Made in San Pedro: The production of dress and meaning in a Tz'utujil - Maya municipality

by

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B.S., University of Rhode Island, 2010
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AN ABSTRACT OF A DISSERTATION

submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Interior Design and Fashion Studies
College of Health and Human Sciences

KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY
Manhattan, Kansas

2021

Abstract

This study examines dress practices – encompassing design and production processes, discussion about dress, use, and styling decisions – in the Tz'utujil - Maya municipality of Tz'unun Ya', commonly referred to by participants as San Pedro La Laguna (San Pedro), Guatemala. By examining the relationship between women and all available clothing, this study recognizes the development of traditions and attends to dress practices as a way to engage with local culture. This study identifies the dress in use in San Pedro and its importance in the community, determines the influences on dress practices, and evaluates the complexities of dress practices in view of cultural sustainability.

Understanding if the dress practices of San Pedro are culturally sustainable required inquiries into people-product relationships, social interaction amongst community members, and the systems that produce these garments. A qualitative data collection method was employed – collecting data primarily through 60-90 minute, semi-structured online interviews with 21 Tz'utujil identifying women. The research process adapted to themes and curiosities emerging from the data. The goal was to understand, clarify, and confirm reoccurring actions, reasons, and motives relating to the phenomenon of dress practices in San Pedro.

In-process analysis of interview transcriptions supported data collection and, therefore, the data analysis strategy (Esterberg, 2002). Information from the participants' interviews was transcribed and translated using Sonix.ai. Documents were edited and open-coded in Spanish and then focused-coded in English, using the MAXQDA qualitative data analysis software. Accounts provided by participants were also coded for premises of Blumer's (1969b) social interaction theory. During data analysis, procedural and analytical memos were generated and code

progression was documented. Data analysis also employed techniques such as the null hypothesis check and diagramming (Esterberg).

In San Pedro, the production of dress is the production of meaning. Garments are created through a system influenced by local tradition, social interactions, economic and practical needs, as well as desires to display heritage and individuality. This study's approach, to assess dress as a measure of culture, led to nuances between traditional garments not accounted for by previous literature. Participants regularly highlighted the importance and role of the blusa Pedrana in the community. Pedranas (women of San Pedro) have distinct relationships with traditional garments, municipal-affiliated clothing, and Western dress. These categories of dress are manufactured and consumed at different speeds. Variations in the fashion cycle reflect the involvement of the residents in these processes, and the value they have for the products. Women's relationships with dress is based on the communal understanding of the apparel production process. A strong presence of local production, and subsequently involvement in the making of traditional and municipal-affiliated clothing, supported a sustainable product relationship. The emergence of fast fashion cycles is a potential threat to the existing culturally sustainable system.

This study's findings are beneficial to Pedranas concerned about the future of their dress practices and invested in maintaining their heritage. This body of work will also serve as a record of dress for the community, potentially useful for educational or future conservation efforts. Within the scope of cultural sustainability, this project offers a perspective for thinking about traditional dress practices. It reinforces the idea that cultural systems, and their products, develop with respect to human agency. Garments, like the blusa Pedrana, can be undervalued in one region and an emblem of society in another. The meaning of these objects – derived by those

who interact with them in everyday life – also change. In a practical sense, this study models a dress-forward approach to investigating social relationships and meaning within a community.

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My research is indebted to multiple Indigenous populations. First, the Tz'utujil-Maya residing in Tz'unun Ya', most often referred to as San Pedro, dedicated their time to my work. It is with great respect that I report on their dress practices and their perspectives. Maltyoox.

I completed this dissertation at Kansas State University, which was founded on Indigenous lands. It is the ancestorial land of the Kansa (Kaw people) and is historically home to many Native nations, including the Kaw, Osage, and Pawnee. Kansas is the current home to the Sac and Fox Nation of Missouri in Kansas and Nebraska, the Prairie Band Potawatomie, the Iowa Tribe of Kansas and Nebraska, and the Kickapoo Tribe of Kansas. The work of students at higher education institutions across the United States exists in this context.

Completing this dissertation would not have been possible without guidance from my major professor, Dr. Kim Hiller, and the advisory committee – Dr. Melody LeHew, Dr. Alisa Garni, and Dr. Heather McCrea. I am also thankful to the countless informal advisors that have supported my research, studies, and well-being during my tenure at K-State, and previously at the London College of Fashion and the University of Rhode Island.

I am a first-generation university student and the first Doctor of Philosophy in my family. This dissertation is a testament to the support of my family and many dear friends.

Dedication

For O & T.

I never imagined that someone could do research on clothing…When you ask the questions, you also discover a lot of things - the courage and the security that you feel when you talk about your clothes – it's not the same to talk about it with someone else… I don't know, it's different, but I like it.

– Valentina

I don't have the exact information, but I feel that the knowledge I have is very important for me to be sharing and no matter who the person. For me it is very important to provide information about my culture, about my personality, about the traditions of my people…giving information - not exact - but being what I could give based on my knowledge. People, those who read this interview, I think may be interested in everything we see in depth. I am not the only one, there are several people, so I think, each of us can give different information.

– Guadalupe

We don't realize that there is an internal motivation that tells us 'these clothes today', but it's good and it's nice to talk about this, because my mind is a little bit more open. I remember some things now from my past in relation to my clothes. It's my connection to my friends and all this. It's not just a piece of clothing, it's something else.

– Lisa

Chapter 1 - Introduction and Background

Dress practices – encompassing design and production processes, discussion about dress, use, and styling decisions – are active representations of a culture at any given moment. Individuals' perspectives on dress practices demonstrate their understanding of their communities' expectations (Blumer; 1969b; Eicher & Evenson, 2012; Mead 1934). The use of dress, informed by this perspective, can be thought of as culture in social action (Fischer, 2001). The dress of a population also reflects previous expectations, heritage, and hopes for a culture's future. The dress used in San Pedro La Laguna, a town on the southern shore of Lake Atitlán in the Guatemalan highlands, represents this fluid reality; encompassing elements the participants in this study view to be traditional, modern, and uniquely their own.

The meaning and purpose of Maya dress practices is often overly generalized to encompass the 22 Maya ethnolinguistic groups in Guatemala. The term ethnolinguistic brings attention to the importance of language and ethnicity as the basis for a group's unity (French, 2010). Many researchers have strived to provide more textured accounts of dress practices to overcome generalizations about Maya culture that perpetuate 'Mayaness' as a singular or static idea (Fischer, 2001). Dress practices, as artifacts and processes within a culture, are shared by those with the greatest physical proximity to each other (Welters & Lillethun, 2018). Researchers, beginning with the work of Sol Tax in 1937, have consistently argued that municipalities are meaningful boundaries for Maya communities. This sentiment was echoed repeatedly during the interviews I conducted for this study. Speaking about San Pedro La Laguna a participant named "Ventura" stated,

> It is a little unique. Well, all the pueblos are unique…the personality of the peoples, different cultures, different traditions, *different, different* - different clothes. Everything is

> very, San Pedro. There will always be things that distinguishes us – but, we are a united people.

Contained within the municipalities' borders, most often referred to as a pueblo, are complex cultural practices unique to the residents (Fischer, 2001; Otzoy, 1996; Tax, 1937).

This study set out to identify influences on dress practices of the Tz'utujil living in San Pedro La Laguna today. An examination of dress practices is an examination of social interaction and thus a method for understanding how culture is sustaining. As such, the purpose of this research was to investigate the influences on dress practices in the community. This type of research is important due to its likelihood of providing suggestions for examining and supporting cultural sustainability efforts.

The intention of this study was to, during spring 2020, collect in-person perspectives on dress practices from Tz'utujil living in San Pedro La Laguna. However, due to the COVID-19 pandemic, the study was moved remotely after one week of in-person observations in Guatemala. Remote interviews and distance observations were documented in the summer of 2020. The process of analytical induction, a method of defining and redefining the hypothesis to best illustrate the mechanisms explaining social phenomenon, was followed (Timmermans & Tavory, 2012).

This chapter begins with a geographical, social, and political overview of the research site. Next, the chapter provides information about the Tz'utujil ethnolinguistic group and the town of San Pedro La Laguna, followed by the study's purpose statement and an explanation of the significance of the study. The chapter concludes with definitions for key terms and an overview of the structure of this dissertation.

The Republic of Guatemala

The Republic of Guatemala is the home of the Maya civilization located in Central America. The territory occupied by present day Guatemala has been geographically unified since 1821, after gaining its independence from Spain (Smith, 1990). The country borders Mexico, Belize, Honduras, and El Salvador. The country is organized into 22 departments that are divided into 340 municipalities[1] (Pan American Health Organization, 2021). San Pedro La Laguna is a municipality in the Department of Sololá. It is a Tz'utujil community. Other municipalities in Sololá are inhabited by the Kaqchikel and K'iche, neighboring Maya ethnolinguistic groups (Garzon et al. 1998). See geo-political and ethnolinguistic boundaries in Figure 1.1. In addition to geo-political borders, the people of Guatemala are stratified by language, economics, culture, and appearance. These divisions directly affect the participants in this study and are discussed in the following sections.

[1] Reports from 2000-2021 have indicated there are as few as 21 and as many as 28 Maya ethnolingustic groups in Guatemala. The number of municipalities also fluxuates.

Figure 1.1

Political and Ethnolinguistic Map of Guatemala

Note. Sold green line indicates the border of the Department of Solalá. Area shaded red is the Tz'utujil speaking region within the department. Illustration based on Perry-Castañeda Library Map Collection (2000a) and (Garzon et al. 1998).

Ethnic Stratification within Guatemala

The four main ethnic categories in Guatemala are the Maya, Ladino, Garifuna, and Xinca. Broadly, participants in this study identify as Tz'utujil, one of the 22 government recognized Maya ethnolinguistic communities in Guatemala (Pan American Health Organization, 2021). In 2020, individuals with Maya heritage comprised 41.7% of the country's population. The Garifuna and Xinca, non-Maya indigenous people, accounted for 2.3% and the remaining population was Ladino. Ladinos are Guatemalans who do not identify with their indigenous heritage (Smith, 1990). The term Ladino, and examples of its development, are included in this chapter's Terms and Definitions section.

Despite the designation as a non-indigenous ethnic group within Guatemala, Ladinos' are sometimes described as Mestizo or having mixed Maya and Spanish ancestry (Devine, 2016; Hendrickson, 1995). Today, a Ladino may have no indigenous ancestry or not acknowledge this aspect of their heritage. For example, recalling a memory of when a Ladino discriminated against her dress, a Tz'utujil participant, "Petronilla", interviewed for this study, asked herself, "Was she Ladino? I don't know. I think her family, mothers, and grandmothers wear traditional Xela clothing." Her thoughts about the offender illustrate the complexity of ethnic stratification in Guatemala and suggest that some divisions result from internalized oppression and continued Spanish cultural preference. The term ladino arose during colonization and has had alternative definitions since (Smith, 1990).

Maya

Every culture is constructed and reconstructed with each generation. "Man weaves culture with largely borrowed strands, and the product is but a unique recombination of elements (and even swatches of structure) of other patterns" (Fischer, 2001, p.7). Macro and micro-level

forces, human agency, and creativity have influenced the construction and reconstruction of Maya culture. Classical Maya culture began in A.D. 20 (Fischer & Brown, 1996). Once the largest civilization in the Western hemisphere, the Maya have continuously adapted to environmental degradation, regional conflict, colonialization, religious conversion, genocide, and globalization (Fischer & Brown, 1996; Smith, 1990). Dress and dress practices, the dominant visual signifier of Maya heritage, also have changed. Maya culture difficult to define in a manner that accurately represents the over 16 million people in Guatemala (Insituto Nacional de Estadistica Guatemala, 2020). Discussions on present day Maya culture within the borders of San Pedro La Laguna continue in this chapter and are the focus of this study.

Population of San Pedro La Laguna

San Pedro La Laguna (San Pedro) or Tzunun Ya' in Tz'utujil, is a municipality on the southern shore of Lake Atitlán in the Guatemalan Highlands (See Figure 1.2). The population is estimated to be 12,646 but this is thought to be inaccurate (Instituto Nacional de Estadistica Guatemala, 2020). "Matteo," a resident who recently completed data collection on the school systems in the municipality, estimated the population is closer 18,000[2]. Most of the residents in San Pedro identify as Tz'utujil[3]. Other towns on the southwestern shore of the lake, including Santiago Atitlán, San Juan La Laguna, San Pablo La Laguna, and San Marcos La Laguna are also Tz'utujil. The 2018 Guatemalan census indicated 72,000 people spoke Tz'utujil, with 106,012 identifying with the ethnolinguistic group (Instituto Nacional de Estadistica Guatemala, 2019). UNESCO has designated the language as *definitely endangered*, indicating that "children

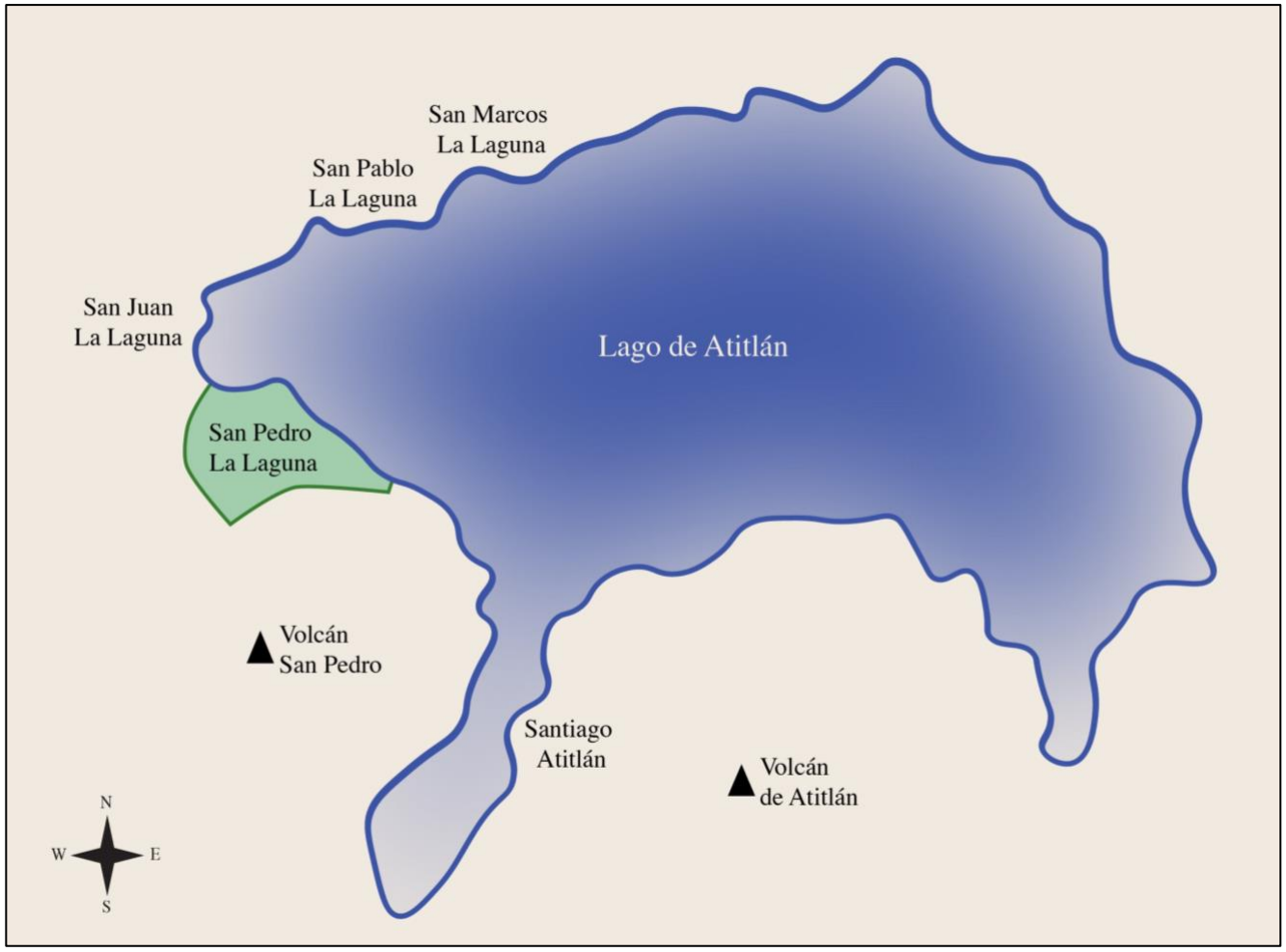
[2] Residents theorize that if they report their household numbers to the government, their taxes and utility costs will increase. There is a practice of reporting half the number residing in the household. The exact population of San Pedro is difficult to determine.

[3] San Pedro La Laguna is a Tz'utujil municipality. Residents of the community will identify as Tz'utujil even if their ancestors are of other Maya ethnolinguistic groups or Ladino. Persons in this study were Guatemalan, but heritage varied from a small portion of the total participants (four people).

no longer learn the language as mother tongue in the home" (United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization [UNESCO], 2014, p. 1). Residents of San Pedro are most likely to identify with their municipality and refer to themselves as Pedrano/as, or person of San Pedro (Smith, 1990; Tax, 1937).

Figure 1.2

Illustrated map of the Tz'utujil municipalities in the Department of Sololá.



Note. Green area indicates the borders of San Pedro La Laguna.

There is a significant international influence in San Pedro. Foreign residents constitute an estimated 10% of the population; and their presence is apparent in the dress, cuisine, and entertainment of the town. Cultural and ecological tourism is a large attraction for temporary

visitors who stay in the many low-cost housing accommodations and participate in the active nightlife. San Pedro's reputation as a Spanish language learning hub is a central part of the community ("San Pedro La Laguna", 2019). There are currently nine Spanish language schools, some of which also teach Tz'utujil. Additional rationale for pursing research for this dissertation in San Pedro is discussed in Chapter 4: Qualitative Research Methodology.

Economic, Cultural and Social Capital in Guatemala

Within Guatemala, Ladinos have significant economic capital (Bourdieu, 1985). "Economic capital refers to the material resources – wealth, land, money – that one controls or possesses" (Appelrouth & Desfor Edles, 2016, p. 422). With an average GDP per capita of USD 8200, Guatemala is a developing country (United Nations, 2014). The distribution of funds among Guatemalans is unequal, with 20% of the population holding 51% of the wealth. Overall, 50% (more than 8 million) of the people, live below the poverty line. Economic inequality afflicts the indigenous populations of Guatemala. "The ENCOVI 2014 [National Survey of Living Conditions] found that the poverty rate in the indigenous population (79.2%) was 1.7 times higher than that of the nonindigenous population (46.6%)" (Pan American Health Organization, 2021, para. 7). The indigenous populations are also more likely to be in extreme poverty (39.8% of the population) compared to the nonindigienous population (12.8%) (Pan American Health Organization, 2021).

Over half of Guatemala's population, dominantly comprised of indigenous persons, live in the rural, mountainous regions in the southern half of the country, referred to as the highlands. Poor sanitary conditions and inadequate water treatment facilities in the rural areas negatively impact the health of the population, who are at high risk of contracting bacterial diarrhea,

hepatitis A, and typhoid fever. As of 2021, dengue fever and the Zika virus have also been documented throughout this region (Central Intelligence Agency, 2021; Pan American Health Organization, 2021).

Maya culture, in a broad sense, is rich with cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1985; Little, 2004). “Cultural capital refers to nonmaterial goods such as educational credentials, types of knowledge and expertise, verbal skills, and aesthetic preferences that can be converted into economic capital” (Appelrouth & Desfor Edles, 2016, p. 422). Maya dress and dress practices are prominent in national and international advertisements, educational experiences (weaving, cooking, and language lessons), and in marketplaces (Bennett, 2017; Little, 2004). This culture has been commodified by non-Maya persons within and outside of Guatemala (Velásquez Nimatuj, 2011).

Maya culture, although centered in the economic systems for its cultural capital, is a fringe subject with Guatemala’s educational system (Becker-Richards & Richards, 1996). During my in-person visit, a discussion about education arose with two of the teachers in San Pedro. They were curious about my knowledge of Maya history and how I learned about the area – in turn, the teachers jointly shared how they came to know, and what they learned about their own history while in school.

> Matteo: The conquerors came, they killed the Maya, and this is it. It stops there.
>
> “Regina”: When we were children we did not learn our history. It wasn’t until I went to university, I went to school in Antiqua for three years – I had this great teacher – there I learned about our people, about what happened - about the history before the Spanish came [paraphrased, my translation from Spanish].

The limited presence of Maya history and language in public and private schools in San Pedro La Laguna was supported during my interviews with former students and current teachers working in the system. The preference for Ladino culture is present throughout the educational system of

Guatemala and in the communication of heritage outside of this system. Curious, I asked one the teachers, 'Did your parents tell you about the history?' Regina responded by saying, 'My parents don't know our history - we teach them the history.' She continued,

> The people here, my parents, my grandparents are very religious. They are *only* Christian. They think God destroyed the Maya because we did not believe in the Christian God…it is complicated. You can't fight your society. I study psychology and the culture, and it is difficult. I want to show her [grandmother] what I know. I asked her to think, what would have happened if the Spanish never came? [paraphrased, my translation from Spanish].

Matteo, who studies education, contributed, 'It is changing, but not quickly. They [today's students] are learning more, but the teachers aren't very good. They just tell us these things [about the Ladino population]' [my translation from Spanish]. Maya culture, including dress and dress practices, is a significant source of income for non-Maya persons. However, the history of these practices, and the areas where these practices originate are undervalued. Inequality is not only seen in the education system. There is limited government support for infrastructure, such as the development and maintenance of hospitals, roadways, and mail systems, in regions with large Maya populations.

The information available about Maya culture and history has been dominated by the Ladino and foreign perspective (Fischer & Brown, 1996). Control over this representation has led to false narratives about Maya dress practices in and outside of Guatemala. Spanish, and today Ladino, society has been represented as inventors and stewards of Maya dress practices by scholars and cultural organizations, such as UNESCO (Little, 2004; Otzoy, 1996). These perspectives are inherently ethnocentric. Ideas that contest the origin of Maya customs and seek to attribute dress practices to those outside of the culture detrimentally affect the culture's vitality. Although unfounded, tales of the Spanish and Ladino contribution to dress are common lore in San Pedro and elsewhere (Huff, 2004). These attributions have led to arguments against

historic practices by persons who have learned to see parts of their culture as symbols of oppression, rather than as products of sustained heritage (Otzoy, 1996). Many Maya activists and educators, especially Irma Otzoy, have strived to break this narrative. Control over the Maya and their dress practices is discussed in Chapter 2: Historical Influences on Dress Practices.

Appearance Stratification in Guatemala

There are two dominate forms of dress in Guatemala that represent the divide between the Maya and Ladino populations (Hendrickson, 1996). Ropa de Ladino (Ladino clothing) refers to dress used and popularized by the non-indigenous identifying population in Guatemala. It can be broadly described as Western fashion. The term Western is a reference to the history of these garments which originated in Western Europe and continued to develop on the continent and overseas in European colonies, including Guatemala (Welters & Lillethun; 2018). Used Western-style clothing is referred to as ropa de Americana (American clothing). This name is used interchangeably with ropa segunda-mano (second-hand clothing). Both phrases describe garments that are imported from the United States of America and are sold at second-hand stores and markets.

Similarly, there are two categories of dress that denote Maya heritage. These are traje and típica. Traje is the term used to describe a Maya dress ensemble associated with a specific geographic location (Hendrickson, 1995; Little, 2004; Watanabe, 1992). Each municipality has a distinctive set of garments, worn by men and women, that is representative of the community (Hendrickson, 1995). Traje of San Pedro La Laguna is pictured in Figures 1.3 and 1.4.

Figure 1.3

Women's Traje of San Pedro

Note. Photograph by Abner Mariano González Tay, 2020.

Figure 1.4

Men's Traje of San Pedro

Note. Photograph by Atitlán Photography Center, 2015.

Típica (typical clothing) is a phrase popular in San Pedro that indicates that the Maya style garments adorning the body have differing geographic origins. These ensembles denote Maya heritage, but not necessarily an affiliation with a specific municipality (Fischer, 2001). Further, the weave of a garment may originate in one town and be worn in the style of another (Regina, personal communication, September, 2020). Individual garments can represent a broad,

pan-Maya identity (Fischer & Brown, 1996). These garments mimic the traje's form but have weaving patterns and colors that follow the latest trends. These garments take on a geographic association that is indicative of the factory location (Regina, personal communication, December 2020). Típica manufactured outside of Guatemala takes on the name of the origin declared on the care label, such as ropa de China. This phrase indicates that the garment, although visually representative of Maya heritage, was imported from outside of the country. An example of típica variations is pictured in Figure 1.5.

Figure 1.5

Tz'utujil Women Wearing Traje of San Pedro and Típica

Note. Photograph by Abner Mariano González Tay, 2020.

Dress is indicative of the wearer's heritage and therefore signifies the language spoken by the wearer. Western dress is associated with the Spanish language and the use of traje or típica is associated with one of the Maya languages. In Guatemala, Maya languages are devalued (Becker-Richards & Richards, 1996). Discrimination at an interpersonal and national level has

perpetuated a connection between speaking a Maya language and illiteracy. The use of languages, like Tz'utujil, can lead to the assumption that the person is uneducated (Bennett, 2017). Dress, as a visual representation of language (and therefore education), can negatively impact the wearer's position in society and their economic capital (Appelrouth & Desfor Edles, 2016; Bennett, 2017; Velásquez Nimatuj, 2011). "Pablo", spoke of this dynamic when explaining his choice to wear traje to his thesis defense.

> You know when you defend your thesis exam – people want you to look elegant. In black pants, white shirt, tie and jacket, and black dress shoes. It's common. It's normal. Well, in my view, I've already put on my traje. Why? Because I like my culture, because I love my traditional customs, and because I wanted to show those people that indigenous people can also study at university. We can also be very smart…like them (Ladinos from Guatemala City). There are people from villages who struggle for their dreams and want to change the country in a different way, but first they can change their community. Then, I decided to wear my traje…. If you're wearing traditional clothes, it's not because you're dumb. If you're wearing fancy clothes, it's not because you're smart.

His decision to wear traje was incredibly risky. Anti-discrimination laws that protect Maya dress and customs exists. However, there is little certainty that these laws will be upheld (Bastos, Cumes, & Lemus, 2011). Prior to the presentation, the participant's main advisor communicated it was possible for the committee to deem him unprepared for wearing traje during the presentation.

Maya Dress

The Ixchel Museum of Indigenous Dress in Guatemala City organizes Maya dress into four permanent exhibitions that divides artifacts into distinct movements that reflect broad design and manufacturing shifts ("Virtual Tour", 2020). The organization of visual representations, beginning in the year A.D. 20, is useful in understanding Maya dress as "...one cultural element that embodies the processes of historical struggle, cultural creativity, and political resistance"

(Otzoy, 1996, p. 154). Dress evolves within a fashion cycle, and therefore has changed and will continue to change in response to economic, political, technological, cultural, and social influences (Welters & Lillethun, 2018).

Evidence of dress at the Ixchel Museum begins with visual representations from the Classic and Postclassic periods (20 - 1529). The Mesoamerican Textile Traditions gallery contains pre-Hispanic contact vases, figures, and paintings. Little physical evidence of dress is available, but these representations are displayed alongside garments from outside of this period to communicate the long history of dress practices in Maya society. The second movement in Maya dress is post-Hispanic contact (1530 - 1854) and this movement documents the influence of Spanish colonization on Maya dress from colonization to Guatemala's independence (“Virtual Tour”, 2020). Examples include introduction of the floor loom for weaving and sheep as a fiber source in Guatemala (Otzoy, 1996; “Virtual Tour”, 2020). Following is the modern Maya-Hispanic period. This time's core feature is the introduction and use of mass-manufactured industrial thread by the Cantel factory in Xela (Quetzaltenango) in 1880. During this period, indigenous weavers replaced white hand-spun threads with industrial threads manufactured in this factory and abroad. Prior, cotton would have been colored with natural dyes. Synthetic fibers followed in the 1960s, and the use of these fibers in típica and traje marks the beginning of contemporary attire used today. Designs incorporate more colors and a broader array of machine embroidery (“Virtual Tour”, 2020).

Dress in San Pedro La Laguna

Interviews with residents of San Pedro dominantly focused on contemporary attire, as designated by the Ixchel Museum of Indigenous Dress (“Virtual Tour”, 2020). Their perspectives of contemporary attire were informed by personal knowledge or community knowledge of

previous dress movements. Participant's wardrobes during the study included the traje of San Pedro, the traje of other municipalities, ropa típica, ropa de Ladino and ropa de Americana. The mixing of garments that denote Maya and non-Maya heritage can occur within an ensemble, but this is currently infrequent. Adolescent women and men under the age of seventy are most likely to wear Western style dress. Dress and dress practices are further discussed in Chapter 5: Findings.

Problem Statement

Dress is visual, and therefore it is easy to interpret or misinterpret its meaning without considerable interaction (Fischer, 2001). "In Guatemala, images of the Indian are constructed, marketed, praised, manipulated, and denounced at the local, national, and international levels" (Hendrickson, 1995, p. 76). Anyone walking the streets of San Pedro La Laguna could make assumptions about the dress practices – and the heritage and gender – of the people. There is no denying that, often, dress worn by women in the community identifies them as Maya (Hendrickson, 1995; Otzoy, 1996). The problem with this surface-level interpretation is that it does not capture the wearer's intentionality or the influences determining this intention.

Dress practices in communities like San Pedro have been shaped by decades of ethnocentrism, ethnic-based violence, globalization, an extensive international presence through tourism and voluntary migration, and community expectations of "Mayaness" (Carmack, 1988; Fischer, 2001; Hendrickson, 1995; Otzoy, 1995; Sanford, 2019). The relationships between makers, artisans, designers, and patrons (the bulk of the female population in San Pedro) are centered around típica and traje. Dress practices reflect the shifts in society and remain as visual reminder of heritage and geography. Despite its value, there are fears that these practices will be

lost. Therefore, it is necessary to examine the community's actions and the influences that could result in the demise of dress practices (Hendrickson, 1995).

Purpose Statement & Research Objectives

The purpose of this research is to understand the cultural vitality of the Tz'utujil ethnolinguistic group living in San Pedro La Laguna through the lens of dress practices. Dress practices offer insight on community relationships, social expectations, and thoughts on individuality. Hence, remote interviews were used to reveal the primary dress artifacts in use in the community during the time of the study and the meaning of these artifacts in day-to-day life (Hendrickson, 1995). Furthermore, these interviews sought to understand the community's desire for cultural conservation and to identify potential threats to these goals. Through interviews, this study set out to meet the following objectives:

1. To identify the dress in use in San Pedro La Laguna and its importance in the community during the time of the study.
2. To determine the influences on dress practices in San Pedro La Laguna including production, consumption, design, and use.
3. To assess dress practices within the scope of cultural sustainability.

Significance of the Study

As they have in the past, dress practices will adapt to influences such as violence, globalization, and shifts in resources. The preservation of culture is not about preserving a specific garment, but rather, it is the conservation of factors that continue to sustain these garments as a meaningful aspect of the community. "Culture is fundamental to human dignity

and identity" (United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, 2020, p. 2). The preservation of cultural heritage is supported by Article 27 of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, and has been since 1948 (Barthel-Bouchier, 2012).

> "…cultural rights include the rights of individuals and communities to enjoy and make use of cultural heritage and cultural expressions, as well as the right to play an equal role in the identification, safeguarding, and transmission of their cultural heritage" (United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, 2020., p. 1)

Documenting actions that preserve, transform, or stifle dress in the community is a pathway towards continued cultural sustainability.

Historically, an essentialist view of Maya culture has manifested in prescriptions and proscriptions about dress practices (Fischer, 2001). Per Fischer, this "…promotes the delusion of holism expressed in phrases such as "The Maya believe that…" (2001, p. 9). An essentialist approach diminishes the richness of diversity and proliferates the ethnocentric views that (1) Maya culture is dormant and (2) that the aspects of Maya culture with the greatest presence today are so because of Spanish influence (Fischer, 2001; Otzoy, 1996). Broad claims about the ownership and purpose of Maya dress reinforce stratifications in Guatemalan society and can be barriers to cultural expression and growth (Fischer, 2001).

Maya scholar Irma Otzoy, drawing on the writings of Maya activists Rigoberta Menchú and Elena Ixk'ot, encourages researchers examining Maya dress practices to do so within the context of community and in regard for the politics of everyday life. "In a larger sense, Maya politics includes land, identity (and all that it implies – culture, history, and descent), as well as the right to self-determination" (Otzoy, 1996, p. 141). These politics determine dress practices (Otzoy, 1996). Any examination of dress should offer a perspective from the municipality, as it is the collective actions of this group (in the case of this study, Pedranas), that influence their practice (Otzoy, 1996; Smith, 1990; Tax, 1937).

To my knowledge, there have been three researchers who have completed extensive investigations in San Pedro La Laguna. The first was conducted by Juan de Dios Rosales, a Kaqchikel student of Sol Tax, between 1937 and 1949 (de Dios Rosales, 1949; Tax, 1937). His ethnography offers some written commentary of dress. Benjamin Paul completed his dissertation research in San Pedro in 1941. He continued to work in the community alongside his wife Lois Paul, as a cultural anthropologist until 2000. Paul, considered the father of medical anthropology, did not collect information on dress, but took a considerable number of photographs, many of which are in the San Pedro public library. The original film was willed to Barbara Rogoff, Distinguished Professor of Psychology at the University of California, whose work on child development was completed alongside village elder, Chona Pérez González. Their book, *Developing Destinies: A Maya Midwife and Town* (2011), is the culmination of 30 years in San Pedro and is the source of Benjamin and Lois Paul's photographs (Rogoff et. al., 2011). These images and Rogoff's written descriptions offer insight into changing dress practices in the community.

Outside of San Pedro, Maya dress practices, spanning the past forty years, have been documented within multiple ethnographies (Carey, 2001; Foxen, 2007; Hendrickson, 1996; Little, 2004;). The intersection between gender roles and weaving (Brumfield, 2006; Otzoy, 1996, Hendrickson, 1996; Hendrickson, 1995) and the symbolism found in weavings have been a frequent research focus (Brumfiel, 2006; Demaray et al., 2005; Pettersen, 1976). The influence of cultural tourism, especially since the end of the Guatemalan Civil War, has also been explored (Bennett, 2017; Little, 2004; Medina, 2003). Prominent studies that center dress practices within the community context took place through the early 1990s into the early 2000s outside of San

Pedro (Hendrickson, 1996; Little, 2001). Therefore, although many investigations have taken place, dress practices have largely been on the peripheral of studies in San Pedro La Laguna.

Terms and Definitions

Terms and definitions specific to this study are included in this section. When alternative spelling or phrases are available, I have defaulted to the linguistic patterns of the participants in this study.

Culture. "The set of beliefs, sentiments, technology, language, social organization, and worldview created, learned, and transmitted by a group. Culture consists of material goods as well as spiritual goods that groups of people generate as part of their reproduction and development strategies" (Rodriquz Guajan, 2011, p. 74)

Cultural Sustainability. The maintenance of "beliefs, sentiments, technology, language, social organization and worldview" (Rodriquz Guajan, 2011, p. 74) and the products of these cultural pillars in respect to social, economic, and environmental sustainability (UNESCO, 2021)

Dress. Artifacts of cultures adorned on the human body (Eicher & Evenson, 2012). *Synonyms: Garments, Clothing*

Dress practice(s). Dress is a product and a process. As a product, it is the result of creativity and technology. As a process, dress practice, it is the actions involved to modify and supplement the body (Eicher & Evenson, 2012).

Ethnolinguistic Group. Affiliation based in cultural, linguistic, and often geographical, commonalities (French, 2010).

Heritage. A cultural and social process with a range of interpretation which is referred upon in social practice (Smith, 2006).

Ladino. An ethnic group in Guatemala characterized by speaking the Spanish language, wearing Western dress, and practicing customs of Spanish origin. [Fuentes (1994) as cited in Menjívar (2011)]. The term has changed meaning throughout Guatemalan history (Rodriquz Guajan 2011). The term originated during the colonial period and denoted a Spanish speaking indigenous person. In the Guatemalan highlands, it has also taken on the meaning of 'oppressor', and 'homeless' indicating that these people have left their homes in the highlands to become workers in the cities, away from their cultural heritage (Smith, 1990).

Maya. An ethnic group with historic origins in Mesoamerica whose commonalities vary in respect to geological space, time and sociocultural norms (Carey, 2001; Fischer & Brown, 1996; Hiller, Linstroth, Ayala, & Vela, 2009).

Municipality/ Municipio. A community within a department, in this study, affiliated with a specific Maya ethnolinguistic group. *Synonyms: Pueblo/village*

Pan-Maya. The unifying of the Maya culture that highlights commonalities between ethnolinguistic groups and municipalities. This unification is supported as a pathway towards more significant influences on economics and politics in Guatemala (Fischer & Brown, 1996). Garments are Pan-Maya when the design does not have a direct relationship with a municipality. *See also: Típica*

Típica/ Typical Clothing. Garments that denote Maya heritage through design and cut but are not worn within an ensemble that communicates clear affiliation with a municipality.

Traje. A clothing ensemble associated with a municipality. A set of garments thought to represent the heritage of a community and to have a design representative of the geographical space. Translated as the 'suit' of the municipality, implying a greater importance when worn as a unit.

Tz'utujil. A Maya ethnolinguistic group of approximately 60,000 people living in the department of Sololá, Guatemala. An endangered language with origins in Quiche (Guatemala Ministerio de Educación, 2019, UNESCO, 2020).

Ropa de America/ Ropa Segunda-Mano/American Clothing: Second-hand clothing likely imported from the United States. *See also: Western Dress*

Ropa de Ladino/ Clothing of Ladinos. Clothing popularized and used by the non-indigenous identifying population in Guatemala. *See also: Western Dress*

Western dress. Garments with a history originating in Western Europe that continued to develop on the continent and overseas in European colonies, including Guatemala (Welters & Lillethun; 2018).

Overview of the Dissertation

Following this introductory chapter, the dissertation proceeds into Chapter 2: Historical Influences on Dress Practices. This section provides accounts of events that have had the most significant impact on contemporary dress practices. Then, Chapter 3: Theoretical Underpinning offers information on social theories used to support the exploration and examination of dress in San Pedro today. Chapter 4: Qualitative Research Methods provides detail on my research process. The outcomes from data collection are presented in Chapter 5: Findings. Chapter 6: Discussion is the concluding chapter, which provides a report on the study's objectives, potential implications, limitations, and suggestions for future research.

Chapter 2 - Historical Influences on Dress Practices

Contemporary Maya attire in Guatemala is embedded with a rich and complex history. This chapter aims to provide an overview of critical historical events that have shaped dress practices. Maya history is extensive. Therefore, I have elected to present aspects of four key periods – the Classical and Post-Classical Period (250 – 1500), the Spanish Colonial Period (1521 – 1821), the Industrial Era (1880 – 1950), and the Guatemalan Civil War (19960s – 2000s) (Virtual Tour, 2020). Each section is followed by an examination of dress practices resulting from these periods. The chapter concludes with a brief discussion on the future of traje and típica. The chapter also broadly focuses on national-level events and their influence on Maya dress. Information about the dress in San Pedro La Laguna, outside of photographs from Benjamin and Lois Paul (active, 1941 – 2000) and Barbara Rogoff (active, 1980s – 2010s), is scarce. Collecting data in person would have likely led to more municipal-specific examples.

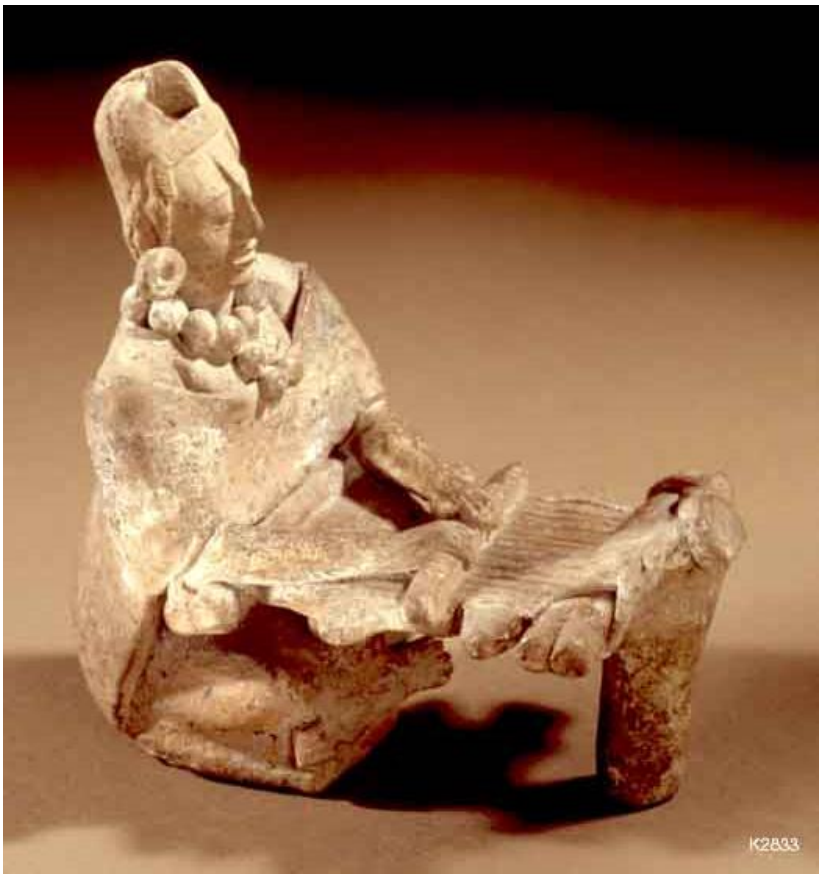
Classical and Post-Classical: 250 – 1500

The Maya civilization began approximately 2000 years ago and populated the area occupied by contemporary Guatemala, Belize, Honduras, El Salvador, and Mexico. The period of pre-Hispanic contact is divided into three sections: Preclassical (1000 BCE – 250 CE), Classical (250 – 900), and Post-Classical (900 – 1500) (Houk, 2015). The Classical period has the greatest notoriety and is associated with the establishment of significant city-states, scientific and mathematical advances, and the long-count calendar (Fischer & Brown, 1996). During the period, communities were divided by class and organized around a king. Adornment communicated social status. Sculptures from the time, like those of Jaina weaver (See Figure

2.1), depict elite members of society permitted to participate in the art of spinning and weaving (Otzoy, 1996). Her large jewelry, likely depicting jade, serpentine, or obsidian, displays the high social status of the woman (Houk, 2015; Otzoy, 2006). Furthering the connection between status and skill is the excavation of spinning, weaving, and embroidery tools from homes of the elite and tombs of high-ranking men and women (Brumfiel, 2006).

Figure 2.1

Jaina Weaver



Note. Artifact from the Yucatan Peninsula, present-day Mexico CE 400 – 800. Photograph by Justin Kerr, K2833. Artifact, property of the National Museum of the American Indian – Smithsonian.

Weaving is also represented in the Maya religion by the Goddess Ixchel (Meléndez, 2005; Pettersen, 1976). Religious records, documented in one of the few remaining sacred texts

the *Popol Wuj*, references the complex techniques used to weave symbolically significant imagery into textiles. Passages from the *Popul Wuj*, interpreted by Tedlock and Tedlock, describe a group of lords trying on a set of double-faced brocade cloaks displaying the jaguar, eagle, yellow jackets, and wasps (Otzoy, 2006). Paintings and statues also suggest extreme proficiency in craft. Evidence indicates the creation of pile cloth, gauze, and twill fabric (Tozzer, 1957); and the application of painting and resist dyeing to pattern textiles (Johnson, 1954). Written records and visual representations, incorporated into ideology and social structure, highlight the importance of weaving in Maya kingdoms (Eicher & Evenson, 2012).

In approximately 900 CE, overpopulation, extensive environmental degradation, and continuous strife between Maya factions led to the collapse of the kingdoms (Fischer & Brown, 1996). During the Post-Classical period the highlands were invaded by the Toltecs of modern-day Mexico. “By A.D. 1250, the highland Maya were organized into five Toltecized groups: the K’iche’, Pogomam, Tz’utujil, Mam, and Kaqchikel” (Fischer & Brown, 1996, p. 8). Shifts in society were reflected in changes in the cloth production process. During this time, cloth began to be used as a commodity. It was produced by lower-classes as a tribute and created in excess to be sold in marketplaces. “Market exchange would have encouraged commoner women to engage in cloth production to support themselves and their families through spinning and weaving” (Brumfiel, 2006, p. 866). Production processes gradually became divided by class, then gender; these divisions would continue and strengthen with the arrival of the Spanish (Brumfiel, 2006).

Enduring Traditions

Brumfiel (2006) and Eicher and Evenson (2012) encourage the viewing of traditions, like weaving, as an active passing of knowledge. These processes continue because they have adapted to cultural changes and are essential aspects of daily life (Brumfiel, 2006). Comparing

imagery of historic and contemporary weaving (See Figures 2.1 and 2.2.) reinforces the connection between past and present. The production processes and resulting form of the garments worn during the Classical Period are precursors to Maya dress practices throughout Central America today. The significance and skillfulness of the hand-woven textiles have also remained. However, consideration of the "…modes of weaving, labor investment, textile allocation, and social capital acquired by individuals participating in the textile industry…" (Brumfiel, 2006, p. 2) illustrate different realities. The following sections continue to discuss how dress practices and their meanings have transformed in response to colonization, industrialization, war, and structural violence.

Figure 2.2

Weaving Demonstration

Note. Demonstration in Panajachel, Sololá, Guatemala 2018. Author's photograph.

The Spanish Colonial Period: 1521 – 1821

In 1521, when Francisco de Montejo arrived in Central America on behalf of Spain, Maya society was splintered. The Spanish, aware of divisions, targeted leading Maya tribes and elite community members to form alliances. Quickly, Spanish conquerors expanded their territory, taking control over natural resources. In 1524, alongside the Kaqchikel, they fought the K'iche, the largest tribe in the region, subsequently acquiring Tz'utujil land. The alliance was short-lived; and by 1527 the Kaqchikel revolted, in the process losing their land to the Spanish. Colonizers indentured the Kaqchikel and other ethnolinguistic tribes to work the fields as tribute (Carey, 2001). During this time, Maya communities were forcibly relocated to assist in distributing labor and Spanish conversion (Fischer & Brown, 1996; Foxen, 2007). Foreign disease plagued the indigenous population; and between 1521 and 1697, when the last Maya city in Guatemala fell, one-third of the Mayas had died from infection (Garzon et al., 1998). For three hundred years, the Maya way of life was subject to Spanish ideals of social organization, labor, economics, and religion. However, full integration of the Maya into the Spanish society never occurred (Carey, 2001). The Maya remained resistant and as separate as possible, only connected to the Spanish through taxes and trade (Garzon et al., 1998). Colonial rule continued until, in 1821, Guatemala became an independent country. Oppressive practices and policies continued.

Regulations and Falsities

As early as 1759, traje signified the wearer's home municipality (Brumfiel, 2006). This feature is the most prominent characteristic of Maya dress practices. It has been argued that this visual affiliation originated in an identification system implemented by the Spanish, used to segregate further the Maya during the Colonial period (Brown, 2006). However, this claim, still in circulation, has no supporting evidence (Otzoy, 1996). The introduction of the floor loom,

increasing the width of yardage of woven cloth, and sheep, a fiber source, is the only clear contribution to dress from the Spanish (Otzoy, 1996). Attributing the central feature of Maya dress practices to the Spanish supports the actions of the oppressor, who falsely claimed the Maya lacked clothing (and therefore civilization) before their arrival. Meléndez (2005) argues that,

> For Europeans, moral and physical nakedness justified their presence in foreign lands as fully civilized clothed men. They were "to dress" the Amerindians in a literal and figurative manner, covering their bodies and their souls with fabric, religion, and reason (p.18).

What is supported to be true is that oppressors, in this case, Spanish colonizers, used sumptuary laws (laws regulating dress) to repress signifiers of status or wealth (Eicher & Evenson, 2012). Maya dress practices were subjected to Spanish decrees. One law, from October 25th, 1563, stated,

> That no person, man or women, be allowed to wear any textile that was brocaded…nor one that had gold or silver in its weaving…even if these threads were false imitation…as also it was prohibited that silver or gold should be used for cloths that were used on horses and mules (Otzoy, 1996, p. 142).

The Spanish and Maya populations had distinctively different phenotypes, a difference that would have lessened as the Mestizo population grew. Records from the mid to late 1700s indicate sumptuary laws were specific to Mestizos with fair skin, who could 'pass' as Spanish and more easily assimilate into wealthier society. Dress, jewelry, and hairstyles were used to signify a lower racial and social status. Failure to comply with sumptuary laws would result in physical punishment (Meléndez, 2005).

Guatemala's independence from Spain in 1821 did not lessen the oppressive practices directed towards the Maya. Social expectations favoring Spanish appearance and behavior continue after Guatemala's independence from Spain in 1821. For example, Hendrickson (1995)

suggests that men's traje did not conform to Spanish standards of masculinity. Maya men seeking to be a part of Spanish society were required to follow dress codes reflective of Western standards. This declaration, from 1836, clearly states a preference for Western dress.

> No Indian may hold the office of regidor [council member], alcalde [magistrate], sindico [trustee], nor any other parish position without wearing shoes or boots, a shirt with a collar, long trousers, a jacket or coat, and a hat that is not made from straw or palm leaf (Carrillo Ramirez as cited in Nelson, 1999, p. 138).

Dress prescriptions overwhelmingly applied to men, as women were not able to serve in office. The decimation of men's traje is further addressed in the next section of the chapter.

The Industrial Era: 1880 – 1950s

This section focuses on economic policies enacted by the Guatemalan government between 1880 and 1950 that impacted Maya cultural practices and continued to influence dress practices throughout the 20th century. During the second-half of the 1800s, the Guatemalan president, President Barrios, contested Maya landownership in the Guatemala highlands. The Maya, who spoke their tribal languages and lived on their ancestors' communal lands, had no proof of landownership valid in elite Ladino society. Barrios disregarded Maya claims to their land and forcibly expropriated it to Spanish-identifying elites and foreign government officials. Again, the Maya were indentured on their land or forcibly migrated to other regions to provide labor under Spanish supervision. Without proof of land ownership, men were required to work 90 days each year on coastal sugar, coffee, and cotton plantations, separating them from their municipalities and traditions. Many men, without viable work opportunities, continued to work on plantations for low wages. Maya, working within the new system, attempted to acquire legal land ownership. However, oppressive systemic regulations derailed their efforts. Barrios argued that the Maya and their culture would benefit from Spanish subjugation (Carey, 2001).

During this era, also in favor of foreign relations, the government also instituted policies that made Guatemala an opportunistic location for the tourism industry. Clark Tours, a United States travel company, was the first in the region and still operates today. Municipalities were marketed and would eventually become known for their offerings to foreigners. By the late 1920s, Lake Atitlán was a destination for American tourists seeking an 'authentic Indian' experience. Towns, such as Panajachel – across the lake from San Pedro – were advertised as a place, "To embrace nature, where one could go fishing and boating, and see…one of the most beautiful places on Earth" (Little, 2004, p.102). Chichicastenango, another town in the highlands, was labeled a shopping destination where indigenous handicrafts could be purchased (Little, 2004). The Pan-American Highway, built 20-years later, eased transportation and supported the blossoming tourism industry. Panajachel, still the only shore community accessible from the highway, became a gateway for tourists looking to explore areas around the lake (Curtis, 2007; McNally, 2010).

The devastating policies enacted by President Barrios were compounded by the shift in the economy caused by the tourism industry. The significant decrease in Maya land compromised agricultural practices and created poor economic conditions (Neruda, 2011). Maya men, forced to work in the coastal regions, were less integrated into their communities and could not tend to land in their community. Furthermore, the relationship between Maya land and Maya culture became strained. There were no longer enough crops to support the population and generate a profit (Carey, 2001). The shift from an agrarian to a tourist-based livelihood influenced the social and economic structure in the villages. In 1941, 95% of the income earned in Panajachel came from traditional agricultural practices. By 1964, this number dropped to 55% (Hinshaw, 1988). Financial instability was prevalent, and in response, debt and alcoholism rose.

Municipalities around Lake Atitlán began to compete for the tourist market. Following Clark Tours' lead, each town began to specialize in novel crafts such as basket making or natural dying to compete in the tourism economy (Foxen, 2007).

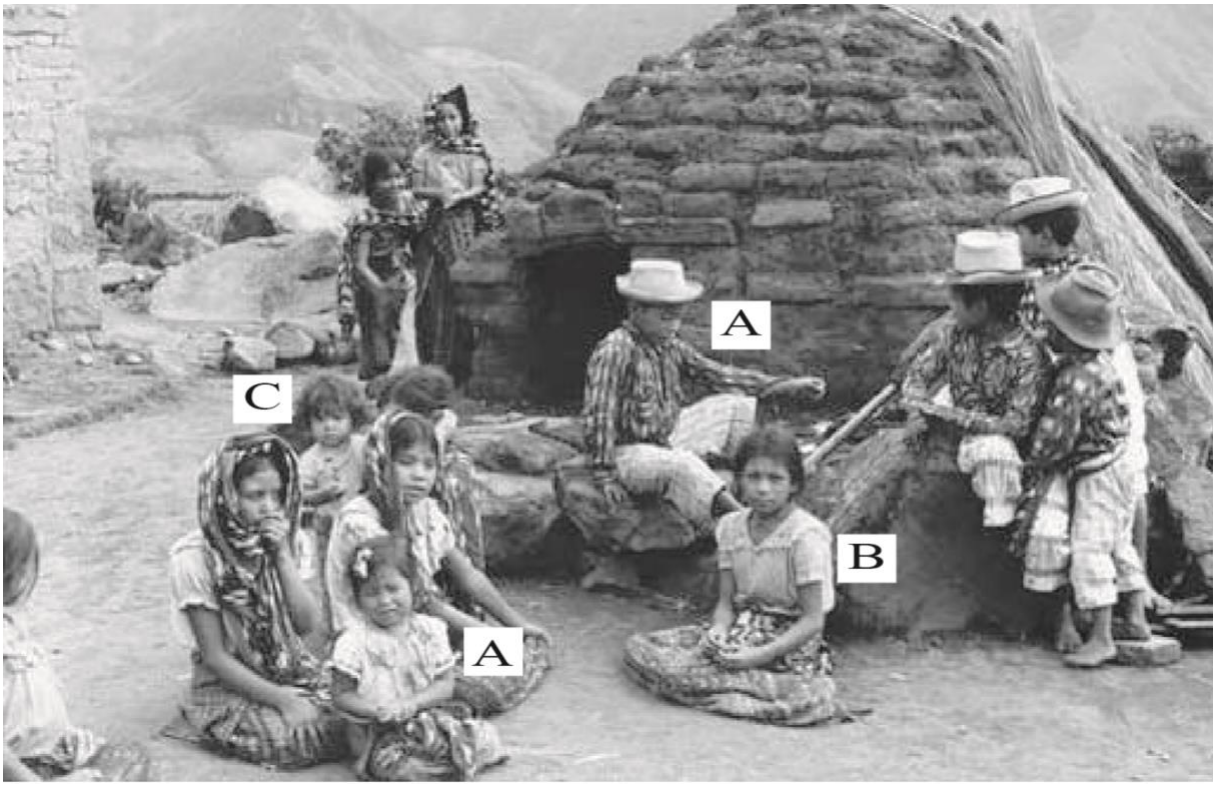
Forced labored continued until the implementation of the Agrarian Reform Law by President Árbenz in 1952 (Neruda, 2011). The law prohibited involuntary labor and transferred 1,700,000 acres of land owned by American and German businesses back to the Guatemalan people, including Maya residents. The United Fruit Company (UFC), now Chiquita Brands International, lost a significant amount of land in the reform. In retaliation, the company lobbied the United States government to overthrow President Árbenz (Chapman, 2007). In support of the UFC, President Eisenhower backed a campaign of propaganda against Árbenz, justifying the actions as an effort to suppress communism (Grusonspecial, 1952). These actions throttled land reform progress, and the Agrarian Reform Law was sustained for only eighteen months (Harbour, 2008).

Changing Dress Practices

Before the Agrarian Reform Law, men working on coastal plantations earned a few cents per day with little, if any, shelter or food. By the end of the season, heavy manual labor in humid, wet weather disintegrated their traje (Carey, 2001). The establishment of the Pan-American highway increased their access to inexpensive, mass-manufactured goods. Men quickly adopted factory-made clothing, "…cite[ing] lower cost, greater comfort, and avoidance of Ladino harassment…" (Brumfiel, 2006, p. 868). The domestic production of men’s traje decreased with the rise of factory-made clothing (Brumfiel, 2006). Children also began to wear mass-produced clothing or garments made from mass-produced cloth during this time (See Figure 2.3).

Figure 2.3

Children Watching a Procession in San Pedro, 1941



Note. Photograph of children watching a procession outside of sweat bath in San Pedro La Laguna in 1941. Girls and boys (A) are wearing traje of San Pedro. A young girl (B) is wearing a blusa made of factory produced cloth and a corte. A toddler (C) is seen in a T-Shirt and corte. Photograph by Lois and Ben Paul. Included with permission from Robert Paul and Barbara Rogoff (Rogoff et. al., 2011).

While men were employed on coastal plantations, women began to sell woven products in new tourist marketplaces in the highlands. The introduction of factory spun yarn in the 1960s, followed by synthetic dyes, significantly reduced the amount of time spent on pre-production processes. Weavers focused on developing their craft. According to Brumfiel (2006), "The introduction of factory-produced thread permitted the reintroduction of brocades, a technique highly valued by Western tourists and foreign buyers who constitute a growing market for indigenous textiles" (p. 868). The product assortment available in the marketplace changed, as did the designs worn by the weavers (Brumfiel, 2006). The influence of industrialization and

globalization on creative design is apparent in Little's research (2004). His observations in Santa Catarina, another community bordering Atitlán, describes a conscious evolution of traje.

> The design and color schemes of Santa Catarina clothing have changed from primarily red and white stripes to a deep blue, purple, and green geometric shapes. This change in clothing design relates to the availability of blue, purple, and green thread produced in the Cantel, Guatemala factory and of imported thread, and to Catarinecas' taste, including their realization that no other Maya community weaves clothing using these colors (p. 247–248).

His findings, documented during the 1980s, highlight the continuously evolving nature of traje and the long-standing influence of economic policies that began nearly a century earlier.

The Guatemalan Civil War: 1960s – 2000s

In 1954, Operation PBSuccess, a United States backed coup, overthrew President Árbez and replaced him with the military dictator Carlos Castillo Armas (Cullather, 2011). The new government worked to reverse the Árbenz's Agrarian Reform. Poor, rural civilian groups, many of whom were Maya, retaliated – initiating the start of a civil war in 1960. Anyone suspected of supporting a democratic or socialist regime, or aiding the civilian militia, were registered with the government and subsequently abducted and killed. A telegram from December 3rd, 1966, stored in the United States National Archives, confirms that the United States provided, "assistance in the covert training of kidnapping squads that would target leftists…" (The National Security Archive, 1966, p. 3). Other documents from the National Archive suggest mixed motivations by those working in the United States government and concerns over human rights violations (The National Security Archive, 1968). However, fighting continued with the support of the United States; and in the 1970s the Guatemalan government cut off the water supply to the Maya population in the highlands, diverting it to foreign-owned agricultural businesses.

In 1976, the already crippling region was hit by an earthquake, impacting the highlands from the Honduras border to Lake Atitlán (Harp, Wilson, & Wieczorek, 1981). Foreign aid workers and missionaries entered the highlands, seeking to provide relief efforts to Maya communities. In exchange for aid, such as food and water, the workers provided pamphlets on Marxism, socialism, and indigenous rights. Names of those receiving aid were recorded. In response, government informants confiscated the aid list and killed many who sought assistance (Carey, 2001).

There was an increase in village decimation between 1982 and 1983 when the head of state, General Ríos Montt, began to include women, children, and the elderly as targets in the massacres (Sanford, 2019). Women from opposition municipalities, identified by their güipiles (pronounced wee-peals), were raped, tortured, and killed. The military operation, dubbed "Scorched Earth," attacked over 600 Maya villages and tortured and murdered more than 70,000 Maya under the guise of fighting communism (Malkin, 2013; Sanford, 2019). Although these atrocities were not labeled genocide until the late 1990s, these events marked a shift in the Guatemalan government's agenda. According to Victoria Sanford (2019), senior research fellow in Yale's Genocide Studies Program,

> Genocide is a gendered atrocity because its intention is to destroy the cultural group. This means destruction of the community's material culture as well as its reproductive capacity – thus, women and children are prime genocidal targets. One way to pinpoint the height of the genocide is to look at the ratio of male to female massacre victims. In 1981, females (including women and girls) comprised 14 percent of massacre victims in Rabinal [150 miles west of San Pedro]. By 1982, they made up 42 percent of massacre victims (p.12).

Accounts collected from Paul and Demarest (1988) describe 25 abductions and murders between 1980 and 1982 in San Pedro La Laguna. During this time, the military was present in the community, and those targeted were individuals actively speaking against human rights

violations or suspected of supporting the civilian militia (Paul & Demarest, 1988). Investigations were launched by the human rights organization Amnesty International, which reported continued violations. The U.S. Embassy dismissed their findings and "…conclude[d] that a concerted disinformation campaign [was] being wage[d] against the Guatemala government…" (The National Security Archive, 1982, para. 16). Fighting continued until the peace talks began in 1987.

In 1986, multiple socialist militias integrated under the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity (URNG). The URNG were regarded as a communist domestic terrorist group by the Guatemalan government. Peace negotiations with the Guatemalan government began in 1987. In 1991 the United Nations started providing oversight for the talks, which concluded on December 29th, 1996. Through these talks Guatemala was redefined as a multiethnic, multicultural, and multilingual country (Council on Hemispheric Affairs, 2011; Jonas, 2007). The accords indicated the emergence of a more inclusive society and included legal protections for indigenous people (Council on Hemispheric Affairs; Jonas). Civilians and activists were critical of the peace accords because they inadequately addressed compensation for human rights violations, the reinstatement of land ownership, or the economic poverty plaguing Maya villages. Amendments were proposed after 1996 but were never confirmed due to lack of support (Council on Hemispheric Affairs, 2011).

In 1995, the Archdiocese of the Catholic Church worked to document the crimes committed against the people of Guatemala during the Civil War. Bishop Juan Geradi led the Recovery of Historical Memory Project (REMHI) (Ogle, 2007; Sanford, 2019). When the REMHI report was published in 1998, Bishop Juan Geradi was murdered (Ogle, 2007). In 1999 it was confirmed that approximately 200,000 people were murdered or had disappeared during

the war, 1.5 million people were displaced by violence, and 626 villages were destroyed. Of the 200,000, 83% percent were Maya (Sanford, 2019). Accounts and documents confirmed that nearly 93% of the human rights violations were at the Guatemalan military's hand (Ogle, 2007; Sanford, 2019). General Ríos Montt would become the president of the Guatemalan Congress from 2000 – 2012 (Gunson, 2018). In 2013, when he no longer had immunity provided by Congress, he was found guilty of genocide against the Ixil, an ethnolinguistic group residing in the department north of Sololá. He was sentenced to 80 years in prison. The conviction was overturned ten days later (National Security Archive, n.d.) In 2018, Ríos Montt died at age 91 amid a retrial for his crimes (Gunson, 2018).

Violence and Appearance

According to Blumer, "…in modern societies individuals may fit their acts to one another…on the basis of compromise, out of duress… or out of sheer necessity" (as cited in Appelrouth & Desfor Edles, 2016, p. 243). During the war, many Maya felt the need to dissociate from their traditions to avoid association with militias.

> People were frightened, and they buried anything that might associate them with the guerrillas in the eyes of the army: their prayer books, because the army had accused the Catholic priests in the area of being Communists; their metal hoes, because the army had accused the peasants of using their hoes to help guerrillas dig up and destroy the only road leading into the area from the provincial capital; and even their huipiles (long white embroidered smocks worn by the Indian women) and capixchays (black, sheep's wool, sleeveless jackets worn by the Indian men) because the army felt – at least in the final months of the Lucas Garcia regime – that all Kanjobal Indians [Northwest of Lake Atitlán, boarding Mexico] had cooperated with guerrillas and therefore should be castigated or killed (Davis, 1988, p.25).

Maya men and women migrated into the hills to hide alongside the militia, into slums in Guatemala City, and primitive sanctuary camps in Mexico (Davis, 1998). In Mexico, traje became synonymous with the Maya's refugee status. Feelings of humiliation and continued discrimination against the Maya led women to forgo using traje in public. Women still wore traje

in private and continued to weave garments and home goods. These products were resold by the nuns of the seminary in the Diocese of San Cristóbal in southern Mexico to international clients; women earned approximately 60 USD per month for their families (Monteja, 2011). Within Guatemala, many women who fled to the city continued to wear traje as a show of defiance (Velásquez Nimatug, 2011).

Silent Violence and Cultural Capital

During the Scorched Earth campaign, the Instituto Guatemalteco de Turismo (INGUAT) spent $1.5 million to promote Guatemala's safety and friendliness to foreign tourists. Lake Atitán became a destination for foreign nationals aligned with the hippie movement (Curtis, 2007). Wayne Curtis (2007), a journalist for The Atlantic, described the region at the time as a "countercultural Shangri-La", where budget travelers moving through Central America could have a psychedelic quasi-Maya experience or search for products they could cheaply export back to the United States (p. 3). By 1984, the presence of foreigners in Panajachel gave the town a reputation as safe-haven. Craftspeople living north and west of the lake, in areas with continuous violence, migrated to the city and entered the tourist trade (Hindshaw, 1988). Hindshaw (1988), an anthropologist residing in Panajachel at the time recounted,

> A few of the wealthiest Panjachel merchants with capital reserves were well positioned to benefit from the violence: they purchased family heirlooms, such as old huipiles…from families throughout the highlands who were in need of money or who had been forced to abandon their homes and possessions. Some Panajachel homes are virtual museums, repositories of the cultural heritage of the region. The buyers are, for the most part, wealth collectors form Europe and the United States. Huipiles selling for $1,000 are not unheard of, but unfortunately this income is even less broadly shared by Panajcheleños than was the money spent by tourists before the violence (p. 198).

The marketing of Maya practices by the Guatemalan government continued throughout the 1980s and is widespread today (Devine, 2009). In 1991, the United Nations Educational,

Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) published a report on tourism in Guatemala, stating,

> Rural culture is formed by the mosaic of Indian cultures and the Ladinos who have preserved the traditional culture practically unchanged down through the years. This culture is beginning to be distorted with positive benefit only for industry and commerce (as cited in Little, 2004, p.58).

Again, the survival of Maya cultural practices was credited to the oppressor. Fischer and Brown (1996) recognizes that the adaptations in cultural forms and practices under oppression do not license the oppressor to that culture. The UNESCO report also advised that Maya culture should be solicited as traditional and free from foreign influence (Little, 2004). A suggestion that ignores human agency and cultural adaptability.

Dress and Defiance

In 1986, the Guatemalan constitution was amended to include the right to wear indigenous dress (Bennett, 2017). However, the amendment did not prevent appearance-based crimes against the Maya population. Ten years later, additional cultural protections were extended in the peace accords; nevertheless, none of these actions could mitigate the war's impact. “Aesthetics and politics are inextricably bound to the weaving and wearing of Maya clothing" (Otzoy, 1996, p. 150). Otzoy (1996) and Hendrickson (1995) conclude that Maya women have a strong sense of cultural responsibility, which drives them to wear traditional garments. The practice of dressing in traje and típica is an act of resistance.

> Wearing our trajes – whether they be K'iche', Mam, Kaqchiquel, T'utujil [Tz'utujil], Pocomchi, Jakalteca or others – is not simply a matter of standing up for our cultural rights. For postwar Guatemalan it has become a political challenge: that of breaking the various ideological, legal, colonial and contemporary racist structures that exist in all spheres of the Guatemalan State (Irma Alicia Velásquez Nimatuj, 2011, p. 526).

Irma Alicia Velásquez Nimatuj (2011), a Maya woman and anthropologist, explains that discrimination is expected when using traje and típica because it challenges social expectations

and values. Maya women are rarely free from discrimination, especially outside of their communities. Since the 1996 peace accords, women wearing traje have been barred from taking educational exams, participating in private education, and entering restaurants, entertainment establishments, and places of worship (Velásquez Nimatug, 2011).

Gender and Highland Marketplaces

After the war, women were the primary residents of highland villages. Although most families remained in poverty, money earned from weaving increased household incomes. In the early 1990s, demands for woven goods from foreign tourists led to an increase in Maya women learning to weave (Hendrickson, 1996). The selling of woven apparel and home goods permitted greater financial freedom for women and their children. Skilled women began to consolidate their efforts and work in cooperatives supporting each other and their community (Brumfiel, 2006). Goods were made and sold in a two-tiered system. First-tier goods, such as napkins and scarves, could be made quickly and were sold inexpensively to tourists. Second-tier goods are more time-intensive and are sold at a higher price. The two-tiered approach permitted greater flexibility in selling strategies and more consistent revenue for women working in the marketplace (Brumfiel, 2006). This strategy is still in place today.

The Future of Dress

The history of Maya dress practices is a story of adaptability and resilience (Otzoy, 1996; Velásquez Nimatug, 2011). Twenty-five years after the peace accords, the importance of traje and típica is still unjustly debated and questions consistently arise about its future. To illustrate, as I was concluding an interview with a participant from outside of San Pedro, I asked her to share her final thoughts about her clothing. “Ines” said,

> And to finish – It is possible that this form, that identifies me inside and outside of the borders of my country, Guatemala is synonymous with belonging to a Mayan ethnic group. It is also synonymous with mocking – ignorance – for the many who discriminate against our traje. It is also synonymous with a lower position in society, because the capital [government] always has us poor and marginalized.
>
> But those beautiful and colorful canvases can mean a lot of things…For people who carry it, it's a treasure. It is not only our way of dressing, our daily living, it is also a direct connection with our ancestors, and our roots. It is a struggle, our resistance, our struggle to be respected and recognized.
>
> That is why, for us, it's not a synonym of mockery, but a synonym of our work, spirit, and pride. Each suit carries a part of our being, of ourselves from each indigenous region of Guatemala. The way to realize it in this millennium is that it is unique, it is a work of art.
>
> From start to finish it is the thread of our lives, and it the way many indigenous women in Guatemala earn a living in the company of adults.
>
> There is a lot of extreme discrimination in Guatemala. Oh yes.
> [Edited for clarity]

Her words capture much of the history presented in this section and the withstanding influence of discrimination beginning at the point of Spanish contact. Influxes of second-hand clothing, influence from the tourism industry, the role of government and non-government organizations, discriminatory practices, including those in educational systems, have impacted dress practices in communities like San Pedro La Laguna. Research by Bennett (2015) suggests that a combination of these factors, unique to each municipality, will continue to impact the trajectory of traje and típica. Nonetheless, inevitable changes to processes and their products are no less Maya than their predecessors (Brumfiel, 2006; Welters & Lillethun, 2018)

Chapter 3 – Theoretical Underpinnings

This chapter presents relevant dress and fashion theories that best explain the current practices of the residents of San Pedro La Laguna, Guatemala. The chapter begins with a brief introduction to the application of social theories to dress scholarship. Next, the chapter introduces the concepts of historical memory and semiotics to explain the use of dress practices as a cultural indicator. Lastly, this chapter presents theoretical underpinnings that follow the symbolic interactionalist tradition. These theories offer a lens for analyzing dress practices in respect to San Pedro la Laguna.

Dress and Theory

Fashion, as a multidisciplinary field, creates scholarship that seeks, "…to answer questions concerned with how an individual's dress-related beliefs, attitudes, perceptions, feelings, and behaviors are shaped by other's and one's self," (Johnson, et al., 2014, p.1). Fashion theorist Susan Kaiser (1997) also contends that the social psychology of dress is concerned with, "…the social and psychological forces that lead to, and result from, processes of managing personal appearance" (p. 4). Kaiser, as well as Eicher and Evenson (2012), recognize that these studies are dependent on disciplines from outside fashion studies, including, "anthropology, consumer behavior, cultural studies, psychology, and sociology" (p.1).

In the United States, interdisciplinary studies of dress date back to the Industrial Revolution. Dress studies from that time primarily focused on economics and feminism. Before the Industrial Revolution, concerns about modesty, the need for physical protection, and the

desire for adornment were theorized as justifications for dress practices. These studies were distinctively ethnocentric in nature (Eicher & Evenson, 2012; Kaiser, 1997).

Beginning in the 1940s, fashion theorists published analytical writings on the meaning of dress and human behavior (Eicher & Evenson, 2012). And during the 1960s, within and outside of fashion studies, dress was increasingly examined from sociological, psychological, and cultural perspectives (Eicher & Evenson, 2012; Kaiser, 1997). Fashion anthologies *The Meaning of Dress* (Damhorst, et al., 2005), *The Fashion Reader* (Welters & Lillethun, 2011), and *The Visible Self* (Eicher & Evenson, 2012) cover the topics under the umbrella of culture and identity. These collections document dress in respect to relationships, gender, sexuality, aging, race, ethnicity, religion, and the physical body. Kaiser also explores these topics in *The Social Psychology of Clothing* (1997) and *Fashion and Cultural Studies* (2012).

Dress practice is social and, therefore, is positioned in many sociological theories. Benjamin (1969) examined the democratization of dress. Dress as a tool in social interaction is presented by Goffman (1959). Blumer (1969b), furthering this idea, argues that our social interactions influence our behavior towards objects. He, like Benjamin and other fashion theorists, recognizes the unique position of the dress; resulting from historical continuity and moving towards modernity (1969a). The commodification of cultural forms, including dress, is described in Adorno's (1975) *The Culture Industry Reconsidered*. Critical studies of appearance arose after the US Civil Rights Movements of the 1960s and 1970s. Foucault's (1975) discussion on the panopticon started a more in-depth discussion about the monitoring of people and appearance. Said (1978) and Hill Collins (1990) poignantly recognize the role of appearance in othering and the oppression of groups. Aligning with the growth of the fast fashion industry, Giddens (1991) examines the construction of the self in view of globalization (Appelrouth &

Desfor Edles, 2016). What this breadth of scholarship indicates is that there is not one definitive theory for understanding dress in the social world. There is, however, a unified understanding that dress practices are social practices that express the self, relationships, and situations across time and space (Damhorst et al., 2005).

Dress and Culture

Chapter 1 defined the dress movements applicable to the history of fashion in Guatemala, per the Ixchel Museum of Indigenous Dress ("Virtual Tour," 2020). Chapter 2 presented key events that shaped Maya dress. Notably, a history of oppression and inequality has influenced the Maya's dress practices in Guatemala. This section introduces the idea that there are characteristics of dress practices in San Pedro that are unique to the municipality – which is further discussed in subsequent chapters. Today's dress has opaque and transparent connections to previous popular garments in the community. These practices reflect critical principles of fashion studies, including historical continuity, which recognizes that specific styles and ensembles are a progression of previous designs (Welters & Lillethun, 2018). Iterations of previous garments – contemporary dress – often integrate meaningful and symbolic elements. The history of meaning for these signifiers – also thought of as historical memory – is understood and shared by San Pedro residents (Kaiser, 1997). Signifiers that reinforce cultural beliefs merit reproduction and are maintained through dress practices (Baudrillard, 1976/1993). Collectively, the community's actions have led to the preservation of some design elements and the evolution of others. Discussion on theories related to community interaction and dress are addressed later in this chapter under the Dress and Society section.

Dress as a Measure of Culture

Dress displays the intersection of various influences affecting a community at any given moment. Examining dress as a signifier can lead to a greater understanding of these influences. "Appearance messages do not exist in limbo; instead, they are embedded in context" (Kaiser, 1997, p. 30). Context includes the physical setting, relationships (including those with the self), the culture, and the garments' historical meaning (Kaiser). Garments are also the culmination of their production processes – existing in spaces outside of a community. In this sense, dress is the measure of the immediate culture and its relationship to a globalized world (Giddens, 1991).

Dress practices of a community provide information about elements of the culture, including social structures and ideologies (Eicher & Evenson, 2012). Information about dress can be interpreted directly through the perception and interpretation of design elements such as color and texture. These design elements and their social meaning are influenced by recent historical memory and periodically shifts. For example, the traje of San Pedro incorporates colors representative of the community's heritage. Red embroidery at the neckline can represent strength, the strength of woman, or the blood of the ancestors (or all three) depending on who is speaking about the garment (Rosa, personal communication, July 2020; Fanny, personal communication, June 2020). This antidote is explained by Kaiser (1995), who states, "Virtually all clothes and accessories are likely to become signs, or to signify information. Yet it is essential to remember that clothes and accessories do not have intrinsic meanings of their own" (Kaiser, 1997, p. 216). The design and the significance of objects change as society changes (Dant, 1999). Interestingly, when discussing the color's importance, people will use the term red (embedded with historical memory) to describe a popular substitute, bright pink thread (Marisol, personal

communication, July 2020; Fanny, personal communication, June 2020). In these instances, the signifier changed, but the terminology and social meaning did not.

The examination of dress practices furthers the understanding of dress artifacts as a measure of culture. As defined in Chapter 1, dress practices encompass design and production processes, discussion about dress, use, and styling decisions. Practices actively represent the value of the artifacts within a context (Kaiser, 1997). For example, within San Pedro, traje and típica are often produced within a network of consumer-cum-designers and makers in the community. These garments are the subject of considerably more attention than Ladino or Americana clothing sold in the marketplace (Rosa, personal communication, July 12, 2020; Guadalupe, personal communication, June 2020). This attention is apparent in dress descriptions. For example, a torso covering (blusa) may be labeled 'modern blouse of German mercerized cotton thread' (Regina, personal communication, September 2020; Guadalupe, personal communication, June 2020). This name implies that the receiver knows of modern blouse designs (compared to a simple design), the value of German thread (compared to non-German thread), and the qualities of mercerized cotton (Barthes, 1990; Kaiser, 1997). Dress practices, such as the production process or vocabulary used to describe dress, can provide insight on the importance of specific garments within a community; and, therefore, indicate information about dominant aspects of the culture (Dant, 1999).

Dress and Society

Maya scholar and activist Irma Otzoy (1996) explains that the study of dress practices in Guatemala would be incomplete without examining the municipality's affairs. Influential cultural and social practices, specific to the residents, exist within the municipality's borders

(Fischer, 2001; Otzoy, 1996; Tax, 1937). Bennett (2015) expanded this idea when she recognized that factors influencing dress, such as the presence of second-hand clothing and tourism, manifest and interact differently in each community, ultimately influencing the trajectory of traje and típica. The population's dress practices are sensitive to the community's zeitgeist (Blumer, 1969a; Calia, 2020), most often described by participants as the town's 'personality.'

The relationship between dress and society - in this study, determined by the municipality's borders – is apparent across cultures and throughout clothing history (Welters & Lillethun, 2018). People are aware of their surroundings and use dress to react to norms stemming from family and other social affiliations. Dress is "…a sign that connects the individual to a group, the esthetic form of passage between the individual and the social" (Calia, 2020, p.3). Dress practices actively enforce and, sometimes challenge, social relationships (Blumer, 1969b; Kaiser, 1997). In this sense, garments act as a relational mechanism, allowing people to interact with their society and vice versa. Symbolic interaction (SI) theory, developed in part by Dewey, Cooley, Mead, and Blumer, applies to studying dress practices in a community setting (Akson et al., 2009). At their core, SI theories assist in examining "human group life and human conduct" (Blumer, 1969b, p. 12). This chapter continues with a presentation of critical aspects of SI, published in Herbert Blumer's work (1969b). It is important to note that Blumer did not believe fashion existed outside Western societies nor within lower economic classes (Blumer, 1969a; Calia, 2020). I am applying his work with the knowledge that fashion does not have economic or geographical boundaries (Welters & Lillethun, 2018).

Symbolic Interaction

SI is a theory that situates human interaction as the foundation for social structures and social meaning. It emphasizes that "Society is not a structure, but a process" (Collins, 1994, p. 262), resulting from everyday interactions occurring at the personal and interpersonal level. Blumer's three principles of SI breakdown the process of human interaction. First, he explains, "…that humans beings act towards things [people, categories of people, physical objects, institutions, norms] on the basis of the meanings that the things have for them" (p.2). Second, "the meaning of such things is derived from, or arises out of, the social interaction that one has with one's fellows [friends, family, neighbors, affiliations]" (p.2). Lastly, "…these meanings are handled in and modified through, an interpretative process used by the person in dealing with the things he encounters" (Blumer, 1969b, p. 2). Ultimately, people behave in a manner that reflects their knowledge of themselves and their society. This process is repeated and creates social institutions such as family or community and the symbols that reaffirm these relationships. Over time, repetition reinforces these ideas.

SI exists in opposition to structural-functionalism, which suggests broad social structures influence human interaction at an interpersonal level (Appelrouth & Desfor Edles, 2016; Collins, 1994; Kaiser, 1997). The causal relationship, from social structure to human behavior, can be assumed, but it is problematic to observe and measure. Ultimately, this study examines dress practices as a source and outcome of human interactions in everyday life and recognizes that people interact with other people, not intangible structures (Blumer, 1969b; Goffman, 1959). Blumer's principles are discussed and exemplified using dress practices in the following sections.

Premise 1: Self and Things

The first principle of SI theory recognizes that human beings determine the value of *things* with respect to their understanding of them*selves*. Under the SI framework, *things* are anything a person considers a part of their social world, including a specific person, categories of people, physical objects (dress), norms, or social structures, such as religion (Johnson et al., 2014). Essentially, a thing "is anything that can be indicated or referred to" (Blumer, 1969b, p. 11). Blumer's explanation of SI does not overly concentrate on the self. However, his studies are based on the work of George Herbert Mead, a social behaviorist who recognizes that the self is also a thing (Blumer; Mead, 1934). The self, per Mead, is consistently referenced during social interaction, and subsequently, is a product of social experiences (Collins, 1994). This perspective implies that there are many versions of self; arising from social exchangins and adapting to these interactions (Mead). On self-thing relationships, Blumer recognizes that,

> It is the world of their objects with which people have to deal and toward which they develop their actions. It follows that in order to understand the action of people it is necessary to identify their world of objects (p. 11).

Within the context of San Pedro and this study, the world of objects (things) includes physical dress and those who shape an individual's dress practices. Through social interaction and consequently meaning-making, the municipality's expectations are created and upheld (Blumer, 1969b).

Premise 2: Meaning and Others

Meaning is the premise of the first and second principle of SI. Blumer (1969b) argues that people act with respect to the *meaning* that *things* have for them. This idea, although simple, arose in opposition to two frames of thought about people and things. First, that meaning is intrinsically a part of something. For example, a güipile is beautiful because it is a güipile. All

meaning is inherent in the thing, with or without human interaction or perception. The second position argues that meaning is derived from the psychological processing of the item – a güipile is beautiful because "sensations, feelings, ideas, memories, motives, and attitudes" (Blumer, 1969b, p.4) about the garment have deemed to be beautiful. From this perspective, all meaning exists in the psyche. Under SI theory, the *meaning* is the outcome of the interaction with *others*, including family, friends, neighbors, and affiliations (Blumer). A person finds a güiple to be beautiful, for example, because it was weaved alongside their mother. Interaction with *others* leads to *meaning*-making.

Dress, worn during interactions with others, is representative of the self (Kaiser, 1997). People view themselves, and therefore, their dress practices "…indirectly, from the particular standpoint of other individual members of the same social group, or from the generalized standpoint of the social group as a whole…" (Mead, 1934, p. 138). People make determinations about a thing by observing others (specific and generalized) actions toward the object (Blumer, 1969b), and further, apply this understanding to their own dress practices. In many ways, the meaning we associate with things originates during socialization (Kaiser, 1997). Countless opinions on dress and appearance observed in childhood are considered in adulthood (Johnson et al., 2014). Humans come to anticipate the behavior of individuals and social circles, and act accordingly (Blumer; Mead). For example, within San Pedro, it is common for women to coordinate the use of the corte or pants, via group messages, prior to an event to ensure that they are meeting the general expectations (Esperanza, personal communication, July 2020). Many learn what makes their appearance 'pleasing,' 'beautiful,' or 'acceptable' in respect to social context and use dress to meet communial standards (Kaiser, 1997). New social interactions lead to the establishment of new meanings and the formation of new anticipations. Through this

process, meanings held about things, especially dress, are heavily influenced by the people (also things) deemed to be most important in a social setting (Blumer; Kaiser).

While visiting San Pedro, a male instructor – Matteo – queried me for more information about the study. People knew I studied fashion but were interested in how this topic pertained to them.

> Matteo: So, what will the questions be about?
> Emily: I'm not sure. The questions have definitely changed.
> Matteo: How?
> Emily: I thought this study would involve tourism, but now, I'm not sure.
> Matteo: (puzzled expression)
> Emily: When you wake up in the morning, and get dressed, do you care what he thinks? (Pointing to the tourists walking by the cafe.)
> Matteo: No. (stern shake of the head) I never think about what tourist think.
> Emily: Okay, so what do you think about?
> Matteo: I think about where I am going - the occasion.
> Emily: And when you wear traditional clothing, what do you think about?
> Matteo: (his expression changes) I think twice. I think twice when I think about traditional clothes. I think about who is there, I think about the other people. I think twice, two times (holding up two fingers). You don't know what people will say here when you wear traditional clothes. Okay – I get it now [referencing this study] [my translation from Spanish].

He then shared a memory about a young man in the community, similar to his age now, who tried to wear traje. He recounted that the constant teasing and jeers – people called him an 'old man' – eventually drove him to stop. The thought of dressing in traditional clothing elicited prior experiences when his neighbors (the same people who who view him in these garments) had acted towards this object (Blumer, 1969b).

Premise 3: Interpretation and Action

The previous discussion illuminated the role of the generalized other in the creation of meaning and illustrated anticipatory *interpretation* of an action (Blumer, 1969b; Mead, 1934). Interpretation is essentially creating meaning from others' actions and with respect to the self (Appelrouth & Desfor Edles, 2016).

> The things taken into account cover such matters as his wishes and wants, his objectives, the available means for their achievement, the actions and anticipated actions of others, his image of himself, and the likely result of a given line of action (Blumer, 1969b, p.15).

In the interpretative process, people indicate to themselves the object which they are acting towards (traje), identify how the object exists within known established meanings (humiliation, pride, age), and act in accordance or defiance of the known meanings (to wear or not wear the garments) (Blumer, 1969b). Previous meanings, arising from social interaction, do not dictate future meanings. People have the agency to interpret their surroundings and construct their values. Damhorst (2005) discusses these outcomes in application to fashion. She states,

> Often we are unaware of how we are influenced by significant persons in our lives. In other instances, we recognize clearly the opinions of others and purposely try to dress as others wish, carefully copy the dress or others, or deliberately dress the opposite of what is expected (p. 104).

While *interpreting* a social interaction, humans are referential towards the self and their social groups. Anticipating the generalized perspective of the social group leads to shared interpretation of behavior and the alignment of *action* (Mead, 1934). Blumer discusses shared interpretation as the precursor to joint collection action. People interacting within a society, like those residing in San Pedro, jointly act in a manner that reinforces social norms, roles, organizations, and structures. Stable and unstable communities result from collective joint action; people jointly complying or defying existing meaning. If actions do not align, they do not change the social order (Blumer, 1969b).

The argument that interaction is the foundation for society acknowledges that social order is made, not pre-established. Through the interpretation process, social interaction upholds social and cultural expectations (Blumer, 1969b). “Structural features, such as “culture,” “social systems,” “social stratification,” or “social roles,” set conditions for [human] action but do not

determine the action" (Blumer, 1969b, p. 87 – 88). People process meaning and act, sometimes cumbersomely. Ultimately, human group life shapes meaning in a society.

Dress and San Pedro La Laguna

Dress practices in San Pedro La Laguna connect those within the community and reflect the actions of those who have come prior. SI theory suggests that, "society exists in action and must be seen in terms of action" (Blumer, 1969b, p.6). This study models this perspective and acknowledges that dress practices, even those rooted in heritage, are active parts of society. Meanings of dress practices, arising from prior social interactions, cannot accurately determine future social action. However, these can shape the interpretation process. In the same manner, understanding the interpretation of dress practices by those living in San Pedro now may hint at the future of dress in the community.

Chapter 4 - Qualitative Research Methods

This study began as field research and without a pre-fixed design (Babbie, 2014). Throughout the investigation, the research process needed to adapt to travel and physical interaction constraints resulting from the COVID-19 pandemic. These realities diminished the available time for making observations. The investigation continued to examine the relationship between the residents, dress, and the community through remote interviews held over the course of 35 days. Contextually, this study was unequivocally influenced by the pandemic, impacting the methodology, participants, and research tools.

The research process also adapted to themes and curiosities emerging from the data. New hypotheses about dress practices in the community were shaped in response to the information provided by participants. The process of redefining the hypothesis and shaping it into a more generalizable theory that fits the data is called analytic induction (Katz, 2001; Timmermans & Tavory, 2012). In utilizing this framework, the goal was to understand, clarify, and confirm reoccurring actions, reasons, and motives relating to the phenomenon of dress practices in San Pedro during this study (Becker, 1993; Merton, 1987). Thereafter, it was possible to identify the unknown and obtain new information – through strategic questions and participants – to mitigate my ignorance on the subject (Merton, 1987).

This chapter provides an overview of the data collection process and includes information on data collection adjustments throughout the study. The chapter begins with an introduction to the research site and the participants. Then the data collection procedures, including developments to the methods, are explained. A discussion on risk management follows. The

chapter concludes with the data analysis strategy employed after data collection. Themes and codes are defined in this chapter.

Research Site

In 2017, I decided to study in San Pedro La Laguna because of its reputation as a Spanish language learning capital. Studying at the Orbita Spanish Language School (Orbita), one of ten options in San Pedro at the time, was initially decided due to its affordability and proximity to the central dock. The decision to return to Orbita in 2020 for data collection was based on the supportive relationship I developed with the management and staff and the availability of a safe, temporary residence within the school. I intended to live, study, and create networks centered around Orbita for five weeks, beginning on March 8th, 2020. However, due to complications with the COVID-19 pandemic, I was required by Kansas State University to return to the United States and did so on March 14th, 2020. After my return to the United States, I maintained relationships with teachers at the school, some of whom voluntarily joined the study when it restarted remotely in June 2020.

After I departed from Guatemala, my ability to create networks was no longer dependent on my in-person relationships with people associated with the Orbita Spanish Language School. I decided to build connections online with people who were the most interested in participating in the study without underlining obligations to their employer. I expanded the research site to include all residents of San Pedro. This decision allowed for a significant increase in participants (Orbita: ~10, San Pedro: 33), expanded the age range (Orbita: ~22 – 28, San Pedro:19 – 46), increased male participation (Orbita: ~2, San Pedro: 8), and led to a greater variety of employment in the community (weavers, sewers, truck drivers, tourist's guides, artists, parents, teachers). Ultimately, the decision to expand the research site led to a larger and more diverse

participant group, capable of offering a greater variety of perspectives about dress, culture, and society in San Pedro.

Population of Interest

This study sought to understand dress practice as a process and a mechanism that "…alter[s] connections among people, groups, and interpersonal networks" (Desmond, 2014, p. 553). An examination of how residents in a community shape the phenomena of dress allows for inspection of individual and group practices. This approach recognizes that cultural practices do not exist in isolation. With this in mind, the population of interest for this study was adult residents of San Pedro – males and females.

Research Participants

As previously stated, initially the intention was to recruit research participants from the language teachers at Orbita. However, after returning to the United States, and in consultation with the Internal Review Board at Kansas State University, I decided to relaunch the study independent from the Orbita Spanish Language School and open the study up to any adult living in San Pedro. The school was a safe and productive research space that created a physical association between myself and the community. However, remote recruitment, achieved through Facebook, lessened my need to have a physical association in the community. This decision also decreased the chance of conflict between participants and their employers, which would have been more difficult to observe at a distance. Ultimately, nearly all foreigners exited San Pedro in March 2020, and only two teachers remained employed during the pandemic.

Key Informant

During my one-week stay in San Pedro at the beginning of March 2020, I developed a relationship with a Spanish language teacher – a woman who would become my informant for this study. She was a great benefit to the start of this research project. First, she was instrumental in helping establish my credibility with other teachers. “We thought we were going to be on the Discovery Channel,” she said about an hour into our first meeting. After realizing I was not very intimidating or very serious, she began to quash rumors that I was planning to sell images to a multinational corporation. Additionally, while I was still in Guatemala, she partook in an early interview, mostly to check recording equipment and the accuracy of the translation software I planned to use.

After returning to the United States, our correspondence continued, and she continued to help shape my research. As a resident and student with qualitative and quantitative research experience, she had a keen perspective on the participant–researcher dynamic in San Pedro La Laguna. As a language instructor, she also could advise on linguistically preferred methods of asking questions – through regular, virtual Spanish lessons. Throughout the study she continued to support my credibility and invited her network to complete remote interviews – reassuring them about the process.

Recruiting and Scheduling

Upon returning to the USA and deciding to continue data collection remotely, a private Facebook group was created on May 21st, 2020. This page included information about the study, IRB related documents, and my personal contact information. I added San Pedro residents to the group that I had become acquainted with during my previous visits. Posts within the group encouraged members to invite others residents to the study (See Figure 4.1). Several of the

teachers I had met at the Orbita Spanish Language School supported my credibility and invited friends to the group, even if they did not participate in the interview themselves.

Figure 4.1

Facebook Recruitment Post 1

Note: Translation: "Good Morning, do your friends or family want to share their story? Please, share this page!"

Those who indicated interest in participating in an interview were asked to complete an online survey via Survey Monkey requesting their name, video communication preference, preferred days of the week, preferred times, English speaking ability, and contact information (See Figure 4.2 and Table 4.1). Participants were contacted via their preferred methods and given interview times that matched the information provided. In-person conversations revealed that there were varied opinions about receiving direct compensation for an interview. Therefore, participants were also surveyed about their financial compensation preference. Participants could

receive a deposit of 150 Queztals/ 20 USD at the local bank, BanRural, or donate an equal amount to a community food bank or children's education program.

Figure 4.2

Facebook Recruitment Post 2

Note: Translation: "Hello Group! Let's find a time to meet. Complete the survey to reserve a place. Everyone who has completed the survey will be contacted by Monday, 6/8/20. Thank you for your interest! Emily."

Table 4.1

Availability Questionnaire

Questions	Available Answers
1. ¿Cómo te llamas? (What is your name?)	
2. ¿Qué programa quieres usar para la entrevista? (What program do you want to use for the interview?)	Facebook Skype Zoom Google

3. ¿Qué días de la semana son los mejores para usted? (What days of the week are the best for you?)	Lunes (Monday) Martes (Tuesday) Miércoles (Wednesday) Jueves (Thursday) Viernes (Friday) Sábado (Saturday) Domingo (Sunday)
4. ¿Qué hora del día es la major para usted? (What time of the day is best for you?)	Temprano en la manaña, 6:00 – 9:00 AM. (Early morning) La manaña, 9:00 AM – 12:00 PM. (Morning) La tarde, 12:00 – 3:00 PM. (Afternoon) El final de la tarde, 3:00 – 6:00 PM. (Late Afternoon) Temprano por la noche, 6:00 – 8:00 PM. (Evening) La noche, 8:00 – 10:00 PM. (Night) Otro, especifique. (Other, specify.)
5. ¿Qué tan bien hablas inglés? Los participantes no están obligados a hablar inglés. Esta respuesta me ayuda a prepararme para la entrevista. (How well do you speak English? Participants are not required to speak English. This answer helps me prepare for the interview.)	0 – 100
6. ¿Quién recibirá los $20.00 USD? (Who will receive the $20.00 USD?)	Después de la entrevista, por favor envíeme los 20.00Q a través de Xoom/Paypal. (After the interview, please send me $20.00 via Xoom or Paypal.) Despues de la entrevista, por favor done los 20.00Q a un banco de alimentos en San Pedro. (…please donate the $20.00 to the food bank in San Pedro.) Después de la entrevista, por favor dona los 20.00Q a la educación de los ninos en San Pedro. (…$20.00 to an education program for children in San Pedro.)
7. Proporcione su información de contacto (número de teléfono, Skype, correo electrónico). (Please provide your contact information (telephone number, Skype, email).	

Information in the availability questionnaire changed slightly throughout the study. Answers for Question 2 were edited and the option to use Google was removed. This platform was unpopular with participants and attempts to use the platform were unsuccessful. Additionally, the phrasing on Question 7 was altered to request only a WhatsApp phone number.

Through trial and error, WhatsApp was determined to be the best means of communication. Email correspondence was unpopular and slowed the recruiting and scheduling process. Early participants who provided their email only often did not respond to messages and missed appointments more frequently; this scenario applies to two people who completed the survey but did not complete an interview.

In total, 48 people showed initial interest in the study by joining the Facebook group. Although recruiting on Facebook continued through July 2020, 30 participants who completed the availability survey had done so before the end of June. An additional three individuals, who did not join the Facebook group or complete the survey, acquired my telephone number and directly arranged meetings. Interviews with 33 participants were scheduled over a 35-day period, between June 13th and July 24th, 2020. At first contact, I sent participants the informed consent document and asked them to confirm receipt of the document and review it for any questions. Two to three days before an interview, participants were contacted again to confirm their timeslot and the video messaging program. Due to Internet connectivity issues that could not be resolved over multiple days, one person ended up not participating in an interview. This person was still compensated for their time. A decrease in interested from potential participants and the repetitive nature of the information provided (i.e. data saturation) led to the end data collection.

Limitations to Participant Recruitment

Due to how individuals signed up to participate in the study, there were several limitations to recruitment. First, the participants in this study had access to internet and were active Facebook users. Through their online presence, they received requests to join the study, became aware of the project through friends, or joined the group independently. Therefore, residents of San Pedro without internet and/or Facebook access were not included as potential

study participants. It can be inferred that lack of internet access indicates less disposable income. Potentially, these participants could prefer inexpensive garments (Western dress) or only use dress they can aquire through their personal networks (Maya dress). Furthermore, because of the word of mouth nature of the recuirtment process, residents in the community who were not part of kin or friendships within this group were also less likely to have known about the study and consequently their perspective were not part of this study.

Second, once individuals joined the recruitment Facebook group, they elected to participate in the recruitment survey and choose to commit and attend the online meeting. Therefore, due to this recruitment strategy, in many ways, the study's participants were self-selected. Indeed, there were 15 individuals who joined the Facebook group but did not move forward with the survey. At least two of these individuals were part of a different ethnolinguistic group and another member of the Facebook group felt she could not participate because she did not wear local traditional garments. Interestingly, all three invited other friends to join the study. It is unknown why others joined the group but then did not proceed with participating in the study – although it is possible that they simply were not interested in the topic or did not wear traje. And although it is difficult to speculate on the dress practices of the disinterested, it is plausible that residents who do not wear the traje of San Pedro felt they could not speak on the municipality's dress practices. Interviews with these participants could illustrate different relationships with Western dress and dress sanctions in the municipality.

Early participants showed a great deal of interest in the topic and research in general. Nearly all participants had completed their bachelor's degree. In Guatemala, many undergraduate programs require completing an independent research project which includes data collection, for a senior thesis. Therefore, participants were familiar with my role as a researcher

(many being in that role previously), informed consent, recording methods, and interview processes. Although participants were uncertain of the exact study questions (discussed further in Chapter 4: Findings under the section Fashion and Change), many were interested in speaking about their traditions. These participants also lived outside of San Pedro and had extensive friendship networks with Ladinos and foreigners. Some of the earliest participants were unaware of compensation and were simply excited at the opportunity to present their perspective on dress practices. This interest could account for the attitudes about choice (discussed in Chapter 4: Findings under the section Choice). Participants who joined the study later were less familiar with the topic and research. They had received the link to the survey through friends. This study is missing perspectives from those not online, less familiar with research, or less interested in vocalizing their opinions.

Engageing with participants online also indicates they were proficient in Spanish. Late joining participants, connected to the study through social connections, were very proficient in Spanish but explained they were more versed in Tz'utujil. In San Pedro, Tz'utujil is an oral language. It can be read, but written proficiency is uncommon. When asking for translations, it was possible to acquire basic information (greetings, numbers, colors), but I was advised I would need an expert to create sentences. During the final questions of the interview, participants frequently listed that they first spoke Spanish, then their 'mother tongue', but they could not read it, then some English. It was challenging to advertise that I could meet with Tz'utujil-speaking residents with the assistance of a Spanish-speaking family member at a distance. I cannot write in Tz'utujil, and it is not commonly read. This information was available for the Spanish speaker online, but not the Tz'utujil speaker. This barrier excluded Tz'utujil speaking residents from the study.

This part of the population is more likely to be over 50 and to use traditional practices. The participants spoke to their behaviors, but I am missing their accounts. I have documented the younger populations' perspective on dress sanctions, but not the view of the elders, who frequently provide commentary. The justifications for sanctioning dress are missing. This cohort is the smallest portion of the population (5.3% of the population of Guatemala is over 65), yet it is also the population that has the most significant influence on dress practices in the municipality (Pan American Health Organization, 2021).

Data Collection Methods

The data collection methods selected for use in this study support an exploratory to an explanatory state of research practices. The study began with in-person observations, documented in field notes, and continued with digitally recorded remote interviews. Semi-structured interviews, generally lasting around one and a half hours, are the primary source of data for this dissertation. Remote observations, events occurring outside of the video interview, aided in the research process. The information found by observing digital interactions on Facebook and Whatsapp acted as a check or point of inquiry for information found in interviews and led to greater clarity and thus higher internal validity. Notes describing these occurrences were included in the participants' interview documents. These observations also supported interview questions, allowing for an, "…interaction of method and substance" (Katz, 2012, p. 270). Engaging with the community, even on the fringes and at a distance, gave me greater insight into daily events and supported my pursuit of accuracy.

Statement on the Use of Human Subjects

The proposal for this study (IRB #10051) was approved by the Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects on February 20th, 2020. It was determined that this study involved minimal risk. The study was modified and approved on May 20th, 2020. Interested persons were provided with a digital informed consent document in Spanish. Verbal consent was obtained at the start of each meeting to confirm participation in a recorded interview. At the end of the interview, participants were asked about their interest in receiving sections of any future documents that included their information prior to publication. I requested a preferred pseudonym from each participant and the key to their real names and pseudonyms was stored separately from their contact information. After the interview, participants were provided with a debriefing form through the same channels they received the informed consent document.

Observations

Before the study moved remotely, I had decided that the first week of my research trip would be dedicated to observations and rapport building. Orbita instructors, my key points of contact, were aware of my role as a researcher. Many of the instructors had also participated in the process of data collection through their post-secondary education and their familiarity with the research process made it easy to record events and discussions openly. 'One moment, can I record this?' became a phrase I quickly learned in Spanish. My observations, the empirical data, were recorded in a small notebook. Once I had access to a computer, I recounted the events into a typed document. I recorded the occurrences and my interpretation of the events in the afternoons and evenings. When not in my possession, the notebook and computer were kept in a password protected safe, in a locked room. Ultimately, my pursuit of relationships during this first week led to conversations about dress practices in San Pedro. These discussions granted me

greater clarity and confirmed suspicions about my positionality and employee's reactivity. They would also come to help shape the future interview questions and study procedures.

Positionality is the role that the researcher occupies concerning the participants in their study. Researchers, like myself, often are a part of the dominant social group (Ostrander, 1993). Regardless of the number of Tz'utujil residing in the community, my position as a white foreigner represents a larger master narrative that values fair-skinned and foreign individuals (McCorkel & Myers, 2003). Observations from the first week of data collection allowed me to document reactivity (how potential participants relate to my positionality). As the study's central research tool, I worked to determine how my actions were meaningful to the participants. I was made aware of the influence of my presence when I was informed about the rumors surrounding my investigation. The repetition of the study's intention - to interview any interested resident - helped combat the idea that I was solely interested in Maya dress used by women. This idea was repeated in the Facebook group and during remote interviews.

As that first week of data collection continued, I was able to begin to inquire into presumed influences on my participants. Prior to arriving in San Pedro, based on the writings of Bennet (2017) and Devine (2009), I had assumed that the presence of foreign tourists had a strong influence on residential dress practices. Therefore, initially, I was most interested in speaking with participants who worked with foreign populations. However, after spending time speaking with and observing San Pedro residents this logic did not seem to apply to San Pedro, and I loosened my grip on this notion. Interviews were eventually held when, due to COVID-19 restrictions, very few tourists were residing in the community.

Due to the brevity of time that I ended up spending in San Pedro, the in-person observations were not highly beneficial to the data analysis process. However, they did inform

the research process and lead to beneficial adjustments that supported remote data collection. For example, knowledge of general influences and general interest in the study supported my decision to open the study to the entire community once the study was moved remote.

Once I returned to the United States, I remained attentive to San Pedro's on-goings by observing town-based social media pages (the local news) and other information provided by the U.S. Embassy travel alert system. These outlets provided information about the coronavirus, local curfews and regulations and the weather. This type of information added context to meeting times, which were often scheduled during periods when residents were required to be indoors. Similarly, with knowledge about summer storms and their effect on Internet connectivity, I could contact participants earlier in the day to inform them that a new time could be arranged in the event of a disconnection.

As data collection proceeded from the United States, participants frequently sent me links to Facebook pages for their employers' businesses, their private companies, and the online marketplaces that they used to buy and sell their goods. Facebook pages, like Producto 100% Pedrano, were used by every person in the study to acquire goods from their neighbors. Observing these online communities helped me understand the movement of clothing in the community and what type of goods were popular during the pandemic. Participants also shared viral images and videos, links to their artwork, and countless examples of dress made by their family, friends, and themselves via Facebook and WhatsApp. Like the in-person interviews, there was not enough data collected through these observations to alter the research findings. However, this information allowed for greater clarity in conversation when speaking to participants.

Interviews

The purpose of conducting interviews is "to collect data not only, or primarily about behavior, but also about representations, classification systems, boundary work, identity, imagined realities, and cultural ideals, as well as emotional states" (Lamont & Swidler, 2014, p. 5). My role was to document *how* behavior exists to understand further *why* it comes to be in San Pedro La Laguna (Katz, 2001). In this instance, the how was the awareness of the phenomenon - dress types (Katz, 2001; Merton; 1987). The pursuit of the *why* led to inquiries about use, cultural, and social influences on dress (Katz, 2001).

Each interview was a collaboration (Weiss, 1994). I defined discussion areas, but conversations were shaped by the participants' answers (Terkel & Parker, 2016; Weiss, 1994). Information that required clarification, due to language barriers, was not only met with verbal explanations but with props, photographs, gestures, peeks into closets, and tours around the house. Enthusiastic responses from participants and myself ensured clarity at each moment (Becker, 1993). The cross-cultural aspect of the interview process prompted collaboration, whereas technology supported our joint efforts to ensure clarity.

Remote Interview Procedure

Interviews were held on a variety of online platforms including Skype, Zoom, and Facebook. Interviews held on Skype were recorded using the platform's features. Interviews conducted in Zoom and in Facebook groups were documented using the Zoom platform. Meetings were recorded from the point of consent to the start of the final question, requesting bank account information. The interview guide was kept on screen and notes were taken within a Microsoft Word document as needed. Spanishdict.com, a reliable online translation website used by the Orbita language teachers, was kept open to allow for the quick translation of new and

follow-up questions. Xoom.com, an entity of Paypal that allows for direct deposits into BanRural in San Pedro, was also open to ensure that sensitive account information would be directly inputed.

After an interview, the recording was exported and saved into audio and video files. Audio files were uploaded to Sonix.ai where they were then transcribed into Spanish and translated into English. This process took about 45 minutes for a 90-minute recording. From here, the document was studied in English. Although an imperfect translation the rough copy allowed for a quick review. This process helped me confirm my understanding of information provided by participants and allowed me to check if questions were phrased sufficiently. It also helped to shape follow-up questions and the interview guide. These files were stored on my personal computer and uploaded onto the K-State Microsoft One Drive. The Spanish transcription, English translation, audio and video files were saved in folder with a coversheet. The cover sheet included the participant's pseudonym, self-identifiers, languages spoken, cantón (neighborhood), gender, and interest in future of this study. If participants did not provide a pseudonym, I designated a name for them. I also recorded my immediate reactions to the interview within the same document.

Interview Guide

In the pursuit of analytic induction, interview questions changed throughout data collection. Questions early in the interviews revealed outcomes not accounted for by the literature or preparations before the study. When improving interview questions, I strived to keep the central research focus (Emerson, 1983). The interview guide was written and rewritten 1) to identify the dress in use and its' importance in the community during the study and 2) to determine the influences on dress practices, including production, consumption, design, and use.

There were no assumptions that the participants in this study would follow traditional dress practices or that they should preserve or abandon these practices.

Throughout data collection, the interview guide was edited four times. Early edits focused on vernacular and phrasing. For example, in the beginning, after we discussed dress, I often asked, 'Do you make clothes?' I would receive a firm 'No' response, even if I could see their workspace. I could then inquire about the space. In these exchanges, I realized that the idea of making clothing implies that someone can create the garment from start to finish. I needed to use more specific verbs. Participants weaved textiles for güipiles, weaved fajas, embroidered, crocheted, sewed, or designed clothing. This lesson was valuable in my approach to further questions. The end-of-the-study version of the interview guide is included in Table 4.2. The most frequently asked follow-up question were added to the guide. Depending on the flow of the conversations, some participants were also asked other questions in addition to those listed in the interview guide.

Table 4.2

Interview Guide

Introducción	Introduction
¿Cómo fue tu día? ¿Cómo está San Pedro? Estoy emocionado de trabajar con ustedes hoy. Obviamente, mi español no es perfecto, no tienes que cambiar la forma en que hablas, por favor habla de forma natural.	How was your day? How is San Pedro? I am excited to work with you today. Obviously, my Spanish is not perfect, you do not need to change the way you speak, please speak naturally.
Estoy grabando esta entrevista. Esta entrevista está grabada. Está documentado en audio y video. Usaré el audio para traducir esta reunión. El contenido del vídeo y la imagen no se utilizarán para su publicación. No usaré tu imagen sin permiso claro.	I am recording this interview. This interview is recorded. It documented in audio and video. I will use the audio to translate this meeting. The content of the video and your image will not be used for publication. I will not use your image without clear permission.
Primero, preguntares que piensas de la ropa ya que se relaciona con los que te rodean. Lleugo, preguntara sobre los tipos de ropa en la comunidad. A continuacion, quiero obtener tu perspectiva sobre tu propria ropa. A veces uso un programa de traducción si pienso en una nueva pregunta.	First, I will ask what you think about clothes as it relates to those around you. Then, ask about the types of clothing in the community. Next, I want to get your perspective on your clothes. Sometimes I use a translation program if I think of a new question.

Puedes detener o cancelar la entrevista en cualquier moment, no hay problem. En este momento, Tienes alguna pregunta? Listo?	You can stop or cancel the interview at any moment, there is no problem. At this time, do you have any questions? Ready?
Parte 1	Part 1
Me puedes decirber sobre la ropa que llevas, ahora?	Can you tell me about the clothing you are wearing today?
¿Puede explicarme cómo su ropa es diferente o similar a la de su familia?	Can you explain how your clothing is similar or different than your family?
¿Puede explicarme cómo su ropa es diferente o similar a la de su amigas?	Can you explain how of clothing is similar or different than your friends?
¿Puede explicarme cómo su ropa es diferente o similar a la de su communidad/pueblo?	Can you explain how of clothing is similar or different from other people who live in your community?
Prefieres vestir similairly o diferente de los que te rodean?	Do you think it is important to dress similarly to those around you?
Pregunta de apoyo: ¿Quién hizo tu güipiles? / tu ropa	Who made your güipiles/ your clothing?
Para los fabricantes: ¿Quién te enseñó a (coser, tejer, bordar, blusas de ganchillo?	For Makers: Who taught you how to (sew, weave, embroidered, crochet blouses?
Para los fabricantes:¿Qué influye en sus diseños?	For Makers: What influences your designs?
¿Es importante para ti saber quién hizo tu ropa?	Is it important to you, to know who made your clothes?
Parte 2	Part 2
¿Cómo definirías la ropa original?	How would you define original clothes?
Por Hombres: Puedes decibirme lo que la ropa original significa para ti?	For Men: Can you tell me what Maya clothing means to you?
Pregunta de apoyo: ¿Es importante el vestido tradicional en tu vida? Como? Porque?	Is Maya dress important in your life. How? Why?
Pregunta de apoyo: ¿Para qué ocasión piensas o sientes tú que deberías usar ropa tradicional? ¿Dónde estaba? ¿Quién más estaba allí?	Can you tell me about a moment, a memory, when you felt you should wear Maya clothing? Where was this event? Who was going to be in that situation?

Pregunta de apoyo:¿Piensas o sientes que hay ocasiones que no deberías usar ropa tradicional?	Can you tell me about a time when you felt you should not wear ropa original? Where was this event? Who was going to be in that situation?
¿Alguien te ha dicho que no te pongas nada ropa original?	Has anyone every told you not to wear original clothing?
For Men: ¿Tienes algún recuerdo sobre el vestido tradicional	For Men: Do you have any memories about traditional dress?
Recuerdas la primera vez que usaste trajes tradicionales? ¿Cómo era?	Do you remember the first time you wore traditional dress, what was it like?
Por Hombres: ¿ Podrías verte usándolo cuando seas mayor?	For Men: Could you see yourself wearing original clothing when you are older?
Puedes decirme lo que la ropa típica significa para ti?	Can you tell me what typical clothing means to you?
¿Piensas en ropa típica de la misma manera que piensas en la ropa original?	Do you think of typical clothes in the same way you think about original clothing?
¿Puedes describer lo que es la ropa típica para los hombres?	Can you describe what ropa típica is for men?
¿Para qué ocasión piensas o sientes tú que deberías usar ropa típica? ¿Dónde estaba? ¿Quién más estaba allí?	Can you tell me about a time when you felt you should wear ropa típica? Where was this event? Who was going to be in that situation?
¿Piensas o sientes que hay ocasiones que no deberías usar ropa típica? ¿Dónde estaba? ¿Quién más estaba allí?	Can you tell me about at time when you felt you should not wear ropa típica? Where was this event? Who was going to be in that situation?
¿Cómo definirías ropa ladino?	How would you define ladino clothes?
Puedes decirme lo que la ropa de ladino significa para ti?	Can you tell me what ropa de ladino means to you?
¿Para qué ocasión piensas o sientes tú que deberías usar ropa de ladino? ¿Dónde estaba? ¿Quién más estaba allí?	Can you tell me about a time when you felt you should wear ropa de ladino? Where was this event? Who was going to be in that situation?
¿Piensas o sientes que hay ocasiones que no deberías usar ropa de ladino? ¿Dónde estaba? ¿Quién más estaba allí?	Can you tell me about a time when you felt you should not wear ropa de ladino? Where was this event? Who was going to be in that situation?

Por Hombres: ¿Está interesado en usar otros tipos de ropa?	For Men: Are you interested in wearing other types of clothing?
¿Cómo aprendiste sobre tu ropa?	How did you learn about your clothes?
¿Puedes hablarme de la última vez que decidiste comprar ropa tradicional?	Can you tell me about the last time you decided to buy traditional clothing?
¿Piensas en las mismas cosas cuando compras ropa de ladino?	Do you think about the same things when you buy ropa de ladino?
¿Cómo crees que será el vestido en el futuro en San Pedro?	What do you think the dress will be like in the future in San Pedro?
Parte 3	Part 3
¿Qué quieres que piense la gente cuando te vea en tu ropa en la caille?	What do you want people to think when they see your clothes?
¿Qual es tu prenda favorite ahora?	Can you tell me about your favorite piece of clothing?
Antes de que comenzaia la entrevista, ¿Qué tipo de preguntas se estaban preparando para responder?	Before the interview, what types of questions were you preparing to answer?
¿Desea compartir información sobre este tema?	Do you want to share information about this topic?
Antes de que terminemos hoy, ¿tienes algo más que quieras compartir?	Before we finish today, do you have anything else you want to share.
Ultima Sección	Final Section
Si es necesario, ¿quieres participar en otra entrevista en el futuro?	If it is necessary, are you interested in participating in another interview in the future?
Si sus respuestas se incluyen en mi tesis, o obras futuras, ¿quiere recibir una copia primero?	If your answers are included in my thesis, or future works, do you want to receive a copy first?
Se necesita un nombre falso para proteger su privacidad. ¿Tienes un nombre que prefieras que usar?	A fake name is needed to protect your privacy. Do you have a name you would prefer to use?

Si alguien pregunta, ¿quién eres tú? ¿Cómo te identificarías?	If anyone asks, who are you? How would you identify yourself?
Que idiomas hablas?	What languages do you speak?
¿Cuál es tu cantón?	What neighborhood do you live in?
Cuantos anos tienes?	How old are you?
Cual es tu genero?	What is your gender?
Porultimo Necesitaré su número de cuenta. ¿Puede proporcionarme su número de cuenta?	Lastly. I need your account number. Can you provide me with your account number?

Participant Risk

Individuals participating in this study were subject to negligible risk. Initially, it was thought that the participants could have felt pressure to participate in the study from their employer or colleagues. I found that there was less pressure to participate, and instead, an inference placed on the study – that the participants needed to be women, who practiced wearing Maya clothing daily, and who spoke English. When the study moved remotely, pressure from the employer was resolved. Other pressures to participate may have existed. Interviewees could have been encouraged by spouses, children, or other relatives to participate in the study. I did not request information on participant relationships; therefore, I am unaware of all group connections. In respect of their time, interviewees were compensated for their participation in the study. Meetings occurred during the pandemic, and I suspect this financial initiative was considered a benefit. One participant seemed immensely relieved, given recent financial strain, to learn that her husband could also meet with me. In this instance, I recorded her reactions and worked to ensure his involvement remained voluntary.

Any risk to participants in this study can also be thought of broadly as a risk to the Maya. This perspective recognizes the history of misinformation about the Maya and their culture (Fischer & Brown, 1996). It is my responsibility to report information in a manner that does not perpetuate stereotypes about participants' dress practices or social relations (Katz, 2012). Interviewees that indicated they were interested in receiving information about the study in the future will be provided with section(s) of all documents that include information about their person prior to publication. Any feedback that indicates that the report perpetuates stereotypes or reveals features of their identity will be re-written and submitted back to the participant (Dunier, 2006). In this event, data will not be altered to present false or idealized information but will be managed to mitigate any risk to the participant and their identifying groups.

Advantages and Disadvantages of Remote Interviewing

It was expected that my lack of fluency in Spanish and Tz'utujil would lead to miscommunication. Before data collection, I had established that it was of the utmost importance to be attentive to non-verbal communication, such as facial expressions and hand gestures, and participants' emotional states (Pugh, 2013). When data collection moved remotely, I anticipated there would be barriers that could prevent me from connecting with and understanding my participants.

By the end of the first week in San Pedro, some antidotes included others' perspectives of the study, revealing it was a point of discussion elsewhere. Lead-ins, such as 'I was talking to my mom and she told me a story…' or 'my grandma wanted me to tell you…', allowed for discussions about different perspectives on dress. It also sparked interest in conversations with elders in the community who often only spoke Tz'utujil. Although solely Tz'utujil-speaking residents comprise a small portion of the population, it was clear that the original design

prevented interviews from taking place with this group of people. I wrote a clause in the IRB modification that would allow Spanish speaking family members to assist Tz'utujil-speaking residents during remote interviews. This type of interview, however, did not occur.

The use of video in data collection helped overcome misconnections and capture cues for later review. I was shown examples of dress, just as much as I was told about them. "Can you tell me about the clothing you are wearing today?" developed as an easy introductory question. This question also served as an insight into the participant's perspective of the interview process. Terkel (2016), suggests that, "…sometimes the indirect answer that the person *thinks* is the answer is more informative than the straight answer" (p. 126). In the context of dress practices, the indirect answer - what people thought I wanted to see – was the clothing selected for our meeting. In addition to these cues, participants, and myself could easily grab examples from closets and workspaces to facilitate conversation. By the fifth interview, I had created a pile of textiles from San Pedro, just outside of the camera's view, to help illustrate my perspectives and establish that I had – in fact – been in San Pedro in the past. Additionally, online translation programs, in combination with chat features, allowed for quick clarifications. When faulty Internet connections disrupted the video, interviewing was much more difficult.

From the onset, I did not intend to collect visual documentation. This decision was based on accounts presented in works by Walter Little (2001). His research speaks to the entitlement of ethnic tourists in Guatemala who feel it is their right to consume the lives of the Maya and capture it on film (Little). This theme arose when my instructor-cum-informant, Regina, confronted my intentions. It gradually became clear that at least one writer had photographed San Pedro residents for publication, without connecting with the community or providing any compensation. She said,

> We were nervous, because other people have come here, they have studied us, and we don't know what happens next. What do they do with the information? Does it go on the Discovery Channel? Why do they want to film us? Why do they want to take our picture? Why? You are different because you don't want to use our image. You just want to know about what we think, you want to know our stories, it's not the same [my translation from Spanish].

I respected their exhaustion and their ownership over their image. When remote interviewing began, I added the phrase "I will not use your image without clear permission" into the introductory statement.

The remote nature of the interview put physical space between myself and the participant. In response to the pandemic, interviews were not held at potentially uncomfortable neutral spaces but rather in people's bedrooms and kitchens – sometimes with family and friends passing through the screen. In these spaces, the participants had much more information about their lives on display, but also control over the information they were presenting (Goffman, 1959). In many ways, the remote interview granted me greater access to their private life (and vice versa) but was less intrusive. Without any prompting, participants frequently adjusted their cameras to widen my view of their spaces. Interviewees, often on cell phones, toured me through their homes, introducing me to their grandmothers and proudly displaying their work. I had not anticipated this experience.

Although I was a stranger, there was an element of privacy, fostered by technology, that I believe supported new relationships. Video chats and text messages are mostly private and are a standard method of correspondence. Despite the presence of tourists in San Pedro, it is uncommon to see residents and foreigners together. Digital avenues are far less conspicuous than a foreign woman standing outside of your house. As someone on a screen, there was less knowledge of my existence and, in a small town, less to be a source of gossip. This approach lent itself to schedules I would not have anticipated. Participants chose the days, times, and programs

that best fit their lifestyle. This translated into the bulk of meetings being held between 8:00 and 11:00 at night. Overall, there were many advantages to remote data collection, and I am confident that some interviews would not have occurred if I was in person.

Data Analysis Strategy

This section of the chapter describes the qualitative data analysis process conducted after remote data was collected. As discussed, observations and in-process analysis of interview transcriptions supported data collection and, therefore, the data analysis strategy (Esterberg, 2002). Findings from the in-process analysis revealed division between Tz'utujil women living in San Pedro (21 participants), Tz'utujil women living in San Juan La Laguna (4 participants), and Tz'utujil men (7 participants). The influence from the respective municipalities differed greatly, and therefore interviews with residents of San Juan La Laguna were removed from this study. Men, as infrequent practitioners of traditional dress, have a unique perspective on the subject. The information provided by men living in San Pedro supported the accounts of woman, but was ultimately removed for analysis in this study. There were not enough interviews conducted with men from San Pedro to create a comparative study and the data from these interviews being analyzed for a separate study.

Therefore, after eliminating the interviews with all the men and the women from San Juan, 21 participants remained – all Tz'utujil women from San Pedro – and these are the participants who formed the basis of this study. Information from these participants' interviews was edited and open-coded in Spanish, and then focused coded in English. Throughout the focused coding process, I was mindful of the theoretical concepts presented in Chapter 3.

Step 1: Transcription Editing

As a first step to the data analysis process, audio from interviews was transcribed using Sonix.ai. Sonix.ai is an online transcription and translation company that maintains all information on private servers. Interviews were transcribed into Spanish with approximately 80% accuracy. Through Soniz.ai, transcriptions from interviews are linked to audio, and it is possible to edit written transcriptions whilst listening to the interview. Although English translations were useful for in-process analysis, I found that greater editing accuracy was achieved working with the original Spanish versions. Edited Spanish documents were exported into Word files and saved on a password-protected computer. These documents were then linked with MAXQDA, a qualitative research analysis software. As coding continued, the Spanish versions were translated for a second time into English. These files were also linked with the MAXQDA software. Like Sonix, this program syncs written transcriptions with audio files. Therefore, if issues arose during the coding process, I continued to edit the English version while referencing the Spanish audio file. Notes were taken within the documents during the editing process.

Step 2: Open Coding

Open-coding is the practice of, "…work[ing] intensively with your data, line by line, identifying themes and categories that seem of interest" (Esterberg, 2002, p. 158). Being open to what is occurring in the data during collection helped me understand the findings during the coding process. The first 10 interviews (Spanish) were open-coded, resulting in 54 items (Set 1, see Table 4.3). These codes were then examined for overlapping ideas and merged into 22 items. I continued to code the remaining 11 interviews and through that process added three additional codes (Set 2, see Table 4.3). After open-coding the complete set, I reviewed the segments for

similarities and differences. Organizing the segments at this point in the process led to the establishment of twelve broad themes (Themes, see Table 4.3). For example, segments under ‘blusas’, ‘making’, ‘traje’ and ‘western dress’ all pertained to the theme of ‘production/procurement’ of garments. Similarly, segments under ‘blusas’, spoke to different themes, including ‘production/procurement’, ‘fashion’ and ‘creativity’. These themes became the primary codes used in the first round of focused coding. See Table 4.3 for code and theme progressions.

Table 4.3

Codes from Open Coding

Set 1	Set 2	Themes
Community Expectations Tz'utujil and Dress Community Expectations (men) Others (San Pedro) Others (elderly) Chatter (talking about, talking about dress, as if someone else is present) Talking about Clothing (like Chatter)	Community Expectations	Tradition Spaces
Connection	Town Pride	Tradition
Special Occasions Casa/ Calle	Spaces Secondary: Xela	Spaces
Preserving Tradition Loosing Tradition Talking about the Future Dress knowledge of the past Learning about traditions	Tradition	Tradition
Semiotics	Semiotics	Tradition
Designing Blusas Inspiration from the Internet	Blusas	Production / Procurement Fashion

Changes to Blouse Design		Creativity
Weaving Skills Sewing Skills Work Making	Making	Production / Procurement Creativity
Cost	Cost	Cost
Income	Income	Production / Procurement
Pandemic	Pandemic	Ability / Access
Online Shopping Buying process	Shopping	Fashion
Fashion	Fashion	Fashion
Style (fit) Showing Off Styling Decisions	Choice	Creativity
Expression	Expression	Conformity / Individuality Creativity
Discrimination	Discrimination	Judgement / Resistance
Protections	Protections	Judgement / Resistance
Western Dress (Sports) Western v. Típica Western (Comfort) Ladino Clothing Need to Use Ladino Clothing	Western Dress Secondary: Comfort	Production / Procurement Ability / Access Value / Meaning
Tourists	Tourists	
Others Ladinos Guatemala - Ethnic Groups Xela	Outsiders	Judgement / Resistance Spaces

Interview Responses	Interview Responses	
You Can't Wear Pants Men v. Women Men's Dress	Gender	Gender
Age for Men Ages Differences for Women Starting to Wear Traje/Tipica Parents/Future Children/Age	Age	Age
Family Expectations	Family Expectations	Tradition Judgement / Resistance
College/ University	College/ University	Spaces Judgement / Resistance
Traje	Traje Secondary: Traje v. Western, Traje v. Tipica, Other Municipalities, Cortes, Emotional Comfort	Production / Procurement Value/ Meaning
	Dress Memories	Value/ Meaning Judgement / Resistance
	Uniforms	Conformity/ Individuality
	Mixing WD and MD	Fashion

Step 3: Focused Coding

Focused coding was conducted using interviews that had been transcribed into English (Esterberg, 2002). Each theme, set to be used as the primary code in this process, was defined. I also created a set of secondary codes to better organize the segments, based on the closed coding

findings (Esterberg). For example, I designed processes used to create and acquire garments as 'production/procurement'. I also noted whether the segment related to 'textiles', 'fajas', 'cortes', 'blusas', or 'güipiles'. During the first round of the focused coding, I was weary of missed information and added secondary codes as needed, indicated with an asterisk* in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4

Focused Coding, Set 3

Primary Codes	Secondary Codes	Definition
Production/Procurement	Fajas Blusas Güipiles Connection Textiles* Corte* Designing* Selling* Buying*	Processes used to create and acquire dress in use in the community and reasons for these processes.
Fashion	Current Fashions Luxury	Popular styles of dress used during the time of the interview, including the comparison of current and past trends.
Tradition	Loss (Losing or Afraid to Lose) Changing Traditions	Discussion about traditions in the community; including the comparison of current practices to past practices.
Spaces	Special Occasions Private Homes Streets Guatemala City Xela Mountain Lake Church* Work* University* School*	Dress expectations as related to spaces in and outside of the community.

Age	Grandparents (My) Mother Teenagers/ Adolescence Children	Dress expectations as related to age in the community.
Sex	Expectations for Men Expectations for Women	Dress expectations as related to biological sex in the community.
Value / Meaning	Western Dress (WD) Maya Dress (MD) Tertiary: Reference to Pueblo	Cultural significant of dress in the community and the explanations (meaning) for these values.
Cost	Price – Western Dress Price – Blusas Price – Traje	Discussion of price as a justification for using garments.
Creativity	Self - Expression Role of Designer	Dress use and making practices for the expression of creativity.
Ability / Access	Active Comfort (Sports, etc.) Physical Comfort (Climate, etc.) Emotional Comfort*	The ability for woman to participate in everyday activities comfortably.
Judgement / Resistance	Anti-Maya Dress Tertiary: Resistance (Continue to Wear MD) Tertiary: Ladino Dress (Wearing MD) Anti-Western Dress Tertiary: Resistance (Continue to Wear WD) Discrimination – Other *	Efforts to control women's dress choice and their response.
Conformity/ Individuality	Individuality Uniformity Choice*	Thoughts on conformity and individuality in the community.

It was of great importance to this study for me to examine transcripts through the lens of symbolic interaction. The process of symbolic interaction reveals itself amongst conditions and constraints on dress behaviors, consequences of these practices, strategies employed in dress decisions making, and the relationships that exist alongside these actions (Gibbs, 2018; Blumer, 1969b). To assist in this process, I created a subsidiary code set that included the premises of

symbolic interaction to be jointly used while working with Code Set 3. In consideration of cultural sustainability, I created an additional sub-code to highlight participant perspectives on current and future dress behaviors. See Table 4.5.

Table 4.5

Focused Coding, Sub – Code Set

Color	Sub - Code Set	Exemplified
Red	Premise 1: Self and Things	Acknowledgement of the connection between dress and the self, or larger identity as Pedrana, Tz'utujil, or Maya.
Pink	Premise 2: Meaning and Others	Explanations which illustrate the influence on others on the dress practices of the participants.
Green	Premise 3: Interpretation and Action	Actions or behaviors that exemplify resistance or compliance with prevailing thoughts on dress in the community.
Yellow	Dress and Fashion	Participant opinions on dress and fashion in the community, including thoughts on the future of dress.

After the first focused coding process, approximately 1200 segments had been labeled using the primary and secondary codes from Set 3. I reviewed each segment to ensure the current codes best fit the data. To support the transcribed dialogue, I found it helpful to take still photographs of the video during moments when participants displayed garments. Through this process, I determined the primary code 'creativity' was inaccurate. Some segments explained the designers' process when creating blusas, which is a part of the 'production/procurement' process. Other segments demonstrated the choices made when using dress in respect to the sameness of garments in the community, better exemplified by the idea of 'individuality/conformity'. Both 'production/procurement' and 'individuality/conformity' involve the creative process. However, the intention of the actions, illustrated in the segments, was not to express creativity. 'Creativity'

was dropped and segments were reassigned to the secondary codes ‘designing’ or ‘individuality’. The second round of focused coding moved forward with the remaining eleven themes, and their secondary codes. No additional changes were made.

Step 4: Making Sense of Data

After the second round of coding, I proceeded to ‘make sense of the data’ following suggestions from Esterberg’s (2002) *Qualitative Methods for Social Research*. First, I reviewed my logbook, which is situated within the MAXQDA program. I had organized this logbook by date and noted my actions at the time of entry, such as ‘Editing Ana,’ Listening to Elena,’ ‘Coding Gloria’, or ‘Reviewing Segments.’ Under these titles, I recorded procedural memos, documenting code progression, and analytic memos, explaining the connections between emerging themes (Esterberg, 2002). As I reviewed information associated with a participant, I cross-referenced their interview coversheet. This review reminded me of my first reactions and external factors that influenced the conversation, such as the Internet connection, interruptions from children, and pandemic information.

After reviewing reaffirming examples, supporting codes, and themes, Esterberg (2002) suggests researchers take time to search for the negative. Seeking out negative cases, information that disconfirms assumptions, while collecting data is a critical aspect of qualitative data collection. During the analysis process, this strategy can help clarify interpretations (Esterberg, 2002). With this in mind, I began by writing a set of interpretations and their accompanying codes based on the central patterns emerging from the data. Then, I compiled a list of corresponding null hypotheses (see Table 4.6).

Table 4.6

Data Analysis – Negative Cases

Interpretations	Null Hypotheses
Participants have a better relationship with locally made garments. *Codes: Production/Procurement, Tradition, Value/Meaning*	1. Municipal affiliation has no effect on the participant's relationship with a garment. 2. Heritage has no effect on the participant's relationship with a garment. 3. Social interactions during the apparel construction process has no influence on the participant's relationship with the garment.
Knowledge of the apparel production process leads to greater reverence for the product. *Codes: Production/Procurement, Value/Meaning*	1. Knowledge of apparel production process does not influence the garment's perceived value.
Residence of communities with expectations of visual similarity will use dress to expresses individuality. *Codes: Production/Procurement Conformity/Individuality, Fashion, Judgement/Resistance, Spaces, Gender*	1. Expectations to present 'uniformity' in San Pedro has no influence on the popularity of blusas. 2. Apparel designers and patrons have no influence on cultural expression. 3. Sanctions on women's appearance have no effect on dress practices.
Women value Maya and Western dress for different reasons; valuing one categorize of dress does not decrease the value of the other. *Codes: Tradition, Value/Meaning, Ability/Access*	1. Women express no preference for Western dress. 2. Women express no preference for Maya dress.
When women are expected to 'keep a culture' they have the freedom to change the objects of the culture to meet their needs. *Codes: Tradition, Conformity/Individuality, Fashion, Judgement/Resistance, Gender, Age, Ability/Access*	1. Practical needs have no influence on traditional garments. 2. Cost has no baring over the ability for women to use Traje.
Fears about the loss of traje are met with attitudes about cultural resiliency. *Codes: Tradition, Cost*	1. Fear of cultural loss has no effect on women's interest in cultural preservation.

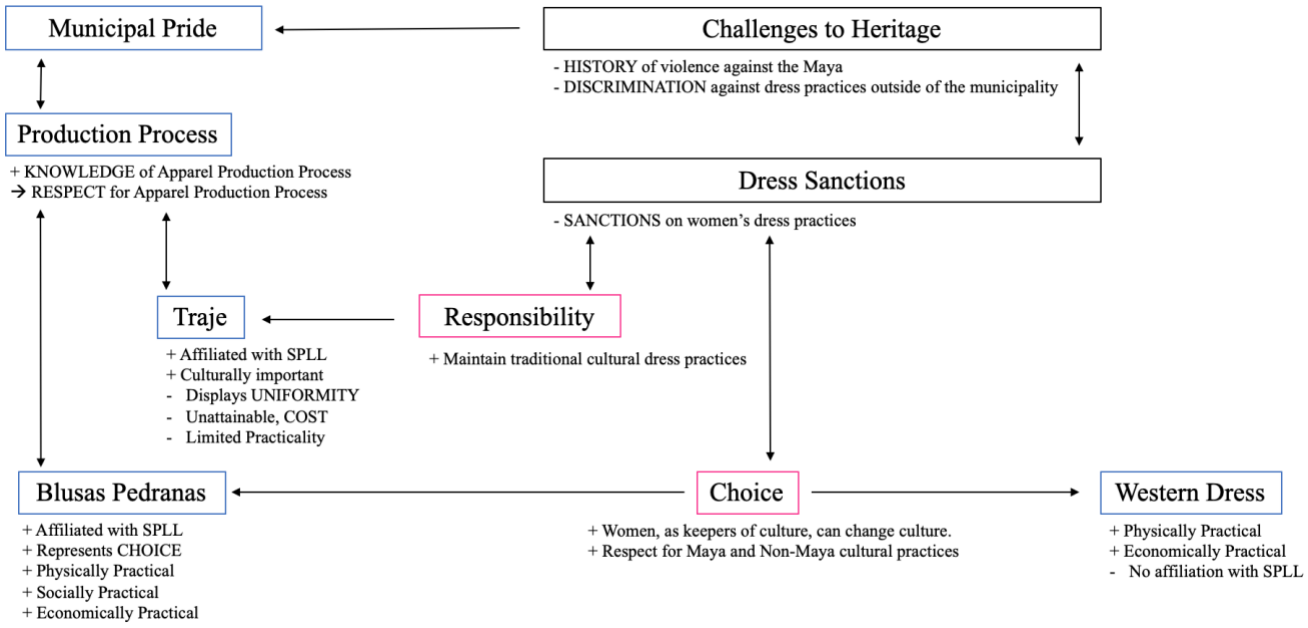
Next, I examined the coded segments that most directly related to each interpretation and searched for evidence that supported the null hypotheses. In instances where I was unsure of the participant's intentions, I reviewed the video recording to observe their intonation and expression, then made a decision based on these findings. This process led to greater clarity about participants' relationships with dress and their motivations to engage in different practices. I found that the most significant difference in opinion was held by a participant who was not raised in the community and subsequently had no municipal heritage. Her perspective on the loss of traje differed from the other participants. Her relationship with dress was primarily based on social connections, interactions with friends, and not referential to her elders or ancestors. She found the traditional dress to be necessary but believed it would eventually succumb to lower price garments or technological innovations. All other participants met fears about the loss of traje with attitudes about cultural resiliency. Participants with heritage in the community wanted to protect traditional dress and offered solutions, such as cultural education. The desire to share and document these practices, in part, was the reason many participated in this study.

Following, I worked to create a diagram to illustrate the connections between popular dress practices and social interaction (Blumer, 1969b; Esterberg, 2002). I examined the positive and negative attributes participants discussed regarding traje, blusas Pedranas, and Western dress and considered their cultural, social, economic, and practical importance. I looked at these differences in respect to their production process and representational qualities. These findings were visualized and added to a working diagram (See Figure 4.3, blue boxes). From here, I sought to explain the two prevailing perspectives on dress that arose during interviews. The first perspective was that women are responsible for maintaining traditional dress. This perspective was shared by participants and echoed in their recollections of being sanctioned by others

(primarily elders) in San Pedro for wearing Western dress. The second perspective was that women have the right to use garments without repercussions and assumptions about their Maya heritage (See Figure 4.3, pink boxes). From here, I worked to determine potential commonalities between feelings of ‘responsibility’ and the desire for ‘choice.’ Reviewing Coding Set 3, I determined that I had incorporated 'judgment' but not 'resistance’ into the diagram. Throughout the interviews, nearly all sanctions placed on dress were refuted by participants. For example, if a woman was told she could not wear pants, she continued to wear pants. If a woman was told not to wear traje, she continued to wear traje. Women experience commentary on their dress practices, regardless of the category of dress they are using, and strongly feel that others (including other Maya women) should not have an opinion on their choices. Less discussed by participants, was the history of discrimination against traditional dress practices. Although not a central aspect of the interviews, I inferred that the history of discrimination in Guatemala, based on the literature, is likely why the elders in the community encourage women to continue to use their traje and típica. Some dress sanctions on women can be thought of as a response to ‘challenges to heritage’, which also evoke the importance of municipal pride (See Figure 4.3, black boxes).

Figure 4.3

Diagram of Findings



Lastly, I concluded data analysis by examining relationships in respect to Blumer's (1969b) three principles of symbolic interaction. First, human beings determine the value of things with respect to their understanding of themselves (municipal pride). Second, people act with respect to the meaning that things (traje, blusas, Western dress) have for them, and this meaning is the outcome of interaction with others (via the production process and dress sanctions). Third, people act in accordance or defiance of the known meanings (choice, responsibility) (Blumer, 1969b). The findings and conclusions drawn from the data analysis process are expanded upon in the next chapter.

Chapter 5 – Findings

This study's findings center on the documentation of women's dress practices and their importance in San Pedro La Laguna in Summer 2020. In this chapter, I examine garments with the greatest social and cultural value during this time and the social interactions that have fostered their creation, use, and meaning. First, I introduce the participants in this study. This is followed by an examination of their world of objects, chiefly, elements of típica and generally, Western dress (Blumer, 1969b). Next, I assess the social permissions and restrictions which shape the use of different garments within and outside of the municipality. The final section of this chapter explores the notion of changing traditions and personal choice. Ultimately, this chapter seeks to examine the role of social interaction in shaping dress practices and, subsequently, society.

Participants

Interviews analyzed for this study were conducted with female participants that identify as Pedrana, then Tz'utujil. Some jointly identified with other ethnolinguistic groups, ethnic groups, and municipalities in Guatemala. Most participants had previously lived outside of the municipality for at least three years; many to attend high school (collegio) or college (universidad). Education was pursued predominately in Xela, but also Guatemala City, Sololá, and Antiqua. Participants lived in the neighborhoods of Pacuchá, Chuacante, Chuasanahi, and Tzanjay in San Pedro La Laguna during the time of the interview. A wide range of dress making skills were discussed, including güipile weaving, faja weaving, sewing, embroidery, crochet, and

designing. Although keenly aware of production processes, many participants did not participate in the making of clothing. All women have worn traje or típica and Western dress.

Treatment of Quotations

All interviews were conducted in Spanish. Audio from interviews was transcribed using Sonix.ai with approximately 80% accuracy. Notably, it was my pronunciations, as a non-native speaker, that had the most significant errors. I edited the Spanish transcriptions and noted any Internet connection issues, which sometimes damped the audio and video. Edited transcriptions were translated into English. These versions are provided in this chapter. Inherently, the information provided by participants will not appear as verbatim quotes in these findings. Also, participants in the study tended to recall information circularly. First, they introduced the main idea, then they provided an example, and finally, they repeated the central theme in a concluding statement. Carey (2001) found a similar story-telling mechanism when working in Kaqchikel with communities throughout the Guatemalan highlands. This technique may also be informed by the participant's experience working with foreigners, who often live in San Pedro to learn Spanish. Ultimately, this habit led to greater clarity during the interview process. However, in effort to provide more concise statements, I removed repetitive information from their descriptions. Full quotations in Spanish, and their English counterparts, are included in the Appendix A – Quotations and Translations.

Dress Practices in San Pedro La Laguna

Throughout June and July 2020, the spectrum of dress choices in San Pedro showed through my computer screen. Modern interpretations of San Pedro's traje, the traje of other municipalities, t-shirts, and the popular blusas – a típica option made locally – were used during the interviews. Participants paired these with shorts, leggings, jeans, cortes, and matching fajas.

No one wore the original güipile. The array was like that found on San Pedro's streets, but the setting's privacy permitted more casual dress, uncommon outside the home. "It's my pajamas," “Jade” said, when asked what she was wearing. Her statement reflected the evening time slot, most often selected because the pandemic-induced curfew ushered everyone indoors. “Valentina”, who strongly voiced her concern about fleeting traditions, also wore a T-shirt. She said, "I am Mayan because I am, because I was born Mayan, and not because of clothes. I'm going to change [my clothes] – Of course." Her logic, I feel, applies to all participants in this study. It also highlights the limitations of dress as a representational object that exists separate from a human being.

World of Objects

Blumer suggests that to understand a person or groups of people, you must first understand their world of objects (Blumer, 1969b). The following section introduces the garments in San Pedro whose cultural values and characteristics reflect the population’s social interactions. In a similar vein, as the subject of many dress permission and restrictions, these garments greatly influence women’s lives in the municipality. Responses to dress practices are “not made directly to the actions of one another,” wearing típica or Western dress, “but instead is based on the meaning...attach[ed] to such actions” (Blumer, p. 79). The güipile, blusa, corte, and more broadly, Western dress is examined. Through the lens of symbolic interaction, objects are not only physical artifacts but anything that can be indicated to, including people and the self (Blumer, 1969b). Therefore, the next section also explains the garment’s production, procurement, use which determine interaction with the garment, and subsequently, the wearer.

The local meaning of each garment, critical to determining the future of dress practices in the community, is then analyzed.

San Pedro Güipile

The güipile of San Pedro is considered the original Pedrana garment, predating all popular designs. The garment takes on many names, including original güipile and traditional güipile – referencing its age – and the ceremonial güipile or gala güipile – indicating its use at formal events. It is worn daily by the oldest woman in the community. It is fashioned from two rectangles of white hand-woven cotton. Using a backstrap loom, the weaver varies the density of her weft threads, creating subtle horizontal lines throughout the textile. The signature Pedrana style has an 'open' neckline, trimmed with a large band of machine embroidered lace, called a blonda. It is the central feature of the garment. The raw edges around the neckline are concealed with tight overcast embroidery stitches, which are continued off the edge to create a tie at the center front. Another line of hand embroidery is repeated approximately two inches below the first row of stitching. Embroidery threads on the original version are typically green and pink. The sleeve opening is finished with a row of appliquéd maroon triangles, cut from factory made cloth, and a small strip of lace (See Figure 5.1).

Figure 5.1

San Pedro Güipile

Note: Photograph by Abner Mariano González Tay, 2020.

Design elements, specifically the garment's colors, are explained using culturally-based justifications. "Rosa's" account included themes repeated by nearly all participants when asked about traje:

> The traje of San Pedro and when we use the traje of San Pedro is because *we want*, *we have*, *we are* very proud to be from here in San Pedro La Laguna. The colors, they are specified for this suit. For example, green means the mountains, the volcano of San Pedro, the trees of San Pedro. White is purity, purity, and red it means blood. Because of the culture before, the ancestors shed blood for us, and I believe that every color has something special (Rosa, Tz'utujil – Maya, lives in San Pedro La Laguna, personal communication, July 2020).

There are variations of the güipile. The modern güipile is made from the same hand-woven textile but may incorporate different colors into the blonda and embroidery thread. Increases and decreases to the neck opening and the lengthening and shortening of the sleeve are

also acceptable changes (See Figure 5.2). These adjustments typically follow trends in the community.

Figure 5.2

San Pedro Güipile – Modern

Note: Photograph by Abner Mariano González Tay, 2020.

Production and Procurement

Cost is a significant consideration when looking to obtain the güipile of San Pedro and other garments included in the traje. Acquiring a güipile at a reasonable price requires knowledge of production as well as social connections – an awareness of other women's skills, the order of assembly, and the expected time and cost. One person may be able to weave, machine sew, then embroider the garment, but it is more common for a woman to become specialized within one part of the process. By the completion of the garment, a woman will have usually worked with a weaver, sewer, embroiderer, and multiple shop owners.

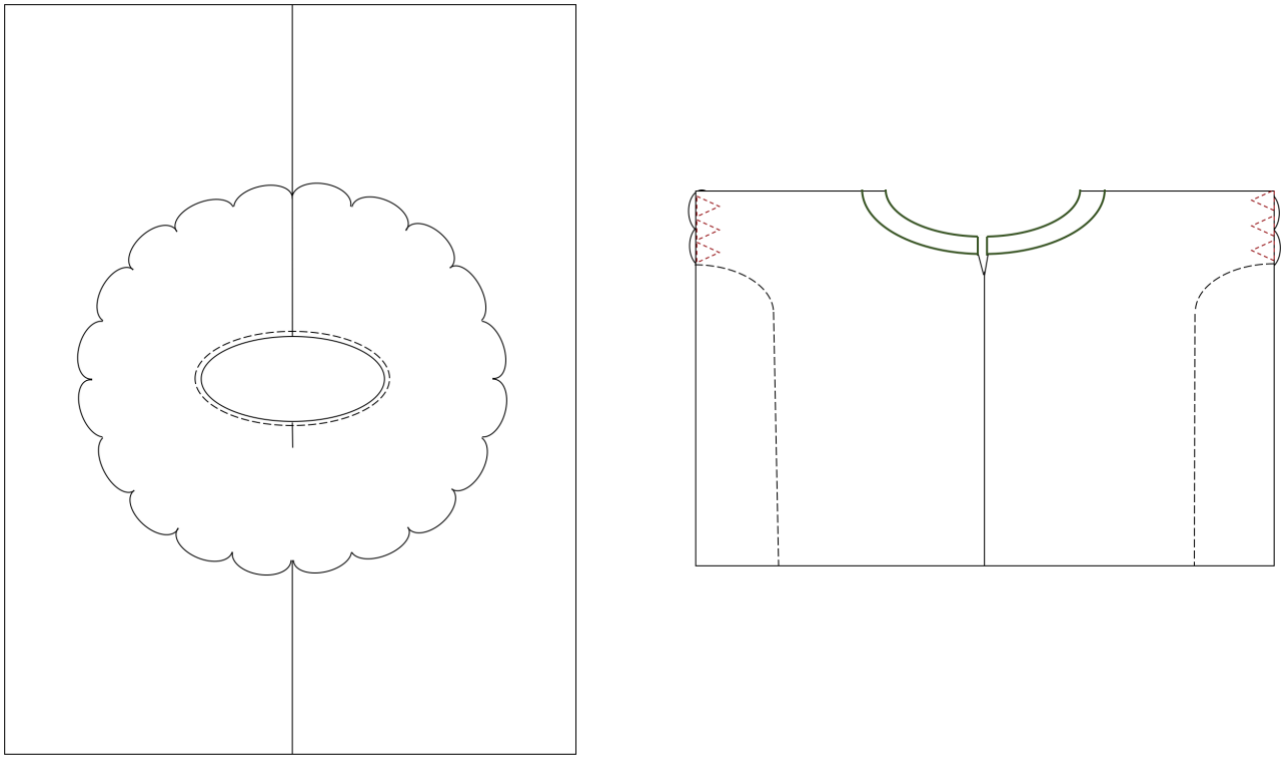
The weaver is responsible for acquiring the needed equipment and notions. However, no participants could definitively tell me the source of the factory-made yarn used to weave the textile. Weaving the textile is time-intensive, taking about three days to create. It is also the most expensive part of the process, costing the client 150 Quetzals/ 20 USD. Additionally, weaving has become increasingly uncommon. Only one person in this study – the oldest participant – was versed in the process, and she preferred to sew. Although many are introduced to weaving when they are young, not everyone is expected to be able to become a weaver. It is considered an art form. "It's not my gift," said "Esperanza" when asked about her participation in the making process. "I have a lot of cousins and aunts who work in that – and so, they weave, either sew, or they design styles." Women work with their mothers, sisters, cousins, and in-laws to obtain textiles. Despite these connections, weaving is largely thought of a task completed by the eldest in the community. "There are fewer and fewer women who can weave because not many can do it. So, most women who make this type of clothing are older or elderly," explained "Adriana". The expense of the textile is not only reflective of the production process but its importance as a cultural custom maintained by the elders. Participants would often clarify, as did Adriana, that the price is understandable, even if it feels unattainable.

Finished textiles are retrieved from the weaver and brought to the next person in the chain, someone capable of using a sewing machine. Sewing on a machine is considered a specialized skill, and sewing machines are a desirable commodity as they are not readily available for purchase in the municipality. The sewer is responsible for attaching the blonda, creating the side seams, and trimming the sleeves (See Figure 5.3). If creating a modern güipile, the sewer will work closely with the client to acquire notions that match the requested color palette. Either the sewer or the patron will venture to the textile and trim store to acquire a

matching blonda. Once complete, the soon-to-be owner will bring the garment to an embroiderer who will finish the neckline. Like the sewer, she is keenly aware of the use of colors in the ensemble. There is a robust preference for monochromatic colorways, and the idea of using complementary colors is non-existent.

Figure 5.3

Diagram of Flat and Closed San Pedro Güipile



Note: Left image, diagram of outside of the güipile when flat, after attaching the blonda and before stitching the side seams. Right image, diagram of inside of güipile, prior to trimming excess fabric.

Even "Cristalina", the most skilled maker in the participant group, explained that she does not always construct the entire garment – sometimes because of time or lack of interest. She wore a modern güipile with a light grey blonda to our meeting, which she had sewn and embroidered.

> I made this on a machine, but this fabric – this fabric – if you notice, this fabric has like lines on it. This fabric is made by another lady, it was woven. I didn't make this one myself, but they do make it here in San Pedro. This is manufactured in San Pedro. Yes,

> and this güipile is the típica traje of San Pedro. Only now, now it's kind of worldly and modern.

Purchasing güipiles in a store is considered a luxury. "All traditional clothing is very, very, very, very, very expensive, and you have to put up with a lot more," said Rosa – the only other participant, in addition to Cristalina, to wear a modern güipile. Store employees manage the same production process and work with weavers, sewers, and embroiders to create garments specific to San Pedro and other municipalities. Rosa explained,

> It's the same thing – they [shops] buy in different places. There are people from San Pedro, there are women who make textiles, they make the fabrics and the shops buy it, and then they order other women to do the embroidery, and then they sell it already made. All the clothing is this process, it's the same process…This güipil cost me about 300 ($38) something. But if I go to a store, this güipil is going to cost me 550 ($71) or 600 ($77) Quetzals, because they also charge you for the process... for your benefit, it is cheaper that you get things.

The güipile of San Pedro is considered inexpensive when compared to neighboring municipal-based designs. A large portion of the garment is made with assistance from a sewing machine and it has little hand embroidery. The güipiles of San Juan La Laguna and Santiago Atitlán were coveted styles in the community during the interviews. These güipiles have ample embroidery and cost between 900-1100 Quetzals/116-142 USD. Although many prefer the garment, it is not economically viable. Traditions have become luxuries, explained "Pilar". "It was simple before, but now it's a privilege, it's a luxury," she said, "To wear traje, is to show off." All women commented on the expense of the güipile, or inversely, the affordability of other blouses. For many, it is a status symbol. Most women purchase the garment twice a year, in December for the Christmas season and in July, for San Pedro's fair, an event that celebrates the history of the municipality.

In addition to cost and skill, personal relationships are also considered when purchasing a new garment. People do not acquire garments (güipiles or otherwise) from people they do not

like or whose families are in strife. It is common to have a family member or friend complete a part of the garment. Cristalina was introduced to me after I attempted to understand the enormity of her daughter Jade's closet. Jade has an extensive collection of 20 or so güipiles and blusas because of her mother's abilities. When made by a mother or grandmother, the weaving or sewing may be completed at no monetary cost. However, this idea does not apply to all family relations.

Practical Purpose and Value

Carey (2001) and Hendrickson (1996) explain that community knowledge, such as the meanings of the colors incorporated into the güipile and back strap weaving, are stewarded by the elders. I was introduced to many women throughout this study, but I did not conduct a formal interview with anyone over 46 years old. The influence of older women, most commonly referred to as abuelas (grandmothers), was regularly cited during interviews. It was evident that the everyday dress of those under the age of 60 is compared to the practices of the abuelas in the community. These women only wear the original traje of San Pedro, a custom that connects them to their ancestors. Participants offered explanations about their abuela's dress practices. Rosa recalled,

> My abuela doesn't want to wear modern clothes, clothes that now, for example, our blouses are a little more low-cut. We tell them the neck is bigger. But my mom and abuela – no! They have slightly smaller necks – and sometimes the sleeve of the clothes, it's a little bit bigger (pointing to her mid bicep). They respect the old ones a lot…they've gotten used to them, it's hard for them to adapt to what it is now.

Women between 40 and 60 will use the traditional and modern güipile in their traje-ensemble. The modern version incorporates new colors but typically has a smaller neck opening, and longer sleeve length. Further deviations from the traditional traje, including wearing güipiles from other

communities, is perceived as trendy and temporary. When I asked “Cecilia” about dress practices in her family she shared,

> My clothes that I wear are similar or almost the same as my family. But, for example, my mother doesn't like modern. She likes it older – *like old*. She likes it more, because she says now it's just for fashion. She likes the old one better – Simpler, without many colors. She probably thinks it's for young people – not for adults. For example, 50 or 60 years old. She says it's not for young people. ‘I'm like 55 years old, not for me.’ (Imitating her mother) She probably thinks, ‘I don't need to be fashionable.’ But, sometimes I talk to her. You don't need to [wear traje]. It doesn't matter how old you are, you understand? It doesn't matter how old you are. But she thinks not. ‘Not for me.’

For those under the age of 40, güipiles of San Pedro have a formal affiliation. Participants suggested using the San Pedro güipile specifically for cultural activities such as parades or municipal holidays. San Pedro’s fair was frequently referenced, likely since it would have been attended by the participants during the interviews, if not for the pandemic. The fair is an occasion, in past years, that prompts the purchase and display of new traje. During the event, young women compete for the title, Queen of San Pedro. At least three former queens participated in interviews. They explained that, amongst other tasks, women needed to describe the traje of San Pedro, and its meaning, in Tz'utujil. “Guadalupe” shared,

> They're showing about the traje, the traje here, the one with the white cloth and the green and red color. So, in this way it shows that we can still be as we were. How it is like to people from before. Other things too, like the San Pedro Fair, is a choice. It's like – it’s not like obligation, but it's like a how can I say, it's like a requirement using the traje, it's always been commonly done…compressing that connection not only to another person – it’s a connection to their stories.

Güipiles, of San Pedro and elsewhere, are also the preferred attire for weddings, funerals, church, and parties but can be easily substituted with blusas, described later in the chapter.

Participants in the study recognized the value of the güipile and its symbolic importance as an object that identifies the wearer as a part of the community. However, participants were

also quick to explain that the garment, because of the expense, is not a requirement. “Marisol”, the youngest participant, considered this dichotomy during our conversation. She said,

> I think that what is modern and original, that it has its value. Culture is never lost; it is simply modernized. I think it is important that we wear our traje típica, always.
> I didn't realize that sometimes people don't have the ability to buy a güipil. So, it is not common that we demand, demand that we *have to* wear our traje típica. No, because there are people who can't afford to buy original traje, because it's too expensive…
> If it's expensive – it’s not about forcing people to buy traje to preserve their culture. Simply, that they have güipil or that they continue to wear it, that they continue to value our traje típica – it is more important.

The use of the güipile of San Pedro has great significance to the wearer and the community. All participants consider the güipile to be a symbol of the community, even if they did not own the garment or use it regularly themselves. For the eldest women, it is a part of the daily practice of dressing. Women under 40 have a different relationship with the güipile. Their daily dress practices are more heavily influenced by cost, care, and comfort – leading them to select other garments. At times, it appears that the güipile’s material value equals its’ cultural significance. For many, it is as much a sign of wealth as it is tradition. People who can afford güipiles will wear them and expand their closets with designs from other municipalities.

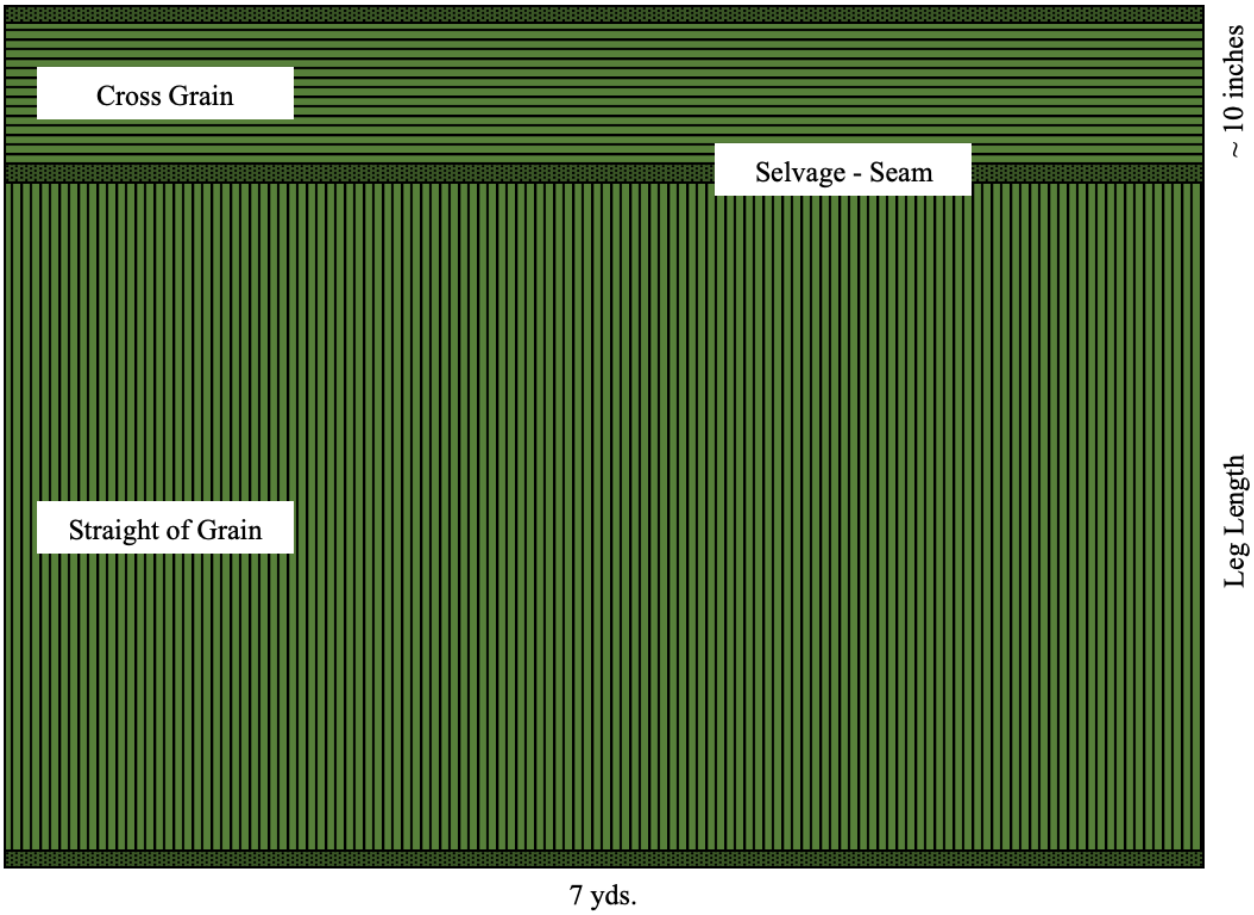
Cortes

The corte is a wrapped garment covering a women’s body from the natural waist to the ankle. The corte of San Pedro has a green foreground and vertical and horizontal bands of black and white jaspe (created by tie-dying warp and weft yarns before weaving) (Hendrickson, 1996). Each municipality has different standards for wrapping and shaping. In San Pedro, the corte is fashioned from 8 varas (~ 7 yards) of cloth. The length allows for the wearer to create a double layer of fabric, thought to be more flattering on the body. A band of the same material, positioned on the cross-grain, is stitched to the top edge. (See Figure 5.4) The band, acting as a facing, is folded into the waistline, creating four layers and stabilizing the edge. (See Figure 5.5)

The extra length prevents the garment from slipping out of place in public. The garment is wrapped around the body, and pleats are placed on either side of the body's center front, under the apex point. (See Figure 5.6) Incredible attention is paid to the directionality of the vertical stripes. Regina shared that, 'Am I straight?' is a common question asked after getting dressed and throughout the day [my translation from Spanish]. Many of the participants' cortes broadly signify Maya heritage and do not have a municipal affiliation.

Figure 5.4

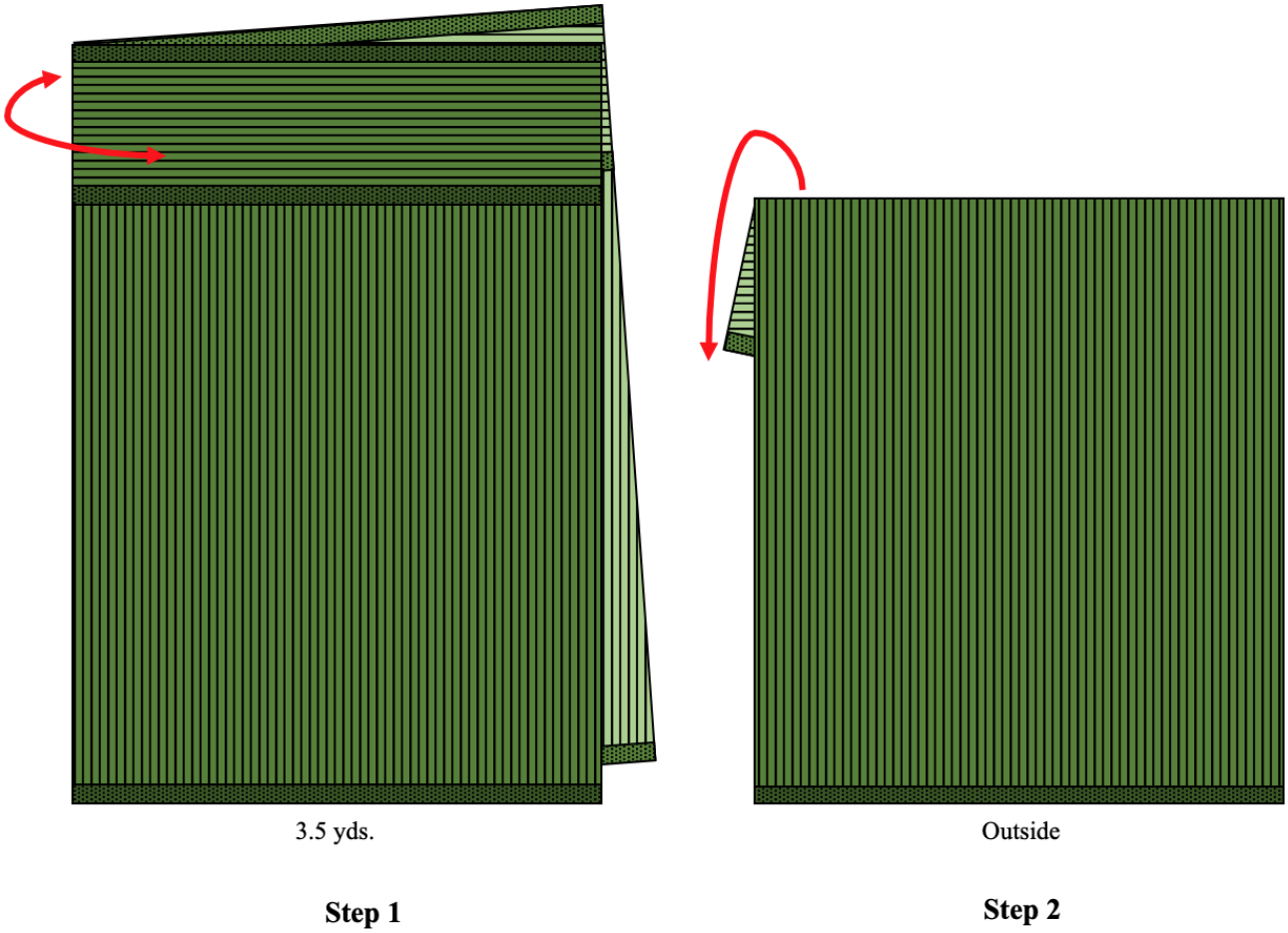
Diagram of Corte



Note: Additional yardage of the opposite grain is stitched to the top of the corte. This yardage acts as facing and stabilizes the waistline.

Figure 5.5

Diagram of Folding Process Prior to Dressing



Note: Cortes are folded in half to create a double layer. Then, the facing is folded towards the inside of the garment, creating four layers around the waistline.

Figure 5.6

Cortes

Note: Women on far left and right are wearing the San Pedro corte. Each corte has been wrapped in a similar style with symmetrical inverted pleats. Photograph used with permission of subjects (Abner Mariano González Tay, 2020).

Cortes were not discussed in a similar frequency to other típica garments. In conversations, they were directly referenced one-fifth the number of times as blouses (güipiles and blusas). However, assertions made about the wearing of pants – a topic the woman of San Pedro are incredibly familiar with – are inherently about the corte. When "Estrella" was eight years old, her mother told her – as many parents in San Pedro do - "You are a girl, and traje is for girls, pants are for boys." Social pressure to wear the corte continues into adolescence and early adulthood, "I have a friend who tells me not to go buy pants or my dad scolds me, he tells me I'm not a man," said "Fanny", currently in her mid-twenties and a mother herself. The corte

often symbolizes gender and represents ethnoliguistic affiliations and beauty ideals for Maya women.

Production and Procurement

Despite its social importance, cortes are not made in San Pedro. The textile is woven on a large floor, or treadle looms in small workshops and factory-type settings (Hendrickson, 1996). No one spoke about acquiring their corte, even the Pedrana style, through connections in the community. The majority of cortes are purchased through vendors at open-air markets, who periodically come to town to sell their goods. I attempted to ask questions about the source, but knowledge of the supply chain, past the marketplace was uncertain. "Carolina's" response was like other participants. She said,

> No, I couldn't tell you – for certain – because some people are coming – I think they are from Chimaltenango, it's in Guatemala – the Department of Chimaltenango. They come to sell here in San Pedro. There, [in the market], we buy from them.

Cortes are also sold in local stores as a part of a set with a matching güipile and faja. This is a convenient but expensive option.

It is fashionable (and expected) for women to match the colors within a Maya dress ensemble. However, women do not have input on the design and production of the corte in the same way they are involved in creating güipiles. They cannot negotiate the colors; nor can the labor be outsourced to lessen the cost. The corte's design, therefore, is a key factor in the creation of all típica. Colors for blondas and fajas are selected in respect to the corte. Valentina described the process of having a faja made by her mother, and in doing so, illustrated the dependency between the garments. She said, "I want a color, for example, a red. Then she says, okay, you can choose [a corte], and I'll make your faja. Then I buy my corte, and she sees the colors…she makes a faja to match." Multi-colored cortes, capable of matching many blouses, are

more valuable, in part because of their utility within a wardrobe. A complex corte with many colors can be between 800-1000 Quetzals/103-129 USD. Designs with fewer colors may cost as little as 300 Quetzals/ 38 USD.

Practical Purpose and Value

The influence of the corte extends past the production process and into everyday dress practices. Cortes are the first garment selected when getting dressed and are often chosen weekly. A corte will be used consecutively for 5-7 days and paired with different coordinating blouses and fajas. Marisol explained,

> Every time I get up I select my corte, my color… I find a blouse that matches the same color, and my faja. Then, every day of the week I change the type of blouse...For example, on Monday I can wear this blue, the next day I can wear a purple, next yellow and so on.

Laundering habits also influence the use of the corte in the community. "We can't change it frequently because it's too heavy to wash and doesn't get dirty easily," "Maria" explained. All garments are washed by hand. However, the size of the corte makes it challenging to clean. It often does not fit in the house sink, and women will need to take a trip to the lake specifically to clean their cortes. Rosa, who worked in the community at the start of the pandemic managing the spread of COVID-19, describes how the events changed her dress practices. Her account reveals her need to protect herself, but also her garments from over-washing.

> We were taking care of the market, taking care of the people on the street. We are part of it. So, most of my colleagues, we all wore our spandex or pants because we had to be out on the street. We had to protect ourselves a lot because we had to be in contact with a lot of people. So, it was easier for all of us to put on that kind [Western dress] of clothing because you got home – I took it off pretty fast.
>
> On the other hand, if you did have a corte. You had to remove the corte and wash it – and you can't be washing your corte all the time because it gets dyed. So, for us it's easier, it was easier to use [pants]…
> Then we went back to our offices. Now I still wear my clothes [típica], but I try to find clothes that are a little bit older, the oldest clothes I have – to get home, wash them, and change.

Dyes on new cortes leach during laundering and the need for increased washing of clothing because of the Corona Virus could degrade a valuable garment. Therefore, in response, Rosa selected to wear pants while in the street and older garments in a more formal office setting.

Blusas Pedranas

Blusas Pedranas, or the blouse of San Pedro, was discussed at length by all participants. Hendrickson provides a generic definition, describing the garment as a, "Maya blouse made of factory-produced cloth with hand or machine-embroidered designs around the neck and armholes" (1996, p. 221). Variations of the blusa in San Pedro have a close likeness to the modern güipile. The same blondas and embroidery threads are used to trim the open neckline of the garment, which is sewn from textiles purchased from local stores (See Figure 5.7 and 5.8). Blusas are considered a contemporary and youthful alternative to the güipile, despite its presence in the community for approximately 80 years (Rogoff et. al., 2011; "Virtual Tour", 2020). The garment can be categorized as típica, but it is not considered traditional. Participants view the garment as Pedrana, however, individual aspects of the design do not have symbolic meaning. Therefore, women in the community are free to alter its appearance with new color combinations, neckline finishes, and textiles. Every design choice that differs from the original güipile creates an object assessed to be 'more modern.' (See Figure 5.9 and 5.10).

Figure 5.7

Blusa Pedrana, Simple

Figure 5.8

Blusa Pedrana, Complicated

Note: The red blusas (left) is more traditional than the blue blusas (right) because the white textile more closely resembles the güipile of San Pedro. Photographs by Abner Mariano González Tay, 2020, edited by Author.

Figure 5.9

Modern Blusa Pedrana, Adornments

Figure 5.10

Modern Blusa Pedrana, Crochet

Note: Both garments are considered less formal than those pictured in Figure 5.7. Photographs by Abner Mariano González Tay, 2020, edited by Author.

The popularity of the blusa and its social and economic importance in the community was surprising. This garment is under documented, and there is minimal information about its production and purpose. Commentary on the garment suggests that it is generic-highland-Maya style without direct municipal affiliation (Hendrickson, 1996). Of course, findings from studies conducted in other municipalities, as addressed in earlier chapters, are not wholly applicable to San Pedro (Bennett, 2015). Information on the blusa focuses on its practical qualities. Factory-made textiles are more comfortable and cost-effective compared to the hand-woven fabric used in güipiles (Bennett, 2015; Hendrickson, 1996). The practicality of the blusas was discussed by

participants in this study. More so, participants described their involvement in the garment's production process, illustrating the social and economic importance of blusa Pedranas in the municipality.

Production and Procurement

Blusas, like güipiles, can be acquired through different channels. The garment is often constructed through a small network of makers, connected through social and kin-based relations. Participants were quick to explain that the greatest technical difference between the güipile and the blusa was the textiles used to create the garment, therefore, no weavers and few abuelas are a part of the supply chain. A patron can participate in the production process by working with multiple women to accomplish the task – first a sewer, then a finisher who can trim the neckline with crochet, embroidery, or beading. Blusas are also created without a client and their matching corte and sold as finished products. Seamstresses will construct the entire garment or work collaboratively and share the profits. Common amongst the different methods was the discussion about design choices. Seamstresses and their patrons view themselves as designers or co-designers within the process. Maria described this process, stating

> My mother-in-law can do this [sew] and my sister-in-law puts in the details [finish]. That's when I buy this kind of local clothing. I do know who makes the blouses, because I need to tell the woman who makes the blouse how I want my blouse. I give my idea, my colors and usually we give a measurement. For example, I have this one – when I want another one, I tell my mother-in-law, 'Ok. This is my measurement. I want another one just like it, with different colors.' Now, when I buy traje from other places, 'I like this' and I buy it. But I don't ask who made this traje. Afterwards, when she makes another one, she also gives me ideas and she also has a connection with me. When we talk about the new design of a garment, for example, we both give new ideas and whether it is right or not? Then we have a conversation, a good connection.

The textiles used to create the blusas are purchased by the patron or a sewer. These textiles, along with other notions, are stocked at local fabric stores. Participants could not definitively tell me the source of the factory-made materials. "The truth is, I don't know, because

I only buy the fabrics here and I don't know where it comes from," said "Angelica". Customers rely on the information provided by the shopkeepers. Signage in stores indicates the last known location of the product. Fabrics are labeled with the names of cities, like Xela. The tendency to connect products with a geographic location leads to some uncertainty about the textile's origin. These materials may have been imported into the city from abroad, then transported to San Pedro. The origin of factory textiles, like the thread used for güipiles, requires further investigation. Petronilla shared her observations,

> Here there are many shops where they sell fabrics. Every week more fabrics like this come in. For example, here I have another one very similar to this one, but different colors. (She grabs a blusas from off screen. It is identical to the garment she is wearing, but the textile is a different colorway.) Then the fabric is sold by the meter. A person who makes blouses, chooses the styles they want…Each village has a different traje, but many women wear this [blusas] as a típica. For example, if I buy a corte, I need to match. My corte is green, I need a fabric or I need to buy a light green blouse.

Weavers are taught the craft by their mothers or abeluas beginning when they are children. Although machine-sewing has existed in the community for approximately 70 years it is not a traditional skill and therefore, the trade is learned through different means (Cristalina, personal communication, July 2020). There was not one method or source of information about sewing machines or apparel construction. Women who could acquire a machine learned to sew through trial and error, sometimes with guidance of seamstresses in the community. Participants Angelica and Carolina, are seamstresses who make blusas. Both women decided to learn to sew after they had children (ages 31 and 19 at the time) to better support their families. Carolina began working as an apprentice, she stated,

> A lady, this woman taught us to sew. I was with her for two months. I learned about blusas, Monday to Friday for three hours. A friend recommended it to me, she started learning with her. One day, I went to her house to visit, and arriving at his house I found a sewing machine and I asked her 'Why do you have a sewing machine?' And she told me that she's learning to sew. I was interested and I told her I'd like to learn to sew. She gave me the lady's details and I went with her - she took me in.

Angelica had less formal training, and learned from her family and through experimentation. She explained how she acquired a sewing machine, declaring,

> My niece, she taught me how to cut them. She just told me you have to cut like this. I grabbed one, my blouse – I started to unpick and pulled out the parts and started to jigsaw puzzle, and that's how I got into blouses. I didn't have an exact teacher. I like it very much, but we didn't have the possibility to buy a sewing machine. My mom has a foreign friend. I told her I like to make aprons, something like that, bags for foreigners. Maybe you have to work a little hard to buy a machine? It's all right. In April, she called me – "Where are you? Can you come here in the Saqari hotel?" I arrived and she gave me a suitcase. It's your gift, she said. When I opened it, it was a machine and look at it! (She turned the screen to show me her red Singer).

Seamstresses sell their finished garments through social connections. Encounters with residents in public spaces often lead to discussion on dress. 'Hello, how are you, I like your blouse, who made it?' is a regular greeting. Sometimes these conversations direct the onlooker to a new maker, who can potentially craft them a blusas or other típica. Cristalina described this way of working when she summarizing her interactions in the streets of San Pedro. "People look at me – 'Oh, what a pretty blouse. Who did it?' Me. Can you make me one then? That's how I work – of course." A similar experience was shared by Angelica, who seemed annoyed when women in the community have thought her blusa was made in China,

> They'll say, ' Oh who did it?' (Pointing to her blusa) – much of what is here in San Pedro, -- China. – 'Is it China?' [They ask]. Sometimes, they ask to call me – can you make me a blouse? Such a person has worn it – I really want it in this color.

Purchasing garments through social connections is so common, Rosa explained how, I – when I return to San Pedro – should approach the task of acquiring a blusa. She said,

> For example, you come to San Pedro, you want a blouse and you tell someone I need a blusa. Ah, look at such a woman, such a woman in this house. In this shop they sell it or they make it. Everyone knows who works on it and it's easier for you. And as it is a very small town here, we all know each other and we all know who, who embroiders, who sews. Going like this is not that complicated. A simple garment goes a long way (laughter).

The limited interaction on the streets of San Pedro during the pandemic led to the expansion of online networks. Many women began selling finished garments on social networking platforms like Facebook and Instagram to people in San Pedro and the neighboring Tz'utujil municipalities. In these forums, Regina first recalled seeing a post from someone outside of San Pedro requesting a blusa *Pedrana* – using the name that referenced the municipality in July. She contacted me that day to see if I saw the post from a woman in San Lucas Tolimán (San Lucas) requesting 'blusas Pedranas'. She explained that something 'felt new.' 'I've heard people say 'I like the open tops [necklines] like the girls in San Pedro,' but I've never heard them [outsiders] call it a Pedrana.' She shared some comments on the post from other San Lucas residents, who were also interested in having more comfortable garments while under curfew.

On average, women make one blusa a day, when additional tasks do not compete for their attention. Simple blouses can cost as little at 50 Quetzals/ 8 USD, while complex versions rival the cost of the güipile at 170 Quetzals/ 22 USD. The more techniques and notions needed to complete the garment, the higher the price. It is for this reason that many women suggest that the popularity of the garment is not because of its cheaper than the güipile, but because the wearer is more able to engage with fashion, and subsequently the community.

The design of the blusa is heavily influenced by trends, which spread easily through the small town. In March 2020, at the start of this study, shop windows, fabric counters, and women in the street displayed blondas with a sunflower motif. Matching accessories, such as sunflower earrings and bracelets, could also be found in local shops. Five months later, at the time of the interviews, crochet necklines were in demand. Participants informed me about the trend and there were ample posts in the town's buy-sell-trade Facebook group advertising garments with

crocheted necklines. Even the embroidery on the güipile was replaced with this popular edge treatment during the summer months. Seamstresses and their clients are interested in designing new styles, but are keenly aware of the trends in the municipality. Cristalina explained that she has been constructing garments since she was 6-years old,

> I started to make my blouses by watching people on the street. I watched a lot, I watched and I always do it now – because I watch, I like something and I come to my house to do it. That's how I started, at least now, maybe about 40 years doing the same thing.

Designs that were once observed in the street are now accessible on social media. Designers and co-designers sighted the use of Facebook in their design process. Cecilia explained,

> I use Facebook to see what people are selling. Then I see the colors and the new designs. 'I like this, but I can, I can do this.' I buy that type of fabric, the color that I prefer. I make a screenshot or take a picture of the blouse that I like and I make the same blouse, or in another color or a little more design.

When I inquired into this process, Carolina assured me that she was designing, not just copying. In part, because not everyone wears blusa Pedranas, and inspiration can come from outside of the area.

> It's like invented, we invented them ourselves because not all people use blusas – just that we made it up…I see other designs and either try to change a little bit of what is there, or I can make it similar. And sometimes I try to change it, an ornament, put a different one on it - so it doesn't look the same. But I try to imagine them and make them.

Good design regularly receives praise in the community. However, the ample number of seamstresses means that a favorable garment is just as likely to be copied as it is purchased. Participants' descriptions of their design process were supported by an occurrence during data collection. Over a two-day period, I received the same photo displaying the 'work' of different women. The garment in the photograph was partially constructed by my informant, who was employed by her cousin to crochet the neckline. Weary of participant confidentiality, I did not probe the seamstress about the photograph and only confirmed that the photo was not of her. It

was one of 36 images sent in a single message, and it could have been accident. I later asked my informant Regina who else received the photograph. 'The selfie? Only my boyfriend and my cousin,' she explained [my translation from Spanish]. I could not find any evidence that these women were acquainted, further illustrating the rapid movement of ideas through the municipality.

Practical Purpose and Value

Blusas were the most ubiquitous item in participants' wardrobes and are used almost daily by residents under the age of 40. The variety of blusas, ranging from very simple (blusas mas simple) to very complicated (blusas mas complexo), allows the garment to be worn on many occasions. Complicated blusas are appropriate for formal settings, such as work and church, while simple blusas can be worn to the market or in the house. Most women spoke to wearing the garment with a corte, but it would not be entirely uncommon to see a young woman wearing a simple blouse with shorts at the beach. Women between 40 and 60 years old are more likely to restrict their use to inside the home. It is rare for women over 60 years old to wear blusas.

The garment has notable practical attributes that make it favorable in the community. Compared to a güipile, it is perceived as a more comfortable option, especially when the temperature rises in San Pedro. "Ester" wore a blusa to the interview and explained her choices, stating,

> I'm wearing a blusa with a crochet border at the neck. A simple blusa. I use it because it's more comfortable and it's very cool, it's very fresh, common with the corte, with the faja, and with an apron because I was working in the kitchen.

Cristalina and Angelica offered similar justifications when I asked them why they, as seamstresses, thought the blusa was so popular. "It's very hot with the güipil, but with a blouse, it's cooler, it's lighter," said Cristalina. Temperature and climate were also indicated as justifications for using blusas in Hendrickson's (1996) and Bennett's (2015) studies. Their works

also briefly discussed the ease of the blusas, as a garment readily cleaned once dirty, and the subsequent preference to dress young daughters in the blouse (Bennett, 2015; Hendrickson, 1996). Participants in this study discussed garment utility and care throughout their interviews. However, these comments mainly applied to Western dress, discussed in the next section. These characteristics, now associated with Western dress, perhaps contributed to the blusas current popularity.

Pride in San Pedro is communicated with municipal-affiliated garments. There is an expectation that women wear traje and típica representative of the town during community events and in community spaces. Although uniformity amongst groups of women, for example, singing in a church choir, is socially expected, using the traje of San Pedro is not a requirement. The social expectations for uniformity have influenced the perception of the blusas, determined to be an economically favorable option. Women earn a living from constructing blusas, and their clients can own a municipal-affiliated garment at less cost than a güipile. Although the güipile is preferable for formal occasions, participants clarified that it would be inappropriate to suggest someone wear the attire because of the cost. Cristalina explained, "It's a uniform. I have a uniform, the güipile. And why is that? For güipile is expensive. The blouse is, it is cheaper. So, we all wear different styles of blouses." Esperanza described this phenomenon and noted that color coordinating, to present uniformity, is a practice unique to Pedranas,

> I feel that in San Pedro, the majority of women like to dress in uniform. If they wear the same color, the same color. If it's a party, the same güipil, the same güipile, the same color blouse or the same color blouse, that's what I think is the custom of the Pedranas…An example – in churches when there is an anniversary party or a wedding or a birthday, the group that is leading the activity…makes uniforms. All the women agree and say 'we don't want to wear green or red'… And that happens in every church and in every school and in every social group in San Pedro…I don't know if you noticed it at Ban Rural, at the Bank of San Pedro, the women bank workers always have the same uniform – blusa. And that does not happen in other municipalities. They wear a uniform of the bank, but, in San Pedro – the blusa, but the same color.

One participant in the study predominately wore Western dress, in part because of her upbringing and now because of her finances. I had become acquainted with her during my in-person visit. I was surprised when she arrived at the interview wearing an extravagant blusa, paired with jeans. Adriana explained that she rushed home to make curfew, and the interview appointment, from a birthday party.

> I was invited to a birthday party and my friend is from San Pedro and I know that traditional clothes are important for them. So, in order to fit in with all the local people, I decided to wear the traditional clothes and I like to wear them too. I'm just not used to using it every day…I like to live with other people and I realize that when I wear the típica clothes, they feel better talking to me with my típica clothes than with my normal clothes… it's more like a sign of acceptance towards the culture of the place, and more than anything, it's out of respect for the people.

Her explanation for using the blusas illustrates how the garment can lead to greater cultural accessibility for those unable to purchase traje. Her account also describes the potential sanctions for not participating in local dress practices. The act of wearing a blusas is a way of showing respect and gaining respect from women familiar with the production process. The garment's economic, social, and practical value justifies its use and municipal status as a 'blouse of San Pedro.'

Western Dress

Western fashion in San Pedro is discussed as Ladino clothing (ropa de Ladino), referring to the dress used by the non-indigenous identifying population, or American clothing (ropa de Americana), indicating the garments are imported from the United States and previously used. Western refers to the history of these garments, which originate in Western Europe and developed on the continent and overseas in European colonies, including Guatemala (Welters & Lillethun, 2018). Whether designated to be Ladino or American (second-hand), all Western dress

is valued similarly in the community. Garments are culturally affiliated with the Ladino population but are more likely to be from the United States. Participants in this study directly referenced pants, leggings (lycras), shorts, dresses, and t-shirts.

Production and Procurement

Western fashion is inexpensive and, even when imported by a Pedrana, has no municipal affiliation. A plain t-shirt sells for 20-25 Quetzals/ 2.60-3.25 USD. Branded garments sell at a higher price. For example, a second-hand Adidas or Nike T-shirt cost 35 Quetzals/ 4.55 USD. Second-hand clothing is sold in formal retail spaces but became widely available online during the pandemic. Selling garments online became an additional income source and catered to people in the community interested in expanding their 'home' wardrobes. Cecilia and other participants explained the shift,

> Because of the pandemic, this method is very, very popular, and it is very practical, and it is very handy….Now on the internet, you can search for all the clothes you want, traditional and also American clothes. A lot of girls are selling American clothes on Facebook, they buy and then sell to Pedro's girls. Yes, lots of clothes. Right now, lots of clothes.

Esperanza introduced me to be a popular Facebook page in the community used to sell goods. Similarly, she explained, "It's all online now. There is a special page for San Pedro. It says 'Producto 100% Pedrano' (Facebook Page title). All those who sell online do so and offer their services at home. All here." I asked if she had bought any new clothes using the page. She replied, "Yes, yes, it's is an addictive way – shopping online. See, watch, and buy." Other participants shared her perspective about the shopping experience and made observations about the frequency with which women were buying clothing. The purchase of Western dress does not follow the same 'twice yearly' model that applies to the consumption of traje.

Pedranas can also purchase large quantities of second-hand clothing to sell out of their homes on Facebook. Used clothing importers advertise 150-200 piece bundles of garments for 200-300 Quetzals/ 26-39 USD, including shipping to San Pedro. During a meeting, Regina asked, 'Which city has better clothes Miami, San Francisco, or Austin?' [my translation from Spanish]. She explained her new interest in selling American clothing and that the choices listed on a Facebook page were labeled with city names. It became clear that even bundles have a geographic association, and she thought the labels indicted where the clothes were manufactured. I explained that the donated garments might have been processed in these cities, but they were likely not made in the United States. She eventually purchased a bundle that was generically American and listed at a lower price. She earned back her initial investment by selling trendy items, like athletic leggings, on Instagram. Half of the garments were undesirable and were donated to communities along Guatemala's eastern coast. She continued to add clothes to her online store, hand-picked from vendors in Sololá and Xela, who sell garments at a lower price than in San Pedro. Profits are smaller, but the garments are more likely to be purchased.

Like other garments in the community, women prefer to purchase American clothing from familiar people. Adriana explained that her most recent transaction was made on her birthday, through Instagram. She justified her transaction, explaining,

> Due to the pandemic situation, many people can't work. Then many people, mainly women from San Pedro, have decided to sell clothes online, mainly Facebook or Instagram. I bought my clothes with a friend, to help her in some way too because we are all in a difficult situation.

Women's tendency to purchase from liked persons has led some women to create anonymous profiles to sell their goods. In this manner, women can potentially sell garments to people who usually would not buy from them if they knew their identity.

Practical Purpose and Value

Age and location greatly determine the use of Western dress. All except three participants limited their use of Western dress to their private homes or specific occasions. There are, however, many occasions where these garments are acceptable, including playing sports/going to the gym, traveling by boat or bus, swimming/beach going, and mountain climbing/camping. Cortes limit the wearer's mobility and are impractical to wear while completing activities, while the güipile is thought to contain too much body heat. Equally important, no one would risk damaging their traje or típica, when a more disposal garment is available. Elena explained,

> It is very common to wear jeans when there is a trip, when they go to hot places, because people wear jeans and a t-shirt to go out more comfortable, because it is not the same to be walking with a corte than with jeans. It is more common for convenience.

Estrella's reasoning for using Western dress was clear. She said, "To go climb to the mountain, you need to wear comfortable clothes." Jade shared a similar sentiment when she shared, 'People want you to wear your traditional dress all the time, but I want to go swimming' [my translation from Spanish]. The value of Western dress is tethered to its practical applications because it allows women to participate in aspects of society that would be otherwise difficult.

Clothing, such as leggings and t-shirts, also allow young girls to play in a manner they would not be able to in a corte. It is common to see female babies, toddlers, and children wearing American clothing. These garments are more affordable and an economically better option for parents with growing children. People fear that children who solely wear Western dress during their upbringing will continue to do so later in life. This influence of using Western dress while young is unknown. Maria, now 23, only wore American clothing until she was 18. She explained that it was only after she studied in Xela and returned home that she understood the value of her local garments and started to wear típica.

Western dress is most appropriate for indoor use. It would be unlikely to see a Tz'utujil women over the age of 40 wearing American clothing in public, however she may wear the garments while tending to the house or sleeping. Women under 40 regularly change into Western garments while inside for comfort and to preserve their típica. During my final interview, I spoke to a woman, wearing a complicated blusa. Pilar explained the garment, and how it was a good alternative to the güipile. She continued to describe the other objects in her wardrobe and became very embarrassed. "Now, Ehhh? We no longer use the güipiles to work in the house. Ehhh? It's very heavy, and its more comfortable to wear shorts." I replied, 'Yes, all of them, all of the people in San Pedro wear shorts in the house." She burst out laughing, surprised that I knew the division between the house and the street. "It's too hot to sweep!" she concluded. Pilar and other participants, as women, understand the freedoms afforded when wearing Western dress, but have mixed feelings about the use of garments in special occasions.

> Pilar: We use the suit. But there are girls as young as 15, 16 years old and now they arrive with dresses for a party. For a party? – for some special event. I think we wear it to try not to lose the culture. I hope we don't lose it, don't lose out. Yes.
> Emily: How did this make you feel?
> Pilar: The question you asked me? Nostalgic.
> Emily: In general, what about this situation? When children don't wear traditional clothes?
> Pilar: Well. Yes, I understand a little bit for the convenience, because it's very, very, very heavy and now it's much warmer. Then it's uncomfortable – and the children who don't? Girls who don't wear it? Well, I feel that [understanding] for the same reason – that playing with a corte you can't run.
> Emily: Yes. It is very difficult to play football in a corte. (Repeating a phrase I had heard from other women in the San Pedro.)
> Pilar: Too difficult. So maybe, huh? They can. They may be kind of right. But. It's sad, it's sad because all this is culture, it's, it's beautiful and it's unique, it's unique. You can't see it everywhere in the world, but you have – I understand – a choice.

Western dress is also worn in San Pedro by Ladinos or those who identify as Pedrana, but were raised in households with Ladino family members. When in the marketplace with Regina, we encountered a friend and her mother wearing Western dress. I inquired into their dress

practices. She explained, ‘We are friends, but we are not the same. Her father is from San Pedro, and her mother is from somewhere else on the lake. But her grandma, she married a Spanish man, so she doesn’t wear típica, she wears pants.’ I clarified this idea, asking ‘She wears pants, because her grandfather is Spanish?’ Regina replied, ‘Yes, it’s different. She didn’t grow up in a house where people wore típica or traje. That wasn’t modeled for her’ [my translation from Spanish]. The friend and I had many encounters over the week and I attempted to convince her she was welcome to participate in the study, but she felt she could not contribute in the same manner as Maya women who wore típica.

Municipal Pride and the Self

Human beings determine the value of things with respect to their understanding of themselves (Blumer, 1969b). In San Pedro, the understanding of self is strongly tied to the participants’ relationships with their municipality. Participants had immense pride in their community and more frequently described themselves as Pedrana than Tz’utujil, Maya, or Guatemalan. Original or traditional dress, the traje of San Pedro, has greater cultural significance than other garments because it is perceived to be the most strongly affiliated with elder residents and those who once lived in the town. It is a connection to the past, regarding lineage, but also location. Lisa’s explanation of traje commented on this historical connection.

> Traditional clothing is a very important element in the culture. For many years or centuries, it has been part of our identity as Mayas. So this is a representation of the most original clothes of Santa Cruz, or San Pedro or San Juan, of all kinds. When our ancestors made clothes, they had a purpose. They wanted to capture their history and their work in clothes not to forget. So, for me, that’s part of my identity. That’s why it’s so important.

Although Pedranas frequently wear garments associated with other municipalities, the traje of San Pedro, as it has in the past, indicates the wearer’s municipal affiliation. These

designs are especially distinguishable by those living in neighboring Maya municipalities. Discussing traje with Ester led her to explain the garments' representative quality, as things that distinguish her as a Pedrana, and a person and a Maya woman; characteristics that she has learned to associate with traje.

> What do clothes mean to me? My identity as a person. My town, yes the place where I was born and where I am from, and for me, that's what it is. It is pride because it is a place where I live – visited by many people and clothes, it is identified anywhere in the world. I can wear my clothes and many people can say 'Oh, San Pedro? Yes. And I am not ashamed of that. No, that is a pride – very, very good clothes. Maybe it is not? It's not pants or a dress, but it's a very nice garment, and it's very comfortable for me. And the meaning is part of my culture, my identity as a woman. I identify myself as a woman. This is one of the customs of my village that identifies me.

The presentation of municipal identification is a part of being a Pedrana. Throughout their lives, the women of San Pedro negotiate how they present this facet of their identity. New social interactions lead to the establishment of new meanings about the garments. For example, discussed in the previous section, Maria explained that she wore Western dress until she left the community. After living in Xela, a city, she had a new interest in her local culture and has since worn and makes típica. In a similar but opposite sense, Regina only began to wear garments from other municipalities after moving to Antiqua in her early 20s. Before living outside of San Pedro, she was weary of being affiliated with another location. In the afternoon after my first Spanish lesson in March 2020, Regina returned to tell me a story that first illustrated the connection between herself, her municipality, and her dress. She recalled,

> I was thinking about what you said at lunch. It reminded me of this time, when I was maybe four or five years old. I had traditional clothes from Patzun. It was black, with red around the neckline, and a pink stripe down the front. The people in this town are known for weaving baskets. I was visiting my great-grandpa. He was sick, and we took turns taking care of him. On this day, it was my turn, and I was wearing this güipile. My great grandfather kept asking me about baskets – he was joking. He kept asking me - How much my baskets cost? How do you weave a basket? Where are my baskets at? I was so angry. I did not weave baskets. (She crossed her arms and pouted her face.) I had a temper as a child. I stomped around, I yelled. I am not from Patzun I am from San Pedro.

> He was joking, but I never wore that güiple after that – I refused. I didn't want people to think I was from anywhere but San Pedro. I thought, so fiercely, that people would think I was from somewhere else, and I didn't want to be from where my family wasn't from; my family is from here. It's sad that I got so mad at him because I really miss him. I miss his jokes. Since that moment, I didn't wear any other traditional clothing than from San Pedro until I went to study in Antiqua [my translation from Spanish].

Regina's story demonstrates the importance of municipal affiliation and how the connection to the location is also a connection to family. Even at a young age, she was aware of what it meant to be from another municipality. Her relationship with dress changed when she met Maya women from different municipalities in Antiqua. After living alongside her classmates, she started associating the garments of their communities with these friendships. She enjoyed the garments because of the relationships they represented. She also recalled that her friends came to love the blusa Pedrana and thought it was a novel alternative to the t-shirts they tended to wear with their cortes while relaxing. Six of her classmates requested their own blusa Pedrana, which Regina arranged to have made and picked up when she went home for a holiday. This exchange left her feeling a great sense of pride for her local dress practices (Regina, personal communication, March 2020).

While the women acknowledge the importance of dressing concerning their municipality, they also asserted that they have a choice in their practices. Participants are continuously negotiating the value of garments (things) with respect to themselves (Blumer, 1969b). Participants' pride in the municipality, although very strong, can be lessened by personal need. Esperanza, as well as others, recognized the importance of their heritage and using it – in a very practical sense. She said, "I think I always have to remember where I came from, where I was born. What my roots are and use it." She continued, "I can change – it is not mandatory that I have to wear my traje, in another country or in the heat." Participant responses that described their feelings about traje frequently concluded with statements about choice. After many

interviews, it felt obvious that the woman wanted me to know they could, and they did, wear garments other than traje. Elena, who lived in Xela before the coronavirus spread through the city, also reflected on her dress choices. She shared that she had become accustomed to other garments while living outside the municipality. She said, “I’ve gotten used to dressing in pants too, in Ladina clothing, but it’s not for the rest of my life. If one day I will return to San Pedro, I would forget about the pants.” Elena clarified that she did not believe she denied her municipality when she wore Western dress. She was prioritizing other needs. Stating,

> Some people suggest you not take off your traje, but to keep it wherever you go. But I feel it’s a matter of personality, of perspective. Yes. Well, today I have met people who completely change their tradition and forget their origins, even when you talk to them, ask them, they simply deny they are from a certain place. But in my case, I tell them. I do it just for comfort, but I don’t forget my roots, and I don’t forget my traje either because I always wear it.

Elena also explained that she was wearing more típica while residing with her family because it felt more appropriate, and met their expected behavior. Because the garments signify respect for the elders in the community and the practices of the ancestors, women are more attentive to maintaining these connections while in San Pedro.

Products of Community

Güipiles and blusas are products made by the women of San Pedro. The meaning of these garments has arisen from social interactions between makers and patrons during the production process and the wearer and the community when in use (Blumer, 1969b). Although these garments have equal social importance, participants had difficulty assessing if the güipile and blusa had similar cultural standing. Pilar, an art teacher, was hesitant to contribute an opinion but ultimately cited the colors, and their symbolism, as the main difference. “Colors have meaning…At some point, they dressed that way because of some meaning to them. It challenges the symbolism of the original garments,” she said. Synthetic colors are suspected of being

incorporated into the garment in the 1960s ("Virtual Tour", 2020). Nevertheless, the choice to use these colors to communicate heritage [4] was made by earlier generations and has continued today (Carey, 2001). Her argument highlights the cultural break between the güipile, with more overt ties to the past, and the blusa, which symbolizes the modern.

Despite visual similarities, women are cautious about commenting on the likeness between the garments. Instead, participants clearly describe the differences between the woven and factory-made textiles and explain that the fabric for the güipile is made in San Pedro. As Jade asserted, "Our típica is singular. It is unique. There is no other típica traje." Participants have great respect for the art of weaving, which is absent from the blusas' production process. When asked about the importance of blusas compared to güipiles, Valentina's opinion focused on local production. She said, "The essence of our culture is in the traditional handmade clothes, of course. The others, the current fashionable ones [blusas], are now handmade, but it is another type of material." She also suggested that the garment is possibly another way to participate in the culture without financial burden. Blusas can be thought of as an economical alternative, but not as a copy or a knock-off of the güipile. Carolina, a seamstress, also discussed the relationship between local production and garment value. When I asked her about the future of dress in San Pedro, she said,

> I think we will always use both because as I said, there are many of us who are sewing blusas and for the same reason I don't think they will stop using blusas - but they won't stop using the güipiles, because we can also make them and so they won't get lost.

There is certainly a strong connection between local production and municipal affiliation.

[4] Justifications for colors used in San Pedro's traje are similar in other highlands municipalities. White (purity) and red (blood of ancestors) was also found by Hendrickson (1996), who identified the commonalities. Symbolism for green (local vegetation/volcanoe) differs and is clearly influenced by the geography.

However, not all garments made in the town are immediately Pedrana. New designs are introduced to communities which are never adopted, or become a fad (Hendrickson, 1996). To be a community product, the good (garment or other) needs to be geographically, socially, and historically connected to the municipality. Garments made within San Pedro's borders, independent from social connections and heritage practices, are unlikely to represent the community. Pilar recalled previous attempts to incorporate sublimated textiles, with prints indicative of Maya weaving and embroidery, into the blusas. Although these textiles were available at local shops, many people were disinterested in a 'copy' of weave. She described her aversion to this concept, remarking,

> The art of women is embodied in every part and in every detail - but a sublimation (print) is the same. Maybe there is no mistake in sublimation? By hand, there can be 'no mistake,' but it's what makes the piece unique. No. I didn't like it. I didn't like it - it was like a mockery of my hand-work. The work of women embroidering by hand, it was forgotten for a while. For me, it was annoying because we should really appreciate it - this is a joy for a woman to do. A güipile by hand takes a long time, and sublimation is a five-minute process. So, I didn't agree with this fashion.

Pilar's memory of this short-lived fashion describes a conflict between the textile and the heritage of the municipality. It also illustrates how Pilar assessed the value of the printed textile, as a thing, in respect to the understanding of herself, as a Pedrana and an artisan (Blumer, 1969b).

Visual Representation

As an outsider observing the garments worn in the street it can be difficult to discern which ensemble is the traje of San Pedro. Before the pandemic, there were ample foreigners and national tourists. Blusas, in an array of colors, are always popular, and recently women have adopted the traje of other communities as a show of wealth and status. Marisol partially described this scene, observing,

> When I walk in the streets, I always see people with their típica, and I say that not all of them use the traje of San Pedro. But they do use other trajes from other municipalities, but they are traje típicas. If they are always traje típica it does not lose the culture.

Participants frequently commented on the formality and uniformity of the dress practices in other municipalities, especially Santiago Atitlán, where women of all ages tend to wear traje. When speaking about the blusas Pedranas, Cristalina shared, "In Santiago, they don't wear blusas, In Santiago, only the güipile." When comparing the dress practices of San Pedro to other Maya municipalities, women felt that Pedranas were less interested in the local traje. However, as presented, women in this community also display municipal affiliation using the blusas; an action that does not require total uniformity.

More than half the participants in this study were concerned that their traje and traditional weaving practices will be lost with the oldest generation of women. Blusas, general típica, and the traje of other municipalities, for many, was not concerning because it clearly indicates that the woman is Maya. Those fearing the loss of traje were worried by the adoption of American garments, which many believed had risen during the pandemic. "I agree and disagree with these clothes," said Maria, who is 23 years old.

> Why? Because as there are more - cheaper, easier to acquire. Many young ladies nowadays prefer to wear Ladino clothing rather than traditional clothing. I think this doesn't help my culture. It prevails their culture over time. With the easy acquisition of these products is very easy to lose the traditional clothing. But, I also agree because it is easier to acquire, it is more comfortable and has beautiful designs.

All those concerned wore American clothing. Participants enjoy having the option to use different types of dress, but ultimately place extreme value on visually presenting as Maya and Pedrana. Petronilla's perspective centers the role of women as models for the municipal's heritage, stating,

> Típica clothing is important for our culture because yes, everyone will wear jeans, t-shirts - our culture would disappear. So, I want many people to wear the típica clothes for our culture, for us - and say 'That girl is from San Pedro.' That girl defines indigenous people. That girl wears traditional clothes; her clothes have meaning.

When discussing the future, participants offered various opinions on dress. Ester was concerned, but explained, "I am a teacher. We are instilling in the children to value our clothing – our corte, our güipile – because it is something important for our people, to identify them as San Pedro." I learned that within the formal curriculum there is typically only one designated week to learn about Maya culture, and within that, perhaps a single session that focuses on dress ("Edwin", personal communication, July 2020). However, teachers will go forth and instill cultural lessons, if possible.

Marisol, 19 years old, and Rosa, 22 years old, were optimistic about the future of dress. Neither make clothing, but both have an interest in participating in the design process. Marisol explained,

> There is the original traje and there are modern traje – but it is never lost. The traje típica is still this traje típica, but we have modernized it. So, I think that nothing is lost. And it is simply that the clothes are becoming more and more fashionable, with other styles, with other colors, but the traje típica is not lost.

Rosa felt similarly about the representation of traditions in the future. She shared,

> I would like in the future, if I had the opportunity to have a daughter, I would like her to continue to wear traje. Because it is something that identifies us, and I think that is what makes our town interesting, right?

She continued, stating, "I know it's going to be modern, it's going to be different, but if they were preserved. I think a lot of people are going to keep doing it." Her explanation recognized the active choice women have in the preservation of cultural practices. Both women acknowledged that traditions will change.

Dress Practices and Others

People act with respect to the meaning that things have for them. These values are the outcome of interactions with family, friends, acquaintances, and educational institutions (Blumer, 1969b). San Pedro is a geographically small municipality, and the residences are densely spaced. Participants live with their immediate and extended family and near friends and neighbors. Within and outside of San Pedro, there are expectations for Maya women's dress practices. Prescriptions, beliefs about proper dress (do's) and proscriptions, opinions on improper dress (do nots), are frequently communicated. Participants in this study recalled remarks directed at themselves and other women in the municipality on physical beauty, femininity, ethnicity, intellect, and promiscuity. Within San Pedro and the surrounding area, verbal commentary frequently focuses on women's decisions to use Western clothing. Outside of San Pedro, women experience discrimination for wearing Maya dress.

Regional Sanctions

When describing dress and social interactions in San Pedro, participants distinguished the setting using the phrases 'in the street' and 'in the house.' The expression, 'in the street,' encompasses public spaces outside of the home, such as restaurants, markets, and schools. The lake and volcanoes are exceptions to this designation. Generally, Western dress is considered appropriate for the house, but not always in the street. When asked about her experience with sanctions, "Gloria" explained, "In the house, I use shorts, in the street, I use a corte. I don't receive negative comments because I dress *normally*." 'Normal' in this sentence indicated she uses típica outside of the home. Participants used the term normal to infer that the person' s dress (blusas, güipiles, t-shirts, and trousers) is obeying social rules. It is clear to the residents when

someone's dress is abnormal. Petronilla explained that she usually wears típica but sometimes needs to wear American clothes to participate in an activity at work. When asked about comments in the streets, her explanation highlighted the differences in interactions.

> Sometimes women, well, here almost all of us wear típica clothes. They say, 'Oh, what a nice blouse? When you buy it? What a nice corte! Where did you buy it? How much did it cost you?' *Normal* use here. But if there is day *for shorts in the street* it is a bit weird… I hardly wear that kind on the street, I don't feel bad… but, it's strange.

The accolades directed at típica are a part of the standard greeting in San Pedro but not commonly shared when a woman wears American clothing. Participants are aware of the emotional discomfort that can arise when they are dressed improperly and anticipate positive and negative reactions to their appearance. Elena explained her practices in terms of social comfort, stating,

> I feel more comfortable wearing my traje because in the culture you live in, you lived here in San Pedro – you were here! Yes, when people see you dressed differently, they look at you like – they judge! (laughter). So, it's uncomfortable for you to be seen when you dress differently. I feel more comfortable with myself, wearing my San Pedro traje.

Cecilia exemplified the feelings of judgment introduced by Elena. She explained that wearing garments, like skirts and shorts, can indicate a woman is provocative or promiscuous within the community.

> They talk bad about girls like showing their legs or 'she's not a good girl because she provokes men' or similar things. My mother taught me, my grandparents taught me that clothes are long. It's normal…then it's *normal*. I prefer to use as I like – and the other girl doesn't like my corte? Ok – she can dress the way she likes – because I think each person…you can dress the way you like.

Lisa was also familiar with this idea but offered a different interpretation of normality. Stating,

> I wear shorts and go to the beach. It's *normal*, but there are a lot of people a bit more adult than us and when they look at us with shorts it's like, 'These girls. It's not decent of her.' I think people think that we, we just want to show our body. I don't know, because it is inevitable everywhere in the world. Sexual attractiveness is unavoidable.

She continued to explain that it is ‘normal’ to use dress for self-expression and that it took time for her to become confident enough in herself to wear American clothing. When discussing dress sanctions, she recalled two occasions at the ages of 18 and 22, when acquaintances told her she could not wear pants because she was ‘fat’. In both instances, she was wearing trousers in the street when she was greeted by a female acquaintance who then told her she was too large for trousers. Other participants also alluded to the idea that pants are for ‘thin’ people and cortes are for ‘fat’ people. Ten years later, Lisa is still confused why either woman felt the need to speak about her body. She recalled her feelings about the incidents.

> People told me that I shouldn’t wear this because I was chubby, fat. They say that my body doesn’t look good because I have pants. If I have a very small waist, then it’s possible…for a long time I didn’t want to wear pants, because I felt that it wasn’t pretty and I didn’t feel pretty. Then I don’t know. Later, when I started to have more confidence in myself, more security in my environment, now I don’t care. People think it’s good for me. For me it is important now that I feel good. I think it’s a very important part of experimenting or having stories with clothes.

Opinions directed at women’s attractiveness emphasized that their beauty was connected to the corte or típica. Many participants could recall a time, especially in their youth, when someone insisted that they were more attractive in traje. Ana recalled a memory when she felt frustrated by this commentary. She had attended university in Sololá, which required 60-90 minutes of travel time in each direction. Her commute included 20 minutes of walking, a boat, and a bus ride. She explained that it was easier to wear pants and that studying did not require her to wear formal garments. One day she decided to wear típica. A male student interrupted her while studying and told her that she ‘looked better in traje.’ Another female student joined in the conversation and supported his remarks. She recalled her thoughts from the day, explaining,

> Maybe he likes women to dress in traje – or – I don’t know because I wouldn’t know what would go on in his head… He gave that comment, so I was very, very

> uncomfortable all day – thinking that I didn't look good in my clothes…It was just when he was studying, why didn't he continue studying?

Ana was 19 years old at the time of this exchange. For the remaining two years of her education, she only wore típica to class. She concluded she would not have done this today and that she has grown to be disinterested in onlooker's comments, "whether negative or positive."

Pressure to wear típica also comes from the elders in the community. Historically, only males in the municipality wear pants. Many participants recalled moments when their mothers or abuelas explained that women were not permitted or should not wear trousers because they are male garments. Rosa explained that she did not wear pants in the street because of her abuela's influence. "I don't wear pants much because my abuelas always scolds me and tells me, 'Why do you have pants if I don't wear pants?'" Rosa felt that the older generations showed more respect for the culture. Suggestions to support cultural practices are socially acceptable but are frequently coupled with comments on beauty or promiscuity. Marisol recalled that when she wore pants, her abuela told her she was more beautiful in traje. Later, her abuela would explain that seeing her granddaughter wear pants bothered her. This left Marisol unsure of abuela's opinion. Lisa explained that comments about masculinity were less critical than remarks on her beauty because there is no doubt that she is a woman.

> First, they said I shouldn't [wear pants] because I'm not a man and I think that was the least important thing for me. What affected me the most was when I was told that I shouldn't wear it because I'm fat or was fat. I shouldn't wear Ladino clothes? I'm fat, in traditional clothes. That was the situation I experienced, but after a while I didn't care. But I had to work a lot on my personality…my self-esteem.

Additional remarks about trousers suggested that using Western dress showed a preference for Ladino society. The interview with Esperanza revealed her slight exasperation with the topic. When asked about moments when others have suggested she not wear Ladino clothing, she said, "Where can I start?" and began to list those who have offered their opinion on

her dress. “My family, some relatives, some aunts who wear the traje always, some cousins, um? Friends…” She discussed how nearly everyone in her life comments on her use of trousers. She explained that she did not feel these comments were rude but inferred that she placed greater importance on Ladino clothing. She said, “It’s not in a rude manner. It’s in a manner – ‘Why don’t you think it’s better?’ It’s an opinion. ‘Why don’t you think your traje is better than trousers?’” Esperanza explained that she has a medical condition that makes it difficult to use the faja (necessary to secure the corte) and wears traje on special occasions. She, like other participants, selected Western dress for its practical attributes.

City Sanctions

All except three participants studied outside of the region, with the majority living in Xela (13 participants) and Guatemala City (2 participants). Women moved to these cities for a three to six-year period, starting in high school at the age of 16 or for university at the age of 18. Participants ranged in age from 19 to 46 years old. Therefore, their attendance spans 20 years between 1995 and 2019. Women's descriptions of their dress practices while living in the city varied, as did their experiences. Memories revealed a range of emotions, from discomfort and hurt to feelings about indigenous pride and social progress. Notably, discriminatory comments were directed at the use of indigenous dress and language. Esperanza explained this connection,

> When I lived in Xela, some people, it was like discrimination against people who wore their traje who study or to go to university. If it was something like - they think that because you're wearing your native traje, they think you can't speak Spanish. They think you don't speak Spanish - I thought 'No, I couldn't get to college or things like that.' [They] think of your intellect as less for wearing your suit. One of my of my goals when I was studying in the city was to show other people that wearing my traje could be better, and no, no, it wasn't what they thought. (c. 2010)

Accounts of discrimination were solely connected to educational institutes, and as in San Pedro, frequently directly at adolescent women. Marisol explained that she felt older women could wear

traje but that young ladies needed to wear pants or dresses throughout the city and in the classroom. She had difficulty explaining the details of discrimination but shared her feelings about the day she decided to wear traditional clothing to class. She explained,

> I realized the first day I went to college, everyone was wearing pants and dresses. I also wore those clothes, because for me, it's more comfortable to go to school in those clothes. But one day I started thinking about wearing my traje, I wore my típica traje at the university and that's how I realized that there was some discrimination. It's like some of my classmates were staring at me? Another part of my classmates really appreciated the traje, because it looked very elegant and very nice…Even this one, I told my mom, that they were taking pictures of me appreciating my traje típica. On the other hand, the other part of the companions didn't, the discrimination was noticeable. But the truth is that I didn't care because I know the value of my traje típica and so I stayed with those who did appreciate it and ignored those who didn't. (c. 2019)

Participants felt barriers between themselves and Ladino students, and experienced discrimination from faculty. Petronilla described her experience attending a university in Xela that had a uniform policy. She was studying to be trilingual administrative assistant.

> On some occasions, I wore my típica clothes to school. One of the teachers said to me one day, 'Why are you a tourist today?' I said, 'What tourist? This is my traje, it's my clothes.' She told me 'No, but you have a school uniform.' and I said 'I did not know that I was forbidden to wear our típica traje.' (c. 2011)

She recalled that in the same year, the laws protecting indigenous dress were being reinforced.

> I told her I got mad at her because normally we were like friends, we got along. I told her, 'It's not a tourist clothes.'…She told me that every time I wore my típica traje, she always said, 'Why are you like a tourist today? I believe that in that school there is discrimination for indigenous people or for those who wear traditional traje. Not just me - Many people coming to the school. (c. 2011)

After the second occurrence, she reminded the instructor of the law, telling her, "I want to wear it… it's my choice." At the time, she was upset by these exchanges. Looking back, she found the idea that anyone would call an indigenous person a tourist laughable. “I'm indigenous, I'm in Guatemala, it is my country," she proclaimed. She felt that being called a tourist was offensive, but not a realistic insult. "I never felt ashamed to wear my típica traje because I am an indigenous

person," she said. She concluded that another's comments could not change the value she has for her traje.

Women who created relationships outside of places of study shared different experiences about living in the city. These women were aware of indigenous discrimination but felt supported in their daily lives. Valentina had been bullied for her dress and speaking Tz'utujil while studying but found solace in the workplace.

> I was in my teens when I started studying. It was a bit strong for me. I even got to a point where I didn't wear my traditional dress anymore, I wore Ladino clothes like pants, but I didn't have much money…I tried to save up to buy clothes, so I wouldn't feel discriminated against…. I was too ashamed…Then I understood that it's not right. During my work, because I worked there, I never wore Ladino clothes. I always wore my traditional clothes. All my coworkers loved the color, everything, and they always told me, 'We love your clothes.' During my work, I spoke my language. I wore my traje – everything normal. That also made me more, like, confident again, because it was a little difficult for me. In my adolescence (c. 2003).
>
> Now that I visit Xela – I love this place; I love it and I always visit it. It is one of my favorite places. I like it a lot and I wear my traje, I speak my language and also, when I want, I wear Ladino clothes, but it's not very, very important to me.

Elena, who will likely return to live in Xela, feels supported in that city and considers it her second home. Like Valentina's experience, her Ladino co-workers encouraged her to wear traditional dress. She shared, "They like to see more of me in a traje…They tell me that's where I come from, it is part of my culture, of my identity" (c. 2019). She felt she had more dress choices in Xela than in San Pedro.

There was general agreement between participants that Guatemala City was not safe for any person but that Xela had become safer for Maya women. Gloria cited the influence of education and the enforcement of indigenous rights laws. She recalled a shift in Ladino's behaviors and dress practices between high school and today. Stating,

> It's been 12 years, but that's how it is. It's funny because I had companions who lived there – from Xela and other towns – they made fun of my traje. In fact, I had to wear

> pants. But one day it occurred to me to look at típica clothes as a gala suit, because I consider it as elegant, my traje (c. 2008).
> About the mockery – the funny thing is that now they are my friends on Facebook and every time I upload a picture with my outfit, they say they are impressed by the outfit. They like my suit, now they didn't like it before when we were students…Even they wear güipil with pants, but not corte. As time has gone on, the bad political or a bad perspective, a bad theory about the traje—back then when we were students – but now I think that because of the level of studies, they look at things differently.

Gloria and Pilar commented on the popularity of traje with Ladino women and the potential influence of fashion on discrimination. Both suggested that positive notoriety could lead to less discrimination against dress and liked the idea of combining Maya and Western garments. Gloria explained, "I used to feel like there was a barrier between the Ladino and the non-Ladino, the non-Pueblo. But now that [wearing a güipile] indicates that there is already brotherhood. Today we already have the use of cloth, it's the same." She recognized that not everyone wanted to 'mix clothes,' but she could not help being hopeful about the idea that San Pedro could be a community that embraces diversity. Ultimately, participants felt their dress was policed and found it unfair to restrict any woman's choices.

Keeping Culture

People act in accordance or defiance of the known meanings in a community (Blumer, 1969b). Dress practices actively enforce and sometimes challenge the relationship between self and others (Blumer, 1969b; Kaiser, 1997). Calia (2020) acknowledges the role of dress in connecting an individual to their group (family, friends, municipality) and, subsequently, the social world. In San Pedro, and throughout Guatemala, Maya women are expected to uphold tradition and display these values through their dress practices. Participants in this study recognized this role and the importance of using dress to express their heritage. Participants acted – dressed – in accordance with the known meanings in their community and illustrated the

malleable nature of these boundaries. During this study, it became clear that the social expectation to maintain local culture did not denote women could not in turn, change dress expectations.

Choice

In San Pedro, traje is frequently discussed as a uniform. Participants spoke about uniformity as something factual and expected. Ana highlighted a parallel between her garments and my own when she stated, “I use my dress to identify with my people, just like you use yours to identify with your people.” Uniformity is not absolute conformity but shared identification. Variations of the güipile and the blusa support the presentation of Maya culture. Shared likeness is attainable using the traje of San Pedro. However, prohibitive costs have yielded to the idea of color coordinating appearance, achievable using more affordable blusas. Blusas have more variation, which is accredited to those involved in the design process. The reproduction of these garments – rampant copying of designs – is not perceived as an act that reproduces culture (like güipiles) but rather an effort to conform to current trends. Rosa described this process as ‘chasing fashion’. Expectations to present uniformly, with típica or traje, lead to greater interest in individual expression. Rosa explained how she uses styling to differentiate herself from others women in the community.

> Me? Different always! Why? I always try to look for a different styles or combinations. I don't like to run into someone who is wearing the same thing or that people dress the same as me - I don't like it - there are little details, colors, combinations. I do prefer to be different when it comes to matching my clothes or my outfits.

Variations in the blusa Pedrana support women’s efforts to express their creativity and individuality. Carolina, a designer, expressed pride in being able to create something different. She explained that she hoped to continue making blusas. “I want to be famous in my hometown,” she said, “With the new ‘Carolina’ designs,” gesturing with her hands as if she could see her

name on a storefront. Consumers of the popular garment enjoy the variety. Ester explained that ample design options meant that there was, “No need for all of us [Pedranas] to dress alike.” The garment may have developed as a cost-effective alternative to the güipile, but it has become a product that symbolizes difference. The prolonged success of the blusas in the community reflects the garment’s continuous ephemeral state – as an object that is referential to the municipality’s history and a blank slate for individuality. When supplemented with Western dress, women in San Pedro have a wide variety of options, ranging from very traditional to very modern. At the end of our interview, Ana expressed her thoughts on the popular garments in San Pedro and attempted to justify the residents' choices. Stating,

> I think everyone has a different opinion about what they use from their own clothes. Perhaps they use the garment only because they are forced? Because they do not have the possibility to buy one they would like or to feel comfortable? Or simply that they do not like to be in only one type of garment?
>
> I think the people want to adapt – to know the culture of other people, other countries. Why? Because if it were not so, then we would be in San Pedro’s traje, nothing else, and we would all have the same thing.
> Do you think uniforms would always be boring?
>
> I think that is also part of our personality. We differentiate ourselves from other people by having a different type of garment. And that makes us unique and that forms our personality.
>
> There is a day [an event] – people immediately think about how you dress – ‘Which one you would like? Which one would you look good in? or Which one you wouldn't prefer to wear?’ Then people are already forming their own opinions about how to differentiate from everyone else. And it's very, very interesting, because I had never really, ever imagined talking about clothes.

In this moment, she illustrated some of the many, immeasurable influences on dress practices.

Fashion and Change

Fashion inherently is marked by change. It is the introduction, acceptance, flourishing, fading, and replacement of a thing (Blumer, 1969b; Eicher & Evenson, 2012). Cristalina, the

oldest participant in this study, acknowledges the movement of things through her community. In this passage, she recognizes the current popularity of güipiles and their luxury status.

> Well, notice that now it's like maybe, like in your country. I think that every era, in every era, a fashion is used. Let's assume fashion, right now – at this time it is fashionable to use again the güipile of before, because it was left a time, a long time that the traje típica was no longer used. It was used more by abuelas. Do you understand it? Abuelas – It was used more by the old people, you say. This one [indicating to her güipile] - yes, it's from back then. Young children no longer used that, but now we're using this again.

The design and the significance of objects change as society changes (Dant, 1999). The güipile has not disappeared, but it has entered a different space in San Pedro's fashion system that challenges its position as an everyday cultural object. The inaccessibility of the güipile, among other reasons, has added to the popularity of the blusa. Blusas, although less referential to the communities' heritage, is a product of countless social interactions between the women of San Pedro, which reinforces its position as a municipal affiliated garment. The most significant difference between the güipile and the blusas (although asserted to be the textile) is their respective places in San Pedro's fashion system. The blusa's production process, absent of weaving, is quicker and exists within a faster fashion cycle in the community. Esperanza explained,

> In San Pedro, the women like to design a lot – there are many seamstresses, a lot of them, and each seamstress designs a style of blusa. If a lot of women like it, it becomes a fashion. So, for a while, for a year or two years, a blusa of – an example of butterflies – can become a fashion. Then step away. 'This blusa is fashionable and I'm going to buy this blusa because it's fashionable.' And a lot of women in San Pedro do that. They use what is fashionable. Yes, the design is already passed and another design comes out, another woman from San Pedro designs with a lace and says 'This is pretty and it looks good on you.' Every woman buys that design for a year or two years and it becomes fashionable.

Regular engagement with the garment has made the blusas an everyday cultural object that represents the people, place, and collective taste (Blumer, 1969). The garment, as a more fashionable product, differs significantly from traditional dress. Pilar compared the meaning of

popular contemporary garments to the practices of those in the past. She believes dress today is more about taste and less about representation.

> I say now that it's modern it's more about taste…not because it represents such and such God or such and such meaning or because it is Sunday. It is no longer for that, but for taste, for fashion…Now it is more of fashion - more fashion. For them [ancestors], they were going that way for the connection to Gods of the Earth, of the Sun. Because it had meaning for their ceremonies. But now this corte or a white güipile of San Juan is normal. It doesn't mean that I'm married or that I'm going to get married…it's whatever you like.

Other participants echoed this idea. Esperanza hesitated to join the study because she does not know "much about the history of the drawings or shapes." But, she was reassured by a friend, who explained we would discuss how she used garments today. One woman messaged me before the interview to tell me she did not know about Maya history. Another described how they had spent time with their mother to ensure they could recall weaving steps and the garments' meaning. These actions suggest the participants were aware of assumptions associated with Maya women and their dress practices.

Dress choice, and changes in dress practices, are not acts of defiance directed towards Pedrana culture (Blumer, 1969b). Participants were mindful of their identity as Tz'utujil women. "Everything changes and we have to adapt…That does not mean that you lose your origin," said Rosa. Instead, the act of using contemporary típica or Western dress is a choice that allows women to engage with their community through fashion. It can also display resistance against assumptions (femininity, beauty, intelligence, ethnicity) adjacent to traditional expectations. Women are not less female or beautiful when wearing trousers or less intelligent or educated when wearing a corte. Pedranas are not less Maya in a blusa than when wearing a güipile.

Chapter 6 – Discussion

This final chapter represents the culmination of the dissertation, beginning with a summary of the study. Then, the key research objectives first addressed in Chapter 1 are reviewed – followed by a discussion of each objective. Concluding each research objective discussion section is a highlight of implications and limitations for that objective. The chapter also presents areas for future research and concludes with a summary of research findings and their impact on practice.

Summary of the Study

This study maintains that dress practices are active representations of culture at any given moment. Individuals practice dress with an understanding of themselves and their communities (Blumer; 1969; Eicher & Evenson, 2012; Mead, 1934). Unable to collect data in person, remote interviews, focusing on dress practices and perspectives, were held in Summer 2020. Participants were female residents of San Pedro La Laguna living in the neighborhoods of Pacuchá, Chuacante, Chuasanahi, and Tzanjay. They were recruited into the study using Facebook. Women readily identified as Pedrana, then Tz'utujil, with some jointly identifying with other ethnolinguistic groups, ethnic groups, and municipalities in Guatemala. Interviews were semi-structured, lasting approximately one and half hours. In the pursuit of analytic induction, interview questions changed throughout data collection (Emerson, 1983; Weiss, 1994). Collecting data at a distance made it especially necessary to adapt questions to ensure clarity. Audio and video of each meeting were recorded and used for automatic transcription and translation in Sonix.ai. Then, these documents were edited in Spanish and coded in English using

MAXQDA. Techniques suggested by Esterberg (2002), such as the null hypothesis check and diagramming, were employed during data analysis.

Research Objectives

This study intended to examine the actions that preserve, transform, and stifle dress practices of the Tz'utujil women living in San Pedro La Laguna, Guatemala. Dress practices can be thought of as culture in social action (Fischer, 2001). People are aware of their surroundings, their society and culture, and use dress to react to the norms enforced around them. Therefore, dress practices can offer insight into community relationships, social expectations, and thoughts on individuality (Kaiser, 1997). (*Objective 1: To identify the dress in use in San Pedro La Laguna and its importance in the community during the time of the study.)* Garments act as a relational mechanism, allowing people to interact with their society and vice versa. Through social interaction and consequently meaning-making, the municipality is reaffirmed (Blumer, 1969b).

Documenting dress practices, with the understanding that they are a measure of the culture, is a pathway towards cultural sustainability. Interviews sought to understand the importance of the dress used during the study and the influences on these practices. (*Objective 2: To determine the influences on dress practices in San Pedro La Laguna, including production, consumption, design, and use.)* Conversations with participants revealed historical, cultural, social, economic, and practical justifications. Insight into the production and procurement process revealed that municipal-affiliated garments are a product of socially connected makers. Through this system, culturally and socially important garments adapt to the needs of the wearer.

The preservation of culture is not about preserving a specific garment. Instead, it is the conservation of factors that continue to sustain these garments as a meaningful aspect of the community. Municipal-affiliated garments are historically, culturally, and socially important to the community. *(Objective 3: To assess dress practices within the scope of cultural sustainability.)* Changes in dress practices, informed by culture and society (social interaction), are culturally sustainable. However, shifts in the production processes, geographical boundaries, or further economic inaccessibility have changed people's access to fashion in the municipality. This outcome may threaten the integrity of the social system that upholds dress practices in San Pedro.

Objective 1: Dress Practices

To identify the dress in use in San Pedro La Laguna and its importance in the community during the time of the study.

This study's findings supported that dress practices in the community can broadly be categorized into Maya and Western dress. Although accurate, this division places importance on heritage without attending to the garments' other features. These categories are most readily applied to bottoms (cortes and pants). Further segmenting Maya garments into either traje (the ensemble of a municipality) or típica (ensembles or garments with no direct municipal affiliation) did not sufficiently capture the nuances between the tops used in the community. Participants discussed ample blouse options (güipiles, modern güipiles, blusas, modern blusas, other variations). The designation of típica does not capture the importance of the blusa Pedrana, which was consistently centered in conversation by participants during this study.

Regarding heritage and tradition, the original güipile is the most important garment in San Pedro. It is made with textiles often hand-woven by elders, whose active knowledge of traditions has been passed down through generations (Brumfiel, 2006). It is an embodied connection to the ancestors. It is thought that these processes have continued because they have adapted to cultural changes and are essential aspects of daily life (Brumfiel). In this study, participants presented the original güipile as a revered traditional object, and a luxury item. Luxury goods are inessential, and normally unobtainable. For many, the güipile is no longer an everyday cultural item, but one reserved for special occasions. Although separated from heritage and tradition, the blusa Pedrana has become the most used, and arguably, the more important garment in the municipality. It is the product of unique social interaction specific to the municipality. Previous literature overwhelming focused on the value of güipile, while blusas were under-documented. Observations about blusas in other communities could reflect the past tendencies for researchers to communicate an essentialist viewpoint, limiting Maya people and practices as a static interpretation of tradition (Fischer, 2001) or it could reflect the boundaries of the municipality and the specific and distinct interactions between residents which deem objects as important (Fischer, 2001; Otzoy, 1996; Tax, 1937). If not for the attention placed on this garment by participants I would not have assumed it to have significant value.

A key tenant of symbolic interaction (SI) theory is that society is a process, not a structure (Collins, 1994). In Guatemala, researchers have consistently argued that municipalities are meaningful boundaries supported by social interaction among residents (Blumer, 1969b; Tax, 1937). The design and significance of objects used within these spaces changes with the community – illustrated by the evolution and use of the blusa Pedrana (Dant, 1999). Juan de Dios Rosales, the first ethnography in San Pedro, noted that women's güipiles were fashioned from

plain-woven cloth and that they had started to experiment with natural dyes, adding a 'café' color into their trims, in the 1940s (1949). Ines, who lives in San Juan but whose family is partially from San Pedro, believed that the original güipile, which she called the antiquo (ancient) version, did not have a blonda (Ines, Tz'utujil-Maya, living in San Juan La Laguna, personal communication, July 2020). The blusa Pedrana may be a progression of the güipile, a historically continuous design existing simultaneously with its predecessor (Welters & Lillethun, 2018), or blusas and güipiles – as known today- may also have developed together. The signature feature of both garments, large and frequently white, synthetic blondas, would have been introduced in the 1950s or 1960s (Brumfiel, 2006, "Virtual Tour," 2020). The blonda has no overt symbolic meaning, unlike the colors, which are justified with local knowledge (Hendrickson, 1996). The current güipile, is viewed as a continuation of previous designs and has remained a beacon of tradition. The blusa, symbolizing change, has adapted to the resident's practical needs, and creative expression within acceptable boundaries for many years. The blusas's value in the community is not recent, but it has likely changed alongside the roles of women, everyday life in the municipality, and the use of Western dress.

The development of garments in San Pedro can be thought of as an outcome of joint collective action (Blumer, 1969b). Together, practitioners and patrons have a shared interpretation of life in the municipality. They experience similar physical needs, dress sanctions, and aesthetics. The güipile, as an outcome of shared experiences, communicates heritage and local pride. The blusa, resulting from similar interactions and production process, also represents the locality and is practical, affordable, and capable of facilitating women's interest in self-expression. The blusa is the only municipal object that is easily redesigned. Fajas also develop but require considerable skill and time. Small-scale weaving is specialized trade, taking years to

master (Cristalina, personal communication, July 2020). In comparison, the construction of blusas requires less practice. The seamstresses who create these garments think of themselves as as fashion designers. This professional identification is fitting, when compared to more common titles, like artisan or craftsperson, imposed on Maya creatives. The blusa is the focus of individual choices and community trends, and has come to signify change.

Further, although practical and affordable, the blusa's social, cultural, and creative value separates it from Western dress. In Tecpán, Hendrickson found blusas were worn at home for heavy cleaning, during warm weather, in conditions that could soil traje, and by children, whose clothing needs to be washed more regularly. Today, in San Pedro, these situations more often lead to participants selecting Western dress. It is unlikely a woman would wear her blusa in the lake or when sleeping if a t-shirt is available. In regards to blouses, women have three distinct options that meet their daily needs. It is plausible for residents to wake up in a t-shirt, shop at the market in a blusa, and change into a güipile for work. The array of garments and the continuous developments of blusa variations, from more simple to more complicated, reflect the complexity of women's daily lives in the municipality.

Implications

Learning from things, then inferring information about the context and other implications, is a part of the research framework employed in fashion history, material culture, museum studies, and archeology (Kingery, 1996). Anthropology and sociology, and their respective branches, take a more present approach – observing human practices in a place and time and then drawing inference (Barnard, 2000). The triangulation of these approaches led me to first, investigate dress practices – as a measure of culture - and then, determine information about the setting, production processes, social relationships, and collective beliefs (Eicher &

Evenson, 2012; Kaiser, 1997). Striving to document variations in the dress practices in San Pedro, even at a distance, introduced me to information about Maya and Western dress dissimilar to the literature. This information was informative for understanding the participants' involvement in dress production processes. Fashion, as a product and process, is a global phenomenon (Eicher & Evenson). Understanding dress as a measure of culture and using it to draw inferences about society today is a repeatable research process, applicable to communities outside of San Pedro La Laguna.

Limitations

Participants' explanation of the dress production process in San Pedro revealed clear breaks in the supply chain for each garment. The güipile, faja, blusa, and corte include components manufactured outside of the community. Gaps in the production process were expected. Mass-manufactured textiles have been imported into the region since the 1940s (Rogoff et. al., 2011; "Virtual Tour," 2020), and Hendrickson (1996) documented the use of imported threads and cortes in her study in Tecpán in the 1990s. Although unsurprising, this absence prompts two lines of inquiry. First, there are likely residents in the community (who did not participate in this study) with more knowledge of these aspects of the supply chain. Interviews with these residents may illuminate relationships with these processes. Second, it would be a benefit to this study to understand more vague relationships with municipal garments, like the corte of San Pedro. Garments have different values in the community. However, the argument that the blusa Pedrana is affiliated to the municipality because it is locally produced, falls short in view of the corte, which has unknown geographic origin. Further investigation on this topic, or soliciting for interview with persons working in these areas could have help clarify

the relationships between people and municipal products. Incomplete knowledge of the supply chain, therefore, is a limitation in this study.

Objective 2: Society and Dress

To determine the influences on dress practices in San Pedro La Laguna including production, consumption, design, and use.

In San Pedro La Laguna, the world of objects is tied to tradition. Women are conscious of their heritage and the symbolic qualities of traje and típica. Garments that do not reaffirm heritage are also connected to tradition because they represent presumptions about femininity, ethnicity, or morals – unaligned with the social standards for Maya women (Goffman, 1959). In this study, participants' responses primarily focused on how women use objects with respect to themselves and how these objects exist within known established meanings (Blumer, 1969b). Dressing is an anticipatory action and garments are used to negotiate personal relationships with other Maya residents in the municipality. The lives of women in San Pedro necessitate the need for multiple types of garments. Garments communicate different levels of historical, cultural, and social affiliations. They are also valued differently for their practicality, affordability, and ability to express individuality. People interacting with each other are inherently interacting with dress (Blumer, 1969b; Goffman, 1959). Sometimes, dress practices are the source of human interactions, leading to both positive and negative conversations on the street and at home. In other instances, the garment's design is the outcome of interactions between women interested in the creative process.

The importance of traje and típica is undebatable. Literature about Maya dress practices repeatedly recognizes it as an act of resilience (Otzoy, 1996; Velásquez Nimatug, 2011). This

study found that women displayed resiliency in all garments. Participants were accustomed to assertions about their dress choices. Negative and positive commentary on women's appearance are frequent in and outside of San Pedro. When women use dress to present unexpected aspects of the self it can feel incongruent to others' (elders and men in the municipality or Ladinos outside the municipality) expectations (Goffman, 1959). Judgments against women are not targeted at their dress, per se, but their ability to, for example, maintain tradition in the municipality or abide to norms outside of Maya spaces. Although participants in this study felt represented by their traje or típica, they also believed that their Maya heritage was not bound to these objects. When women use Western garments by choice, they are not resisting their ethnolinguistic identity. However, residents of San Pedro who sanction a woman's appearance may interpret it as resistance (Blumer, 1969b).

These types of sanctions on dress are not new. Women's ability to maintain traditional Maya practices was criticized before the increased incorporation of garments like the blusa Pedrana and American clothing into dress practices. In 1949 Juan de Dios Rosales mentions that Pedranas had begun to weave inside their homes, instead of communally, to better tend to their children and domestic tasks. Men in the community and the author were concerned by the women's divergence from traditional norms and believed these actions could lead to the demise of weaving (de Dios Rosales, 1949). To some extent, sanctions that urge women to maintain traditions do affect them; and women noted selecting garments, like the corte, in anticipation of adverse reactions from their grandparents. Women are conscious of the meaning garments have for those they will encounter and will act per their expectations (Blumer, 1969b). Yet, to state that using Western dress is an act of defiance, per Blumer's vocabulary, is not wholly accurate (1969b). Women in this study did not select dress to defy the social norms of the community but

rather to better participate in it (swim in the lake, climb volcanoes) in a manner that met their needs – comfortably, expressively, and with fearlessness.

Implications

Compared to the Tz'utujil communities of San Juan La Laguna and Santiago Atitlán, San Pedro is perceived to have less apparel production and be less traditional. Its economy is based on tourism, and women's livelihoods are not wholly dependent on the textile trade. However, this study indicates a communal understanding of the apparel production process and that this knowledge affects relationships with dress. Local apparel production is a social system in San Pedro that connects members of the community. It also employs processes that are historically-based and support communial-cultural values. It is possible to argue that the strong presence of local production, and subsequently, involvement in the making municipal-affiliated clothing, supports a sustainable product relationship. Women are aware of their dress options and elect to take the time and effort to create garments with municipal affiliation. Their choice is a testament to their traditional values.

Western dress exists outside of the local production system and therefore has less social value and no connection to heritage. Participants found Western clothing to be affordable and practical but also disposable. It was not as revered as traje or considered as meaningful as típica. There is evidence of Western dress, specifically second-hand clothing exported from the United States, negatively impacting traditional economies and practices (Brooks, 2015). Although a potential threat, women's actions and values in this study did not support the idea that Western clothing could replace Maya dress in San Pedro. These garments are given little intention by the women in this study compared to traje and típica. One participant referred to a T-shirt as a 'ball of cloth', while another explained she did not care that her shirt was backward (Fanny, personal

communication, June 2020; Lisa, personal communication, June 2020). The value of Western dress lies in its usefulness. For women, using shorts and t-shirts meant that they could live an active lifestyle, participate in play, and engage in local, natural resources. During these moments, Western dress eases their ability to engage with their local culture. Garments can communicate identity, but they do not restrict it.

Limitations

It is certain that the financial well-being of the people influences dress practices. While individual annual income of the participants is unknown, my perception is that their income is not stable from month-to-month. San Pedro is a tourist economy and financial opportunities reflect trends in travel. It is suspected that the pandemic drastically impacted residents. Participants in this study tended to hold multiple jobs, with textile work supplementing their earrings. Access to people's home-life, through remote interviewing, meant I could vaguely compare housing establishments. Although this provided a snapshot into their daily lives, it would be inappropriate to conclude connections between private spaces, economic stability, and dress practices. Further, internet access in San Pedro does not denote affluence. The use of computing technology also offers little indication of wealth. I am aware of at least four participants who borrowed computers to participate in the study. Some participants communicated financial strife, due to the pandemic, after the interviews. These incidences lead me to believe reporting on finances during the time of the study would have been a difficult topic. Inadequate data on income, to further understand the issue of cost, is a limitation to this study.

Objective 3: Cultural Sustainability

To assess dress practices within the scope of cultural sustainability.

The production process and the design of garments have evolved to reflect the female population's needs in San Pedro. This system is influenced by heritage, sustained by traditional knowledge, a product of social interaction, and is economically viable. This system and its products – physical objects, social connections, and the continuation of traditional knowledge – can be evaluated as a meaningful part of the community.

Throughout this study, women addressed different speeds at which they engaged with clothing. Traditional, and thus expensive garments, were most frequently purchased twice a year, reflecting the historic 6-month fashion cycle. These purchases were centered around holidays and occasions. Articles of traditional clothing are also common gifts between parents and their daughters and husbands and their wives. There are two jokes in San Pedro, which echoes this practice. When directed at men, it is recalled, 'Cheap men have Ladino girlfriends because they can't afford the clothing' or, directed at women, 'If you want to save some money, date a Ladino' [my translation from Spanish] (Regina, personal communication, August 2020).

Municipal garments, blusas, were less expensive and, therefore, more accessible than traditional garments. The manufacturing cycle for blusas is faster than güipiles but slower than Western dress. These garments require time and planning, and therefore, are also not purchased quickly. Like güipiles, they are also coordinated with the corte, and women will search for notions that match their wardrobe. Some participants purchase blusas following trends. However, they were uncertain about trend cycles. Women discussed the emergence of new designs on a two-year, one-year, and six-month cycle. I observed three distinctive trends within a year; however, I am also aware many women were at home making garments during the pandemic.

The more women who make blusas, the more accessible it becomes in the marketplace. However, the availability of the product does not imply it is readily purchased. Women in the community, especially during this study, were mindful of their finances and needs.

Western dress is disposed of more quickly than traditional or municipal garments, but its purchase rate is variable. Although intrigued by buying garments online during the pandemic, participants do not tend to purchase with abandonment. Participants likely do not have high levels of expendable income or space for excess clothing. Western garments also follow trends in the community, as well as the season. For example, six private fitness centers were built in the municipality between 2017 and 2021. It has become trendy to go to the gym. It is common to see athletic leggings, running shoes, and weight lifting equipment posted in online marketplaces. Similarly, two new pools have recently opened for the summer season, and quick-drying athletic shorts have become a popular item.

The presence of three local fashion systems may lead to culturally, as well as economically, and environmentally unsustainable dress practices. In the future, residents may experience pressure to maintain trends within three unique systems, leading to the abandonment of a dress category. Based on the history of dress practices, expectations to preserve heritage within a Maya society are more certain. Future economic and social influences are less predictable, and may influence the municipality. Combined, the establishment of a faster traditional cycle (producing blusas) and increased importation of second-hand clothing supports a culture that caters to speed more than longevity. The emergence of faster fashion cycles is concerning because fast fashion is not beneficial to any pillar of sustainability.

Implications

Maya scholar Irma Otzoy suggested that researchers working with Maya communities examine dress practices regarding the municipality and concerning the politics of everyday life. She also introduces the idea of sociocultural liberty, asserting that there should be "understanding of the changes and continuity expressed in Maya weavings and the recognition that both…result from acts of self-determination" (Otzoy, 1996, p. 151). I argue that sociocultural liberties also apply to the reproduction and maintenance of dress practices, created without weaving, that express heritage. Signifiers that reinforce cultural beliefs merit repetition and are reproduced through dress practices (Baudrillard, 1993/1976).

In San Pedro, the blusa has jointly developed with the güipile to present municipal heritage. Collectively, the community's actions – through production, social connection, and choice – have yielded a garment that, in respect to traditional designs, is historically continuous and has evolved to meet the residents' needs. Pedranas are interested in expressing cultural unity and personal individuality with practical garments – comfortable in the warm weather and easy to launder. The popularity of the garment has also created income-generating opportunities. Recognizing that the blusa Pedrana is a municipal affiliated garment draws into question the designation of típica and if the term is an oversimplification. Garments can have local, geographically-based meanings and not be traje. Identifying nuances in the scope of dress practices can contribute to the discussion on sociocultural liberty, introduced by Otzoy, or the anti-essentialist approach, supported by Fischer (2001). Both arguments affirm that the Maya, and their cultural practices, are not generalizable. When women are expected to 'keep a culture,' they have the freedom to change the objects of the culture to meet their needs. This has been illustrated by the blusa Pedrana and its social and cultural role in the municipality

Limitations

Checking for the garment's geographical origin via its label is common practice when shopping in stores. A few participants in this study alluded to the idea that garments modeled after the blusa Pedrana had been imported from China and sold locally. No one spoke of buying these garments. Instead, they referenced seeing the 'Made in China' label sewn into the blouses. Although this study supports the idea that locally-produced garments have greater value, the awareness of potential cultural knock-offs is concerning. The population is accustomed to using the corte, made outside of San Pedro, to communicate their local and cultural affiliation. It is reasonable to think that blusas could be manufactured outside of the municipality in the future. The presence of cultural knock-offs should be examined as a threat to cultural sustainability. Further investigation on this topic, or soliciting for interview with store owners, would offer insight on the magnitude of this issue. These findings would need to be confirmed with in-person observations. The inability to confirm if these garments are readily available and those responsible for arranging their production and importation is a limitation to this study.

Future Research

This study sparks many potential research questions, as briefly introduced in the limitation sections. Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, this study was conducted remotely. Although there were apparent benefits to this approach, an in-person investigation would differently support the original research objectives. Therefore, I believe there is value in further using additional research methods to understand the interworking of daily life in San Pedro La Laguna. This section introduces three potential areas for future research within the municipality.

Blusas Pedranas

The assertion that the blusa Pedrana is a municipal affiliated object requires continuous inquiries. Although the blusa was the most central topic discussed by participants, expanding this study to include more women could yield different perspectives. The object was not always perceived as Pedrana and may not be viewed similarly by all residents. Further investigation into the history of the garment and its development alongside the güipile is of interest. Examining this trajectory could reveal more differences between the garments that influence the resident's opinions. Monitoring the garment's progression and future adoption may solidify the garment as a Pedrana object and further support the argument that non-traje can be locally representative. Garments are a measure of the culture at any given moment. Because the blusa Pedrana appears to have developed with the needs of the women in the community and fluctuates with local trends and at a regional fashion speed, tracking its progress could serve as a tangible historical record – capturing the lives of women in the municipality.

Sustainable Design

Dress practices in San Pedro were referential to sustainable fashion strategies. Production processes were arguably examples of co-design (collaboration between designer and wearer), emotionally durable design (design for longevity), local/slow-fashion (manufacturing to meet local needs), participatory design (knowledge and involvement in production), and customization (personalizing design) (Fletcher, 2012; Fletcher, 2008). These processes have been primarily employed and studied within Western populations. Investigation into design and production practices in San Pedro may offer insight into social and cultural barriers preventing these practices from flourishing in communities outside of Guatemala. Additional research needs to be conducted on these methods from a social and cultural lens. These findings may offer insight into

people-product-production relationships, potentially valuable for sustainable fashion researchers and practitioners.

Cultural Education

Additional research needs to be conducted on historical and cultural dress education in San Pedro. I have been informed there are some opportunities for younger generations to learn about dress, specifically from elders at community events, but there is no formal programming (Carey, 2001). The elderly population, which is responsible for cultural education in the community, is small – an outcome of the Guatemalan Civil War. COVID-19 now threatens this generation cohort educational schemes focused on dress education may not be the solution, but there is a need to examine the best methods for preserving cultural knowledge about dress (World Health Organization, 2021). Efforts to capture and disseminate information, in written Spanish and audiable Tz'utujil, may be needed.

Participants' knowledge of prior studies conducted in the community is uncertain. Early in our relationship Regina told me, 'Other people have come here, they have studied us, and we don't know what happens next. What do they do with the information?' [my translation from Spanish] (Regina, personal communication, March 2020). I became aware of Benjamin and Lois Paul's work because their photographs had been circulated on a regional Facebook page. Their written work may be available locally, but I could not confirm this at a distance. Barbara Rogoff explained that the copies of her work are in the San Pedro Library in English and will be supplemented with Spanish versions in the future (Rogoff, personal communication, January 2021). As Regina and I's partnership developed, I shared my books and different writings about the Maya in Guatemala. Together, we processed how information about *her people* feels inaccessible. We decided this study needs to be translated into Spanish then submitted to their

local library, pending participants' approval, as a sign of respect for the community. Knowledge of the lack of available information encourages exploration of local, regional, and historic dress education.

Conclusion

The preservation of culture is not about preserving a specific garment. Instead, it is the conservation of factors that continue to sustain these garments as a meaningful part of the municipality. Community actions and interactions reinforce cultural beliefs, that subsequently merit the reproduction of garments, aspects of garments, and manufacturing processes that best reflect the community (Baudrillard, 1993/1976; Hendrickson, 1995). In San Pedro La Laguna, people make, select, and respond to clothing because of the meanings attached to the act of dressing in the garments within the municipality (Blumer, 1969b). Participants in this study felt strongly about maintaining tradition and about self-expression. In turn, they have built dress systems that fulfill both needs. The production processes used to create tops in the community are similar, yet the outcome and meaning are different. Clothing, like the güipile, is the culmination of everyday interactions between residents and the work of generations, actively passing forward knowledge (Brumfiel, 2006, Hendrickson, 1996). The blusa, resulting from social connections and creative collaborations, exists in a less traditional space but is a distinctively local garment. Each method produces garments that are meaningful within the community and valued for specific reasons.

San Pedro is a small community, and the residents are heavily bound to each other through apparel and textiles. The relationships between makers, artisans, designers, and patrons are centered around traje, típica, and municipal-affiliated garments like the blusa Pedrana.

Several participants believed that municipal dress is threatened by the acceptance and use of inexpensive, second-hand clothing. Some fear that dress in the future will no longer serve as a visual reminder of the municipality's heritage and geography. History, culture, social connections, economics, and self-expression are hinged on local production – which makes the fear that this system will one day cease to exist very palpable. Although plausible, this study's findings cannot indicate that Western dress poses a threat to local dress. In the more recent future, it is more likely that dress practices will continue to develop locally, reflecting social shifts in the municipality.

Education about dress practices and dress traditions may combat potential threats to cultural sustainability. Learning, like blusas, is a signature of Pedrana culture. Participants consider education to be part of the 'pueblo's personality'. Nearly all participants had experiences in higher education or planned to continue their education after the pandemic subsided. More than half of the participants were employed as teachers and others ran educational community groups. Still, there is less information about the Maya, and even further, the Tz'utujil, or the municipality's history available in public spaces. There is not enough information on the role of women in sustaining cultural practices. Documenting dress and the community's actions in a manner accessible to the residents is a pathway that can positively support the production of dress and meaning in San Pedro.

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Appendix A - Quotations and Translations

Preface

xviii	Valentina	I never imagined that someone could do research on clothing…When you ask the questions, you also discover a lot of things - the courage and the security that you feel when you talk about your clothes – it's not the same to talk about it with someone else… I don't know, it's different, but I like it.	Quizás con respecto a tu investigación es muy interesante porque nunca imaginé que alguien pudiera hacer una investigación sobre la ropa. Entonces, cómo te sientes tú como persona cuando buscas algo - Sí, es interesante. Y también cuando tú haces las preguntas, tú descubres también muchas cosas el valor y la seguridad que tú sientes cuando hablas de tu propia ropa, porque no es lo mismo hablarlo con otra persona y decirle a alguien que quiere la información. No sé, es diferente, pero sí me gustó.
xviii	Guadalupe	I don't have the exact information, but I feel that the knowledge I have is very important for me to be sharing and no matter who the person. For me it is very important to provide information about my culture, about my personality, about the traditions of my people…giving information - not exact - but being what I could give based on my knowledge. People, those who read this interview, I think may be interested in everything we see in depth. I am not the only one, there are several people, so I think, each of us can give different information.	Es muy interesante para mí muy importante. No tengo la información exacta, pero siento que el conocimiento que tengo es muy importante para mí estar compartiendo y no importa quién sea la persona que siento. Si os puedo ayudar en algo o que algún día pueda necesitar ayuda. Entonces yo ahora puedo ayudarte en cualquier cosa. Para mí es muy importante brindar información sobre mi cultura, sobre mi personalidad, sobre las tradiciones de mi pueblo. Siento que es muy importante. Dar información no exacta, pero siendo los que pude dar a base de mi conocimiento. Entonces, para mí es muy importante llevar información desde muy lejos. Y la gente, quienes lean esta entrevista pienso que pueden interesarte en todo lo que vemos a fondo. No soy la

			única. Son varias personas. Sí, entonces creo, cada uno de nosotros podemos dar información diferente. Entonces la lescola es una información, varía y todo esto son distintas maneras de pensar. Para mí es muy importante hacer este tipo de actividad, me emociona, me interesa. Es una nueva experiencia para mí. Estoy muy feliz al poder hacer este tipo de actividad.
xviii	Lisa	We don't realize that there is an internal motivation that tells us 'these clothes today', but it's good and it's nice to talk about this, because my mind is a little bit more open. I remember some things now from my past in relation to my clothes. It's my connection to my friends and all this. It's not just a piece of clothing, it's something else.	Algo más que quiero compartir. No sé si pienso que yo sólo quiero hablar sobre lo interesante que es para mí hablar sobre mi ropa y significado, y especialmente sobre mis sentimientos, por mi ropa y la relación con otras personas. Yo creo que a veces nosotros no nos damos cuenta. No notamos que una ropa, por ejemplo, puede cambiar nuestro estado de ánimo, que muchas veces con un poco de ropa estamos más motivados que usando otros y a veces son detalles que nosotros no miramos todos los días. No nos damos cuenta que hay una motivación interna que nos dice esta ropa hoy esta ropa hay entonces, pero es bueno y es bonito hablar sobre sobre ésta, porque mi mente está como poquito más abierta y yo recuerdo algunas cosas ahora de mi pasado con relación a mi ropa. Es mi conexión con mis amigas y todo esto. Entonces yo pienso que esta entrevista es muy bonita y nos ayuda a pensar un poquito más. No solo es una ropa, es algo más que una ropa.

Chapter 1 – Introduction and Background

1 – 2	Ventura	It is a little unique. Well, all the pueblos are unique…the personality of the peoples, different cultures, different traditions, *different, different* - different clothes. Everything is very, San Pedro. There will always be things that distinguishes us – but, we are a united people.	Es un poco único. Bueno, bueno, todos los pueblos son únicos. Sí, sí, treinta y personalidad de pueblos, de diferentes culturas, diferentes tradiciones, diferente, diferente, diferente, ropa diferente. Todo es muy, pero aquí en San Pedro. Siempre va a haber uno que nos distingue. Somos un pueblo unido.
5	Petronilla	Was she Ladino? I don't know. I think her family, mothers, and grandmothers wear traditional Xela clothing.	Sólo él tuvo muchas muestras, pero sólo ella, la que me dijo que usaba ropa de turista. Pero ella bien era o ladina probase? No sé, porque yo creo que yo creo que. Que su familia, su madre o sus abuelas usan ropa tradicional de Xela. Ella dijo toristo porque en la escuela teníamos un traje o un uniforme.
9	Matteo Regina	The conquerors came, they killed the Maya, and this is it. It stops there. When we were children we did not learn our history. It wasn't until I went to university, I went to school in Antiqua for three years – I had this great teacher – there I learned about our people, about what happened - about the history before the Spanish came.	Field Notes
9	Regina	My parents don't know our history - we teach them the history. The people here, my parents, my grandparents are very religious. They are *only* Christian. They	Field Notes

		think God destroyed the Maya because we did not believe in the Christian God…it is complicated. You can't fight your society. I study psychology and the culture, and it is difficult. I want to show her [grandmother] what I know. I asked her to think, what would have happened if the Spanish never came?	
10	Matteo	It is changing, but not quickly. They [today's students] are learning more, but the teachers aren't very good. They just tell us these things [about the Ladino population].	Field Notes
14	Pablo	You know when you defend your thesis exam – people want you to look elegant. In black pants, white shirt, tie and jacket, and black dress shoes. It's common. It's normal. Well, in my view, I've already put on my traje. Why? Because I like my culture, because I love my traditional customs, and because I wanted to show those people that indigenous people can also study at university. We can also be very smart…like them (Ladinos from Guatemala City). There are people from villages who struggle for their dreams and want to change the country in a different way, but first they can change their community. Then, I decided to wear my traje…. If you're wearing traditional clothes, it's not because you're dumb. If you're wearing fancy clothes, it's not because you're smart.	Tú sabes, cuando tú defiendes tu examen de tesis, especialmente las personas quieren verte muy elegante, con pantalón negro, camisa blanca, corbata, saco y zapatos de vestir negros. Es algo común, es normal. Bueno, pero en mi punto de vista yo ya me he puesto mi traje tradicional. Por qué? Porque me gusta mi cultura, porque me encanta mi traje tradicional y también porque quería demostrar a esas personas que las personas indígenas también podemos estudiar en la universidad. Y también podemos ser muy inteligentes en inteligentes, porque no hay una persona inteligente, pero personas listas como ellos, como personas capitalistas. También hay personas de pueblos que luchan por sus sueños y también quieren cambiar el país de una forma diferente, pero primero pueden cambiar su comunidad. Entonces yo decidí llevar puesto mi traje. Por esas

			razones fue un problema, por que toda persona que va a defender su tesis en la ciudad de Guatemala necesita y tiene que llevar puesto una ropa elegante como profesional, pero la ropa no te hace profesional. Si la ropa no te describe como o eres una doctora, pero por qué no tienes una ropa muy buena para mí? Para mí no es para mí no es muy importante. Si para mí es más importante lo que tú piensas que la ropa. Si tú llevas ropa tradicional no es porque eres tonto. Si si tu llevas una ropa elegante es porque eres muy inteligente.

Chapter 2 – Historical Influences on Dress Practices

40	Ines	And to finish – It is possible that this form, that identifies me inside and outside of the borders of my country, Guatemala is synonymous with belonging to a Mayan ethnic group. It is also synonymous with mocking – ignorance – for the many who discriminate against our traje. It is also synonymous with a lower position in society, because the capital [government] always has us poor and marginalized. But those beautiful and colorful canvases can mean a lot of things…For people who carry it, it's a treasure. It is not only our way of dressing, our daily living, it is also a direct connection with our ancestors, and our roots. It is a struggle, our resistance, our struggle to be respected and recognized. That is why, for us, it's not a synonym of mockery, but a synonym of our work, spirit, and pride. Each suit carries a part of our being, of ourselves from	Y para terminar. Y es posible que a la forma de la forma de la que identifica dentro y fuera de nuestras fronteras como mi país, Guatemala, vestir traje típico es sinónimo de pertenecer a una etnia maya. También es sinónimo de burlas. Ignorancia. Para muchas personas que discriminan nuestro traje quiero o que no les gusta nuestro traje. Pero también es sinónimo de una posición más baja en la sociedad, porque el capital y encima siempre nos tiene como pobres y marginados. Pero esos lienzos hermosos y coloridos pueden significar muchas cosas para los que. Para los que nos ven implican cosas como las descritas anteriormente. Para las personas que lo portamos es un tesoro. No sólo no sólo es nuestra forma de vestir de diario vivir. Como te decía, también es una conexión, no solo es nuestra forma, es una conexión directa con nuestros ancestros y antepasados y con nuestras raíces. Fue una lucha de

		each indigenous region of Guatemala. The way to realize it in this millennium is that it is unique, it is a work of art. From start to finish it is the thread of our lives, and it the way many indigenous women in Guatemala earn a living in the company of adults. There is a lot of extreme discrimination in Guatemala. Oh yes.	nuestra resistencia, nuestra lucha por ser respetados y reconocidos. Si. Y reconocidos y más la resistencia, porque seguimos las formas de vida de nuestros ancestros. Por eso no, por eso para nosotros no es sinónimo de burla, sino que es sinónimo nuestro trabajo y no ánimo de orgullo. Si cada traje, cada traje, lleva impregnado una parte de nuestro ser, sino de nosotros mismos, cada región indígena de Guatemala tiene su propia indumentaria maya y se caracteriza por sus colores y formas de tejido. Si la manera de realizar realizacion es milenaria y única y única si es una obra de arte. De inicio a fin es ese el hilo. Es el hilo de nuestra, de nuestras vidas y es la manera en que muchas mujeres indígenas de Guatemala nos ganamos la vida en compañía de adultos. Sí, hay mucho extreme discriminación en Guatemala. Sí.

49 – 50	Matteo	Matteo: So, what will the questions be about? Emily: I'm not sure. The questions have definitely changed. Matteo: How? Emily: I thought this study would involve tourism, but now, I'm not sure. Matteo: (puzzled expression) Emily: When you wake up in the morning, and get dressed, do you care what he thinks? (Pointing to the tourists walking by the cafe.) Matteo: No. (stern shake of the head) I never think about what tourist think.	Field Notes

		Emily: Okay, so what do you think about? Matteo: I think about where I am going - the occasion. Emily: And when you wear traditional clothing, what do you think about? Matteo: (his expression changes) I think twice. I think twice when I think about traditional clothes. I think about who is there, I think about the other people. I think twice, two times (holding up two fingers). You don't know what people will say here when you wear traditional clothes. Okay – I get it now [referencing this study].	
56	Regina	We thought we were going to be on the Discovery Channel.	Field Notes
74	Regina	We were nervous, because other people have come here, they have studied us, and we don't know what happens next. What do they do with the information? Does it go on the Discovery Channel? Why do they want to film us? Why do they want to take our picture? Why? You are different because you don't want to use our image. You just want to know about what we think, you want to know our stories, it's not the same.	Field Notes

90	Jade	It's my pajamas.	Si, situation. Si, durante el día, corte un blusa y ahora que es de noche y empezó a llover. Ya me puse un pants, un suéter, una playera para ir a dormir. Es mi pijama.

90	Valentina	I am Mayan because I am, because I was born Mayan, and not because of clothes. I'm going to change [my clothes] – Of course.	Sí, exactamente. Soy maya porque sí, porque nací maya y no por una ropa. Voy a cambiar. Claro, claro, claro está de acuerdo.
92	Rosa	The traje of San Pedro and when we use the traje of San Pedro is because *we want, we have, we are* very proud to be from here in San Pedro La Laguna. The colors, they are specified for this suit. For example, green means the mountains, the volcano of San Pedro, the trees of San Pedro. White is purity, purity, and red it means blood. Because of the culture before, the ancestors shed blood for us, and I believe that every color has something special.	Si, pero este es el traje de San Pedro y cuando nosotros utilizamos el traje de Sanpedro es porque queremos, tenemos, estamos muy orgullosos de ser de aquí de San Pedro La Laguna. También los colores que han especificado para este traje. Por ejemplo, el verde significan las montañas, el volcán de San Pedro, los árboles de San Pedro. El blanco es la pureza, la pureza y en vez de el rojo también significa sangre. Por la cultura de antes, que los ancestros derramaron sangre por nosotros y creo que cada color tiene algo especial. También el azul por el lago. Tú conoces el lago y toda la gente que visita San Pedro en la laguna se enamora de él.
94	Esperanza	It’s not my gift. I have a lot of cousins and aunts who work in that – and so, they weave, either sew, or they design styles.	No es mi don, no es ni mi trabajo - tengo mucha familia, tengo muchas primas y primas y tías que trabajan en eso. Y así teje, O ellas Costura o diseñan estilos. Ellas hacen mucho de eso. Tengo primas y tías que trabajan en eso. Actualmente hay algo curioso en en esta pandemia o en la cuarentena. En la cuarentena. Pasó algo extraño que muchas mujeres no volvieron a a retomar su tejido - empezaron a tejer porque hay bastante tiempo. Por qué no se

			hace mayor cosa? Entonces muchas mujeres están tejiendo o están haciendo guipiles y están están bordando o están cosiendo mano en en diferentes casas.
94	Adriana	There are fewer and fewer women who can weave because not many can do it. So, most women who make this type of clothing are older or elderly.	Pues pienso que depende mucho de las personas, porque algunas personas están en contra de esta situación, de que es más fácil hacerlo con una máquina y entonces prefieren no comprar. Pero hay otras personas que compran mucho porque es más accesible. Entonces pienso que no, la tecnología es algo que no puedes detener. Entonces piensa que es una situación que va a continuar y quizá llegará a un punto en el que todo va a depender de la maquinal, porque cada vez son menos mujeres las que pueden tejer, porque no muchas pueden hacerlo. Entonces, la mayoría de mujeres que hacen este tipo de ropa son mujeres mayores o ancianas. Entonces, las nuevas generaciones no están como muy interesadas en aprender la técnica de cómo hacerlas las rutas. Y entonces pues pienso que es algo que. En algún punto va a terminar.
95 – 96	Cristalina	I made this on a machine, but this fabric – this fabric – if you notice, this fabric has like lines on it. This fabric is made by another lady, it was woven. I didn't make this one myself, but they do make it here in San Pedro. This is manufactured in San Pedro. Yes, and this güipile is the típica traje of San Pedro. Only now, now it's kind of worldly and modern.	Que llevo ahora? A este el traje de San Pedro esto aja, esto yo lo confeccione, a mi me gusta coser, mi trabajo es hacer blusas, guipiles, y delantal- Es esto. Esto es corte esto. Pero usamos otra cosa que se llama delantal. Yo no lo traigo ahora y esto es una faja. A esto le llamamos faja ah! Entonces yo esto yo lo confeccione en una máquina, pero esta tela, esta tela. Si te das cuenta, esta tela trae como unas líneas esta tela. Aja, esta tela lo hace otra

			señora. Pero en tejido, fue tejido. Y luego es un tejido en donde yo compro esta tela. Esa no la hago yo. Pero si la preparan aquí en San Pedro. Esto es fabricado en San Pedro. Si, y este guipile es el traje típico de San Pedro. Sólo que ahora. Ahora como que esta mundoy moderno. Que antes, antes. Tal vez uno o dos. No sé, unos 40 años. Tal vez antes. Este adorno era blanco, no era blanco y las franjas aquí era una franja rosada y una franja verde - ese era antes y ahora la faja siempre está. Mira esto sí, este de hace años y la vestimenta es deel corte, pero el corte normalmente ahora usamos nosotros esta, pero antes se usaba un color negro o color verde - el traje típico de San, horas que traigo yo ahora es como decirte moderno porque tengo o tengo otros de varios colores. Tengo en verde o morado rojo, varios esto, tengo varios. A esto le llamamos nosotros huipil. No es blusa, es huipil. Sí, ajá, así se llama, es así se llama
96	Rosa	It's the same thing – they [shops] buy in different places. There are people from San Pedro, there are women who make textiles, they make the fabrics and the shops buy it, and then they order other women to do the embroidery, and then they sell it already made. All the clothing is this process, it's the same process…This güipil cost me about 300 something. But if I go to a store, this güipil is going to cost me 550 or 600 Quetzals, because they also charge you for the process... for your benefit, it is cheaper that you get things.	Por ejemplo, creo que también las tiendas hacen lo mismo. Compran en diferent, hay gente a quien San Pedro, hay mujeres que hacen textiles, lo hacen las telas y las de las tiendas lo compran y después encargan a otras mujeres para que hagan el bordado y después ellas lo venden ya hecho. Creo que toda la ropa es un proceso que tiene, pero es el mismo proceso. Aquí hay mucha gente que hace textiles. Otra gente que borda. Otra gente que conoce. Y creo que las vendedoras de las tiendas también pasan por lo mismo. Pero la diferencia es que, por ejemplo, yo misma lo encargué. Yo

			misma encargué mi huipil. Por ejemplo, te doy ejemplo de mi abuelita. Solo compramos el lino. Ella no trabajó. Entonces yo busqué a mi amiga. Mi amiga me cobró 250 quetzales para el bordado. Entonces este huipil me salió como en 300 y algo. Pero si yo voy a una tienda, este huipil me va a costar 550 o 600 quetzales, porque ellas también te cobran el proceso que tú llevas, porque si con ellos compran aparte el textil, le pagan a las señoras del bordado y le pagan a las señoras que cosen la blusa y por eso es que es más caro, pero. Para beneficio tuyo es más barato que tú consigues las cosas.
96	Pilar	It was simple before, but now it's a privilege, it's a luxury. To wear traje, is to show off.	Es posiblemente sí, eh. Quizá por la comodidad que. Que. Que tenía la. El traje es que era simple antes. Ahora, como te digo. Eh. Es un. Es un privilegio o un lujo? Sabes que es un lujo?
97	Rosa	My abuela doesn't want to wear modern clothes, clothes that now, for example, our blouses are a little more low-cut. We tell them the neck is bigger. But my mom and abuela – no! They have slightly smaller necks – and sometimes the sleeve of the clothes, it's a little bit bigger. They respect the old ones a lot…they've gotten used to them, it's hard for them to adapt to what it is now.	Por ejemplo, mi abuelita no, ella no quiere utilizar ropa moderna, ropa que ahora, por ejemplo, nuestras blusas es un poquito más escotado. Les decimos es más grande el del cuello. Pero en cambio mi mamá y mi abuela-no! Ellos tienen el cuello un poquito más pequeño. - y a veces con la manga de la ropa. Es un poquito más grande - Ellos respetan mucho los de antes, no respetan un montón los de antes. Entonces a ellos, por cómo se han acostumbrado a ellos, les cuesta un montón adaptarse a lo que es ahora. Acompañando esta idea, claro, es muy diferente la ropa que nosotros usamos, porque yo tengo que ver

			que me quede escotado, que me quede bien para estar cómoda también aquí y que sea muy ajustado para que yo me sienta cómoda. Y en cuanto al corte, lo usamos un poquito arriba, pero ellos no. Entonces es muy diferente si es.
98	Cecilia	My clothes that I wear are similar or almost the same as my family. But, for example, my mother doesn't like modern. She likes it older – *like old*. She likes it more, because she says now it's just for fashion. She likes the old one better – Simpler, without many colors. She probably thinks it's for young people – not for adults. For example, 50 or 60 years old. She says it's not for young people. 'I'm like 55 years old, not for me.' She probably thinks, 'I don't need to be fashionable.' But, sometimes I talk to her. You don't need to [wear traje]. It doesn't matter how old you are, you understand? It doesn't matter how old you are. But she thinks not. 'Not for me.'	Mi la ropa que yo uso es similar o casi igual, casi igual a la de mi familia. Sí, pero por ejemplo, mi madre ya no, no le gusta el moderno. Le gusta más antiguo - like old. Si gusta más, porque ella dice ahora es solo por moda, comprendes? Ella le gusta más el antiguo. Más simple, sin muchos colores. En los diseños más simple, el corte, también diferentes, tiene diferentes colores. Si solo cambian, mi hermana le gusta más. Como esto, si tenemos la misma ropa, usamos la misma ropa. Corte. Blusa o huipil. Si tenemos la mala ropa, usamos la misma ropa o bambas.
98	Guadalupe	They're showing about the traje, the traje here, the one with the white cloth and the green and red color. So, in this way it shows that we can still be as we were. How it is like to people from before. Other things too, like the San Pedro Fair, is a choice. It's like – it's not like obligation, but it's like a how can I say, it's like a requirement using the traje, it's always been commonly done…compressing that connection not only to another	Están dando a conocer sobre el traje el traje de aquí, el de la tela blanca y del color verde y rojo. Entonces de esa manera se manifiesta que todavía podemos estar como estuvieron. Cómo es como a la gente desde antes. Otras cosas también, como el de la Feria de San Pedro, es una elección. Entre varias señoritas así entonces es como no es obligación, sino que es como un cómo puedo decir, es como un requisito utilizando el traje si siempre se ha hecho comúnmente.

		person – it's a connection to their stories.	Entonces siempre se resarza de que el traje de San Pedro o de cada pueblo siempre tiene que estar en diferentes lugares. Y ahora los negocios donde se venden trajes, cortes y todo eso son muchos. Los trajes que se están dando a conocer, están entrando Sanpedro únicamente portando los trajes. Entonces anda diciendo que es preferible o mejor que nosotros tengamos puesto el traje y así poder dar a conocer a las demás personas y poder estar representando a nuestro pueblo si es hombre. Las tradiciones, por ejemplo, el traje de San Pedro significa el color de la mujer y el color de la naturaleza o del volcán. El corte en el corte es un corte verde. Tiene que definir el color del volcán - las bases del cambio y el color blanco del wifi- es la pureza y lana y la mujer, cientos de olores van identificando la personalidad chi chi, comprimiendo ese conexión no solamente a otra persona. Es conexión. En sus historias.
98-99	Marisol	I think that what is modern and original, that it has its value. Culture is never lost, it is simply modernized. I think it is important that we wear our traje típica, always. I didn't realize that sometimes people don't have the ability to buy a güipil. So, it is not common that we demand, demand that we *have to* wear our traje típica. No, because there are people who can't afford to buy original traje, because it's too expensive… If it's expensive – it's not about forcing people to buy traje to preserve their culture. Simply,	Pienso que crecí como atardecía hace ratitos. Pienso que lo moderno y lo original es que tiene su valor, pues nunca se va perdiendo la cultura porque simplemente se va modernizando. Entonces pienso que sí es importante que usemos este nuestro traje típico, pero siempre. Yo no me he dado cuenta que a veces la gente no tiene la capacidad de comprar un huipil. Entonces no es común que exijamos, exijamos que tenemos que usar nuestro traje típico. No, porque hay gente que no tiene la capacidad de comprar un traje original porque es muy caro. Entonces, como te decía, el huipil

		that they have güipil or that they continue to wear it, that they continue to value our traje típica – it is more important.	tiene un costo de 250. El corte puede valer entre mil y 800 un corte. Entonces, si es caro, entonces pienso que este no, no es de forzar a las personas a comprarse un traje para conservar su cultura. Simplemente con que tengan un huipil o que lo sigan usando, que sigan valiendo nuestro traje típico es más importante.
102	Estrella	You are a girl, and traje is for girls, pants are for boys.	En el pasado, cuando era niña, De ocho años mi madre, yo veía al niño o niña con un vestido o un pantalón y yo lo quería también, pero la idea de mi madre era niña y tuvo que quitar el traje para los niños. Era la idea. Pero ahora cambia mucho y usa mucho pantalón, ropa. No quieren usan traje.
102	Fanny	I have a friend who tells me not to go buy pants or my dad scolds me, he tells me I'm not a man.	Por ejemplo, tengo una amiga que me dice no vayan a comprar pantalones o mi papá me regaña, me dice que yo no soy hombre.
103	Carolina	No, I couldn't tell you – for certain – because some people are coming – I think they are from Chimaltenango, it's in Guatemala – the Department of Chimaltenango. They come to sell here in San Pedro. There, [in the market], we buy from them.	(Internet issues, partially field notes) Él no te lo podría decir porque vienen unas personas. Creo que son de Chimaltenango, Es para Guatemala. Departemento Chimaltenango. Vienen a vender aquí en San Pedro. Hay nosotros les compramos
103	Valentina	I want a color, for example, a red. Then she says, okay, you can choose [a corte], and I'll make your faja. Then I buy my corte, and she sees the colors…she makes a faja to match.	Si yo tengo una buena relación con mi mamá, cuando ella hace mi, especialmente mis fajas, yo. Yo hablo con mi madre para decirle quiero comprar un corte nuevo, yo quiero un color, por ejemplo, un

			rojo, por ejemplo. Entonces ella me dice está bien, puedes escoger y yo voy a hacer tu faja. Entonces yo compro mi corte y ella ve los colores que tienen mi corte y ella hace una faja como para combinar.
104	Marisol	Every time I get up I select my corte, my color… I find a blouse that matches the same color, and my faja. Then, every day of the week I change the type of blouse...For example, on Monday I can wear this blue, the next day I can wear a purple, next yellow and so on.	Y cada vez que yo me levanto seleccionó mi corte, mi color, que son diferentes colores de cortes que yo utilizo porque utilizo más el corte de acá. Entonces selecciono un corte, me busco una blusa que combine del mismo color, es mi faja con y entonces cada semana voy cambiando el tipo de blusa que todos los días voy cambiando el tipo de blusas que yo voy usando. Por ejemplo, el lunes puedo usar este azul, la siguiente semana puedo usar un murado, próximo amarillo y así. Entonces voy con los colores y las blusas con los cortes.
104	Rosa	We were taking care of the market, taking care of the people on the street. We are part of it. So, most of my colleagues, we all wore our spandex or pants because we had to be out on the street. We had to protect ourselves a lot because we had to be in contact with a lot of people. So, it was easier for all of us to put on that kind [Western dress] of clothing because you got home – I took it off pretty fast. On the other hand, if you did have a corte. You had to remove the corte and wash it – and you can't be washing your corte all the time because it gets dyed. So, for us it's easier, it was easier to use [pants]…	Ahora, cuando empezó todo esto, estuvimos cuidando el mercado, cuidando a la gente en la calle. Somos parte de eso. Entonces la mayoría de mis compañeros, todos llevábamos su ropa pal lycra o pantalón porque teníamos que estar en la calle. Teníamos que protegernos mucho porque teníamos que estar en contacto con mucha gente. Entonces para todos fue más fácil ponernos ese tipo de ropa porque llegabas a la casa, te lo quitaba. Si lo papas era bastante rápido. En cambio, sí llevabas corte. Tenías que quitar el corte, lavarlo y tú no puedes estar lavando a cada rato tu corte porque se tiñe. Entonces para nosotros es más fácil, fue más fácil utilizar, pero ahora ya

		Then we went back to our offices. Now I still wear my clothes [típica], but I try to find clothes that are a little bit older, the oldest clothes I have – to get home, wash them, and change.	como todos, ya otras personas son las encargadas de cuidar a la gente. Entonces nosotros volvimos a nuestras oficinas. Ahora yo sigo usando mi ropa, pero trato la manera de buscar ropa como viejita un poco más, la ropa más antigua que tenga para llegar a la casa, lavarlo, cambiarme, porque aquí en San Pedro. En un trabajo formal no puedes llevar pantalón o viendo a la gente, porque para algunas personas es es faltar el respeto para algunas personas. Entonces para estar formal aquí. Por ejemplo, en otros países cuando tienen un trabajo. Las personas llevan un saco camisa de pantalones de tela. En cambio, nosotros utilizamos traje típico o cortes, pero no puedes usar pantalón atendiendo a mucha gente.
108	Maria	My mother-in-law can do this [sew] and my sister-in-law puts in the details [finish]. That's when I buy this kind of local clothing. I do know who makes the blouses, because I need to tell the woman who makes the blouse how I want my blouse. I give my idea, my colors and usually we give a measurement. For example, I have this one – when I want another one, I tell my mother-in-law, 'Ok. This is my measurement. I want another one just like it, with different colors.' Now, when I buy traje from other places, 'I like this' and I buy it. But I don't ask who made this traje. Afterwards, when she makes another one, she also gives me ideas and she also has a connection with me. When we talk about the new design of a	Mi suegra puede hacer esto y mi cuñada les pone los detalles. Fue entonces cuando yo compro este tipo de ropa local. Yo sí sé quién de las blusas, porque yo necesito decir a la mujer que me hace la blusa como quiero mi blusa. Yo doy mi idea, mis colores y por lo general nosotros damos una medida. Sí, pero si por ejemplo, yo tengo éste cuando quiero otro, yo les digo a mi suegra ok. Esta es mi medida. Yo quiero otra igual a ésta, con colores diferentes. Probablemente también es diferente, pero el cuerpo y la mano por lo general yo pongo mi medida. Ahora, cuando yo compro trajes de otros lugares, yo no sé qué hace porque en la tienda. A esto me gusta y lo compro. Pero yo no pregunto quién hizo este traje.

		garment, for example, we both give new ideas and whether it is right or not? Then we have a conversation, a good connection.	
108 – 109	Angelica	The truth is, I don't know, because I only buy the fabrics here and I don't know where it comes from.	Sí, eh? Es pues la verdad no sé, porque como yo sólo compro aquí las telas y no sé por dónde es donde viene.
109	Petronilla	Here there are many shops where they sell fabrics. Every week more fabrics like this come in. For example, here I have another one very similar to this one, but different colors. (She grabs a blusas from off screen. It is identical to the garment she is wearing, but the textile is a different colorway.) Then the fabric is sold by the meter. A person who makes blouses, chooses the styles they want…Each village has a different traje, but many women wear this [blusas] as a típica. For example, if I buy a corte, I need to match. My corte is green, I need a fabric or I need to buy a light green blouse.	Aquí hay muchas tiendas donde venden telas y ajada y cada semana ingresan más telas como esto. Por ejemplo, aquí tengo otra bien similar a esta, pero diferentes colores. Entonces la tela lo venden como metro. Hasta entonces llegan las mujeres Se compran, pero es una tela similar. Llevan con una pulsera. Una persona que hace blusas y escoge los estilos que quieren. Entonces usamos - la misma ropa, la misma ropa, pero como ésta, los otros son más caros, los son típicos. En Guatemala hay muchos trajes típicos especificamente de un pueblo. Cada pueblo tiene un traje diferente, pero muchas mujeres usan esto como un traje típico o común similar. Pero cada pueblo tiene un traje especial, un traje específico. Y tenemos diferentes colores. Aquí, por ejemplo, si yo compro un corte y una falda, necesito no combinar normalmente ni con mi falda. Mi corte es de color verde, o necesito una tela o necesito compra una blusa de color verde claro. Después yo voy y compro una faja. Si un fajo de un color similar al de la falda de la corte, entonces este es un modern, lo otro no necesites. Ojo que color. Ahora no compras un traje, una blusa, un huipil. Nosotros la

			llamamos huipiles a la blusa típica de sanpedro blanca, ya sabemos que el traje o el corte típico de San Pedro es de color verde. La faja es muy simple no hay mucho en qué pensar, pero comprar un traje moderno necesitas usar. Oh, necesito otra blusa verde o necesito una blusa roja o una faja verde o roja. OK, ahora está bien. Estoy tranquila porque tengo la combinación, sino que un color similar.
109	Carolina	A lady, this woman taught us to sew. I was with her for two months. I learned about blusas, Monday to Friday for three hours. A friend recommended it to me, she started learning with her. One day, I went to her house to visit, and arriving at his house I found a sewing machine and I asked her 'Why do you have a sewing machine?' And she told me that she's learning to sew. I was interested and I told her I'd like to learn to sew. She gave me the lady's details and I went with her - she took me in.	(Internet issues, partially field notes) Yo soy señora. Sí, señora. Tengo una nena. Eh? La muchacha. La mujer es la mujer que nos enseñó a coser. Eh? Estuve con ella dos meses. Aprendí de arcos. Pero antes éramos como dos. Sí, dos. Eh, eh, eh. Los enseña. Eh. Un. De lunes a viernes por tres horas. Y sólo aprendía a coser en dos meses. Me la recomendó una amiga. Eh? Es mi amiga, eh? Empezó a aprender con ella y un día. Y fue en su casa a visitarla. Y llegando a su casa me encontré con una máquina de coser y le pregunté Por qué tienes la máquina de coser? Sorprendido. Y ella me dijo que está aprendiendo a coser Y me interesó y le dije Me gustaría aprender a coser. Y ella me dijo Me dio los datos de la señora y me fui con ella. Y me recibió y me enseñó a coser a esta.
110	Angelica	My niece, she taught me how to cut them. She just told me you have to cut like this. I grabbed one, my blouse – I started to unpick and pulled out the parts	Una, mi sobrina. Ella me enseñó a cortarlas. Mamá nada más. Sólo me dijo tienes que cortar así. Sólo es. Y yo agarré una. Mi blusa Empecé a despose y saqué las partes y empecé

		and started to jigsaw puzzle, and that's how I got into blouses. I didn't have an exact teacher. I like it very much, but we didn't have the possibility to buy a sewing machine. My mom has a foreign friend. I told her I like to make aprons, something like that, bags for foreigners. Maybe you have to work a little hard to buy a machine? It's all right. In April, she called me – "Where are you? Can you come here in the Saqari hotel?" I arrived and she gave me a suitcase. It's your gift, she said. When I opened it, it was a machine and look at it!	a como rompecabeza. Y así me salí yo. Eh. Las blusas. No tuve una maestra exacta. Eh, como dos años. Por qué? Si, me gusta mucho, es nuevo, me gusta mucho costé, pero no tenemos la posibilidad de comprar maquina para coser. Pero entonces yo tengo una amiga extranjera y mi mamá hace artesanía y vende pulseras, collares. Entonces es amiga e conocida a través de mi mamá. Entonces yo le dije a mi me gusta, me gusta hacer delantales, algo así. Bolsas para vender por los extranjeros. Le dije - así en, así le dije Ah, va, está bien a vez, eh? Tal vez hay que trabajar un poco duro para comprar maquina medica. Está bien. Y ella me dio una sorpresa. En abril me llamó Dónde estás? Me dijo aquí en la casa. Puedes venir aquí en el hotel Saqari porque yo ya llegué. Oh, sí. Le dije es si, esta bien. Llegué y me dio una maleta. Es tu regalo, me dijo. No le sirves. Cuando abrí era una máquina y miré.
110	Cristalina	People look at me – 'Oh, what a pretty blouse. Who did it?' Me. Can you make me one then? That's how I work – of course	Entonces yo. Yo invento. Yo me imagino estilos, colores. Y yo me pongo una la gente me mira y me. Oh, qué bonita blusa. Quién lo hizo? Yo. Ah. Puedes hacerme uno entonces? Así es como yo trabajo. Sí, sí, claro.
110	Angelica	They'll say, ' Oh who did it?' – much of what is here in San Pedro, -- China. – 'Is it China?' [They ask]. Sometimes, they ask to call me – can you make me a	Mmm. Si hay gente. Porque hay veces. Cuando yo vengo. Me gustan las muchachas en la calle. 'Oh Quién lo hizo?' Como. Eh? Más de conocen aquí en San Pedro China. Oh, sí, sí. Entonces a la China, a

		blouse? Such a person has worn it – I really want it in this color.	veces me llaman puedes hacerme una blusa? Tal persona lo ha usado, me gusta mucho o quiero de este color. Les gusta lo que yo hago y a mí me da, me hace feliz porque mi trabajo está bien y está. Y les gusta la gente.
110	Rosa	For example, you come to San Pedro, you want a blouse and you tell someone I need a blusa. Ah, look at such a woman, such a woman in this house. In this shop they sell it or they make it. Everyone knows who works on it and it's easier for you. And as it is a very small town here, we all know each other and we all know who, who embroiders, who sews. Going like this is not that complicated. A simple garment goes a long way.	Por ejemplo, tú vienes a San Pedro, quieres una blusa y le dices a alguien necesito una blusa. Ah! Mira tal mujer, tal mujer en esta casa. En esta tienda ellos lo venden o ellos lo elaboran. Todos conocen quienes trabajan en eso y es más fácil para ti. Y como aquí es un pueblo muy pequeñito, todos nos conocemos y todos sabemos quién, quien borda, quien cose. Ir así no es tan complicado.
111	Regina	I've heard people say 'I like the open tops [necklines] like the girls in San Pedro,' but I've never heard them [outsiders] call it a Pedrana.	Field Notes
112	Cristalina	I started to make my blouses by watching people on the street. I watched a lot, I watched and I always do it now – because I watch, I like something and I come to my house to do it. That's how I started, at least now, maybe about 40 years doing the same thing.	Después yo empecé a hacer mis blusas viendo a las personas en la calle. Yo miraba, observaba mucho, observaba y siempre lo hago ahora, ahora también lo hago siempre, porque yo observo, me gusta algo y vengo a hacerlo a mi casa. Así fue como empecé, por lo menos ahora, tal vez unos 40 años haciendo lo mismo.
112	Cecilia	I use Facebook to see what people are selling. Then I see the colors	Yo uso Facebook. Sí, sí, yo uso Facebook. Y a quién sanpedro a una

		and the new designs. ‘I like this, but I can, I can do this.’ I buy that type of fabric, the color that I prefer. I make a screenshot or take a picture of the blouse that I like and I make the same blouse, or in another color or a little more design.	cuenta para vender cosas. Si, por ejemplo, yo quiero vender esta blusa. Si yo publico el público que yo quiero ser y todas las personas de San Pedro o y otras personas de San Juan, de otros pueblos, pueden ver mi publicación. Entonces yo uso en Facebook para ver que las personas venden. Algunas personas venden las postas, otras zonas venden zapatos, otras personas de cortes nuevas o de segunda mano. Entonces yo veo ahí los colores y los nuevos diseños. 'A Me gusta esto, pero yo puedo, yo puedo hacer esto'. Yo compro ese tipo de tela, tela, color que yo prefiero y yo hago una captura de pantalla o tomo una foto de la blusa que me gusta y yo hago la misma blusa, o en otro color o un poco de diseño más.
112	Carolina	It's like invented, we invented them ourselves because not all people use blusas – just that we made it up…I see other designs and either try to change a little bit of what is there, or I can make it similar. And sometimes I try to change it, an ornament, put a different one on it - so it doesn't look the same. But I try to imagine them and make them.	(Internet issues, partially field notes) No, eh? Es como inventado, nosotras mismas las inventamos porque porque son no todos los pueblos utilizan blusas, eh? Como te diría, ni así Y que quién los veamos en todas partes. No mucho, solo que la las inventamos, digamos. Así las inventan la más. Como te digo, yo me enfoco como ellas empiezan a coser y las ponen a internet y yo sólo veo ahí y yo también saco mis mis diseños y las hago, Si ah.
112 - 113	Regina	The selfie? Only my boyfriend and my cousin.	Field Notes
113	Ester	I’m wearing a blusa with a crochet border at the neck. A simple blusa. I use it because it’s more comfortable and it’s very	Y ahora? Este llevo una blusa con un borde de croché en la rodilla. Una blusa simple. Lo utilizo porque es más cómodo y es muy fresca, es

		cool, it's very fresh, common with the corte, with the faja, and with an apron because I was working in the kitchen.	muy fresca. Común con el corte, con el la fajan, la escritura y con un delantal porque estaba trabajando en la cocina. Estaba usando un delantal.
113	Cristalina	It's very hot with the güipil, but with a blouse, it's cooler, it's lighter.	No, no, no, no, el huipil es un poco caliente, hay mucho calor con el huipil, pero con una blusa es más fresco, es más liviano. Si
114	Cristalina	It's a uniform. I have a uniform, the güipile. And why is that? For güipile is expensive. The blouse is, it is cheaper. So, we all wear different styles of blouses.	Es un. Tú tienes una blusa igual que yo y otra persona. Muchas personas con el otro traje. Eso es un. Nadie le quantity. Tengo uniforme, guipile. Y por qué? Por guipile est siado caro y la blusa es. Es más barato. Entonces todos usamos blusas de diferentes estilos. Peren. Diferentes formas.
114	Esperanza	I feel that in San Pedro, the majority of women like to dress in uniform. If they wear the same color, the same color. If it's a party, the same güipil, the same güipile, the same color blouse or the same color blouse, that's what I think is the custom of the Pedranas…An example – in churches when there is an anniversary party or a wedding or a birthday, the group that is leading the activity…makes uniforms. All the women agree and say 'we don't want to wear green or red'… And that happens in every church and in every school and in every social group in San Pedro…I don't know if you noticed it at Ban Rural, at the Bank of San Pedro, the women bank workers always have the same uniform – blusa. And that does not happen in other	Depende, en mis amistades u cuando o tenemos una fiesta. E? Tenemos.Con mis amigas. Un mensaje llevan pantalón o hiervan corte - Entonces es como que ponernos de acuerdo si todas ya van corte a todas corte o todas pantalón, todas pantalón. E Yo siento que en SanPedro a la mayoría de mujeres les gusta vestir uniformadas. Si llevan un color, un mismo color, si llevan, si es una fiesta, un, un, un mismo huipil, un mismo guipile, un mismo color de blusa o un mismo color de blusas, es eso es creo que es costumbre de las pedrana.

		municipalities. They wear a uniform of the bank, but, in San Pedro – the blusa, but the same color.	
115	Adriana	I was invited to a birthday party and my friend is from San Pedro and I know that traditional clothes are important for them. So, in order to fit in with all the local people, I decided to wear the traditional clothes and I like to wear them too. I'm just not used to using it every day…I like to live with other people and I realize that when I wear the típica clothes, they feel better talking to me with my típica clothes than with my normal clothes… it's more like a sign of acceptance towards the culture of the place, and more than anything, it's out of respect for the people.	La ropa que tengo ahora? Porque ahora estoy usando la ropa tradicional de San Pedro, porque estuve invitada a una fiesta de cumpleaños y mi amiga es de San Pedro y yo sé que la ropa tradicional es importante para ellos. Entonces, para poder estar acorde con todas las personas del lugar, entonces yo decidí usar la ropa tradicional y me gusta mucho usarla también. Solo que no estoy acostumbrada a usarla todos los días.
116	Cecilia	Because of the pandemic, this method is very, very popular, and it is very practical, and it is very handy. Now on the internet, you can search for all the clothes you want, traditional and also American clothes. A lot of girls are selling American clothes on Facebook, they buy and then sell to Pedro's girls. Yes, lots of clothes. Right now, lots of clothes.	Sí, es exactamente por la pandemia. Es este método es muy, muy popular y es muy práctico y es muy práctico. Tú puedes ver, por ejemplo, vendo esta blusa a domicilio, comprehendes? No puedes salir o aquello. Y cuánto cuesta? 150. Yo puedo ir a la casa de la persona y vender o popular. Ahora en internet puedes buscar toda la ropa que quieras, pero no tradicional y también ropa americana. Y muchas chicas están vendiendo ropa americana en Facebook. Probablemente ellos en línea y ellos compran y después venden a las chicas de Pedro. Sí, mucha ropa. Ahora mismo, mucha ropa.

116	Esperanza	It's all online now. There is a special page for San Pedro. It says 'Producto 100% Pedrano'. All those who sell online do so and offer their services at home. All here." I asked if she had bought any new clothes using the page. She replied, "Yes, yes, it's is an addictive way – shopping online. See, watch, and buy.	Sí, sí, ahora es todo en línea. Hay una página especial para San Pedro, dice productos 100 por ciento San Pedro no dice porque todos los que venden en línea en en en sus casas lo hacen y ofrecen ofrecen sus servicios a domicilio. Todo aquí.
117	Adriana	Due to the pandemic situation, many people can't work. Then many people, mainly women from San Pedro, have decided to sell clothes online, mainly Facebook or Instagram. I bought my clothes with a friend, to help her in some way too because we are all in a difficult situation.	Pues una tienda en línea de una chica en San Pedro, porque por la situación de la pandemia muchas personas no pueden trabajar. Entonces muchas personas, principalmente mujeres de San Pedro y han optado o han decidido vender ropa en línea en el 100 si en línea entonces por Facebook, principalmente Facebook o Instagram. Si entonces publican las fotos de la ropa muy bonita y. Y entonces, pues yo compré mi ropa con una amiga también para. Para ayudarla de alguna forma también, porque todos estamos en una situación difícil. Sí y sí, así compré mi ropa, si yo corriendo.
118	Elena	It is very common to wear jeans when there is a trip, when they go to hot places, because people wear jeans and a t-shirt to go out more comfortable, because it is not the same to be walking with a corte than with jeans. It is more common for convenience.	Es muy común vestir pantalón jeans cuando hay algún viaje, cuando van a lugares calurosos, pues la gente se viste de jeans una playera para salir más cómodos, porque no es lo mismo estar caminando con corte que con jeans. Es más más común por comodidad.
118	Estrella	To go climb to the mountain, you need to wear comfortable clothes.	Ahora por ahora no, pero no pongo este tipo de actividades, depende, por ejemplo, en mi trabajo cuando

			vamos a trabajo usamos ropa tradicional, como la ropa normal, pero nos dicen mínimo. Para ir a Abitur a la montaña se necesita llevar ropa cómoda. Ellos dicen por favor, necesitan traer ropa cómoda. Depende, pero depende de la situación o depende de actividades como la ropa que botamos.
118	Jade	People want you to wear your traditional dress all the time, but I want to go swimming.	Field Notes, Recording Failure
119	Pilar	Now, Ehhh? We no longer use the güipiles to work in the house. Ehhh? It's very heavy, and its more comfortable to wear shorts. It's too hot to sweep!	Es igual. Y tú si es es igual. Ahora, eh? Ya no usamos los guipiles para trabajar en en la casa. Eh? Porque es muy pesado. El material es pesado y es más cómodo andada e usar shorts. …Casper porque mucho calor para van a barrer trapear Begic vinagre.
119	Pilar	Pilar: We use the suit. But there are girls as young as 15, 16 years old and now they arrive with dresses for a party. For a party? – for some special event. I think we wear it to try not to lose the culture. I hope we don't lose it, don't lose out. Yes. Emily: How did this make you feel? Pilar: The question you asked me? Nostalgic. Emily: In general, what about this situation? When children don't wear traditional clothes?	Si, entonces. Para este tipo de fiestas todavía. Eh. Portamos el. El traje. Pero hay niñas ya de 15 años. 16 años y que ahora ya llegan con vestidos para una fiesta. Para una fiesta. Para alguna. Algún evento especial. Entonces. Eh. Creo que nos lo ponemos por tratar de no perder la la la e. La cultura. Ojalá no se pierda la gala. No se pierda. Sí. Ah! Cómo? Cómo te hizo sentir esto? La pregunta que me hiciste? Nostalgico. En general, es esta. Esta esta situation?

		Pilar: Well. Yes, I understand a little bit for the convenience, because it's very, very, very heavy and now it's much warmer. Then it's uncomfortable – and the children who don't? Girls who don't wear it? Well, I feel that [understanding] for the same reason – that playing with a corte you can't run. Emily: Yes. It is very difficult to play football in a corte. Pilar: Too difficult. So maybe, huh? They can. They may be kind of right. But. It's sad, it's sad because all this is culture, it's, it's beautiful and it's unique, it's unique. You can't see it everywhere in the world, but you have – I understand – a choice.	Cuando los niños no usan ropa tradicional, es es bien, es como Maurois. Pues. Sí, comprendo un poco por la comodidad, porque es muy, muy. Muy pesado. Soy un pez. Y ahora hace mucho más calor. Entonces es incómodo. Y los niños que que no? Las niñas que no se lo ponen. Pues siento que por lo mismo el estar jugando con corte uno no puede correr. Es muy difícil que juegue el fútbol con corte. Demasiado difícil. Entonces tal tal vez, eh? Pueden. Pueden tener como un poco de razón. Pero. Es triste, es triste porque todo esto es es cultura, es, es bonito y es único, es único. Como no, no lo puedes ver en cualquier parte de este mundo es porque crees.
119	Regina	We are friends, but we are not the same. Her father is from San Pedro, and her mother is from somewhere else on the lake. But her grandma, she married a Spanish man, so she doesn’t wear típica, she wears pants.’ I clarified this idea, asking ‘She wears pants, because her grandfather is Spanish?’ Regina replied, ‘Yes, it’s different. She didn’t grow up in a house where people wore típica or traje. That wasn’t modeled for her.	Field Notes
120	Lisa	Traditional clothing is a very important element in the culture. For many years or centuries, it has been part of our identity as	Por qué tiene una? Porque es parte de mi identidad. La ropa tradicional es un elemento muy importante en la cultura. Por muchos años o siglos ha

		Mayas. So, this is a representation of the most original clothes of Santa Cruz, or San Pedro or San Juan, of all kinds. When our ancestors made clothes, they had a purpose. They wanted to capture their history and their work in clothes not to forget. So, for me, that's part of my identity. That's why it's so important.	formado parte de la identidad de nosotros como mayas. Entonces, es que esta es una representación de la ropa más original de Santa Cruz de San Pedro de San Juan, de todo tipo. Cuando nuestros ancestros fabricaron la ropa, ellos tenían un propósito. Ellos querían plasmar su historia y su trabajo en la ropa para no olvidar. Entonces, para mí eso es parte de mi identidad. Por eso es muy importante.
120 – 121	Ester	What do clothes mean to me? My identity as a person. My town, yes the place where I was born and where I am from, and for me, that's what it is. It is pride because it is a place where I live – visited by many people and clothes, it is identified anywhere in the world. I can wear my clothes and many people can say 'Oh, San Pedro? Yes. And I am not ashamed of that. No, that is a pride – very, very good clothes. Maybe it is not? It's not pants or a dress, but it's a very nice garment, and it's very comfortable for me. And the meaning is part of my culture, my identity as a woman. I identify myself as a woman. This is one of the customs of my village that identifies me.	Qué significa la ropa para mí? Para mí la ropa significa. Mi identidad como persona significa. Mi pueblo, si el lugar donde nací y de donde soy, y para mí eso es. Es orgullo porque es un lugar donde vivo. Visitado por mucha gente y la ropa. No se identifica en cualquier lugar del mundo. Puedo llevar mi ropa y mucha gente puede decir Oh San Pedro, un tema? Sí, sí. Y eso a mí no me avergüenza. No, que es un orgullo - una ropa muy, muy buena, tal vez no es. No es pantalón ni vestido, pero es una ropa muy bonita y es muy cómoda para mí. Y el significado es parte de mi cultura, mi identidad como mujer. Me identifico como mujer hubo. Este es uno de los de los trajes de mi pueblo que me identifica.
121	Regina	I was thinking about what you said at lunch. It reminded me of this time, when I was maybe four or five years old. I had traditional clothes from Patzun. It was black, with red around the neckline, and a pink stripe down the front. The people in this town are known for	Field Notes

		weaving baskets. I was visiting my great-grandpa. He was sick, and we took turns taking care of him. On this day, it was my turn, and I was wearing this güipile. My great grandfather kept asking me about baskets – he was joking. He kept asking me - How much my baskets cost? How do you weave a basket? Where are my baskets at? I was so angry. I did not weave baskets. (She crossed her arms and pouted her face.) I had a temper as a child. I stomped around, I yelled. I am not from Cobán I am from San Pedro. He was joking, but I never wore that güiple after that – I refused. I didn't want people to think I was from anywhere but San Pedro. I thought, so fiercely, that people would think I was from somewhere else, and I didn't want to be from where my family wasn't from; my family is from here. It's sad that I got so mad at him because I really miss him. I miss his jokes. Since that moment, I didn't wear any other traditional clothing than from San Pedro until I went to study in Antiqua.	
122	Esperanza	I think I always have to remember where I came from, where I was born. What my roots are and use it. I can change – it is not mandatory that I have to wear my traje, in another country or in the heat.	Porque yo pienso que que siempre tengo que recordar de donde yo vine, donde nací. Cuáles son mis raíces y utilizarlo. Pero si yo puedo utilizar algo diferente por el clima o por el lugar en donde estoy. Un lugar más cómodo y lo puedo utilizar, puedo cambiar. No, no es obligatorio que tenga que ponerme mi traje en en otro país o en. En el calor en la costa.

122	Elena	I've gotten used to dressing in pants too, in Ladina clothing, but it's not for the rest of my life. If one day I will return to San Pedro, I would forget about the pants.	En comparación, pero ya me acostumbré a vestirme de tambiénde, de pantalón, de ropa, de ladinas, pero no es para adoptarlo por el resto de mi vida. Un. Si un día regreso a San Pedro, me olvidaría del de los de los pantalones, qué sé yo compré yo comprendiendo es si es.
123	Elena	Some people suggest you not take off your traje, but to keep it wherever you go. But I feel it's a matter of personality, of perspective. Yes. Well, today I have met people who completely change their tradition and forget their origins, even when you talk to them, ask them, they simply deny they are from a certain place. But in my case, I tell them. I do it just for comfort, but I don't forget my roots, and I don't forget my traje either because I always wear it.	Que en algunas algunas personas le sugieren a uno no quitarse el traje, sino conservarlo a donde quiera que vaya. Pero siento que es cuestión de personalidad, de perspectivas. Si uno bueno, hoy yo he conocido personas que se cambian por completo el traje y que se olvidan de sus orígenes, incluso cuando uno les habla, les pregunta, ellos simplemente niegan ser de cierto lugar. Pero en mi caso, yo les digo a ellos que lo hago solo por comodidad, pero tampoco me olvido de mis raíces y tampoco me olvido de mi traje porque siempre lo uso.
123	Pilar	Colors have meaning…At some point, they dressed that way because of some meaning to them. It challenges the symbolism of the original garments.	Tal vez no tanto. Tal vez no tanto, porque eh por los colores es lo tradicional- Los colores tienen significado. El rojo. El rojo. Qué es vida? Amanecer. Eh? Qué es el sol? Que es un atardecer? Eh? Eso representa, pero por ejemplo, un verde. No creo que tenga significado, pero es moderno. (The significant aspects aren't perserved in the modern version) Pero es sólo es el cambio de color. No, no creo que sean iguales, porque la letra cuestionar el siempre tuvo un por qué de los colores de en San Pedro.

			El corte era ver es tradicionales verde. Esto se cayó. Zapatos es el corte es verde. Sí que es significan naturaleza. Pero ahora hay color negro. Y el negro en los trajes significa oscuridad, muerte. Entonces, y en algún momento, ellos vestían de esa manera, por algún significado para ellos. Que el de ahora que. Que ahora es eh moderno.
124	Jade	Our típica is singular. It is unique. There is no other típica traje	Es algo que nos representa como si nos representa, representa nuestra cultura, representan nuestras tradiciones y es algo que nos distingue porque cada pueblo tiene diferente traje típico. Usan borrarte, usan blusas, pero es diferente, no es igual. Entonces nuestro traje típico es singular, es único. No hay otro traje típico, igual aldeanas. No hay sónicos, solo hay uno. Entonces eso nos distingue mucho. Si yo uso mi traje típico, los otros pueblos que están a la orilla del lago van a saber que yo soy de San Pedro. Por qué? Por mi traje típico. Entonces el traje típico es muy propio. Es de nosotros los que vivimos en San Pedro, claro.
124	Valentina	The essence of our culture is in the traditional handmade clothes, of course. The others, the current fashionable ones [blusas], are now handmade, but it is another type of material.	La esencia de nuestra cultura, está en la ropa tradicional hecha a mano, claro. Las demás, las actuales de moda, ahora son hechas a mano. También Perozo con otro tipo de material uniqo.
124	Carolina	I think we will always use both because as I said, there are many of us who are sewing blusas and for the same reason I don't think they will stop using blusas - but	(Internet issues, partially field notes) Yo creo que siempre vamos a utilizar tu los dos porque como te digo, ya somos muchas las que

		they won't stop using the güipiles, because we can also make them and so they won't get lost.	estamos cosiendo blusas y pues por la misma razón no creo que dejen de utilizar blusas, pero también no van a dejar de utilizar los guipiles porque también nosotras las podemos hacer y para que no se pierda se.
124 – 125	Pilar	The art of women is embodied in every part and in every detail - but a sublimation (print) is the same. Maybe there is no mistake in sublimation? By hand, there can be 'no mistake,' but it's what makes the piece unique. No. I didn't like it. I didn't like it - it was like a mockery of my hand-work. The work of women embroidering by hand, it was forgotten for a while. For me, it was annoying because we should really appreciate it - this is a joy for a woman to do. A güipile by hand takes a long time, and sublimation is a five-minute process. So, I didn't agree with this fashion.	Si, si, si. Y es mas bonito todo del arte. El arte que las mujeres se plasman en cada post y en cada detalle. Pero una sublimación es igual. Igual no hay error en una sublimación, pero en ama no puede haber error, pero es lo que hace única la pieza. No, no me gustó, no me gustó. En mi concepto, yo no sé, tal vez muy dura, fui muy dura, pero fue como una una una burla para mí del trabajo a mano. Sí, toqué una caja. Por qué todo mundo utilizó ese tipo de te traje. Y y el trabajo las mujeres que bordan la mano. Se olvidó por un tiempo. Para mí fue molesto porque en realidad nosotras deberíamos de apreciar y eh. Porque esto es una dicha que una mujer logre hacer. Un huipil a mano e. Lleva mucho tiempo y el sublimado es un cinco minutos. Entonces yo no, no, no estuve tan de acuerdo con esa moda.
125	Marisol	When I walk in the streets, I always see people with their típica, and I say that not all of them use the traje of San Pedro. But they do use other trajes from other municipalities, but they are traje típicas. If they are always traje típica it does not lose the culture.	Por ejemplo, yo al caminar en las calles siempre veo a personas con su traje típico y digo que no todos utilizan el traje de San Pedro, pero sí utilizan otros trajes de otros municipios, pero sí son trajes típicos. No sé si también tengo este trajes de otros pueblos, por ejemplo de San Juan, este de Santiago y así,

			pero siempre, si siempre son de trajes típicos, no pierde la cultura.
125	Cristalina	In Santiago, they don't wear blusas, In Santiago, only the güipile.	Ah, también? También, pero la blusa con máquina se utiliza mucho aquí en San Pedro, en San Juan. Es más o menos en Santiago, no, en Santiago no se usan blusas, en Santiago sólo huipil. Sí, ajá, sí, son diferentes cada. Cada población es diferente.
126	Maria	I agree and disagree with these clothes.Why? Because as there are more - cheaper, easier to acquire. Many young ladies nowadays prefer to wear Ladino clothing rather than traditional clothing. I think this doesn't help my culture. It prevails their culture over time. With the easy acquisition of these products is very easy to lose the traditional clothing. But, I also agree because it is easier to acquire, it is more comfortable and has beautiful designs.	Y sí, y eso por lo general es más barato que la ropa tradicional. Sí, entonces, pero estoy de acuerdo y desacuerdo con esta ropa. Por qué? Creo que de acuerdo a algo concreto estoy de acuerdo y un poco no de acuerdo, porque como hay más, más, más barata, más fácil de adquirir. Muchas jóvenes o señoritas actualmente prefieren utilizar ropa latina que ropa tradicional. Pienso que esto no ayuda a mi cultura. Prevalecer su cultura con el tiempo o y con la fácil adquisición de estos productos es muy fácil de perder la ropa tradicional, pero también estoy de acuerdo porque es más fácil de adquirir, es más cómoda y tiene bonitos diseños.
126	Petronilla	Típica clothing is important for our culture because yes, everyone will wear jeans, t-shirts - our culture would disappear. So, I want many people to wear the típica clothes for our culture, for us - and say 'That girl is from San Pedro.' That girl defines indigenous people. That girl wears traditional clothes; her clothes have meaning.	Para mí, aunque la ropa típica es importante para nuestra cultura porque sí, todos o todas usarán jeans, playeras, nuestra cultura desaparecería, nuestro extra desaparecería, entonces yo lo que yo quiero. Muchas personas utilizan la ropa típica por nuestra cultura, por nosotros y decir o esa chica es de San Pedro? Esa chica define a los indígenas. Esa chica usa ropa tradicional, su ropa tiene significado.

			Entonces para mí es importante, por nuestra cultura, que sea mi madre, aunque a mi madre no le gustara si a mi me gusta. Yo uso la ropa, pero también me acostumbré o todos nos acostumbramos a usar nuestro traje típico.
126	Ester	I am a teacher. We are instilling in the children to value our clothing – our corte, our güipile – because it is something important for our people, to identify them as San Pedro.	Estamos. Yo soy maestra. Sí, y estamos inculcando a los niños a valorar nuestra ropa, nuestro corte, nuestro huipil, porque es algo importante para, para nuestro pueblo y para identificarlos como San Pedro. Es partes de mi cultura que nosotros tenemos.
127	Marisol	There is the original traje and there are modern traje – but it is never lost. The traje típica is still this traje típica, but we have modernized it. So, I think that nothing is lost. And it is simply that the clothes are becoming more and more fashionable, with other styles, with other colors, but the traje típica is not lost.	Si tiene razón, pero es que así como como tú decías, existe el traje original y existe trajes modernos, pero nunca se pierde. Lo típico siempre sigue siendo este traje típico, pero ya moder modernizado lo hicimos nosotros, entonces creo que no se pierde nada. Y simplemente es que la ropa va como poniéndose de moda, con otros estilos, con otros colores, pero no se pierde lo que es traje típico.
127	Rosa	I would like in the future, if I had the opportunity to have a daughter, I would like her to continue to wear traje. Because it is something that identifies us, and I think that is what makes our town interesting, right? I know it's going to be modern, it's going to be different, but if they were preserved. I think a lot of people are going to keep doing it.	Por ejemplo, a mí me gustaría en un futuro, si yo tuviera la oportunidad de tener una hija, seguir, que siguiera utilizando trajes. Porque es algo que nos identifica y creo que es lo que hace interesante a nuestro pueblo, verdad? Y aparte de eso, es ropa muy bonita, muy colorida, demasiado cómodo. Representa mucho para nosotros, entonces yo consideraría que siguiera siendo lo mismo que ahora. Yo sé que va a ser moderno, va a ser diferente, pero

			que si se conservaban. Creo que mucha gente lo va a seguir haciendo.
128	Gloria	In the house, I use shorts, in the street, I use a corte. I don't receive negative comments because I dress *normally*.	(Internet issues, partially field notes) La gente normal no pienso en ningún momento he recibido algún comentario de alguna ropa, pero si salgo hoy con shorts, con lycras con corte, pero una impresión diferente o una ética chiquita no es normal. Es normal, porque cuando de calvarios uso llort, estoy harto discreta y tal, pero hay gente que sí la canta un gallo. Pero al detalle usa porqué, pero cuenta con la misma ropa, la que tengo en casa y puedo salir a la calle. Pero opiniones no he recibido negativos, no me miran normal. Y no digo normal. En la casa, uso pantalones cortos, en la calle, uso un corte. No recibo comentarios negativos porque me visto normalmente.
128	Petronilla	Sometimes women, well, here almost all of us wear típica clothes. They say, 'Oh, what a nice blouse? When you buy it? What a nice corte! Where did you buy it? How much did it cost you?' *Normal* use here. But if there is day *for shorts in the street* it is a bit weird… I hardly wear that kind on the street, I don't feel bad… but, it's strange.	Nada. A veces las mujeres, bueno, aquí casi todos usamos ropa típica, dice Oh, qué bonita blouse? Quando lo compra? qué bonito corte! Dónde lo compraste? Cuánto te costó? Uso normal aquí, pero si hay día para short en la calle es un poco raro.
128 – 129	Elena	I feel more comfortable wearing my traje because in the culture you live in, you lived here in San Pedro – you were here! Yes, when people see you dressed differently, they look at you like –	Me siento más cómoda conmigo usando mi traje, porque en la cultura de acá vivís tú viviste aquí en San Pedro, tú estuviste aquí? Sí, las personas cuando lo ven vestido de manera diferente, pues se le quedan

		they judge! So, it's uncomfortable for you to be seen when you dress differently. I feel more comfortable with myself, wearing my San Pedro traje.	viendo a uno como juzgan. Entonces es incómodo para uno que lo estén viendo y cuando se viste de otra manera, entonces me siento más cómoda conmigo misma, vistiendo mi traje de San Pedro.
129	Cecilia	They talk bad about girls like showing their legs or 'she's not a good girl because she provokes men' or similar things. My mother taught me, my grandparents taught me that clothes are long. It's normal…then it's *normal*. I prefer to use as I like – and the other girl doesn't like my corte? Ok – she can dress the way she likes – because I think each person…you can dress the way you like.	Creo que quiero vestirme como las zonas en rodean, pero lo mismo que solamente es el mismo estilo de la ropa tradicional que usamos. No podemos usar cortes más como faldas pequeña, no corte que nosotros usamos. Siempre es larga y otras chicas usan muy, muy corto. A mí no me gusta. Sí, siempre me ha gustado el corte o la falda muy larga que es esta ropa original. Ahora muchas chicas quieren gustar más cortos, más cortos. El corte es más corto y creo que no es buena idea para mí y es como hablan. Hablan mal de las chicas como a enseñar las piernas o a 'no es una buena chica porque provoca a los hombres' o cosas similares. Entonces, la ropa que quiero ustar, es la misma. Mi madre me enseñó, mis abuelos me enseñaron que la ropa es larga. Es normal, no es muy abierto, open y abierto. Entonces es normal. Yo prefiero usar como a mí me gusta si me gusta. Y la otra chica no le gusta mi corte o que ella puede vestir como ella le gusta. Y ojo, experto, pues creo que cada persona. Puede vestirse como le gusta.
129	Lisa	I wear shorts and go to the beach. It's *normal*, but there are a lot of people a bit more adult than us and when they look at us with shorts it's like, 'These girls. It's not decent of her.' I think people	Yo digo esto porque para nosotras las chicas es normal. Por ejemplo, yo me pongo short y voy a la playa. Es normal, pero hay mucha gente un poco más adulta que nosotras y cuando nos miran con un short es

		think that we, we just want to show our body. I don't know, because it is inevitable everywhere in the world. Sexual attractiveness is unavoidable.	como estas chicas. No es de decente ella, ph no. Yo pienso que ellas o las personas piensan que nosotros, we just want to show nuestro cuerpo. No se porque es inevitable en todas partes del mundo. Es inevitable el morbo.
129	Lisa	People told me that I shouldn't wear this because I was chubby, fat. They say that my body doesn't look good because I have pants. If I have a very small waist, then it's possible…for a long time I didn't want to wear pants, because I felt that it wasn't pretty and I didn't feel pretty. Then I don't know. Later, when I started to have more confidence in myself, more security in my environment, now I don't care. People think it's good for me. For me it is important now that I feel good. I think it's a very important part of experimenting or having stories with clothes.	Otras personas me dijeron que yo no debería. Yo no debería vestir esto por que yo era gordita, gorda. Poco gorda, entonces ellos dicen que mi cuerpo no se mira bien por Tengo pantalones, si tengo una usa muy pequeña, entonces es posible mirar que una persona está muy gorda, entonces por mucho tiempo yo no quise usar pants, no quise usar pantalones porque yo sentía que no era bonito y yo no me sentía bonita. Entonces yo no sé. Por mucho tiempo, pero después, cuando yo comencé a tener más confianza en mí, más seguridad en mi entorno, ahora no me importa. La gente piensa que es bueno para mí. Uno es bueno para mí. Para mí es importante ahora que yo me siento bien. Entonces pienso que es una parte muy importante de experimentar o tener historias con la ropa.
130	Ana	Maybe he likes women to dress in traje – or – I don't know because I wouldn't know what would go on in his head… He gave that comment, so I was very, very uncomfortable all day – thinking that I didn't look good in my clothes…It was just when he was studying, why didn't he continue studying?	Tal vez tal vez porque siendo él, tal vez le gusta que las mujeres se vistan con traje o -No lo sé porque no sabría como qué pasaría en tu cabeza. el dio ese comentario, entonces estuve muy, muy incómoda todo el día. Pensando que no me veía bien en el traje que yo llevaba la ropa.

			No? No, ahora ya no solo fue cuando él estaba estudiando, por qué no siguió estudiando?
130	Rosa	I don't wear pants much because my grandmother always scolds me and tells me, Why do you have pants if I don't wear pants?	Yo no uso mucho pantalón porque mi abuelita siempre me regaña y me dice Ay, por qué tienes pantalón si yo no uso pantalón? Y por qué tú sí? Y. Ellos todavía respetan su cultura.
131	Lisa	First, they said I shouldn't [wear pants] because I'm not a man and I think that was the least important thing for me. What affected me the most was when I was told that I shouldn't wear it because I'm fat or was fat. I shouldn't wear Ladino clothes? I'm fat, in traditional clothes. That was the situation I experienced, but after a while I didn't care. But I had to work a lot on my personality…my self-esteem.	Yo sí creí que no debería usar esta ropa, pero yo pienso que fue más por por baja autoestima. Primero dijeron que yo no debería porque yo no soy hombre y pienso que para mí fue lo menos importante. Lo que más me afectó fue cuando me dijeron que yo no debería usar porque estoy gorda o estaba gorda. Entonces para mí es como yo. No debería usar ropa latina. Por qué se miran mucho más que yo? Estoy gorda, con ropa tradicional. No se mira mucho. Fue esa la situación que yo viví, pero después de un tiempo no me importo. Pero yo tuve que trabajar mucho en mi personalidad.
131	Esperanza	Where can I start? My family, some relatives, some aunts who wear the traje always, some cousins, um? Friends…" It's not in a rude manner. It's in a manner – 'Why don't you think it's better?' It's an opinion. 'Why don't you think your traje is better than trousers?	Puedo empezar como mi familia. Algunos familiares, como un algunas tía que usan su traje siempre. Algunas primas y eh, amigos. Oh, sí, casi tarados. Por eso yo 'digo ah! Me han dicho Ah, no deberías de usar tu es. No es una manera grosera un ala al decir sí, no es una manera como. 'Por qué no piensas mejor Esto' Es una opinión. 'Por qué no piensas mejor tu traje que pantalón?' Sólo una opinión.

132	Esperanza	When I lived in Xela, some people, it was like discrimination against people who wore their traje who study or to go to university. If it was something like - they think that because you're wearing your native traje, they think you can't speak Spanish. They think you don't speak Spanish - I thought 'No, I couldn't get to college or things like that.' [They] think of your intellect as less for wearing your suit. One of my of my goals when I was studying in the city was to show other people that wearing my traje could be better, and no, no, it wasn't what they thought.	Eh, tal vez, tal vez es y diferent a mí no, a mí no me han dicho pero pero si he escuchado o si he he visto de otras personas. Cuando yo vivía en Quetzaltenango u e algunas personas en. Era como discriminación u a las personas que usaban su traje para ir a. A estudiar o a la universidad? Si era algo como eh? Porque lo usabas estás en la ciudad o porque estás usando eso aquí? O piensan que por cargar tu traje originario piensan que no puedes hablar español. Pensé que no hablas español, eh? Pensé que no, no podía llegar a la universidad o cosas como eso. O piensa en que tu intelecto es menos por utilizar tu tu traje.
132	Marisol	I realized the first day I went to college, everyone was wearing pants and dresses. I also wore those clothes, because for me, it's more comfortable to go to school in those clothes. But one day I started thinking about wearing my traje, I wore my típica traje at the university and that's how I realized that there was some discrimination. It's like some of my classmates were staring at me? Another part of my classmates really appreciated the traje, because it looked very elegant and very nice…Even this one, I told my mom, that they were taking pictures of me appreciating my traje típica. On the other hand, the other part of the companions didn't, the discrimination was noticeable. But the truth is that I didn't care because I know the value of my traje típica and so I stayed with	Entonces este yo empecé a estudiar la universidad el año pasado. Voy a mi cuarto semestre, pero cuando me di cuenta este el primer día que fui a la universidad, todos iban de pantalón y de vestido. Entonces yo también iba con esa ropa, porque para mí, como les digo, es más cómodo ir con esa ropa a estudiar. Pero un día me puse a pensar en llevar mi traje típico puesto a la universidad. Entonces fui un día de Universitario Estudio los fines de semana, los sábados. Estudió en la universidad. Entonces llevé mi traje típico y me vestí como me visto acá en la universidad y así me di cuenta que había cierta discriminación. Es como una parte de mis compañeros se me quedaban viendo. Así como este está bien, no viene de Xela porque en la acción utilizamos pantalón. Y otra parte de mis compañeros apreciaban mucho el traje típico, porque se miraba muy

		those who did appreciate it and ignored those who didn't.	elegante y muy bonito y típico de San Pedro muy, muy elegantes. Entonces sí, muchos de mis compañeros apreciaban y les gustaba que yo había llevado mi traje típico y todavía este le contaba a mi mamá también que me estaban tomando fotos apreciando mi traje típico. Pero eran pocos, eran pocos los que hacían eso. En cambio, la otra parte de los compañeros sí, como que sí se notaba la discriminación que ellos hacían. Pero la verdad es que a mí no me importó porque yo sé el valor que tiene mi traje típico y pues me quedé con los que sí lo apreciaron y ignoraran, los que.
132 – 133	Petronilla	On some occasions, I wore my típica clothes to school. One of the teachers said to me one day, 'Why are you a tourist today?' I said, 'What tourist? This is my traje, it's my clothes.' She told me 'No, but you have a school uniform.' and I said 'I did not know that I was forbidden to wear our típica traje. I told her I got mad at her because normally we were like friends, we got along. I told her, 'It's not a tourist clothes.'…She told me that every time I wore my típica traje, she always said, 'Why are you like a tourist today? I believe that in that school there is discrimination for indigenous people or for those who wear traditional traje. Not just me - Many people coming to the school. I want to wear it… it's my choice.	Pero cuando yo estudiaba y Xela, en algunas ocasiones yo llevé mi ropa típica a la escuela y una de las maestras fue una discriminación, porque una de las maestras me dijo un día Por qué vienes de turista? Por qué eres turista hoy? Yo dije qué turista es mi traje, es mi ropa y ella me dijo No, pero tú tienes un uniforme de la escuela y dije Ah, yo no sabía que Arquine estaba prohibido usar nuestro traje típico es. Yo le dije yo me enojé con ella porque normalmente éramos como amigas. Si nos llevábamos bien. Yo le dije No es un traje de turista. Para mí es el uniforme de la escuela porque no es mi ropa. Este traje es mi cultura, es mi ropa y es la que me identifica de dónde vengo y cómo y de dónde es, cómo soy en realidad. Entonces, en dos ocasiones me dijo me dijo que o cada vez que yo llevaba mi traje típico siempre decía por qué vienes de turista o por qué eres como una turista hoy. Yo creo que en esa escuela sí hay

		I'm indigenous, I'm in Guatemala, it is my country. I never felt ashamed to wear my típica traje because I am an indigenous person,	discriminación para para para los indígenas o para los que usan trajes típicos. No sólo loco. Muchas personas que llegaban a la escuela. No sólo mi maestra y yo, solo mi maestra y yo y yo me sentí mal, le dije. Por qué dice esto es mi ropa? En ese año estaba prohibido por la ley decirle a una persona que no use su traje típico. Yo le dije mi traje, si quiero usarlo, lo uso, sino más bien, pero es es mi elección. Yo le dije eso, yo no soy toristas, Estoy indígena estoy en Guatemala, estoy en mi país, No olvide y no tome tanto como persona o como algo fuerte. Yo dije yo. Yo sé qué significa el traje para mí y no me afectó. Yo le dije no es traje de turista, es mi ropa. Yo nunca me sentí avergonzada de usar mi ropa típica porque yo, yo era de un pueblo indígena.
133	Valentina	I was in my teens when I started studying. It was a bit strong for me. I even got to a point where I didn't wear my traditional dress anymore, I wore Ladino clothes like pants, but I didn't have much money…I tried to save up to buy clothes, so I wouldn't feel discriminated against…. I was too ashamed…Then I understood that it's not right. During my work, because I worked there, I never wore Ladino clothes. I always wore my traditional clothes. All my coworkers loved the color,	Yo estaba en mi adolescencia, cuando yo comencé a estudiar. Fue un poco fuerte para mí. Hasta llegué a un punto de no usar más mi traje tradicional, yo use ropa latina como pantalón, pero no tenía mucho dinero para comprar porque mis padres me enviaban dinero sólo para la comida y yo trataba de ahorrar para comprar ropa y usar esto para no sentirme discriminada. Pero en general, y después comprendí que eso no está bien. Y durante mi trabajo, porque yo trabajé ahí, yo nunca usé ropa, ropa latina, siempre

		everything, and they always told me, 'We love your clothes.' During my work, I spoke my language. I wore my traje – everything normal. That also made me more, like, confident again, because it was a little difficult for me. In my adolescence. Now that I visit Xela – I love this place, I love it and I always visit it. It is one of my favorite places. I like it a lot and I wear my traje, I speak my language and also, when I want, I wear Ladino clothes, but it's not very, very important to me.	usé ropa. Mi ropa tradicional dejaría todos. A todos mis compañeros de trabajo les encantaba el color, todo, y ellos siempre me decían nos encanta tu ropa. Entonces eso también me hizo más, como otra vez con la confianza, porque sí fue un poco difícil en mí. En mi adolescencia. Pero ahora que visito Xela me encanta este lugar, me encanta y siempre lo visito. Es uno de mis lugares favoritos. Me gusta mucho y usa mi traje, hablo mi idioma y también cuando quiero uso ropa latina, pero no es muy, muy importante para mí esto. Si por ejemplo, a veces tengo amigas cuando viajamos a algún lugar porque yo estudio en la universidad también, entonces nosotras viajamos a veces a la ciudad por la universidad, ellas van con la ropa latina. Pero yo voy con mi ropa tradicional. Entonces ellas me dicen 'Por qué no usaste pantalón o algo? Por qué?' Sí, sí, mi traje, la ropa de siempre. Cuál es la diferencia de venir a la ciudad y estar en San Pedro? No sé, pero es más cómodo, claro, pero yo me siento más cómoda con mi ropa.
134	Elena	They like to see more of me in a traje…They tell me that's where I come from, it is part of my culture, of my identity	Cómo es el bordado del huipil o que el color es muy bonito, que resalta mucho, que llama la atención, que les gusta? Les gusta mi traje y muchos me han dicho que les gusta verme más. Con traje que cuando me pongo un pantalón porque me dicen que pues es de donde yo vengo. Es parte de mi cultura, de mi identidad. Entonces, si les gusta, les

			gusta, porque allá, pues es trabajo entre más gente ladina.
134	Gloria	It's been 12 years, but that's how it is. It's funny because I had companions who lived there – from Xela and other towns – they made fun of my traje. In fact, I had to wear pants. But one day it occurred to me to look at típica clothes as a gala suit, because I consider it as elegant, my traje (c. 2008). About the mockery – the funny thing is that now they are my friends on Facebook and every time I upload a picture with my outfit, they say they are impressed by the outfit. They like my suit, now they didn't like it before when we were students…Even they wear güipil with pants, but not corte. As time has gone on, the bad political or a bad perspective, a bad theory about the traje—back then when we were students – but now I think that because of the level of studies, they look at things differently.	(Internet issues, partially field notes) Hace 12 años, pero es así. Es curioso porque tuve compañeras que vivían que son de Retalhuleu y otros pueblos- Precisamente en Quetzaltenango (Xela) no eran, pero se burlaban de mi traje, nos pedían traje, traje elegante. De hecho ha si yo uso pantalón. Pero un día se me ocurrió buscar ropa típica como traje de gala, porque yo lo considero como elegante mi traje. Sobre una burla. Pero lo curioso es que ahora ellos son mis amigos en Facebook y cada vez que yo subo una foto con mi traje, ellos dicen que les impresiona el traje. Se les gusta mi traje, ahora si antes no les gustaba cuando éramos estudiantes, ahora, ahora cuando miran que yo uso traje, a ellos les gusta. Incluso ellos usan, usan huipil con pantelon, usan Huipil con pantalon, mas no corte. Ahora - Ahora como que conforme el tiempo ha ido bien, tenía un mal, tenía un mal político o una mala perspectiva, un mal, una mala teoría sobre los trajes. En ese entonces cuando éramos estudiantes, pero ahora creo que por el nivel de estudios ya miran diferente las cosas. Si tengo amigas que son de otro y que no son, que lo usan traje típico, pero les gusta los huipiles que yo uso les encanta y lo combinan con gente con pantalón.

134	Gloria	I used to feel like there was a barrier between the Ladino and the non-Ladino, the non-Pueblo. But now that [wearing a güipile] indicates that there is already brotherhood. Today we already have the use of cloth, it's the same.	Ya lo he visto y yo lo uso. Mis amigas los gustan, como les digo, es normal para mí. Hasta incluso me daba orgullo para mi que uso en la ropa de nosotros, antes tenía como había una barrera entre lo latino y lo lo, Lo no del pueblo. Pero ahora eso indica que ya hay hermandad. Hoy ya contamos con el uso de ropa. Es nuestra misma frase. No te gustaba? Era mucho. Había mucha discriminación tanto en lo latino y lo pero ahora. Sí puedo decir tú puedes garantizar que San Pedro es humanitario. Es que hay mucha hermandad, hay mucha hermandad y nosotros lo usamos igual.Yo a veces he usado ropas como elegancia, un poco elegante, pero hay muchos que tienen una muy diferente, muy cerrada, que para ellos no para la ropa. No, no se pueden mezclar, pero para mí significa hermandad.
134	Ana	I use my dress to identify with my people, just like you use yours to identify with your people.	Bueno, yo lo definiría como algo como como había dicho antes. Para identificarnos es más como la identidad del pueblo y de uno que forma parte del pueblo. Es pues yo digo que es más eso de una identidad. El traje o la ropa- La vestimenta que utilizamos. Eso nos nos diferencia entre entre los demás municipios u otros pueblos.
136	Rosa	Me? Different always! Why? I always try to look for a different styles or combinations. I don't like to run into someone who is wearing the same thing or that people dress the same as me - I don't like it - there are little details, colors, combinations. I do prefer to be different when it	Yo? Diferente siempre. Por qué? Siempre trato la manera de buscar un. Estilos o combinaciones diferentes? No me gusta encontrarme con alguien que esté vistiendo lo mismo que esa persona o. O que las personas se vistan igual que yo no me gusta - hay detalles pequeñitos, colores, combinaciones.

		comes to matching my clothes or my outfits.	Pero si prefiero ser diferente en cuanto a combinar mi ropa o mi vestimenta.
136	Carolina	I want to be famous in my hometown. With the new 'Carolina' designs.	(Internet issues, partially field notes) Creo que estaría mejor que me gustaría ser famosa en mi pueblo. Digamos, así como nuevos diseños o no? Eh? Sí, con los nuevos diseños de [Redaced name]. Así sí me gustaría ser famosa en mi pueblo.
136	Ester	No need for all of us [Pedranas] to dress alike.	Si tienen, no tienen muchos, la gente aquí uno inventa estilos de blusa y tienen diferentes opciones para vestirse. Aquí no hay que todos debemos de vestirnos igual.
136 – 137	Ana	I think everyone has a different opinion about what they use from their own clothes. Perhaps they use the garment only because they are forced? Because they do not have the possibility to buy one they would like or to feel comfortable? Or simply that they do not like to be in only one type of garment? I think the people want to adapt – to know the culture of other people, other countries. Why? Because if it were not so, then we would be in San Pedro's traje, nothing else, and we would all have the same thing. Do you think uniforms would always be boring? I think that is also part of our personality. We differentiate ourselves from other people by	En esta investigación, pues creo que es muy interesante. Nunca había escuchado una investigación de este tipo, es muy original. Para mí fue muy interesante porque nunca nadie me había preguntado de comer, de cómo puede, cómo me sentía. Tal vez sopa o nadie me preguntó y si alguien me había juzgado al momento de utilizar otras prendas? Y pues creo que cada persona tiene diferente opinión acerca de lo que utiliza de su. De su ropa muchos tal vez utilizan en la prenda solo porque les obligan o porque no tienen la posibilidad de comprarse uno donde ellos quisieran sentirse cómodos O simplemente que no les gusta y les gusta estar en un solo tipo de prenda, pero habemos bastante. Bastantes personas que también nos gusta la diversidad. Todo lo que es diferente y. Y de adaptarnos, pues creo que pienso que es la gente que

		having a different type of garment. And that makes us unique and that forms our personality. There is a day [an event] – people immediately think about how you dress – 'Which one you would like? Which one would you look good in? or Which one you wouldn't prefer to wear?' Then people are already forming their own opinions about how to differentiate from everyone else. And it's very, very interesting, because I had never really, ever imagined talking about clothes.	quiere adaptarse, adaptarse, conocer la cultura de otros pueblos, países. Por qué? Porque si no fuera así, entonces nosotros estuviéramos con el traje de San Pedro, nada más, y todos tendríamos lo mismo. Creen que uniforman siempre sería muy aburrida? Por qué? Los colores de los demás, de los demás, de los demás huipiles, de otros municipios son muy llamativos y eso hace. La diferencia entre todas las personas, porque como te había dicho, a mí no me gustaría utilizar un huipil con muchos adornos, por decirlo así, sino que uno más, más completo, tal vez con poco o sin adornos, simplemente utilizarlo. Así de simple. Creo que también eso nos es parte de nuestra personalidad y hace que nos. Nos diferenciamos de las demás personas teniendo un tipo de prenda diferentes. Y eso nos hace únicos y eso forma nuestra personalidad, porque a la gente. Y a la gente común que nos conoce más que todo por la ropa que utilizamos. Sí, y cuándo? Y cuando hay un día no es un evento o algo que quieran regalarte. La gente de inmediato piensa en cómo te vistes, en cuál te gustaría, en cuál te verías bien o cual no preferirías utilizarlo. Entonces la gente ya va formando sus propias opiniones acerca de uno para diferenciarnos de todas las personas. Y es muy pero muy interesante, porque la verdad nunca, nunca me había imaginado hablar de ropa. Solo solo con mi mamá para para escoger lo que queremos a Utilizás. Solamente.
137	Cristalina	Well, notice that now it's like maybe, like in your country. I	Pues fíjate que ahora es como tal vez, como en tu país. Pienso que

		think that every era, in every era, a fashion is used. Let's assume fashion, right now – at this time it is fashionable to use again the güipile of before, because it was left a time, a long time that the traje típica was no longer used. It was used more by grandmothers. Do you understand it? Grandmothers – It was used more by the old people, you say. This one [indicating to her güipile] - yes, it's from back then. Young children no longer used that, but now we're using this again.	cada época, en cada época se utiliza una moda. Supongamos una moda entonces, ahorita. En este tiempo está de moda utilizar nuevamente el huipil de antes, porque se dejó un tiempo, mucho tiempo que ya no se utilizó el traje típico. Lo utilizaban más las abuelas. La comprendes? Las abuelas sí. Y este? Lo utilizaban más los. Los viejos dicen ustedes. Este, Sí, es de entonces. Niños jóvenes ya no utilizaban eso. Pero ahora nuevamente estamos utilizando esto. Nuevamente estamos utilizando y tenemos otro como un per range, No colocamos. Es para taparnos o para ir a la iglesia. Tu quieres ver, tú. Si yo voy a ir a traer y yo te enseño. Estoy aquí, lo busco y yo te enseño - Un momento. Un momento, Emilly fuera su hija. Si tú miras aquí, no sé si está claro. Aquí tengo varios guipies, varios.
138	Esperanza	In San Pedro, the women like to design a lot – there are many seamstresses, a lot of them, and each seamstress designs a style of blusa. If a lot of women like it, it becomes a fashion. So, for a while, for a year or two years, a blusa of – an example of butterflies – can become a fashion. Then step away. 'This blusa is fashionable and I'm going to buy this blusa because it's fashionable.' And a lot of women in San Pedro do that. They use what is fashionable. Yes, the design is already passed and another design comes out, another woman from San Pedro designs with a lace and says 'This is pretty and it looks good on you.'	En en en San Pedro a las mujeres les gusta mucho diseñar - hay muchas costureras, muchas mucha y cada costurera diseña un estilo de blusa y si a muchas mujeres les gusta u se vuelve una moda. Entonces, por un tiempo, de un año o dos años, una blusa de - un ejemplo de mariposas puede volverse una moda. Entonces disten. Esta blusa está de moda y yo voy a comprar esta blusa porque está de moda. Y muchas mujeres en San Pedro hacen eso. Utilizan lo que está de moda. Sí, ya pasó el diseño y sale otro diseño, otra mujer de San Pedro diseña con con blonda y dice esto es bonito y se mira bien en ti. Todas las mujeres compran ese diseño durante un año o dos años y se vuelve moda.

		Every woman buys that design for a year or two years and it becomes fashionable.	
138	Pilar	I say now that it's modern it's more about taste…not because it represents such and such God or such and such meaning or because it is Sunday. It is no longer for that, but for taste, for fashion…Now it is more of fashion - more fashion. For them [ancestors], they were going that way for the connection to Gods of the Earth, of the Sun. Because it had meaning for their ceremonies. But now this corte or a white güipile of San Juan is normal. It doesn't mean that I'm married or that I'm going to get married…it's whatever you like.	Entonces, y en algún momento, ellos vestían de esa manera, por algún significado para ellos. Que el de ahora que. Que ahora es eh moderno y… Es más, ahora es más de, más e moda es más moda. Que. Que. Que portar e por lo que creo y por ejemplo. En San Juan hay tres tipos de trajes de tres. Tres estilos de trajes e ancestrales en San Juan. Hoy el rojo. Un rojo. Uy blanco, que el bordado es el mismo que del rojo es un blanco, que el bordado es totalmente diferente. Entonces. Este el huipil rojo de San Juan era, eh, de de ario, de de arios, de e 1 e portaba ese s huipil de ario y perdón y el blanco era para e para casarse e una boda. E. O siestás de esa manera es clasificaban e sus trajes y el traje que tiene un bordado diferente que es blanco, pero. Pero el diseño del traje del huipil tiene pájaros. Entonces eso lo usaban para ceremonias en mayas. Para ellos e iban de esa manera como para con, para la conexión de dioses de la tierra, del Sol. Porque tenía significado, eh, para, para sus ceremonias. Entonces era muy, muy clasificado antes, ancestral e los ancestros. Pero ahora cortar esto o un huipil blanco de San Juan es normal. No quiere decir que estoy casada o que me voy a casar o de esa manera de antes sí. Porque ellos sabían que esa persona o ya estaba casada o o se casaría ahora. Y es lo que a uno le guste. Y si bien antes se respetaban mucho más los colores,

			el significado de cada traje, de cada color terner… Sea más o menos - pero eh, como te digo ahora que es moderno es mas por gustos, mas por gustos, mas eh. Ya no, no porque representa tal de tal Dios o tal tal eh? Significado o porque sea día del sol. Ya no es por eso, sino por por gusto, por moda.
138	Esperanza	…much about the history of the drawings or shapes.	Pues nada, gracias por - Por tomarte el. El. El espacio de conocer a las mujeres. Pedranas y que a tu estudio aquí es. Es muy importante para para nosotros como. Como Pedrajas que. Que nos tomen en cuenta. Que puedan pensar que en un pueblo pequeño puedan salir nuevas ideas, puedan expresar nuevas e emociones de cómo se siente. Las personas acerca de un e una vestimenta. Es muy interesante lo de tu estudio, me agrada. Al principio pensé que se trataba de un estudio acerca del significado especial, porque los top o solo trajes típicos tienen un significado aparte de de la historia, un significado espiritual. Muchos trae dicen que tienen los colores significan algo. La cruz se los corte significan las las estaciones del el tiene mucho que ver con la astrología y la religión maya. Si los colores de los mayas. Rojo o negro, amarillo, verde, entonces todos esos colores tienen mucho que ver con el y la indumentaria maya. Entonces yo creí que era solo sobre eso y orle g a mi amiga yo le comentaba a mi amiga yo no sé mucho de la historia de los dibujos o de las formas. Inet dice no, no te preocupes, es sólo como o te vistes y que piensas del de la ropa? Yo entonces si está bien, no soy un no, no tengo mucha historia

			sobre cada significado. Le digo ya, pero si es es muy bueno, es muy bueno e interesante que tomes en cuenta a mi pueblo, a mi origen y que y que puedas estudiar más como pensamos nosotros acerca del uso de la ropa.
139	Rosa	Everything changes and we have to adapt…That does not mean that you lose your origin.	Que ellos tienen, pero todo cambia y tenemos que adaptarnos a cada. Es muy bueno utilizar, por ejemplo, la ropa ladina, pero no, eso no significa que pierdas lo que tu origen me entiendes. Por ejemplo, yo puedo utilizar ropa latina, pero también en ocasiones no puedo decir bueno, llamo más trajes y ahora solo ropa ladina. No cuando lo amerite.

Chapter 6 – Discussion

156	Regina	Other people have come here, they have studied us, and we don't know what happens next. What do they do with the information?"	Field Notes