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TURIZAM I KAVA: ISKUSTVA IZ CHIAPASA U MEKSIKU

TOURISM AND COFFEE: EXPERIENCES FROM CHIAPAS, MEXICO

SAŽETAK: Predmet ove studije je istražiti turizam kave kao strategiju osiguranja sredstava za život u meksičkoj saveznoj državi Chiapas na osnovi usporedbe autohtonih zajednica s privatnim hacijendama. Pomoću okvira održivog osiguranja sredstava za život u istraživanju se koristi kvalitativni pristup studije slučaja temeljen na terenskom radu u dvjema autohtonim zajednicama i na dvije privatne hacijende. Rezultati pokazuju da ruralni turizam, iako pruža održive gospodarske prilike zajednicama i hacijendama, nameće i složene kompromise. Hacijende daju prioritet ekonomskim koristima, često potičući iskorištavanje radne snage i komodifikaciju prostora. Nasuprot tome, autohtone zajednice prihvaćaju turizam kao aktivnost komplementarnu tradicionalnoj poljoprivredi iako se bore s izazovima u pravednoj raspodjeli ekonomskih i društvenih koristi, što dodatno pogoršava postojeće sukobe oko resursa. Ističe se utjecaj povijesnih sustava posjeda zemljišta na oblikovanje utjecaja turizma te se zagovaraju lokalizirane politike za rješavanje asimetrije moći. Zaključak ukazuje na potrebu prikladnih i kontekstualiziranih javnih politika u cilju poboljšanja održivog osiguranja sredstava za život pojedinaca koji se bave ekoturizmom uz istovremeno uravnoteženje komercijalizacije turizma s obaveznim očuvanjem kulture i okoliša.

KLJUČNE RIJEČI: zajednice, autohtono, razvoj, alternativo, gospodarstvo

ABSTRACT: This study explores coffee tourism as a livelihood strategy in Chiapas, Mexico contrasting indigenous communities with private haciendas. Employing a sustainable livelihood framework, this research utilizes a qualitative case study approach based on fieldwork in two indigenous communities and two privately-owned haciendas. Our findings indicate that while rural tourism presents viable economic opportunities to communities and haciendas, it also entails complex trade-offs. Haciendas, prioritize economic gains, often perpetuating labor exploitation and spatial commodification. In contrast, communities adopt tourism as a complementary activity to traditional agriculture but face challenges in equitable distribution of economic and social benefit, further exacerbating existing resource conflicts. The study highlights the influence of historical land tenure systems in shaping tourism's impacts, and advocates for localized policies responses to address power asymmetries. We conclude that suitable and context-specific public policies are needed to improve the sustainable livelihoods of individual engaged in ecotourism, while balancing tourism commercialization with the imperative cultural and environmental preservation.

KEYWORDS: communities, indigenous, development, alternative, economy

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1. UVOD

Proizvodnja kave jedna je od najraširenijih i najvažnijih gospodarskih aktivnosti u Chiapasu (južni Meksiko), i diljem svijeta (Contreras i Hernández, 2008; González *et al.*, 2011; Pérez-Grovas, 1999). Većina proizvodnje kave koncentrirana je u Americi (62 %), zatim u Aziji (24 %), Africi (13 %) i Oceaniji (1 %). Procjenjuje se da se 25 milijuna obitelji u 50 zemalja izvoznica kave diljem svijeta bavi proizvodnjom kave. Contreras i Hernández (2008) tvrde da je u posljednjih pet godina globalno proizvedeno otprilike 115 milijuna vreća kave.

Ipak, neke prakse proizvodnje kave predstavljaju značajne izazove za poljoprivredu i očuvanje ekosustava, a industrija je i dalje podložna komercijalnoj nesigurnosti. Nadalje, lokalni proizvođači suočavaju se s izazovima ne samo u održavanju proizvodnje kako bi zadovoljili fluktuacije globalne potražnje, već i u prilagodbi promjenjivom proizvodnom krajoliku. Proizvođači kave počeli su prihvaćati bolje prakse i aktivnosti, poput organske proizvodnje, pravedne trgovine, izravnog sudjelovanja u izvozu bez posrednika i turizma kao dodatnog izvora prihoda. Međutim, zbog tih izazova neki su se proizvođači kave odlučili prebaciti na turizam kao gospodarsku aktivnost, pritom potpuno zamijenivši proizvodnju kave.

U ovoj se studiji primjenjuje okvir održivog osiguranja sredstava za život s ciljem istraživanja načina na koji turizam kave funkcionira u različitim sustavima posjeda zemljišta u Soconusco u Chiapasu te postoje li među njima razlike u smislu jednakosti, očuvanja kulture i ruralnog razvoja. Daje se jedinstveni povijesni i socio-ekonomski kontekst te glavne spoznaje za kreatore politika, znanstvenike i praktičare koji rade na presjeku poljoprivrede i turizma. Konkretno, istraživanje je vođeno sljedećim pitanjima:

1. INTRODUCTION

Coffee production is one of the most widespread and important economic activities in Chiapas, southern Mexico, and around the world (Contreras and Hernández, 2008; González *et al.*, 2011, Pérez-Grovas, 1999). Most coffee production is concentrated in the Americas (62 %), followed by Asia (24 %), Africa (13 %), and Oceania (1 %). An estimated 25 million families across 50 coffee-exporting countries around the world are involved in coffee production. According to Contreras and Hernández (2008), approximately 115 million coffee bags were produced globally over the past five years.

Nevertheless, some coffee production practices pose significant agricultural and ecosystem conservation challenges, and the industry remains subject to commercial uncertainty. Furthermore, local producers face challenges not only in maintaining production to meet fluctuations in global demand but also in adapting to the changing production landscape. Coffee producers are now embracing better practices and activities, such as organic production, fair trade, direct involvement in exportation without intermediaries, and tourism as a complementary income source. However, due to these challenges some coffee producers have opted to switch to tourism as an economic activity thereby replacing coffee production altogether.

This study applies a sustainable livelihoods framework to examine how coffee tourism operates across contrasting land tenure systems in Soconusco, Chiapas, and whether differences exist in terms of equity, cultural preservation, and rural development. Its unique historical and socioeconomic context and critical insights are provided for policymakers, scholars, and practitioners working at the intersection of agriculture and tourism. Specifically, the research is guided by the following questions:

1. *Kako turizam kave stvara i distribuirati gospodarske prilike u autohtonim zajednicama i na privatnim hacijendama?*
2. *Na koje se načine komodifikacija prostora u turizmu razlikuje u autohtonim zajednicama i na privatnim hacijendama te koje su posljedice socio-kulturne implikacije takve komodifikacije?*
3. *U kojoj mjeri turizam kave može poslužiti kao održiva strategija osiguranja sredstava za život i kako ona utječe na tradicionalne poljoprivredne prakse i kulturni integritet?*

Rješavanje ovih pitanja ključno je za razotkrivanje složenog odnosa između turizma i ruralnog razvoja, čime se pružaju uvidi utemeljeni na dokazima za poticanje uključivih turističkih praksi u regiji.

2. PREGLED LITERATURE

2.1. Važnost kave u Chiapasu

Biljka kave unesena je u Meksiko iz Afrike preko Gvatemale u 18. stoljeću. Kava se u početku uzgajala na velikim hacijendama (imanjima), prvenstveno u savezima Veracruz i Oaxaca, a kasnije i u Chiapasu (González *et al.*, 2011). Godine 2020. Chiapas je bio na prvom mjestu u zemlji i po kriteriju zasađene površine (253 318 ha) i po površini požnjene zemlje (237 656 ha) od ukupno 710 431 ha zasađene i 636 003 ha požnjene zemlje (SIACON-SAGARPA, 2022; Vázquez-López *et al.*, 2022). Barrera i Parra (2000) iznose da je samo u razdoblju od 1998. do 1999. godine u saveznoj državi Chiapas proizvedeno nevjerojatnih 1.551.180 vreća kave (svaka teži 60 kg), što znači otprilike jednu trećinu (33 %) ukupne proizvodnje Meksika. Prema Waridel *et al.* (2001), uzgoj kave u Meksiku generira oko 800 milijuna USD godišnje, uzdržava gotovo dva milijuna ljudi i stvara oko tri milijuna radnih mjesta (Damián, 1988; Merlín-Urbe, 2018; Morales

1. *How does coffee tourism generate and distribute economic opportunities within indigenous communities and privately-owned haciendas?*
2. *In what ways does the commodification of space for tourism differ between indigenous communities and privately-owned haciendas, and what are the subsequent socio-cultural implications of such commodification?*
3. *To what extent can coffee tourism serve as a sustainable livelihood strategy, and how does it affect traditional agricultural practices and cultural integrity?*

Addressing these questions is crucial to unraveling the complex relationship between tourism and rural development, thereby providing evidence-based insights for fostering more inclusive tourism practices in the region.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. The importance of coffee in Chiapas

The coffee plant was brought to Mexico from Africa via Guatemala in the 18th century. Coffee was initially cultivated on large haciendas (estates), primarily in Veracruz and Oaxaca, and later in Chiapas (González *et al.*, 2011). In 2020, Chiapas ranked first nationwide in both planted area (253,318 ha) and harvested area (237,656 ha) out of a national total of 710,431 ha planted and 636,003 ha harvested (SIACON-SAGARPA, 2022; Vázquez-López *et al.*, 2022). According to Barrera and Parra (2000), during the period of 1998–1999 alone, Chiapas produced a staggering 1,551,180 coffee sacks (each weighing 60 kg), which translates to roughly one-third (33 %) of Mexico's total production. According to Waridel *et al.* (2001) coffee cultivation in Mexico generates around \$800 million USD annually, supporting nearly two million people and creating around three million jobs (Damián, 1988; Merlín-Urbe, 2018;

i Adame, 2021; Vázquez-López *et al.*, 2022). Zbog posebnih uvjeta uzgoja u Meksiku, na proizvodnju kave utječu promjene u nacionalnim ekonomskim politikama i dinamike međunarodnog tržišta, premda se većina proizvodnje izvozi u inozemstvo (Waridel *et al.*, 2001).

Zanimljivo je da značajan dio zemljišta namijenjenog uzgoju kave u Chiapasu obuhvaća kategoriju *ejidos*, tj. zemljišta u zajedničkom vlasništvu kojima upravljaju različite autohtone etničke skupine (Barrera i Parra, 2000). Proizvodnja kave u Chiapasu značajno utječe ne samo na njegovu ekonomsku dinamiku, već i na društveni i kulturni život te teritorijalni identitet područja koja se bave uzgojem ove kulture (Damián, 1988; Morales i Adame, 2021; Rojas-Herrera i Olguín-Pérez, 2018).

2.2. Uzgoj kave u regiji Soconusco

Regija Soconusco, smještena u najjužnijem dijelu Chiapasa i graniči s Gvatemalom, najvažnija je gospodarska regija države za proizvodnju kave i teritorij s poviješću političkih sporova između dviju zemalja (Damián, 1988; González *et al.*, 2011). Pokrajina Soconusco leži u ravnici između pacifičke obale i fiziografskih pokrajina planine Sierra Madre de Chiapas. Obje regije dijele slične prirodne karakteristike poput geologije, klime, vegetacije i hidrologije, koje značajno utječu na njihovu socio-ekonomsku dinamiku (SEGOB-Chiapas, 2013).

Zbog povoljnih ekoloških i političkih uvjeta, uzgoj kave prvo su započeli njemački i talijanski zemljoposjednici koji su se naselili sredinom 19. stoljeća, a zatim meksički seljaci nakon agrarne reforme (1916. do 1943. godina) (Damián, 1988; González *et al.*, 2011). Uzgoj kave u regiji Soconusco utječe na korištenje prirodnih resursa, zapošljavanje radne snage, stvaranje prihoda i ima ključnu ulogu u regionalnom i državnom razvoju (Damián, 1988; García *et al.*, 1991).

Morales and Adame, 2021; Vázquez-López *et al.*, 2022). Due to the specific characteristic of coffee production in Mexico, it is vulnerable to changes in national economic policies and the dynamics of the international market, even though most production is exported internationally (Waridel *et al.*, 2001).

Interestingly, a significant portion of the land dedicated to coffee cultivation in Chiapas falls under the category of *ejidos*, which are communally owned lands managed by various indigenous ethnic groups (Barrera and Parra, 2000). Coffee production in Chiapas significantly influences not only its economic dynamics but also its social and cultural life, and the territorial identity of the areas dedicated to this crop (Damián, 1988; Morales and Adame, 2021; Rojas-Herrera and Olguín-Pérez, 2018).

2.2. Coffee cultivation in Soconusco region

The Soconusco region, located in the southernmost part of Chiapas and bordering Guatemala, is the state's most important economic region for coffee production and a territory with a history of political dispute between the two countries (Damián, 1988; González *et al.*, 2011). Soconusco lies within the Pacific coastal plain and the Sierra Madre de Chiapas physiographic provinces. Both regions share natural characteristics such as geology, climate, vegetation, and hydrology, which significantly influence their socio-economic dynamics (SEGOB-Chiapas, 2013).

Due to favorable ecological and political conditions, coffee cultivation was promoted first by German and Italian landowners who settled in the mid-19th century and then by Mexican peasantry following the agrarian reform (1916 to 1943) (Damián, 1988; González *et al.*, 2011). Coffee growing in the Soconusco region impacts the use of natural resources, employment of labor, income generation, and plays a vital role in the regional

Sama regija Soconusco doprinosi s nešto više od 35 % obrađene površine (60 000 ha) i proizvodnje kave u Chiapasu (Barrera i Parra, 2000; García *et al.*, 1991).

Razvojni model regije Soconusco povezan je s globalnim tržištem putem jednog proizvoda – kave. To ju čini uvelike ovisnom i osjetljivom na fluktuacije međunarodnog tržišta. Lokalni i privatni proizvođači u Soconuscu suočavaju se s mnoštvom izazova u proizvodnji kave koji odražavaju one s kojima se suočavamo globalno, uključujući nisku produktivnost i prihode te ograničenu diverzifikaciju proizvoda, utjecaje na okoliš, povećanu količinu štetočina i migracije mladih, što rezultira nedostatkom radne snage (Damián, 1988).

Kriza sektora kave neujednačena je u društvenom i ekonomskom kontekstu (Vázquez-López *et al.*, 2022). Skupine koje kontroliraju regionalnu proizvodnju (privatni zemljoposjednici) pokazale su sposobnost lakšeg prilagođavanja tržišnim fluktuacijama, dok se sektor seljaka čini sve neprofitabilnijim. Lokalni proizvođači i dalje posluju na temelju logike održanja egzistencije svojim malim plantažama. Međutim, ovi izazovi mogli bi ih natjerati da u bliskoj budućnosti prodaju ili iznajme svoje parcele (Barrera i Parra, 2000; Damián, 1988; García *et al.*, 1991). Kao odgovor na te pritiske, i lokalni i privatni proizvođači prihvatili su nove gospodarske aktivnosti, poput turizma (González *et al.*, 2011; Hernández *et al.*, 2015).

2.3. Turizam u Chiapasu

Posljednjih desetljeća Chiapas je potaknuo gospodarstvo turističkim aktivnostima u dva glavna smjera. S jedne strane, glavni grad savezne države usredotočio se na privlačenje poslovnog turizma, konferencija i vjenčanja. A s druge strane, ekonomske politike Chiapasa usmjerile su fokus na turizam temeljen na prirodnim resursima i tako se uskladile se s nacionalnim i međunarodnim

and state development (Damián, 1988; García *et al.*, 1991). The Soconusco region alone contributes slightly over 35 % of the coffee cultivated area (60,000 ha) in Chiapas (Barrera and Parra, 2000; García *et al.*, 1991).

The Soconusco region's development model is linked to the global market through a single product: coffee. This makes it heavily dependent and susceptible to international market fluctuations. Local and private producers in Soconusco confront a multitude of coffee production challenges mirroring those faced globally, including low productivity and income, and limited product diversification, environmental effects, increased pests, and youth migration, which result in labor shortage (Damián, 1988).

The coffee sector's crisis is uneven in its social and economic context (Vázquez-López *et al.*, 2022). The groups controlling regional production (private landowners) have demonstrated an ability to adapt to market fluctuations more easily, while the peasantry sector appears increasingly unprofitable. As local producers persist, operating with a subsistence-based logic and maintaining their small-scale plantations, these challenges may drive them to sell or rent their plots in the near future (Barrera and Parra, 2000; Damián, 1988; García *et al.*, 1991). In response to these pressures, both local producers and private producers have embraced new economic activities, such as tourism (González *et al.*, 2011; Hernández *et al.*, 2015).

2.3. Tourism in Chiapas

In recent decades, Chiapas has boosted its economy through tourism activities, with two main trends emerging. On the one hand, the state capital has focused on attracting business tourism, conferences, and weddings. Conversely, Chiapas's economic policies have also focused on nature tourism, aligning with national and international market trends. This focus on nature tourism

tržišnim trendovima. Turizam temeljen na prirodnim resursima pretežno znači usmjerenje na ekoturizam i avanturistički turizam, prvenstveno u fiziografskim pokrajinama Istočnog gorja, gdje se nalazi većina džungle Selva Lacandone. U međuvremenu je ruralni turizam dobio zamah u pokrajini Sjeverno gorje slijedom promoviranja turizma u lokalnim zajednicama poput San Juan Chamula, San Cristóbal, Zinacantán i regije Soconusco. U Soconuscu ruralni turizam uključuje doživljaje proizvodnje kave na velikim hacijendama poput Argovie i Hamburga, kao i u zajednicama Santo Dominga i Unión Juárez.

Samo u 2019. godini, prije pandemije, Chiapas je primio 4.376.440 turista s prosječnim boravkom od 1,2 noći (DATATUR, 2023). Zanimljivo je da su udio od 87 % svih turista činili domaći gosti i da su oni bilježili preko 50 % godišnje popunjenosti hotela (DATATUR, 2023). Glavna turistička središta Chiapasa su gradovi Tuxtla Gutiérrez, Palenque i Tapachula. Ovi gradovi posjeduju dobro razvijenu infrastrukturu, uključujući zračne luke i autoceste, što olakšava dolazak turista i njihovo kasnije kretanje prema drugim destinacijama unutar države. Tapachula je glavna pristupna točka za ruralne turističke destinacije unutar regije Soconusco i obuhvaća velike plantaže kave na hacijendama i male u lokalnim zajednicama. Blizina gvatemalske granice pozicionira Tapachulu kao ključna komercijalna vrata u Srednju Ameriku, a podaci iz 2022. godine pokazuju da je bila četvrta po dolascima turista, treća po učinku ekonomskog prelijevanja u državi i postigla je najveću stopu popunjenosti hotela, što naglašava njezinu važnu ulogu u turizmu regije Soconusco.

2.4. Od kave do ruralnog turizma kao ekonomske alternative

U mnogim dijelovima svijeta turizam ima važnu ulogu u gospodarskom razvoju i očuvanju baštine. Savezna država Chiapas, a posebno regija Soconusco, globalno su prepoznate po visokokvalitetnoj kavi. Ovdje se turizam

has predominantly been on ecotourism and adventure tourism, primarily in the Eastern Highlands physiographic provinces, where most of the Selva Lacandona is located. Meanwhile, rural tourism has gained momentum in the Northern Highlands province, promoting tourism in local communities such as San Juan Chamula, San Cristóbal, Zinacantán, and the Soconusco region. In the Soconusco rural tourism includes experiences in large coffee haciendas like Argovia and Hamburgo, as well as communities Santo Domingo and Unión Juárez.

In 2019 alone, prior to the pandemic, Chiapas welcomed 4,376,440 tourists with an average stay of 1.2 nights (DATATUR, 2023). Surprisingly, 87 % of all tourists were domestic and accounted for over 50 % of the annual hotel occupancy (DATATUR, 2023). Chiapas's main tourist hubs are the cities of Tuxtla Gutiérrez, Palenque, and Tapachula. These cities possess well-developed infrastructure, including airports and freeways, facilitating tourist arrivals and subsequent movement to other destinations within the state. Tapachula is the primary access point for rural tourism destinations within the Soconusco region, including large coffee haciendas and local communities. Its proximity to the Guatemalan border positions Tapachula as a crucial commercial gateway to Central America. Data from 2022 indicates that Tapachula ranked fourth in tourist arrivals, third in economic spillover generated within the state, and achieved the highest hotel occupancy rate, which highlight its role in the Soconusco region's tourism.

2.4. From coffee to rural tourism as an economic alternative

In many parts of the world, tourism plays an important role in both economic development and heritage preservation. Chiapas, particularly the Soconusco region, is globally recognized for its high-quality coffee. Here, tourism has emerged as a relevant economic

pojavio kao relevantna gospodarska aktivnost, potaknuta prirodnim ljepotama regije, lokalnom kulturom i impresivnim iskustvima kave. Ova regija nudi turistima jedinstveno iskustvo koje spaja zapanjujuće krajolike, posjete plantažama kave i mogućnosti sudjelovanja u procesu proizvodnje kave.

Prema definiciji Svjetske turističke organizacije (UN Tourism, 2023), „aktivnosti ruralnog turizma odvijaju se u neurbanim (ruralnim) okruženjima koje karakteriziraju: a) niska gustoća naseljenosti, b) krajolici i korištenje zemljišta u kojima dominiraju poljoprivreda i šumarstvo te c) tradicionalne društvene strukture i način života“. Ruta kave Soconusco primjer je ove definicije; njezino ruralno okruženje ima nisku gustoću naseljenosti, krajolik u kojem dominiraju plantaže kave i dobro očuvan tradicionalni način života.

Put kave Soconusco, pokrenut 2006. godine, pojavio se kao turistički proizvod koji su osmislile hacijende s plantažama kave (Hamburgo, Chiripa, Argovia, Violetas, Santa Rita, Lindavista, Perú-París, San Antonio Chicharras, Rancho Alegre, San Francisco, La Granja, Irlanda i La Lucha). Primarno promoviran od strane SECTUR-a i Secretaría de Turismo de Chiapas, Put kave imao je za cilj koristiti kako hacijendama tako i lokalnom stanovništvu (SDEM, 2006; González *et al.*, 2011). No, dvije hacijende navodno monopoliziraju većinu posjetitelja, a postoje i tvrdnje o pristranoj institucionalnoj podršci te favoriziranju pojedinih hacijendi pa se čini da je turistički razvoj ostalih hacijendi i lokalnih proizvođača zapostavljen i slabo promoviran od strane službenih institucija.

2.5. Turizam kave u globalnoj perspektivi: modeli razvoja i socio-ekonomske implikacije

Globalni krajolik turizma kave obuhvaća širok spektar pristupa koji odražavaju različite povijesne putanje, kulturne kontekste i ekonomske prioritete (Gobbi, 2000; Munoz,

activity, driven by the region's natural beauty, local culture, and immersive coffee experiences. This region offers tourists a unique experience that blends stunning landscapes, visits to coffee plantations, and opportunities to engage in the coffee production process.

As defined by the World Tourism Organization (UN Tourism, 2023), “rural tourism activities take place in non-urban (rural) environments characterized by: a) low population density, b) landscapes and land-use dominated by agriculture and forestry, and c) traditional social structures and lifestyle.”. The Soconusco Coffee Route exemplifies this definition; its rural setting features low population density, a landscape dominated by coffee plantations, and well-preserved traditional lifestyle.

The Soconusco Coffee Route, launched in 2006, emerged as a tourism product conceptualized by coffee haciendas (Hamburgo, Chiripa, Argovia, Violetas, Santa Rita, Lindavista, Perú-París, San Antonio Chicharras, Rancho Alegre, San Francisco, La Granja, Irlanda, and La Lucha). Primarily promoted by SECTUR and the *Secretaría de Turismo de Chiapas*, the Coffee Route aimed to benefit both haciendas and local residents (SDEM, 2006; González *et al.*, 2011). However, two haciendas reportedly monopolize most visitors and there are allegations of biased institutional support favoring these specific haciendas. Consequently, the tourism development of other haciendas and local producers appears neglected with scant promotion from official institutions.

2.5. Coffee tourism in global perspective: development models and socio-economic implications

The global landscape of coffee tourism embraces a spectrum of wide approaches that reflect distinct historical trajectories, cultural contexts, and economic priorities (Gobbi, 2000; Munoz, 2002; Lepp, 2004;

2002; Lepp, 2004; Daviron i Ponte, 2005; Bacon, Mendez i Fox, 2008; Mendez, 2008; Sick, 2008; Kleidas i Jolliffe, 2010). Od povijesnih bečkih kavana do plantaža Srednje Amerike, turizam vezan uz kavu razvio se u nišno tržište koje se isprepliće s očuvanjem kulture, ruralnim razvojem i globalnim lancima roba. Ovaj fenomen pokazuje kako se poljoprivredni proizvodni prostori mogu transformirati u destinacije iskustvenog turizma, iako s različitim stupnjevima koristi za lokalne zajednice (López-Guzmán *et al.*, 2011).

Moderna inačica turizma kave u regijama proizvodnje pojavila se s plantažama kave na obali Kone na Havajima, pionirskim obilascima farmi kave 1980-ih godina (Cox i Fox, 1991). Ovaj je model od tada prilagođen i usavršen u regijama uzgoja kave diljem svijeta, s uspjehom u Kostariki i Kolumbiji, gdje je turizam kave sustavno integriran u nacionalne turističke strategije (Kleidas i Jolliffe, 2010). Kostarikanski pristup primjer je uravnoteženog modela u kojem su srednje velika poljoprivredna gospodarstva i zadruge uspješno uključile turizam u svoje poslovanje. Programi certificiranja u zemlji i dobro razvijena infrastruktura omogućuju pravedno sudjelovanje u cijelom lancu vrijednosti. Slično tome, kolumbijski Kulturni krajolik kave, prepoznat kao UNESCO-va svjetska baština, pokazuje kako institucionalna podrška može stvoriti okvire koji koriste i velikim i malim proizvođačima, a istovremeno čuvaju kulturnu baštinu (Segal, 2007; Kleidas i Jolliffe, 2010). Ovi slučajevi u suprotnosti su s gvatemalskim i meksičkim (posebno u Chiapasu) modelima, gdje je razvoj turizma uvelike definiran povijesnim obrascima vlasništva nad zemljištem, često povećavajući postojeće nejednakosti (Lyon, 2013; Demir i Bertan, 2024).

Osim toga, u Brazilu obiteljska poljoprivredna gospodarstva nude alternativni pristup uključujući iskustva žetve i obuku barista za posjetitelje, uz održavanje poljoprivredne proizvodnje (Tavares *et al.*, 2021;

Daviron and Ponte, 2005; Bacon, Mendez and Fox, 2008; Mendez, 2008; Sick, 2008; Kleidas and Jolliffe, 2010). From the heritage coffee houses of Vienna to the working plantations of Central America, coffee-related tourism has evolved into a niche market that intersects with cultural preservation, rural development, and global commodity chains. This demonstrates how agricultural production spaces can be transformed into experiential tourism destinations, with varying degrees of benefit to local communities (López-Guzmán *et al.*, 2011).

The modern iteration of coffee tourism in producing regions emerged with Hawaii's Kona coast plantations pioneering coffee farm tours in the 1980s (Cox and Cox, 1991). This model has since been adapted and refined across coffee-growing regions worldwide, with success in Costa Rica and Colombia where coffee tourism has been systematically integrated into national tourism strategies (Kleidas and Jolliffe, 2010). The Costa Rican approach exemplifies a balanced model where medium-sized farms and cooperatives have successfully incorporated tourism into their operations (White, 2008). The country's certification programs and well-developed infrastructure allow for equitable participation across the value chain. Similarly, Colombia's Coffee Cultural Landscape, recognized as a UNESCO World Heritage site, demonstrates how institutional support can create frameworks that benefit both large and small producers while preserving cultural heritage (Segal, 2007; Kleidas and Jolliffe, 2010). These cases contrast with the Guatemalan and Mexican (specifically in Chiapas) models, where tourism development has been largely defined by historical land ownership patterns, often reinforcing existing inequalities (Lyon, 2013; Demir and Bertan, 2024).

Furthermore, in Brazil, family-owned farms offer an alternative approach by incorporating harvest experiences and barista training to visitors, while maintaining ag-

Demir i Bertan, 2024). Ovaj se model pokazao učinkovitim u povezivanju urbanih potrošača s ruralnim proizvođačima, olakšavajući izravne trgovinske odnose koji zaobilaze tradicionalne strukture tržišta roba.

2.6. Okvir za analizu – održivo osiguranje sredstava za život

Prema Teoriji održivog osiguranja sredstava za život, koju je osmislio Savjetodavni odbor za održivo osiguranje sredstava za ruralni život, a temelji se na prethodnom radu Instituta za razvojne studije (DFID, 2001), osiguranje sredstava za život održivo je kada zadovoljava potrebe ljudi bez ugrožavanja okoliša i pruža jednake mogućnosti svima neovisno o socijalnom podrijetlu (Parra *et al.*, 2020). Taj okvir omogućuje istraživačima da razumiju kako zajednice žive i razvijaju se identificiranjem primarnih čimbenika koji na njih utječu, kao i međusobnih odnosa između članova zajednice. Osim toga, olakšava analizu strategija i vrijednosti koje definiraju značenje opstanka obitelji i života u zajednici (Parra *et al.*, 2020). U konačnici, teorija održivog osiguranja sredstava za život ima za cilj unaprijediti egzistencije članova zajednice putem uključivih i održivih koncepta.

Okvir održivog osiguranja sredstava za život također uključuje analizu ugroženosti zajednice i životnih strategija (Hernández *et al.*, 2015). Ranjivost zajednice propituje utjecaj vanjskih okolišnih kretanja, udara i neizvjesnosti povezanih s višestrukim i nekontroliranim čimbenicima koji utječu na sposobnost zajednice za opstanak. S druge strane, životne strategije usredotočuju se na aktivnosti i pristupe koje kućanstva koriste za stvaranje prihoda i svakodnevno preživljavanje. Ovo istraživanje ima za cilj istaknuti značaj turizma kao alternativne ekonomske aktivnosti unutar strategija egzistencije proizvođača kave, posebno u dva kontrastna okruženja: zajednicama i privatnim haciendama. Fokus ovog rada je na proširenju

agricultural production (Tavares *et al.*, 2021; Demir and Bertan, 2024). This model has proven effective in connecting urban consumers with rural producers, facilitating direct trade relationships that bypass traditional commodity market structures.

2.6. Analysis framework – sustainable livelihoods

The theory of sustainable livelihoods, conceptualized by the Sustainable Rural Livelihoods Advisory Committee and based on prior work from the Institute of Development Studies (DFID, 2001), asserts that a livelihood is sustainable when it fulfills people's needs without compromising the environment and provides equal opportunities for all regardless of social background (Parra *et al.*, 2020). This framework allows researchers to understand how communities live and evolve by identifying primary factors influencing them, as well as the interrelationships between community members. Additionally, it facilitates the analysis of the strategies and values that define the meaning of family existence and community life (Parra *et al.*, 2020). Ultimately, the sustainable livelihoods theory aims to improve the livelihoods of community members by inclusive and sustainable approaches.

The sustainable livelihoods framework also incorporates the analysis of community vulnerability and life strategies (Hernández *et al.*, 2015). Community vulnerability examines the influence of external environmental trends, shocks, and uncertainty associated with multiple and uncontrollable factors influencing a community's ability to subsist. Life strategies, on the other hand, focus on the activities and approaches employed by households for income generation and daily survival (Suárez, 2011). This research aims to highlight the significance of tourism as an alternative economic activity within the livelihood strategies of coffee producers, particularly in two contrasting settings: communities and

znanja o zapošljavanju u ruralnom turizmu, komodifikaciji prostora i potencijalnom sukobu koji proizlazi iz razvoja turizma i proizvodnje kave.

3. PODRUČJE ISTRAŽIVANJA

Studija ispituje dvije zajednice i dvije privatne hacijende (*fincas*) smještene na obroncima vulkana Tacaná u Soconusco, Chiapas, Meksiko. Radi osiguranja povjerljivosti, hacijende će se od sada nazivati Finca A i Finca B. Povijesni kontekst hacijendi značajno se razlikuje od konteksta zajednica. Zajednice El Águila i Benito Juárez El Plan odabrane su na temelju dva kriterija: njihovi članovi su lokalni proizvođači kave te pružaju turističke usluge. Ove zajednice također posjeduju prirodne resurse pogodne za turističke aktivnosti i naseljene su vrlo marginaliziranim autohtonim skupinama.

El Águila i Benito Juárez El Plan male su, rijetko naseljene zajednice uronjene u maglene šume, slapove, bogatu floru i faunu te živopisnu autohtonu kulturu (Mam, etnička skupina), karakterizirane zajedničkim vlasništvom nad zemljom *ejidos*. Obje zajednice imaju pristup nepitkoj vodi, struji, zdravstvenim klinikama, telefonskoj pokrivenosti i osnovnim školama. El Águila također ima srednjoškolske ustanove. Najvažnija gospodarska aktivnost je proizvodnja kave i kukuruza za vlastitu egzistenciju, iako je dio ekonomski aktivnog stanovništva samozaposlen, migrira sezonski ili se bavi neplaćenim obiteljskim poslovima. El Águila ima ekoturistički centar pod nazivom P'akal T'six 'A, s kućicama i restoranom, dok je Benito Juárez El Plan tek počeo razvijati turizam samo s grupom vodiča za promatranje ptica.

Nasuprot tome, Finca A i Finca B privatne su hacijende (posjedi), svaka veća od 100 hektara. Osnovane prije više od stoljeća od strane njemačkih imigranata, ove velike hacijende trenutno vodi peta generacija osnivač-

privately-owned haciendas. Our focus is on expanding knowledge regarding rural tourism employment, commodification of space, and the potential conflict arising between tourism development and coffee production.

3. STUDY AREA

The study examines two communities and two privately-owned haciendas (*fincas*) located on the slopes of the Tacaná volcano, in Soconusco, Chiapas, Mexico. The communities, El Águila and Benito Juárez El Plan, were selected based on two criteria: a) their members are local coffee producers and b) provide tourism services. These communities also possess natural resources well-suited for tourism activities and are populated by highly marginalized indigenous groups. The historical context of the haciendas differs significantly from that of the communities. To ensure confidentiality, the haciendas will henceforth be referred to as Finca A and Finca B.

El Águila and Benito Juárez El Plan are small, sparsely populated communities immersed in cloud forests, waterfalls, vast flora and fauna, and vibrant indigenous culture (Mam, ethnic group), characterized by communal land ownership *ejidos*. Both communities have access to non-potable water, electricity, health clinics, phone coverage, and primary schools. El Águila also has secondary education facilities. The most important economic activity are coffee and maize production for self-subsistence, although a portion of the economically active population is self-employed, or migrates seasonally or engages in unpaid family labor. El Águila has an ecotourism center called P'akal T'six 'A, with cabins and a restaurant, while Benito Juárez El Plan has only begun developing tourism with just a group of bird-watching guides.

In contrast, Finca A and Finca B are privately-owned haciendas (estates), exceeding 100 ha each. Founded over a century ago by German immigrants, these large haciendas

kih obitelji, koje pripadaju višem srednjem ili nižem visokom socio-ekonomskom sloju. Više od polovice njihovog zemljišta posvećeno je proizvodnji kave, a za svoju godišnju proizvodnju kave oslanjaju se na sezonske migrante ili članove lokalne zajednice. Haciende se također bave drugim gospodarskim aktivnostima poput cvjećarstva i smještajnih usluga. Na hacijendi su sve turističke usluge i aktivnosti koncentrirane u *casa grande* (velikoj kući), tj. bivšoj rezidenciji vlasnika hacijendi. Oko glavne kuće nalaze se svi bitni objekti za proizvodnju kave, poput jedinica za preradu, prostora za sušenje i skladištenje te smještaja za radnike. Osim toga, okolno područje uključuje male medicinske klinike i učionice. Dok većina objekata na hacijendama ima pristup tehničkoj vodi i telefonskoj pokrivenosti, satelitski internet ograničen je na restoran i hotel na hacijendama.

4. METODOLOGIJA

U analizi je korišten pristup studije slučaja, istraživački i deskriptivni dizajn te pregled literature. Jedinica analize obuhvaća ili zajednicu ili hacijendu uz isticanje njihovih različitih strategija za integraciju turizma.

Podaci su prikupljeni korištenjem više-metodske strategije kako bi se osigurala analitička dubina i kontekstualno bogatstvo:

- *Polustrukturirani intervjui*: proveden je 21 individualni intervju, svaki u trajanju do 2 sata. Ovi intervjui osmišljeni su da bi se istražile ključne teme, što obuhvaća uvjete zapošljavanja, socijalnu sigurnost, turističku obuku, kulturni kontekst, prostornu stratifikaciju i ekološke prakse.
- *Participativne radionice*: dvije radionice održane su u ekoturističkom centru u El Águila tijekom razdoblja prikupljanja podataka (siječanj-travanj i kolovoz-listopad 2023. godine). Cilj ovih radionica bio je potvrditi preliminarne nalaze dobivene

are currently managed by the fifth generation of the founding families, who belong to the upper-middle or lower-high socioeconomic class. Over half of their land is dedicated to coffee production, relying on seasonal migrants or local community members for their annual coffee production. The haciendas also engage in other economic activities such as floriculture and accommodation services.

Within the haciendas, all tourism-related services and activities are concentrated in the *casa grande* (main house), i.e. the former residence of the hacienda owners. Around the main house are all the essential coffee production facilities, such as processing units, drying and storage areas, and workers' accommodations. Additionally, the surrounding area includes small medical clinics and classrooms. While most hacienda facilities have access to non-potable water and phone coverage, satellite internet is limited to the haciendas' restaurant and hotel.

4. METHODOLOGY

This study employs a case study approach, adopting an exploratory and descriptive design, alongside a literature review. The unit of analysis comprises either a community or hacienda, with emphasis on their distinct strategies for integrating tourism.

Data were collected using a multi-method strategy to ensure analytical depth and contextual richness:

- *Semi-structured interviews*: 21 individual interviews were conducted, each lasting up to 2 hours. These interviews were designed to explore key themes, including employment conditions, social security, tourism training, cultural context, spatial stratification, and environmental practices.
- *Participatory workshops*: Two workshops were held at the ecotourism center in El Águila during the data collection periods (January-April and August-October 2023). These workshops aimed to va-

iz intervjuja i terenskih promatranja, potaknuti kolektivnu refleksiju i prikupiti kontekstualne podatke koji se možda ne bi pojavili u okruženjima jedan na jedan. Transkripcije rasprava s radionica uključene su u kvalitativnu analizu kao zaseban i komplementaran izvor podataka.

- *Terenski dnevници*: tijekom terenskog rada vođeni su detaljni terenski dnevници kako bi se zabilježili podaci promatranja vezani uz prostornu organizaciju, dnevne aktivnosti i društvene interakcije. Istraživački posjeti svakom lokalitetu bili su ključni za uspostavljanje kontekstualnog razumijevanja i usavršavanje analitičkog fokusa.

Odabir sudionika

Sudionici su odabrani na temelju njihove izravne uključenosti u turizam i proizvodnju kave. Uzorak je uključivao osam pojedinaca iz svake zajednice i pet s dvije hacijende. U zajednicama su među sudionicima bili izabrani čelnici turističkog odbora, certificirani turistički vodiči i obitelji koje rukovode uslugama smještaja i restoranima. Njihove uloge pružile su uvid u upravljanje zajednicom, raspodjelu koristi i izazove povezane s turističkim aktivnostima. Na hacijendama su ispitanici bili menadžeri srednje razine i stalno zaposleni koji su bili uključeni u turističke usluge te su mogli dati mišljenje o operativnoj logistici, radnim odnosima i temeljnom poslovnom modelu.

Veličina uzorka od 21 intervjuja određena je načelom podatkovne zasićenosti, pri čemu su naknadni intervjui davali sve više redundantnih informacija. Ovaj prag široko je prepoznat u kvalitativnom istraživanju, posebno u okviru fokusiranih dizajna studija slučaja. Iako bi veći uzorak mogao obuhvatiti veću raznolikost, dubina i bogatstvo intervjuja zajedno s terenskim promatranjima i komplementarnim podacima s radionica pružili su snažan uvid u središnje fenomene koji su predmet ovog istraživanja.

litate preliminary findings derived from the interviews and field observations, foster collective reflection, and gather contextual data that might not emerge in one-on-one settings. Transcriptions of the workshop discussions were incorporated into the qualitative analysis as a distinct and complementary data source.

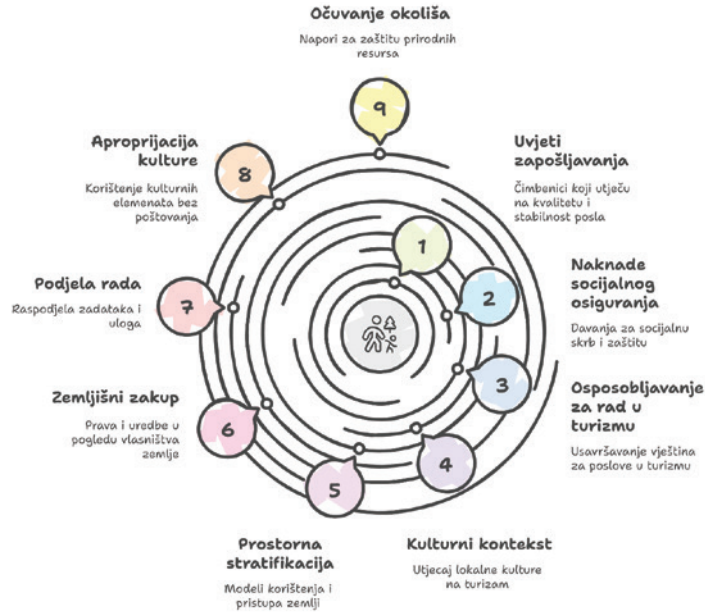
- *Field diaries*: Throughout the fieldwork, detailed field diaries were maintained to record observational data related to spatial organization, daily activities, and social interactions. Exploratory visits to each site were crucial in establishing contextual understanding and refining the analytical focus.

Selection of participants

Participants were selected based on their direct involvement in tourism and coffee production. The sample included eight persons from each community and five from the two haciendas. In the communities, participants included elected leaders of the tourism committee, certified tour guides, and families managing cabin and restaurant services. Their roles provided insights into community governance, benefit distribution, and the challenges associated with tourism activities. In the haciendas, interviewees comprised mid-level managers and formal employees involved in tourist services, offering a perspective on operational logistics, labor relations, and the underlying business model.

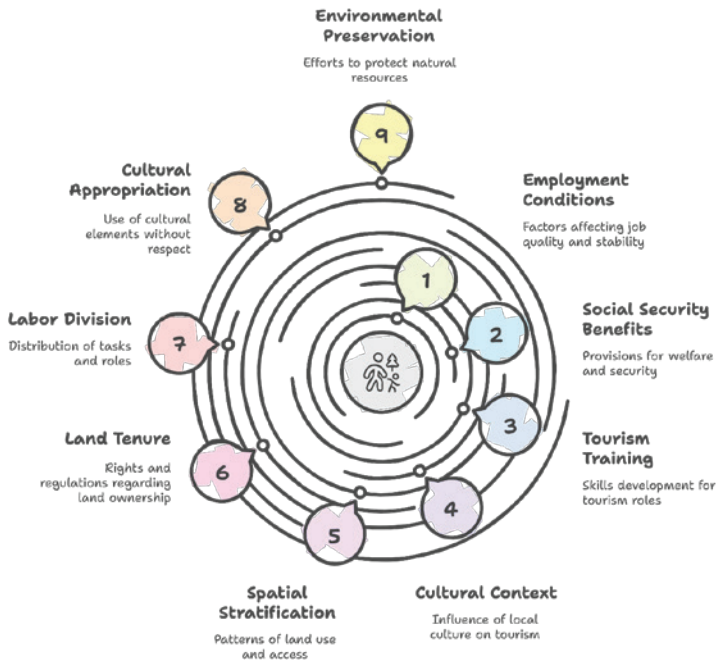
The sample size of 21 interviews was determined by the principle of data saturation, wherein subsequent interviews yielded increasingly redundant information. This threshold is widely recognized in qualitative inquiry, particularly within focused case study designs. While a larger sample might capture more diversity, the depth and richness of the interviews combined with field observations and complementary data from workshops, provided a robust understanding of the central phenomena under investigation.

Slika 1: Analizirane ključne varijable



Izvor: izrada autora

Figure 1: Key variables analyzed



Source: authors

Prikupljanje podataka provedeno je tijekom dva razdoblja 2023. godine, od siječnja do travnja i od kolovoza do listopada. Podaci iz intervjua i radionica analizirani su korištenjem kvalitativne analize sadržaja uz podršku softvera ATLAS.ti. Analitički proces uključivao je iterativno kodiranje za identifikaciju tema koje su potom kategorizirane i interpretirane u odnosu na okvir održivog osiguranja sredstava za život i koncepte prostorne komodifikacije (Slika 1).

5. REZULTATI I RASPRAVA

5.1. Turizam i stvaranje radnih mjesta

Učinci poput stvaranja radnih mjesta, rasta, produktivnosti i gospodarskog rasta mogu biti tumačeni kao pozitivni učinci turizma. Turizam izravno otvara radna mjesta, prvenstveno za turističke vodiče i uslužno osoblje. U Benito Juárez El Planu, vodiči su zatražili i dobili dopuštenje od CONANP-a (Comisión Nacional de Áreas Naturales Protegidas) za vođenje posjeta glavnom vodopadu lokaliteta, koji se nalazi unutar reguliranog zaštićenog prirodnog područja. Kako bi poboljšali kvalitetu usluge i potencijalno povećali svoje prihode, lokalni turistički vodiči obaju zajednica obrazuju se za nacionalne certifikate. Uslužno osoblje obuhvaća one koji rade prvenstveno u ekoturističkom centru El Águila, iako ta kategorija uključuje i prodavače hrane posjetiteljima u objema zajednicama. Iako El Águila ima bolju infrastrukturu (smještaj i restoran) od Benito Juárez, obje zajednice rade na poboljšanju kvalitete smještaja za turiste. To uključuje održavanje čistoće javnih prostora za posjetitelje, nabavu opreme i osposobljavanje osoblja za promatranje ptica.

U objema zajednicama turizam je stvorio i neizravne mogućnosti zapošljavanja, što je vidljivo u povećanju broja malih restorana, barova i trgovina. Neki stanovnici čak su postali dobavljači za ta poduzeća, prvenstveno se baveći opskrbbom povrća. Taj

Data collection was conducted during two periods in 2023 from January to April and from August to October. Interview and workshop data were analyzed using qualitative content analysis, supported by ATLAS.ti software. The analytical process involved iterative coding to identify emergent themes, which were subsequently categorized and interpreted in relation to the sustainable livelihoods framework and concepts of spatial commodification (Figure 1).

5. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

5.1. Tourism and job creation

When considering job creation, development, productivity, and economic growth, these aspects can be understood as positive effects of tourism. Tourism creates direct jobs, primarily as tour guides and service personnel. In Benito Juárez El Plan, guides have requested and received permission from CONANP (*Comisión Nacional de Áreas Naturales Protegidas*) to lead visits to the locality's main waterfall, which is located within a regulated Natural Protected Area. To enhance service quality and potentially increase their income, local tour guides in both communities are pursuing national certifications. Service personnel refer to those who work primarily at the El Águila ecotourism center, but this category also includes those who sell food to visitors in both communities. While El Águila has better infrastructure (cabins and restaurant) than Benito Juárez, both communities are implementing improvements to better accommodate tourists. These efforts include maintaining clean public areas for visitors, acquiring equipment, and training personnel for birdwatching.

Tourism in both communities has also created indirect job opportunities, which is evident in the increase in the number of small restaurants, bars, and shops. Some residents have even become suppliers for these businesses, primarily providing vegetables.

rast donio je relativno ekonomsko blagostanje zajednicama, a stvaranje radnih mjesta, ekonomski rast i povećana produktivnost pozitivni su utjecaji turizma. Međutim, razvoj infrastrukture i povećana ponuda turističkih aktivnosti sami po sebi ne mogu jamčiti održiv protok posjetitelja. Obje zajednice bore se s održavanjem broja posjetitelja zbog nedostatka organizirane suradnje i ograničene institucionalne promocije i podrške. Benito Juárez suočava se s posebnim izazovom zbog nedostatka odgovarajuće infrastrukture, iako u objema zajednicama postoji potreba daljnjih ulaganja u opremu i objekte.

S druge strane, hacijende s plantažama kave koje nude turističke usluge imale su trajne koristi od institucionalne podrške općinskih i državnih vlasti, kao i od vlastitih ulaganja. Ova održiva ulaganja i podrška osigurali su njihovu konkurentnost čak i tijekom pandemije COVID-19. Iako su hacijende tijekom pandemije doživjele pad broja posjetitelja, brzo su se oporavile i zadržale profitabilnost. Lokalne zajednice, nasuprot tome, nisu imale pristup sličnoj institucionalnoj podršci. To je rezultiralo značajnijim padom dolazaka posjetitelja tijekom pandemije, što im je otežalo održavanje profitabilnosti i dovelo do zatvaranja. Posljedično, pružatelji turističkih usluga iz obje zajednice bili su raseljeni i prisiljeni tražiti zaposlenje u turističkim agencijama u stranom vlasništvu ili raditi povremene poslove, često bez socijalnih prava i uz minimalnu plaću. Trenutno turističke usluge u objema zajednicama prolaze kroz proces oporavka. Te hacijende imaju vlasnike, stalno zaposlene i povremene radnike. Vlasnici obično imaju privatnu zdravstvenu skrb i mogu se baviti rekreacijom. Stalno zaposleni radnici imaju pravo na javno socijalno osiguranje, ali često nemaju pogodnosti poput plaćenog staža ili mirovinskih doprinosa. Berači kave, koji spadaju u kategoriju povremenih radnika i plaćeni su po vreći ubrane kave, uglavnom nemaju minimalnu plaću ili drugu zaštitu na radu osim ograničene medicinske skrbi koja

This growth has brought relative economic prosperity to the communities, and job creation, economic growth and increased productivity are positive impacts of tourism. However, infrastructure development and the increased offering of tourist activities alone cannot guarantee a sustained flow of visitors. Both communities struggle to maintain visitor numbers due to a lack of organized cooperation and limited institutional promotion and support. Benito Juárez faces a particular challenge due to its lack of proper infrastructure, though both communities require further investment in equipment and facilities.

Conversely, coffee haciendas offering tourism services have consistently benefited from both institutional support from municipal and state governments along with their own investment. This sustained investment and support has ensured their competitiveness even during the COVID-19 pandemic. While haciendas experienced a decrease in visitor numbers during the pandemic, they recovered quickly and maintained profitability. Local communities, in contrast, lacked access to similar institutional support. This resulted in a more significant decline in visitor arrivals during the pandemic, impaired maintaining profitability and lead to closures. Consequently, tourism service providers from both communities were displaced, forced to seek employment in third-party tourist agencies, or work informally, often lacking access to social services and minimum wage income. Now, the tourist services in both communities are undergoing a process of recovery. These haciendas are composed of owners, formal workers, and temporary workers. Owners typically have access to private healthcare and leisure activities. Formal workers are entitled to public social security but often lack benefits such as seniority pay or retirement plans. Coffee harvesters, classified as temporary workers, are paid per sack of coffee picked. They generally do not receive the minimum wage or other labor protections, except for limited on-site

je dostupna na hacijendi na nekoliko sati dva puta tjedno (Tablica 1).

Većina radne snage angažirane u berbi kave sastoji se od migrantskog stanovništva, prvenstveno iz Gvatemale, koji često nemaju radnička prava i suočavaju se s diskriminacijom. Iako se hacijende pridržavaju strogih pravila zabrane dječjeg rada, u praksi se to često slabo provodi. Hacijende prvenstveno zapošljavaju muške radnike koji obično dolaze u pratnji svojih obitelji. Tijekom sezone berbe, cijele obitelji sudjeluju u radu, jer su njihovi prihodi izravno povezani s brojem ubranih vreća kave. U biti, i hacijende i radnici daju prioritet maksimiziranju prinosa kave, što često dovodi do pritiska na obitelji da pojačaju rad u berbi.

„...stvar je u tome što mama i tata moraju povesti djecu sa sobom na plantaže kave kako ne bi ostali [sami] kod kuće. U nekim slučajevima, i djeca se uključuju [u berbu], budući da sve to ide u istu obiteljsku vreću; to je radna snaga i iako možemo reći da hacijenda ne prisiljava djecu, to se događa.“ Intervju s glavnim sudionikom, 2023.

Berači kave smješteni su u malim, primitivnim građevinama koje se obično nazivaju *galleras*, a nalaze se dalje od glavne kuće i područja namijenjenih turističkim aktivnostima.

„...ovi ljudi žive u malim prostorima, vrlo malenim sobama, uglavnom kućicama od drvenih ploča i s limenim krovovima. Mnogi nemaju [prave] zidove te su ih izgradili sami stanovnici. Mnogi od njih imaju samo betonske podove za spavanje; sigurno im je hladno u određenim razdobljima.“ Intervju s glavnim sudionikom, 2023. godine.

Radnici koji su stalno zaposleni u turističkim uslugama na hacijendama nemaju iste nesigurne životne uvjete kao berači kave, ali im je ipak onemogućen pristup infrastrukturi i sadržajima dostupnima vlasnicima i posjetiteljima. Ti radnici često samo

medical care available for a few hours twice a week (Table 1).

Most of the labor force employed in coffee harvesting consists of migrant populations, primarily from Guatemala, who often lack labor rights and face discrimination. Although haciendas maintain strict policies against child labor, enforcement is often lax. Haciendas primarily employ male workers who are typically accompanied by their families. During the harvest season, entire families participate in the work, as their income is directly tied to the number of coffee sacks harvested. In essence, both haciendas and workers prioritize maximizing coffee yield, often leading to pressure on families to contribute to the harvest.

“...the thing is, mom and dad must take their children with them to the coffee plantations, so they are not left [alone] at home. In some cases, the children also get involved [in the harvesting], since all of it goes into the same family sack; it is labor force but we can say that the hacienda does not force the children, it happens.” Interview with a key actor, 2023

Coffee harvesters are housed in small, rudimentary structures commonly referred to as *galleras*. They are situated at a distance from the main house and the areas designated for tourist activities.

“...these people live in small spaces, very tiny rooms, mostly built with wooden walls and tin roofs. Many lack [proper] walls and were built by the inhabitants themselves. Many of them only have concrete floors where they sleep; they must feel cold at certain times of the year.” Interview with a key actor, 2023

Formal workers employed in the hacienda's tourism services do not experience the same precarious living conditions as coffee harvesters, but are nonetheless excluded from accessing the infrastructure and amenities available to owners and visitors. These workers often bear the financial burden of

snose financijski teret opremanja svojih životnih prostora, a mnogi podnose hladnoću. Povrh toga, vlasnici hacijendi obično im osiguravaju samo jedan obrok dnevno i plaćaju manje od minimalne mjesečne plaće za tu kategoriju radnika.

„...Zarađivao sam 3.300 pesosa mjesečno, ali sam morao biti dostupan šest dana u tjednu od 6:00 do 23:00 sati, a nisu nam dali ni tri obroka.“ Intervju s glavnim sudionikom, 2023.

„...ljudi to podnose jer nisu imali drugih izvora prihoda, mnogi od njih su već dugo radili ovdje. Znali su da to nije u redu, ali nisu imali puno mogućnosti.“ Intervju s glavnim sudionikom, 2023.

Prema ključnim intervjuiranim sudionicima, vlasnici hacijendi uživaju bolje životne uvjete i mogućnosti nego stalno zaposleni i povremeni radnici. Isto tako, hacijende uživaju jači socio-ekonomski položaj od zajednica El Águila i Benito Juárez El Plan. Kao što je spomenuto, ove zajednice moraju poboljšati svoje turističke usluge usred neizvjesnog broja posjetitelja, ograničene institucionalne podrške i niskih kapitalnih ulaganja. Ova situacija pogoršava socio-ekonomsku razliku između hacijendi i zajednica, naglašavajući da, iako turizam stvara mogućnosti zapošljavanja, on ne nudi jednake mogućnosti za sve sudionike. Nadalje, na hacijendama postoji nedostatak jednakih mogućnosti, a diskriminacija povremenih radnika svakodnevna je pojava.

furnishing their living spaces, and many endure cold conditions. Moreover, hacienda owners typically provide only one daily meal and wages below the monthly minimum wage for these employees.

“...I earned 3,300 pesos per month, but I needed to be available six days a week from 6:00 am to 11:00 pm, and they didn’t even give us three meals.” Interview with a key actor, 2023

“...people endure it because they did not have other sources of income, many of them had already been here for a long time. They knew it wasn’t right, but they did not have many options.” Interview with a key actor, 2023

According to key actors interviewed, hacienda owners enjoy better living conditions and opportunities than formal and temporary workers. Similarly, haciendas hold a stronger socioeconomic position than the El Águila and Benito Juárez El Plan communities. As mentioned, these communities must enhance their tourist services amidst uncertain visitor numbers, limited institutional support, and low capital investment. This situation exacerbates the socioeconomic disparity between haciendas and communities, highlighting that while tourism creates job opportunities, it does not offer equal opportunities for all involved. Furthermore, within haciendas, there is a lack of equal opportunities, with discrimination against temporary workers being a daily occurrence.

Tablica 1: Komparativna analiza hacijendi u odnosu na zajednice

Čimbenik	Hacijende	Zajednice
Posjed zemljišta	Privatno vlasništvo	Komunalno (<i>ejido</i>)
Turistička infrastruktura	Luksuzni (hoteli, restorani)	Osnovno (kućice, vođene ture)
Radni uvjeti	Stalno/povremeno zaposleni; migrantska radna snaga	Obiteljski/zajednički
Institucionalna podrška	Snažna (državne subvencije, promocija)	Slaba (ograničeno financiranje, <i>ad-hoc</i> projekti)
Primarni izazovi	Kršenja radnih prava	Zadržavanje posjetitelja, pristup kapitalu

Izvor: vlastita izrada

Table 1: Comparative Analysis of Haciendas vs. Communities

Aspect	Haciendas	Communities
Land Tenure	Private ownership	Communal (<i>ejido</i>)
Tourism Infrastructure	High-end (hotels, restaurants)	Basic (cabins, guided tours)
Labor Conditions	Formal/informal; migrant labor	Family/community-based
Institutional Support	Strong (state subsidies, promotion)	Weak (limited funding, <i>ad-hoc</i> projects)
Primary Challenges	Labor rights violations	Visitor retention, capital access

Source: own elaboration

5.2. Turizam i njegov utjecaj na komodifikaciju prostora

Komodifikacija prostora može se razumjeti kroz kritičku geografiju i političku ekonomiju, koje propituju načine na koje se krajolici transformiraju u tržišne proizvode ugrađene u odnose moći. Henri Lefebvreova (1991) konceptualna trijada percipiranog, zamišljenog i životnog prostora pruža vrijedan okvir za analizu tih transformacija. U pogledu turizma orijentiranog na kavu, percipirani prostor odnosi se na fizičke plantaže kave i pogone za preradu restrukturirane za turističku potrošnju. Zamišljeni prostor odražava strateško planiranje državnih i privatnih aktera da se ti krajolici prezentiraju kao doživljajna roba, često putem njegovanja narativa o tradiciji ili održivosti. Naseljeni prostor nastaje iz napetosti između tih prezentacija i svakodnevnice koju žive radnici i stanovnici, a čiji kulturni i proizvodni odnosi sa zemljom mogu biti u sukobu s njezinom turizmom.

Posjed zemljišta jasno pokazuje razliku između zajednica i hacijendi te predstavlja primjer onoga što bi Lefebvre (1991) identificirao kao fundamentalno različite načine oblikovanja prostora. Hacijendama upravljaju samo dvije obitelji i predstavljaju akumulaciju nastalu oduzimanjem imovine koju su očuvali tradicionalni obrasci kolonijalnog načina eksploatacije zemlje (sensu Harvey, 2001). Nasuprot tome, zajednice imaju zajedničko zemljište, *ejidos*, održavajući tako autohtone odnose s teritorijem. Nadalje, na hacijendama je radna snaga koja obavlja turi-

5.2. Tourism and its effect on the commodification of space

The commodification of space can be understood through the critical geography and political economy, which examine how landscapes are transformed into marketable products embedded with power relations. Henri Lefebvre's (1991) conceptual triad of perceived, conceived, and lived space provides a valuable framework for analyzing these transformations. In coffee tourism, perceived space refers to the physical coffee farms and processing facilities restructured for tourist consumption. Conceived space reflects the strategic planning by state and private actors to package these landscapes as experiential commodities, often through curated narratives of tradition or sustainability. Lived space emerges from the tensions between these representations and the daily realities of workers and residents, whose cultural and productive relationships with the land may conflict with its touristification.

Land tenure provides a clear distinction between communities and haciendas, exemplifying what Lefebvre (1991) would identify as fundamentally different modes of spatial production. Haciendas are privately owned by just two families, represent accumulation by dispossession, sustained through maintained colonial landholding patterns (sensu Harvey, 2001). In contrast, communities hold communal lands as *ejidos*, preserving indigenous relationships with territory. Furthermore, haciendas outsource labor for

stičke usluge prepuštena vanjskim suradnicima, dok zajednice u tim aktivnostima sudjeluju kao grupe ukućana.

Teorija akumulacije oduzimanjem imovine Davida Harveyja (2001) dodatno objašnjava kako turizam kave može reproducirati kolonijalne obrasce prostorne kontrole. U mjestima poput Soconusco, haciende iskorištavaju povijesno vlasništvo nad zemljištem kako bi monopolizirale i materijalnu i simboličku vrijednost krajolika kave, dok su autohtone zajednice sve više prisiljene prilagoditi se tržišno orijentiranim prikazima svoje kulture. Ovaj fenomen, koji MacCannell (1999) opisuje kao insceniranu autentičnost, uključuje promjene prostora kako bi se zadovoljila turistička očekivanja, a istovremeno se prikriva radna eksploatacija ili kulturna erozija.

U El Águilu više kućanstava surađivalo je kako bi od zajedničke zemlje otkupilo prostor za razvoj turizma te su tako praktično pokazali pregovore od zamišljenog prostora (planirana turistička upotreba) i životnog prostora (zajedničke tradicije), kako je teoretizirao Lefebvre (1991). Nasuprot tome, adaptacija postojećih domova za posjetitelje provedena u Benito Juárez El Plan pokazuje kako se zajednice snalaze u komodifikaciji prostora bez formalne infrastrukture.

Kako haciende, tako i zajednice održavaju snažne veze s proizvodnjom kave. Na sve četiri lokacije kava ostaje primarna socio-ekonomska aktivnost, unatoč tomu što je došlo do diverzifikacije i u druge sektore. Na primjer, Benito Juárez El Plan ima značajnu proizvodnju kukuruza osim uzgoja kave. Haciende su se proširile i na uzgoj cvijeća, dok ruralne zajednice uzgajaju povrće poput graha i tikvi pored kave. Na haciendama prostorna stratifikacija obuhvaća područja uzgoja skrivena iza ograda i vrtova koji uokviruju turistička područja, stvarajući umjetnički oblikovano vizualno iskustvo koje prikriva proizvodne stvarnosti – fenomen poznat kao *turistički pogled* (Urry i Larsen, 2011). Takva razgraničenja prostornom organizacijom provode društvene hijerarhije (Mejía Robledo, 2022).

their tourism services, whereas communities develop these activities through household groups.

David Harvey's (2001) theory of accumulation by dispossession further elucidates how coffee tourism can reproduce colonial patterns of spatial control. In contexts like Soconusco, Chiapas, haciendas exploit historical land ownership to monopolize both the material and symbolic value of coffee landscapes, while indigenous communities are increasingly pressured to conform to market-driven representations of their culture. This phenomenon, described by MacCannell (1999) as staged authenticity, involves the alterations of spaces to meet tourist expectations, while obscuring labor exploitation or cultural erosion.

In El Águila, multiple household groups collaborated to purchase land from the *ejido* for tourism development, demonstrating a negotiation between conceived space (planned tourism use) and lived space (communal traditions), as theorized by Lefebvre (1991). In contrast, Benito Juárez El Plan's adaptation of existing homes for visitor shows how communities navigate spatial commodification without formal infrastructure.

Both haciendas and communities maintain a strong relationship with coffee production. In all four locations, coffee remains the primary socioeconomic activity, although diversification into other sectors has occurred. For instance, maize production in Benito Juárez El Plan is significant alongside coffee cultivation. Haciendas have expanded into flower cultivation, while rural communities cultivate vegetables such as beans and squash alongside coffee. On haciendas, the spatial stratification encompasses cultivation areas concealed behind fences and gardens that frame tourist areas, creating a curated visual experience that obscures production realities, a phenomenon known as tourist gaze (Urry and Larsen, 2011). Furthermore, such demarcations enforce social hierarchies through spatial organization (Mejía Robledo, 2022).

U zajednicama plantaže kave ostaju fizički udaljene od turističkih mjesta, međutim, konkurencija za pristup vodi mijenja odnose prema prirodnim resursima upozoravajući na novi oblik otimanja čiji su motiv turistički pritisci (Harvey, 2001). Pritužbe stanovnika na nakupljanje smeća i raspodjelu vode pokazuju napetosti između životnog prostora (svakodnevne potrebe) i zamišljenog prostora (očekivanja turista). Unatoč tome što su i zajednice i hacijende razvile turizam usmjeren na proizvodnju kave prepoznavši društvenu, kulturnu i prirodnu vrijednost kave kao turističkog proizvoda, hacijende su učinkovitije iskoristile taj potencijal. S druge strane, zajednice su dale prednost komodifikaciji krajolika i prirodnih resursa poput slapova i mogućnosti promatranja ptica.

Kao i svaka druga gospodarska aktivnost, turizam može izazvati društvene napetosti. Tako su se unutar zajednica pojavili sukobi između pružatelja turističkih usluga i ostalih stanovnika, naročito zbog dojma nepravedne raspodjele ekonomskih koristi koje generira turizam. Štoviše, ti su stanovnici izrazili zabrinutost zbog potencijalne konkurencije u korištenju prirodnih i kulturnih resursa. Na primjer, u El Águili neki su stanovnici naveli da postoji konkurencija za pristup vodi.

„...Ponekad razgovaram s drugima i dajem jednostavne komentare poput: nemojte bacati smeće tamo, a oni odgovore da bismo ga mi trebali pokupiti, a [oni] ostavljaju smeće tamo. Kažem, mi [svi] se moramo brinuti o stvarima. Neki dan smo razgovarali o zajedničkoj vodi, a [oni su se žalili da] ima kuća koje nemaju vodu danima ili tjednima. Stalno gledaju što mi radimo i stalno nam govore stvari [mišljenja koja nismo tražili i pritužbe], zavist, naposljetku“. Intervju s glavnim sudionikom, 2023.

Dvostruka uloga prirodnog krajolika kao kulturnog izraza i turističkog proizvoda (Nogués, 2009) uzrok je osnovnim kontradikcijama. Dok hacijende potpuno preoblikuju prostor za turističku potrošnju, zajednice

In communities, coffee plots remain physically distant from tourism sites, however, competition over water access is reshaping relationships with natural resources, signaling a new form of dispossession driven from tourism pressures (Harvey, 2001). The residents' complaints about garbage accumulation and water allocation demonstrates the tensions between lived space (daily needs) and conceived space (tourist expectations). While both communities and haciendas have developed tourism centered around coffee production, acknowledging the coffee's social, cultural, and natural heritage value as a tourism product, haciendas have more effectively capitalized on this potential. Conversely, communities have primarily focused on commodifying the landscape and natural resources such as waterfalls and birdwatching opportunities.

Tourism, like any economic activity, can induce social tensions. Thus, within communities conflicts have emerged between tourism service providers and other residents, primarily over the perceived inequitable distribution of economic benefits generated by tourism. Moreover, these residents have expressed concerns about potential competition for the use of natural and cultural resources. For example, in El Águila some residents have expressed that there is competition for water access.

“...Sometimes I talk to others and make simple comments like: don't throw garbage there, and they reply that we should pick it up and [they] leave the garbage there. I say, we [all] need to take care of things. The other day we were talking about the community's water, and [they complained that] there are houses that don't have water for days or weeks. They are always watching what things we do and always saying things to us [unsolicited opinion and complains], envy, after all”. Interview with a key actor, 2023

The natural landscape's dual role as both cultural expression and tourism product (Nogués, 2009) creates fundamental contra-

pokušavaju uravnotežiti njegove funkcionalne i reprezentativne uporabe. Povrh toga, hacijende provode segregaciju i estetsku kontrolu kako bi stvorile turistički prostor, dok zajednice pokušavaju održavati ravnotežu složenim pregovorima o egzistencijalnim potrebama, očuvanju kulture i ekonomskim prilikama. Novonastali sukobi oko korištenja resursa pokazuju kako turizam transformira ne samo fizičke prostore već i društvene odnose s teritorijem.

5.3. Dileme ruralnog turizma

Na temelju dobivenih podataka uočena je promjena u strategijama egzistencije. Hacijende koje su integrirane u ruralna okruženja sve više daju prednost kapitalističkim ekonomskim interesima. Njihov je primarni cilj ekonomski rast na temelju diverzificirane proizvodnje i masovnog turizma, koji ne mora biti ekološki održiv ili kulturno osjetljiv. Očit je značajan nedostatak kulturnih praksi koje su usklađene s prirodnim i kulturnim okruženjem. Hacijende potiču apropijaciju prostora, individualizam i akumulaciju bogatstva, što dovodi do raseljavanja lokalnog stanovništva (Pilquimán, 2016). Vlasništvo nad zemljištem ostaje koncentrirano unutar postojećih obitelji i minimalno ekonomski doprinosi lokalnim zajednicama. Stoga se ekonomska orijentacija hacijendi može se okarakterizirati kao „ekstraktivni pogled“ u ruralni turizam, pri čemu se ekonomskom rastu daje prioritet nad kulturnim i ekološkim razmatranjima (Pilquimán, 2016) te se usklađuje s konceptom akumulacije oduzimanjem imovine (Harvey, 2001). To je razvidno u načinu na koji hacijende prisvajaju i fizički prostor i kulturne narative, dok istovremeno održavaju stroge granice između turističkih područja i radnih krajovalika. Takva transformacija podiže iskustva posjetitelja na štetu dobrobiti radnika i uvjeta rada.

S druge strane, lokalne zajednice suočavaju se s izazovom usklađivanja očuvanja

Whereas haciendas completely redesign space for tourist consumption, communities attempt to balance its functional and representational uses. Moreover, haciendas employ segregation and aesthetic control to produce tourist space, while communities navigate more complex negotiations between subsistence needs, cultural preservation, and economic opportunities. The emerging conflicts over resources use signal how tourism transforms not just physical spaces but social relationships to territory.

5.3. Dilemmas of rural tourism

Based on obtained data, a shift in livelihood strategies was observed. Haciendas which are integrated into rural environments have increasingly prioritized capitalist economic interests. Their primary goal is economic growth through diversified production and mass tourism, which may not be environmentally sustainable or culturally sensitive. A notable absence of cultural practices that harmonize with the natural and cultural environment is evident. Haciendas promote space appropriation, individualism, and wealth accumulation, leading to the displacement of local populations (Pilquimán, 2016). Land ownership remains concentrated within existing families with minimal economic contributions to local communities. The economic orientation of haciendas can be characterized as “extractive gaze” in rural tourism, wherein economic growth is prioritized over cultural and environmental considerations (Pilquimán, 2016) and aligned with the concept of accumulation by dispossession (Harvey, 2001). This is evident in the way haciendas appropriate both physical space and cultural narratives, while maintaining strict boundaries between tourist areas and working landscapes. Such transformation elevates visitor experiences at the expense of worker wellbeing and labor conditions.

Conversely, local communities face the challenge of balancing cultural preservation

kulturne baštine s ekonomskom egzistencijom. Unatoč pritiscima kapitalističkih sila, ove zajednice daju prioritet očuvanju kulturne baštine i okoliša. Ipak, kako bi osigurala prihod obitelji, često se usredotočuju na primarne ekonomske aktivnosti poput proizvodnje kave i kukuruza, a ne na turizam. Posljedično, bez usklađenih napora za promicanje turizma i odgovarajuće institucionalne podrške, ove zajednice ne postižu istu razinu gospodarskog i razvojnog napretka kao haciende. Nadalje, područja zajednica suočavaju se s raznim prijetnjama, kao što je povećani priljev posjetitelja koji bi mogao ugroziti zaštitu i očuvanje prirodnih i kulturnih resursa. Teritorijalni sporovi nastaju zbog sukoba oko vlasništva nad zemljištem, rudarskih aktivnosti, nestabilnih cijena kave, pa čak i vladinih sukoba koji proizlaze iz promjena korištenja zemljišta unutar zaštićenih prirodnih područja (Pilquimán, 2016).

Zajednice se trude uravnotežiti turizam s očuvanjem kulture integrirajući turizam u svoje izvore prihoda – proces poznat kao „adaptivne strategije“ (Tao i Wall 2009), posebno putem pregovora o ekonomskom imperativu komodifikacije krajolika uz potrebu održavanja funkcionalnih odnosa sa svojim teritorijem. Osim toga, čini se da se zajednice opiru prilagodbi pa pokušavaju integrirati turizam pod vlastitim uvjetima dok nastoje očuvati temeljne kulturne prakse. Značajan primjer takvog očuvanja kulturne prakse je njegovanje rituala naroda Mam u zajednici Benito Juárez El Plan.

Ruralni turizam može zajednicama pružiti vrijednu priliku za očuvanje, zaštitu i očuvanje prirodnog okoliša i kulturne baštine turističkim projektima. Tako, svetkovine lokalnih svetaca zaštitnika, proslave agrarne raspodjele i rituala kulture Mam u Benito Juárez El Planu doprinose održanju svjetonazora te etničke skupine. Ruralni turizam naglašava značaj zajedništva, kohezije i organizacije te postaje ostvariva strategija za opstanak zajednice i otpor silama kapitalizma koje prijete kulturnom i teritorijalnom

with economic subsistence. Despite pressures from capitalist forces, these communities prioritize cultural and environmental conservation. Nevertheless, to ensure family income, they often focus on primary economic activities such as coffee and maize production rather than tourism. Consequently, without concerted efforts to promote tourism and adequate institutional support, these communities have not achieved the same level of economic and developmental progress as haciendas. Furthermore, community territories face various threats, including an increased influx of visitors that could jeopardize the protection and preservation of natural and cultural resources. Territorial disputes have arisen due to land ownership conflicts, mining activities, volatile coffee prices, and even governmental conflicts stemming from land-use changes within protected natural areas (Pilquimán, 2016).

The communities make efforts to balance tourism with cultural preservation, by integrating the tourism in their livelihoods, a process known as “adaptive strategies” (Tao and Wall 2009), particularly through negotiating the economic imperative to commodify their landscapes with the need to maintain functional relationships with their territory. Additionally, communities appear to engage in resistant adaptation, attempting to integrate tourism on their own terms while preserving core cultural practices. A notable example is the preservation of the Mam rituals in the Benito Juárez El Plan community.

Rural tourism can provide communities with a valuable opportunity to preserve, protect, and safeguard their natural environments and cultural heritage through tourism projects. For instance, patronal festivals, agrarian distribution celebrations, and Mam rituals celebrated in Benito Juárez El Plan contribute to maintaining the ethnic group’s worldview. Rural tourism emphasizes the importance of community, cohesion, and organization. It emerges as a viable strategy for community survival and resistance against capitalist forces that threaten cultural and

integritetu (Pilquimán, 2016; UN Tourism, 2023).

*„Turizam vidimo kao put do očuvanja naših resursa; ono što nam je najvažnije jest zaštititi i održati našu zajednicu.“
Intervju s glavnim sudionikom, 2023.*

Prema Tao i Wallu (2009) temeljni izazov jest uključivanje turizma u postojeće ruralne sustave bez narušavanja njihove socio-ekološke ravnoteže. Kako na hacijendama tako i u zajednicama, razvoj turizma stvara paradoksalne ishode. Hacijende odvajaju turizam od proizvodnje i tretiraju kulturne elemente kao potrošne proizvode te tako stvaraju kratkoročne ekonomske dobitke, ali otežavaju društvenu stratifikaciju.

Pandemija COVID-19 otkrila je ranjivosti kako hacijendi tako i zajednica. Međutim, hacijende su pokazale financijsku otpornost kroz institucionalne veze, dok su se zajednice oslanjale na društvenu koheziju i raznolike izvore prihoda. Ova diverzifikacija izvora prihoda naglašava važnost promatranja turizma kao jedne komponente unutar šireg sustava prihoda (Tao i Wall, 2009). Nadalje, izazove povezane s dilemama ruralnog turizma ne treba promatrati kao izolirana pitanja, već kao manifestacije dubljih strukturnih nejednakosti u pristupu resursima i moći.

Konačno, globalno istraživanje turizma kave otkriva nekoliko ključnih lekcija za Chiapas. Prvo, uspješni modeli obično imaju snažne institucionalne okvire koji podržavaju male proizvođače. Drugo, vlasništvo i kontrola zajednice pojavljuju se kao ključni čimbenici u osiguravanju pravedne raspodjele koristi. Treće, integracija turizma s postojećim poljoprivrednim sustavima, a ne kao zaseban sektor, čini se dugoročno najodrživiji. Ova saznanja sugeriraju da bi trenutna putanja Chiapasa, gdje dominiraju privatne hacijende, mogla iziskivati značajne političke intervencije u cilju ostvarenja punog potencijala turizma kave kao alata za uključiv razvoj.

territorial integrity (Pilquimán, 2016; UN Tourism, 2023).

“We see tourism as a path to conserve our resources; what matters most to us is to safeguard and maintain our community.” Interview with a key actor, 2023

There is a fundamental challenge of incorporating tourism into existing rural systems without disrupting their socioecological balance (Tao and Wall 2009). In both haciendas and communities, tourism development creates paradoxical outcomes. Haciendas segregate tourism from production and treat cultural elements as consumable products, generating short-term economic gains but exacerbating social stratification.

The COVID-19 pandemic exposed the vulnerabilities of both haciendas and communities. Nevertheless, haciendas displayed financial resilience through institutional connections, while communities relied on social cohesion and diversified livelihoods. This livelihood diversification highlights the importance of viewing tourism as one component within broader livelihood system (Tao and Wall, 2009). Moreover, challenges related to rural tourism dilemmas should not be seen as isolated issues, but as manifestations of deeper structural inequalities in access to resources and power.

Finally, the global survey of coffee tourism reveals several critical lessons for Chiapas. First, successful models typically feature strong institutional frameworks that support small producers. Second, community ownership and control emerge as key factors in ensuring equitable benefit distribution. Third, the integration of tourism with existing agricultural systems, rather than its treatment as a separate sector, appears most sustainable in the long term. These insights suggest that Chiapas' current trajectory, dominated by private haciendas, may require significant policy interventions to realize the full potential of coffee tourism as a tool for inclusive development.

5.4. Ograničenja studije

Metodološka ograničenja: Iako fokus na regiju Soconusco pruža dubinu i kontekstualno bogatstvo, on inherentno ograničava generalizaciju nalaza. Jedinstvene povijesne, kulturne i ekološke karakteristike analiziranih lokacija znače da rezultati nisu reprezentativni za sve regije uzgoja kave.

Veličina uzorka: Iako je ukupno 21 intervju bio dovoljan za postizanje tematske zasićenosti, ipak predstavlja ograničen raspon perspektiva. Nadalje, nemogućnost intervjuiranja vlasnika hacijendi stvara prazninu u razumijevanju strateških motivacija i ekonomskog donošenja odluka na najvišoj razini. Posljedično, ova studija prvenstveno odražava stavove radnika i članova zajednice koji su bitni, ali nudi djelomičan pogled na dinamiku moći.

Potencijal za pristranost: Kao i kod svakog kvalitativnog istraživanja, percepcija sudionika o istraživaču kao vanjskom akteru u njihovim životima mogla je utjecati na njihove odgovore tijekom intervjua i radionica. Neki sudionici možda su dali društveno poželjne odgovore, posebno u vezi s uvjetima rada na hacijendama ili unutarnjim sukobima u zajednicama. Triangulacija izjava putem više izvora podataka pomogla je ublažiti ovu pristranost, iako možda ne potpuno.

6. ZAKLJUČCI

Ova studija otkriva da je turizam kave u Soconuscu (Chiapas), složen fenomen oblikovan pozitivnom i negativnom dinamikom, gdje se sijeku povijesne strukture moći, prostorne transformacije i strategije egzistencije. Analiza pruža dokaze da turizam kave u Soconuscu odražava globalne obrasce razvoja poljoprivrednog turizma; međutim, slučaj Soconusca predstavlja jedinstvenu konfiguraciju nejednakosti ukorijenjenu u njegovom kolonijalnom nasljeđu i neoliberalnoj sadašnjosti.

5.4. Limitations of the study

Methodological Constraints: While the focus on the Soconusco region provides depth and contextual richness, it inherently limits the generalizability of the findings. The unique historical, cultural, and ecological characteristics of the studied sites mean that the results are not representative of all coffee-growing regions.

Sample Size: Although the total of 21 interviews was sufficient for reaching thematic saturation, it nonetheless represents a limited range of perspectives. Furthermore, the inability to interview the owners of the haciendas creates a gap in understanding the strategic motivations and economic decision-making at the highest level. Consequently, this study primarily reflects the views of workers and community members that are essential, but offer a partial view of the power dynamics.

Potential for Bias: As with any qualitative research, participants' perception of the researcher as an external actor in their lives may have influenced their responses during interviews and workshops. Some participants may have provided socially desirable answers, particularly regarding labor conditions in the haciendas or internal conflicts within the communities. Triangulation of statements through multiple data sources helped to mitigate this bias, although some may persist.

6. CONCLUSIONS

This study reveals that coffee tourism in Soconusco, Chiapas is a complex phenomenon shaped by positive and negative dynamics, where historical power structures, spatial transformations, and livelihood strategies intersect. The analysis provides evidence that coffee tourism in Soconusco reflects global patterns of agricultural tourism development; however, the case of Soconusco presents a unique configuration of inequality rooted in its colonial legacy and neoliberal present.

Prema Thoméu (2008), turizam služi kao proces modernizacije i integracije izoliranih područja u tržište, pri čemu ruralni turizam nudi alternativni put za transformaciju i razvoj lokalnih zajednica usred trenutnih izazova. Iako su *ejidos* u naseljima El Águila i Benito Juárez El Plan imali koristi od turizma, posebno u razvoju infrastrukture, poboljšanju okoliša zajednice, povećanju društvenog sudjelovanja i razvoju vještina pružatelja usluga, te koristi nisu jednake razinama koristi koje su viđene na hacijendama. Ipak, ruralni turizam kao nova gospodarska aktivnost za ove lokalne zajednice generira prihod te izravno i neizravno zapošljavanje. Obje zajednice uključile su turizam u svoje životne strategije, održavajući relativno uravnotežen socio-ekološki odnos s prirodnim okolišem valorizacijom svojih resursa i prostora, čime jačaju odnos čovjeka i prirode. Unatoč tome, vladine institucije i drugi društveni akteri često doživljavaju te zajednice kao pasivne entitete te samo kao kulturni i prirodni resurs koji treba iskoristiti, zanemarujući da su one društveni akteri s vlastitim problemima (Thomé, 2008). Nasuprot tome, hacijende daju prioritet ekonomskoj dobiti iznad svega.

Okvir održivog osiguranja sredstava za život pokazao se korisnim za razumijevanje adaptivnih strategija zajednica, ali također otkriva i ograničenja turizma kao aktivnosti gospodarskog razvoja u nejednakim okruženjima. Iako analizirane zajednice pokazuju izvanrednu otpornost u balansiraju turizma s očuvanjem kulturne baštine, njihovi napori ostaju ograničeni strukturnim preprekama. Štoviše, pandemija COVID-19 otkrila je krhkost tih zajednica, njihovu kratkoročnu otpornost i nedostatak institucionalne podrške. U konačnici, sam okvir održivih sredstava za život nije dovoljan da se u potpunosti riješi složenost ovog fenomena. Na primjer, prostorna analiza može ponuditi nove uvide u transformativne učinke turizma na ruralne krajolike. Slažemo se s Thoméom (2008) da ruralni turizam nije univerzalno rješenje za teške krize s kojima se suočavaju ruralna po-

According to Thomé (2008), tourism serves as a process of modernizing and integrating isolated areas into the market, with rural tourism offering an alternative pathway for the transformation and development of local communities amid current challenges. While *ejidos* in El Águila and Benito Juárez El Plan have experienced benefits from tourism, particularly in infrastructure development, improved community environment, increased social participation, and enhanced service provider skills, these gains do not equate to the benefit levels observed in haciendas. Nonetheless, rural tourism as a novel economic activity for these local communities generates income and both direct and indirect employment. Both communities have incorporated tourism in their life strategies, maintaining a relatively balanced socio-ecological relationship with the natural environment through the valorization of their resources and spaces, thereby strengthening the human-nature relationship. Despite this, government institutions and other social actors often perceive the communities as passive entities and as simply a cultural and natural resource to be exploited, neglecting that communities are social agents with their own issues (Thomé, 2008). Conversely, haciendas have prioritized economic profits above all else.

The sustainable livelihoods framework proves valuable for understanding communities' adaptive strategies yet also exposes the limitations of tourism as an economic development activity in unequal contexts. Although the communities studied demonstrate remarkable resilience in balancing tourism with cultural preservation, their efforts remain constrained by structural barriers. Moreover, the COVID-19 pandemic revealed the fragility of these communities, their short-term resilience, and the absence of institutional support. Ultimately, the sustainable livelihoods framework alone is insufficient to fully address the complexities of the phenomenon under study. For instance, the spatial analysis may offer new insights

dručja, ali može poslužiti kao vrijedna strategija za ruralni razvoj. U svojoj osnovi, ruralni turizam pojavljuje se kao životna strategija unutar određenog prostora u ruralnom krajo-liku. U konkretnom slučaju, područja uzgoja kave postala su destinacije za rekreacijski turizam (Thomé, 2008).

Odgovor na pitanje o tome predstavlja li ruralni turizam produktivnu alternativu za lokalne zajednice i hacijende zahtijeva daljnja istraživanja koja bi trebala istražiti ovaj fenomen u različitim sustavima uzgoja usjeva i drugim kulturnim kontekstima, posebice na područjima gdje se turizam presijeca s teritorijalnim zahtjevima autohtonog stanovništva. Povrh toga, postoji i potreba za longitudinalnim studijama koje bi ispitale međugeneracijsku dinamiku, očuvanje kulturnih praksi i ekonomsku transformaciju. Najvažnija je činjenica da su neodgodivo potrebna istraživanja koja će dati uvid u integrirane političke pristupe prostornim, ekonomskim i kulturnim dimenzijama turizma.

into tourism's transformative effects on rural landscapes. We concur with Thomé (2008), that rural tourism is not a panacea for the severe crises faced in rural areas but can serve as a valuable strategy for rural development. In essence, rural tourism emerges as a life strategy within a specific space in the rural landscape. In the specific case of the coffee-growing areas, these have become leisure tourism destinations (Thomé, 2008).

The answer to the question of whether rural tourism constitutes a productive alternative for local communities and haciendas warrants further investigations, which should explore this phenomenon across different crop systems and other cultural contexts, particularly in areas where tourism intersects with indigenous territorial claims. Additionally, there is a recognized need for longitudinal studies to examine intergenerational dynamics, the preservation of cultural practices, and economic transformation. Most critically, research that informs integrated policy approaches addressing the spatial, economic, and cultural dimensions of tourism is urgently needed.

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