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TOURISM: A FACILITATOR OF SOCIAL JUSTICE IN AN INDIGENOUS MEXICAN COMMUNITY?

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INTRODUCTION

Tourism has become a widely shared experience in the modern world. It is a recognized form of leisure with attributes which allow it to be investigated like forms of leisure behavior. The study of tourism, from a sociological perspective is still in early stages. Most of the research concerning tourism has been market driven and has not started with any theory of human behavior or tourism. In recent years however several theories have developed. The evolution of the tourism industry in many developing or so called "third world" countries has become a major economic activity- one that impinges upon social, economic, cultural, and environmental structures.

Mexico is a unique case for the study of tourism. Over the past 30 years it has become a major tourist destination. Since 1996 Mexico has taken a 7th place annually on the list of most popular international destinations (Torre Padilla 1997). Considering the economic contribution that tourism has provided for the national economy of Mexico, tourism has become Mexico's third largest industry (Paredes 1996). Mexico is appreciated among international visitors for its variety of landscapes, climates, beautiful beaches, archeology and colorful people. The extensive ethnic groups that exist constitute one of Mexico's most valuable assets. These groups have to a greater or lesser degree, conserved their ancient greatness which was enervated during the Spanish Conquest, through colonization and finally through the on going process of "modernization".

This paper explores the affects of tourism on the municipality of Cuetzalan, Mexico. This municipality (municipio) constitutes an area equivalent to counties in the political division in Mexico. It is located in the Sierra Norte approximately 3 hours by car (180 kilometers) from the City of Puebla (Cuidad de Puebla), capital of the state of Puebla. The population is 82% Nahua Indian and 18% mestizo (mixed blood, Indian and European, in most cases Spanish). Tourism in Cuetzalan has created a new economic and social space, which has promoted changes in social interaction between the indigenous and mestizo communities. Attitudes and actions have changed, all of which reflect a new type of social justice. This notion of social justice and how it is represented in the daily lives of the people of Cuetzalan will be addressed in this paper.

THE TOURISM PHENOMENA IN MEXICO

The well-known Mexican "sun-sand-and-sea" tourist attractions (principally those on the Caribbean coasts) represent more than half of Mexico's tourist industry. The Caribbean coasts and other beach areas have enjoyed an economic success that much of the interior areas have failed to promote. Along with these popular activities Mexico offers a variety of other types of tourism, which have been in vogue throughout the 90's. Kelly and Godbey (1992) refer to these

as “green tourism”, “eco-tourism,” or “alternative tourism”. Tourism of this kind has become an attractive activity and is especially important to small communities that were once unvisited by outsiders. This type of tourism seeks to integrate the tourist more directly into the life of the host community as well as incorporate tourism planning with other forms of community planning. Tourism projects stem from an initial idea or concept and use concentrated development from within the existing communities instead of developing new ones. Green tourism for example protects the overall environment and landscape of an area, recycles existing buildings, and attempts to set limits on development in a designated area. The idea here is that only natives of the area engage as developers (Krippendorf 1987).

Alternative tourism depicts a basic alternative to mass tourism. The overall objective of this type of tourism is that tourists be integrated into the host community and culture. This approach to tourism allows for a more immediate association and interaction with local life. It allows the tourist to go beyond the superficial frontiers of tourism and potentially experience a deeper and richer understanding of the local culture and environment. To the degree that tourists pursue the “authentic”, this type of tourism prospers.

From this perspective "ethnic", "indigenous" or "third world" tourism are considered alternate tourism and are very popular with European as well as with North American visitors. These visitors have demonstrated vast interest in the indigenous population. They want to explore their history, their beliefs and experience their way of life. By definition the ethnic tourist is one who is motivated to pursue the ethnically exotic in as pure, natural and genuine or authentic form as he can find (van den Berghe 1994: 8-9). The ethnic tourist is especially interested in observing, or "witnessing" the social interaction among the different existing groups. The tourist desires to find what is genuine, uncontaminated, good or significant in the world, and this type of tourism seems to reflect this: the search for the authentic. Their major focus is to "experience" Mexican life in a village or town setting complete with indigenous and mestizo population who "act out" the ethnic roles they expect to encounter.

Ethnic tourism has become very popular in places south of the United States border, especially in “third world” countries like Mexico, Guatemala and Belize only to mention a few. Tourists feel that travelling to an “exotic” place facilitates an "authentic" experience with the "other". In the specific case of Mexico the "other" might be any of a number of unique groups of people, with the favorite being the indigenous people who often retain much of their culture, untouched by the "modern" world. These visitors tend to display a condescending attitude towards the indigenous people, the obviously "powerless" of the Mexican drama. In the case of Chiapas, for example, this includes the indigenous Maya people, but it includes the guerrilla and the army as well. The recent turmoil and uprisings in Chiapas has attracted many of these types of tourists whose interest is in a kind of "sensationalism" tourism referred to by some as "guerrilla" or "war tourism". This tourism is just another variation of alternative tourism.

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF THE MEXICAN INDIGENOUS PEOPLE

The idealization of the indigenous cultures, referred to as "indigenismo", can be traced to the dissemination of Bartolomé de las Casas, who was bishop of San Cristóbal (Chiapas) for a short

time in the 16th century. Later at the time of the Mexican revolution (1910- 1917), Mexico was a racial caste society with Indians at the very bottom of the hierarchy. By the mid-19th century, however, Benito Juarez of Zapotec Indian descent was president. By this time Mexico was becoming a country whose society was stratified more by class than by race. As a consequence of the revolution a new concept of "indigenismo" emerged as a well-defined ideology (Gamio 1922).

The Mexican definition of who is Indian as distinguished from mestizo is cultural and linguistic. It is not racial. The government recognizes over 50 indigenous groups. These are heavily concentrated in the Central Valley, the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, the Yucatán Peninsula, and the now well known and publicized highlands of Chiapas. These indigenous people of Mexico have much in common with counterparts in other Latin American countries. They are multi-ethnic, their national state is a product of the Spanish Conquest, and their national institutions follow the European model. Their cosmovision has its origins in pre-conquest factors and is reflected in their philosophy as well as in their language. All of this has produced a situation of inequality that continues to exist between successive dominating groups, such as the more privileged mestizo class and the less privileged indigenous people of Mexico.

Since the Mexican revolution of 1910, Mexico has had an established tradition of delimiting its nation in terms of what is referred to as "mestizaje". Mestizaje has the two-fold meaning of the genetic mixing of European, American and African populations, and of the cultural fusion of indigenous blood and imported foreign traditions into a new integration of Mexican culture.

In this paper the condition common to Latin American countries whose national states were born from the impact of the Spanish invasion is central. These countries are multiethnic in nature. Their societies and institutions are taken from the European model, thereby manifesting a debilitating inequality among the successive dominating groups and indigenous people. During the time of the Colony the Europeans maintained dominance and control. This system later continued with the criollos. In some of the Latin American countries they initiated started revolutions against the Europeans. These struggles for independence and power, however, did not change the social order. This was the case in Mexico, Columbia, Chile and the Repúblicas Unidas de la Plata (Villoro 1981: 635) United Silver Republics.

THE CASE OF CUETZALAN

The specific case of Cuetzalan is typical of the above-mentioned condition of inequality. The "municipio" of Cuetzalan is the soul of a vast region of predominantly Nahuatl Indians. There is a large concentration of groups who are from the Northern Mountains of Puebla and whose language is Nahuatl, or a variation of it. These Nahuas displaced the Totonac groups who were thought to be the ancient habitants of this zone and who left temples and pyramids where the Nahuas now live. An example of this type of ethnic evolution is the nearby community of Yohualichan.

Cuetzalan is approximately 980 to 1200 meters above sea level. Because of this altitude and the town's proximity to Veracruz (a state situated on the Gulf of Mexico) clouds and high humidity usually surround it. These ideal conditions transformed Cuetzalan into a perfect area for cultivating coffee, and brought fame to the region at the beginning of the XX century. However a severe freeze in 1989 ruined the coffee production and forced the people of Cuetzalan to explore other means of supporting themselves. Tourism has been the alternative choice.

The majority of the population classified as economically active work in agriculture and in raising farm animals. Many workers are employed in activities related to the production of coffee. Some have farm animals and many, the majority being women, work making now well known arts and crafts, (Martínez & Mejía 1997:16, 17), sold to tourists. Most all of the people in the county seat are involved with tourism and in recent years have come to depend economically on this industry.

At the beginning of the century a group of principally Italian mestizos from Calabria (Sicily) settled in the center of this zone. Others of Spanish ancestry and a small minority of French from the days of the French Intervention also are found here as they also settled here. These mestizos evicted the majority of the Nahua Indians to one of the nearby 8 "pueblos" or "juntas auxiliaries" on the outskirts of town. Directly outside of the county line live Totonac Indians who are thought to have abandoned Cuetzalan in the tenth or eleventh century after a violent Nahua-Chichimec and later Toltec Chicimec conquest. A few of these Totanac Indians come to sell and/or trade arts and crafts and/or agricultural products on the market days, Thursday and Sunday. Their presence enhances the ethnic cultural variety existing here.

The majority of the non-indigenous population live in the county seat where the political and commercial power of the region lies. Today the majority of inhabitants are mestizos of Italian descent. They produce coffee or have businesses such as stores, hotels, bakeries etc. The standard of living of the population is skewed according to the social classes. In Cuetzalan social inequality has been very strong. Money stays in the hands of the very few families in the area and this situation becomes self-perpetuating within these families. Generally, indigenous people are on the lowest layer of the social pyramid. Lacking the means of production themselves, they are forced to purchase basic materials from the mestizos, who also form part of the market for their final products. Basically, this formula creates an economic vortex, which suppresses the indigenous socially and materially.

Because of the poor living standards of the indigenous people live in they have looked for alternatives. In the beginning of the 70's in San Miguel Tzinacapan, a nearby Nahua village, a small group of outsiders, Mexican and non-Mexican arrived to propose a variety of community projects. These outsiders who at one point were considered tourists, have merged with the indigenous community. They favored and encouraged conservation of traditions. Apart from their work in aiding the local economy, these outsiders have worked hard towards the conservation and valorization of indigenous traits. With their help many of the different indigenous communities, Nahua and Totonac, joined to form an economic front.

At the end of the 70's a group of indigenous people from the "municipio" formed a cooperative, which later split to form another. The original cooperative, La Cooperativa Agropecuaria Regional "Tosepan Titataniske" (CARTT), was dedicated essentially to agriculture, starting in

the 70's with sugar and later cultivating coffee and a type of pepper that smells much like allspice. Recently they have included the sale of arts and crafts and the production of oyster mushrooms known as "setas", which are in great demand around town because they have become popular in a cuisine that is offered as a specialty to the tourists.

The second cooperative Maesealsiuamej Mosenyolchicananij, run by women broke away from the Tosepan Titaniske's cooperative in the late 80's and is dedicated almost entirely to the production of arts and crafts. In recent years they have ventured into the tourism industry and joined the list of mestizos in the tourism business. As a result of the formation of these cooperatives the economic situation and moreover the power relations between the indigenous and mestizo population have begun to change. Although the social pyramid continues to be structured much the same, the indigenous people now have a stronger voice in community matters. They have protected themselves economically and culturally and obtained security, strength and ultimately social justice.

In the years after the break with the first cooperative the women in the new cooperative, Masealsiuame Mosenyolchicanani worked diligently to consolidate the group. They worked mainly in arts and crafts. They also began to educate themselves. Awareness workshops and seminars about women's health and rights, courses having to do with traditional medicine, arts and crafts are given on a regular basis. They also meet with indigenous women from other parts of the state and sometimes of the country, to exchange information and to support each other.

By the late 80's tourism in Cuetzalan was booming and tourists were consuming many of their products. Different areas within the cooperative opened and the women were able to dedicate themselves to what they felt they might do best, which included projects with pigs and grains. At this seminal juncture came the idea of building a hotel. Previously, the only people owning hotels had been mestizos, and basically this is the norm all over the country.

A third of the women in the cooperative decided that they wanted to work in the area of tourism. They actively applied for and received funding from several national and international organizations. With this funding and an initial investment of their own money they bought land and started construction on a hotel. They decided that this hotel would to be a rustic construction and would cater to eco-tourism. Their location in the heart of the Sierra Norte where the vegetation is lush and exuberant, and their own close harmony with nature, reinforced their commitments to the project. On the 27th of September 1997 they inaugurated the first eco-tourism hotel in the state to be owned and managed by a cooperative of indigenous women. It is one of the only hotels of its kind in the country, and is an accomplishment for the indigenous women and indigenous people alike. With this successful venture, once again the indigenous people have situated themselves in a more solid position in the mestizo community. They have gained important ground. They are more readily accepted and included in the decision making of the community. This achievement, as with others, has fostered a more solid base for social justice, as is the case in Cuetzalan.

SOCIAL JUSTICE AND SOCIAL PEACE

The situations of social inequality and aggressive social interactions are cogent issues in Mexico and throughout Latin America. It is believed that social peace can only be achieved or produced through social justice which in turn can only be achieved and maintained through the unconditional respect and protection of the unconstrained consent of every individual as the boundary of sovereignty in all social interactions.

The definition of respect as applied in the above hypothesis is not as regard or esteem. It is as the acceptance of non interference and non hindrance with the individual's ability to act as she or he wants to act, is allowed to act by her or his own natural abilities and environment, and in any way that does not impose the costs or the consequences of her or his actions on others. The notion of unconstrained consent is that of a consent that an individual gives voluntarily without being under threat of aggression for failure to do so.

Implicit in this premise is that only unconditional respect for the unconstrained consent of an individual can result in social interactions that are mutually consensual and, therefore, free of conflict. On the contrary, disrespect for the unconstrained consent of the individual can result in aggressive social interactions. Hence the minimization of aggressive social interactions or social conflict through the institution of social justice is a goal to be sought and accomplished. In the specific case of Cuetzalan the display of aggressive social interactions between the mestizos and indigenous population was notable up until the 90's, although never like the display of inequality that has openly existed in places such as Chiapas. In the 90's at a national and international level, attention has been given to human rights and consequently indigenous rights. Today Cuetzalan seems to have arrived at an unspoken truce. Tourism, to a large extent, directly and indirectly, has been the facilitator of this occurrence as will be discussed.

TOURISM RESEARCH

Anthropologists and sociologists alike tend to view tourism as imperialism (Nash 1994), a process by which one group comes to dominate another. This interpretation is made most often where there are great differences in the power, economic resources, and degree of modernity between the guests and the hosts. The changes produced by tourism affect people's habits, social lives, daily routines, beliefs, and values. International tourism is largely responsible for being the major source of intercultural contact in the world today (Zafer 1989). Tourism tends to modify human relationships into a source of economic gain while the proportion of non-economic relationships diminishes. As this occurs previously warm and intimate relationships are changed into commercial forms (de Kadt 1979:61-3).

Tourism is understood as a social function with clear economic goals. In one way or another it is a form of ethnic relations because it situates perfect strangers of distinct cultures and sub-cultures in direct contact with one another. Tourists from different ethnias (representing different identities) constitute a multiethnic group, nevertheless the common situations of tourist interactions unites or connects them to a type of "super ethnia"(van den Berghe 1994).

While much tourism is exploitive, researchers like MacCannell (1976) have argued that certain methods of managing tourism by locals can minimize the negative impact of the guests. It has been argued that, in many cases, the host culture wants the changes that could be brought about by adopting the guest's ways of life. There is a tendency to romanticize the lives of native people, who, given a chance, will voluntarily share the technological benefits to which the guests have access. Concurrently the guests bring to the host community a slice of modernity. In many instances this is characterized not only by expanded literacy, generalized health care, rationalized work arrangements and geographic and economic mobility, but moreover it has been expressed by a mentality that can provoke the host society to explore new attitudes as well as solutions to old issues. This has been the case for example with human rights, and expressed more directly in social justice and social peace issues among mestizo- indigenous communities as in the case of Cuetzalan. For the most part this appears to be a common occurrence in many places effected by tourism. This was also apparent to van den Berghe in his study of the impact of tourism as it relates to social change in San Cristóbal de las Casas, Chiapas (1994) and Barrera-Nuñez in Chamula, Chiapas (1995) in addition to my own study of Cuetzalan.

Research by McElroy and De Albuquerque (1986) indicate that tourism may influence hosts' consumptive behavior, but that tourism's impact is considerably weaker than, and not easily distinguished from, the more encompassing influences associated with societal modernization. Furthermore there is difficulty isolating the influence of tourism from changes caused by other factors, there are the problems of determining what are the actual impacts, how they can be measured, whether they are absolute or relative, direct or indirect, qualitative or quantitative (Carter 1987). Other studies affirm that tourism tends to precipitate a more democratic and tolerant political climate as well as aiding the development of national and ethnic consciousness. In addition according to others it has stimulated the growth of international peace and understanding intensified aided the emancipation of women (de Kadt 1979; Wilson 1979).

CUETZALAN AND TOURISM

In my study of Cuetzalan it appears that due to tourism social justice has reached a new level of social consciousness as detected in the social interaction of the people of Cuetzalan. International and national tourism alike have instigated more positive effects than negative ones. The tourists in Cuetzalan support the local population in various areas and have been a source of indirect, or unconscious, solidarity with the "indigenous other". My data reveals that in many ways tourism has strengthened and revitalized the social and cultural structures of the indigenous people and, ultimately, it has facilitated and "created" a new situation of "social balance" between indigenous and mestizo groups.

By accepting tourists in Cuetzalan the mestizo, but primarily the general indigenous population, confirm their cultural differences in opposition to the "other". With this confirmation they reaffirm their overall identity. The host community's ties are strengthened and reinforced when they come in contact with tourists. For the host community this is not a primary interest, but this is one of the principal reasons for advancement in social justice. The host community's major interest in tourism is a commercial one based on the economic needs of the community and not seen or taken as an incentive for the raising of social consciousness. Tourism has brought

Nahuas and mestizos together in a common cause which seems only economic, but which in reality is both symbiotic and two fold; to bring in revenue (economic opportunities) and to bring real benefits to their community as a whole. The economic interest is ultimately the underlying factor in the majority of the interactions between hosts and guests.

Although the host community greatly depends on tourism they are not always tolerant of the behavior of tourists. Some communities establish rules that they expect tourists to abide by as in the case of Chamula, Chiapas. Here, for example, tourists are not allowed to take photographs within the main church. Those who have broken this rule have had to pay consequences as serious as losing their cameras or in a few cases in the past found themselves in life-threatening situations.

The interest both international and national tourists have shown for these indigenous people of Mexico has given them the justification and backing they need to promote, protect and be openly proud of the different cosmovisions and languages that makes up their unique cultural identity. Concurrently they have consciously promoted their language and identity and with these promotions they have made important advances in establishing themselves on firmer ground before the mestizos. It is interesting and important to note that the supposed "act of solidarity" of the tourists that so many people think is just that, a genuine act of solidarity, is not usually an event that tourists intentionally pursue. This so-called "act of solidarity" is the product of relations between hosts and guests.

Usually this type of solidarity is not the behavior that tourists explicitly intend to enact. Solidarity happens quite "accidentally". Two facts are revealed here: 1) The tourists' selfishness or egotism. Their single most important interest is to satisfy their desire of come in contact with the exotic, and most probably NOT to support the preservation in this case of Cuetzalan's culture. And 2) Solidarity is an "accidental" occurrence because the relationship between the actors fuels the reproduction of certain "features" of the culture of Cuetzalan. This "accident" is the manifestation of how tourism has been inserted in the socialization of the community and has made possible the reproduction of culture and new forms of cultural expressions (Barrera-Nuñez 1998). This is the result that van den Berghe refers to as "reconstructed ethnicity"(1994).

Tourism, in the specific case of Cuetzalan, has acted as a catalyst for the restoration of cultural and regional pride. Tourism seems to have brought both indigenous and mestizo communities to a renewed consciousness about their own cultural values, beauty, lifestyle, and language. It has also motivated a union among the members of the community that has encouraged them to work together for an economic and cultural development that is convenient to everyone.

THE CHANGING ATTITUDES OF MESTIZOS

The mestizos in Cuetzalan have been forced to accept the indigenous people in a more inclusive way. Tourism exists because of the traditions, customs, language, and cultural identity concurrent with the exuberant environment of this Northern Mountain town. Tourists visit the community and spend money in their hotels, inns, restaurants, bars, etc. and economically rescued the community. Hopefully in the future tourism will continue to motivate a new

consciousness and congruity among these two cultures and to lead to a cultural understanding and respect between the two groups, and not just a convenient peace treaty for the sake of financial gain.

There is evidence that among the mestizo population ideas and attitudes are beginning to change. Negative attitudes and caustic remarks are less frequently heard today than they were 8, 10 or 15 years ago. This is not to say that the mestizos have completely changed their attitudes about the indigenous people, nor have the indigenous people about the mestizos. However there does exist an attitude or spirit of desiring to get along, to be at peace. As several mestizos expressed to me in interviews "queremos llevar la fiesta en paz" ("we would like the party to continue in peace").

Attitudes towards the indigenous people, their culture and their language have also changed greatly in the past 15-20 years. The general opinion among the mestizos who referred to the Nahuatl language, as a "dialect" (Hernández Mayoral 1978) is that this indigenous language is "charming, beautiful and very elegant" (Greathouse-Amador 1996,1997). Their opinion is that the Nahuatl language is dignified, cultured and worthy of learning. Most mestizos now feel that Nahuatl is being lost and think that this is a serious problem that should be rectified.

Change can be perceived in the language usage. 8 or 10 years ago the indigenous people were referred to as "inditos", ("little indians") or even "mexicaneros" (iMexicaners). Less and less these expressions are used (out loud) by mestizos to or in reference to the indigenous people. Generally speaking the mestizos continue to use the "tu" (the informal form of "you" in Spanish) when speaking with an indigenous person, and the indigenous person answers with the formal "usted". It is most commonly believed that this is because the indigenous person is showing respect for the mestizo, when in reality it could well be the desire of the indigenous person to keep a linguistic distance from the mestizo.

Among the mestizo and indigenous population who know each other they almost always greet calling each other "compradito, comadrita". Sometimes, but not frequently nowadays, the mestizos call the indigenous women "Maria" and the men "Jose", expressions common 10 to 15 years ago used also for not personalizing with the indigenous people on a first or last name level and denoting inferior connotations. This is also changing and is only used by a few older mestizo men. Signs of change are clearly evident.

In school the children have been obliged to wear uniforms. Boys must wear pants and girls dresses which seems to have made them much more resistant to going back and wearing the typical "calzón" (cotton white pants) that the men wear or "anaguas" (long, full skirts) that women wear. In the communities of San Miguel Tzinacapan and San Andres, Tzicuilan and a few others the rule of having to wear a uniform has been relaxed and there has been an active campaign to preserve the typical dress. Here, once again, the indigenous culture at last is being affirmed.

In recent years support of the indigenous customs and traditions has actively emerged from different government institutions like the Instituto Nacional Indigenista (INI), but perhaps even more important in Cuetzalan has been the support given by the local priest of the main church in Cuetzalan. He has done much to include and promote the element of pride in the indigenous. He has incorporated the indigenous language as well as the customs, traditions and arts and crafts in

the Church and many of its ceremonies. In the month of May of 1997 (the month considered the Month of Mary, mother of Jesus, in the Catholic Church) the priest dressed the statue of the Virgin Mary, a very important statue in the church of San Francisco, in typical Nahua clothing (dress-up womanís clothing). Consequently he made some enemies. Many of the older mestizo women of the city felt this was an absolute sacrilege.

In personal interviews with some of these women they said “This is a sacrilege, the virgin is a queen! The mother of Christ should not be dressed in this way! This is pure blasphemy!” (Greathouse-Amador 1997). The priest did not change his position nor did he change the clothing of the statue. Many of the younger people of the mestizo community supported him. The virgin stayed dressed as a lovely Nahua Indian for the entire month. Along with this inclusion of the indigenous culture in the local Catholic Church, every Sunday (the most important market day of the week) the 11 o'clock mass is held in Nahuat. The majority of people attending this mass are indigenous people from the nearby communities. Helping to celebrate this mass are barefooted Nahua women who employ many of the traditional methods of celebrating a religious ceremony. They use, for example, their simple pottery and copal (incense), in the mass ceremony.

INFLUENCES LEADING TO THE OCCURRENCE OF SOCIAL JUSTICE

Apart from political trends and governmental influences two very important factors exist which appear cogent in encouraging the maintenance of a newer awareness of issues related to social justice among the mestizos, Nahua and the Totonacos of the area. These are:

1) Radio, which is an integral part of daily life for the indigenous people. They often carry it with them along as a companion. Cuetzalan has its own radio station and most of the programs are delivered in Nahuat. They also have programs conducted in the other 2 languages of the region, Totonac and Spanish. These programs are very popular and heard by almost everyone in the area. The content of the programs firmly supports the indigenous culture, as well as traditional medicine, human rights issues and unedited original music and poetry. Many of the themes revolve around health and social issues and have served in educating and orienting the indigenous population. This extremely ambitious project has been very successful.

2) The other factor is the theme of this paper. The tourism that has arrived to this area has brought new attention to the indigenous people and given them a stage where they can demonstrate with pride their customs, culture, traditions etc. Because of the frequent tourists arriving in Cuetzalan, the indigenous people have gained a new position that has allowed them to assert themselves as they never have before. This is especially true in the fields of economic gain and ideas of bringing about changes in many of the traditional power relationships.

CONCLUSIONS

In summary, the presence of the tourist in Cuetzalan is an act, -direct in some cases, but in most indirect-, of solidarity with the indigenous people. The presence of tourists is aiding the indigenous "other" to re-negotiate their place within the once conflictive social structure. Cuetzalan has been strongly influenced by tourism and its social structure, is facing many changes directly because of it. The following is a list taken from my observations of the positive influences that tourism has contributed to Cuetzalan. There is strong evidence that points to change in the existence of social justice within the entire community of Cuetzalan. This had to have taken place implicitly as well as explicitly in the daily lives of the people of Cuetzalan.

- 1) Tourism development has enhanced, and has been responsible directly and indirectly, primarily and secondarily, for the creating of social institutions such as community cooperatives, (Tosepan Titaniske and Maseualsiuamej Mosenyolchicananij) and other supportive social organizations and projects where indigenous and mestizo population work together.
- 2) Tourism development has been a catalyst for a renewal of cultural and regional pride. Tourists want to experience other cultures. From both sides, that of the host community and that of the guest tourist, a stronger sense of regional, cultural, ethnic and in even national pride has been cultivated, with each acting as "ambassador" of his/her own cultural identity.
- 3) Tourism has brought about a new awareness to the people of Cuetzalan about their culture, beauty, and lifestyle and it has brought together its members to work towards a development that may be more beneficial to the whole community.
- 4) Tourism has encouraged the maintenance and revitalization of a variety of arts and crafts, which include handicrafts, dance, theater, ceremonies, festivals (fairs), and aspects of traditional lifestyles that cultural identities so often include. This process has aided in keeping traditional crafts, lifelines and family histories alive, when otherwise they might have been lost. It has also brought about the creation of new arts and crafts.
- 5) Because of tourism, financial assistance for the maintenance or creation of cultural revenues (public and private) such as a small museum, a new cultural center (La Casa de la Cultura) and other facilities which promote cultural awareness have been made possible. Here the whole community of Cuetzalan participates in varied teaching and learning experiences.
- 6) Through the development of the necessary tourism infrastructure, the establishment of new social services and new amenities for the local community of Cuetzalan has been made possible. This includes new transportation networks, routes, and scheduling; better services (such as bathrooms at the archeological site, the rebuilding of paths and the placement of instructive signs along the paths to the waterfalls), access to public telephone service, bi-weekly trash recollection service, the creation of new health and education facilities and programs and other amenities.
- 7) Tourism seems to have promoted learning about and experiencing how other people live which has assisted in a greater cultural understanding and awareness among the people of Cuetzalan. In general terms it has been suggested that tourism "has the potential to become the world's first "peace industry", an industry that recognizes, promotes and supports the belief that every traveler is potentially an ambassador for Peace" (D'Amore 1993). Hopefully this will

ultimately promote the continuous growth and the perseverance of social justice within the community of Cuetzalan as well as in other communities worldwide. Furthermore, it is to be hoped it will encourage the development of a more global acceptance that will in turn enable integration among people of the same community, as well as those from different nations.

What can be appreciated in Cuetzalan is a microcosm of what appears to be happening in the rest of the world in regard to eco- and ethnic/indigenous tourism. In the process of modernization where new roads, transportation systems and means of mass communication have made once remote areas accessible Cuetzalan may very well represent the changes that occur in this process.

The final evaluation will be a difficult one. One thing is certain, tourism now makes up an important part of the economic structure for a large majority of people in Cuetzalan. The large numbers of travelers and large amounts of money involved in tourism are a tremendous lure to overlook the reality that might be happening in what is still considered a pristine tourist destination. Nevertheless from the outside it appears that the presence of tourists seems to be promoting social justice among the people of Cuetzalan. Social justice can be found accompanied by a genuine interest and pride in preserving ethnicity, language, culture, vegetation, architectural design and ultimately the tranquillity that seems to be appreciated by everyone; mestizos, indigenous people and tourists alike. Here tourism probably would not exist if these things were to be lost.

REFEERENCES FOR: TOURISM: A FACILITATOR OF SOCIAL JUSTICE IN AN INDIGENOUS MEXICAN COMMUNITY?

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