said his company recommends only selected establishments to protect its passengers from buying sub-standard products, but most important, to protect itself from being potentially sued by passengers. "The [recommended] companies meet the requirements that I ask for. I can't help the others because it's a requirement; you have to meet it. If you don't, I am the one with the problem", he added. This participant is aware of the monopolistic situation created by the cruise lines. However, he put the responsibility on some of the local businesses in Cozumel for not delivering quality products and services. "They made us do it" (*Nos obligaron a hacerlo*), he said at the end of our second interview⁴⁵.

⁴⁵ Matters of sub-standard products and services as well as fake jewelry were also mentioned by other participants, including the official from the Tourism Division, as a recurrent problem in Cozumel. Camacho (2010) reports an increase number of tourist complaints about car rental agencies hidden fees, excessive charges for minor car damages, or lack of coverage for certain incidents. These complaints, handled by the Public Safety Division (*Dirección de Seguridad Pública [DSP]*) can reach up to ten a day during high season.

Exploitation of Archeological Sites for Tourism

Por qué tengo que pagar?! Esto es mío, estoy en mi casa!

Why do I have to pay?! This is mine; I am in my home!

Don Pablo, Maya healer, Cozumel

In Cozumel and Playa del Carmen, participants complained about the conversion of Maya archeological sites to tourism attractions without regard to the Maya people affected by it. In order to understand these participants' concerns, however, it is important to start this discussion by providing background information on the archeological sites (e.g. visitation, management, prices) and the way Maya participants related to them.

In the Yucatán peninsula there are hundreds of Maya archeological sites, including the UNESCO World Heritage sites of Chichen Itzá and Uxmal in the state of Yucatán. The conservation, management, and interpretation of these sites are the responsibility of the National Institute of Anthropology and History (INAH), a federal institution which has exclusive regulating and ruling faculties to protect and conserve the tangible and intangible cultural heritage of Mexico (INAH, 2010a)⁴⁶. In the three states comprising the Yucatán peninsula, there are 41 INAH-managed sites that are open to the public; 16 in Campeche, 13 in Quintana Roo, and 12 in Yucatán. In Quintana Roo, four sites are located along the Riviera Maya (Xaman-há, Xcaret, Xel-há, and Tulum) and

⁴⁶ According to the INAH, there are approximately 29,000 registered archeological sites in Mexico; only 178 of which are open to the public (INAH, 2010b).

two in Cozumel (San Gervasio and El Caracol⁴⁷). (Figure 12). However, it is estimated that dozens of smaller sites exist in Quintana Roo which are neither inventoried nor protected by the INAH and therefore facing the risk of destruction or disappearance (Lizama & Herrera, 2005).



Figure 12. Archeological sites in Quintana Roo. Reprinted from Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia website, 2010.

⁴⁷ El Caracol is currently not open to the public.

Differing valuations of archeological sites

Maya participants ascribed different values to archeological sites. A small number of participants, for instance, considered them part of their cultural history and heritage. “It’s part of us, of the Maya culture” (*Es parte de nosotros, de la cultura maya*), said Diego in Playa del Carmen. To Don Julio, archeological sites represented the tangible evidence of the intelligence and achievements of his ancestors: “To me they are important. It’s a privilege because our ancestors were very talented, very advanced for their time. They built Chichen” (*Para mi son importantes. Es un privilegio porque nuestros antepasados fueron personas muy talentosas, muy avanzadas para su época. Hicieron Chichen*). To two participants, archeological sites did not hold a cultural meaning. They were simply “pretty things that were made a long time ago” (*cosas bonitas que se hicieron hace mucho*), as Doña Maria said. For her, the “ruins” are located too far away from where she lives and she usually does not take such long trips. To several participants, these sites were important because they attracted a large number of tourists; tourists from whom the Maya people derive their income:

Las ruinas es lo más importante para nosotros....porque es lo que más llama la atención a la gente. Porque hala más turismo para que los vengan a ver.

The ruins is the most important thing to us because is what call people’s attention the most. They attract more tourists who come and see them

Francisco, Cozumel

Pues es muy importante, porque principalmente la gente extranjera cuando llega acá a México, eso desean ver, conocer esas ruinas, esos lugares.

They are very important because when foreign people come to Mexico, that's what they want to see, those ruins, those places.

Don David, security guard, Playa del Carmen

Constraints to visitation: Entrance fees

In regards to visitation, more than half of the 23 Maya participants reported visiting archeological sites in the past. Only two, Don Pablo and his wife Rosalba, continue visiting them on a frequent basis to conduct or participate in spiritual ceremonies. Six participants, all of whom resided in Cozumel, said they had never seen or visited an archeological site. Lack of time and money were cited as the main reasons why participants had never gone or stopped going to “the ruins”, as participants referred to them.

Yo salí allá de Espita pues yo me vine acá y acá estoy trabajando... No he podido ir. Una vez fui a visitar allá donde Chichen Itzá, una vez, desde eso no he vuelto a ir....Nunca he ido [a San Gervasio]...Pues es como te digo, aquí de mi trabajo yo salgo a las siete y de domingos me quedo a limpiar mi casa y aparte de eso estamos cortos de dinero...Si me gustaría ir un día a conocer, a pasear. Cuando llegue mi mamá a veces me da ganas de llevarla, pero lo que hace falta es dinero.

I left Espita and came here to work...I have not been able to go [to the sites]. One time I went to Chichen Itzá, one time, and since then I haven't returned. I've never been [to San Gervasio]...I finish working at 7pm and on Sundays I stay home and clean. Besides we are short on money...I'd like to go one day and see it. When my mom comes I feel like taking her [to see the site] but what's needed is money.

Doña Inés, Cozumel

Dario would also want to take his family to see archeological sites. For him, it is important that his children learn about their ancestors, but he too has economic constraints that prevent him from taking his family to visit these sites:

He querido llevar a mis hijos a varios puntos, a varios lugares, para que ellos vayan viendo la magnitud de lo que es ser maya, o de nacer en una tierra que es maya, que ellos vayan valorando y que vayan viendo que hicimos, que hicieron nuestros descendientes, que vean una ruina aquí, que vean una ruina acá....Pero ahora sé de qué...no me ha tocado esa, esa oportunidad económica porque para poder ir tú a Chichen Itzá tienes que pagar una entrada de 100 pesos por decir donde yo tengo mis tres hijos, más mi esposa más mí, yo...Por qué yo siendo yucateco tengo que pagar una cantidad de cien pesos, si estoy en mi tierra?! Dios mío!

I had wanted to take my children to several sites so they can see the greatness of being Maya, of being born in the land of the Maya, so they can appreciate what our ancestors did, so that they can see a ruin here, a ruin there. But I haven't had the economic opportunity to go because to be able to go to Chichen Itzá, you have to pay an entrance fee of 100 pesos. If I want to take my 3 children, my wife, and myself...If I am a Yucatecan, why do I have to pay 100 pesos? I am in my own land! My god!

Like Dario, several participants felt constrained, via an entrance fee, from visiting sites that belonged to their heritage.

Loss of ownership of cultural heritage

Many participants felt archeological sites did no longer belong to the Maya people; instead they had been taken by the government and/or the private industry to exploit them for tourism.

Pues podríamos decir que ahora en día los han agarrado [sitios arqueológicos] para recreación de los turistas. Nosotros, déjame decirte, como nativos de acá, te podría yo decir... lo mío ya tienen dueño....¿Qué te puedo decir? como Maya, vamos a ponerlo mejor, hoy tengo que pedir permiso para entrar, tengo que pagar para entrar. Entonces cada vez nos están acaparando lo nuestro.

We could say that they have taken [the archeological sites] for tourists' recreation. Let me tell you, as native people... what is mine has another owner... what can I say... As a Maya, to put it in better words, I have to ask permission to enter, I have to pay to enter. Everyday they are taking what is ours.

Don Alvaro, taxi driver, Playa del Carmen

Los templos sagrados pero ahora se hicieron para negocio y los yucatecos no tienen dinero para ir allá. Ahora les ponen precio porque es de gente privada. Los mayas se alejan porque no tienen las posibilidades de ir. Es algo inalcanzable.

They were sacred temples but were made into businesses and the Yucatecan don't have the money to go there. Now they put a price on them because they are owned by private people. The Mayas stay away [from the sites] because they don't have the means to go. It's something out of reach.

Beatriz, laundry attendant, Playa del Carmen

Entrance fees for all archeological sites in Mexico are grouped under five price categories: AAA (51 pesos/ US\$ 4); AA (49 pesos/ US\$ 4); A (41/ US\$ 3.2); B (37pesos US\$ 2.9); C (31/US\$ 2.4)⁴⁸ (INAH, 2009). All the money collected from entrance fees

⁴⁸ Senior citizens, children under 13, retired and handicapped visitors as well as teachers, students and researchers are exempt from entrance fees.

goes to the INAH for maintenance, preservation and interpretation of the sites. In addition, some sites charge visitors an additional state fee. For instance, visitors to Chichen Itzá and Uxmal pay a total of 110 pesos; 51 goes to INAH and 60 pesos goes to the state. In Cozumel, visitors to San Gervasio pay 41 pesos to the INAH and 37 to Cozumel's Parks Foundation (Participant observation June 7, 2009). On Sundays, entrance is free for all Mexican and foreign residents, except to sites under category AAA. Entrance fees and visitation to archeological sites in Quintana Roo can be seen in Table 9.

Table 9
Entrance Fees for Archeological Sites (Quintana Roo)

| Archeological site | Number of visitors (2008) | Entrance Fee (MX \$) |
|--------------------|---------------------------|----------------------|
| Cobá | 355,531 | \$ 51 |
| Dzibanche | n/d | \$ 41 |
| El Rey | n/d | \$ 37 |
| Muyil | 5,100 | \$ 31 |
| Kohunlich | 26,720 | \$ 49 |
| San Gervasio | 100,186 | \$ 41 |
| Tulum | 1,346,000 | \$ 51 |
| Xel-Há | 2,433 | \$ 37 |
| Chacchoben | 9,238 | \$ 41 |
| Xcaret | n/d | \$ 37 |
| El Meco | n/d | \$ 37 |

Table 9
Continued

| Archeological site | Number of visitors (2008) | Entrance Fee (MX \$) |
|--------------------|------------------------------|----------------------|
| Oxtankah | n/d | \$ 37 |
| Chakanbakán | n/d | |
| Xaman-há | n/d | Free |

Note. Adapted from INAH website, 2009.

As a traditional Maya healer, Don Pablo often visits archeological sites to do offerings, conduct healing rituals, or go on spiritual journeys. According to the state legislation regarding indigenous cultural rights in Quintana Roo (Appendix F) and Yucatán, all Maya people have a right to use ceremonial centers to conduct their traditions and rituals without having to pay entrance fees⁴⁹. However, to enter an archeological site to conduct his cultural practices, Don Pablo has to show a state-issued identification that verifies he is a Maya priest (*sacerdote maya*). He felt the government had taken away his right to visit sites that belong to his culture and his people:

Las zonas arqueológicas son de nosotros, es del pueblo, es de la gente Maya o sea que el gobierno no puede decir esta zona arqueológica yo me la agarro, le ponga cosas bonitas, que venga

⁴⁹ The state of Quintana Roo recognizes five ceremonial centers Tixcocal-Guardia, Chanca-Veracruz, Chumpon, Tulum, Cruz Parlante, and others as designated by the Gran Consejo Maya (Great Maya Council).

el turismo y que lo vea... Yo entro gratis y si yo llevo gente eh... ellos pasan porque tienen que pasar. Yo he tenido, no pleito, si no aclaramos a la autoridad o a los funcionarios que estén en ese momento, ¡esto es de nosotros! El gobierno se ha metido a robarnos lo que es de nosotros, eh... claro ellos justifican que tienen que tener una credencial, eh.. a veces ni eso tienen, aquí, aquí, localmente hablando de Cozumel.

The archeological sites are ours; they belong to the Maya people.

The government can't take an archeological site and put pretty things so tourists come to see it... I enter for free and if I take people with me, they go in for free too, no matter what. I have had to, not argue, but clarify that this is ours! The government has stolen what is ours! They request that we have a credential but they don't even issue them, at least here in Cozumel.

Unless, the state charges an extra fee, all revenue from entrance fees stay in the hands of the federal government, more specifically INAH. Participants felt it was unfair that INAH retains all the money from the entrance fees without leaving any to surrounding Maya communities. Victor in Playa del Carmen questioned what the government does with all the money collected from these sites:

Victor: ¿A dónde se va tanto dinero? ¿Cuánto pagas por entrar a Chichen?....Pon 40 pesos en Chichen, ¿Cuánto de gente entra a Chichen?

Where does so much money go? How much do you pay to enter Chichen? Let's say, 40 pesos in Chichen. How many people enter Chichen?

Blanca: Al día? Miles.

A day? Thousands.

Victor: ¿Donde está ese dinero? ¿Dónde está ese dinero? Con ese dinero que entra yo me imagino que se puede hacer una, algo mejor, escuela, no se algo, algo. Si vamos a donar esto, buscar maestros, no se, algo se puede hacer, no sé. De verás se puede hacer algo, pero no, no hay o no hay la iniciativa o no hay alguien que lo pueda hacer.

Where is that money? Where is that money? With that money that they get, I think they could build a school, I don't know... something. Donate something, look for teachers, I don't know, something can be done. Really, there are things that can be done, but no, there is no initiative or someone that can do it.

Unless they work as caretakers, guards, certified tour guides, or retail and/or food vendors outside the sites⁵⁰, Maya people do not receive any tangible benefits from

⁵⁰ Vendors, mostly peasants and laborers, had been considered “invaders” of these archeological sites and thus controlled by the government through the establishments of traditional markets (*tianguis*) (Castañeda, 1997). Invoking Foucault, this scholar argued that traditional market are panoptical architectures of control used to deal with the handicraft vendors and explored how gender, class, ethnicity, and race were manipulated by the government and vendors to forge both a disciplinary control and the tactical responses to control by the state in Chichen Itzá.

tourists' visitation to archeological areas. In Cobá, for instance, the members of the community own a bike transportation cooperative for tourists who do not want to explore the vast archeological area by foot. Tourists can pay US\$ 4 to rent a bike for the day or US\$ 9 if they wish to hire a bike taxi (Participant observation July 3, 2010). At the time of this research, the community was also building a bird-watching tower outside the archeological site that they expected would bring additional income to the people of Cobá. But opportunities to operate small cooperatives inside archeological sites are very rare in Mexico; only two INAH sites, Cobá and Bonampak in Chiapas, have allowed indigenous communities to offer this type of service (Walker, 2009).

Inequitable Allocation of Government Resources: Promotion, Infrastructure, and Capacity Building

*Todos dicen Riviera Maya, Riviera Maya y los mayas que tienen?!
o que reciben?! De todos esos millones que llegan no reciben
nada.*

Everybody says Riviera Maya, Riviera Maya and what do the Mayas have?! What do they get?! They don't get anything from the millions of dollars that arrive.

Rosalba, Zona Maya

[El gobierno] es malísimo. En lugar de apoyar al pueblo lo mata de hambre.... Los pueblitos se están muriendo de hambre. No hay trabajo, no hay nada que comer. Que les den trabajo. Falta

promoción de los pueblitos. Hay lugares más bonitos pero no los promocionan, nadie lo hace.

[The government] is very bad. Instead of supporting the people, it starves them to death...The villages are starving to death; there is no work, nothing to eat. They should give them jobs. Promotion of the villages is lacking. There are more beautiful places but they don't promote them, nobody promotes them.

Don Julio, Playa del Carmen

As with tourism revenue, government resources for tourism were not equitably distributed or accessible to all interested stakeholders. Specifically, the majority of resources for tourism promotion, infrastructure, and technical assistance were assigned in greater amounts to Cancun and the Riviera Maya, with little regard for the needs of Maya communities and small Maya entrepreneurs. Before exploring this disparity, I provide some background information about tourism promotion and development in Quintana Roo below.

Tourism promotion and development

The promotion of tourism products and destinations of Quintana Roo to local and international markets is done through decentralized bodies called *fideicomisos de promoción turística* [tourism promotion boards]. There are five promotion boards, each one representing a key tourism area of the state: Cancun, the Riviera Maya, Cozumel,

Isla Mujeres, and the Costa Maya⁵¹. Each board is funded by a 2% lodging tax (changed to 3% in 2010) and matching funds provided by the Mexican Tourism Board (*Consejo de Promoción Turística de México*) channeled through the Secretariat of Tourism of Quintana Roo. Due to differences in the number of lodging establishments in each key area, budgets for tourism promotion vary significantly among tourism boards (Table 10).

Table 10

Tourism Promotion Budget by Tourism Board (2010)

| Tourism Promotion Board | Promotion Budget (in MXN \$) |
|--|---|
| Fideicomiso de Promoción Turística Othón P. Blanco (Costa Maya) | \$2, 437,880 (Approx. US \$ 195,000) |
| Fideicomiso de Promoción Turística Solidaridad (Riviera Maya and Playa del Carmen) | \$101, 232,399 (Approx. US \$ 8.1 million) |
| Fideicomiso de Promoción Turística Benito Juárez (Cancún) | \$126, 021,545 (Approx. US \$ 10 million) |
| Fideicomiso de Promoción Turística Cozumel | \$8, 206,728 (Approx. US \$ 665, 000) |
| Fideicomiso de Promoción Turística Isla Mujeres | \$2, 944,767 (Approx. US\$ 235,000) |

Note. Adapted from Gobierno del Estado de Quintana Roo (2009). Gobierno del Estado de Quintana Roo. (2009). *Presupuesto de egresos del gobierno de Quintana Roo para el ejercicio fiscal 2010*. Retrieved from <http://www.sh.qroo.gob.mx/portal2010/presupuesto/pe2010.pdf>

⁵¹ Isla Mujeres is a small fishing island (pop. 11, 147) located in the north-east corner of Quintana Roo, opposite to the Cancún coast. This destination is popular for its white sanded beaches, water sports, and tropical way of life. Known as *Ekab* by the Maya, it was also a worshipping place for goddess Ixchel (Fideicomiso de Promoción Turística de Isla Mujeres, 2010). The Costa Maya (Maya Coast) is a rapidly growing tourism area in the south of Quintana Roo which comprises a 126-kilometers stretch of white sanded beaches, clear lakes, jungles, and Maya archeological sites.

Marginalization of the Zona Maya

The area known as the Zona Maya, which includes the town of Felipe Carrillo Puerto and surrounding Maya communities does not have an established *fideicomiso* to promote its destinations to local and/or international markets. Having only seven hotels in the area, the money generated in lodging taxes covers staff salaries (four employees) and operating expenses⁵². Any extra money is used to make printed promotional material that the office distributes locally.

Compared with other areas of Quintana Roo, the Zona Maya is clearly at a disadvantage in regards to the ability to promote its destinations to potential tourists. In 2006, for instance, while the Riviera Maya tourism board participated in tourism events in 71 cities around the world, distributed 85,000 promotional kits, and hosted 73 media familiarization trips (Fideicomiso de Promoción Turística de la Riviera Maya, 2007); Carrillo Puerto only participated in four tourism events and developed a small amount of printed promotional material (Gobierno del Estado de Quintana Roo, 2006). One of the officials from Carrillo Puerto Tourism Division complained about the lack of government support for promoting this culturally and naturally rich region of Quintana Roo:

Government official: Hay lago, hay cultura, hay gente que quiere dar el servicio, hay cooperativas que igual quieren dar el servicio y este..., tenemos medicina tradicional en las comunidades, ya lo

⁵² In fiscal year 2006, the lodging tax collected reached \$ 409,122 pesos (Approx. US\$ 32,600) (Gobierno del Estado de Quintana Roo, 2006).

vistes, tenemos abejas meliponas, tenemos lagunas, cenotes eh hacen de la medicina tradicional el jabón, la sábila y todo eso hacen igual sus productos, el algodón, como hilaban el algodón antiguamente, tenemos un museo, tenemos la historia de la guerra de castas que le dicen... bueno tenemos un montón que ofrecer....No nos sentimos apoyados definitivamente. La parte cultural cuesta un poquito más convencer que en realidad tiene futuro, aquí en Carrillo todavía no lo hemos logrado.

[In this area] there is a lake, there is culture, there are people who want to provide services, there are cooperatives... The communities have traditional medicine, we have stingless bees, cenotes, soap making, waiving, museums, the history war of castes ... we have so much to offer....But we definitely don't feel supported. It's a bit hard to convince people that cultural tourism has a future. We have not been able to do it here in Carrillo Puerto.

Blanca: Y por qué cree usted que no se le da esa importancia a la parte cultural?

Why do you think that importance is not given to the cultural aspect? *Entrevistado: Porque no todos lo vemos bonito como tú, no todos le prestamos atención así como tú. El problema es ese que no ponen en los ojos, no creen todavía en esta parte y pues ya*

sabes allá hay, todo puedes encontrar en la zona norte, todo y acá no.

Because, unlike you, not everyone appreciates it; not everyone pays attention to it. The problem is that they don't put their eyes in this region, they don't believe in it...and you know, you can find everything in the north area, everything. Not here.

In this official's opinion most of the government resources for tourism in Quintana Roo go to the key tourism areas in the north, more specifically Cancun and the Riviera Maya because they generate the most revenue for the state (and the country). This participant said that this local office has had difficulties reaching out to the state Secretary of Tourism to discuss tourism projects in the Zona Maya, and for two years, has not been able to achieve much for the community.

A los que generan mayor ingresos que son Cancún y toda esa parte. Ellos generan mucho recurso, mucho, de los cuales nosotros ni fijate que ni el punto cero logramos generarle al estado y es por lo mismo, cuando regresan ya para aplicar el recurso pues obviamente a ellos les dan....Yo tengo que esperar casi 6, 7 meses para ver si paso el proyecto con las dependencias... Fíjate lo que nosotros tenemos que hacer para impulsar el turismo cultural. Pero para ese turismo (de masa/playa) no hay problema, lo que sea.

The destinations which generate most revenues are Cancun and all that area [in the North]. They generate a lot of revenue, too much.

We don't even generate 1% of the tourism revenue for the state.

Therefore, when they apply for resources they get much more, obviously. ... I have to wait 6, 7 months for a project to be approved ... What we want is to promote cultural tourism... For the other type of tourism [mass/sun and sea] there's never a problem, whatever they need [they get].

Profitability or lack thereof seems to be the driving factor in determining what gets promoted in Quintana Roo. In Cozumel, for instance, tourism promotion is done according to the needs of its most profitable market segments- The United States and, to a lesser extent, the United Kingdom and Canada. For this reason, the focus of tourism promotion is the natural features of the island, despite its rich pre- and post-colonial cultural history and well-preserved archeological vestiges. The five areas which the tourism board was emphasizing in its 2010 tourism campaign were family activities, water sports, diving and snorkeling, "premium" activities (i.e. spa, golf, yachting), and romance (see Figure 13 for sample advertising for the 2010 tourism campaign *Cozumel: Heaven on Earth*). Cultural sites and history, although important, are not what most tourists want to see, said the representative from the tourism promotion board. "If I go to Texas to talk about the Maya, they are going to laugh at me" (*si me voy a ir al estado de Texas a hablarle de los mayas. Se van a reír de mi*).



Figure 13. Cozumel: Heaven on Earth campaign sample ads. Reprinted from Dirección de Turismo Municipal de Cozumel website.

Hernando, the director of one of the community-based tourism projects in the Zona Maya⁵³ also criticized the government for not supporting small scale tourism

⁵³ The name of his project or the community where it is located is omitted to protect the participant's identity.

initiatives that benefit the Maya culture or Maya communities⁵⁴. This participant runs a small scale tourism operation (max. 15 visitors per day, 3 days a week) that takes visitors to see the natural surrounding of his community but most important, to experience the living culture of its Maya residents. During the tour, visitors learn stories about the Caste War, observe Maya women weaving and making hammocks, interact with the community's elders, and eat traditional Maya food. Being in an early stage, this project is not yet self-sustainable, a reason why Hernando has, with no success, requested government support to keep this project running. He shared his disappointment:

No es posible que la Secretaría de Turismo no pueda apoyar a los proyectos turísticos de la zona maya. O a que le llaman zona maya? Le llaman zona maya a Cancún y a Playa del Carmen y la mayoría del dinero se va para allá cuando nosotros los grupos podemos crear empresas.... Pero lo bonito no es crear la empresa si no mantenerla. Entonces donde está esos papás o esos padres que debían ayudar a los hijos para mantener esa empresa? Hemos escuchado de millones de pesos que se da o en millones de dólares que se habló en esa reunión que tuvimos....Además nos dijeron "bueno ok, vamos a dar cinco millones de dólares para la promoción turística de la zona maya". ...No es cierto, no hay

⁵⁴ In 2008, the Tourism Division of Carrillo Puerto requested \$ 180,000 pesos (approx. US\$ 15,000) to SEDETUR to consolidate and promote nine community-based tourism projects in the Zona Maya. At the time of the research, these funds had not been approved (Citation omitted to protect participant's confidentiality).

nada. Están proponiendo algo que nunca va a haber.

It's not possible that the Secretariat of Tourism can't support the tourism projects in the Zona Maya... What is the Zona Maya to them? They call Cancun and Playa del Carmen the Zona Maya and most of the money goes there when we can create enterprises here too...but it's not sufficient to open an enterprise, you have to keep it going. Where are the parents who should be helping their children to run an enterprise? We've heard of millions of dollars that were assigned to the Zona Maya for tourism promotion... We were told "We're going to give you 5 million dollars for tourism promotion of the Zona Maya". It's a lie; there is nothing. They are promising something that's never going to happen.

Don Gonzalo, the director of a pre-Hispanic Maya music school for children in Carrillo Puerto, who had introduced me to Hernando and was present during interview, added:

Vino una vez el secretario de turismo, nos dieron un curso de turismo sustentable, se formaron las mesas y todo lo demás.

Estaba XX como secretario de turismo. Ahí anuncio 180 millones para invertir en la promoción, mantenimiento y desarrollo de la cultura maya en Felipe Carrillo Puerto y parte de José María Morelos. Habló maravillas el señor... Esa es la

realidad que tenemos. Vienen aquí los políticos prometen, dicen, pero la pobreza es la misma.

The state Secretary of Tourism came one time and they gave us a workshop on sustainable tourism, we formed tables and all that. X was the Secretary. He announced 180 million pesos [*approx US\$ 14.5 million*] for the promotion, preservation and development of the Maya culture in Felipe Carrillo Puerto and part of José María Morelos⁵⁵. He spoke wonders... That's the reality we have; politicians come here promising, talking, but poverty remains.

For many participants, small tourism projects in this region can be major contributors to the economic and cultural sustainability of its Maya residents. First of all, through direct employment or opportunities to sell local products and crafts, community-based tourism projects can provide a supplementary income to Maya families who struggle to meet their basic needs⁵⁶ and prevent migration to tourist centers to seek for jobs. Hernando explained how the project in his community has started to provide tangible benefit to Maya residents:

⁵⁵ Jose María Morelos is one of the nine municipalities of Quintana Roo. The other eight are Benito Juárez, Othón P. Blanco, Cozumel, Felipe Carrillo Puerto, Isla Mujeres, Solidaridad, Tulum, and Lázaro Cárdenas.

⁵⁶ In a study conducted in nine Maya communities in the Zona Maya (Guillén Argüelles & Carballo Sandoval, 2003), 55% of all respondents indicated that their current economic activity did not provide enough income to meet their basic needs. Statistics from the INEGI also revealed that communities in the Zona Maya present a high index of marginalization lacking basic infrastructure and presenting low literacy levels (Appendix H).

Es una visita, pero también ha dejado ingresos para ellos y buenos. Por ejemplo Don Eduardo que solamente hacía este henequén para su uso personal haciendo un mecapal o una bolsa, ahora está produciendo hasta diez al día o cinco al día. En su trabajo diario va a la milpa y regresa y a una hora antes de acostarse después de comer y pues hace su trabajito y se lo compra directamente a él y es un beneficio económico.... Las señoras que hacen hamacas, que hacen servilletas y hipiles, no tienen que ir a Playa del Carmen a vender.... Yo llevo los turistas a su casa, el guía lo lleva hacia su casa y desde su casa sentadito en su hamaca puede vender sus servilletas y no pierde ni un centavo y al costo que ella lo quiera vender. Un precio justo, claro.... Y entonces se sienten muy agradecidos porque desde su casa reciben ese beneficio y están, y quieren pues la visita.

It's just a [tourist] visit but it leaves them an income; and a good one. For example, Don Eduardo, who used to work with the henequen [fiber] only for his personal use, to make a *mecapal*⁵⁷ or a bag, now makes between five and ten a day. After his daily work in the milpa, after dinner, before he goes to bed, he makes some [mecapales and bags] and people buy them directly from him and

⁵⁷ A *mecapal* is a strap used by indigenous or campesino people to carry transport heavy things. It is worn on the head and serves to evenly distribute the weight to be carried.

that's an economic benefit. The women who make the hammocks, napkins, and hipiles, they don't have to go to Playa del Carmen to sell them... I take tourists to their homes, the tour guide takes tourists to their homes and they can sell their napkins without losing any money and at the price they want; a fair price, of course.... The people feel very grateful because they can get benefits from their own homes and they want visitors.

Second, these projects can also contribute to the cultural sustainability of the Maya culture, for instance, by fostering Maya people involvement in tourism interpretation and interactions with tourists or rescuing or continuing at-risk cultural traditions, as it has started to take place in Hernando's community:

Cuando llevo gente con Don Eduardo, porque a veces él piensa que el henequén ya no funciona, ya es una cosa que ya paso de moda y cosa así, pero llevar al turismo, él se da cuenta de la importancia que tiene este tipo de trabajo. [La cultura] vuelve a tomar esa fuerza que se está perdiendo, ahí se la vamos a fortalecer, que vuelva a activarse que vuelva a ser los mismo de antes. Y en cuanto a este rescate que tenemos, estamos haciendo lo que se había perdido en todas las historias mayas, en todo el conocimiento de medicina tradicional y toda esta parte de la cultura, la gente vuelve a recordar esos cuentos antiguos, esas

historias que, que pues quedan pocos los ancianos que guardan esa historia.

When I take people to see Don Eduardo, because sometimes he thinks working with henequén is not worthy anymore, that it's a thing of the past, but when I take tourists to see him, he realizes how important his work is. [The culture] starts to acquire the force it was losing; we start to strengthen it, reactivate it, to be the same as before. And in terms of cultural rescue, we are doing things that we had stopping doing, Maya history, traditional medicine, and other cultural things. People started to remember the old stories; those stories that were only kept by the elders.

In addition, promoting tourism in the Zona Maya is a way to let others know that the Maya culture has not disappeared and, on the contrary, is a dynamic culture with a unique history, a live language, rich traditions, and hospitable people. "They should know that we are still here...that Maya is still spoken" (*Que sepan que seguimos aquí...que todavía se habla maya*), said Diego in Playa del Carmen, who was born in one of these communities. For Maya participants, language, cuisine, and traditions were the most important things tourists should know about their culture and, in their opinion, the only way to experience it was by visiting remote communities in Quintana Roo and Yucatán:

Turistas deben ver cómo viven así realmente los Mayas, acá las mestizas y cómo comen, y cómo hacen las tortillas a mano, y

cómo cocinan y cómo viven a diario... cómo se está tratando la lengua. Entonces, si los turistas llegan y lo que se enteran es que la lengua no se perdió realmente en eso pueblitos mas escondidos. Entonces es eso y la forma de vivir de las personas.

Tourists should see how the Mayas really live, the mestizas here; how they eat, how they make the hand-made tortillas, how they cook, and how they live their daily lives...also how Maya language is being spoken. If tourists go, they will realize that the language has not disappeared in the most remote towns... That, and the people's way of living.

Javier, Playa del Carmen

Me gustaría que conozca mi idioma, la forma de nuestra vestimenta, que donde él esté vea una imagen y que vea un huipil que diga es Quintana Roo, ahora si que Carrillo Puerto, la zona centro o tal comunidad, este... entonces yo digo que eso sería y otra cosa, hablando ya de que independientemente de la lengua, de la vestimenta, de nuestra comida, eh que aprenda un poquito también de nuestras tradiciones, ojalá y venga en tiempos de que estamos en el Janal Pixán, el día de los muertos o que estamos en la fiesta de la comunidad, cómo es. También yo digo que es muy importante como nosotros somos, porque nosotros yo llego al menos en Tihosuco, llego en cualquier comunidad y ellos me

están invitando a comer. Son bien serviciales, bien amables, o sea aquí todavía lo encuentras, encuentras la amabilidad.

I'd like [tourists] to know my language, our clothing, so that if they see a huipil, wherever they may be, they can say that's from Quintana Roo, Carrillo Puerto, the central area, or X community. In addition to the language, clothing, and our food, they should also learn a little bit about our traditions. I wish they would come during the time of the Janal Pixan, the day of the dead, or when we have our town festivals. It's also important that they know how we are, because, at least when I go to Tihosuco, when I arrive to any community, they invite me to eat. They are very hospitable, very kind; you can still find kindness here.

Official, Carrillo Puerto Tourism Office

However, as raised by several participants, development and promotion of tourism in the Zona Maya is *not* priority for the Secretariat of Tourism (confirmed by one of its high-ranked officials as well as secondary data on approved development projects by this office). The government official from SEDETUR indicated that funds from the state government are allocated in the first place, towards strengthening the consolidated destinations of Cancun and the Riviera Maya, especially after the economic losses generated by the H1N1 virus crisis, and second, promoting and positioning the emerging destinations of Holbox, Chetumal, Isla Mujeres, and Cozumel. "We are going

to give these destinations everything we have (*Vamos a meterle todo lo que tenemos a esos destinos*), said this government official during the interview.

An analysis of secondary data on state funding for tourism development in 2007 and 2008 (SEDETUR, 2009a) also shows that the least amount of resources is directed towards the Zona Maya. In 2007, the state invested 71.33 million pesos (approx. US\$ 5.6 million) in tourism development, 85% of which were for projects in the Costa Maya (65%), Isla Mujeres (14%), and Cozumel (6%). Carrillo Puerto or communities in the Zona Maya did not receive any state funds in 2007. In 2008, most of the 120.92 million pesos (approx US\$ 9.62 million) for tourism development were approved for projects in the Costa Maya (30.26%), Cozumel (26%), and Isla Mujeres (17%). \$ 9 million pesos (approx. US\$ 716, 000) were approved for projects in the Zona Maya, which corresponds to 7.4% of all funding available. For 2009, the state tourism office had plans to invest 673 million pesos (US\$ 53.5 million) in seven key areas seen in Table 11.

Table 11

Proposed Tourism Investment Budget for Quintana Roo (2009)

| Program | Investment (million pesos) | % of total |
|--|----------------------------|------------|
| Sun & Sea tourism | \$ 293.2 | 43.5% |
| Ciudades bonitas [Pretty Cities] ⁵⁸ | \$ 183.5 | 27.2% |
| Cruise tourism | \$ 80 | 11.8% |
| Pueblos Mágicos [Magical Villages] ⁵⁹ | \$ 40 | 5.94% |
| Supporting infrastructure | \$36 | 5.34% |
| Alternative tourism | \$ 32 | 4.75% |
| General tourism promotion | \$ 8.5 | 1.26% |
| Total investment | \$ 673.2 | |

Note. Adapted from SECTUR website, 2009.

Capacity building

In regards to capacity building, the official from the state Secretariat of Tourism stated that the office has several training programs, in service quality, tourism development, small and medium enterprises management, and “everything else you can imagine in training programs”, he said. However, these training programs are *not*

⁵⁸ *Ciudades Bonitas* [Pretty Cities] is a program aimed to enhance the overall tourism infrastructure of city-destinations and thus make them more visually appealing to tourists and residents alike. Seven cities in Quintana Roo are targeted for this program: Isla Mujeres, Cancún, Cozumel, Felipe Carrillo Puerto, Calderitas, Chetumal, Xcalak (SEDETUR, 2009a)

⁵⁹ *Pueblos Mágicos* [Magical Villages] is an initiative created by Mexico’s Secretariat of Tourism in 2001 which promotes places where the main attractions are the beauty of their architecture, exquisite gastronomy, and colorful traditional festivities. Thirty seven towns have been named “magical villages”, of which only Bacalar is located in Quintana Roo. For more information see http://www.visitmexico.com/wb/Visitmexico/Visi_descubre_pueblos_magicos

reaching tourism stakeholders from Maya communities or those looking to develop alternative forms of tourism for two main reasons. First, "they have not reached out to us" (*no existe el acercamiento de ellos hacia nosotros*); and second, the state office does not know who these (Maya) tourism stakeholders are, and therefore cannot reach them to offer them training resources:

Por decirte Blanca, yo no cuento acá con un registro oficial de cuantas empresas están dedicadas a la práctica de ecoturismo. No existe. ¿Por qué no existe? Por mil motivos. Tenemos que empezar con un censo, esto y lo otro....A veces es tanta la burocracia que te invita a perder tu tiempo en otras cuestiones y no terminas de aterrizar tus proyectos...¿Qué hacen? ¿Quién los regula? ¿Quién los vigila? ¿Cómo sobreviven? Solamente ellos saben. Te estoy hablando de comunidades.

To tell you Blanca, I don't have an official record of how many companies are dedicated to ecotourism. It does not exist. Why doesn't [the official record] exist?, for a thousand reasons. We would have to start by doing a census, this and that....There is so much bureaucracy that you waste your time in other things and never finish your projects...What do they do? Who regulates them? Who oversees them? How do they survive? Only they know. I am talking about the (Maya) communities.

Lack of Participation in Tourism-Decision Making

The third major theme that emerged in discussions of equity and justice was the lack of meaningful participation of all stakeholders in tourism decision-making in Quintana Roo. In particular, several stakeholders felt there was a lack of meaningful consultation of their opinions and needs at the moment of making tourism decisions. The hotel employees union representative in Cozumel, for instance, said that neither the private hotel industry nor the government take into consideration the needs of hotel employees before making any decisions, especially those that affect employees' well-being. Similarly, the representative from the union of tour guides of Cozumel stated that the government could do more to include the tour guides in tourism planning as they are among the stakeholders which have most direct contact with tourists and therefore able to suggest ways to improve tourism strategy.

In addition to lack of consultation, participants also felt the local government often makes top-down decisions without consulting or requesting feedback from the stakeholders directly affected by them. As an example, a restaurant manager in Cozumel talked about the local government's decision to ban street parking on the side of the main avenue where all the restaurants and business are located, a top-down decision, he said, affected business owners by discouraging customers from visiting his and other businesses. In addition, this participant criticized government's disregard for community input and opinions on local matters, implying that community consultations

are done to comply with a formality, but they do not count at the moment of making decisions, as in the case of the sand extraction controversy during the summer of 2009⁶⁰.

Si, bueno eso ha sido una característica del gobierno...O sea consultamos pero no consensamos. No, o sea si te escucho pero no tengo ninguna obligación de hacerte caso. Tengo la obligación de escucharte, pero hasta ahí. Un ejemplo perfecto lo acabamos de tener ahorita con lo de la extracción de arena. Tuvimos una consulta pública, no hubo una sola persona de Cozumel que estuvo ahí presente que no se haya manifestado en contra de la extracción de arena y sin embargo nos dicen... "bueno, esa es una expresión nada mas pero si no nos han dado los elementos técnicos para no aprobarlo no sirve de nada". Pues esa parte de empoderamiento a la comunidad local no está...nula. Lo que sí ha avanzado un poco es darle un poco de poder a las autoridades locales o municipales pero eso no necesariamente representa el sentido del pueblo.

⁶⁰ In 2009, in order to restore the eroded shorelines of Cancun, Playa del Carmen and Cozumel, the government authorized a \$ 785 million pesos (approx. US\$ 63.6 million) project that would allow the extraction of approximately 7.53 million cubic meters of sand from the north side of Cozumel. Local residents, business owners, and environmental organizations strongly opposed this project as it would cause severe environmental damage to the island's ecosystems. Lawsuits followed, but the government, alleging no environmental risk, authorized the start of the project in November 2009. The project concluded in March 2010 with a ceremony led by Mexican president Felipe Calderón in Cancún (Gobierno Federal de México, 2010).

Lack of community involvement] has been a characteristic of the government... [What they mean is] “We consult but don’t get a consensus. I listen to you but I have no obligation to do what you suggest. I have the obligation to listen but that’s all”. A perfect example we just had with the issue of the extraction of sand. We had a public consultation; there was not one person in Cozumel that was there and did not raise concerns against the extraction of sand. However, they told us “Well, that’s just a concern but if you don’t give us the technical elements to not approve it, it’s worthless”. That part of community empowerment is not there...is non existent. What has advanced is the empowerment of the local authorities but that doesn’t necessarily reflect the voices of the pueblo.

Lack of representation

At the local level, decision-making regarding tourism development or promotion is done by the local government and the different *fideicomisos* [promotion boards] in consultation and cooperation with a *consejo consultivo* [advisory council] that represents the private sector. These advisory councils are normally composed of representatives of the hotel and resorts industry, restaurants and food establishments [i.e. CANIRAC⁶¹], chamber(s) of commerce [i.e. CANACO], tour operators, and transportation sector.

⁶¹ The Cámara Nacional de la Industria de Restaurantes y Alimentos Condimentados [CANIRAC] is the organization that represents the restaurants and food industry in Mexico.

Unless they are business owners, local residents or workers do not have representation in these tourism advisory councils. Likewise, there is no meaningful involvement of local communities in tourism decision-making at the state level. Nor does it have to be, according to the new state tourism legislation of 2010 (Appendix G), which fails to provide mechanisms to include the community in tourism consultation or decision-making. For instance, this legislation does not make mandatory that local and/or state tourism advisory councils include representatives of local communities and/or residents. Rather, it gives advisory councils the *option* to invite public, private, and social organizations as well as people “related to tourism”, to participate “only with voice, not vote” (únicamente con derecho a voz, no voto) in tourism discussions and decision-making. (See Appendix G, Quintana Roo’s Tourism Legislation [Ley de Turismo de Quintana Roo], Capítulo II, Artículo 7, Numeral V)

Lack of consultation

Municipal and the state tourism divisions do not have to *actively* seek community input at the moment of making tourism decisions. On the contrary, these organizations tend to assume a passive role and wait for the community to take the initiative to approach them, as noted by the official from the Secretariat of Tourism’s when discussing the lack of tourism training programs for entrepreneurs in the Zona Maya. The representative from the Tourism Division of Solidaridad (Playa del Carmen) said that even though tourism projects and initiatives are coordinated with and approved by the local government and the Hotel Association of the Riviera Maya, his/her office was open to receive suggestions and proposals from the local community: “If someone

has a project or an idea to share, s/he is welcome to do so...we will analyze to make sure it is feasible. We are totally open for people to participate” (*Si alguien tiene un proyecto o alguna idea que aportar, bienvenido...se analiza para ver que sea viable. Estamos totalmente abiertos para que participe la gente*).

The Tourism Division of Cozumel, on the other hand, does not seek community participation at all because, according to a high-rank official, it is difficult to reach consensus with the community members, and moreover, they lack the skills to make informed decisions on tourism matters. This participant said that, since most tourism decisions do not have a direct impact on the community, people’s consultation or participation in decision-making was not necessary:

A la gente de la comunidad normalmente no se les pide su opinión. No se les pide su opinión porque son inversiones turísticas donde realmente a la gente del pueblo no le afecta negativamente. Por ejemplo cuando decidimos hacer esto, esto no lo consultamos, nada mas lo consultamos con las Cámara de Comercio y con la Asociación de Hoteles que son en los que tendríamos nosotros que apoyarnos para llevar a efecto esto porque esto no nos hace que traer más que beneficio. Entonces el momento que nosotros hagamos alguna decisión donde tenga que ver los impuestos de los locales, ahí si tendríamos que hacer eso pero cuando no se le afecta económicamente a la población en general es muy difícil tomar un consenso de ellos. Uno, porque

nunca se van a poner de acuerdo; dos, porque no tiene la capacidad para opinar sobre proyectos complejos, por ejemplo el museo de anclas. Sólo estoy hablándote de la gente común porque todos los demás están representados por las cámaras.

Normally, we don't ask the opinion of the people from the community. We don't because those are tourism investments which won't affect them negatively. For instance, when we decided to do [the Anchor Museum], we didn't consult; we only consulted with the Chamber of Commerce and the Hotel Association because they are the ones from whom we can get support to complete the project.... [The museum] can only bring benefit to us. At the moment we have to make a decision that has to do with taxing the locals, then we would have to do consultations. When they are not going to be economically impacted, it is very difficult to reach consensus with them. First, because they will never agree with each other and second, because they don't have the capacity to form opinions about complex projects, for instance, the anchor museum. I am only talking about common people because the rest are represented by the chambers of commerce.

The above perception that community residents, in particular Maya residents, were ill-prepared to get involved in tourism development and decision-making was also

held by other tourism officials and stakeholders in this study. Although Maya people were perceived as “hospitable”, “hardworking”, “noble”, “honest”, or “respectful”, to list a few qualities mentioned by participants, there was also a commonly held perception that they were uneducated, unqualified, and unable to make informed decisions. For instance, for the representative of the state Secretariat of Tourism, it was the “ignorance” of Maya entrepreneurs which prevents them from taking advantages of the state tourism resources:

Nosotros le mostramos el abanico de posibilidades que tienen...Es nuestra obligación y lo hacemos con muchísimo gusto pero a veces la misma ignorancia, el temor, la pena de este tipo de gente le impide que se acerque y a veces surge allí un bandido que termina aprovechándose de ellos....Ponte tú a pensar, Blanca, la situación de una persona como Hernando, pues quizás no tenga los estudios necesarios pero si tiene la iniciativa y el valor de llegar a preguntar y si no sabe cómo defenderse se lo van a comer ya, como vulgarmente se dice. ...Y me angustia porque a veces uno no puede ser Superman para estar defendiendo a esta gente o advirtiéndole, entonces, yo le digo: “prepárense, el mundo es muy duro, la vida es difícil y no todos tenemos un buen corazón para estar ayudando a la gente” con eso nos toca, desgraciadamente, vivir.

We showed them the range of options they have [to develop tourism]....It is our duty and we do it with pleasure but sometimes is the ignorance, the fear, the shyness of these type of people that prevents them from approaching us and sometimes there are crooks who want to take advantage of them...Think about it Blanca, the situation of a person like Hernando, maybe he does not have the education, but he has the initiative and the courage to come and ask. And if he doesn't know how to defend himself, they are going to eat him alive, colloquially speaking...And it troubles me, but one cannot be superman to be defending these people or warning them. I tell them “prepare yourselves, the world outside is tough, life is difficult and not everybody has a good heart to be helping people”. We have to live with that, unfortunately.

The perceived lack of education and technical skills of Maya people, in addition to post-colonial prejudice, have been relevant factors in the discriminatory practices that this group have been subject to historically and, in the context of this research, in the tourism industry in Quintana Roo. The next section explores this aspect of discrimination.

Discrimination

There were different opinions regarding discrimination of Maya people in Quintana Roo and through the tourism industry. First, across stakeholder groups, there

were participants who felt discrimination was not a problem for the Mayas in Quintana Roo. Ten out of the fifteen Maya participants said they had never personally experienced any type of discrimination, either in the past or in their current place of residence or work. The majority of tourism-related organizations managers/owners did not think discrimination was a problem in Quintana Roo either. Second, a small number of participants felt that if discrimination did take place, it was not based on ethnicity (i.e. being Maya *per se*), but rather income and educational level. Another group of participants, including business owners and government officials, reported instances of discrimination, both when they were growing up and in their every day life. Three major themes emerged in participants' narratives related to their experiences with discrimination: mistreatment, lack of access to well-paid jobs or job promotions, and restricted access to leisure or tourist sites. Each one is discussed next.

Mistreatment

Nos discriminan. O sea, tú ves a un norteco, tú ves a uno del DF y tú ves a uno de esos, pues...nos hacen feo. Pinches mayas, pinches mayitas, así nos dicen.

They discriminate us. I mean, if you see a *norteco* [Northerner], a person from Mexico City, one of them...they snub us. *Pinches mayas, pinches mayitas* [insignificant Mayas, insignificant little Mayas], they tell us.

Dario, Cozumel

In discussions of discrimination, several participants indicated having experienced mistreatment from other Mexican people, in particular those from Mexico City, Monterrey and other northern cities in the country. This mistreatment took several forms.

Humiliation and intimidation

Some participants experienced ridiculing and mocking when they were growing up, in particular, when attending school. They said that their non-Maya classmates often teased them about their accent or their humble clothes. Other participants said people used derogatory names to refer to them and other Mayas, for example, “pinche maya”, “mayita” or “yuca”. Others experienced *humiliation*; saying many (northern) people treated them *como poca cosa* [as if they were nothing], *como ignorantes* [ignorant], often making fun of their accent and/or physical look. Carlos, who works selling traditional Yucatecan food in Cozumel said he has been humiliated on numerous occasions because of his indigenous ethnicity: “They humiliate us because we are Yucatecan Indians... ‘Insignificant dumb Indian’, excuse my words, is what they say” (*Nos humillan porque somos indios yucatecos... ‘Pinche indio pendejo’, con el perdón de la palabra, es lo que dicen*). Don Alvaro also felt that the way he has been treated by other Mexicans is not only humiliating, but also intimidating:

Me han menospreciado....te voy a dar como un ejemplo, [el chilango] es muy burlesco, es muy sabelotodo. Entonces, son cosas que... dicen: ‘este pobre mayita, no ha salido de su rancho, de su finca, de su pueblo’. Entonces ah caray, este viene de la

capital, este viene estudiado, este viene equis ¿entiendes?

Entonces son cosas que dices... como tú no tienes preparación, ejemplo, entonces como que te rezagas, te intimidas.... siento que si me he sentido como que lastiman... Han ido hasta a la lengua a insultarme....Chilangos, veracruzanos, toda esa gente que bien de afuera, intimidar al pinche mayita.

They have underestimated me....I'm going to give you an example, [the chilango] is very burlesque; he is a know-it-all. They say 'poor little Maya, he's never left his ranch, his farm, his village'. Geez, one thinks, 'he comes from the capital; he is prepared' and because you don't have any preparation, you feel left behind, intimidated.... I've felt hurtThey have even insulted me....Chilangos, Veracruzanos, all that people who come from other places come to intimidate the pinche Mayita.

Belittlement

Some participants had strong feelings against the government. They felt local and state authorities treated Maya people condescendingly, as ignorant and incapable of making their own decisions. "The Mexican government is concerned with showing us that we are worthless, that we are not good for anything" (*El estado Mexicano se preocupa por demostrarnos que no valemos nada, que no servimos para nada*), said a Maya journalist in Carrillo Puerto. Don Gonzalo said the government uses the argument that Mayas are not well-prepared to run tourism businesses to justify its lack of attention

to the Zona Maya or to try to impose private industry investment in this region. Being a highly respected and outspoken member of his community, in addition to having academic credentials (he is an anthropologist working in the revival of pre-Hispanic Maya music in Quintana Roo), Don Gonzalo takes every opportunity to resist and confront the government:

Vino el sub secretario de inversión de la secretaria de turismo se enojó el señor y dijo “Bueno es que lo pasa con ustedes es que no están capacitados”. Yo me levanto y digo ‘Permíteme señor, si ustedes dicen que no estamos capacitados porque no hablamos inglés, porque no aceptamos el progreso, mi pregunta es, ¿por qué la secretaria de turismo no se capacita de lo que es la cultura maya, de lo que es el pueblo maya? Vengan aquí, hablen con la gente, aprendan lo que es la gente del pueblo. Ustedes capacitense. Ustedes nos obligan hablar inglés, nosotros les pedimos que hablen la maya. ¿Por qué no? Vamos a voltear el papel’. Se quedó el señor así, no supo como contestar....Después me agarró y me dijo ‘Es que lo que ustedes están impidiendo es el desarrollo’. No, no impedimos el desarrollo! Queremos agua potable, queremos luz eléctrica!

When the Sub-secretary of Investment from the Secretariat of Tourism came, he got mad and said “What’s happening with you is that you are not well-prepared”. I stood up and said “Excuse me

mister, if you say that we are not prepared because we don't speak English, because we don't accept 'progress', my question is; why hasn't the Secretariat of Tourism prepared itself about the Maya culture, about the Maya people? Come here, talk to the people, learn about the Maya people. You prepare yourself! You force us to speak English, we ask you that you speak Maya. Why not? Let's change roles". The man didn't know how to answer...After that, he grabbed me and told me 'You are obstructing development'. No, we don't obstruct development. We want drinking water, we want electricity!

The lack of education and skills was also cited by several other participants as the main reason why Maya people have been subject to work-place discrimination in the tourist centers of Quintana Roo. I discuss this issue next.

Work-place discrimination

Los Mayas o yo como Maya ¿de qué están? De meseros, de lavaplatos, de barrenderos, de jardineros, de palaperos. Pero nunca vas a ver un Maya nato que sea un gerente de un hotel o sea algo de un rango, que vamos a llamarlo, de buena posición.

The Maya, a Maya like me, what jobs do they have? Waiters, dishwashers, custodial workers, gardeners, *palaperos*⁶². You will

⁶² Palaperos is a colloquial term for people who build palapas (i.e., open-sided dwelling with a thatched roof made of dried palm leaves)

never see a real Maya being a hotel manager or in a high-ranked position.

Don Alvaro, Playa del Carmen

Echoing the quote above, many participants felt the Maya people were discriminated by not having access to well-paid and meaningful positions in the tourism *industry*. Mayas are mostly hired for menial, low-paid, and physical intensive positions and, regardless of their education, fluency in foreign languages, or experience, supervisory and/or managerial positions are given to other Mexicans. Work discrimination seemed to be based on two main factors: ethnic features and education level.

Selective hiring

In the first case, some participants said that many employers preferred to hire people who did not have indigenous features, especially for positions that required direct contact with customers and tourists. More specifically, participants indicated that many restaurants, bars and hotels gave priority to candidates that were tall and had light color skin, even if they had less knowledge and experience than the locals. The representative from the union of hotel employees in Cozumel shared with me that discrimination was the number one problem that the union had to deal with, in particular discrimination based on ethnic look:

Desgraciadamente aquí en Cozumel, no todas las empresas pero si hay algunas, empezamos a caer en la discriminación. Aquí en

la región donde nos encontramos, nosotros estamos en la península de Yucatán, la gente de la península de Yucatán, pues son menuditos, morenitos, pues no somos de ojos azules, de ojos verdes...somos mayas, descendientes mayas exactamente y hay empresas que... que vienen bueno aquí, en Cozumel hay empresas españolas que si son o están siendo un poco selectos con la gente....Pues si sentimos nosotros que hay cierta discriminación hacia algunas personas. Hay gente que tiene la capacidad, habla buen inglés, eh, es muy trabajadora, es muy cumplido, todo, pero por ser morenito no lo contratan. Son cosas que tampoco se nos hacen justas.

Unfortunately here in Cozumel, not all companies but some, we have started to fall into discrimination. In this region where we are, we are in the Yucatan peninsula, the people from the Yucatan peninsula are small, dark, we don't have blue eyes, green eyes...we are Maya, descendants of Maya to be exact, and there are companies...well in Cozumel there are Spanish companies that are selective with the people they hire. Yes, we feel there is discrimination towards certain people. There are people who have the skills, speak good English, are hard-working, are very reliable but because they are dark they don't get hired. These are things we don't think are fair.

Diego explained that in Playa del Carmen when Maya people apply for certain positions, for instance waiter or front desk agent, employers usually say they have already been filled, offering them cleaning and other menial positions. He said employers can screen job applicants by their accent; if the applicant has a Yucatecan accent, this participant said, s/he would likely be told the position is no longer available. Another young man in Playa del Carmen who worked in one of the dining outlets in an all-inclusive resort said the human resources manager from his hotel told him she could only hire people with a “certain look” (i.e. tall, blond, blue eyes) for hotel positions in Cancun. Helena too experienced discrimination because of her appearance. She said when she requested to get training to become a supervisor at the hotel she worked, she was told that, in addition to lacking education and skills, she did not have the physical look required for the position. A few tourism-related business owners agreed with the Maya participants. One restaurant owner called it racism, that although not overt, he argued is still common in Cozumel: “Normally, people judge the physical look first. It could be a Maya dressed in gold but s/he is going to be judged. [Discrimination] has become a common denominator in our lives and we have stopped noticing it. But it does exist” (*Normalmente la gente primero juzga es el físico. Puede ser maya cubierto de oro pero lo van a juzgar. Que se vuelva en parte del común denominador de nuestras vidas y lo dejamos de observar. Pero que existe, existe*).

The second factor related to discrimination of the Maya in Quintana Roo is their perceived lack of education and technical skills. Participants from all stakeholder groups stated that discrimination of local people from getting supervisory or managerial job

positions was not related to being Maya *per se* but rather being unskilled and uneducated.

Discriminados no [son]. Pienso que se les encomienda los trabajos de menos calidad o darles los trabajos más bajos. Hasta cierto punto pudiera ser discriminación pero no es por [ser maya], ... la mayor parte de esta gente no sabe leer ni escribir entonces a veces no se les puede encomendar otro tipo de labores que no sean los trabajos de la casa, los trabajos de servicio.

They are not discriminated. I think they are given low quality jobs or menial jobs. To a certain extent that could be considered discrimination but not because they are Maya...the majority of them don't know how to read or write so they cannot be given other types of jobs different from housekeeping or custodial jobs.

Doña Amelia, owner of a car rental office, Cozumel.

Maya participants also perceived that discrimination was due to their own educational and skill shortcomings. “We are not prepared” (*No estamos preparados*), admitted Javier when talking about why Mayas do not get high skilled jobs in Playa del Carmen. “Those who come from central Mexico, by just having high school education and being well-spoken, they get waiter or captain jobs. It’s because they have experience” (*Los que vienen del centro, nada más con tener prepa, por hablar bien, más o menos ya les dan hasta mesero o hasta jefe capitán, por la experiencia*), he added. Other participants agreed with Javier: “We are the ones to blame because we don’t have

the academic preparation needed to work in such companies” (*Nosotros mismos tenemos la culpa porque no tenemos el estudio adecuado que se necesita para una dicha empresa*), said Don Alvaro. Victor too identified the lack of education as a reason why Mayas do not have access to certain jobs:

A los mayas les faltó estudio, escuela. Si hubiera habido escuela no hubiera habido discriminación. No importa de donde tú seas, no importa tu nacionalidad, no importa lo que tú hables, pero si tú tienes escuela puedes expresar.... Vamos a dar un ejemplo, viene un maya ...Viene una persona y le pregunta: ‘¿tienes estudios?’- ‘Si, empecé pero no terminé’- ‘¿Tienes conocimiento?’- ‘No, no nunca he trabajado, es la primera vez’. Y no le dan el trabajo, en parte te discriminan.

Mayas lack studies, education. If they had had education, there would not have been discrimination. It doesn’t matter where you’re from, your nationality, the language you speak, but if you have education, you can communicate...For example, a Maya comes [looking for a job], and he is asked: ‘You went to school?’ – ‘Yes, but I did not finish’- ‘Do you have any experience?’- ‘No, I’ve never worked before. It is my first time’. And he does not get the job. Somehow that is discrimination.

In their study of labor issues in the hotel industry, Arroyo and Gutierrez (2007) surveyed the minimum requirements for supervisory and managerial positions in 50

hotels in Cozumel; almost all hotels required previous hotel experience, educational credentials, fluency in at least two languages, and leadership characteristics. Ninety percent of managers participating in this study identified lack of qualified personnel as one of the biggest challenges faced by hotels in Cozumel⁶³. For this reason, many argued, hotels have no alternative but hiring candidates from other parts of Mexico or abroad who have the education and experience needed for the positions. Luisa, the division manager of the all- inclusive resort I interviewed in Playa del Carmen said she has heard local people's complaints about work-related discrimination, but, when it comes to qualifications "foreigners speak five languages...they have master's degrees or more degrees...What is required in this hotel is to have previous hotel working experience and speak languages 100% fluently" (*los extranjeros te hablan cinco idiomas...tienen maestrías o más carreras...Lo que se requiere en este hotel es haber trabajado en un hotel y hablar idiomas al 100%*) and that is why she said most of the upper management at her property was composed of Europeans and Mexicans from outside the Yucatan peninsula.

Work-place segregation

In many of these hotels, the Mayas not only get menial, unskilled jobs, but experienced work place segregation, as explained by a former spa manager in an all- inclusive resort in Playa del Carmen:

⁶³ Based on a comprehensive study of 50 hotels in Cozumel, Gutierrez (2005) reported that only 23% of all hotel employees in Cozumel finished high school education and only 7% had post-secondary education. He also found that approximately 12% were from outside Yucatan and Quintana Roo, mainly Mexico City and Veracruz.

Hay discriminación. Yo lo veo mucho en los hoteles, porque en hotelería lo ocupan los trabajos de que si de meseros, que garroteros, los que limpian, las chicas que hacen las camas, son la mayoría son mayas, o chapanecos, entonces... a mi se me hace muy mal porque, una de las razones por la que yo me fui del hotel, fue por eso, porque yo que estaba de confianza en un nivel de supervisora de un spa, yo comía en un buffet, en el buffet donde están los clientes no...comidas de aquí, pasillos de comida, galerías de postres, galerías de bebidas, la gente está haciendo trabajos más pesados, están comiendo en un sótano o en el comedor. Entonces si lo noté, si lo vi muy mal y por eso no lo soporto. Si lo veo discriminativo porque o es iguales para todos o no...No veo mucha igualdad...

There is discrimination. I see it a lot in hotels. In the hotel industry, those who work as waiters, bus boys, cleaning, the women making beds, the majority of them are Maya or chiapanecos [*from Chiapas*]. I think it is very wrong. One of the reasons why I left the hotel was because of that, because I was a supervisor of a spa and I would eat in the buffet area that was for the guests...lots of food, desserts, drinks. And the people who were doing the physical work were eating in the basement, in the cafeteria. I noticed that and I couldn't stand it. I see it as

discrimination because it should be equal for everybody. I don't see much equality.

The selective hiring of non-Yucatecan employees for certain positions, whether managerial or which required constant with tourists for instance, is not an exclusive practice of hotels and resorts. The participant representing the Tourism Division of Cozumel explained that this happens in all sectors of the tourism industry; restaurants, tour operators, retail stores and jewelry stores. As it did in the sample of companies included in this study. At least half of the managers I interviewed were from outside Quintana Roo or Yucatán, including one from Venezuela. In the upscale “Maya” restaurant in Playa del Carmen, both the general and assistant managers were from Mexico City; the Maya staff worked in the kitchen, cooking or washing dishes. In the two tour companies chosen in the study, the majority of tour guides were not from the Yucatan peninsula. The tour guides for Tour Company X, approximately 50 depending on the season, are mostly from central and northern Mexico and a few from Germany, Spain, and the Netherlands. Of the 28 tour guides working for Tour Company Y at the time of the research, only two were Maya. The exclusion of Maya guides is both surprising and problematic since they would be the most knowledgeable individuals to educate tourists about the “authentic” Maya life, culture, and cosmology, which these tour companies take pride in doing. But, according to one of these managers, one of the reasons for not having Maya guides is that Mayas are “people very closed minded, very shy, super quiet” (*gente muy cerrada, muy tímida, super calladas*).

The notion that discrimination of Maya people can be attributed to their lack of education and qualifications was contested. Some participants said that even if local (Maya) met the requirements for certain positions, employers would still prefer to hire people from other regions of Mexico. “Some people can say that they are not qualified but if you take a look at who they hire to be in direct contact with tourists, they are not Yucatecos, they are not people from the communities” (*Algunos simplemente pueden decir que no están capacitados pero si tú tienes la imagen de quienes son los que ponen al frente a recibir a los turistas y todo eso, no son suelen ser Yucatecos, no son gente de las comunidades*) said a restaurant manager in Cozumel.

Some participants felt that with education and experience, Maya could access the same job opportunities as do other Mexicans. They talked about relatives and friends who, having received post-high school education, had been able to get good jobs in tourism-related establishments. Education, several participants said, was the key to not only overcome discrimination but also gain respect from others, including the government. Some participants suggested that tourism companies and the government should provide training programs so the Maya acquire useful skills and practical experience that can help them obtain dignifying jobs.

Restricted access to recreation and tourist sites

Ese es otro miedo de que yo al rato ya no voy ni a poder ver el mar...En Cancún estamos restringidos de andar por donde tú puedas, de entrar a darte una ducha o disfrutar del mar. Te lo juro, no entiendo la situación.

That's another fear, that in the future I won't even be able to see the sea...In Cancun we are restricted from walking around, from showering, or enjoying the sea. I swear, I don't understand that situation.

Don Alvaro, Playa del Carmen

Another form of discrimination experienced by participants was *not being able to access the same tourism and recreation sites that tourists had plenty of opportunity to enjoy*. *Privatization of public beaches* seems to contribute to this discrimination.

Participants, in particular those in Cozumel, stated that, not being able to pay entrance fees or minimum consumption charges for private beaches, locals have been left with very few spaces for leisure and recreation:

Cuando yo llegué acá podía ir uno, en su carrito, en su bicicleta, en moto en lo que fuera a la laguna de Chankanaab. Llegabas ahí y estaba toda la laguna bonita. Ahorita quieres entrar a Chankanaab y tienes que pagar. Es otra de las cosas que han perjudicado a la isla. Todo se paga, todo se paga. La gente del pueblo, una parte de la gente afectada, la gente pobre, no tiene lugar de esparcimiento más que Las Casitas.

When I arrived [to Cozumel] one could take a car, a bicycle, or a scooter and go to Chankanaab. You'd go there and see the pretty lagoon. Now if you want to go to Chankanaab, you have to pay. That is another thing that has hurt the island. You have to pay for

everything, for everything. The local people, especially the poor people, don't have places for recreation besides *Las Casitas*.

Doña Amelia, Cozumel

In Cozumel, especially along the west coast, significant amounts of beach space have been given in concession to the private industry which has established beach clubs charging hefty entrance fees. For instance, Playa Mia Grand Beach Park, the most popular beach club in Cozumel, has a US\$ 16 entrance fee; Chankanaab, an eco-cultural park managed by the local government through the Parks and Museum Foundation, has an entrance fee of US\$ 19. Similarly, in the Riviera Maya, entrance to Xcaret and Xel-Há, the most popular eco-cultural theme parks in Quintana Roo costs US\$ 119 and US\$ 79.

For both sites, locals can obtain between 50% and 100% discount by showing a government-issued ID that proves their residence in Quintana Roo. However, even with this price reduction, local people who make the minimum wage (approx. US\$ 4/day) can find it difficult to afford visiting these sites, given high prices of food and drinks on the premises and lack of public transportation to reach these areas. In Cozumel, *Casitas and Caletitas* are the only two beach areas with built infrastructure that are accessible to local people. However, they do not have as much open space or sandy areas as other beaches throughout the island (Figure 14).



Figure 14. Casitas beach, Cozumel.

Furthermore, many hotels and beach clubs are designed and built in a way that restricts the entrance of non-hotel guests to many beaches. By not letting people pass through their properties, hotels and resorts violate people's federal right to access the nation's beaches. Other participants said they had been asked to consume food or drinks from tourist establishments to be allowed in certain public beaches. "The problem is to access [these beaches] and once you are there you have to put up with the security guard that tells you that you can't be there and you have to argue with him that you can, that the law allows you to be there and then they tell you 'you have to consume', 'no, I don't' and they bother you and bother you" (*El problema es llegar a ellas y una vez que estás adentro tienes que aguantarte a que venga el de seguridad a decirte que no puedes estar ahí y que tienes que discutir que si, si puedes, que la ley te permite estar ahí y entonces*

te dicen “no, es que tienes que consumir”- “no, no tengo que consumir” pero están friegue que friegue), said one resident of Cozumel.

The representative from the Hotel Association of Cozumel supported the hotel practice of not allowing people pass through their property. In the same condescending and aggressive tone he used throughout the interview he retorted:

Te hago una pregunta: ¿Por qué voy a permitir que pasen por mi casa para llegar a la playa? Por qué?Las playas sí son de acceso público pero ¿por qué van a pasar por mi propiedad por mi casa, por la sala de mi casa?La ley no dice eso...que tengo que abrir la puerta de mi casa para que vayan a la playa. No, en ningún momento. Está mal hecha...Si de origen esta mal habría que modificar el origen y hoy ya no es posible porque no se cuanto pero mucho ya esta construido, ya esta hecho.

Let me ask you a question: Why would I allow [people] to pass through my home [*hotel*]. Why?... The beaches are indeed public but why would [people] have to pass through my property, through my living room [*hotel lobby*]?The law doesn't say that I have to open my house so people can go to the beach. No, not at all. [The law] was poorly done. If it was wrong from the beginning, we would have to change it, but it's not possible now because a lot of hotels have been built. Everything is done.

Fortunately for Cozumeleños, in 2009, the Mayor of Cozumel obtained the concession of two more beach areas for the locals, Chumil and San Martín (Honorable Ayuntamiento de Cozumel, 2009a).

The Implications of Discrimination for the Maya Culture

The discrimination experienced by the Maya people, both historical and through the tourism industry, has had negative implications for their cultural identity as well as the sustainability of their language and traditions. In regards to cultural identity, many participants said that, due to past discrimination and humiliation, many Mayas started being ashamed of their ethnicity, their language, and even their last names. A few participants, for instance, mentioned that in order to hide their Maya roots, many people changed their last names to ones that sounded Spanish. Others refused to speak Maya in public. Participants explained that the refusal to speak Maya was due to people not wanting to be identified as “indio”, “del pueblo” (from the village), or “del campo” (peasants) and be treated as such. "Humiliation is the reason why the Maya language is lost, the ‘What are you?’, ‘You are nothing’ (*La humillación ha hecho perder lo que es la lengua maya. La humillación, el ‘¿tú qué eres?’ ‘Eres un nada’*), explained Don Alvaro in Playa del Carmen. Don Pablo in Cozumel added "People are ashamed [of speaking Maya] because right away they're told they are peasants. Then what happens? When they come to the city they start improving their Spanish and they forget they are Mayeros" (*A la gente le da pena porque enseguida dicen es un hombre de campo, entonces que pasa? vienen a la ciudad y comienzan a mejorar su español y se olvidan que son Mayeros*). Doña Ines was one of the participants that personally experienced

discrimination as a child for being Maya. She said when her classmates found out she spoke Maya, they stopped talking to her. In order to avoid being subjected to humiliation and mockery, several participants concentrated on learning and speaking Spanish, as did Javier in Playa del Carmen:

Me tocó gente que ya hablaba más el español muy... como dicen: “muy fresca” como muy perfectamente ¿no? Entonces, yo cuando pronunciaba una palabra como venía... Yo nunca mentí de donde venía y me preguntaban: “De dónde vienes” yo decía: “Yo soy de Carrillo, un pueblito que se llama Señor” y se empezaban a burlar....Entonces, ya cuando empezó también mi barrera de comunicación para conseguir amigos.... se burlaban cuando no pronunciaba por ejemplo, ferrocarril, yo decía: “ferrocagil” y se reían y yo ni sabía.... Tuve ese problema con ellos pero yo decía “pues todo por mejorar” para entrar en ese ambiente social. Entonces fui mejorando y practicando, y se me fue olvidando la maya. Lógicamente, como no lo practicaba pues se me fue olvidando.

I had classmates who spoke Spanish in an uppity, perfect way. I would pronounce a word as it came to mind...I never lied about where I was from; they would ask me “Where do you come from” and I would say “I’m from Carrillo, from a little town called Señor” and they would make fun of me... Then, I had problems

with finding friends... they would make fun of me when I couldn't pronounce, for instance, "ferrocarril". I would say "ferrocagil" and they would laugh and I did not even know...I had that problem with them but I said to myself "[I'd learn Spanish] to improve", to enter that social environment. Then I started getting better, and continue practicing and I started forgetting the Maya. Obviously, because I didn't practice, I started forgetting it

In addition to school and social spheres, Spanish also became the language spoken at participants' homes. Most of the participants who did not speak Maya reported that it was because their parents refused to teach it to them, even though they were 100% fluent in it. Beatriz in Playa del Carmen said her mother discouraged her from speaking Maya to others because it "sounded ugly" (*se oía feo*) and it could offend people. After probing on this issue, they indicated that their parents or grandparents did not want them to suffer from the discrimination and humiliations they did in the past, as one of the government officials in Playa del Carmen and proud self-identified Maya recounted:

Mis abuelos no hablaban español, solo el maya. Por desgracia no nos dejaron la lengua, ellos decidieron cortar las raíces de nuestra lengua por las discriminaciones que ellos sufrieron en su tiempo. Entonces ellos pensaban que al no enseñárselos a sus herederos, que éramos nosotros, nos íbamos a salvar de ciertas discriminaciones que ellos vivieron.

My grandparents didn't speak Spanish, only Maya. Unfortunately they didn't leave us the language; they decided to cut our ties with the language because of the discrimination they suffered in their time. Back then they thought that by not teaching it to us, their heirs, they would save us from certain discrimination they experienced.

Some parents, as Javier shared with me, took extreme measures to ensure their children would learn Spanish:

Mi papá al momento de que se casó y dijo: “Voy a tener mis hijos pues lo primero es que aprendan bien español luego que aprendan Maya”.... Entonces, nosotros ni eso porque a nosotros nos hablaba en español siempre mi mamá y mi papá. Entonces mi papá decía que “¿para qué aprender la Maya? Primero el español para que tengan más oportunidades”, pero yo no lo veía así. Entonces, cada vez que hablábamos una palabra en Maya, lo teníamos que hacer a las escondidas porque si escuchaba mi papá que hablamos en Maya nos agarraba y nos regañaba y, si decíamos más, un insulta, nos agarraba y nos daba una bofetada....Nos quedamos con ese traumatismo.

When my dad got married he said: “I am going to have my children learn Spanish very well first then learn Maya”.... But we didn't even learn Maya because my mom and dad always talked to

us in Spanish. But my dad used to say “What’s the point of learning Maya? First Spanish so they have more opportunities”, but I didn’t see it that way. Therefore, every time that we said a word in Maya, we had to hide because if my dad heard us speaking in Maya, he would scold us and if we said something more, he would insult us, he would grab us and slap us.... We got traumatized.

For slightly similar reasons, many participants who were fluent in Maya were not teaching it to their own children. These parents wanted their children to speak a language that could help them get better jobs than they had, in particular tourism jobs, and Maya was not considered useful for tourism. Participants realized that opportunities to get a good income in the tourism industry were available to those who were fluent in other languages, in particular English, and prioritized foreign languages over Maya. “Working in tourism is guaranteed money; it’s a fact. That is why I have tried, insisted that my children learn the English language first. Of course, our language should be first, Maya, but we won’t make a living from speaking Maya, right?” (*Trabajar con el turismo es dinero seguro, es de ley, por eso he tratado y me he empeñado de que mis hijos aprendan la lengua inglés primero. Claro que debe ser primero nuestra lengua, la maya, pero ya no vamos a vivir tanto de la maya, no?*). Diego, on the other hand, did not feel he had to choose one particular language to teach their future children. He said he will teach them Maya first and then Spanish and English, “I want them to learn everything, to know a lot, to know as much as they can” (*Quiero que aprendan de todo,*

que sepan, que sepan mucho). Other participants echoed Diego in saying that Spanish and/or English does not have to be learned at the expense of Maya; to these participants, the key to preserve their native language is to never stop using it at home. Interestingly, a good number of participants said that Maya language was very similar in pronunciation to English; therefore those who speak Maya fluently were said to learn English much faster than non-Maya speakers.

Care must be taken however in attributing all cultural impacts and cultural change of the Yucatecan Maya to tourism *per se*. Doing so is to ignore historic factors (i.e. post-colonial relations) as well as progressive elements of modernization, globalization, and capitalism in which tourism is one factor but not the only one. For instance, one participant identified the arrival of electricity to Maya village as the main cause of changes in the traditional Maya culture; for others, it was the migration of young Maya to Mérida and other cities, including the United States to work or get higher education degrees. Marriage with people from other cultural groups was another influence, as explained by Don Alvaro: “Do you know what has happened? We have mixed....Americans with Maya, Tabasqueños with Maya, Veracruzanos with Maya, Chiapas with Maya; in other words, we are not pure Mayas” (*Sabes que pasado? Que nos hemos mezclado... Hemos salido Americanos con Mayas, ha habido Tabasqueño con Maya, ha habido Veracruzanos con Maya, ha habido de los de Chiapas con Mayas, ósea que ya no somos, dijéramos un Maya puro*). In addition, several participants mentioned the influence of global communications, in particular, cable television, internet, and social media as a negative influence for their culture. These issues require

further critical study in tourism research to avoid sweeping generalizations in regards to the role of tourism in the cultural change of minority and ethnic groups.

Summary

Through in-depth interviews, secondary data and participant observation, this chapter examined issues of equity, justice, and sustainability in relation to tourism in Quintana Roo, Mexico. The purpose of this chapter was to analyze different stakeholders perspectives on issues related to distribution of resources, participation in decision-making, or discrimination in general, paying particular attention to how they played out for the local and Maya residents of the state. The analysis also focused on identifying the hierarchies, practices, or policies that allowed these inequities and injustices to be created and/or reproduced.

The issues that emerged in this analysis can be grouped in four major categories: Unequal distribution of and access to tourism benefits; unequal allocation of government resources for tourism; lack of meaningful participation of local people in tourism decision-making; and mistreatment and discrimination of local people, in particular Maya people, in regards to access to well-paid jobs and use of recreation and tourism sites. Foreign and private industry stakeholders (i.e. hotel and resorts chains, cruise industry, jewelry stores) and local elites are the stakeholders who have most access not only to tourism revenue but also government resources for tourism promotion and development. Local (Maya) residents, small business owners, and Maya communities are at the bottom of the ladder, having the least benefits, if any, to the economic and socio-cultural benefits from tourism.

Practices and policies that allow these inequities and injustices to take place included exploitative labor practices from the private industry, economic monopolies and exclusionary business practices, appropriation of archeological and public spaces for tourism, and legislation that does not foster community consultation and participation in tourism decision-making. In addition, this study found evidence of discriminatory practices toward the Maya people, both in their personal, every-day interactions with other people in particular their Mexican counterparts (i.e. mistreatment, disparaging, humiliation), as well as in the work sphere (i.e. not having the same job opportunities as people outside the Yucatán peninsula). This discrimination seems to be rooted in both racial differences and the perceived lack of education, qualifications, and technical skills of the Maya people. It was also found that historical and current discrimination of the Maya people had important consequences for the cultural identity and sustainability of their language and other cultural elements. The major categories that emerged in this chapter are presented in Figure 15.

| | |
|---|--|
| <p>Disproportionate capture of tourism revenue</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - By the private industry <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o By hotels & resorts <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Enclavic tourism <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Selling all-inclusive packages • "Kidnapping" guests (i.e. keeping them on premises) o By the cruise industry <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Selling-prepaid, all inclusive tours onboard ▪ Retaining passengers within terminal premises ▪ Promoting own stores ▪ Not allowing local, small, independently-owned business to benefit from cruise passengers <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Preventing passengers from visiting local stores • Banning independent/freelance tour operators from entering • Imposing hefty fees to be included in the list of "recommended/approved" businesses • Discrediting the quality of their goods/services o By local elites <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Creating monopolies of tourism services - By the federal (national) government <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o Retaining 100% of cruise taxes and port fees o Retaining 100% of all revenue for entrance fees to archeological sites |
| <p>Exploitation</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Of local resources <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o Using local beaches, archeological sites, local culture to attract tourists o Using local infrastructure o Not leaving any contribution/ investment in local destination - Of local (Maya) people <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o Menial work o Paying minimum wage o Unfair practices <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Not providing job security and benefits ▪ Not distributing profits with employees (Federal right of profit sharing) |
| <p>Exclusion of local people from tourism decision-making</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Not having representation in tourism promotion boards (fideicomisos) - Not having representation in tourism advisory boards (consejos consultivos) - Not having mechanisms to include local residents in tourism consultation - Disregarding community input and concerns - Token consultation/lack of meaningful consultation (municipal and state level) |

Figure 15. Issues of equity and justice (themes).

| | |
|---|---|
| <p>Inequitable government support for tourism</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Inequitable allocating of most of promotion and development resources to sun, sand, and sea destinations (Cancún, Riviera Maya, Isla Mujeres, Cozumel) - Lack of support for Maya (cultural) tourism <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o Lacking support for promotion of tourism in Maya communities o Not funding infrastructure development for Maya communities o Not providing capacity building (training) to Maya communities to develop tourism - Unequal promotion of natural vs. cultural heritage <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o Emphasizing sun, sand, sea features vs. cultural heritage sites |
| <p>Appropriation of local resources for tourism</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Conversion of archeological sites to tourism attractions <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o Loss of ownership of heritage sites o Having to pay to visit the archeological sites - Not having places for leisure and recreation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o Privatization of local beaches o Having to pay to enter beaches and other recreation sites |
| <p>Discrimination</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Mistreatment <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o Humiliation and intimidation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Mocking and ridiculing of accent and ethnic appearance ▪ Insulting, use of derogatory labels o Belittlement <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Condescending treatment ▪ Being treated as uneducated, unskilled, naïve people - Work-place discrimination <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o Not getting well-paid, meaningful jobs o Selective hiring of people from abroad o Work place segregation - Restricted access to recreation and tourism sites <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o Not being allowed in certain beaches, tourist sites |
| <p>Cultural Sustainability Issues</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Cultural shame <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o Refusing to speak Maya in public o Not teaching Maya to children o Changing last names - Learning Spanish at home and school - Learning English to work in tourism - Teaching English to children |

Figure 15. Continued.

CHAPTER VI

TOWARDS UNDERSTANDING CULTURAL (IN)JUSTICE IN TOURISM

Equity, justice, and fairness are key tenets of sustainable tourism. Yet, there is a surprising scarcity of studies that provide robust theoretical or methodological foundations to examine these issues, in particular in regards to the well-being of ethnic, minority and/or disadvantaged groups. Based on the findings presented in Chapters IV and V and theoretical insights from tourism and other relevant fields, the purpose of this chapter is to examine issues of cultural justice in tourism. In the first section, I address the main issues that emerged from this study of tourism in Quintana Roo through a discussion of four central themes: exploitation, marginalization, cultural racism, and cultural domination. The chapter goes on to identify some key principles of justice that can guide future tourism development and decision-making in a way that makes it more just and equitable for cultural, ethnic, and minority groups in destinations. It is argued below that more targeted principles of cultural justice need to be added to current approaches to sustainable tourism.

A Theoretical Discussion of Cultural Justice in Tourism

Only a few scholars have raised concerns about cultural inequities resulting from tourism (Camargo et al., 2008; Jamal et al., 2006; Robinson, 1999; Cohen, 2002). Robinson talked about cultural equity as a matter of consent and compensation; cultural inequities take place when powerful stakeholders impose tourism development upon marginalized cultural groups without their consent, or when cultural assets are

misappropriated and commoditized for tourism marketing and development without proper consent and rightful compensation. Cohen discussed inequities in relation to the exclusion of groups from visiting sites of their cultural heritage and Jamal et al. (2006) called for equity with respect to the use, protection, and valuation of environmental and cultural resources and the fair consideration of the changes being brought to a community's cultural fabric.

Camargo et al. (2008) brought together some of the above scattered discourses into a preliminary framework that could spark interest and inform further research in the very important, yet ignored, area of cultural justice. Drawing from environmental justice principles (Bullard, 1994; Bullard, Mohai, Saha, & Wright, 2007; Lee & Jamal, 2008), these authors developed four preliminary dimensions related to cultural justice in the context of ecotourism and tourism in natural and protected areas. In this sense, cultural justice is described by the four categories shown in Figure 16.

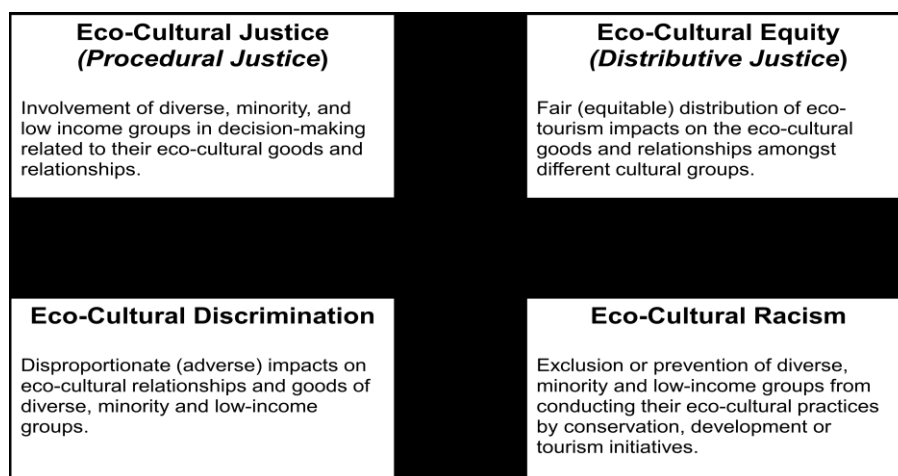


Figure 16. Preliminary dimensions for cultural justice in tourism. Adapted from Camargo et al. (2008).

The above framework calls attention to aspects such as the fair distribution of tourism impacts and involvement of diverse, minority groups, and low income groups in tourism decision making, key principles of distributive and procedural justice. At the same time, it raises awareness of potential discriminatory and racist practices that can occur in a tourism context. Several inequities found in this empirical study may fall within the dimensions of cultural justice in Camargo et al.'s (2008) framework;

- Disproportionate capture of economic benefits from tourism by a few stakeholders (*matter of distributive justice*)
- Inequitable distribution of government resources for tourism promotion, infrastructure, and capacity building (*matter of distributive justice*)
- Inequitable promotion of cultural heritage (*matter of distributive justice*)
- Exclusion of Maya stakeholders from tourism decision-making (*procedural justice*)
- Restriction, via pricing, of Maya people from visiting natural and cultural heritage sites to perform traditional subsistence activities and ceremonies (*matter of cultural discrimination*)
- Maya residents mostly getting menial, low paid jobs while foreign and non-local residents occupy supervisory and managerial positions in tourism businesses (*matter of cultural discrimination*)

Although a start, Camargo et al.'s (2008) framework is highly preliminary and offers only a conceptual discussion towards a more robust framework that addresses cultural justice in tourism. Much further theoretical and empirical work is needed about

the nature of cultural impacts or cultural goods, what constitutes a fair distribution or fair participation in decision-making, and/or how to achieve such fairness. Moreover, besides distributive and procedural matters, the framework lacks discussion of key issues identified in Chapters IV and V such as cultural recognition, cultural alienation, exploitation, etc. Furthermore, frameworks of justice and cultural justice in tourism should offer insights on the local-level processes and practices behind distributive and procedural inequities so that they can be better addressed, and possibly redressed, in current approaches to tourism, including sustainable tourism and responsible tourism.

An Expanded Framework to Examine Cultural Justice in Tourism

Discourses on equity and justice in tourism studies are concerned primarily with the fair distribution of economic, environmental and socio-cultural benefits among stakeholders groups and meaningful participation of stakeholder groups in tourism planning, policy and decision-making (Lee & Jamal, 2008; WTO, 2004). These two important aspects of distributive and procedural justice that should continue to be included in tourism research agendas because, as this study demonstrated, economic inequities and lack of influence in tourism decision-making impact the economic and cultural well-being of low income, ethnic, and cultural groups like the Yucatecan Maya. However, I argue that the study and conceptualization of justice in tourism should look beyond distributional and procedural dimensions and examine the complex factors that facilitate economic, social, and political injustices, which can include issues of political economy (Britton, 1982), power and politics (Cothran & Cothran, 1998; Hall, 1994, 2003; Reed 1997), and even corruption.

Economic marginalization

Limited access to tourism revenue

In tourism, local people, including cultural and indigenous groups are marginalized in the sense that they have fewer opportunities to take advantage of the economic benefits from tourism visitation in comparison to other tourism stakeholders, in particular national and foreign investors and local elites. The injustice of economic marginalization is facilitated by mechanisms discussed in Chapter V which include the enclavic capture of tourists by all-inclusive hotels and the cruise industry, economic monopolies of tourism services, and ethnic division of labor to menial work discussed earlier in this chapter. This study provided additional insights on factors that contribute to the economic marginalization of local residents and small business owners in tourism, which have received very little attention in tourism research. Prohibitive marketing fees and liability insurance costs, for example, contributed to the marginalization of small business owners and tour operators from conducting businesses with the cruise companies (see also, Carlisle, 2010).

Deprivation of government resources to promote and develop tourism

Local and state governments play an important role in the economic marginalization of cultural and indigenous groups in tourism. Cultural marginalization occurs when groups are deprived of government support and resources to develop and promote tourism in their communities. This study provides empirical evidence of marginalization in regards of tourism promotion, infrastructure development, and capacity building. As a regional tourism stakeholder group, La Zona Maya received the

identified in chapters IV and V such as cultural recognition, cultural alienation, exploitation, etc. Furthermore, frameworks of justice and cultural justice in tourism should offer insights on the local-level processes and practices behind distributive and procedural inequities so that they can be better addressed, and possibly redressed, in current approaches to tourism, including sustainable tourism and responsible tourism.

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Profiting from people: Labor exploitation

Ethnic and gender division of labor into menial work

Cultural exploitation in tourism occurs when people from a particular cultural, ethnic, or racial group are confined to unskilled, low-paying, servile jobs in the tourism industry. In this study, Maya workers, especially women, are used primarily in physical and manual work roles to keep the tourism industry thriving.

The tourism industry is the most important source of employment in Quintana Roo, providing 55% of all jobs in the state (INEGI, 2004). However, this study showed sharp gender and ethnic divisions of labor, in which the Maya, in particular women, were segregated to menial labor often under poor salary and exploitative working conditions. Except for two, all Maya female participants in this study worked as cleaning staff in hotels or tourist residential units. They worked six days a week, 10-12 hours a day, and received the minimum wage (approx. US\$ 4/day). Their job consisted of unskilled, repetitive, physically intensive cleaning tasks. Male participants, while having access to slightly better paid, less monotonous jobs, often had to work extra shifts or even two or three jobs at the same time to generate sufficient income to maintain a decent standard of living. For many participants tips became the main source of economic survival, as the minimum salaries they received was insufficient to cover their household expenses.

Besides poor wages and long working hours, menial work offers little opportunity for upward mobility. The nature of the job does not facilitate the acquisition of meaningful skills that they could use to get better paid, more meaningful jobs. Several

participants had been doing the same type of job for many years. Helena, for example, had been a housekeeper for twelve years, Doña Ines for nine. Although some male participants felt they learned new things and acquired new skills (e.g. languages) through their involvement in tourism, what they learned did not necessarily translate in much better employment opportunities. Except for two participants who got promoted from cleaning workers to waiter and line cook, the rest had been doing the same type of low entry, unskilled jobs (e.g. shopkeepers, waiters, security guards, etc.) since they started working in the tourism industry. After going back to the literature, I found labor statistics and previous studies which support my findings. Fifty percent of all employed Maya population in Quintana Roo work in low-entry positions, including domestic service (27% of all employed women worked in domestic service) (INEGI, 2004). Only 13% of Maya people were employed in administrative, technical or professional positions (Ibid). Furthermore, studies also showed that tourism workers, especially those employed by hotels and resorts, are often poorly paid. Fourteen percent of hotel workers in Cozumel received *less* than the minimum legal wage⁶⁴ and 52% between one and two times the minimum wage (Gutierrez, 2005); in Cancun, 48% of hotel employees are paid the minimum wage (Méndez Sosa, 2008). Although analysis of gender and ethnic divisions of labor are in need of more empirical research in tourism, a few tourism studies corroborate that women and ethnic minorities tend to occupy lower rank positions in the tourism industry (van der Berghe, 1992; Urry, 1996; Jones, White & James, 2005).

⁶⁴ Approx. US\$ 4 a day

Denial of workers' rights: Compensation, benefits and job security

Exploitation involves more than the gender and ethnic division of labor to menial work. Exploitation also occurs when workers are deprived of their basic workers rights, in particular fair compensation, employee benefits, and job security. In regards to compensation, in the previous section I discussed how Maya people working in tourism are often underpaid, which results in having to take additional jobs to supplement their incomes. Participants in this study also suggested that hotels and resorts in Cozumel refuse to pay overtime and moreover manipulate their financial statements to avoid distributing 10% of their profits among their employees, as mandated by Mexican law. Due to the sensitive and political nature of this issue, in particular in Mexico, it was hard for me to obtain further information on this finding; however, a report from labor organizations in Mexico estimates that only 0.01% of all private companies in Mexico comply with the federal law and distribute profits to their employees (Gomez, 2007).

Maya participants in this study also lacked job security or access to employee benefits. Many were employed on temporary labor contracts or without a work contract at all which do not give them access to health insurance, vacation pay, and other fringe benefits. Short-term contracts also prevented workers from accumulating seniority that can protect them against lay-offs during slow tourism seasons. Several participants who lost their jobs during the H1N1 crisis did not qualify for severance pay or a government emergency bonus because they were not permanent employees or did not appear in the labor records of their employers. Temporary workers are much cheaper than permanent ones. They can be hired and fired at the employers' convenience. There is no need to

invest in training, equipment, or other benefits. In summary, employees are only a commodity to be used instrumentally as a means to an end (profit). It is estimated that 45% of hotel workers in Cozumel (Gutierrez, 2005) and 47% in Cancun (Mendez Sosa, 2008) are hired on short-term contracts. Moreover, additional exploitative practices against indigenous workers in the Riviera Maya include, for example poor sanitary and safety conditions and withholding of salaries (Diaz, 2007). More troublesome, according to Greenpeace (2009), hotel workers in the Riviera Maya are often pressured to give up one day of their salaries to their hotels in order to avoid massive staff cuts.

Violation of labor rights in the tourism industry have been exposed by tourism NGOs and interest groups such Tourism Concern (see Beddoe, 2004) and the Himalayan Humanity Trekking (n.d.)⁶⁵. In tourism literature, only a very few scholars have raised concerns about tourism workers labor rights and working conditions (Cole & Erikson, 2010; Wood, 2000); empirical examinations are yet to take place.

Domination and powerlessness: Fearing unemployment

Exploitation enacts a structural relation of power. Temporary employment can be used as form of manipulation and domination that allows companies to exert control over their workers. Afraid of losing their jobs, employees accept and tolerate labor injustices. Slowly injustice becomes “part of the job”: “*You only stay quiet. Why?*”

⁶⁵ Himalayan Humanity Trekking (n.d.) reports that trekking porters, the backbone of the trekking industry in Nepal, often work under very poor conditions, carrying heavy load at high altitudes while receiving a few dollars a day. Many of these porters, usually poor lowland farmers starving for jobs and lacking appropriate clothing, shelter, load limits, and access to health treatment died each year from sickness, falls, or hypothermia.

Because you have to be prudent and tell yourself 'It's part of my job' " said Enrique in Cozumel. Also in Cozumel, Helena commented:

Bueno en lo que es hotelería hay muchas cosas buenas y malas... Hay injusticias también pero hay muchos que lo dicen y muchos que se lo quedan...La verdad hay cosas que no va conmigo. Pero ni modo el trabajo nos habla nosotros tenemos que seguir.... Yo por ejemplo, yo nada más me río porque nosotros vivimos del turismo y si nosotros le mal contestamos al turismo o le decimos alguna palabra ellos se van a quejar a gerencia y gerencia que va hacer? Conservar ese empleado o conservar el turismo? pos va a querer conservar el turismo y darle de baja al empleado. Eso pasa constante.

In the hotel industry there are many good and many bad things....There are many injustices too but there are many people who talk about them and others keep them to themselves.... There are many things I don't agree with. But oh well, we have to keep working....In my case, I only laugh because we make a living from tourism and if we complain about tourism, or if we tell [tourists] something, they will complain to management and what is management going to do? Keep the employee or keep the tourist? Well, it will keep the tourists and fire the employee. That happens all the time.

Bullard (1993) argued that workers of color are particularly vulnerable to injustices, including job blackmail because of threat of unemployment they face compared to other groups and because of their concentration in low-paying, unskilled, nonunionized occupations. As shown above, the threat of unemployment made participants *powerless* (Young, 1990) in relation to work injustices. Their livelihoods depended on these low pay temporary jobs and they had no alternative but to accept injustices. I noticed the same feeling of domination and powerlessness in Roberto's narrative about the injustices related to the cruise tourism industry in Cozumel:

Con el flyer, con el brochure que tiene el turista a bordo son las tiendas que tenemos que recomendar. Cuando pasamos al frente, le tenemos que indicar en donde están las tiendas porque son las que recomienda el crucero. Entonces, es parte del trabajo de nosotros hacerlo obviamente y no podemos hacer nada al respecto porque si por allá recomendamos alguna que no este y hay algún problema, obviamente el guía va a tener la culpa de lo que pase.

The [stores] in the flyers, in the brochures that tourists get onboard, those are the stores we have to recommend. When we walk in front of them, we have to show tourists the stores because those are the ones which the cruises recommend. It is part of our job to do it and we can't do anything about that because if we

recommend one that is not [in the list], obviously the tour guide is responsible for what happens.

However, care must be taken not to generalize all tourism businesses as exploitative. Small, independently owned tourism businesses in this study seemed to have better hiring and labor practices than large, chain establishments. Among others, these locally-owned establishments hired their staff on permanent contracts, had less staff rotation, and provided better benefits and training opportunities for their employees. Also, while hundreds of tourism workers got laid off during the H1N1 crisis, some of these businesses owners chose to take salary cuts than to terminate their staff who had been working with them for several years. The benefits of small tourism enterprises for community development, employment and sustainability are also noted in the tourism literature (Dahles & Bras, 1999; Rodenburn, 1980).

In sum, labor exploitation is an injustice because it transfers the results of the labor of one (cultural) group to benefit another (Goldberg, 1970; Young, 1990; Fraser, 1995)⁶⁶. As Young (1990) observed, through exploitation, relations of power are

⁶⁶ Although it did not emerge in this study, children and sexual exploitation can also be forms of cultural exploitation that should be further examined in tourism. Black (1995) revealed several cases of children exploitation in the hotel, tourism, and catering industry in Kenya, Mexico, the Philippines and Sri Lanka. In many destinations, in particular in developing countries women, men, and children, often of a particular ethnic or racial group, are used as sexual commodities by tourists. Prostitution and sexual exploitation has become a recurrent problem in many tourism destinations around the world including East Africa (Kibicho, 2009), South East Asia (Leheny 1995; Truong, 1990), and the Caribbean (Clancy, 2002; Kempadoo, 1999). According to ECAPT International (2008), child sex tourism is becoming a widespread problem in Mexico, Colombia, Kenya, Ghana, Philippines, Mongolia, Russia, and Estonia. In Quintana Roo, issues of prostitution and sexual exploitation have been reported in Cancún and Playa del Carmen. In her book, *Los Demonios del Edén* [The Demons of Eden] Mexican journalist Lydia Cacho (2005) investigated and uncovered a network of child prostitution organized by a well-known hotel investor in Cancún. Her detailed account revealed the extent of sexual tourism in this part of Quintana Roo.

produced and reproduced through the process in which the energies of the have-nots are continuously expended to maintain and increase the power, status, and wealth of the haves. However, labor exploitation is more than an economic injustice. It is also a matter of personal and cultural well-being. Low wage, overwork, menial tasks, unfair management practices, and lack of control (i.e. powerlessness) undermines people's dignity, human agency, and self-respect needed to live a healthy life (Hodson, 2001). Labor exploitation also imposes time and money constraints that prevent people from spending time with their immediate and extended families, participate in cultural celebrations, or visit recreation, leisure or cultural sites. As this study showed, many participants in Cozumel did not make enough money to cover transportation costs to mainland Quintana Roo and therefore were unable to see their families on a regular basis. Participants in Playa del Carmen also had time constraints, usually one off day a week that constrained them from traveling to their hometowns. Menial work therefore can prevent people from engaging in cultural practices that are enacted through interactions with family and members of their cultural groups, in particular, language, cultural celebrations, food rituals, etc., which participants in this study indicated were most learned and practiced during their visits to their grandparents and families in the Yucatán peninsula (see also Jamal et al., 2010).

Heritage exploitation

Cultural exploitation in tourism also occurs when cultural and natural resources are unfairly used for the profit of the tourism industry. In this case, it is not only the human energy of ethnic and cultural groups, but also their cultural and natural resources

which are used to maintain the status and wealth of a few powerful tourism stakeholders. The injustice related to cultural and nature exploitation is twofold; while the tourism industry and the government make profit through the commodification and sale of cultural natural resources, those whose resources are being sold may not be consulted or fairly compensated and, moreover, denied access to the sites of their heritage (Cohen, 2002; Lee & Jamal, 2008; Camargo et al., 2008; Robinson, 1999). Furthermore, exploitation of resources for tourism can result in loss of ownership and dispossession of important sites and lands.

Profiting from culture and natural resources

In this study, several participants felt that important destination resources, in particular beaches and archeological sites, had been misappropriated and converted to tourists attractions by the private industry and the government without regards of the needs of the local people. Exploitation of local resources by the tourism industry is facilitated by the processes of commodification of culture and nature and privatization of natural and cultural sites for tourism, as discussed below.

Commodification of culture

Commodification of culture is the process of changing a cultural element into a commodity that can be exchanged in a monetary market (King & Stewart, 1996), one of which is the tourism market. Commodification can be done through the sale of material objects such as souvenirs, figurines, and other tangible cultural artifacts or the use of names, symbols, images, music, rituals or ceremonies for commercial, design, or marketing purposes (see Adams, 1984; Cohen, 1988; Greenwood, 1977; King &

Stewart, 1996; Leong, 1997; Philp & Mercer, 1998)⁶⁷. Examples of commodification of the Maya culture for tourism purposes include the use of Maya language and iconography in tourism businesses signage, promotional materials, physical settings and architecture styles (Figure 18). Replicas of Maya temples and artifacts are found in almost all tourist spaces, from restaurants to golf courses, hotel areas, and cruise terminals. One interesting example is X [name withheld], the prestigious Maya restaurant in Playa del Carmen which prides itself in promoting Maya culinary art. Maya language and iconography permeate the menu and physical surroundings of this restaurant (Figure 19); however, when I asked the general and assistant manager about the meaning of certain words and symbols used in the menu, they were unable to provide an answer and had to look it up on the internet (Participant observation, August 11, 2009). Moreover, while the restaurant management staff is from Mexico City, Maya people work as kitchen or cleaning staff.

Additional examples of commodification of culture are the (gaudy) enactment of traditional dances and cultural demonstrations at all-inclusive hotels and resorts or the performance of sacred rituals during cultural tours. Tour company X [name withheld], perhaps the most important tour operator in Quintana Roo, sells a “Maya encounter” tour (US\$ 119) which takes tourists to “an authentic Maya village, a self-sufficient Maya

⁶⁷ The issue of commodification is more troublesome when it is people, more specifically, ethnic, indigenous, or minority groups who either become commodities in media and advertising (Britton, 1979; Morgan & Pritchard, 1998; Silver, 1993) or more extremely, showcased to tourists. Mowforth & Munt (2003) coined the term “zooification” (p. 248) to explain the process of turning tribal people into “sights” of tours and expeditions. A well-known example of this type of exploitation is the exhibition of the Kaya women, crudely known as the “giraffe women”, in tourist villages Thailand (Lloyd Parry, 2008).

community living next to an integral part of the region's lagoon system” (Citation omitted). While visiting the staged Maya village (Maya residents do not live on the premises), a ten minute spiritual ceremony is performed by a Maya shaman. However, tourists are not given a proper interpretation about the nature let alone significance of this ritual (participant observation, August 5, 2009). Furthermore, despite being a “Maya encounter” tour, most of the tour activities were related to adventure tourism (e.g. rappelling, kayaking, zip-line crossing, etc). The commodification of the Maya culture for tourism has received attention in tourism, anthropology and other related disciplines (Ardren, 2005; Brown, 1999; Gonzales, 2008; Medina, 2003; Little, 2004; Torres & Momsem, 2005a; van der Berghe, 1995).



Figure 18. Use of Maya iconography, Playa del Carmen.



Figure 19. Use of Maya iconography and language in a restaurant menu.

Commodification of nature

Nature too can be converted into a tourism commodity. King & Stewart (1996) argued that commodification of nature is facilitated by the process of converting natural areas into parks, protected areas, national buffer zones, wildlife corridors, or eco-tourism projects to be consumed by people, in particular tourists. In Quintana Roo several natural sites have become commodities used by the tourism industry and government. Public

beaches have been given in concession to the private industry, specifically to hotel and resorts and beach club operators (Martínez, 2008; Noticaribe, 2007); natural areas have been converted to protected zones, biological reserves (e.g. Parque Arrecifes de Cozumel, Sian Kaan Reserve) and tourist attractions (e.g. Xcaret, Xel-há).

The commodification and capitalization of nature has generated criticism in several academic fields including tourism (e.g. Broch-Due & Schroeder, 2000; Smith, 1996; King & Stewart, 1996). Scholars argue that commodifying nature into protected areas, national parks or eco-tourism projects not only reflects western constructs of nature but often results in a shift in the relationship between cultural and/or indigenous groups and their environment, from one working with the land, for one working for tourists (King & Stewart, 1996). Moreover, it may disrupt the human-environmental relationship between cultural groups and their natural surroundings. As Jamal et al. (2006) noted “human ecological relationships ...include a phenomenological existentiality that is most intangible but contributes importantly to a sense of cultural identity and sense in the world” (p. 164). Types of human-environmental relationships include subsistence, spiritual connections, places of gathering, collective memory, etc. (see also Camargo et al., 2008; Harmon, 2004; McCool & Moisey, 2001; Pilgrim & Pretty, 2010).

Lack of compensation for use of resources

Participants raised concerns about the lack of compensation for the use of destinations resources, including cultural and natural sites. For example, participants in Cozumel felt it was unfair that the cruise industry in Cozumel used the natural, cultural,

and infrastructure resources of the island without providing any type of investment or contributions to the local community. In Playa del Carmen, participants found unfair that the INAH (federal government) not only converted archeological sites to tourism attractions but kept all the entrance fees without contributing to the surrounding Maya communities. Furthermore, participants complained about the use of the word “Maya” by tourism businesses without providing any benefits in return to the Maya people. As a participant in Playa del Carmen suggested: “As a business owner, as a government, as an entrepreneur, why don’t you give money to the indigenous people, to the rural communities?....You can say ‘I am using your name and I am giving you some money for borrowing it’ [*Como propietario, tú como gobierno, tú como empresario, dónde está que tú le das dinero a los a la gente indígena, a las comunidades rurales para que tú digas estoy prestando tú nombre y te doy una lanita por prestárselo*]. Lack of compensation for the use of cultural and natural resources is an injustice related to exploitation. The core of the injustice is that while the tourism industry obtains profit from the commodification and sale of cultural and natural resources, more often than not, those whose resources are being commodified received poor or no compensation at all (Robinson, 1999).

Only very few tourism scholars (Robinson, 1999; Johnston, 2006) provided meaningful discussions regarding inequalities resulting from the lack of rightful compensation for the use of cultural and indigenous resources by the tourism industry. Johnston (2006) provides valuable insights on mechanisms to protect indigenous groups for the commercial exploitation of their cultural and natural resources; for example,

Intellectual Property Rights (IPRs), Informed Consent (IC), and certificates of origin.

One positive example of compensating Maya communities for the use of their resources for tourism is provided by tour operator X [name omitted]. In addition to paying a percentage of each tour sold, this tour operator funds social, cultural, sports, educational, and health campaigns for residents of the three Maya communities in Quintana Roo.

Examples of its initiatives include: capacity building for members of the communities, sponsorship of traditional cultural celebrations (e.g. day of the dead), health campaigns, scholarships for Maya children, and recreation activities for senior citizens (M. G., Maya tour manager, personal communication, August 19, 2009).

Loss of access and ownership of cultural and natural resources

The misappropriation of cultural or natural resources for tourism often results in local people losing access to cultural and heritage sites (Camargo et al., 2008; Cohen, 2002) or in extreme cases, facing displacement and relocation due to conservation and/or tourism initiatives (Akama, 1999; Geisler & Letsoalo, 2000; Honey, 1999; Schroeder, 2008). As this study showed, local people in Quintana Roo have lost access to many beaches that the government gave in concession to the private industry. Beach clubs operators charged entrance fees local people cannot afford and hotels and resorts restrict them from using the beaches at their property. Similarly, eco-cultural parks charge entrance fees unaffordable to local people. For instance, entrance fees for Xel-há and Xcaret in the Riviera Maya are US\$ 79 and US\$ 119 respectively. Not surprisingly, only 3% of the 1 million annual visitors to Xcaret in 2006 were residents of Quintana Roo (Checa-Artasu, 2009). Maya participants felt a loss ownership of archeological sites to

the government. They felt the government prevented them, via entrance fees, from visiting and conducting their traditional ceremonies⁶⁸. Although they did not emerge in this study, issues of dispossession of land from their Maya owners have been noted (e.g., Gonzalez, 2008). Restricting or denying access to natural and cultural sites is not only an environmental and cultural injustice (Lee & Jamal, 2008; Camargo et al., 2008) but also a violation of inalienable indigenous and cultural rights. For the Maya of Quintana Roo, these include their right to practice traditional ceremonies and the right for the protection and *ownership* of their cultural, natural, and scientific heritage (Appendix F).

Cultural marginalization

Although issues of marginalization of cultural and indigenous groups have been noted in tourism research, with a few exceptions (e.g. Carlisle, 2010; Mulligan, 1999; Sindiga, 1996) studies have assessed the extent, mechanisms, and structural and institutional conditions leading to marginalization of these groups. Expanding on Young's (1990) argument that marginalization is a form of injustice where a whole category of people is expelled from useful participation in social life, I argue that in a tourism context, cultural and ethnic groups experience marginalization in three spheres: economical, political, and tourism promotion and marketing.

⁶⁸ See Breglia, 2006 for discussion about the privatization of archeological sites in the state of Yucatán.

Economic marginalization

Limited access to tourism revenue

In tourism, local people, including cultural and indigenous groups are marginalized in the sense that they have fewer opportunities to take advantage of the economic benefits from tourism visitation in comparison to other tourism stakeholders, in particular national and foreign investors and local elites. The injustice of economic marginalization is facilitated by mechanisms discussed in Chapter V which include the enclavic capture of tourists by all-inclusive hotels and the cruise industry, economic monopolies of tourism services, and ethnic division of labor to menial work discussed earlier in this chapter. This study provided additional insights on factors that contribute to the economic marginalization of local residents and small business owners in tourism, which have received very little attention in tourism research. Prohibitive marketing fees and liability insurance costs, for example, contributed to the marginalization of small business owners and tour operators from conducting businesses with the cruise companies (see also, Carlisle, 2010).

Deprivation of government resources to promote and develop tourism

Local and state governments play an important role in the economic marginalization of cultural and indigenous groups in tourism. Cultural marginalization occurs when groups are deprived of government support and resources to develop and promote tourism in their communities. This study provides empirical evidence of marginalization in regards of tourism promotion, infrastructure development, and capacity building. As a regional tourism stakeholder group, La Zona Maya received the

least amount, if any at all, of government resources for infrastructure development. Most funds are allocated to build and improve infrastructure in the most profitable destinations in Quintana Roo, Cancun and the Riviera Maya, and the emerging destinations of Isla Mujeres, Holbox, Costa Maya and Cozumel. Second, the Zona Maya is also marginalized in regards to support for tourism promotion. Lacking a lodging tax base, the Zona Maya does not generate funds to promote its destinations to domestic or international markets. If any state funds for marketing and promotion are available, they are allocated to promote the sun, sand, sea destinations mentioned earlier. Third, tourism stakeholders in the Zona Maya are deprived from capacity building resources. State-sponsored training programs are not offered to entrepreneurs in the Zona Maya, who are in most need to acquire management and entrepreneurial skills to develop their own tourism projects that can bring economic prosperity to their communities.

Cultural marginalization, however, involves more than issues of material (i.e. economic) deprivation. In tourism, as it is discussed below, cultural groups are also marginalized in the political arena, where they are prevented from exercising influence or having a healthy and meaningful participation in tourism planning and decision-making, key principles of procedural justice in tourism (Camargo et al., 2008; Lee & Jamal, 2008).

Political marginalization: Exclusion from tourism decision-making processes

Political marginalization occurs when cultural groups are excluded from participating in tourism planning and decision-making. This exclusion can happen by denying certain stakeholder groups formal representation in tourism councils, advisory

boards, or other institutional arrangements; not granting voting rights in tourism decision-making; or excluding them from meaningful consultation regarding tourism development and planning. The Maya in Quintana Roo are politically marginalized. They cannot exert any influence in tourism planning or promotion due to their lack of formal representation, right to vote, and opportunities to raise their concerns regarding tourism at local and state levels.

Exclusion and marginalization of ethnic and indigenous groups from tourism decision-making is noted in tourism research (Johnston, 1006; King & Stewart, 1996; Mulligan, 1999). However, many of these studies are anecdotic and do not provide insights on the mechanisms and institutional structures that contribute to the marginalization of these groups. Typologies and frameworks of community participation have been suggested to examine the level of community involvement in decision-making (Bramwell & Sharman, 1999; Pretty, 1999; Tosun, 1999, 2006). For example, Pretty's model uses six typologies to classify community participation in decision-making; they range from passive participation, in which local people participate by being told what has been decided, to self-mobilization, in which the power and control over all aspects of tourism development rest with the local community (Table 12).

Table 12

Pretty's Typology of Participation

| Typology | Characteristics |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| Passive participation | People participate by being told what has been decided or already happened. Information being shared belongs only to external professionals. |
| Participation by consultation | People participate by being consulted or by answering questions. Process does not concede any share in decision-making, and professionals are under no obligation to take on board people's views. |
| Bought participation | People participate in return for food, cash or other material incentives. Local people have no stake in prolonging technologies or practices when the incentives end. |
| Functional participation | Participation seen by external agencies as a means to achieve their goals, especially reduced costs. People participate by forming groups to meet predetermined objectives. |
| Interactive participation | People participate in joint analysis, development of action plans and formation or strengthening of local groups or institutions. Learning methodologies used to seek multiple perspectives and groups determine how available resources are used. |
| Self-mobilization and connectedness | People participate by taking initiatives independently of external institutions to change systems. They develop contacts with external institutions for resources and technical advice they need, but retain control over resource use. |

Note. Adapted from Pretty and Hine (1999) cited by Mowforth & Munt (2003).

However, most typologies of community participation do not account for issues of power, politics, and conflict that are inherent to tourism decision-making (Hall, 2003). Drawing on collaboration theory, Bramwell and Sharman (1999) offered a more analytical framework to assess collaboration and decision-making arrangements at the destination level. More specifically, these authors suggest a set of issues to consider when evaluating collaborative decision-making: scope of collaboration, intensity of collaboration, and degree to which consensus emerge. Although imbalances of power are mentioned in Bramwell & Sharman's model, little insights are provided about institutional practices and constraints that influence decision-making processes.

As Hall (2003) argued, tourism is a matter of power through which those who benefit from tourism the most are placed in a preferred position to defend and promote their interests through tourism structures and institutions. Tourism consulting and decision-making processes in Quintana Roo are arranged to favor the private industry, more specifically, the hotel sector, national and foreign investors, and the government. Their power is exerted while local and disempowered groups are marginalized from any decision-making process through institutional arrangements that denied them formal representation, voting rights, and meaningful consultation through which they can exert influence (see Johnson, 2006 for a discussion on token and false consultation of indigenous people in tourism). The injustice of political marginalization is that it denies cultural groups their right to participate in public life and processes of democratic decision-making (Young, 1990). Fair democratic processes and power to influence decision-making are key tenets of procedural justice (Holifield, 2001; Lake, 1996) and

injustice occurs when cultural groups are marginalized from decision-making. For Fraser (2001) lack of participatory parity is an injustice of misrecognition of these groups' social status in society.

Marginalization in tourism promotion and marketing

Invisibility in tourism advertising and promotion

Cultural groups can also be marginalized in the media, more specifically in tourism advertising and promotion. This type of marginalization occurs when the tourism products of cultural, ethnic or indigenous groups do not receive appropriate or are excluded from tourism marketing initiatives. In tourism research, only very few scholars have brought attention to inequalities in regards to tourism marketing and promotion (Brown, 1999; Jamal & Camargo, 2010; Jamal et al., 2010; Magnoni et al., 2007). Brown, for example, discussed the exclusion of Maya communities in central Yucatan from tourism maps of the Maya World project. Jamal et al. identified inequities in the promotion of cultural tourism in Cozumel, specifically, lack of promotion of island's rich cultural and historical heritage and places. Jamal & Camargo and Jamal et al. raised called for equity and justice in regards to the allocation of marketing resources and participation of diverse populations, low-income and minority groups in the marketing of their cultural goods for tourism purposes.

However, for many destinations, profit-maximization is the main goal of tourism marketing and promotion. Tourism state legislation in Quintana Roo dictates that all tourism promotion should be designed to attract the highest number of visitors to the state (Appendix G, Article 41). Therefore, the state tourism office is most concerned

with promoting those destinations and tourist products that are most attractive to revenue generating markets, more specifically, the US market. Tourism projects in the Zona Maya get very little, almost none, state-sponsored marketing and promotion. Maya cultural heritage is marginalized, sometimes made invisible, in tourism marketing, because, as the representative from the tourism promotion board of Cozumel indicated, it's not "what tourists want to see"⁶⁹. This finding is corroborated by Echtner's (2002) observations that tourism marketing in developing countries follows a market-driven approach in which not only the primary targets of marketing efforts are located in the first world but also tourism images are made to cater to the needs, desires, and fantasies of (first world) consumers.

Problematic representations in tourism marketing and promotion

Although matters of representation of Maya people in the media did not emerge in this study, cultural justice frameworks should also pay attention to the way cultural and indigenous groups are portrayed in tourism promotion and advertising. Scholars have brought attention to problematic representations of cultural and ethnic groups in tourism marketing (Britton, 1979; Echtner and Prasad, 2003; Morgan & Pritchard, 1998; Silver, 1993). Using post-colonial theoretical frameworks, these scholars have shown how tourism advertising replicates colonial forms of discourse portraying local people and places as passive recipients of the western tourist gaze. Prasad (1997:291) argued that marginalization in tourism advertising and promotion occurs through the creation of

⁶⁹ According to tourist surveys in Cancún (Torres, 2002), the most important factors drawing visitors to the Yucatan peninsula were beaches, climate, environment, and Maya culture in fourth place. The top three preferred tourist activities were swimming and bathing, dining out, and shopping.

binary oppositions such as colonizer/colonized, First World/Third World, civilized/primitive, active/passive, disciplined/unrestrained, normal/exotic, etc. Essentialized and exoticized representations of the Maya in the media are noted by several scholars (Gonzales, 2008; Hervik, 1999; Magnoni et al., 2007). Mayas are often portrayed as exotic, mysterious “keepers of timeless cultural heritage” (Magnoni et al., p. 366). Furthermore, images of built heritage, more specifically archeological sites, dominate tourism promotion. The living and thriving Maya culture, that which is found in the communities in the Zona Maya, is invisible in tourism promotion.

Overall, marginalization is a cultural injustice which can have severe implications for the economic and cultural survival of cultural groups. The Zona Maya is the most culturally rich yet most impoverished area of Quintana Roo. This study showed the actual benefits of small scale tourism for the economy and cultural sustainability of communities in the Zona Maya; depriving this area of economic and marketing resources to develop tourism in their own terms not only limits their economic prospects but also fosters further migration of its residents to seek jobs in tourists centers throughout the state. For Maya participants it was important that others know the Maya are part of a living culture; they have not been extinguished and they have cultural and natural resources to share with tourists. Marginalizing the Zona Maya and the living cultural heritage in tourism marketing is subjecting them to the injustice of misrecognition that can serious implications for their cultural identity and positive sense of self (Taylor, 1994).

Cultural Racism

Economic inequities and issues of exploitation and marginalization of local people, including cultural and indigenous groups, have normally been explained through the theoretical lenses of dependency and political economy tourism theory (Britton, 1982; Brohman, 1996; Nash, 1989; Mowforth & Munt, 1998, 2003; Pleumarom, 1994). In his influential paper *The Political Economy of Tourism in the Third World*, Britton argued that inequities in the development of international tourism were the result of the inequitable relationships inherent in the world economy. Thus, tourism in many developing countries involved the subordination of economic autonomy to meet the interests of foreign groups and privileged elites rather than the development priorities arising from broader political consensus. In the same line of thought, several scholars (Gehrmann, 1994; Mowforth & Munt 1993, 2003; Nash, 1989) considered international tourism as a form of neo-colonialism or neo-imperialism through which foreign powers exploit the resources of weaker nations, take most profits to their home countries, change the local culture, and promote a culture of subservience. Tourism, in other words, facilitated the development of the metropolis at the expense of the periphery (Clancy, 1999).

Under the theoretical framework of dependency theory and political economy of tourism, empirical works have examined issues of economic leakage, income multipliers, and job creation (Britton, 1982; Lacher & Nepal, 2010; Mbaiwa, 2005; Walpole and Goodwin, 2000; Weaver, 1998). However, dependency and political economy theory studies received criticisms for being heavily normative and unable to

provide solid empirical evidence of how underdevelopment and inequities take place (Francisco, 1983; Harrison, 2010) and their lack of attention to important matters of class and race (Mowforth & Munt, 2003).

In the justice literature, Fraser (2000, 2001) attributes economic injustices (e.g. exploitation, economic marginalization, deprivation, etc.) to the *misrecognition* of the political and social status of cultural groups in society. Fraser conceptualized misrecognition as social subordination; that is, being prevented from participating as equal peers in social life via institutionalized patterns of cultural values that constitute some groups as inferior, excluded, or simply invisible. Following Fraser, the Maya people in Quintana Roo suffer the injustice of misrecognition, i.e. social subordination, through tourism. Not only are they excluded from resource distribution, but also deemed incapable of participating at a par with other groups in decision-making processes. While Fraser's notion of misrecognition seems to explain inequities in the distribution of economic and political power, the factors behind misrecognition need to be further explored. I argue that instead of misrecognition, it is cultural racism which may better explain economic, political, and cultural injustices, including discrimination and disrespect, for cultural and ethnic groups in many tourism destinations, Quintana Roo.

Cultural racism, as opposed to biological racism, is based on the belief that people's inferiority rests not on racial but cultural grounds (Blaut, 1992; Jones, 1999). In other words, people are considered inferior because they act, think, and feel in ways that differ from a preferred cultural norm, usually that of the Anglo-American culture (Jones). Ethnic prejudice, work-place discrimination, and cultural disrespect are forms of

cultural racism which have played out for the Yucatecan Maya since post-colonial times (see Castellanos Guerrero, 2000, 2001, 2003; Gómez Izquierdo, 2005) and currently through the tourism industry.

Ethnic prejudice

The marginalization of Maya people from the distribution of resources and political power in Quintana Roo may be caused, in addition to issues related to political economy of tourism, to cultural racism. Cultural racism involves prejudice against individuals because of their culture, which is seen as flawed, and thus as standing in the way of their progress (Halstead, 1988). In this study, narratives from tourism officials manifested ethnic prejudice against the Maya, who were perceived to be country people who lacked education, skills, and capacities to participate in tourism decision-making processes. For example, the official from the Secretariat of Tourism referred to Maya entrepreneurs as shy, ignorant, unable to reach out to the state government: “It is the ignorance, the fear, the shyness of *this type of people* [emphasis mine] that prevents them from approaching us”. Don Gonzalo in the Zona Maya also reported instances when government officials told them they were an obstacle to progress and development:

Vino el sub secretario de inversión de la secretaria de turismo se enojó el señor y dijo “Bueno es que lo pasa con ustedes es que no están capacitados”. Yo me levanto y digo ‘Permíteme señor, si ustedes dicen que no estamos capacitados porque no hablamos inglés, porque no aceptamos el progreso, mi pregunta es, ¿por

qué la secretaria de turismo no se capacita de lo que es la cultura maya, de lo que es el pueblo maya? Vengan aquí, hablen con la gente, aprendan lo que es la gente del pueblo. Ustedes capacitense. Ustedes nos obligan hablar inglés, nosotros les pedimos que hablen la maya. ¿Por qué no? Vamos a voltear el papel'. Se quedó el señor así, no supo cómo contestar....Después me agarró y me dijo 'Es que lo que ustedes están impidiendo es el desarrollo'. No, no impedimos el desarrollo! Queremos agua potable, queremos luz eléctrica!

When the Sub-secretary of Investment from the Secretariat of Tourism came, he got mad and said “What’s happening with you is that you are not well-prepared”. I stood up and said: ‘Excuse me mister, if you say that we are not prepared because we don’t speak English, because we don’t accept ‘progress’, my question is; why hasn’t the Secretariat of Tourism prepared itself about the Maya culture, about the Maya people? Come here, talk to the people, learn about the Maya people. You prepare yourself! You force us to speak English, we ask you that you speak Maya. Why not? Let’s change roles’. The man didn’t know how to answer...After that, he grabbed me and told me ‘You are obstructing development’. No, we don’t obstruct development. We want drinking water, we want electricity!

As shown above, injustices related to the economic and political marginalization of cultural, ethnic and indigenous groups are influenced by cultural considerations, more specifically, cultural racism (see also Fraser, 1995). However, as Mowforth and Munt (2003) argued, tourism scholars have not paid enough attention to the role of race, class, or ethnicity in tourism and very little research examines the distribution of tourism resources and access of political power from a race or cultural standpoint⁷⁰. Cultural racism is a dimension in Camargo et al.'s (2008) framework for cultural justice. The authors argue that cultural racism takes place when minority and indigenous groups are prevented from conducting their eco-cultural traditional practices due to tourism initiatives, laws, and policies. One can argue, however, that such prevention and loss of access to natural and cultural sites may be a consequence of commodification and privatization and not a matter of prejudice and racism *per se*.

Studies in environmental justice have demonstrated the influence of race and class in the distribution of environmental hazards and environmental protection⁷¹. Bullard (1994) argued that environmental inequities reflected larger social inequities created, tolerated, and institutionalized at the local, regional, and national level. In other words, environmental discrimination and environmental racism occurs when income,

⁷⁰ If anything, tourism studies race and ethnicity have been used as variables to explain travel preferences (See Phillip, 1994; Klemm, 2002) and travel spending (See Agarwal & Yochum, 1999).

⁷¹ Several empirical studies exposed a disproportionate distribution of environmental hazards and waste facilities and unequal environmental laws and protection which negatively affected African Americans and other racial minority groups in the United States (Bullard, 1983, 1990; United Church of Christ [UCC], 1987; US General Accounting Office [GAO], 1983). In 1992, the US Environmental Protection Agency [EPA] also released a report titled Environmental Equity: Reducing Risks for All Communities which acknowledged environmental disparities by race and class.

social class, gender, and race played a factor in environmental planning and decision-making, enforcement of environmental regulation and laws, and/or distribution of environmental goods or hazards. To my knowledge tourism research is yet to conduct empirical examinations of role of race, class or culture in the distribution of tourism resources and participation (or lack thereof) in tourism planning and decision-making. This study clearly shows ethnic prejudice from tourism official in relation to Maya stakeholders and undisputable inequities in the distribution of government resources which marginalized this ethnic group.

Work -place discrimination

Lack of formal education, technical skills and other competences are perceived to be the main reason why well-paid, meaningful, upper level positions in the tourism industry are not available to Maya applicants and given instead to expatriates and other Mexican residents in Quintana Roo⁷². However, as Castellanos Guerrero (2003) noted, lack of education is only one of the causes of labor discrimination. Cultural racism too seemed to be a factor influencing the segregation of Maya workers to menial positions in the tourism industry. Narratives from Maya participants and business owners in this study suggest that opportunities for employment and promotion seemed to be related to the applicants' ethnic and cultural background rather than actual skills, experience, and qualifications. For example, several participants perceived that tourism employers prefer

⁷² Census data (INEGI, 2005) confirm the low educational level of the Maya population in Quintana Roo. On average, Maya adults have received only 5 years of elementary education. Only 24% of all Maya women and 37% of Maya men have attended post-elementary school. Furthermore, 22% of Maya women and 14% of Maya men are illiterate.

to hire an applicant from Mexico City, Monterrey, or other northern cities instead of Maya applicant even if they have the same level of experience and language skills. The extent of cultural discrimination in the workplace could not be assessed in this study; however, other studies have also brought attention to issues of racism and labor discrimination in Quintana Roo (e.g. París Pombo, 2003). It is important to note that in this study, several self-identified Mayas were working in positions that were very not only financially rewarding but also influential, for example business managers and government officials.

Cultural (dis)respect

In addition to ethnic prejudice and discriminatory actions, several Maya participants experienced routine cultural disparagement in their everyday lives. Specifically, they reported being humiliated, insulted, or ridiculed because of their accent and ethnic appearance, either when growing up or throughout their adult life. Condescending treatment from people, especially migrants from “the North” (i.e. Mexico City, Monterrey), was also common. Participants said they were belittled and treated as untrustworthy, dishonest, or incapable of doing “normal” things (“You can’t even hold a spoon”). Cultural disrespect was also enacted through the use of derogatory ethnic labels people used to refer to the Maya (e.g. “pinche maya”, “Yuca”, “mayita”, etc.). This form of cultural racism is also conceptualized as *misrecognition* (Taylor, 1994), a form of depreciation that imposes inferior or demeaning images on others and can result not only in shame but an internalized belief of inferiority. Taylor argued that while positive recognition from peers is essential for a positive sense of self,

misrecognition can inflict great harm on people, imprisoning them in a false, distorted, and reduced sense of being.

Tourism scholars have argued that tourists provide little respect for local culture and treat locals as inferior and indispensable (D'Sa, 1999) and that relationships between tourists and local people are transitory, superficial, and asymmetrical (Sutton, 1967). This study however found that interactions between tourists and Maya residents were mostly cordial, friendly, and respectful, occasionally leading to meaningful long-term friendships. Tourists' interest in participants' lives and culture as well as acknowledgment and compliments for their skills were considered a form of positive recognition (Taylor, 1994) and respect (Honeth, 1992) which contributed, among others, to increased cultural pride and self-confidence. Interactions with tourists may therefore aid ethnic groups overcome cultural shame and low self-esteem caused by their traditional low status in society (see also Medina, 2003 & van Rekom and Go, 2006).

Cultural Domination

The last category in related to cultural justice discusses issues that merged in regards to cultural domination through tourism. Cultural domination is considered a cultural injustice because it pressures people to surrender their own culture in order to conform to a set of norms dictated by dominant groups in a society (Armitage, 2006; Arneil, 2005; Kwenda; 2003; Fraser, 1995; Young, 1990). Cultural domination is not always coercive as the one caused by colonial regimes. Rather, it is often enacted or facilitated through hegemonic practices and policies in education, communication, development, and commerce, including tourism. Some scholars consider tourism a form

of imperialism which imposes not only the economic but also the cultural structures of tourist generating countries on the local destination and its residents, for example, language, food, behaviors, values, and life styles (Gehrman, 1994; Mowforth & Munt, 2003; Nash, 1989). However, tourism scholars often tend to make uncritical generalizations about the role and extent of cultural imperialism through tourism without taking into consideration the historical, political, and social context in which tourism takes place.

The cultural domination of the Yucatecan Maya started with the arrival of Spanish colonizers and the imposition of Spanish, Catholicism, new economic and community organization, dress code, etc. Although it did not get destroyed, the Yucatecan Maya civilization underwent radical transformations in its social structure, traditional ways of life, gender roles (women went from having important roles in religion to insignificant roles in the church), and economy (Patch, 1993). Important aspects of the pre-Hispanic Maya culture remain to this day, including agricultural systems (milpa farm) and the Maya language. Other cultural forms reflect the influence of the Spanish and mainstream Mexican culture including language, religion, food, music and dances, clothing, and occupational activities.

Recognizing the fact that tourism is one, but not the only force that contributes to cultural domination, this study provides a brief discussion on two main areas where the hegemonic force of tourism are exerting the most dominance in Quintana Roo: physical landscapes, and languages.

Physical landscapes

In Cozumel, many participants lamented the physical transformation of the island, more specifically, the loss of traditional houses and locally-owned restaurants and business which gave Cozumel the “small island feeling” which distinguished it from other mass tourist areas in Quintana Roo. Small local businesses along the Main Avenue and downtown have been replaced by diamond stores, souvenir shops, dive shops, and American chain restaurants and coffee shops that serve the shopping and entertainment needs of cruise passengers. Very few traditional businesses remain in downtown as local merchants, unable to afford the exorbitant rent fees, have been pushed to peripheral commercial zones or out of business. Similarly, participants in Playa del Carmen complained about the amount of foreign restaurants, bars, and retail stores along Quintana Avenida and other areas of the city. Contrary to Cozumel where the physical landscape has been transformed to serve the shopping and recreation needs of U.S. tourists, in Playa del Carmen the landscape serves the cultural and entertainment needs of its growing expatriate population, in particular Italians, Argentineans, Americans, and other European residents and visitors.

The core of the injustice is that while the physical landscapes of Cozumel and Playa del Carmen reflect the culture of the tourists and expatriates, the culture of the local people is rendered invisible or shown in a commodified manner at best. In Cozumel, except for the Museo de la Isla de Cozumel [Island Museum] and a few monuments representing goddess Ixchel and the Maya calendar on the north end of Main Avenue, there are no places where tourists can experience or learn about the history and

significance of the Maya culture in the island. In Playa del Carmen, the Maya culture is presented in a commodified, objectified, fragmented manner (see Hollinshead , 2005 for an explication of mechanism of place- making in tourism) to provide visitors a level of “difference” and remind them they are still in the Riviera Maya and not South Beach (Florida), as one participant stated. Often, the only thing tourists see about the Maya culture in Cozumel and Playa del Carmen are performers dressed in exotic, anachronic Maya customs which do not represent the living and modern culture of the Yucatecan Maya (Figure 20). Cultural injustice occurs not only because the cultural products, in this case, physical and commercial landscapes, of a society express the experience, values, goals, and needs of a dominant group (i.e. tourists) but because the culture of the Yucatecan Maya is rendered invisible, exoticized, or stereotyped in a way that it does not reflect who they really are (Young, 1990; Fraser, 1995).



Figure 20. Exotic representations of Maya culture in Cozumel.

Languages

Hegemony of Spanish

Maya language was one of the most important determinants of cultural identity for participants in this study. However, almost half of the 23 Maya participants did not speak it fluently or could only understand a few words. When discussing the reasons why they had not learned Maya, two main themes emerged. The first was related to cultural discrimination. Many parents avoid teaching the language to their children so they would not suffer the same discrimination and humiliations they did by other Mexicans and the government. Participants also talked about some of their coworkers and friends who were ashamed of speaking Maya in public and only used Spanish even when talking to other Maya. Second, as the official language of Mexico, Spanish is the

language used in education, work, government and all other public spaces in Quintana Roo. When Maya participants or their parents migrated from their hometowns to Cozumel, they had very few opportunities to practice Maya as bilingual education (Maya and Spanish) in Quintana Roo is only available in Carrillo Puerto and surrounding communities.

Hegemony of English

The sustainability of the Maya language is threatened not only by the hegemony of Spanish but also the dominant role of English in the tourism industry in Quintana Roo. English is the language of the majority of tourists visiting Quintana Roo; therefore fluency in English is the key to access jobs and economic opportunities in the tourism industry. In Cozumel, tourism is the number one source of employment; therefore for many participants learning and speaking English is a matter of economic survival. Furthermore, although many participants in Cozumel said Maya language was very important and they wish they had learned it, very few demonstrated an interest in teaching it to their children. “Maya is no useful for tourism” was a recurrent phrase among participants in Cozumel. Their priority was that their children became 100% fluent in English or another foreign language. Unlike participants in Cozumel, all participants in Playa del Carmen were completely fluent in Maya. They had learned it as children and spoke it at home with their families and friends. They considered English and other foreign languages to be important, beyond economic reasons, to be able to communicate and establish relationships with visitors. They said knowing English allowed them to talk to tourists, share with them aspects of their culture, and suggest

places to go to experience the real Maya culture. A few participants in Playa showed resistance to the hegemony of Spanish and English. For instance, Doña María said she makes her daughter speak Maya even when they are in public spaces; if her daughter refuses, she goes to bed with an empty stomach for that day.

Consumption patterns

One additional theme emerged from participants' narratives in relation to tourism and Maya culture that can be related to cultural domination; changes in consumption patterns. As it was discussed in Chapter IV, several participants felt working in tourism had changed aspects of their lifestyle. Some became more ambitious, materialistic, and less careful with the money. In other words, they became "city people". Lastly, some participants talked about changes in food habits, from eating natural and traditional homemade Yucatecan foods, including the handmade tortilla, to mainstream supermarket and fast food. However, the influence of tourism versus other forces related to modernization and globalization on the consumption patterns like the above should be further and more critically examined.

Cultural Justice in Tourism: Some Guiding Principles

A few scholars have made attempts to conceptualize justice in tourism (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2008, 2010; Hulstman, 1995; Smith & Duffy, 2003). Hulstman, for example, coined the term *just tourism* to refer to tourism that is "delivered in a principled manner" (p. 560). He suggested five categories of literature from which to draw ethical insights: conservation, marketing, sustainable development, humanistic and social concerns, and education. However, what constitutes ethical behavior is for the tourism industry to

agree upon. Hultsman's approach to "justice" is tourist-centered; ethical actions in tourism service delivery should "allow tourists to find meaning in and derive benefits from activities in which they engage" (p. 560). No considerations for the economic, social, or cultural well-being of local communities are included in this notion of just tourism.

Higgins-Desbiolles (2008) presented the idea of *justice tourism*, a niche tourism that seeks to reform the inequities and damages of contemporary tourism and chart a path to a more just global order. Without discussing the type of inequities that need to be addressed or the principles in which justice tourism should be grounded, she provided several examples of justice tourism as implemented by tourism NGOs around the world. From these, one can infer that justice tourism should focus on education and activism to promote awareness of the injustices of global capitalism and consumerism. In a latter work, Higgins-Desbiolles (2010, p. 200) conceptualized justice tourism as a "continuum of activities focused on fostering more just relationships and outcomes in tourism"; the focus is on remedying global inequalities related to wealth disparities between rich and poor nations through education and transformation of tourists. Missing from Higgins-Desbiolles' discussion are the roles and responsibilities of the private industry and national governments in creating and remedying such global economic inequalities as well as considerations for injustices beyond economic disparities. Given the increasing concerns about inequities and injustices in tourism, it is surprising that with a very few exceptions (e.g. Lee & Jamal, 2008; Camargo et al., 2008; Fennel, 2006; Jamal &

Menzel, 2009; Smith & Duffy, 2003), scholars have not drawn upon ethical and philosophical principles to discuss justice in tourism.

The analysis presented in this chapter offers a starting point for exploring cultural justice considerations that should be included in current approaches to tourism. Given the identified cultural injustices related to exploitation, marginalization, cultural racism, and cultural domination that can play out for cultural, ethnic and disempowered groups, a question arises: how can tourism be oriented in a way that not only remedies but possibly redress past cultural injustices? Based on the findings of this study and theoretical insights from justice literature a number of suggestions can be made (Figure 21). This is by no means a *theory* of cultural justice in tourism; justice is complex, multifaceted and takes different meanings in different contexts. Rather, I seek to provide a set of empirical and theoretically grounded insights that can help address cultural inequities as they played out for the Maya people of Quintana Roo and which can inform further research as well as tourism policy and management. Principles of justice are suggested to address four main injustices as found in this study: labor exploitation, economic and political marginalization, cultural disrespect and cultural domination.

| Labor Justice | Economic development (through tourism) of marginalized groups | Recognition and Respect | Restorative Justice |
|---|--|---|---|
| <p>Redressing labor exploitation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Jobs that allow dignifying life (Kantian Ethic of respect) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Fair wages in relation to cost of living ▪ Secure, long-term contracts ▪ Respect for workers rights (e.g. health benefits, safe working conditions, etc.). ▪ Adequate time off • Jobs that facilitate “flourishing” (Aristotelian Virtue Ethics) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Opportunities to exercise skills, autonomy, creativity <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Professional development, on-the-job training, shadow programs ▪ Opportunities to interact with tourists, as desired. • Alteration of ethnic division of labor (Fraser, 1995; Young, 1990) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Anti-discriminatory laws and policies ▪ Gender equity policies | <p>Redressing economic marginalization</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Prioritize economic development of marginalized groups (Justice as fairness, Rawls, 1971) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Tourism infrastructure ▪ Marketing and promotion ▪ Capacity building ▪ Technical assistance ▪ Subsidies and credits | <p>Redressing political marginalization</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Parity of Participation (Fraser, 2001) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Independent voice for all tourism stakeholders ▪ Formal representation ▪ Voting rights ▪ Meaningful consultation ▪ Informed consent ▪ Self-determination <p>Redressing cultural racism and disrespect</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recognition and respect <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Meaningful and equitable tourists-locals interactions ▪ Positive representation in tourism marketing and promotion ▪ Valuation and promotion of cultural products in the media and tourism market ▪ Respect for cultural rights ▪ Consciousness and awareness raising initiatives | <p>Redressing cultural domination</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cultural heritage protection <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Traditional languages ▪ Unprotected cultural sites ▪ Intangible cultural manifestations • Return of misappropriated natural and cultural sites |

Figure 21. Towards a framework of cultural justice in tourism.

Redressing Labor Exploitation: Labor Justice

This study showed that cultural and ethnic groups in the tourism industry can be exploited through ethnic and gender segregation to menial work. Tourism workers, in particular women, are often used as cheap, disposable means of labor used for the profit of the tourism industry. In menial work, people are underpaid, overworked, and given little opportunities to develop or exercise skills, autonomy or creativity. In other words, they are used as means for the profits of others. Menial work constitutes not only an economic and cultural injustice but also disrespect for human dignity. Two important ethical paradigms offer insights on ways to redress labor injustices in tourism; the Kantian ethic of respect for persons and Aristotelian virtue ethics (see Jamal & Menzel, 2009).

The main idea of the Kantian ethic of respect for persons is that people should be treated as an end and never as means only. All people deserve equal respect from others because of their intrinsic value as human beings. Applied in a tourism labor context, this ethical principle means that tourism employers should treat all employees as ends, not simply as means of production. Treating workers as ends requires respecting their human dignity by providing jobs that allow them to live a dignifying life. This can be done by providing fair wages in relation to the cost of living at the destination, job security through long-term contracts, respect for workers rights (e.g. health benefits, safe work conditions, adequate breaks, etc.), and adequate time-off, so they have time to attend to their families and participate in community and cultural life. In addition, following Aristotle notion of virtue ethics, tourism jobs should provide the opportunity for people

to *flourish*, that means jobs that facilitate and enhance people's possibility to live a well-rounded life (Jamal & Menzel, 2009). In the context of tourism, this can be done by providing workers with opportunities to develop and exercise new skills, exert autonomy and creativity in their jobs, and means to enhance their opportunities for promotion to meaningful, interesting jobs. This can be done, for example, by offering professional development courses, on-the-job training, management shadow programs, etc.

Furthermore, tourism employers should also provide opportunities for employees to have meaningful interactions with tourists, should it be desired. This study showed that interactions with tourists was a form of positive recognition, respect, and cultural exchange that may help redress cultural depreciation and stigmatization of cultural and minority groups. Lastly, redressing labor exploitation may also require alterations and eliminations of racial and ethnic divisions of labor (Fraser, 1995; Young, 1990) that can be done by establishing, and more importantly, *respecting* anti-discrimination laws and policies.

The eco-cultural park of Xcaret is a good example of a tourism business that provides insights for labor justice. In contrast to many hotel and resorts chains in the Riviera Maya, which this study suggested facilitated labor exploitation, this organization has implemented a set of programs, policies, and strategies devised to foster respect and development for its more than 1,000 employees. Examples of these policies and benefits include (Xcaret, 2007, p. 7-8):

- Open-ended labor contracts and monetary bonuses based on amount of years worked (15 days of salary each year after the third year).

- Vacation time that exceeds the one mandated by federal law.
- Gender equity and anti-discrimination policies.
- Sponsorship of recreation, leisure and sports events, including free entrance to the park for all employees.
- Paid time off for weddings, child birth (for both genders), or death of an immediate family member.
- Support to finish high school education and training programs for all employees and their children.

In 2007, while hotels in the Riviera Maya had a turn-over rate of 140%, Xcaret only had a labor turn-over rate of 25.54% (Ibid). This company has also won several awards and included in the list of Great Places to Work for its human resources practices.

Redressing Economic Marginalization: Prioritizing Tourism Development in Marginalized Areas.

The current distribution patterns of government resources for tourism in Quintana Roo tend to favor the already established, consolidated, and profitable tourist centers in the state. The area which had the greatest development needs, the Zona Maya, is the one which receives the least amount of resources and support. Economic marginalization of cultural and ethnic groups directly impacts their chances for cultural survival; lack of job and economic opportunities in remote zones contributes to the migration of community residents to seek for jobs outside their communities. One way

to address the cultural injustice of marginalization is through a *fair* distribution of government resources for tourism.

The fair distribution of economic benefits, including government resources, among all tourism stakeholders is a matter of distributive justice. However, literature on justice and tourism offers little theoretical discussions on how tourism goods and resources are to be distributed if fairness is to be achieved, in particular for minority and disadvantaged groups. I argue that the distribution and allocation of tourism benefits and government resources should be informed by Rawls' (1971) notion of justice as fairness, a theory of distributive justice that specifies the conditions under which a particular distribution are fair. Rawls' theory of justice is based on two principles that guide the distribution of rights and duties among people who are in a hypothetical, original position of equality in which no one is advantaged or disadvantaged by the outcome of natural chance or the contingency of social circumstances. In such initial situation, distributions can be made following an equality principle, that is, all individuals are assigned the same basic rights and duties. The second principle holds that holds that social and economic inequalities are just "only if they result in compensating benefits for everyone and, in particular, for the least advantaged members of society" (p. 15). In other words, there is no injustice in giving greater benefits to a few provided that their situation is improved. Under the theory of justice as fairness, the current distribution of tourism benefits and resources in Quintana Roo is not fair. First, current distribution patterns violate the equality principle; all actors (i.e. tourism stakeholders) do not receive the same amount of benefits and resources. Second, the inequities present in the

distributions do not benefit the least advantaged tourism stakeholders (i.e. those in the Maya Zone). On the contrary, the inequities taking place are for the benefit of the *most* advantaged and powerful tourism stakeholders in the state: foreign investors, the private industry, and the local elites.

To achieve fairness in the distribution of government resources and tourism benefits among all stakeholders in a destination, key tenet of sustainable tourism (WTO, 2004), distributive decisions should provide the most benefits to the most marginalized and disadvantaged stakeholders in a destination, which are usually cultural minority, low-income, and diverse groups. This study suggests three types of government resources that are needed to bring development to marginalized areas; infrastructure development, promotion and marketing, and capacity building. Other government resources can be fairly allocated to marginalized groups include resources for ecologic and cultural conservation, technical expertise, subsidies for certification programs, liability insurances, etc.

The principle of “justice as fairness” can also be applied to the distribution of other types of tourism goods and benefits. For instance:

- *Distribution of and access to recreation and leisure sites*: This study showed that local people have lost ownership and access to many natural and cultural sites allocated to the private industry and/or government. Following the principle of justice as fairness, recreation and leisure sites should be, at least, equally distributed and accessible to tourists and local people. However, most often than not, local people do not have the financial means to access certain tourist sites.

To be fair therefore the government and tourism industry must facilitate access of cultural and disadvantaged groups to recreation and leisure sites. One positive example of an initiative to promote access to recreation and leisure sites is the partnership and collaboration between the local governments of Cozumel, Carrillo Puerto and Xcaret to provide free entrance, lodging and transportation for Maya residents, merchants, and artist to attend cultural events, including the re-enactment of the Maya journey that takes place every May since 2008 and the Janal Pixán (day of the dead) celebration in October. In 2008, 508 artists and vendors from 40 Maya communities throughout Quintana Roo participated in the Janal Pixán with the logistics and expenses covered by partnership between local governments and the park ().

- *Resources for heritage and cultural conservation:* In many destinations, heritage protection is tourism-driven; in other words, heritage and cultural sites which attract the most number of tourists received most resources for conservation and interpretation while smaller, less popular sites are usually marginalized in regards to resources for conservation and interpretation⁷³. Following the principle of justice as fairness, the allocation of resources for heritage conservation should be at least equal for of all heritage sites or prioritized to those sites that have the most conservation needs.

⁷³ In Quintana Roo, for example, Lizama and Herrera (2005) identified 31 archeological sites between Playa del Carmen and Cancún which lack INAH protection and were at risk of destruction and looting.

Redressing Political Marginalization: Participatory Parity

As identified in this study, cultural justice is a matter of exploitation and marginalization but also cultural racism and cultural domination. In addition to redistribution of resources and improvement in labor conditions, justice requires transformations on the way cultural groups are valued and represented. Economic, social and political injustices are often the result of cultural racism and misrecognition which affect the status of cultural groups in society. In this study, Maya stakeholders were marginalized from tourism decision-making processes. They were deprived of formal representation, voting rights, or mechanisms through which they could exert any political influence in tourism. Moreover, findings from this study also suggest that cultural racism may be related to the political marginalization of Maya and other local stakeholders from tourism decision-making.

The injustice of political marginalization can be addressed by Fraser's (2001, p. 29) notion of parity of participation; a justice principle that requires social arrangements that permit all members of society to interact with one another *as equal peers*. For this parity to be achieved, two conditions must be met: 1) all participants should have independence and a voice (objective conditions of participatory parity) and 2) institutionalized patterns of cultural values that express equal respect for all participants (intersubjective condition of participatory parity). In the context of tourism, parity of participation means that all tourism stakeholder groups must have a voice in tourism decision-making and that each stakeholder group is recognized and respected for their worth as human beings. Although Fraser does not provide insights on the mechanisms

that allow participants to achieve independence and voice, based on findings from this study and insights from environmental justice literature (Lake 1996; Heiman, 1996, Gowda & Easterling, 2002) a few suggestions can be made: formal representation of all tourism stakeholders, voting rights for all stakeholders, meaningful consultation processes, informed consent, and self-determination. Self-determination, the right of indigenous and ethnic groups to freely pursue their economic, social, and cultural development, is particularly relevant in the context of tourism. Cultural, ethnic and indigenous groups must be respected in their choice to accept or reject tourism as a form of economic development. In this study, stakeholders in the Zona Maya complained about state tourism officials and tour operators who often try to lure them to accept mass tourism development, which so far they have rejected in order to protect their culture.

The second condition of participatory parity, patterns of cultural values that express respect for all participants, is a matter of recognition and cultural respect. When groups are excluded from decision-making and economic distributions because of cultural racism or ethnic prejudice, justice becomes a matter of recognition and respect which requires a different approach to address. This is discussed next.

Redressing Cultural Racism and Disrespect: Recognition and Respect of Cultural Identity, Rights and Status.

In addition to exploitation and marginalization, cultural and indigenous groups are often subjected to injustice of related to cultural racism and cultural disrespect. In this study, several Maya residents faced ethnic prejudice, cultural humiliation and disrespect from other Mexican nationals and the government. As one participant in

Carrillo Puerto said; “The government is only concerned with showing us we are worth nothing”. Years of disparagement and cultural depreciation had severe consequences for Maya culture, especially in regards to cultural identity and language. Injustices related to cultural racism and disrespect can be redressed through the principles of recognition (Habermas, 1994; Fraser, 1995, 2000; Taylor, 1994) and *respect* (Kwenda, 2003) of cultural identity, rights, and status in society. The ethos of recognition is transforming those patterns of cultural values that render cultural and social groups as inferior or deviant which cause not only severe damaged people’s identities and sense of self but also prevent their participation as equal peers in social life. Recognition therefore requires transformative measures that revalue the cultural identity and status of disparaged groups and increase their self-esteem (Fraser, 1995).

Despite the WTO call for “respect to the socio-cultural authenticity of the host community” (WTO, 2004), issues of respect and recognition has received very little attention in tourism research. Tourism can play an important role in the recognition and respect of cultural, ethnic and minority groups. This study showed that interactions between Maya residents and tourists were a form of positive recognition, respect, and cultural exchange. Tourists and local people interactions should be fostered in a matter that promotes respect, equitable interactions, learning and solidarity; avoiding situations of subservience and cultural dependency (Erisman, 1993). Recognition through and in tourism can also achieved, among others, through:

- *Positive representation of cultural groups*: Cultural justice requires changes in the way cultural and minority groups are portrayed in public spheres, including

tourist spaces and tourism marketing and advertising. Cultural groups should not be portrayed in ways that are stereotyping or denigrating; rather in ways that emphasize their values and accomplishments.

- *Valuation and promotion of the cultural products of minority groups*; including crafts, foods, music, performances, and other artistic expressions in the media and tourism market.
- *Involvement of local people in interpretation of their own heritage*
- *Respect for cultural rights*: Tourism should be developed in a way that ensures the respects the rights of cultural and indigenous groups, including the right of self-determination, right to conduct traditional ceremonies, ownership of cultural and natural resources.

In addition, redressing cultural oppression, racism, and disparagement may require consciousness raising initiatives to make the privileged group aware of how their habitual actions, reactions, images, and stereotypes contribute to the oppression of others (Young, 1990). In her discussion on justice tourism, Higgins-Desboilles (2008, 2010) provided valuable examples of tourism initiatives which foster education and awareness of economic injustices, globalization, consumerism, and capitalism. Tourism can also be an opportunity to raise tourists' awareness about issues of cultural survival, environmental degradation, climate change, etc.

Redressing Cultural Injustice: Restorative Justice

Missing from the few discourse of justice and tourism is the role and responsibility of the tourism industry in repairing the harms and the economic,

environmental, social, and cultural inequities it has created or exacerbated. In regards to cultural justice, the central question is: how can the tourism industry help redress past injustices related to the exploitation of local people and resources, economic and political marginalization of cultural groups, cultural racism and cultural domination? Drawing from the justice literature, one suggestion is to consider the notion of *restorative justice*; a theory of justice that emphasizes repairing harm and restoring victims to society. Restorative justice rests on the three key principles: 1) justice requires work to restore those who have been injured; 2) those most directly involved and affected by harm should have the opportunity to participate fully in the response if they wish; and 3) the government's role is to preserve a just public order (Restorative Justice Online, n.d.) The focus of restorative justice is on the active involvement of the victim and the offenders in determining the reparations to be made.

Restorative justice can be included in frameworks for cultural justice to help redress past injustices related to, among others, cultural domination. Cultural groups in collaboration with the tourism industry and the government can devise programs to support and promote cultural heritage programs to safeguard, for example, traditional languages, unprotected cultural heritage sites, intangible cultural manifestations, as well as procure the return of misappropriated lands and cultural sites. In addition, the active involvement of the victims in restoration initiatives can help restore cultural groups' trust in the industry and the government, increase self-esteem, and foster their active participation in tourism planning and decision-making.

Summary and Discussion

Issues of cultural justice as they played out for the Yucatecan Maya in Quintana Roo are complex and embedded in dynamics related to its post-colonial past as well as contemporary issues related to modernization and globalization, including tourism. The study of cultural justice through tourism, therefore, cannot be separated from an analysis of the economic, social, cultural and political environment in which tourism is situated as all these factors are interrelated and influence each other at different scales. In this study, for instance, the allocation of government resources for tourism development or the inclusion of Maya and local stakeholders in tourism decision-making was influenced not only by factors related to economic dependency and domination, but also ethnic prejudice and racism that permeated the Yucatecan society since the colonial times.

In addition, the tourism industry can play different roles in regards to cultural justice. For example, while it has been an engine of employment and economic development for Quintana Roo, it has also created and exacerbated many injustices affecting the Maya residents. For instance, the hotel sector has created thousands of jobs for the Maya who otherwise had no other economic means of survival in their hometowns; however, many of these jobs are often exploitative and conducive to workers separation from their families and cultural roots. At the same time, many tourism jobs provide opportunities for meaningful interactions with tourists which facilitate cultural recognition and respect for the Maya people who historically have suffered from cultural humiliation, discrimination, and prejudice from their Mexican counterparts. Similarly, tourism can be a major player in the exploitation and commodification of cultural and

natural heritage but also in the conservation and revival of many cultural manifestations, including language, rituals, and traditional celebrations. Several tourism organizations in this study has played an active role in promoting and supporting Maya cultural heritage, fostering the participation of Maya communities in traditional celebrations and promotion of their living cultural heritage and cultural products to large tourism markets.

Lastly, in addition to the rich empirical data obtained during the fieldwork, theoretical contributions from feminist theory and political philosophy were drawn upon to commence a conceptual framework for cultural in tourism. This is by no means an exhaustive list of justice and ethical principles applicable to theory-building in the area of justice and equity in tourism. Tourism scholars (Fennel, 2006; Jamal & Menzel, 2009; Smith & Duffy, 2006) have discussed additional ethical and philosophical paradigms that are relevant to tourism which should be further explored in future frameworks in justice and tourism; these include utilitarianism, Kantian ethics, environmental ethics, and the ethics of care, among others.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

My academic interest in the topic of cultural justice was born during a study abroad trip to Yucatán in 2007, more specifically a visit to the World Heritage site of Chichen Itzá. Seeing Maya children and women begging rich tourists to buy souvenirs for a few pesos made me think about the words justice, dignity, and respect in tourism. I still remember not being able to sleep for many nights thinking about, not only the economic disparities between the tourists and the Maya people I saw that day, but also the things that could go through these women and children's minds as they had this type of interaction with tourists (Figure 22). To me, it was not "fair" that while other people were getting rich from their heritage, the Maya were in such low position. As a result of that particular experience, I became interested in exploring issues of justice, more specifically cultural justice in tourism. However, when I turned to the tourism literature to assess what research has been done about this topic, I found that, except for a few works (Jamal et al., 2006; Lee & Jamal, 2008; Robinson, 1999) matters of equity and justice had not been investigated in tourism research.

Drawing from theoretical insights on cultural justice as discussed in other disciplines, I undertook the task to investigate what justice and equity meant for a cultural group in a tourism destination and how injustices were enacted through the tourism industry. However, I quickly learned that tourism cannot be examined as an independent entity without taking into consideration factors such as historical context,

globalization, modernization, politics, etc. In this study, issues of cultural justice for the Yucatecan Maya in Quintana Roo were complex and multifaceted, rooted in post-colonial and contemporary dynamics that affect their economic, social and cultural status in society. With that in mind, my dissertation tried to identify the role of tourism in creating or exacerbating such injustices and the role it can play in redressing them. The end result of this research is a theoretically and empirically grounded framework for cultural justice in tourism shown in the previous chapter, supported by the analysis shown in Chapters IV and V. There I also attempted to do justice to the voices and experiences of the participants who committed their time, their thoughts and their trust in me.



Figure 22. Tourists and Maya children at Chichen Itzá, Yucatán.

Developing a grounded theory framework for cultural justice in tourism was not an easy task. I confronted two major challenges in conducting this research. First, it was the decision on how to provide a theoretical discussion without silencing the voices of the people who participated in this study. Many participant stories and experiences were too powerful and rich to be fragmented into quotes that would support a theoretical category. For this reason, I purposely separated the presentation of the results from the theoretical discussion that was provided in Chapter VI. Doing a separate interpretive and theoretical discussion doubled the amount of work but the tradeoff was that it paid justice to the participants in this study. The second challenge was to be able to work overcome some of my academic biases and be flexible with the research process. A westernized academic training makes you think in terms of “categories”, “properties”, “relationships”; real life issues however are not cut and dry and ready to be boxed into labels, especially if they relate to issues of identity, culture, and justice. This also motivated me to present results and theoretical discussion separately.

The theoretical framework developed in this study presents several strengths as well as areas of improvement that need to be addressed in future research. In regards to its strengths, this framework is empirically grounded in robust data from multiple sources. These include 47 interviews, numerous informal conversations, participant observation, and secondary data which support my empirical findings and observations. Second, the framework is based on strong theoretical foundations from several disciplines outside tourism, including environmental justice, social justice, political philosophy, and feminist literature. In this sense, my work provides new insights on

issues of justice in general and in regards to culture that have not been included in current tourism discussions and research. Third, besides identifying inequities and injustices in tourism, my framework addresses the underlying roots of injustice and the mechanisms through which they are enacted upon cultural, ethnic, and low income groups. In regards to areas of improvement, I focused most of my research on identifying and discussing things that were unfair or unjust for Maya participants which may give the impression that all tourism development and management in Quintana Roo is negative. This is by no means the case. There are many tourism initiatives in this region that are responsible, sustainable, and culturally sensitive. My framework could have been better informed by the practical insights and successes from these organizations.

Thoughts for Future Research

Based on the findings of this study several directions for future research in the topic of justice in tourism can be suggested. First of all, issues related to exploitation of labor must take priority in tourism research. Findings in this study were instrumental in gaining an understanding on several types of injustices present in the work place, in particular in regards to compensation, workers' rights, and job security. It is particularly important to address issue of gender in the work place as women are often more vulnerable to issues of exploitation and discrimination. Future research should further explore additional dimensions of work injustices and focus on identifying what aspects of work can provide for fairness and dignity in the labor sphere.

Second, it is important to explore issues of power and politics at the local level. In this study, decisions regarding resource allocation and participation in decision-making were made by a few tourism stakeholders who, at the same time, are part of the political power of Quintana Roo. Government laws and policies therefore are influenced by and reflect the needs and interests of the private industry and not those of the local constituents. Related to power and politics, this study suggested issues of corruption that, although not corroborated, were brought to light by many participants. These include instances of fiscal evasion, disregard for federal legislation regarding zoning and access to beaches, labor practices, and economic monopolies. Research on tourism planning, policy, and management, should take into consideration the influence of power, politics and corruption in tourism outcomes.

Third, more research is needed in regards to what provides for recognition and respect in tourism. This study provided initial insights about the importance of meaningful interactions between tourists and local people for respect and cultural identity. Tourism scholars should also explore ways in which respect can be enacted in the public sphere, more specifically through marketing and representation.

While much can also be said about student-researcher preparation to undertake this highly political and challenging topic, that is a perhaps a matter for a longer discussion in a future publication. It is not a journey to embark upon lightly, and one has to also be prepared to challenge a number of one's own assumptions and beliefs in hospitality and tourism, and be prepared to be changed from the experience, in the field

and in the writing. Theory and research of cultural justice in tourism is new and much remains to be done.

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APPENDIX A

Table B.1

Empirical Studies on Equity in Tourism (In Chronological Order)

| Study | Purpose of the study | Study setting | Methodology | Key Findings |
|----------------------|---|-----------------------|--|---|
| Van der Berghe, 1992 | To describe the ethnic division of labor developed around tourism and the impacts of tourism on ethnic relations | San Cristobal, México | Qualitative- Ethnographic fieldwork & interviews | <p>Clear division of labor among ethnic lines: most benefits and economic opportunities available to elite Mexicans; indigenous population at the bottom of economic ladder.</p> <p>- Tourism generates a moderately equal distribution of earnings. In general, it performs better than secondary and tertiary industries, but it performs poorly as compared with primary industry.</p> |
| Lee & Kang, 1998 | To measure the degree of earnings inequality in tourism employees in South Korea and to examine the level of earnings based on median earnings. | South Korea | Quantitative- Gini Coefficient & Lorenz Curve | <p>- Tourism is more likely to improve living standards for the lower income class than secondary and tertiary industries.</p> <p>- Tourism was found to be advantageous to female workers in terms of earnings inequality and the level of earnings.</p> |

Table B.1

Continued

| Study | Purpose of the study | Study setting | Methodology | Key Findings |
|--------------------------|--|---|---|---|
| Sparrowe & Iverson, 1999 | To examine whether there are gender differences in income when controlling for the effects of human capital (education), workforce participation, and occupational crowding among hospitality industry employees | Hospitality Industry in the US. | Quantitative | Evidence of a significant disparity in income suffered by women in the hospitality industry that cannot be attributed to differences in education, hours worked, or occupational crowding |
| Porter & Tarrant, 2001 | To determine whether inequalities exist for certain socioeconomic and racial groups with respect to the distribution of federal tourism sites | Southern Appalachia, US. es | Quantitative: spatial analysis and statistical analysis | A negative relationship between income and occupation and location of a number of federal tourist sites. |
| Santos & Varejão 2006 | To analyze the gender wage gap in the Portuguese tourism labour market | Portuguese tourism industry | Quantitative- Oaxaca-Blinder decomposition of the gender wage gap | -Women were very much underrepresented in top-level occupations, especially in executive positions. - 45 % of wage gap is due to differences in attributes of male and female workers in tourism |
| Lee & O'Leary, 2008 | To examine the determinants of income inequalities in nonmetropolitan tourism and recreation-dependent communities and other industry-dependent nonmetropolitan communities. | Nonmetropolitan tourism and recreation-dependent communities, farming-dependent and manufacturing-dependent communities in the U.S. | Quantitative- Gini Coefficient | Tourism and recreation developments contribute to increased income inequality, whereas manufacturing-related development is likely to reduce income inequality. |

Table B.1

Continued

| Study | Purpose of the study | Study setting | Methodology | Key Findings |
|------------------|--|--------------------------------|--|--|
| Schellhorn, 2010 | To assess social and socio-economic outcomes of tourism development within a heterogeneous community of migrant settlers and native residents. | Desa Senaru, Lombok, Indonesia | - Long term fieldwork, survey, semi-structured interviews and participant observation. | <p>-While most of the tourism attractions are part of the indigenous heritage of the <i>wetu telu</i> Sasak, they derive few economic benefits from that heritage.</p> <p>-Local women in particular struggle to access the new development opportunities that tourism offers.</p> <p>-Benefits tend to flow to incoming migrant groups and to men.</p> <p>- The prevailing conditions of culture, education, ethnicity, gender, politics, history, location, mobility, socio-economy, tourism skills and knowledge constitute key barriers.</p> |

APPENDIX B

SAMPLE INTERVIEW PROTOCOLS (SPANISH)

1. Sample interview protocol for Maya residentBackground questions

- Por favor hábleme un poco de usted:
 - De dónde es usted? Hace cuánto tiempo que vive en ____?
 - En qué otros lugares ha vivido?
 - Por qué se vino a vivir a ____?
- Podría hablarme un poco sobre su cultura? Usted ha dicho que es Maya...
 - Qué lo hace ser Maya? / Que significa ser Maya?
 - Como fue su niñez siendo Maya?
 - Dónde creció?
 - Cómo creció? que tipo de música oía? Que comía? que tipo de vida llevabas?
 - Qué tipo de actividades hacía que eran Maya?
 - Cuáles con las cosas más importantes para usted como persona Maya?
- Se siente orgulloso de ser Maya? Qué lo hace sentirse orgulloso de ser Maya?
- Qué le gustaría que la gente (o los turistas) supieran sobre su cultura?
- Cuál es su idioma natal? Qué otros idiomas habla?
 - Habla Maya? Con quién lo habla? Dónde lo habla?
 - Para usted es importante hablar Maya?
 - Usted le ha enseñado hablar Maya a sus hijos? Por qué/por qué no?
 - Es importante salvar la lengua Maya? Por qué?
- Cuáles son/eran los sitios más importantes para la gente Maya?
- Visita usted algunos de estos sitios?
- Cuál es el significado de Cozumel/San Gervasio/Xcaret para la cultura Maya? Son importantes para usted? Por qué?
 - Es importante preservar estos sitios? Por qué?
 - Que sentiría si desaparecieran?
- Usted piensa que el turismo puede ayudar a preservar la cultura Maya?

Working in Tourism

- Hábleme un poco sobre su trabajo? Por cuanto tiempo ha trabajado como _____?
- Por cuánto tiempo ha trabajado en turismo? Cómo se involucro en el turismo?
- Por qué escogió trabajar en turismo y no en otra actividad?
- En general, cual ha sido su experiencia con el turismo?
 - Como es trabajar en turismo acá en _____?
 - Le gusta su trabajo? Qué es lo que más le gusta de su trabajo? Qué es lo que menos le gusta?
 - Que piensa de su salario? Esta contento con su salario, le parece justo?
 - Que me puede decir de los beneficios/prestaciones, etc?
 - Aparte del salario, que otra cosa lo hace feliz en el trabajo?
- Usted se siente respetado por sus compañeros de trabajo, su jefe, etc? De qué manera se siente respetado/irrespetado?
- Como le ha cambiado la vida trabajar en la actividad turistica?

Questions related to cultural justice

- Usted piensa que su cultura (Maya) ha cambiado?
 - Cómo ha cambiado?
 - Por qué piensa usted que ha cambiado?
- Usted siente que el trabajar en el turismo ha afectado su vida como Maya? Como ha sido afectada?
- Ha sentido usted algún tipo de discriminación por ser Maya? Cómo ha sido discriminado/a?
- Usted se siente respetado/a por la gente que no es Maya? Cuando se siente respetado/a o irrespetado/a?
 - Por el gobierno? Por los otros Mexicanos? Por los turistas?
- A quién piensa que el turismo ha beneficiado más acá en ____? A quién ha beneficiado menos? Por qué piensa eso?
- Qué haría que el turismo fuese mejor para usted? Como podria el turismo beneficiar a la gente Maya?

2. Interview protocol for business owner

Background information

- Por favor hábleme un poco de usted:
 - De dónde es? Hace cuánto tiempo que vive en ____?
 - En qué otros lugares ha vivido?
- Por cuánto tiempo ha trabajado en el sector del turismo? Cómo se vio involucrado en este sector?
- Por cuánto tiempo administrado este negocio?
- En general, cual ha sido su experiencia con turismo? Qué es lo que más le gusta de su trabajo? Qué es lo que menos le gusta?
- Cuál es su opinión sobre la forma en que se ha desarrollado el turismo en Quintana Roo?
- A quién piensa que el turismo ha beneficiado más en ____? A quién ha beneficiado menos?
- Cómo lo ha afectado a usted el turismo?
- Cuál es su opinión sobre los impactos del turismo en la gente de ____? En la gente Maya?
- Piensa usted que el turismo ha sido justo con la gente Maya?
- Cuántos empleados tiene? De dónde son?
- Hay mucha gente Maya en Cozumel/Playa? Como es la situación de la gente Maya en este lugar?
- Hay empleados Maya o de descendencia Maya en su negocio? Qué tipo de trabajo realizan?
- Cuál ha sido su experiencia con los empleados Maya?
- Cuáles son algunos de los lugares donde los turistas pueden experimentar la cultura Maya? Su compañía sugiere o facilita que los turistas vayan a estos sitios?

- Cuales son algunos de la políticas de turismo sustentable de esta compañía?
- Contribuye su compañía a proyectos sociales/culturales? Podría darme algunos ejemplos?
- Algo mas que quiera compartir?

3. Interview protocol for Tourism Promotional Board representative

(Cozumel)

- Por favor hableme un poco sobre el consejo de promoción turística de Cozumel.
 - Cuál es la misión del consejo?
 - Cuántos empleados tiene el consejo?
 - Quienes conforman el consejo?
 - Cómo se toman las decisiones de promoción?
 - Existen mecanismos para involucrar a la comunidad en toma de decisiones? Se consultan las campañas?
- En su opinión, cómo piensa usted que ha sido el desarrollo del sector del turismo en Cozumel?
 - A quien piensa que ha beneficiado mas y menos?
 - Cuáles han sido los mayores impactos en la población local? Si le llegan los beneficios a la gente de la comunidad?
 - Cuáles son los mayores problemas que enfrenta el sector de turismo de Cozumel?
 - Cuáles son las prioridades del consejo actualmente? (promoción)
 - Qué campanas se están llevando a cabo actualmente?
 - Se está promocionando la cultura de Cozumel? La cultura Maya?
 - Hay mucha gente Maya en Cozumel?Cuál es su situación?
- Para terminar, hableme un poco sobre usted?
 - Cómo llegó al consejo?
 - Por cuánto tiempo ha trabajado en el sector del turismo?
 - Cual ha sido su experiencia en el sector? Qué es lo que mas/menos disfruta de su trabajo?

APPENDIX C

CONSENT FORM (SPANISH)

Documento de Consentimiento
Justicia cultural para el turismo sustentable: Residentes Maya y el turismo en Cozumel y
Playa del Carmen, México.

Usted ha sido seleccionado(a) para participar en un estudio de tesis doctoral de la Universidad Texas A&M. El propósito de este estudio es explorar las opiniones, percepciones y experiencias de tres grupos de interés: residentes Maya, representantes del gobierno y dueños o administradores de negocios relacionados con el turismo sobre la industria turística, los impactos del turismo y otros temas relacionados con justicia y equidad cultural. Usted ha sido seleccionado(a) por ser residente Maya, empleado(a) del gobierno y/o dueño(a) o administrador(a) de un negocio relacionado con el turismo.

Si usted da su consentimiento de participar en este estudio, será requerido/a de participar en una entrevista grabada de aproximadamente 45 minutos de duración. Usted tiene la opción de no ser grabado. También, se le podrá contactar después para ayudar a clarificar información suministrada durante la entrevista.

Los riesgos asociados con este estudio son mínimos y no mayores de los que se tienen en la vida cotidiana. Usted no recibirá beneficios directos por participar en el estudio, sin embargo, usted podría disfrutar el hecho de compartir sus experiencias como miembro de su comunidad o la industria del turismo. Su participación es voluntaria. Usted puede elegir no participar o retirarse en cualquier momento sin que ello signifique ningún daño en las relaciones con la Universidad Texas A&M.

Este estudio es confidencial. Los archivos de este estudio serán almacenados en un lugar privado. Ningún reporte tendrá indicadores que identifiquen a la persona que suministra información. Estos archivos serán almacenados de manera segura y solamente el investigador principal tendrá acceso a ellos. Si usted tiene alguna pregunta acerca de este estudio, puede contactar a Blanca A. Camargo al teléfono 1-773-425-3001 en los Estados Unidos o a la Doctora Tazim Jamal al teléfono 1-979-845-6454 o a los correos electrónicos bcamargo@tamu.edu o tjamal@tamu.edu

Esta investigación ha sido revisada y aprobada por el Programa de Protección a los Sujetos Humanos y/o el Comité Institucional de la Universidad Texas A&M. Para preguntas y/o problemas relacionados con sus derechos como participante, puede contactar estas oficinas al teléfono 1-979-458-4067 o al correo electrónico irb@tamu.edu

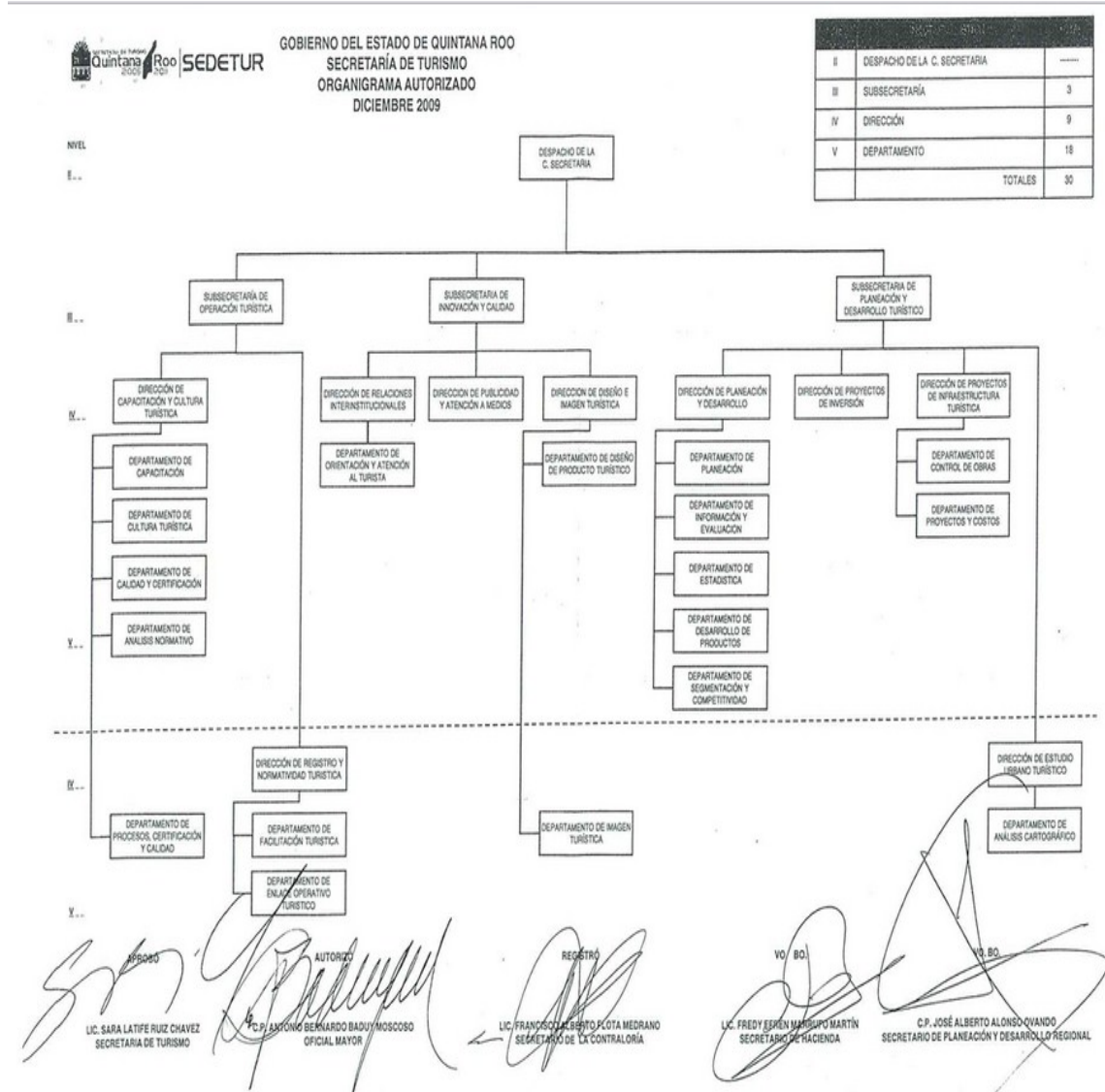
Usted verifica que ha leído la información en este documento, hecho preguntas y recibido respuestas satisfactorias. También verifica que ha recibido una copia de este documento. Con su firma, usted aprueba participar en este estudio

Firma del participante: _____ Fecha: _____

Firma del investigador: _____ Fecha: _____

APPENDIX D

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE SECRETARIAT OF TOURISM OF QUINTANA ROO [SEDETUR]



Available at http://www.caribemexicano.gob.mx/index2.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=161&Itemid=132

APPENDIX E

Table D.1

Cruise Passenger Head Tax

| Country | Passenger Tax (US Dollars) |
|------------------------|--|
| Antigua | \$7.50* |
| Aruba | \$3.50 |
| The Bahamas | \$15.00** |
| Barbados | \$5 |
| Belize | \$7 |
| Bermuda | Between \$2 and \$14*** |
| Bonaire | \$2 |
| British Virgin Islands | \$ 7 |
| Cayman Islands | \$ 11. 27* |
| Cozumel | \$0 |
| Curacao | \$3.50 |
| Dominica | \$5 |
| Dominican Republic | \$1.50 (government)- \$ 6 (private sector) |
| Grenada | \$4 |
| Guadalupe | \$1.50 |
| Haiti | \$6 |
| Jamaica | \$ 15** |

Table D.1

Continued

| | |
|---------------------|---------|
| Puerto Rico | \$ 3 |
| St. Kitts and Nevis | \$6 |
| St. Lucia | \$6.50 |
| St. Marteen | \$6**** |
| St. Martin | \$4 |
| St. Vincent | \$10 |
| Trinidad and Tobago | \$10 |
| Turks and Caicos | \$10 |
| US. Virgin Islands | \$7.50 |

Source: Asociación de Hoteles de Cozumel (2009)

*Includes environmental tax

**This amount can be negotiated with the cruise companies depending on the volume of passengers

***\$2 is the minimum charge per person; \$10 is charged between September 1- October 1; \$14 from April 1 to August 31

****\$5 is a non-immigrant tax and \$1 port safety tax

APPENDIX F

INDIGENOUS RIGHTS LEGISLATION OF QUINTANA ROO [LEY DE
DERECHOS, CULTURAL Y ORGANIZACIÓN INDÍGENA DEL ESTADO DE
QUINTANA ROO]

**LEY DE DERECHOS, CULTURA Y ORGANIZACIÓN INDÍGENA DEL ESTADO DE
QUINTANA ROO.**

Publicada en el Periódico Oficial el 31 de Julio de 1998

| | |
|--|--|
| <p>TITULO PRIMERO OBJETO Y BASES</p> <p>CAPITULO I DISPOSICIONES GENERALES</p> <p>ARTÍCULOS 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6</p> <p>CAPITULO II RECONOCIMIENTO DE OTRAS ETNIAS</p> <p>ARTÍCULOS 7, 8, 9</p> <p>TITULO SEGUNDO DERECHOS INDIGENAS</p> <p>CAPITULO III DERECHOS</p> <p>ARTÍCULOS 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15</p> <p>CAPITULO IV CULTURA</p> <p>ARTÍCULOS 16, 17, 18, 19, 20</p> <p>CAPITULO V EDUCACIÓN</p> <p>ARTÍCULOS 21, 22, 23, 24, 25</p> <p>CAPITULO VI DE LAS MUJERES, NIÑOS Y ANCIANOS</p> <p>ARTÍCULOS 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32</p> <p>CAPITULO VII SALUD</p> <p>ARTÍCULOS 33, 34, 35</p> <p>CAPITULO VIII DESARROLLO</p> <p>ARTÍCULOS 36, 37, 38, 39, 40</p> | <p>TITULO TERCERO AUTONOMÍA Y ORGANIZACIÓN INTERNA</p> <p>CAPITULO IX AUTONOMÍA</p> <p>ARTÍCULOS 41, 42, 43</p> <p>CAPITULO X CENTROS CEREMONIALES</p> <p>ARTÍCULOS 44, 45, 46</p> <p>CAPITULO XI DIGNATARIOS MAYAS</p> <p>ARTÍCULOS 47, 48, 49, 50</p> <p>CAPITULO XII GRAN CONSEJO MAYA</p> <p>ARTÍCULOS 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57</p> <p>CAPITULO XIII CONGRESO MAYA</p> <p>ARTÍCULOS 58, 59,</p> <p>TITULO CUARTO JUSTICIA</p> <p>CAPITULO XIV PROCURADURÍA DE ASUNTOS INDÍGENAS</p> <p>ARTÍCULO 60</p> <p>CAPITULO XV JUSTICIA INDÍGENA</p> <p>ARTÍCULO 61</p> <p>CAPITULO XVI DELITOS, FALTAS Y SANCIONES</p> <p>ARTÍCULOS 62, 63, 64, 65, 66</p> <p>TRANSITORIOS: 1, 2, 3</p> |
|--|--|

DECRETO 140

**LA H. VIII LEGISLATURA CONSTITUCIONAL DEL ESTADO LIBRE Y SOBERANO DE
QUINTANA ROO,**

DECRETA :**TITULO PRIMERO****OBJETO Y BASES****CAPITULO I****DISPOSICIONES GENERALES**

Artículo 1.- Esta Ley es de orden público e interés social y reglamentaria del último párrafo del Artículo 13 de la Constitución Política del Estado Libre y Soberano de Quintana Roo, por tanto, es obligación de las autoridades estatales y de la sociedad en general, observar y cumplir sus preceptos.

Artículo 2.- La presente Ley tiene por objeto el reconocimiento, preservación y defensa de los derechos y cultura de los indígenas del Estado de Quintana Roo, así como el establecimiento de las obligaciones de la administración pública estatal y municipal, en la construcción de las relaciones con las comunidades indígenas y elevar el bienestar social de sus integrantes, promoviendo el desarrollo a través de programas y presupuestos específicos.

Artículo 3.- El Poder Ejecutivo, el Poder Judicial y los Municipios del Estado, en el ámbito de sus respectivas competencias, tienen a su cargo la aplicación de la presente ley, a fin de asegurar el respeto de los derechos sociales de las comunidades indígenas mayas.

Artículo 4.- Para los efectos de esta Ley se entenderá por:

- I. Comunidad indígena maya: Es aquella, en la que sus individuos descienden de poblaciones que habitaban antes de iniciarse la colonización y que, cualquiera que sea su situación jurídica, conservan sus propias instituciones sociales, económicas, culturales y políticas o parte de ellas.
- II. Centro Ceremonial Maya: Es el lugar sagrado de los indígenas mayas en donde practican su religión, llevan a cabo sus ceremonias tradicionales y sus diversas expresiones culturales.
- III. Dignatario Maya: Son los indígenas que tienen cargo y representación, en un centro ceremonial de acuerdo a sus usos, costumbres y tradiciones.
- IV. Gran Consejo Maya: Es el órgano máximo de representación de los indígenas mayas del Estado, integrado por los dignatarios mayas representantes de los Centros Ceremoniales.
- V. Festividades tradicionales: Son las ceremonias que se llevan a cabo periódicamente en donde se reúnen las comunidades mayas, para obtener beneficios para la humanidad, los indígenas mayas y la naturaleza.

Artículo 5.- La aplicación de las disposiciones de la presente ley, en el reconocimiento de los derechos, cultura y organización de los indígenas mayas se sujetará al respeto de los derechos humanos establecidos en el Convenio número 169 sobre Pueblos Indígenas y Tribales en Países Independientes y las garantías individuales consagradas en la Constitución Política de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos y en la del Estado de Quintana Roo.

Artículo 6.- Cuando se requiera acreditar la calidad de indígena en juicio o fuera de él, ésta se podrá acreditar con la constancia que al efecto expidan los jueces tradicionales, o a través de los medios de prueba previstos en el Código de Procedimientos Civiles del Estado.

CAPITULO II**RECONOCIMIENTO DE OTRAS ETNIAS**

Artículo 7.- Los indígenas, cualquiera que sea su nacionalidad, que entren al territorio del Estado de Quintana Roo, por este solo hecho, recibirán la protección de sus derechos, costumbres, usos, tradiciones e idioma que reconoce la presente Ley.

Artículos 8.- Los indígenas que se establezcan en el territorio del Estado de Quintana Roo, tienen derecho a conservar sus costumbres, usos, tradiciones, idioma, religión, indumentaria y en general todos los rasgos culturales que los distinguen, de conformidad con los principios que establece la presente Ley.

Artículo 9.- El Estado tiene la obligación de incluir dentro de sus Planes y Programas de desarrollo a las comunidades indígenas que se asimilen al Estado de Quintana Roo, en los términos del artículo 36 de la presente ley.

TITULO SEGUNDO DERECHOS INDÍGENAS

CAPITULO III DERECHOS

Artículo 10.- Los indígenas mayas tienen derecho a vivir de acuerdo a su cultura, en libertad, paz, seguridad y justicia digna. Asimismo, tienen derecho al respeto y preservación de sus costumbres, usos, tradiciones, lenguaje, religión e indumentaria.

Artículo 11.- Los indígenas mayas tienen derecho a mantener y desarrollar su identidad, y a ser reconocidos como tales. Asimismo tienen derecho a decidir sus formas internas de convivencia y de organización social, económica y política.

Artículo 12.- Los indígenas mayas tienen derecho a que su idioma sea preservado y que las instituciones públicas correspondientes respeten y promuevan su uso.

Artículo 13.- Los indígenas mayas tienen el derecho a practicar sus ceremonias religiosas en sus comunidades, en las zonas arqueológicas del Estado o en los lugares apropiados para ello, de acuerdo a las leyes aplicables; para ello, las autoridades estatales y municipales coadyuvarán a su realización.

Artículo 14.- El Estado de Quintana Roo reconoce las normas internas de los indígenas mayas en el ámbito de las relaciones familiares, de la vida civil, de la organización de la vida comunitaria y en general de la prevención y solución de conflictos al interior de cada comunidad, de conformidad con la Ley de Justicia Indígena del Estado, la Constitución General de la República y la particular del Estado.

Artículo 15.- Las comunidades indígenas mayas, con la participación del Gran Consejo Maya, podrán formar asociaciones para la consecución de los fines que establece esta ley.

CAPITULO IV CULTURA

Artículo 16.- Los indígenas mayas tienen derecho a practicar y revitalizar sus tradiciones y costumbres culturales. El Estado, en el ámbito de sus atribuciones, proporcionará a las comunidades indígenas para el mantenimiento, protección y desarrollo de sus manifestaciones culturales, centros ceremoniales, monumentos históricos, técnicas, artes, artesanías, expresiones musicales, fiestas tradicionales, literatura oral y escrita, los recursos que prevea los programas autorizados para tal fin.

Artículo 17.- De manera enunciativa, mas no limitativa, se reconoce al Ch'a-cha'ak, Jets' meK', Janal Pixan, Hetzel lum y Han-licol como las ceremonias tradicionales de los mayas del Estado de Quintana Roo, por lo que el Estado y los municipios deberán proveer lo necesario para su celebración y conservación.

Artículo 18.- Las comunidades indígenas tienen derecho al respeto pleno de la propiedad, control y protección de su patrimonio cultural y científico. El Estado, por medio de sus instituciones competentes y previa opinión del Gran Consejo Maya, dictará las medidas idóneas para la eficaz protección de sus ciencias, técnicas y manifestaciones culturales, comprendidos los recursos humanos y biológicos, así como el conocimiento de las propiedades de la fauna y flora, tradiciones orales, literatura, diseños y artes visuales o dramáticas.

El Estado, conforme a la normatividad aplicable en el ámbito estatal y tomando en cuenta previamente el parecer del Gran Consejo Maya, determinará las acciones y medidas necesarias tendientes a la conservación de su medio ambiente y a otras formas de protección de los recursos naturales, de tal modo que éstas sean ecológicamente sustentables y técnicamente apropiadas, así como compatibles con la libre determinación de los indígenas mayas para la preservación de sus recursos naturales.

Artículo 19.- En los términos del artículo anterior, el Estado, a través de sus instituciones competentes vigilará y en su caso ejercerá las acciones tendientes a la restitución de los bienes culturales y científicos que les hayan sido privados a las comunidades indígenas sin su consentimiento.

Artículo 20.- Los indígenas mayas tienen derecho al uso y respeto de sus nombres y apellidos en los términos de su escritura y pronunciación. De la misma manera se mantendrá, pronunciará y escribirá la toponimia de sus asentamientos.

CAPITULO V EDUCACIÓN

Artículo 21.- Las autoridades educativas promoverán la construcción de una nueva relación de equidad entre las comunidades indígenas, los sectores de la sociedad y el Estado, para lo cual establecerá, en consulta con el Gran Consejo Maya, las instituciones y mecanismos que permita la preservación, protección y defensa de su cultura, idioma, usos, costumbres y tradiciones.

Artículo 22.- Los pueblos y comunidades indígenas, en los términos del artículo 3º de la Constitución Política de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos, de la Ley general de Educación y demás leyes aplicables, tienen el derecho de revitalizar, utilizar, desarrollar y transmitir a las generaciones futuras por medio de la educación formal e informal su historia, idioma, tecnologías, tradiciones orales, filosofías, técnicas de escritura y literatura.

Artículo 23.- El Estado, por conducto de sus instancias educativas garantizará que las niñas y los niños indígenas tengan acceso a la educación básica formal bilingüe y bicultural.

Artículo 24.- El Estado, a través de las instancias educativas, en consulta con el Gran Consejo Maya, adoptará medidas eficaces para eliminar dentro del sistema educativo y en la legislación, los prejuicios, la discriminación y los adjetivos que denigren a los indígenas.

Artículo 25.- Las comunidades indígenas tienen derecho a establecer sus propios medios de comunicación en su idioma, de conformidad con la normatividad de la materia, para difundir sus tradiciones, usos y costumbres.

CAPITULO VI DE LAS MUJERES, NIÑOS Y ANCIANOS

Artículo 26.- El Estado de Quintana Roo garantizará la igualdad de oportunidades entre la mujer y el varón indígena, de conformidad a lo previsto en el presente capítulo y las leyes respectivas.

Artículo 27.- El Estado velará por el bienestar, cuidado y protección de las mujeres, niños y ancianos de las comunidades mayas, por cuanto constituyen la base de las familias que

integran y sustentan las comunidades indígenas de Quintana Roo y la preservación de sus tradiciones.

Artículo 28.- Con respeto a las tradiciones, usos y costumbres indígenas, el Estado promoverá la participación plena de las mujeres en tareas y actividades que tiendan a lograr su realización, superación y reconocimiento de su dignidad.

Artículo 29.- Las mujeres indígenas tienen derecho a recibir capacitación y educación bilingüe y bicultural para realizar actividades que estimulen su desarrollo integral.

Artículo 30.- El Estado asume la obligación de propiciar la información, capacitación, difusión y diálogo, para que las comunidades indígenas apliquen medidas tendientes a lograr la participación de las mujeres en condiciones de equidad en la vida política, social y cultural de los mismos.

Artículo 31.- El Estado garantizará los derechos individuales de los niños y niñas indígenas a la vida, la integridad, la libertad y la seguridad de sus personas, en los términos de la Constitución Política de la República, la del Estado y de los Tratados Internacionales

Artículo 32.- El Estado velará por la salud, bienestar, respeto y reconocimiento de la dignidad y experiencia de los ancianos mayas. Igualmente procurará que los programas de asistencia social alcancen a los ancianos indígenas mayas.

CAPITULO VII SALUD

Artículo 33.- Los programas institucionales de salud establecerán los medios para que beneficien a las comunidades indígenas, los cuales en su aplicación respetaran sus usos, costumbres y tradiciones, en particular la medicina tradicional.

Artículo 34.- Las instituciones de salud que actúen en las comunidades indígenas, promoverán y fomentarán el uso de la medicina tradicional, para lo cual, registrarán y acreditarán a la personas que usen los métodos tradicionales de salud y atención maternal, con el apoyo necesario en su aplicación, dotándolos de los elementos para que lleven a cabo su labor de manera adecuada.

La Secretaría de Salud del Estado instrumentará las medidas necesarias para que el personal de las instituciones de salud pública que actúen en las comunidades indígenas, cuenten con los conocimientos básicos sobre la cultura, costumbres e idioma de estas comunidades.

Artículo 35.- El Estado, en coordinación con los municipios, proporcionará lugares específicos adecuados, como casas tradicionales de salud, para que los médicos tradicionales mayas lleven a cabo su labor, dotándolos de los materiales que necesiten para su desempeño.

CAPITULO VIII DESARROLLO

Artículo 36.- Es obligación del Estado y los municipios establecer un programa permanente de desarrollo en las comunidades indígenas tendiente a elevar sus niveles de bienestar, con respeto a sus costumbres, usos y tradiciones, para que realicen sus actividades productivas, de infraestructura y vivienda, así como para proporcionarle servicios de salud, educación y bienestar social.

En los Presupuestos de Egresos del Estado y de los municipios, deberá incluirse una partida específica para tal fin.

Artículo 37.- Los recursos previstos en los Presupuestos de Egresos del Estado y los municipios, destinados a las comunidades indígenas, deberán aumentarse anualmente en un porcentaje superior al del índice inflacionario del año del ejercicio inmediato anterior.

Artículo 38.- Los municipios dictarán las medidas reglamentarias a efecto de que, de los recursos que se les asignan, también se distribuyan con un sentido de equidad entre las comunidades indígenas que se encuentren dentro de su jurisdicción.

Artículo 39.- Para el establecimiento de los planes y programas de desarrollo de las comunidades indígenas, se tomará en cuenta la opinión del Gran Consejo Maya.

Artículo 40.- Toda promoción que presenten los indígenas ante las autoridades estatales o municipales, podrá ser redactada en su propia lengua. Las autoridades tienen el deber de recibirla, previniendo en términos de ley, la intervención de un traductor para darle respuesta en su propio idioma.

TITULO TERCERO AUTONOMÍA Y ORGANIZACIÓN INTERNA

CAPITULO IX AUTONOMÍA

ARTICULO 41.- El Estado de Quintana Roo, tiene una composición sustentada originalmente en la etnia maya, a la cual, en los términos de esta Ley, se le reconoce el derecho a la libre determinación, que se expresa en un marco de autonomía, respecto a sus formas internas de convivencia y de organización social, económica, política y cultural.

ARTICULO 42.- La autonomía, es la expresión concreta del ejercicio del derecho a la libre determinación, expresada como un marco que se conforma como parte del Estado Mexicano.

ARTICULO 43.- Las autoridades estatales y municipales, en el ámbito de sus respectivas competencias, respetarán la autonomía de las comunidades indígenas mayas, proveyendo las medidas necesarias para asegurar su cumplimiento.

CAPITULO X CENTROS CEREMONIALES

Artículo 44.- El Centro Ceremonial Maya, es la institución básica y fundamental de organización y representación de los indígenas mayas del Estado de Quintana Roo.

Artículo 45.- Se reconocen los siguientes Centros Ceremoniales Mayas:

- I. Tixcacal-Guardia.
- II. Chancá-Veracruz.
- III. Chumpón.
- IV. Tulum.
- V. Cruz Parlante.
- VI. Aquellos otros que reconozca el Gran Consejo Maya.

Artículo 46.- Se declara de interés público la preservación de las tradiciones y costumbres que se llevan a cabo en los Centros Ceremoniales Mayas, por lo que todo individuo tiene la obligación de guardar absoluto respeto a estos lugares sagrados, de acuerdo a los usos, costumbres y tradiciones de la comunidad maya respectiva.

CAPITULO XI DIGNATARIOS MAYAS

Artículo 47.- Los dignatarios mayas que reconoce esta ley son: Generales, Sacerdotes, Comandantes, Capitanes, Tenientes, Sargentos, Cabos, Rezadores y aquellos a quienes la propia comunidad indígena maya otorgue tal carácter.

Artículo 48.- Cada Centro Ceremonial acreditará a sus dignatarios con la constancia que expida el sacerdote o el general del Centro. El Gobernador del Estado, a través de la Secretaría General de Gobierno, mantendrán un registro de cada Centro, sus dignatarios, sellos y demás elementos que lo integran.

Artículo 49.- En la elección y destitución de los dignatarios mayas se respetarán los usos, costumbres y tradiciones de los Centros Ceremoniales y se llevará a cabo de conformidad con los procedimientos acostumbrados por cada centro ceremonial.

Artículo 50.- Las funciones y actividades que tienen los dignatarios mayas continuarán siendo las mismas que han venido realizando y que se adaptan a sus estilos de vida y a sus costumbres y tradiciones. El Estado proveerá los recursos necesarios para el desarrollo de las funciones de los dignatarios mayas.

CAPITULO XII GRAN CONSEJO MAYA

Artículo 51.- El Gran Consejo Maya es la institución máxima de representación de los indígenas mayas de Quintana Roo.

Artículo 52.- El Gran Consejo Maya se integra por los generales y sacerdotes mayas que representan a cada uno de los Centros Ceremoniales ubicados en el Estado.

Artículo 53.- El Gran Consejo Maya es el encargado de velar por la conservación de los usos, costumbres, tradiciones e idioma mayas en sus comunidades, así como en sus centros ceremoniales.

Artículo 54.- Las autoridades estatales y municipales reconocerán y respetarán al Gran Consejo Maya y los acuerdos que este emita. Asimismo proporcionarán los apoyos necesarios para su funcionamiento.

Artículo 55.- La elección y destitución de los integrantes del Gran Consejo Maya se llevará a cabo de acuerdo a la forma tradicional que se ha llevado a cabo por los indígenas mayas.

Artículo 56.- En el ejercicio de los derechos que esta ley reconoce a los indígenas mayas, así como en las relaciones entre éstos y las autoridades, queda prohibida la participación de intermediarios en la gestión de negocios, la cual será exclusiva de los interesados, autoridades tradicionales o el Gran Consejo Maya, quienes serán los que promuevan o se apersonen ante las instancias competentes.

Artículo 57.- En los casos de controversia y los no previstos por la presente Ley, que no tengan carácter jurídico, serán resueltos conciliatoriamente por el Gran Consejo Maya.

CAPITULO XIII CONGRESO MAYA

Artículo 58.- Se instituye la realización del Congreso Maya, cuando menos una vez al año, mediante convocatoria que al efecto expida el Gran Consejo Maya, y en forma extraordinaria, cuando sea necesario. Los medios para la realización de los Congresos se proveerá por el Gobierno del Estado y los municipios, con la participación del Gran Consejo Maya.

El Congreso Maya tendrá por objeto analizar temas de los derechos y cultura de los indígenas mayas, así como cualquier otro asunto de interés de sus comunidades.

Artículo 59.- Al Congreso Maya concurrirán los dignatarios mayas de los Centros Ceremoniales del Estado, así como representantes de aquellas comunidades que determine el Gran Consejo Maya.

TITULO CUARTO JUSTICIA

CAPITULO XIV PROCURADURÍA DE ASUNTOS INDÍGENAS

Artículo 60.- Para mejorar la procuración de justicia, la Procuraduría General de Justicia del Estado, establecerá la Procuraduría de Asuntos Indígenas, en términos de la ley respectiva, la que tendrá a su cargo las funciones de Ministerio Público en esas comunidades, así como para atender y apoyar a los indígenas en los trámites legales y administrativos que le soliciten.

CAPITULO XV JUSTICIA INDIGENA

Artículo 61.- Para resolver las controversias de carácter jurídico que se susciten entre los miembros de las comunidades indígenas, se estará a lo dispuesto por la Ley de Justicia Indígena del Estado de Quintana Roo.

CAPITULO XVI DELITOS, FALTAS Y SANCIONES

Artículo 62.- Comete el delito de etnocidio el que por cualquier medio y sin el consentimiento de las víctimas, produzca la pérdida temporal o definitiva de su función orgánica reproductora o cometa delitos contra la vida y la salud personal, de dos o más indígenas.

A las personas que incurran en esta conducta se les aplicará de 3 a 10 años de prisión.

Cuando la conducta se realice por dos o más personas, se aplicará a cada una la pena de 6 a 12 años de prisión.

Se equipara al etnocidio y se sancionará con pena de prisión de 6 meses a 3 años, al que obligue a los indígenas mayas por medio de la violencia física o moral a abandonar, rechazar o atacar sus usos, costumbres, tradiciones, idioma o su cultura.

La tentativa en el delito de etnocidio se sancionará hasta con las dos terceras partes de la pena que le correspondería si el delito se hubiere consumado".

Artículo 63.- En caso de concurso real y demás casos no previstos en el presente capítulo, se aplicará supletoriamente el Código Penal y de Procedimientos Penales del Estado".

Artículo 64.- El Ejecutivo del Estado, a través de la Secretaría General de Gobierno, sancionará con multa de 30 a 400 salarios mínimos generales de la zona o con arresto de hasta 36 horas al que incurra en alguna de las siguientes conductas:

- I. La persona o personas que por cualquier medio impida el derecho de los indígenas a disfrutar, enriquecer y transmitir su propia cultura e idioma;
- II. Al que discrimine, en forma grave y por cualquier medio a los indígenas mayas.
- III. Al que imprima fotografías o realice filmaciones de las ceremonias religiosas o de los centros ceremoniales sin la autorización de sus autoridades.

IV. A quien sin serlo, se ostente como Dignatario Maya o representante de los indígenas.

Para los efectos de este artículo se entiende por discriminación grave, toda acción u omisión que implique marginación, deshonra, descrédito, daño moral o perjuicio a la dignidad del indígena.

Artículo 65.- Para sancionar las acciones indicadas en los artículos anteriores, las autoridades correspondientes podrán intervenir de oficio o a petición de parte, respetando la garantía de audiencia de los infractores".

Artículo 66.- En caso de que los responsables de las conductas previstas en este capítulo fueren servidores públicos y las realizaren aprovechándose de sus funciones, además de las penas y sanciones previstas, se les impondrá una mitad más de las mismas, sin perjuicio de la aplicación en su contra de la Ley de Responsabilidades de los Servidores Públicos del Estado".

TRANSITORIOS

ARTICULO PRIMERO.- La presente ley entrará en vigor el día de su publicación en el Periódico Oficial del Gobierno del Estado.

ARTICULO SEGUNDO.- La presente Ley será difundida por escrito y oralmente en los idiomas Maya y Español, por los tres poderes del Estado y por las Instituciones Públicas Estatales y municipales, específicamente por aquellas cuyas funciones las vinculen con las comunidades Mayas del Estado.

ARTICULO TERCERO.- El Titular del Ejecutivo, por conducto de la Secretaría de Educación y Cultura del Estado, instrumentará las medidas necesarias para inscribir esta ley en los textos de educación básica del Estado, a efecto de que sea conocida por todos desde la niñez

SALÓN DE SESIONES DEL H. PODER LEGISLATIVO, EN LA CIUDAD DE CHETUMAL, CAPITAL DEL ESTADO DE QUINTANA ROO, A LOS VEINTINUEVE DÍAS DEL MES DE JULIO DE MIL NOVECIENTOS NOVENTA Y OCHO.

**DIPUTADA PRESIDENTE:
MILDRED ÁVILA VERA.**

**DIPUTADO SECRETARIO:
ISRAEL BARBOSA HEREDIA**

APPENDIX G

TOURISM LEGISLATION OF QUINTANA ROO [LEY DE TURISMO DEL
ESTADO DE QUINTANA ROO]

LEY DE TURISMO DEL ESTADO DE QUINTANA ROO

Publicada en el Periódico Oficial el 28 de Junio del 2010.

TÍTULO PRIMERO

**CAPÍTULO ÚNICO
DISPOSICIONES GENERALES**

Artículo 1.- La presente ley es de orden público e interés social, de observancia general en el Estado de Quintana Roo, correspondiendo su aplicación de manera concurrente en el ámbito de sus competencias al Estado a través de la Secretaría de Turismo, y a los Ayuntamientos del Estado de Quintana Roo.

Artículo 2.- La interpretación en el ámbito administrativo de la presente ley, corresponderá al Titular del Ejecutivo del Estado y a los Presidentes Municipales, cuando así corresponda.

Artículo 3.- La presente ley tiene por objeto:

- I. Atender las bases generales de coordinación de las facultades concurrentes establecidas en la Ley General de Turismo, dictadas para el Ejecutivo Federal, el Ejecutivo del Estado y los Ayuntamientos del Estado, así como la participación de los sectores social y privado;
- II. Determinar los mecanismos para la conservación, mejoramiento, protección, promoción, y aprovechamiento de los recursos y atractivos turísticos nacionales, preservando el patrimonio natural, cultural, y el equilibrio ecológico con base en los criterios determinados por las leyes en la materia, así como contribuir a la creación o desarrollo de nuevos atractivos turísticos, en apego al marco jurídico vigente;
- III. Dictar bajo criterios de beneficio social, sustentabilidad, competitividad y desarrollo equilibrado del Estado y de los Municipios, a corto, mediano y largo plazo, las bases para la política, planeación y programación de la actividad turística en Quintana Roo;
- IV. Establecer los lineamientos legales por los cuales se regirá la actividad turística en el Estado de Quintana Roo;
- V. Determinar, las dependencias, entidades y órganos colegiados que serán autoridad en materia turística en el Estado de Quintana Roo;
- VI. Establecer la participación del Ejecutivo del Estado y de los Ayuntamientos en la operación de las Zonas de Desarrollo Turístico Sustentable;
- VII. Optimizar la calidad y competitividad de los servicios turísticos en el Estado;
- VIII. Fomentar la Inversión Pública, privada y social en la industria turística, e impulsar la modernización de la actividad turística en el Estado;
- IX. Establecer los lineamientos legales que deberán apearse los prestadores de servicios turísticos y los turistas;
- X. Establecer las políticas públicas en materia de turismo en el Estado y los Municipios, en todo lo que no contravenga a la Ley General;

Artículo 4.- Para los efectos de esta ley, se entenderá por:

I. Actividades Turísticas: Las que realizan las personas durante sus viajes y estancias temporales en lugares distintos al de su entorno habitual, con fines de ocio y otros motivos;

II. Comisión: Comisión Ejecutiva de Turismo de Quintana Roo;

III. Consejo: Consejo Consultivo de Turismo de Quintana Roo;

IV. Consejo Municipal: Los Consejos Municipales de Turismo en el Estado;

V. Estado: El Estado Libre y Soberano de Quintana Roo;

VI. Ley: La Ley de Turismo del Estado de Quintana Roo;

VII. Ley General: La Ley General de Turismo;

VIII. Prestadores de Servicios Turísticos: Las personas físicas o morales que ofrezcan, proporcionen, o contraten con el turista, la prestación de los servicios a que se refiere esta Ley;

IX. Programa de Ordenamiento: El Programa de Ordenamiento Turístico del Territorio del Estado, considerado el Instrumento de la política turística bajo el enfoque social, ambiental y territorial, cuya finalidad es conocer e inducir el uso de suelo y las actividades productivas con el propósito de lograr el aprovechamiento ordenado y sustentable de los recursos turísticos, de conformidad con las disposiciones jurídicas aplicables en materia de medio ambiente y asentamientos humanos;

X. Programa Regional.- Programa de Ordenamiento Turístico Regional en el Estado;

XI. Programa Sectorial. Programa Sectorial de Turismo del Estado;

XII. Recursos Turísticos.- Son todos los elementos naturales o artificiales de un lugar o región del Estado que constituyen un atractivo para la actividad turística;

XIII. Región Turística.- Es un espacio homogéneo que puede abarcar el territorio de dos o más municipios y en el que, por la cercana distancia de los atractivos y servicios se complementan;

XIV. Reglamento.- El de la presente Ley;

XV. Ruta Turística.- Es un circuito temático o geográfico que se basa en un patrimonio natural o cultural de una zona y se marca sobre el terreno o aparece en los mapas;

XVI. Secretaría.- La Secretaría de Turismo del Estado de Quintana Roo;

XVII. Secretaría Federal.- La Secretaría de Turismo del Gobierno Federal;

XVIII. Trabajadores Turísticos.- Aquella persona física que presta sus servicios en materia turística de manera subordinada y por el cual devenga un salario o percibe una remuneración económica;

XIX. Turismo Sustentable.- Aquel que cumple con dar un uso óptimo a los recursos naturales aptos para el desarrollo turístico, ayudando a conservarlos; aquel que respeta la autenticidad sociocultural de las comunidades anfitrionas, conservando sus atractivos culturales, sus valores tradicionales y arquitectónicos; y aquel, que asegura el desarrollo de las actividades económicas viables, que obtengan beneficios socioeconómicos, entre los que se cuenten oportunidades de empleo y obtención de ingresos y servicios sociales para las comunidades anfitrionas, que contribuyan a mejorar las condiciones de vida;

XX. Turistas.- Las personas que viajan temporalmente fuera de su lugar de residencia habitual y que utilice alguno de los servicios turísticos a que se refiere la Ley General y esta Ley, sin perjuicio de lo dispuesto para efectos migratorios por la Ley General de Población; y

XXI. Zonas de Desarrollo Turístico Sustentable.- Aquellas fracciones de territorio del Estado, claramente ubicadas y delimitadas geográficamente, que, por sus características naturales o culturales, constituyen un atractivo turístico. Estas zonas de acuerdo a la Ley General, se establecerán mediante declaratoria específica que emitirá el Presidente de la República, a propuesta del Titular del Ejecutivo del Estado.

Artículo 5.- El Titular del Ejecutivo del Estado, a través de la Secretaría, debe reconocer y promover todos los tipos de turismo que puedan desarrollarse y aprovecharse en el Estado.

Las políticas públicas dirigidas al turismo deberán establecer y contemplar siempre la potencialidad y proyección turística del Estado en su conjunto.

TÍTULO SEGUNDO DE LAS COMPETENCIAS DE LAS AUTORIDADES.

CAPÍTULO I DE LAS ATRIBUCIONES DEL ESTADO

Artículo 6.- Son atribuciones del Ejecutivo del Estado, que se ejercerán a través de la Secretaría:

- I. Formular, conducir y evaluar la política turística en el Estado;
- II. Celebrar convenios en materia turística conforme a lo previsto en la Ley General;
- III. Aplicar los instrumentos de política turística previstos en la presente Ley, así como la planeación, programación, fomento y desarrollo de la actividad turística que se realice en bienes y áreas del Estado;
- IV. Formular, ejecutar y evaluar las directrices previstas en el Plan Nacional de Desarrollo, en el Plan Estatal de Desarrollo y en el Programa Sectorial de Turismo;
- V. Establecer el Consejo Consultivo de Turismo de Quintana Roo;
- VI. Concertar con los sectores privado y social, las acciones tendientes a detonar programas a favor de la actividad turística;
- VII. Formular, evaluar y ejecutar el Programa de Ordenamiento Turístico del Territorio del Estado, con la participación que corresponda a los Municipios;
- VIII. Participar en la regulación, administración y vigilancia de las Zonas de Desarrollo Turístico Sustentable en los Municipios del Estado, conforme a los convenios que al efecto se suscriban;
- IX. Instrumentar las acciones de promoción de las actividades y destinos turísticos con que cuente;
- X. Conducir la política local de información y difusión en materia turística;
- XI. Proyectar y promover el desarrollo de la infraestructura turística;

- XII.** Impulsar a las micro, pequeñas y medianas empresas turísticas que operen en el Estado;
- XIII.** Diseñar, instrumentar, ejecutar y evaluar, los programas de investigación para el desarrollo turístico del Estado;
- XIV.** Participar en programas de prevención y atención de emergencias y desastres, así como en acciones para la gestión integral de los riesgos conforme a las políticas y programas de protección civil que al efecto se establezcan;
- XV.** Brindar orientación y asistencia al turista y canalizar las quejas de éstos ante la autoridad competente;
- XVI.** Atender los asuntos que afecten el desarrollo de la actividad turística de dos o más Municipios;
- XVII.** Coadyuvar con el Ejecutivo Federal en materia de clasificación de establecimientos hoteleros y de hospedaje, en los términos de la regulación correspondiente;
- XVIII.** Vigilar el cumplimiento de la Ley General, de esta Ley y demás disposiciones reglamentarias que de ellas deriven, en lo que se refiere a los requisitos de operación de los prestadores de servicios turísticos;
- XIX.** Coordinar con las autoridades federales, por medio de los convenios que se suscriban, la imposición de sanciones por violaciones a la Ley General y a las disposiciones reglamentarias;
- XX.** Emitir opiniones a la Secretaría Federal;
- XXI.** Coordinarse con la Secretaría Federal, para la elaboración del Atlas Turístico de México;
- XXII.** Celebrar acuerdos de coordinación con el Ejecutivo Federal, en términos de la Ley General;
- XXIII.** Ejecutar las órdenes de verificación a que haya lugar, en términos de los acuerdos de Coordinación que se suscriban con la Secretaría Federal;
- XXIV.** Participar, en términos de la Ley General y demás disposiciones aplicables, en la formulación del Programa de Ordenamiento Turístico General del Territorio, en el ámbito de sus competencias;
- XXV.** Dar aviso y en su caso, denunciar ante la Comisión Federal de Competencia, cuando en el Estado se presuma que se estén ejerciendo prácticas monopólicas por parte de los prestadores de servicios turísticos; y
- XXVI.** Las demás previstas en éste y otros ordenamientos.

CAPÍTULO II DE LAS ATRIBUCIONES DE LOS MUNICIPIOS

Artículo 7.- Son atribuciones de los Municipios, que se ejercerán a través del Ayuntamiento:

- I.** Formular, conducir y evaluar la política turística del municipio;
- II.** Celebrar convenios en materia turística conforme a lo previsto en la Ley General;

- III. Aplicar los instrumentos de política turística establecidos en la presente ley, así como la planeación, programación, fomento y desarrollo de la actividad turística en bienes y áreas de competencia municipal, en las materias que no estén expresamente atribuidas al Ejecutivo Federal y al Ejecutivo Estado;
- IV. Formular, ejecutar y evaluar el Programa Municipal de Turismo, el cual considerará las directrices previstas en el Plan Nacional de Desarrollo, el Plan Estatal de Desarrollo y el Programa Sectorial de Turismo;
- V. Establecer el Consejo Consultivo Municipal de Turismo; que tendrá por objeto coordinar, proponer y formular las estrategias y acciones de la Administración Pública Municipal, con el fin de lograr un desarrollo integral de la actividad turística en el Municipio. Será presidido por el Titular del Ayuntamiento, y estará integrado por los funcionarios que éste determine, conforme a lo que establezcan las disposiciones reglamentarias. Podrán ser invitadas las instituciones y entidades públicas, privadas y sociales, que se determinen, y demás personas relacionadas con el turismo en el Municipio, las cuales participarán únicamente con derecho a voz;
- VI. Concertar con los sectores privado y social, las acciones tendientes a detonar programas a favor de la actividad turística;
- VII. Participar, en términos de la Ley General y demás disposiciones aplicables, en la formulación de los Programas de Ordenamiento Turístico General del Territorio y del Estado;
- VIII. Participar en el diseño, instrumentación, ejecución y evaluación de los programas estatales de investigación para el desarrollo turístico;
- IX. Formular y conducir la política municipal de información y difusión en materia turística;
- X. Coadyuvar en la instrumentación de las acciones de promoción de las actividades y destinos turísticos con que cuenta;
- XI. Promover el impulso de las micro, pequeñas y medianas empresas turísticas;
- XII. Participar en los programas de prevención y atención de emergencias y desastres, así como en acciones para la gestión integral de los riesgos, conforme a las políticas y programas de protección civil que al efecto se establezcan;
- XIII. Operar módulos de información y orientación al turista;
- XIV. Recibir y canalizar las quejas de los turistas, para su atención ante la autoridad competente;
- XV. Atender los demás asuntos que en materia de planeación, programación, fomento y desarrollo de la actividad turística les conceda la Ley General, esta ley u otros ordenamientos legales en concordancia con aquellas y que no estén otorgados expresamente al Ejecutivo Federal ni al Ejecutivo del Estado;
- XVI. Emitir opinión ante la Secretaría Federal y la Secretaría, en aquellos casos en que la inversión concorra en proyectos de desarrollo turístico o en el establecimiento de servicios turísticos, dentro de su territorio;
- XVII. Coordinarse con la Secretaría Federal, para la elaboración del Atlas Turístico de México;

- XVIII.** Celebrar acuerdos de coordinación con el Ejecutivo Federal, en términos de la Ley General;
- XIX.** Brindar apoyo a la Secretaría Federal, para que ésta, ejerza sus facultades de verificación en las demarcaciones territoriales del municipio;
- XX.** Ejecutar las órdenes de verificación a que haya lugar, en términos de los acuerdos de coordinación que se suscriban con la Secretaría Federal;
- XXI.-** Coadyuvar con las aseguradoras y/o agencias de viajes, cuando un turista que se encuentre en el Estado, recurra a una o varias de las coberturas que brinda el seguro de asistencia turística que hayan contratado; y
- XXII.** Las demás previstas en éste y otros ordenamientos.

CAPÍTULO TERCERO DE LAS ATRIBUCIONES DE LA SECRETARIA

Artículo 8.- En aquellos casos en que para la debida atención de un asunto, por razón de la materia y de conformidad con las disposiciones legales aplicables, se requiera de la intervención de otras dependencias o entidades de la Administración Pública del Estado, la Secretaría ejercerá sus atribuciones en coordinación con las mismas.

Artículo 9.- Para el cumplimiento de la presente ley, corresponde a la Secretaría:

- I.-** Remitir opinión a la Secretaría Federal sobre las cuestiones relacionadas con la política migratoria que tengan un impacto sobre el turismo en el Estado;
- II.** Participar con la Secretaría de Infraestructura y Transporte, en la determinación de las necesidades de vías de comunicación, que garanticen el acceso y la conexión de los sitios turísticos que determine la propia Secretaría;
- III.** Colaborar con la Secretaría de Infraestructura y Transporte en la identificación de las necesidades de señalización en las vías estatales de acceso a las Zonas de Desarrollo Turístico Sustentable, así como de otras zonas de competencia local;
- IV.** Coordinar con la Secretaría de Desarrollo Urbano y Medio Ambiente, en el ámbito de sus respectivas atribuciones, la instrumentación de los programas y medidas para la preservación de los recursos naturales, prevención de la contaminación, para la ordenación y limpieza de las playas, para promover el turismo de naturaleza y el de bajo impacto, así como para el mejoramiento ambiental de las actividades e instalaciones turísticas;
- V.** Promover y fomentar, en coordinación con la Secretaría de Desarrollo Económico y demás dependencias y entidades competentes de la Administración Pública del Estado, la inversión de capitales nacionales y extranjeros en proyectos de desarrollo turístico y para el establecimiento de servicios turísticos en el Estado;
- VI.** Coadyuvar con la Secretaría de Desarrollo Económico en las acciones tendientes a fortalecer y promover las micro, pequeñas y medianas empresas turísticas;
- VII.** Impulsar en coordinación con la Secretaría de Desarrollo Económico, ante las autoridades Federales, del Estado, y de los Municipios, competentes, la instrumentación de mecanismos y programas tendientes a facilitar los trámites y gestión de los inversionistas y demás integrantes del sector turístico, que permitan la expedita creación y apertura de negocios y empresas en los zonas turísticas del Estado;

- VIII. Analizar y coadyuvar con la Secretaría de Seguridad Pública, en los casos en que se determine que sea necesaria la protección de la integridad física de los turistas;
- IX. Promover y fomentar con la Secretaría de Educación la investigación, educación y la cultura turística;
- X. Colaborar con la Secretaría del Trabajo y Previsión Social, en el desarrollo de programas de fomento al empleo turístico, así como de capacitación y profesionalización de la actividad turística, incorporando a las personas con discapacidad;
- XI. Promover con la Secretaría de Cultura, el patrimonio histórico, artístico, arqueológico y cultural del Estado;
- XII. Coadyuvar con otras dependencias y entidades de la Administración Pública del Estado, para impulsar a proyectos productivos y de inversión turística, que cumplan con las disposiciones legales y normativas aplicables;
- XIII. Solicitar a la Secretaría Federal, en coordinación con la Secretaría de Agricultura, Ganadería, Desarrollo Rural, Pesca y Alimentación, el desarrollo de la pesca deportivo-recreativa en términos de la Ley General, su Reglamento y en la Ley General de Pesca y Acuicultura Sustentable;
- XIV. Solicitar a la Secretaría Federal su intervención para que exhorte a las dependencias o entidades de la Administración Pública Federal que tengan a su cargo programas en materia turística cumplan con los objetivos establecidos en ellos;
- XV. Brindar apoyo a la Secretaría Federal, para que ésta, ejerza sus facultades de verificación en las demarcaciones territoriales del Estado;
- XVI. Coadyuvar con los Fideicomisos de Promoción Turística del Estado en la elaboración de sus programas de difusión turística;
- XVII. Brindar atención a los prestadores de servicios turísticos asesoramiento y capacitación para conducirse de manera ética, profesional, apegados a las disposiciones legales que tiendan a proteger a los sectores sociales en materia turística, ya sean estas de carácter municipal, estatal, nacional e internacional; y
- XVIII. Las demás previstas en éste y otros ordenamientos.

**TÍTULO TERCERO
DE LOS ÓRGANOS COLEGIADOS EN MATERIA TURÍSTICA**

**CAPÍTULO I
COMISIÓN EJECUTIVA DE TURISMO DE QUINTANA ROO**

Artículo 10.- La Comisión Ejecutiva de Turismo de Quintana Roo, es una comisión de carácter intersecretarial, que tiene por objeto conocer, atender y resolver los asuntos de naturaleza turística relacionados con la competencia de dos o más dependencias o entidades de la Administración Pública del Estado, así como fungir como órgano de consulta para los asuntos que la Secretaría considere oportuno poner a su consideración.

La Comisión será presidida por el titular de la Secretaría, quien tendrá voto de calidad, y estará integrada por los titulares de las Secretarías y Entidades de la Administración Pública del Estado, en los términos de las disposiciones aplicables. Asimismo, podrán ser invitados a participar las

principales organizaciones sectoriales de turismo, instituciones de educación superior, representantes de los sectores social y privado, exclusivamente con derecho a voz.

Artículo 11.- La Comisión, se reunirá por lo menos una vez semestralmente y cuando así lo solicite el titular de la Secretaría, asimismo funcionará en los términos señalados en la presente Ley y en su Reglamento.

CAPÍTULO II CONSEJO CONSULTIVO DE TURISMO DE QUINTANA ROO

Artículo 12. El Consejo Consultivo de Turismo de Quintana Roo es un órgano de consulta de la Secretaría, que tendrá por objeto proponer la formulación de las estrategias y acciones de coordinación de las dependencias y entidades de la Administración Pública del Estado, con el fin de lograr un desarrollo integral de la actividad turística del Estado, utilizando entre otros mecanismo los foros de consulta y memorias publicadas.

Artículo 13.- El Consejo Consultivo de Turismo de Quintana Roo será presidido por el Titular del Ejecutivo del Estado, y estará integrado por aquellos que determine éste, así como por el Titular de la Secretaría, y por los Presidentes Municipales conforme a lo que establezcan las disposiciones reglamentarias.

Podrán ser invitadas las instituciones y entidades públicas, federales, locales y municipales, privadas y sociales, que se determinen, y demás personas relacionadas con el turismo en el Estado, las cuales participarán únicamente con derecho a voz.

TÍTULO CUARTO DE LA POLÍTICA Y PLANEACIÓN DE LA ACTIVIDAD TURÍSTICA

CAPÍTULO I DE LA INCORPORACIÓN DE LA ACTIVIDAD TURÍSTICA A LAS CADENAS PRODUCTIVAS

Artículo 14.- La Secretaría y los Ayuntamientos, en el ámbito de sus respectivas competencias, estimularán y promoverán entre la iniciativa privada y el sector social, la creación y fomento de cadenas productivas y redes de valor en torno a los desarrollos turísticos nuevos y existentes, con el fin de detonar la economía del Estado y de los Municipios y con ello, buscar el desarrollo regional.

Lo anterior, entre otros, a través de estudios sociales y de mercado, tomando en cuenta la información disponible en el Registro Nacional de Turismo y el Atlas Turístico de México.

CAPÍTULO II DEL TURISMO SOCIAL

Artículo 15.- La Secretaría impulsará y promoverá el turismo social, el cual comprende todos aquellos instrumentos y medios, a través de los cuales se otorgan facilidades con equidad para que las personas viajen con fines recreativos, deportivos, educativos y culturales en condiciones adecuadas de economía, seguridad y comodidad.

Las dependencias y las entidades de la Administración Pública del Estado, coordinarán y promoverán sus esfuerzos entre ellas y con las de los gobiernos municipales, e impulsarán acciones con los sectores social y privado para el fomento del turismo social.

La Secretaría, la Oficialía Mayor, la Secretaría de Cultura, y la Comisión para la Juventud y el Deporte de Quintana Roo, elaborarán y ejecutarán de manera coordinada un programa tendiente a fomentar el turismo social en el Estado de Quintana Roo.

Artículo 16.- A los Ayuntamientos del Estado les corresponderán establecer programas que impulsen y promuevan el turismo social.

CAPÍTULO III DEL TURISMO ACCESIBLE

Artículo 17.- La Secretaría, con el apoyo y en coordinación de las dependencias y entidades competentes de la Administración Pública del Estado, promoverá la prestación de servicios turísticos con accesibilidad, que tengan por objeto beneficiar a la población con alguna discapacidad, apegada a la Ley de Protección y Desarrollo Integral para las Personas con Discapacidad del Estado de Quintana Roo.

Artículo 18.- Los prestadores de servicios turísticos deberán proveer lo necesario para que las personas con discapacidad cuenten con accesibilidad a los servicios en condiciones adecuadas.

La misma obligación tendrán las autoridades respecto de los sitios culturales con afluencia turística.

Artículo 19.- La Secretaría y los Ayuntamientos, vigilarán que las disposiciones establecidas en el presente capítulo se cumplan.

CAPÍTULO IV DE LA CULTURA TURÍSTICA

Artículo 20.- La Secretaría, en coordinación con los Ayuntamientos, promoverán y fomentarán entre la población aquellos programas y actividades que difundan la cultura, con el fin de crear el conocimiento de los beneficios de la actividad turística.

Artículo 21.- La Secretaría en conjunto con la Secretaría de Educación del Estado, promoverá programas que difundan la importancia de respetar y conservar los atractivos turísticos, así como mostrar un espíritu de servicio y hospitalidad hacia el turista nacional y extranjero.

Artículo 22.- La Secretaría en coordinación con la Secretaría de Cultura, establecerá programas que tengan como finalidad fomentar y promover la cultura del Estado, dichos programas deberán ser difundidos entre los prestadores de servicios turísticos en el Estado.

Artículo 23.- La Secretaría, con la participación de las distintas dependencias y entidades de la Administración Pública del Estado promoverá la suscripción de acuerdos con prestadores de servicios turísticos para el cumplimiento de los objetivos de este capítulo.

Las dependencias y entidades de la Administración Pública del Estado y de los Municipios promoverán entre sus trabajadores el turismo social.

TÍTULO QUINTO DE LOS PROGRAMAS TURÍSTICOS

CAPÍTULO I DEL PROGRAMA SECTORIAL DE TURISMO

Artículo 24.- La Secretaría elaborará el Programa Sectorial de Turismo del Estado, que se sujetará a los objetivos y metas establecidas para el sector en el Plan Estatal de Desarrollo.

La Secretaría al especificar en el programa las políticas, objetivos y prioridades que regirán a la actividad turística, procurará investigar las características de la demanda y los atractivos turísticos naturales y culturales con que cuenta cada ruta o región en el Estado.

El Programa Sectorial podrá contener entre otros elementos metodológicos de la planificación, un diagnóstico y un pronóstico de la situación del turismo en el Estado, el Programa de Ordenamiento, y las políticas, objetivos y metas a corto, mediano y largo plazo de la actividad turística, con observancia a lo que establezcan los instrumentos jurídicos, administrativos y de política económica que sean aplicables.

CAPÍTULO II

PROGRAMA DE ORDENAMIENTO TURÍSTICO DEL TERRITORIO DEL ESTADO

Artículo 25.- El Programa de Ordenamiento Turístico del Territorio del Estado, será expedido por el titular del Poder Ejecutivo del Estado, con la participación de los Ayuntamientos del Estado.

El Programa de Ordenamiento, deberá estar acorde con los Programas de Ordenamiento Turístico General y Regional del Territorio.

Artículo 26.- Cuando el Programa de Ordenamiento, incluya una Zona de Desarrollo Turístico Sustentable, el programa será elaborado y aprobado en forma conjunta por la Secretaría Federal y el Titular del Ejecutivo del Estado.

Artículo 27.- La Secretaría propondrá al titular del Poder Ejecutivo del Estado, el Programa de Ordenamiento, para su aprobación en su caso.

El Titular del Ejecutivo, lo analizará conjuntamente con los Presidentes Municipales del Estado y de no haber modificación alguna por parte de aquel, lo expedirá y mandará se publique en el Periódico Oficial del Estado de Quintana Roo.

Artículo 28.- El Programa de Ordenamiento, deberá aprobarse dentro del mes de enero de cada año; éste, deberá ser compatible con los Programas de Ordenamiento Ecológicos, con los Planes o Programas de Desarrollo Urbano y Uso de Suelo.

Artículo 29.- El Programa de Ordenamiento preverá las disposiciones necesarias para la coordinación entre las distintas autoridades involucradas en la formulación y ejecución del Programa de Ordenamiento.

Artículo 30.- La Secretaría, establecerá las formas y los procedimientos de participación de grupos y organizaciones sociales y empresariales, para la elaboración, ejecución, vigilancia y evaluación del Programa de Ordenamiento.

Artículo 31.- La Secretaría, para la formulación del Programa de Ordenamiento, podrá solicitar al Consejo Consultivo de Turismo de Quintana Roo, su opinión cuando así lo considere pertinente.

Artículo 32.- El Programa de Ordenamiento, tendrá por objeto:

- I. Determinar el área a ordenar, describiendo sus recursos turísticos; incluyendo un análisis de riesgos de las mismas;
- II. Proponer los criterios para la determinación de los planes o programas de desarrollo urbano, así como del uso del suelo, con el propósito de preservar los recursos naturales y aprovechar de manera ordenada y sustentable los recursos turísticos respectivos; y
- III. Definir los lineamientos para su ejecución, seguimiento, evaluación y modificación.

Artículo 33.- El Programa de Ordenamiento, será evaluado anualmente por la Comisión Ejecutiva de Turismo de Quintana Roo, con la participación de grupos y organizaciones sociales y empresariales de conformidad con lo establecido en el Reglamento de la presente ley.

Artículo 34.- El resultado de la evaluación, será remitido a la Secretaría y al titular del Poder Ejecutivo del Estado, para las modificaciones correspondientes.

TÍTULO SEXTO
CAPÍTULO ÚNICO
DE LAS ZONAS DE DESARROLLO TURÍSTICO SUSTENTABLE

Artículo 35.- Las Zonas de Desarrollo Turístico Sustentable, de conformidad con lo dispuesto por la Ley General, serán declaradas por el Ejecutivo Federal.

Artículo 36.- El Titular del Ejecutivo del Estado y los Ayuntamientos en coordinación con la Secretaría Federal, formularán los programas de manejo correspondiente para cada Zona.

Artículo 37.- El Ejecutivo del Estado y los Ayuntamientos, en el ámbito de sus respectivas competencias, podrán intervenir para impulsar la actividad turística en la Zona de Desarrollo Turístico Sustentable, fomentando la inversión, el empleo y el ordenamiento territorial, conservando sus recursos naturales en beneficio de la población.

Artículo 38.- El Ejecutivo del Estado y los Ayuntamientos podrán presentar ante la Secretaría Federal, proyectos de declaratoria de Zonas de Desarrollo Turístico Sustentable, en términos del Artículo 4 fracción XXI de la presente ley.

Artículo 39.- En el Reglamento de la presente Ley, se establecerán los lineamientos de coordinación, para que el Ejecutivo del Estado y los Ayuntamientos conjuntamente realicen la solicitud señalada en el artículo anterior.

TÍTULO SEPTIMO
DE LA PROMOCIÓN, DIFUSION Y CAPACITACIÓN TURÍSTICA.

CAPÍTULO I
DE LA PROMOCIÓN Y DIFUSIÓN DE LA ACTIVIDAD TURÍSTICA.

Artículo 40.- Con la participación de la Comisión, del Consejo y de los Consejos Municipales, la Secretaría realizará por sí o con otras Instituciones Públicas o Privadas, la promoción y difusión de la oferta turística, así como de los lugares que tengan atractivo para los turistas, a través de los Fideicomisos de Promoción Turística del Estado.

Artículo 41.- La Promoción y difusión Turística se realizará con bases técnicas que permitan incrementar la captación del Turismo.

Artículo 42.- La Secretaría promoverá con la participación de las Instituciones involucradas, la realización de festivales, exposiciones, ferias turísticas, eventos deportivos, artísticos, culturales y los demás que se orienten a la difusión de los atractivos y destinos turísticos.

Artículo 43.- En los eventos que señala el artículo anterior, la Secretaría escuchando la opinión del Consejo Consultivo de Turismo de Quintana Roo, procurará que se otorguen reconocimientos a los prestadores de servicios turísticos que se destaquen por su interés, creatividad, inversión, atención y promoción de la actividad turística en el Estado y por la calidad de sus servicios, de acuerdo a la convocatoria que para el efecto se expida.

Artículo 44.- La promoción y difusión de atractivos y servicios turísticos que ofrezca el Estado de Quintana Roo en el extranjero, se realizará en coordinación con los fideicomisos de promoción turística y las oficinas que se encuentren vinculadas con el sector en otros países.

Artículo 45.- Cuando se trate de inversiones en el sector turístico, la Secretaría podrá en apego a las disposiciones legales que correspondan, proponer al titular del Ejecutivo del Estado otorgue incentivos fiscales para la inversión turística en el Estado.

CAPÍTULO II DE LA CAPACITACIÓN TURÍSTICA

Artículo 46.- La Secretaría promoverá acciones de coordinación y formulará recomendaciones en la elaboración de planes y programas de estudios con las instancias educativas competentes, para que se promueva a través de libros de texto o cualquier otro medio didáctico, el significado de la actividad turística, su importancia para el Estado, y para la formación de profesionales y asesores en esta actividad.

Artículo 47.- La Secretaría llevará un registro de centros de enseñanza dedicados a la especialidad de turismo, reconocidos oficialmente por las Secretarías de Educación del Estado y Federal, con el objeto de dar a conocer a los prestadores de servicios turísticos que así lo soliciten, sobre la validez oficial y el nivel académico de dichos planteles educativos.

Artículo 48.- La Secretaría propondrá al Titular del Ejecutivo del Estado la celebración de acuerdos con la Secretaría del Trabajo y Previsión Social, para el desarrollo de programas relacionados con la capacitación y adiestramiento que tengan como finalidad instruir a aquellos trabajadores y empleados de establecimientos turísticos, con el conocimiento necesario, para el desarrollo de sus actividades, de acuerdo a los términos que marque la legislación federal en materia de trabajo.

Artículo 49.- La Secretaría propondrá al Titular del Ejecutivo del Estado programas de capacitación, y se coordinará con la Secretaría Federal, con otras dependencias estatales y entidades municipales, organismos de los sectores social y privado, a efecto de obtener su asistencia y colaboración para la impartición de cursos de capacitación turística, tanto a prestadores de servicios turísticos, como a servidores públicos.

TÍTULO OCTAVO DE LOS ASPECTOS OPERATIVOS

CAPÍTULO ÚNICO DEL REGISTRO NACIONAL DE TURISMO

Artículo 50.- El Ejecutivo del Estado y los Ayuntamientos podrán contar con información sobre los prestadores de servicios turísticos a nivel nacional, con objeto de conocer mejor el mercado turístico y establecer comunicación con las empresas cuando se requiera, esto, mediante el Registro Nacional de Turismo, catálogo público de prestadores de servicios turísticos en el país.

Artículo 51.- De conformidad con lo dispuesto por la Ley General, el Ejecutivo del Estado y los Ayuntamientos cuentan con la facultad para operar el Registro Nacional de Turismo.

Artículo 52.- La base de datos del Registro Nacional de Turismo quedará bajo la guarda de la Secretaría Federal, siendo responsabilidad de la Secretaría y de los Ayuntamientos, constatar la veracidad de la información que proporcionen los prestadores de servicios turísticos en el Estado.

**TÍTULO NOVENO
DE LOS PRESTADORES DE SERVICIOS TURÍSTICOS Y DE LOS TURISTAS**

**CAPÍTULO I
DE LOS PRESTADORES DE SERVICIOS TURÍSTICOS**

Artículo 53.- La prestación de los Servicios Turísticos se regirá por lo que las partes convengan, observándose la Ley General, esta Ley, la Ley Federal de Protección al Consumidor, y demás disposiciones legales y administrativas aplicables.

Para operar, los prestadores de servicios turísticos, deberán cumplir con los elementos y requisitos que determinen la Secretaría Federal, las disposiciones reglamentarias correspondientes y las Normas Oficiales Mexicanas, mismas que serán de observancia obligatoria en el Estado.

En la prestación y uso de los servicios turísticos no habrá discriminación de ninguna naturaleza en contra de persona alguna, en los términos del orden jurídico nacional o estatal.

Artículo 54.- Los prestadores de servicios turísticos tendrán los siguientes derechos:

- I. Participar en el Consejo Consultivo de Turismo de Quintana Roo, de conformidad con las reglas de organización del mismo;
- II. Aparecer en el Registro Nacional de Turismo;
- III. Participar en los programas de profesionalización del sector turismo, que promueva o lleve a cabo la Secretaría;
- IV. Obtener la clasificación que se otorgue en los términos de esta Ley;
- V. Solicitar al personal encargado de las visitas de inspección y demás procedimientos de verificación, se identifiquen y presenten la documentación que autoriza su actuación;
- VI. Recibir los beneficios que se les otorgue, por inscribirse en el Registro Nacional de Turismo;
- VII. Recibir asesoramiento técnico, así como la información y auxilio de la Secretaría, ante las diversas oficinas de la Administración Pública del Estado cuando el interés turístico lo amerite;
- VIII. La recomendación de la Secretaría ante las autoridades competentes para la obtención de licencias o permisos de establecimientos;
- IX. Recibir apoyo en la celebración de convenciones, eventos deportivos, gastronómicos, conferencias, exposiciones y demás eventos organizados con fines turísticos;
- X. Ser incluidos en los catálogos, directorios y guías turísticas elaborados por la Secretaría;
- XI. Participar en los programas de capacitación turística que promueva o lleve a cabo la Secretaría;
- XII. Participar en los programas que fomenten una cultura de protección de los niños, niñas y adolescentes frente a la explotación sexual y/o laboral en la Industria del Turismo, que promueva o lleve a cabo la Secretaría;
- XIII. Recibir del turista la remuneración convenida por los servicios turísticos que proporcione; y

XIV. Los demás que establezcan la legislación aplicable en la materia

Artículo 55.- Los prestadores de los servicios turísticos tendrán los siguientes deberes:

- I.** Anunciar visiblemente en los lugares de acceso al establecimiento la dirección, teléfono o correo electrónico, tanto del responsable del establecimiento, como de la autoridad competente, ante la que puede presentar sus quejas;
- II.** Informar al turista los precios, tarifas, condiciones, características y costo total, de los servicios y productos que éste requiera;
- III.** Implementar los procedimientos alternativos que determine la Secretaría, para la atención de quejas;
- IV.** Participar en el manejo responsable de los recursos naturales, arqueológicos, históricos y culturales, en términos de las disposiciones jurídicas aplicables;
- V.** Inscribirse en el Registro Nacional de Turismo y actualizar los datos oportunamente;
- VI.** Cumplir con los servicios, precios, tarifas y promociones, en los términos anunciados, ofrecidos o pactados;
- VII.** Expedir, factura detallada, nota de consumo o documento fiscal que ampare los cobros realizados por la prestación del servicio turístico proporcionado;
- VIII.** Profesionalizar a sus trabajadores y empleados, en los términos de las leyes respectivas, en coordinación con la Secretaría;
- IX.** Disponer de lo necesario para que los inmuebles, edificaciones y servicios turísticos incluyan las especificaciones que permitan la accesibilidad a toda persona de cualquier condición;
- X.** Cumplir con las características y requisitos exigidos, de acuerdo a su clasificación en los términos de la Ley General;
- XI.** Prestar sus servicios en español como primera lengua, lo que no impide que se puedan prestar los servicios en otros idiomas o lenguas;
- XII.** Colaborar con la política estatal y nacional de promoción y difusión turística y atender las recomendaciones que para tal efecto haga la Secretaría;
- XIII.** Rembolsar, bonificar o compensar la suma correspondiente al servicio incumplido, o bien prestar otro servicio de la misma calidad o equivalencia al que hubiera incumplido, a elección del turista;
- XIV.** Proporcionar a la Secretaría toda la información y facilitar la documentación que ameriten presentar, para efectos de supervisión, inspección y estadística, cuando se requiera de éstos, siempre y cuando se refiera a documentación relacionada única y exclusivamente con la prestación del servicio turístico correspondiente;
- XV.** Observar las disposiciones de esta Ley y de la Ley General y demás ordenamientos legales que normen su actividad y vigilar que sus dependientes y empleados cumplan con las mismas;

- XVI.** Anunciar en los lugares de acceso al establecimiento, sus precios y tarifas y los servicios que éstos incluyen. Cuando se trate de la prestación de servicios de guías de turistas, guías de buceo y guías especializados, al momento de la contratación del servicio, informarán su tarifa y lo que éste incluye;
- XVII.** Realizar en idioma español los anuncios publicitarios de sus establecimientos y del servicio que se preste, pudiendo poner en otro idioma con letra de igual o menor tamaño dentro del mismo anuncio la traducción de lo escrito en español;
- XVIII.** Ofrecer al turista la obtención de una prima de seguro a través de un pago adicional para su protección, cuando la naturaleza del servicio contratado así lo requiera;
- XIX.** Proporcionar al turista los bienes o servicios ofrecidos en los términos acordados, exceptuando en casos fortuitos, de fuerza mayor o cuando el turista incumpla con el pago del servicio contratado y/o contravenga los reglamentos internos de los prestadores de servicios, avalados por las Normas Oficiales Mexicanas;
- XX.** Implementar las medidas de seguridad en los establecimientos y lugares donde prestan sus servicios;
- XXI.** Garantizar al usuario la tranquila y segura disposición y uso de los bienes y servicios prestados;
- XXII.** Difundir información de manera ética, profesional y responsable por cualquier medio de comunicación que utilice para promocionarse, sobre la actividad turística en el Estado; y
- XXIII.** Las demás que establezca la legislación aplicable en la materia.

CAPÍTULO II DE LOS TURISTAS

Artículo 56.- Los turistas, con independencia de los derechos que les asisten como consumidores, tendrán en los términos previstos en esta Ley, los siguientes derechos:

- I.** Recibir información útil, precisa, veraz y detallada, con carácter previo, sobre todas y cada una de las condiciones de prestación de los servicios turísticos;
- II.** Obtener los bienes y servicios turísticos en las condiciones contratadas;
- III.** Obtener los documentos que acrediten los términos de su contratación, y en cualquier caso, las correspondientes facturas o comprobantes fiscales legalmente emitidas;
- IV.** Recibir del prestador de servicios turísticos, los bienes y servicios de calidad, acordes con la naturaleza y cantidad de la categoría que ostente el establecimiento elegido;
- V.** Recibir los servicios sin ser discriminados, en términos de lo que dispone el último párrafo del Artículo 53 de la presente ley;
- VI.** Disfrutar el libre acceso y goce de todo el patrimonio turístico, así como su permanencia en las instalaciones de dichos servicios, sin más limitaciones que las derivadas de los reglamentos específicos de cada actividad; y
- VII.** Contar con las condiciones de higiene y seguridad de sus personas y bienes en las instalaciones y servicios turísticos, en los términos establecidos en la legislación correspondiente.

Artículo 57.- Son deberes del turista:

- I. Observar las normas usuales de convivencia en los establecimientos turísticos;
- II. Respetar el entorno natural y patrimonio cultural de los sitios en los que realice una actividad turística;
- III. Acatar las prescripciones particulares de establecimientos mercantiles y empresas cuyos servicios turísticos disfruten o contraten y, particularmente las normas y reglamentos mercantiles de uso o de régimen interior; y
- IV. Pagar el precio de los servicios utilizados en el momento de la presentación de la factura o del documento que ampare el pago en el plazo pactado.

**TÍTULO DÉCIMO
DE LA COMPETITIVIDAD Y PROFESIONALIZACIÓN
EN LA ACTIVIDAD TURÍSTICA Y DE LOS TRABAJADORES TURÍSTICOS.**

**CAPÍTULO PRIMERO
DE LA COMPETITIVIDAD Y PROFESIONALIZACIÓN EN LA ACTIVIDAD TURÍSTICA**

Artículo 58.- Corresponde a la Secretaría promover la competitividad de la actividad turística en el Estado, y en coordinación con las dependencias y entidades competentes de la Administración Pública del Estado, fomentar:

- I. La formulación de políticas públicas, modelos y acciones que incrementen la calidad y competitividad en la materia;
- II. La profesionalización de quienes laboran en empresas turísticas o prestan servicios en la actividad;
- III. La modernización de las empresas turísticas;
- IV. El otorgamiento de incentivos, distintivos, certificados o reconocimientos a los prestadores de servicios turísticos, de acuerdo con los lineamientos que establezca la propia Secretaría;
- V. El diseño y ejecución de acciones de coordinación entre dependencias y entidades de la Administración pública del Estado y de los Municipios para la promoción y establecimiento de empresas turísticas; y
- VI. La realización de acciones para favorecer las inversiones y proyectos turísticos de alto impacto en el sector, así como agilizar los mecanismos y procedimientos administrativos que faciliten su desarrollo y conclusión.

Artículo 59.- La Secretaría en coordinación con la Secretaría de Educación, realizarán estudios e investigaciones en materia turística, y llevarán a cabo acciones para mejorar y complementar la enseñanza turística a nivel superior y de postgrado en el Estado, dirigida al personal de instituciones públicas, privadas y sociales vinculadas y con objeto social relativo al turismo.

Artículo 60.- La Secretaría promoverá en coordinación con las dependencias y entidades de la Administración Pública del Estado, de los Municipios, organismos públicos, privados y sociales nacionales el establecimiento de escuelas y centros de educación y capacitación para la formación de profesionales y técnicos en ramas de la actividad turística. Asimismo establecerá lineamientos, contenidos y alcances a fin de promover y facilitar la certificación de competencias laborales.

**CAPÍTULO SEGUNDO
DE LOS TRABAJADORES TURÍSTICOS**

Artículo 61.- La Secretaría, en coordinación con la Secretaría del Trabajo y Previsión Social del Estado, con la finalidad de brindar un servicio de calidad turística en la entidad, establecerá programas de capacitación para los trabajadores y empleados que presten un servicio considerado como turístico. A su vez, serán incluidos en los programas de capacitación, acciones coordinadas para fomentar una cultura de protección de los niños, niñas y adolescentes frente a la explotación sexual y/o laboral en la Industria de Turismo.

Estos programas deberán de ser difundidos entre los prestadores de servicios turísticos, quienes podrán solicitar a la Secretaría, la realización de cursos de capacitación para su personal.

Artículo 62.- La Secretaría y la Secretaría del Trabajo y Previsión Social del Estado, podrán coordinar los cursos de capacitación que brinden las Instituciones Educativas, Cámaras Empresariales y Sindicatos de Trabajadores, cuando éstos así lo soliciten.

Artículo 63.- La Secretaría por si o en coordinación con la Secretaria del Trabajo y Previsión Social del Estado, conjunta o indistintamente, podrá celebrar convenios de cooperación con instituciones educativas de nivel medio superior y superior, instituciones públicas gubernamentales, cámaras empresariales, sindicatos y demás entes públicos o privados que tengan como fin enaltecer la actividad turística en el Estado, para el cumplimiento de los objetivos señalados en este capítulo.

Artículo 64.- La Secretaría emitirá certificados de calidad en la prestación de servicios turísticos a los trabajadores o empleados que por su desempeño, conocimientos y/o trato amable hacia los turistas, sobresalgan en la prestación de sus servicios, los cuales deberán otorgarse por la Secretaría de manera anual en el marco de la celebración del día mundial de turismo.

Artículo 65.- Los empleados y trabajadores que cuenten con el certificado de calidad, y que por alguna circunstancia ajena a su desempeño se quedaran sin empleo, quedarán comprendidos como opción preferente dentro de la bolsa de trabajo del Estado.

Artículo 66.- La Secretaría contará con el padrón de empleados y trabajadores certificados, mismo que deberá de publicarse una vez al año, en por lo menos un periódico de mayor circulación en el Estado.

Artículo 67.- En el reglamento que en su caso se expida, se establecerán los lineamientos que tanto la Secretaría como los prestadores de los servicios turísticos del Estado deberán atender en materia de protección a los derechos de niños, niñas, adolescentes y ciudadanos en materia turística en el Estado.

**TÍTULO DÉCIMO PRIMERO
CAPÍTULO ÚNICO
DE LA SITUACIÓN DE EMERGENCIA Y DESASTRE**

Artículo 68.- El titular de la Secretaría, como autoridad competente en materia de protección civil en el Estado, conjuntamente con las autoridades que correspondan, velará por la seguridad de los turistas y los prestadores de servicios turísticos en el Estado, cuando se presente en éste, alguna contingencia que ponga en riesgo la integridad física y el patrimonio de los involucrados en la actividad turística en el Estado.

Artículo 69.- La Secretaría en coordinación con los Ayuntamientos, establecerán programas o acciones tendientes a fomentar en los turistas, que hacer ante la presencia de fenómenos hidrometeorológicos o ante cualquier contingencia que se presente en el Estado.

Artículo 70.- Atendiendo a lo dispuesto en el artículo anterior, la Secretaría y los Ayuntamientos como medida preventiva difundirán entre los turistas y los prestadores de servicios turísticos, los albergues y refugios acreditados por el Instituto de Protección Civil del Estado de Quintana Roo.

Artículo 71.- La Secretaría y los Municipios, en el ámbito de sus respectivas competencias, sin perjuicio de lo que disponga la ley de la materia, vigilarán que los prestadores de servicios turísticos en el Estado, cumplan con las disposiciones establecidas en la Ley de Protección Civil del Estado de Quintana Roo.

TÍTULO DÉCIMO SEGUNDO DE LA PROTECCIÓN AL TURISTA

CAPÍTULO I DE LA PROTECCIÓN Y ORIENTACIÓN AL TURISTA

Artículo 72.- La Secretaría orientará y protegerá al turista, brindándole información, recibiendo sus quejas, sugerencias o planteamientos; promoviendo la conciliación de sus intereses con los prestadores de servicios o alguna autoridad del orden público local, para lo cual turnará o atenderá en su caso los asuntos relacionados con la afectación de sus derechos, cuando por su condición de turista así lo requiera.

Artículo 73.- Para efectos del artículo anterior la Secretaría podrá:

- I.- Atender toda clase de queja, sugerencia o necesidad de apoyo al turista, canalizando a la entidad competente y apoyando sus gestiones, en la medida de lo posible;
- II.- Intervenir cuando tenga competencia en la conciliación de intereses entre los prestadores de servicios turísticos y el turista, buscando una solución equitativa para ambas partes, a fin de que se mantenga la buena imagen del centro turístico involucrado;
- III.- Denunciar ante las autoridades competentes, en base a las anomalías detectadas, a los prestadores de servicios que ameriten ser sancionados;
- IV.- Orientar a los turistas cuando éstos, hayan adquirido un seguro de asistencia turística, relacionado en riesgos de enfermedad, accidentes individuales, defensa jurídica y la repatriación de personas y bienes.

CAPÍTULO II DE LA VERIFICACIÓN

Artículo 74.- Es facultad de la Secretaría realizar visitas de verificación a los Prestadores de Servicios Turísticos, a efecto de constatar el debido cumplimiento de los deberes a su cargo establecidos en esta Ley y su reglamento, buscando la excelencia en la prestación de los servicios turísticos.

Artículo 75.- Las visitas de verificación que efectúe la Secretaría se rigen por esta Ley y se practicarán en días y horas hábiles, por personal autorizado que exhiba identificación vigente y la orden de verificación respectiva, la que deberá de ser expedida por la autoridad o autoridades competentes y en la que claramente se especifiquen las disposiciones de cuyo cumplimiento habrá de verificarse y la manera de hacerlo. Sin embargo, podrán practicarse visitas en días y horas inhábiles, en aquellos casos en que el tipo y la naturaleza de los servicios turísticos así lo requieran, pero dentro del horario de funcionamiento autorizado por el establecimiento.

Artículo 76.- Durante las visitas de verificación, los prestadores de servicios turísticos proporcionarán a la autoridad la información que les sea solicitada, siempre que se refiera a las disposiciones que expresamente se señalen en la orden de verificación.

Artículo 77.- A toda visita de verificación que se realice, corresponderá el levantamiento del acta respectiva, debidamente circunstanciada y elaborada en presencia de dos testigos, propuestos por la persona que haya atendido la visita o por el verificador, si aquella se hubiera negado a designarlos.

Artículo 78.- En las actas que se levanten con motivo de la visita de verificación, se hará constar, por lo menos lo siguiente:

- I.- Hora, día, mes y año en que se practicó la visita;
- II.- Objeto de la visita;
- III.- Número y la fecha de la orden de verificación, así como la identificación oficial de verificador;
- IV.- Ubicación física del establecimiento o de las instalaciones donde se presten los servicios turísticos que sean objeto de la verificación, la que incluirá, calle, número, colonia, código postal, población y Municipio;
- V.- Nombre y carácter o personalidad jurídica con quien se entendió la visita de verificación;
- VI.- Nombre y domicilio de las personas designadas como testigos por parte del prestador de servicio que esté siendo verificado y ante la negativa de su designación, serán propuestos por parte del verificador;
- VII.- Síntesis descriptiva de la visita, asentando los hechos, datos y omisiones derivados del objetivo de la misma;
- VIII.- Declaración de la persona con quien se entendió la visita o su negativa de hacerla; y
- IX.- Nombre y firma del verificador, de quien atendió la visita y de las personas que hayan fungido como testigos.

Una vez elaborada el acta, el verificador proporcionará una copia de la misma a la persona con quien entendió la visita, aún en el caso de que ésta se hubiera negado a firmarla, hecho que no desvirtuará su validez.

Artículo 79.- Concluida la verificación, la Secretaría turnará a la o las dependencias competentes copia del acta circunstanciada de la actuación realizada, para efectos de que valore los hechos u omisiones asentados en la misma, quien a su vez determinará la sanción que corresponda en su caso.

CAPÍTULO III DE LAS SANCIONES Y DEL RECURSO DE REVISIÓN

Artículo 80.- Las infracciones a lo dispuesto en esta Ley, su Reglamento y demás disposiciones de carácter estatal, así como las derivadas de las quejas de los turistas, serán sancionadas por la Secretaría, para lo cual deberá iniciar y resolver el procedimiento administrativo de infracción, de conformidad con lo que disponga la Ley y las disposiciones reglamentarias que correspondan.

Tratándose de quejas que se deriven del incumplimiento de disposiciones establecidas en otras leyes de las que conozca la Secretaría, deberá turnarlas a la autoridad competente.

En el reglamento de la presente Ley, se establecerán los procedimientos sancionatorios, a los que podrán hacerse acreedores los prestadores de los servicios turísticos en el Estado.

Los procedimientos que se establezcan, deberán estar estrictamente apegados al principio de legalidad.

Artículo 81. En la determinación de las sanciones, se tomarán en cuenta:

- I.- Los hechos que originaron la infracción;
- II.- La gravedad de la infracción;
- III.- El daño económico y los perjuicios que se hubiesen ocasionado al turista;
- IV.- La reincidencia, en su caso;
- V.- Los datos que aporten las denuncias de los turistas;
- VI.- La publicidad, información de los prestadores de servicios y la comprobación de las infracciones; y
- VII.- En general, cualquier dato o circunstancia que aporte elementos para la aplicación de la sanción.

Artículo 82.- Para la determinación del monto de las multas, se tomará en consideración, además de lo estipulado en el artículo anterior, el tipo de servicio turístico de que se trate, su categoría y ubicación, así como los precios y tarifas que tengan establecidos.

Artículo 83.- Se entenderá que hay reincidencia, cuando el mismo infractor incurra, en el lapso de un año, en dos o más violaciones al mismo precepto legal, contándose el mencionado plazo a partir de la fecha en que se cometió la primera infracción.

En caso de reincidencia, se aplicará multa de hasta seis veces la suma correspondiente al servicio incumplido.

Artículo 84.- Serán supletorias de la presente ley, el Código Civil, el Código de Procedimientos Civiles y la Ley de Justicia Administrativa, todas, del Estado de Quintana Roo.

Artículo 85.- Contra las resoluciones dictadas por la Secretaría, con fundamento en esta Ley y su Reglamento se podrá recurrir de conformidad con lo previsto en la legislación aplicable en la materia.

T R A N S I T O R I O S :

PRIMERO.- La presente Ley entrará en vigor al día siguiente de su publicación en el Periódico Oficial del Estado de Quintana Roo.

SEGUNDO.- Se abroga la Ley de Turismo del Estado de Quintana Roo, publicada en el Periódico Oficial del Gobierno del Estado en fecha 21 de diciembre de 1998.

TERCERO.- Se derogan todas las disposiciones legales y reglamentarias en el ámbito estatal que se opongan al presente ordenamiento.

CUARTO.- El Titular del Ejecutivo del Estado, expedirá los Reglamentos que refiere la presente Ley, dentro de los noventa días siguientes a la entrada en vigor de esta.

QUINTO.- Los Ayuntamientos, expedirán sus reglamentos dentro de los ciento ochenta días siguientes a la entrada en vigor de esta Ley.

SEXTO.- Los procedimientos administrativos iniciados ante la autoridad que corresponda, antes de la entrada en vigor de la presente ley, deberán atenderse y resolverse, de conformidad con la legislación que se abroga mediante esta ley.

ARTÍCULO TRANSITORIO:

ÚNICO.- Publíquese el presente Decreto en el Periódico Oficial del Estado de Quintana Roo.

SALÓN DE SESIONES DEL HONORABLE PODER LEGISLATIVO, EN LA CIUDAD DE CHETUMAL, CAPITAL DEL ESTADO DE QUINTANA ROO, A LOS VEINTIDÓS DÍAS DEL MES DE JUNIO DEL AÑO DOS MIL DIEZ.

DIPUTADO PRESIDENTE:

DIPUTADA SECRETARIA:

ING. EDUARDO MANUEL IC SANDY.

LIC. MARÍA HADAD CASTILLO.

APPENDIX H

KEY MARGINALIZATION INDICATORS IN SELECTED COMMUNITIES IN THE ZONA MAYA (2005)

| Town | Population | Illiteracy rate | % of households without toilets and sewage disposal | % households without electricity | % of households without running water | % of households with dirt floor | % of households without refrigerators |
|------------------------|------------|-----------------|---|----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Felipe Carrillo Puerto | 21,530 | 8.67 | 7.08 | 3.34 | 7.98 | 8.24 | 27.29 |
| Chunhuhub | 3,928 | 28.57 | 33.33 | 11.11 | n/d | 66.67 | 66.67 |
| Tihosuco | 4,607 | 20.76 | 67.88 | 11.61 | 6.45 | 56.24 | 61.78 |
| Señor | 2,872 | 20.76 | 68.74 | 8.04 | 3.67 | 60.89 | 64.35 |
| Tepich | 2,543 | 30.19 | 81.36 | 16.67 | 13.85 | 52.20 | 71.49 |

Note. Source: INEGI (2005).

VITA

Name: Blanca Alejandra Camargo Ortega

Address: Carrera 45 # 80-200
Barranquilla, Colombia

Email Address: bacamargo@hotmail.com

Education: B.S., Business Administration, 1997
Universidad Autónoma de Bucaramanga, Colombia

M.S., Hospitality and Tourism Management, 2000
Purdue University, IN, USA

M.S., International Tourism Management, 2005
AILUN, Nuoro, Italy

Ph.D., Tourism Management, 2011
Texas A&M University, College Station, TX, USA