

Elusive Visibility: Female Athletes in Sololá, Guatemala

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Abstract

Women and their involvement in sports in Latin America represent a vastly understudied realm. My research looks specifically at female athletes in the western highlands of Guatemala and the challenges that embody their existence as women in a traditionally male-dominated social activity. Inhibitions such as the lack of federal aid, resources, and public support coupled with contradictions in culturally informed concepts of *machismo* and indigeneity provide the framework for an extremely complex and dynamic reality for women and their interaction with sport. My analysis focuses on the interplay between these various factors and the tensions created within in order to critically expose the underdevelopment of women's sport participation in Guatemala and, thus, the elusive nature of the female athletes' visibility.

“If young girls, starting at a young age, could have the mentality that they can play sports, I think that would improve their self-esteem... A lot of times there are messages that... are so natural. They always say, ‘Women can’t do it. They can’t. Women are weaker.’ And we don’t see it or notice it because we are used to it and it’s so natural—these sexist messages. But if there are... other messages that make us see that women can do just as much as men...I think society will change. Sport is important.”ⁱⁱ
Inés, 29 dec. 2012

Introduction

Inésⁱⁱⁱ is a social worker and an elected municipal official who works with the Municipal Women’s Office of Tolinecpán.^{iv} She was also the first woman I interviewed in my research for this project. As I sat with her listening to her talk about women and sport in Guatemala, her comment that “sport is important” in its power to change society and gender relations stood out to me. As an athlete since youth and a believer in sports ability to promote change, of course I agreed. But I would soon learn that such a statement was in fact an anomaly. I would learn that sport is *not* inherently important to the people of Tolinecpán and, further, that women have a strikingly complex relationship with it. The analysis that ensues will explore the nuances that Inés’ quote suggests amongst other involuted factors and how they define the reality of female athletes and underdeveloped sports opportunities in Guatemala.

Sport all around the world has historically been an activity in which men have dominantly participated, organized, and succeeded (Neve and McPeck, 6). Sport has also been a realm of study that has received a generous amount of academic apprehension questioning what it can contribute to academia and what it can tell us about society and ourselves. Joseph Arbena, speaking with respect to

Latin America, articulately identifies that the study of sport no longer necessitates justification of legitimacy- “any activity that can attract up to 200,000 spectators in many places at about the same time, [...and] provide the theme for speeches by politicians from mayors to presidents... merits serious analysis” (*Sport and Society in Latin America*, 1). Latin America provides an especially pronounced stage for exploration in that it represents a domain in which the conflation of sport as a historically male-dominant activity and the continued existence of traditional social patriarchal systems provide for a complex context. Within this context, my research will focus on deciphering the lived experience of female athletes in Guatemala. By expounding cultural notions of what sport means, its social connotations, and the role it plays in women’s lives, I uncover important factors contributing to the underdevelopment of female sport. I look specifically at Guatemala because of the existence of lasting institutions of male-dominance seen since the Spanish conquest and throughout the Civil War conflicts from 1960 to 1996. Additionally, the coexistence of indigenous and non-indigenous populations provides a rich dynamic for further analysis. I look specifically at women and their involvement in sport within this context to explore social and cultural realities and expose the contradictions of traditionally held values with contemporary notions of change.

My investigation, which includes a combination of scholarly analyses of sport in Latin America and personal interviews, will expatiate on contemporary cultural intricacies bound by tradition and their interplay with a society that suffers an underdevelopment of sport, particularly for women in Guatemala. Observing patterns of machismo, support and resources given to sport, individual initiative,

and the urban-rural dichotomy in both cultural and political spheres, I aim to reveal significant tensions in Guatemalan culture and elucidate the experience of female athletes in Guatemala within the male-dominated realm of sport.

Methodology

In addition to integrating books, journals, articles, and essays originating from disciplinary perspectives such as sociology, law, and history, and carefully reviewing Guatemalan national sport websites, I conducted a series of ethnographic interviews that significantly shape the present analysis. During a period of 10 days that I spent in the department of Sololá, Guatemala, I interviewed 6 women and 1 man to ask about their personal experiences with sport. The 6 women were all residents in the department of Sololá and between the ages of 18 and 40 years old. Their family situations were varied (single, married, with children, etc.) as well as their professions and pastimes. I spoke with a social worker and elected municipal official, a professional basketball player, a recent high school graduate, the director of the local Municipal Women's Office and her assistant, and a physical education teacher. The one male that I spoke with, also a resident of Sololá, was also a physical education teacher and local sports tournament coordinator. I spoke with a wide variety of people to get a diverse perspective of how sport is viewed and interacted with on a local level as well as obtain a solid background understanding of the opportunities and availabilities for organized sport for men and women, young and old.

I asked questions relating to the interviewees personal interaction with sport as well as their opinions and perceptions of sport on a national and local level. I approached all discussions and questions utilizing the word *deporte* (“sport”) so as to not specify any sport in particular. Thus, all answers and sport-specific identifications imply what they categorize most notably and importantly as “sport”.

I recognize the limitations of the scale of my data pool. I do not aim to stipulate the ‘facts’ or to make sweeping conclusions based on the views, experiences, and opinions of 7 Guatemalans. Nor do I find such ambitions constructive. Rather, I aim to utilize the perspectives expressed amongst my interviewees to provide fragments of reality in a field of study largely void of personal and individual insight. I put such insights to use in order to inform, shape, and enlighten my investigation and, in conjunction with a variety of literature and theory, to substantiate the framework of the forthcoming analysis.

Background

Female Athletes in Latin America: A Brief Literature Review

Available literature and writings on female athletes in Latin America is remarkably scant. As European versions of modern sport trickled over to Central America from Europe in the late 1800s, female participation has always been subordinate to male participation. Even while women’s participation in sport can be traced back to the era of the ancient Greeks (Guttmann *Women’s Sports*), substantial and widespread research on the experience and relationship of women and sport in Latin America struggles to surface.

Joseph Arbena does the topic the most justice by admitting to the invisibility of the Latin American female athlete on the scholastic radar, dedicating a chapter entitled “In Search of the Latin America Female Athlete” in his 2002 book on sport in Latin America. He highlights the fact that “only limited attention has been paid” to the role of sport in society, specifically concerning females due to the limitations apparent within “largely an all-male world” (*Sport in Latin America and the Caribbean*, 219). However, Arbena’s contemporary stance aside, it is hard to come by even the slightest recognition of females in an athletic context amongst historical texts.

In Eduardo Galeano’s acclaimed book that poetically follows the history of soccer, the very mention of anything female appears once in the entire publication. In this instance, he does not refer to a female athlete but rather to the soccer *ball* as a female object (Galeano, 105). It is apparent that he does not integrate the idea of women in soccer even when relating a general history of the sport. Eric Wagner’s rich and thoughtful chapter on “Sport” in the *Handbook of Latin American Popular Culture*^v provides a plethora of citations for the intrigued academic or the amateur scholar that include studies, articles, books, and theses done on sport and society in various Latin American countries. He fails to mention women in any legitimate context of sport and societal analysis, only offhandedly mentioning that in future research sport could be studied as a “measure of understanding” amongst male and female (Wagner, 144). A lack of reference specifically to female athletes does not necessarily imply that they are without recognition. What is striking is that when talking about sports, Galeano and Wagner make no specification as to gender

differences in participation and thus *imply* a purely male world and fail to acknowledge the advent of a female athlete.

Even with books such as Allan Guttman's *Women's Sports: A History*, that provide a beacon of hope for the recognition of female athletes, a negligible consideration is given to such females specifically in Latin America. He similarly acknowledges the lack of mention of women in early sport studies and accounts in Latin America, noting that most female athletes that reached any level of success at all were of European ancestry (240). So lacking is our knowledge about women's sports in Latin America, it would be "wise to postpone any further summary remarks" about such a population (241). Even with valiant intentions of exposing histories and realities of women's involvement in sports, the trend seems to dictate amongst male contemporary scholars that, when faced with a formidable abyss of topical sources and resources on female athletes in Latin America, it must be best to steer away from the subject matter and make a responsible call for future profound study.

It must also be noted that the majority of scholarly studies that acknowledge female athletes, measure their visibility and *existence* by looking at nationally and internationally recognized competitions in global events such as the Olympics or the Central American Games. As will soon be further developed in this analysis, the differences between competitive sport and leisure sport are vast and must be considered in distinct spheres. Of course, it proves more difficult to quantitatively *measure* sport participation if it is not at a highly competitive level thus such analyses are understood yet markedly limited in their breadth. For example, in J.A.

Mangan's compilation of essays about sport and society and Latin America, the handful of pages dedicated to female sport participation refer almost entirely to this participation as a function of international and, thus, *visible* competitions (Mangan, 51). Were it not for the visibility induced by a higher level of competition (television coverage of universal sporting events, for example), Latin American female athletes would be virtually undetectable. My approach to analyzing the lived experience of women and sports in Guatemala is not to *measure* their participation as a way to determine whether or not they are successful, rather it is to compile and scrutinize qualitative and empirical perspectives that do not reach the visible international competition platform and that may otherwise be unperceivable to the analytical academic eye.

Taking a look at the few texts that *do* present an on-the-ground, or at least more micro-leveled, approach to understanding the participation of women in sports in Latin America, other distinctions become apparent. In Edmundo Quintanilla's book on women and sports in Nicaragua, a large emphasis is placed on the particular physical, hormonal, and psychological differences between men and women as a means to define the experience of female athletes. Gregorio Marañón, albeit in a severely outdated and exceedingly patriarchal 1927 series of essays about sexual life, dedicates one section to discussing "Sex, work, and sport". He again highlights the physical differences and disparate social responsibilities of men and women, referring to men as the "strong sex" and assuring the reader that "sportive exercise should be reserved for men since [sport] is an equivalent of work and work represents an essentially masculine function" (Marañón, 73). While this point of

view has at least been arguably silenced and diminished since the time it was written due to an increased feminist discourse and desire for equal gender rights, these works represent the theoretical foundation, largely constructed by men, from which an understanding of the female athlete was born. When talking about sport, they favor an emphasis on females as inherently different *in comparison* to men, instead of viewing the female as a unique entity with a her own distinct relationship with sport, regardless of how she compares to a male figure. Within such a context, the historical gravity of progressive works, most notably by female researchers, provide a multilateral and holistic perspective to the discipline and to the Latin American female athlete. Liliana Morelli's 1990 book *Mujeres deportistas*, although devoid of notes and bibliographical references, presents one of the first presentations of Latin American (Argentinean) female athletes, written by a female author, elaborating on their sacrifice, success, and passion. The recognition of female athletes by a female author suggests a transforming discourse, brings visibility to these women, and provides an important starting point for anyone hoping to investigate women and sports in Latin America.

In understanding that the Latin American female athlete has been historically and analytically underrepresented and misrepresented in contemporary scholarly literature, it is important to note the signs of change and the significance of such works that recognize, analyze, and attempt to make visible the lived experience of such women. Within this literary setting, I hope to present a constructive analysis, with a micro-level approach, that will ideally contribute to the development of the field and understanding of women and sports.

Three Kinds of Sport and Connotations of the Word “Deporte”

Before delving into a deep analysis of sport, it is crucial to examine, first, the different kinds of sport that exist in Guatemala, the meanings of the Spanish word for “sport” (*deporte*) and its subsequent connotations. Defining sport by what is legally recognized in Guatemala, we have 3 categories:

1. *Deporte escolar* or sport taught and practiced in schools. Children aged 4 to 17 that are enrolled in school are required to attend physical education classes.^{vi} In addition, they typically have the opportunity to participate in school teams that compete against other schools in the municipality. Once a year they have the chance to play an elimination tournament at departmental, regional, and national levels.

2. *Deporte federado* or autonomous sport is not affiliated with educational institutions but is constituted as a competitive league, club, or organization. For example, all Guatemalan national teams are considered *deporte federado*. The two principal national organizational bodies of all autonomous sport are the *Confederation of Autonomous Sport of Guatemala* (CDAG) and the *Guatemalan Olympic Committee* (COG) (Lee).

3. *Deporte recreativo* or sport for recreation. This includes any kind of leisure activity and casual participation in sport amongst friends and family (Lee, 22).

This framework will be the one under which my analysis of sport in Guatemala will operate. It is important to acknowledge these 3 different kinds of sport as they are addressed as very separate entities and appear to embody different images, perceptions, and associations within society.

In addition to outlining the 3 categories of sport, it is equally important to discern briefly what connotations the word *deporte* may hold for Guatemalans. Literally translated as “sport” in English, *deporte* embodies what the culture holds as important within the sporting world. As mentioned previously, I approached all interviews using the general term of *deporte* (and not specifying a particular sport or realm of physical activity). Interviewees responded by utilizing the word to mean what they wanted it to mean- in a way that made sense within their personal context and experience. The majority of my interviewees immediately perceived my use of the word *deporte* and the purpose of my study to be correlated with school sport, or *deporte escolar*. The one exception was the professional female athlete I interviewed who, naturally, immediately perceived my mention of sport to refer to *deporte federado*, or autonomous leagues and teams. Additionally, observing which sports they primarily expressed as *deporte*, I was able to gather an understanding of what sports were viewed as important. Soccer and basketball were the principle sports discussed and thus the most clearly associated with the term *deporte*. Other activities deemed as justifiable sports that occupy a somewhat prevalent position in Sololá, although mentioned much less frequently, are track, swimming, volleyball, and chess.^{vii}

Brief History of Modern Sport in Guatemala

In talking about sport, I will not be considering traditional pre-colonial games, such as Maya Ball^{viii} that are no longer actively played.^{ix} While the specification of “modern sport” itself is a contested label, I will refer to it to mean sport of a more secular nature than “primitive and ancient sports”, and as playful

contests of *equality*. That is to say, sport is considered modern when everyone theoretically has an opportunity to compete and the conditions of competition are the same for all contestants (Guttman *From Ritual to Record*, 26). Maya Ball, for instance, was often played in rituals and involved the loser being put to death, thus breaking the nature of equality in conditions for all contestants. To further clarify, I will only be considering physical recreational activities that are still actively played today. My interviewees also consider sport within this category.

According to scattered records, sport began to be played and more strongly developed in Guatemala in the 1890s (McGehee "The Rise of Modern Sport in Guatemala", 132). Social clubs and organizations began organizing competitions amongst themselves in activities such as cycling, polo, tennis, shooting, fencing, and swimming among others. Soccer, which was to grip the country as the most popular sport, was brought across the Atlantic by young Guatemalan males who had gone to Europe to study, coming back eager to continue the games and activities they had participated in abroad (McGehee "The Rise of Modern Sport in Guatemala", 133). Membership of athletic clubs and organizations at this time was restricted to "young men of wealth and social standing" (McGehee "Sports and recreational activities in Guatemala and Mexico", 8), which dictated who was participating in athletic events in the country. The Hércules Sport and Social Club, established in 1909, was the first club to include a women's department, although it remains unclear what sports were included in the women's department, if any at all.

Since these beginnings, sport organizations and participation has generally increased across the country. As of March 2012, there are 45 sports recognized by

CDAG (Tobar, 32). More sports have been introduced and integrated into social life, but, as will soon be expanded upon, certain distinctions in the participating demographic still remain. In general, sports development is much more concentrated in Guatemala City, the capital of Guatemala, as wealth, resources, and administrative organizations are concentrated there.

Sport in Sololá

Sololá is one of 22 departments in Guatemala. It is located 3 hours, by car, west of Guatemala City in the western highlands. My research focuses primarily on a town called Tolinecpán, one of 19 municipalities in Sololá. It is located on the coast of Lake Atitlán. I also mention a few other towns in the department, particularly one I will call San Ignacio Xiquil located in the highlands above the Lake and with a significantly larger indigenous population than Tolinecpán.

Currently, the three types of sport discussed previously all have active constituencies in Sololá. Schools provide physical education classes and opportunities to participate in school-wide teams. There are a few public spaces available for recreational sport (namely soccer and basketball) and many privately owned small fields that one can rent for a couple hours of play. There are minimal municipal and departmental autonomous selections that compete at a higher level with other municipal and departmental teams.

No pay, no way: the willingness deficit

In Guatemala, it can be argued that sport occupies a low level ranking on the list of societal and political priorities. Based on observations gathered from various

interviews, there is a cultural belief that sport is only a hobby and an “extra” commitment for athletes and coaches alike. It is seen neither as a profession nor a worthwhile pastime^x since there are so many other concerns that come before involving oneself in sports.

In a nation with high levels of poverty, unemployment, and illiteracy, participating in sports is not seen as exceedingly important. As one of my interviewees noted, the population is generally more concerned with work, school, and “the economy”.^{xi} For a child who does not even go to school because they have to look after younger siblings and take care of the house, why would they play sports? Inés observes that female adults never do anything for themselves^{xii} because they have to work and care for their family. For coaches and trainers, apart from work as a physical education teacher, there is no opportunity for a job in sports outside of a school setting. Thus, according to several people I interviewed, organizing tournaments or forming teams represents unpaid work, effort, and time. This goes against the belief that with time and effort expended should come rewards and justification. The majority of my interviewees expressed that nobody is willing to administrate recreational sport for both men and women, young and old because “everyone is waiting on a salary”.^{xiii} There is a severe shortage in personnel willing to organize and promote sport within Tolinecpán due to the low priority level of sport and high priority level of paid work.^{xiv} This has a magnified impact on women and girls due to the male-dominance of sport in Guatemala- if there is no structure or organized opportunities for women and girls to play, they will find it very difficult

to play. On the other hand, it is more acceptable and common that men go play a game of pick-up in their free time.

The lack of human resources goes hand in hand with the low levels of athlete participation. With few people willing to donate time and effort for recreational, non-school sporting activities, the idea that sport is an “extra” commitment is amplified as children and adults find minimal opportunities for involvement.

Sport as a Sacrifice for Athletes and Coaches

This willingness deficit and the idea that sport is not a high priority help to sculpt a further notion of sport as a sacrifice. For coaches and athletes alike, sport not only represents an activity dissociated with high commitment and dedication, but it also represents a social and personal sacrifice for those involved with it.

Of course, the level of sacrifice depends on the level of play and the *kind* of sport, whether it be recreational, through school, or professional. At a lower level, in which no monetary transfer takes place, the main sacrifice is time and energy.

Gloria, a recent high school graduate, indicated her passion for playing soccer and her continual desire to play, but her inability to do so due to her lack of time.^{xv} In school from 8am to 5pm and with homework every night, Gloria found few opportunities to dedicate time and energy to playing soccer. School and work were priorities. At a higher level, in which sport could be considered a profession, one sacrifices their education and career by pursuing sport. Natalia, an ex-national team basketball player, expressed her simultaneous regret and joy at having pursued sport as a profession for 10 years. She sacrificed her University studies and had to come to terms with the idea that sport is not a life-long occupation.^{xvi} She says that

when she has a family, she will have to stop playing basketball competitively. As one scholar has noted, it does not seem possible for a woman to reconcile sport at a competitive level and family. They simply are not compatible, as both require exhaustive amounts of energy and availability. The female must choose (Morelli, 10).

As a coach, one cannot make a living of sport except as a Physical Education teacher. Taking the time outside of work has no financial benefits and thus is not a priority. As an athlete, the possibilities to pursue sport as a career are extremely slim, with the majority of the national teams consisting of athletes from Guatemala City. Natalia, an exception to the standard, was able to play for the national basketball team even though, as she said, she was from a *pueblo*.^{xvii} However, she noted her struggle upon entering the competitive basketball arena as her teammates were all from the capital and had been playing competitively since a young age. Furthermore, even as a member of the national team for 10 years, she did not consider it a job. She received no income. Instead, her room and board was provided, some educational stipends were given, and travel expenses for international matches were covered. While she did not have to spend any money, neither was she a salaried athlete. The notion of pursuing an interest without the guarantee of monetary gain is encountered with doubt and uncertainty. Thus, the pursuit of sport as both a recreational and professional option often confronts a severely low level of public support for athletes and coaches.

Natalia, Inés, and Sylvia (a Physical Education teacher) all expressed to me the idea that, despite their enthusiasm for sport and the role that it continues to play

in their lives, sport is “nothing more than a season”.^{xviii} This idea of temporality is also a major contributor to the vein of thought that reinforces the sacrificial nature of a woman pursuing sport.

Lack of National and Local Resources

In addition to a willingness deficit and a lack of public support, there exists a shortfall of resources and technical support at the national and local levels, complementing and contributing to the low public approval of female sport participation. After a brief introduction to the politics of sport in Guatemala, I will focus primarily on autonomous sport in this section since its underdevelopment and the corresponding legislation is what was most evidently criticized amongst my interviewees.

Politics and Sport in Guatemala

The development of sport has been a long road, politically, with legislation evolving at a slow and contemplative rate especially during eras of internal turmoil and guerrilla violence during the 36-year “civil war” and periods of genocide from 1960 to 1996 (Warren). During this time of periodic genocide sport was not seen as a high national priority. With the military forcibly silencing inklings of popular opposition to dictatorial regimes, neither the government nor citizens were highly concerned with sport development. The military primarily attacked rural communities, instilling fear in these communities and propagating the idea that the military and the citizens were not on the same team. The national government, in collaboration with the military, was effectively reinforcing its own power and the

centralized character of the dictatorship. With this as the leading national sentiment, many citizens lost trust and respect for their government. Not only was sport not on the radar during this era, but also future reconciliation concerning the dissemination of sport development throughout the country was to be stunted due to such raw relations between the center and periphery of the country.

The first leader to integrate a national organization of sport into the responsibilities of the government was Jorge Ubico Castañeda (1931-1944) (Lee, 47). Although the *Liga Deportiva Guatemalteca* (Guatemalan Sports League) was independently formed in 1921, it wasn't until 1934 that it was recognized by the government and put under the auspices of the Secretary of Public Education. Additionally, in these years preceding armed internal conflict, despite formal recognition of sport, the State did not show much support for sport due to their "form of domination based on servitude and authoritarianism" (Gaitán, 20). Since these days in which legal administration of sport was highly centralized amongst the executive branch of government, sport has been legally recognized as the three different categories described earlier: school sport (*escolar*), autonomous sport (*federado*), and recreational sport (*recreativo*). Its management has also undergone several decentralizing transformations. In 1986, the Ministry of Culture and Sport was established to facilitate recreational sport and physical education in schools. Now, there are several organizations created by the federal government but separate from the power of the central executive that are responsible for the facilitation of all 3 kinds of sports. The *Confederation of Autonomous Sport of Guatemala* (CDAG) and the *Guatemalan Olympic Committee* (COG) are responsible

for maintaining autonomous sport, including Olympic participants and teams (Lee). The Ministry of Culture and Sports is responsible for recreational sport and the Ministry of Education is responsible for school sport. All of these entities report to the *National Advisory of Sport, Physical Education, and Recreation* (CONADER), which advises the State on sportive issues. CONADER was formed in 1997 and serves as an advisory council to the government in representing the interests of sport throughout the country (Lee, 310). Responsibilities of these current organizations include: holding training workshops and formal meetings to discuss what is needed to “perfect sport and encourage an integral training in athletes”^{xix}, providing technical resources, equipment, and infrastructure support for the development of school sport^{xx}, and “give economic aid”^{xxi}, amongst others. Under the same law that created CONADER^{xxii}, departmental and municipal Councils were created with the intention of decentralizing the functions of national sport management and advancing locally based sport development programs.

Despite the seemingly positive development of legally facilitated sport opportunities, criticisms over the years have included that CONADER was created only in “paper and ink” while its functions and responsibilities have not been put into practice (Lee, 327). Likewise, local Councils and other management organizations have failed to carry out the responsibilities allotted to them.

The Constitution of 1986 contained the first mention of economic support for the promotion and development of sport coming from the national government.

Article 91 stipulated that 3% of the State revenue would go towards sport

development in the country. Of this amount, 50% would be allocated to autonomous sport, 25% to Physical Education and school sport, and 25% to “non-federated” sport (not autonomous and not in schools) (Tobar, 39).

However, as mentioned previously, the coordination of departmental and municipal organizational entities that correspond with and complement the organizations at the State level, was never implemented successfully. The lack of coordination and effective collaboration between the local, departmental, and national levels has contributed to the failed transfer of aid and resources from one entity to the other. Regarding autonomous sport, The National Law for the Development of Sport and Physical Culture called for the creation of Departmental and Municipal Sport Associations that would consist of a General Assembly, an Executive Committee, and a Disciplinary Body for each individual sport that existed in the municipality (Tobar, 62). However, such a desired organization does not exist in reality. For example, in all 22 departments of Guatemala, soccer is the only sport that operates under the direction of a Municipal Sport Association in every department (Tobar, 54). Furthermore, the Municipal Sport Associations are not organized according to what the Law specifically constitutes due to the difficulty in contracting sufficient skilled and knowledgeable people to be a part of the municipal sportive assemblies (Tobar, 64). A central factor in Guatemala’s sport underdevelopment is the lack of qualified human resources. Usually, leaders and staff are volunteers and know little of sport development duties and processes (Lee, 327). The attempt at decentralized organization has essentially failed to be put into practice and thus the transfer of funds and resources and the essential collaboration

between national organizational bodies (like CDAG) and more localized authorities (like Municipal Sport Associations) has not been realized.

The women that I interviewed echo this sentiment of minimal aid and resource given to autonomous municipal sport development. Inés elaborated that financial aid is given to the Departmental Sport Associations to allocate to the Municipal Sport Associations for each sport. However, the money never gets distributed and the development never spreads. If there is a Departmental Sport Association for swimming located in a particular municipality, then the Departmental team, which is supposed to be a mixture of athletes from all over the department, will consist of people specifically from the municipality in which it is based. Since the money arrives to the Departmental Sport Association, development is not dispersed and aid does not circulate to the other municipalities.^{xxiii} In addition to viewing the lack of collaboration due to a misguided legislative structure, another interviewee attributed resource inequalities to corruption. Gloria claims that the government provides finances for sport development, but that such aid never arrives where it is supposed to^{xxiv} because organizational officials pocket or redirect the money.

The lack of economic resources on a local level is a recurring issue. Ana Rosa and Claudia, the Director of the Municipal Women's Office in Tolinecpán and her assistant, complained of a low budget for the Municipal Women's Office. Sylvia and Rodrigo mentioned a severe lack of resources for their schools and their Physical Education programs, and Inés and Gloria spoke to the lack of municipal support for sports as a result of detrimental structural disorganization at a national and local

level. This underdevelopment of collaboration between local and national entities can be related back to idea of sport as a sacrifice and a non-practical pursuit. The national legislation, in an attempt to decentralize and distribute developmental powers for sport throughout the country, did so unsustainably by forming localized Associations but failing to follow through with effective personnel-building measures. It was as if they autonomized sport development before the localities were prepared for such responsibilities. The local sport entities then suffered from a lack of organization and insufficient personnel and support, in part due to a lack of willing and able individuals to fill newly created positions.

“Our *Machista* Culture”: The Role that *Machismo* Plays in Determining Attitudes

Discursive Contradictions: Changing Times versus Permanence

Throughout the interviews that I conducted, the idea of *machismo* kept recurring in various contexts. A loaded and complex term, *machismo* represents a historically prominent attitude in Latin America of male dominance and female inferiority (Chant, 15). However, contemporary manifestations of *machismo* are difficult to interpret. In dealing with the idea of *machismo*, care must be taken not to exoticize the female as a victim of such attitudes. In the following analysis I aim to explore not only the interplay between women and the idea of *machismo* but also their potential contribution to the said “cult of virility” (Stevens, 90).

Firstly, it is important to note that the word *machismo* is a commonly understood and readily used term in Guatemala and amongst my interviewees. I

found that it was used to refer to any kind of subordination or inequality of women with respect to men. I also recognized a prominent contradiction in the discourse of *machismo*.

Within the context of sports, the people that I interviewed consistently related to me the idea that ‘things are changing’- that before, women were not allowed to participate in sport because it was only for men. But now, it is different. According to several interviewees, women are standing up for the equality of their rights; they are becoming more liberated.^{xxv} Claudia, the Assistant to the Director of the Municipal Women’s Office in Tolinecpán, told me that when she was a child her father told her to “not play with the ball or play much outside because that was men’s work”.^{xxvi} Now, however, she claims that women are doing the same work as men and that they are “equal”. Similarly, Sylvia, a gym teacher, tells me that as of 10 years ago, the attitude that sports are not for women does not exist anymore.^{xxvii} As a female who is involved in sports, she tells her husband that he needs to understand her and take care of the kids when she goes out to play. Inés lists a few reasons as to why the situation is changing for women: increased tourism brings in different and liberating ideas, national policies are encouraging the development of women, and the UN Millennium Goals have all had an affect on the promotion of gender equality in Guatemala.^{xxviii} Across the board in my interviews I observed a notion of ‘changing times’ with respect to women and their relationship to sports within a historically male-dominant context.

However, the majority of interviewees simultaneously expressed a contradictory impression that, even though things are changing, *machismo* still

maintains a crippling hold over all social activities, including sport. In both San Ignacio Xiquil and Tolinecpán, there are consistently more teams and more recreational opportunities for men in sport than for women.^{xxix} Inés, after describing to me the extent to which times were changing, confidently attributes low participation of women in sport primarily to “our *machista* culture”. *Machismo*, she says, is an intrinsic part of society that traverses all social activities.^{xxx} Sport, being a social activity, is severely affected by it. Throughout our discussion, she used the term candidly to refer to a sentiment of male-dominance over women in all spheres of society. Because of this intangible and enduring societal attribute, “there will always be more men playing sports than women playing sports, more men watching sport than women watching it...until we manage to change society”.^{xxxi} Ana Rosa, Director of the Municipal Women’s Office in Tolinecpán, comments that, in terms of facilitating female participation in society, they have worked 30% of the issues, but so many more problems affecting women remain due to the complications of a male-dominated society. Due to the lasting existence of *machismo*, she says, there are women that still do not leave their houses, often times because their husbands do not let them.^{xxxii}

Machismo, simultaneously an antique value of the past and a disabling feature of present society, seems to reflect a contested discourse in Guatemala. The contradictory tension observed in my interviews gives potential insights into the contemporary significance and perception of *machismo*. The women I talked to appear to exhibit a hopeful belief in the changing nature of female oppression while at the same time maintaining that male-dominance and *machismo* in Guatemalan

society are burdensome and accepted elements of society that present an active challenge to gender equality. Is it possible that the idea of *machismo* remains so prevalent because it is relied upon as a socially acceptable justification for the inequalities between men and women? Using the observation that *machismo* is such a readily accessible and frequently used social assumption, and the idea that it seems to exist in a dichotomous sphere of both transition and permanence, I would like to suggest that *machismo* is being maintained by this very paradoxical discourse. While it is not perceived favorably because it is old-fashioned and oppressive of women, it is also used as a culturally acceptable rationalization for existing gender inequalities in sport, for example.

It can be easy pin *machismo* as a victimizing and oppressive societal force but in my questioning of the tensions represented in the discourse, I aim to understand *machismo* and the experience of female athletes not as a consequence of an overbearing culturally understood power but as a means of reflecting on the current state of the female Guatemalan athlete.

Rural versus Urban

Another facet of the female athlete condition, that also further extends the idea of *machismo*, is the apparent division between urban and rural populations. At the end of each interview, I asked each participant if they had anything more they wanted to tell me- something that they thought would be important for me to know in understanding women and sport in Guatemala. Every interviewee commented on a distinction, or lack thereof, between rural women and urban women.

In urban areas, they described an environment of typically less *machismo*, an open attitude regarding women's participation in sports, and generally more opportunities to get involved athletically. In contrast, rural areas generally experienced more exaggerated levels of *machismo* and an attitude that women should not play sports due to the more pressing importance of other household and familial duties. Both Sylvia and Rodrigo, the two gym teachers that I spoke with, told me of their experiences teaching in schools both in Tolinecpán, a relatively urban center, and more rural locations. Both noted the impact of their female students' parents discouraging their daughters' participation in school gym class. Sylvia, who works at a school in a rural village around Lake Atitlán, says that the mothers complained that sports were only for men, not for their daughters.^{xxxiii} Rodrigo, speaking about his experience in a school in the rural highlands surrounding the Lake, similarly noted, "the parents don't want [their daughters] to play. Of 100 percent, about 20 percent have their parents as a limiting factor".^{xxxiv}

Homogenizing the Rural and Indigeneity

Amongst this distinction between rural and urban was an acute association between *rural* and *indigenous*. The persons interviewed would speak of the rural and the indigenous population as synonymous, assuming that one living in the rural areas of the country was inherently a member of the indigenous population. If we are to categorize an "indigenous" person as one who speaks the Mayan language of Kakchiquel (one of 2 variants in the department of Sololá) as their native tongue and Spanish as their second acquired language, then it is important to note that 2 out of 7 of the interviewees pertain to this "indigenous" classification (Ana Rosa and

Claudia, to be specific). The participants who most emphatically stressed this rural-urban variance and thus the denomination of *rural* as relating specifically to an indigenous demographic, were those who had lived most of their lives in an urban center. Apart from the personal experiences of Sylvia and Rodrigo in rural area schools, Natalia and Inés (the basketball player and the social worker) also expressed a distinction between rural and urban, indigenous and non-indigenous. Natalia conveyed to me her coupling of rural and indigenous, along with her assumptions of a more difficult environment for women and sport in rural areas:

...the rural areas here in Guatemala, the indigenous people, don't let kids play sport. Or women. Women have to look after their younger siblings, they have to attend to their father and... if they aren't able to study, they have even less reason to play sport. ...Studying is a luxury for rural women. They have to work beginning at a young age so... if they don't even have the chance to study, why are they going to play sport? (Natalia, 31 December 2012)

In this quote Natalia clearly distinguishes a correlation between *rural* and *indigenous* by referring to the two terms synonymously, in addition to explaining the difficulties associated with rurality. Inés similarly expressed the more apparent lack of opportunities for women to play sports in the rural areas of Sololá: "If you were to do interviews in [rural areas around the Lake], you'd realize that the amount of sport one can play is much less. And even less are the opportunities that women have to practice sport." In San Ignacio Xiquil, a town with a higher population of indigenous people than Tolinecpán, she says that "there is less freedom and the girls are much more inhibited".^{xxxv} This idea of a collective rural indigenous community that maintains traditional female values corresponding to

household and family responsibilities, the implied antithesis to encouraging sport participation, expresses an interesting dynamic between urban and rural. My data can provide neither a contrasting nor supportive claim for the experience of women in rural towns, since I did not interview anyone in the rural areas around the Lake. However, the 2 women from the Municipal Women's Office in Tolinecpán, whose first language is Kakchiquel, did *not* denote a particular difference between urban and rural women. On the contrary, Ana Rosa believed that rural women have the same objective as urban women: to be able to play.^{xxxvi} Gloria, a resident of San Ignacio Xiquil, also commented that, although people typically associate San Ignacio Xiquil with indigeneity, the attitude of "just because you're a woman, you can't play soccer" doesn't exist^{xxxvii}, providing a contrast to the idea of rural = indigenous = traditional women's roles = discouragement of female participation in sport. The contrastive opinions regarding rurality and its association with women's sport participation offers a compelling tension regarding image and condition associated with rural communities.

From the perspective of self-identified non-indigenous women (Inés and Natalia), there is a willingness to denote an 'othered' and homogenous rural indigenous group that represents different conditions than the socioeconomic group that they pertain to. In conjunction with the perspectives of Gloria, Claudia, and Ana Rosa, their observations embody, and further add to, a very divided and uneven narrative regarding women and sports.

Rural Girls Play Harder

An element of further contrast and complexity is the idea that girls and women from rural areas are naturally *better* at sports than urban players. While they may not have as many opportunities or outlets to be able to participate, when they get on the field, for example, “they kick a lot harder, they’re much stronger, and they know how to play better”.^{xxxviii} Natalia remarks that “...sometimes indigenous women have a very high level of soccer- they play very well- but their parents don’t support them” –confirming her opinion that rural indigenous women have less opportunities to participate in sport, but complementing that opinion with the idea that they play well. Does this mean that an indigenous woman, unaccompanied by her rural setting and the perceived limitations within, could prosper in an urban setting? Is it the inhibition of rurality that severely affects indigenous female athletes? Does the perception of such hindrances by urban-dwellers contribute to this inhibitive environment?

The connotations of *rural* and the assumptions drawn between rurality and indigeneity made by non-indigenous and urban females are suggestive of a homogenization of the unknown. While several of the women born and raised in Tolinecpán indicated an assumption that *rural = indigenous* and the belief that there are less opportunities for sport to be played in rural areas, women from more rural areas contradicted this claim. Additionally, the notion that women in rural areas ‘play harder’ gives further weight to the substantive differentiation between rural and urban. This tension provides another perspective from which to view the environment of the female athlete in Guatemala and adds to its intricacies by

introducing another element of irregular standards amongst women and for women and sports.

Internalized Reactions: Taking Initiative and Being Motivated

In this section, I use what has been covered in the previous sections relating to structural and social lack of support for female athletics and examine its relationship with women's internalized reactions to sport. In other words, I look at specific intrapersonal characteristics, individual motivation and taking initiative, that potentially contribute another factor in the underdevelopment of women's sports.

Complementing the discussion on *machismo* is the discussion on women taking initiative and being motivated in a male-dominated sport world. With this discussion I provide a balanced critique of the female Guatemalan athlete. Often times they do not take initiative or pursue opportunities that may be available to them. At the same time, the very existence of this attitude of minimal proactivity may be a reaction to their environment. This complex dynamic presents a cyclical argument that is not conclusive but that speaks to the complicated nature and status of women's sports in Guatemala: theoretically girls and women are provided with opportunities to participate in sport (they play in gym class, there are some departmental and national teams, there are public fields open to all) *but* their levels of participation are significantly lower than men. Why? Either they are socially unaccepted due to high levels of *machismo* or they themselves lack the internal motivation to dedicate themselves to sport; they fail to see the purpose of pursuing

an activity low on the social priorities list in which the majority of participants are men and they therefore do not understand their role within such an activity. Or it culminates in some combination of the two. For the sake of argument, I will first delve into the opinion that, to a certain degree, women experience an internalized reaction to sports- as a result of various factors, they do not *want* to play sports at an equal level with men.

Natalia: An Exceptional Female Athlete^{xxxix}

In order to understand the generally low levels of female sport participation and the standards held for women's sports, I would like to first present an exception to this norm. Natalia and her two sisters started playing sports at a young age. She attributes their early and motivated involvement to their athletic father who encouraged them to play sports. She began playing just amongst her family and then in grade school and, since she enjoyed it so much, she decided to continue. She left Tolinecpán after graduating high school for Quetzaltenango, a city deemed 'the second capital' because of its relative size and urbanity, to pursue her education and her passion for basketball. There, she joined a regional team and was later recruited to play for the national team due to her exposure in Quetzaltenango and her determination to continue.

Had she stayed in Tolinecpán, she notes, she never would have succeeded in reaching a higher level of competitive sport. Due to Quetzaltenango's size and more developed urbanity, she found ample opportunities to participate in local women's teams. While there were no teams affiliated with her University, there were squads of women that played for departmental and regional selections that she actively

sought out. She criticizes women of Tolinecpán saying that while they like to play, they are not proactive in their improvement or development as athletes. In Tolinecpán, one can only reach a certain level of play by dabbling in school and recreational sport. Once one graduates from school at 17 years old, the chances to play competitive sport are significantly decreased. By staying put in Tolinecpán, where there is minimal support and development of opportunities for female sport, Natalia claims that these women “don’t try to improve their playing level” because “they don’t like to fulfill themselves as athletes”.

She notes, also, that women’s “different interests” are what steer them away from sports. While her sisters also played basketball, they both discontinued because they wished instead to pursue their education. Natalia found success in sport and was able to reach such a high level of competition because she “*wanted to stand out in sport*”.^{x1} Her determination and her willingness to pursue a passion, even one so low on the social priorities list, was ultimately what brought her success. If we use Natalia as an example, it could be implied that women, in general, are not succeeding in sport because they do not want to pursue it. Other interests, such as education, work, or family, come first and thus a dedication to the pursuit of an already distant ambition is both hard to come by and unrealistic.

On that note, it is important to mention that with a higher level of play comes more exposure and thus more opportunities. Once Natalia made it to Quetzaltenango and was able to play for teams there (which, she admits, was not without a struggle), the possibilities for her success as an athlete were infinitely more abundant. Once on the national team, she had the privilege of traveling to

other countries to play basketball, represent her country, and to attend workshops and clinics aimed at improving her athletic ability. Upon gaining a certain level of visibility by actively seeking out more and more opportunities to play, Natalia made it to the national team and has since been able to call sport her life, enjoying further athletic development and personal success while doing something she loves. I think that the most important thing to note is her determination and motivation; her active role in chasing her dream. While her criticisms of other women are not without their biases, her experience and her interpretation of this experience suggest that women without such a determination will not come across the same opportunities to continue sport.

Of course, this example only shows the intricacies of viewing sport as a career path and does not give substantial weight to the benefits of sport as a purely recreational and low-level activity. A woman does not have to become a professional athlete in order to enjoy and participate in sport. This point relates back to Natalia's observation that a woman's participation in sport is entirely up to their interests and their circumstances. If they lack motivation and are uninterested, she implies, they will not find equal opportunities for sport participation.

Incentive as Essential?

What, then, inspires such motivation? In response to this inquiry, I encountered another contradiction amongst my interviewees. One opinion was similar to the idea of *no pay, no way* mentioned earlier- if there is no incentive for participation, many women will not participate. Claudia, at the Municipal Women's Office, made this perspective unabashedly clear: "Nobody plays without a prize..."

We make teams and if there is no prize, it doesn't make any sense, right?"^{xli} A lack of incentive provides even less reason for a woman to get involved. Sylvia, a gym teacher, also noted the importance of incentive, especially for children. When she holds school tournaments, she emphasized how satisfied the children were with their respective prizes at the end of the tournament.^{xlii} This perspective ties into the idea of needing a valid justification for expending effort. Just like money is an expected payment for effort and time, so too is an incentive needed for the sacrifice of sport.

On the other hand, *provided motivation* itself seems to be a worthy incentive. In the same conversation in which she mentions the necessity for prizes, Claudia also mentions the ability of women to participate and be animated about sporting opportunities when provided with motivation. For example, on Mother's Day the Municipal Women's Office put on a town-wide women's marathon. She expressed elation at the fact that so many women, having been provided with a motivation to be active, were so excited to trade in their traditional dress for a pair of shorts and partake in the event. Upon encountering a community-wide opportunity, specifically for women, to be athletic for a specific number of hours, the levels of participation were quite high. Claudia explains that opportunities for women to play sports exist, but the missing piece is *motivating* them to get involved.^{xliii}

Similar to Natalia's criticism, Claudia is indirectly insinuating that many women are not willing to motivate themselves to actively participate in sports. Since sport is not viewed as an important social activity for women, only when provided with a rare occasion to collectively fuse their female identities with athleticism, are

they moved to participate. Otherwise, even if a woman *enjoys* being active and playing sports (regardless of the level of competition), she will seldom search for consistent and frequent opportunities to satisfy this intermittent enjoyment. This area of my research calls for a broad invitation for further research, as it presents a myriad of complex questions. Do women really need to be *provided* with a motivation? Is the environment that Tolinecpán women are a part of (as developed previously- *machismo*, willingness deficit, lack of resources and public support), an excuse for internalized non-action and settling for underdeveloped opportunities with regard to sports? To what extent is the environment actively stifling women and their participation in sports? Is it the environment that breeds the lack of motivation or does the lack of motivation dictate the environment?

Conclusions

In an attempt to interpret the lived experience of female athletes in Guatemala, I have revealed and elaborated upon several distinct challenges that expose the underdevelopment of women's sports in the department of Sololá. These challenges consist of factors simultaneously encountered and generated by the women themselves.

Utilizing the insightful perspectives provided by Rodrigo, Inés, Natalia, Gloria, Ana Rosa, Claudia, and Sylvia^{xliv} in collaboration with topical and theoretical literature analyses of Latin American sport, I have aimed to construct a fragment of the complex reality that epitomizes the relationship between women and sports, complete with a thorough questioning of contradictive cultural tensions. The role of

women in the athletic community and their relationship with sport is influenced by the tensions expounded upon above.

These powerful tensions, manifested in politics, society, culture, from woman to woman and even within a single woman, give light to the idea that the female athlete defies conventional binary thought. By nature of her existence and her complex reality, the Guatemalan female athlete instigates diverse tensions in the contemporary cultural discourse and expands our conceptual boundaries regarding her existence. The general acceptance and perception of sport as a low-priority social activity, last on a long list of more pressing concerns, prompts discussion of sport as a sacrifice and an unreasonable pursuit. This perspective simultaneously foments and is impacted by legislation (and its unsuccessful implementation) that denies any effective resource distribution and qualified personnel support in the realm of autonomous local sport development. In conjunction with these elements, exist several contradictions within historically held cultural values and introspective perceptions of society. *Machismo* and its dynamic contribution to the state of women's athletics along with intrapersonal concerns about taking initiative and inconsistent perceptions between rural and urban females all add to divisions, imperfections, and complexities in understanding the experience of female athletes in Guatemala.

Their experience is both a result of culturally held beliefs of male-dominance, institutionalized structural standards, and the women's own responsibility. Making changes to only one will not detach female athletes from their platform of invisibility. Only by understanding the entire spectrum of influences, will women be

capable of achieving extensive athletic visibility. This analysis only begins to scrape the surface of uncovering the interaction between women and sport.

What is sport good for?

While this analysis has presented complicated challenges that may be perceived as discouraging to the position of female athletes in Guatemala, I would like to end with a note of inspiration. In every interview I asked what sport meant to each respective participant. For once, I came across no troubling contradictions. The interviewees agreed on the benefits of their personal interactions with sport. They participate in sports because they are happy while playing; they have fun, stay healthy and feel strong. They are able to take part in friendly competitions, meet new people and share a convivial experience amongst friends; sports help us “forget our problems... help us relax”^{xlv}, and lower stress.^{xlvi}

Despite the complex and disputed nature of the reality of women’s relationship with sport in Guatemala, it appears that, with these comments on the benefits of sport, a discourse linking female empowerment and sport seems to be present. Women and sport represent a demographic and a social activity that, conjunctively, do not get a lot of attention- so that is what I am giving it. In presenting this analysis I hope that female athletes are recognized in Guatemala not as victims in a losing battle, but as strong women who have benefitted in some way from their interaction with sport.

*“People try to defeat you and you don’t let them.
One cannot let themselves be defeated.”*

Natalia, 31 dec. 2012

Notes

- ⁱ I would like to extend warm thank you to Professor Karen Faulk. Without your guidance and encouragement this project never would have been possible.
- ⁱⁱ All translations from Spanish to English, from direct quotes in interviews and from Spanish-language texts, are my own.
- ⁱⁱⁱ All names of interviewees have been changed to protect the privacy of each individual.
- ^{iv} Names of towns have all been changed from their originals.
- ^v This chapter is part of a larger publication, *The Handbook of Latin American Popular Culture* compiled by Harold E. Hinds and Charles M. Tatum.
- ^{vi} Interview with Rodrigo, 28 December 2012.
- ^{vii} Information based on personal interviews.
- ^{viii} A game played in pre-Columbian Mesoamerican Mayan societies involving players striking a ball with their hips (Morse).
- ^{ix} While Maya Ball competitions are still held today, the same rules of sacrifice and death to the loser to not apply. The game played now is played, in part, as a homage to the ancient game and has been remodeled from its original form to fit standards of modern sport. Nonetheless, it is played relatively infrequently and thus does not make it onto the radar of sports considered by my interviewees.
- ^x Interview with Natalia, 31 December 2012.
- ^{xi} Ibid.
- ^{xii} Interview with Inés, 29 December 2012.
- ^{xiii} Interview with Sylvia, 5 January 2013.
- ^{xiv} Interview with Rodrigo, 28 December 2012.
- ^{xv} Interview with Gloria, 2 January 2013.
- ^{xvi} Interview with Natalia, 31 December 2012.
- ^{xvii} Literally translated, a *pueblo* is a town. Natalia uses the word to refer to a town specifically outside of Guatemala City with connotations of underdevelopment and rurality.
- ^{xviii} Interview with Natalia, 31 December 2012.
- ^{xix} From CDAG website; <http://cdag.com.gt/capacitaciones/congreso-nacional-de-acondicionamiento-para-el-rendimiento-deportivo/>
- ^{xx} From General Direction of Physical Education (DIGEF) website; <http://www.digef.edu.gt/index.php/estructura-organizacional/2012-05-22-21-27-16/direccion-general>
- ^{xxi} From COG website; <http://www.cog.org.gt/programas/desarrollo-deportivo/asistencia-económica-para-competencias-y-campamentos.aspx>
- ^{xxii} The National Law for the Development of Sport and Physical Culture was the law that created CONADER
- ^{xxiii} Interview with Inés, 29 December 2012.
- ^{xxiv} Interview with Gloria, 2 January 2013.
- ^{xxv} Interview with Ana Rosa, 4 January 2013.
- ^{xxvi} Interview with Claudia, 4 January 2013.
- ^{xxvii} Interview with Sylvia, 5 January 2013.

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- xxviii Interview with Inés, 29 December 2012.
- xxix Interview with Gloria, 2 January 2013.
- xxx Interview with Inés, 29 December 2012.
- xxxi Ibid.
- xxxii Interview with Ana Rosa, 4 January 2013.
- xxxiii Interview with Sylvia, 5 January 2013.
- xxxiv Interview with Rodrigo, 28 December 2012.
- xxxv Interview with Inés, 29 December 2012.
- xxxvi Interview with Ana Rosa. 4 January 2013.
- xxxvii Interview with Gloria, 2 January 2013.
- xxxviii Ibid.
- xxxix All information and quotes in this section are from my interview with Natalia, 31 December 2012.
- xl Emphasis added. Interview with Natalia, 31 December 2012.
- xli Interview with Claudia, 4 January 2013.
- xlii Interview with Sylvia. 5 January 2013.
- xliii Interview with Claudia. 4 January 2013.
- xliv I would like to thank all the people I spoke with during my interviewing period in Guatemala for their willingness to collaborate and contribute immensely to this project. Without them, none of this would have been possible. Thank you.
- xlv Interview with Claudia, 4 January 2013.
- xlvi Taken from interviews with Inés, Natalia, Gloria, Ana Rosa, Claudia, and Sylvia.

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