Tourism Development in Guanajuato, Mexico

A deeper understanding of the actors, views and issues at stake.

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01 07 2014
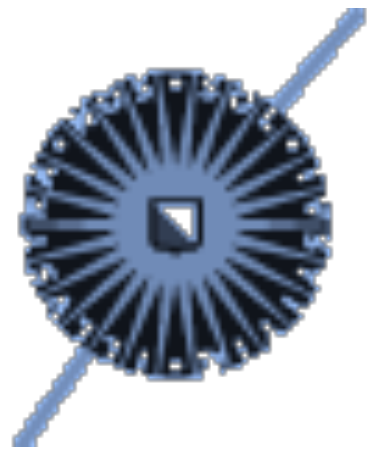
Abstract

With the implementation of the State Program for Tourism 2013-2018, the state of Guanajuato, Mexico, is hoping to develop tourism. In trying to reach this objective, culture, promoted as the main product of the state, is used as a tool. In this program the city of Guanajuato, the cultural heart of the state, plays the leading role, since the main cultural attraction in the state is the annual Cervantino festival, hosted by the capital city.

As Guanajuato becomes evermore dependent on the tourism sector, and tourism activities are intertwined in the daily lives of local residents, people are undoubtedly affected by tourism. The way they are affected will possibly influence the way they think of tourism development and the State Program for Tourism as a means to achieve this. Furthermore, as involvement of the local population is considered fundamental for the success of sustainable tourism development, it is also important to gain insight in the way the local population is included in the State Program for Tourism 2013-2018.

Therefore, the objective of this research is to identify and gain a deeper understanding of the views and attitudes of residents in the city of Guanajuato, Mexico, towards tourism development, and investigate how these views and attitudes are translated in local population support, and integrated in the State Program for Tourism 2013-2018. To answer the research question '*What are residents' attitudes and views towards tourism development, and how are these attitudes and views integrated in tourism planning and policies?',* qualitative methods have been used.

The context in which the research took place is Guanajuato, the cultural capital of the state of Guanajuato.

Tourism impacts the lives of peoples in various ways. The interviewees are divided into four groups: government officials; inhabitants who benefit directly from the tourism industry (people who receive income from working or investing in the tourism sector), like entrepreneurs and service providers; inhabitants who do not benefit directly from the tourism industry, like students, lawyers, housewives, etc.; and those inhabitants that could be considered part of the tourist population, like (inter) national retirees, exchange students, etc.

All groups have an overall positive attitude towards tourism and tourism development. However, whereas government officials and hotel managers see the State Program for Tourism as very promising, most other interviewees think the program is too ambitious and will not reach its objectives. Furthermore, they wish to become more involved: the majority of the respondents is annoyed for not being involved in the decision making process of the State Program for Tourism. In general they wish to have the opportunity to participate in such processes so that they can give their opinions and views. Feeling involved and heard has proved to be essential for government support and the success of development plans. More importantly, however, participation in the decision-making processes of the government is a fundamental human right; people should be enabled to participate in the crucial decisions that affect their life.

The respondents consider the economic gain from tourism as beneficial to the city, although very limited, because they think that it is not equally distributed among the population. Many interviewed people take on an extra job in the informal sector to increase their income.

A volatile tourism flow, loss of cultural identity and property price inflation are amongst the perceived costs of tourism. However, according to most respondents, the (in)direct benefits, like cultural exchange, better quality of service provision and more security outweigh the costs of tourism.

It is clear that tourism flows to Guanajuato have an impact on the city. It is the local context, however, that determines to a large extent what these impacts are. Residents' attitudes and views towards tourism should at all times be taken into consideration when planning with regards to tourism development, because the involvement and participation of the local population in the decision making process on issues that affect their own lives is a fundamental human right. In addition, the inclusion of all stakeholders in the decision making process of tourism development is in the benefit of a locality itself, since trust, social cohesion and solidarity is built, and new issues and voices are brought into the public arena.

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List of abbreviations and terms

Barrio:	Neighbourhood outside of the centre
Callejon:	Alley
Cantina:	Eating-house
Cervantino:	International cultural and arts festival held annually in Guanajuato
Día de los muertos:	Festive day on which the deaths are celebrated
Disneyfication:	The transformation of something to resemble the Walt Disney theme parks
Gordita:	A small cake stuffed with cheese or other fillings
Guanajuatense:	Local resident of Guanajuato
HDI:	Human Development Index
Heroína:	Hero
Jardin:	Garden
Mañana, mañana:	*Lit*: tomorrow, tomorrow. *Stereotype used to indicate the laidback attitude in life of Latinos*
Mariachi:	A form of folk music in Mexico played by miners and farmers that gathered after their work
Palomitas:	Popcorn
Perro Caliente:	Hotdog
Pesos:	Mexican currency
Plaza:	Square; plaza
Población flotante:	A population of which most people are neither born nor staying forever
PPP:	Purchasing Power Parity
Refresco:	Soda; refreshing drink
SPT:	State Program for Tourism
Teatro:	Theatre
UNEP:	United Nations Environment Program
UNESCO:	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization

UNWTO: United Nations World Tourism Organization

Vox populi: Voice of the people; public voice

1. Introduction

Once in Guanajuato, miners and farmers used to gather after the workday, and, still in their work clothes, played the guitar along with the smoke of campfires. Nowadays, these so-called mariachi put on their full regalia (ornament) and are accompanied by the sound of trumpets. While playing, the mariachi are making a tour throughout town, being followed by a massive crowd of tourists, willing to pay for hearing their melancholic melodies.

For the past decades, tourism has become one of the world's fastest growing industries, and proved its significant role in the economic development of many developing countries (UNWTO, 2014). As tourism is considered to be a key driver for socio-economic progress, linking tourism with development seems only logical. However, the impact that tourism can have on the local population can also have a downside and therefore tourism development is a much-debated theme in which the perceived benefits and costs by residents are central.

Mexico is one of those developing countries in which tourism rapidly became one of the main sources of income. Mexico's tourism industry is the nation's fifth-biggest source of revenue. In 2012, tourism generated 12.7 billion dollars in foreign exchange inflows, a 10.5% increase compared to 2011 (JPM, 2012). It is expected that by 2018 tourism will become the nation's third biggest source of revenue, with the state of Guanajuato taking the lead with its State Program for Tourism 2013-2018. According to Tourism Review:

'Tourism authorities plan to make the central Mexican state of Guanajuato the main cultural destination in the country by 2018. The plan released as the State Program of Tourism 2013-2018 includes the objective of 28.6 million visitors and tourism revenue of 75,500 million pesos (USD 5.7 billion) to be achieved by the same year.'

Tourism development is often justified by its positive economic effect on a locality and its population, such as jobs created, environmental improvements, greater choice of services. For Guanajuato State, tourism authorities expect that the number of

people working in tourism related services will increase by 2018 from 160,000 to 194,000, which is 3.5% of the total population in the state, and a 21.3% increase (Tourism Review, 2013).

Tourism, however, can also have negative impacts, like litter, property price inflation, and overcrowding, which also affect the local population (European Association for historic towns and regions, 2006).

A lot of research has been done on residents' attitudes and views toward tourism in general (Abbasi Dorcheh et al., 2013; Andereck et al., 2005; Harril, 2004; Lepp, 2007), making policy makers aware of the reasons why local people oppose or support the tourism sector, and helping them to come up with plans that minimize negative social impacts and maximize local support for tourism development. Nevertheless, such research has mainly been done in rural areas and very little information is available on urban destinations in relation to local involvement in planning and consultation. Furthermore in the case of Guanajuato domestic tourism accounts for 95%, which makes it difficult to compare with other localities where foreign tourism has a bigger share.

The research objective of this study is to identify and gain a deeper understanding of the views and attitudes of residents in Guanajuato Capital towards tourism development, and investigate how these views and attitudes are translated in local population support and integrated in the State Program for Tourism 2013-2018.

The 2013 UN Special report on extreme poverty and human rights states that participation in the decision-making processes of governments is "a fundamental human right, and urges governments to 'enable persons living in poverty to participate in the crucial decisions that affect their lives' (United Nations General Assembly, 2013).

This research, however, goes beyond the principle of public participation as a fundamental right, it also states that the inclusion of all stakeholders in the decision making process of tourism development is in the benefit of a locality itself, since trust, social cohesion and solidarity is built, and new issues and voices are brought into the public arena (United Nations News Centre, 2013). According to the rapport, public

participation could 'help lift communities out of poverty and provide the disenfranchised with an important voice in determining their futures' (United Nations General Assembly, 2013).

Special rapporteur on extreme poverty and human rights Magdalena Sepúlveda states that 'Meaningful participation can build skills, knowledge and confidence and plays an important role in breaking down the cycle of disempowerment and inequalities […] and therefore contributes to development' (United Nations News Centre, 2013).

In his study, Heenan (1978) states that, if local residents are opposed to tourism plans, the particular tourist destination is doomed to eventual self-destruction, which would precisely hold back development. According to Heenan that if a program fails to satisfy the needs of local residents, the attitudes and views of these people might change and become negative. It is therefore of utmost importance to search for local support by identifying their expectations to these projects and integrate them in the planning process.

The success of tourism development is therefore contingent upon local residents' support. This in turn depends on the ability of tourism policies to bring about local population development, while ensuring compatibility between local people and tourism related activities, and consensus between local people and members of the business community about the desired direction of tourism development (Ritchie, 1985).

As (the absence of) support of the local population can have a considerable impact on the outcome of tourism development, and therefore on local development, consulting the local population is an important part in the elaboration of tourism development plans: *'[...] if the constructive impact of tourism is to be realized, collaborative approaches between diverse stakeholder groups will be needed' (Heenan).*

From the above it could be stated that not only should the principle of consultation of all stakeholders (the whole of the society) be a fundamental right, but moreover it is in the benefit of the locality itself to include all stakeholders in the decision making of tourism development, since the success of tourism development is contingent upon local residents' support, and consequently the development of a locality as well (United Nations News Centre, 2013). Therefore, the importance of research on attitudes and opinions towards tourism development cannot be overstated.

It is thus important to consider the motivations of every party involved in the tourism industry, and examine what happens with the findings of (resident) surveys about tourism development: whether or not their opinions and views will be taken into consideration for planning. Find out how the planning and consultation process takes place and if different stakeholders' views are effectively included in policies. Hence the problem addressed in this research is:

What are residents' attitudes, interests and views towards tourism development, and how are these attitudes, interests and views integrated in tourism planning and policies?

By means of a range of sub questions, the research question is answered. Each of these sub questions analyses a different aspect considered important for this research:

1. What characterizes tourism in Guanajuato?

2. What are the perceived benefits and costs of tourism by different stakeholders?

3. How do the perceived benefits and/or costs of tourism influence residents' attitudes and views towards tourism development?

4. How were residents involved in the development of the Guanajuato State Program of Tourism 2013-2018?

The paper is divided into five chapters. The first chapter was the introduction to the thesis, which gives an overview of the research plan. The introduction briefly described the background information, research objectives and research outline. Chapter two is the theoretical framework. This chapter aims to review existing literature on residents' attitudes and views towards tourism development and its process, and to clarify the most important terms used in this research in order to have a better understanding of the present paper.

The third chapter is the regional framework and outlines the regions' characteristics and thereby contributes to obtaining a more comprehensive idea of the study and the

geographies of the place.

The fourth chapter describes the overall methodological approach of the study and the methods and techniques chosen for the research.

In chapters five, six and seven the findings of this research are discussed in detail: chapter five describes tourism impacts in Guanajuato; chapter six investigates how different stakeholders are involved in tourism policies and chapter seven outlines residents' perceptions of the benefits and costs of tourism.

A conclusion of the whole research will be given in chapter eight.

2. Theoretical framework

There is a great deal of scientific analysis on tourism development and local perception. According to Abbasi Dorcheh & Badaruddin, the challenge is to preserve the tradition whilst making the necessary adjustments to provide the needs of the place as a tourist destination without exploiting local residents and disturb their daily lives (2013). In order to examine the perceptions of the local population towards tourism, many researchers have used theoretical models, including the theory of social exchange (Ap, 1992) and the stakeholder theory (Freeman, 1984).

One of newer notions is participation of the local population ('community participation'), which goes further than just perceptions but also looks at what people do to become involved. And the notion that the involvement of the local population is considered fundamental for the success of sustainable tourism development is increasingly supported (Tosun, 2000).

This chapter aims to review existing literature on residents' attitudes and views towards tourism development and its process, and to clarify the most important terms used in this research in order to have a better understanding of the present paper, namely: the local population, involvement (or participation) of the local population, and tourism development. In addition, this chapter explains the theory of social exchange and the stakeholder theory as an effective framework for sustainable tourism development.

§2.1 Clarifying the concept used in this paper

§2.1.1 Local population

Increased interest in the involvement of the local population and its participation indicates the need for a common definition of the *local population* within development policies and programs. McQueen et al. (2001) describe how development program and policy often are defined at regional or national level, while it literally is the context of the local population where preventions and interventions take place. According to McQueen, this context is an important determinant of

development outcomes, and recognition of this 'has led to an increased call for collaboration with the local population as an important strategy for successful public health research and programs' (2001). Following an in-depth study of members of diverse populations, the local population can be considered 'a group of people with diverse characteristics who are linked by social ties, share common perspectives, and engage in joint action in geographical locations or settings.'(McQueen et al., 2001). Adding to the definition set above, since the research area of this study consists of one area that experiences the effects of being one of the top tourist destinations of the country, the local population is considered here as a group of people *'[...] in a destination…such as permanent residents [...]'* (State of Queensland, 2002). The local population then can be seen as just one of the many stakeholders, besides local businesses and other interest groups, that are the host for tourism related activities.

In this research, in the local population all people are included who have *'a direct or indirect stake in [tourism] because it can affect or be affected by [tourism related activities], objectives, and policies'* (Business Dictionary, 2012).

It will be elaborated upon in paragraph 2.2.1 that besides the local population, this research is composed of three other stakeholder groups: entrepreneurs, non-permanent residents and tourists, and (local) government officials (Byrd et al., 2009). For the attitudes and opinions the focus will be on the local population, whereas all four groups will be taken into consideration when looking at the involvement of all stakeholders in the decision making processes of the locality.

§2.1.2 Involvement and participation of the local population

As more and more people have an interest in tourism development -whether this is because their income depends on it or because they deal with tourists on a regular basis-, questions arise about who should be involved and how, and who should make the decisions with regards to planning and future development of tourism. According to Graci & Dodds (2010) local populations should be included in the tourism development processes as the principal stakeholders and decision-makers, since they play a vital role in shaping the environment and are responsible for creating the local culture: the primary product in marketing to attract visitors to a certain area.

Just like the term 'local population', involvement/participation of the local population

(or 'community participation') encompasses a wide range of definitions.
According to Aref (2011), participation is about human development and strengthens people's sense of ownership over issues that affect their lives, empowering them to solve their own problems.

Ashley and Roe (1998) describe community participation as *'[…] a spectrum from passive to active involvement to full participation where there is active community participation and venture ownership'.* Garrod (2003) clarifies how the involvement of the local population in the context of tourism can be considered from at least two viewpoints: in the decision-making process and in the benefits of tourism development. Whereas involvement in decision-making implies a '*higher degree of involvement'* where individuals or groups are involved in and can influence the decision-making process of tourism development, the latter implies a '*lower degree of involvement'* where people are not directly involved through an influencing role but rather passively involved through a receiving role (Garrod, 2003).

Shaeffer (1994) identifies five levels of participation of the local population, including: the involvement through the contribution of money, labour and materials; the involvement through the attendance of meetings (which implies the passive acceptance of decisions that are made by others); the involvement through consultation on a specific matter; the participation in the delivery of a service; the participation in decision making. The first three can be considered as lower degree of involvement, whereas the latter two levels can be considered higher degree of involvement.

France (1998) described participation as *'[…] a process of empowerment that helps to involve local people in the identification of problems, decision-making and implementation, which can contribute to sustainable development'.*
From the perspective of tourism planning then, a definition of involvement of the local population in this research is hence defined as:

'A process of involving the population in a destination in such a way that decision-making, benefits and/or management aspects are shared with other stakeholders such as local government officials and entrepreneurs.'

The participation of local populations is also considered a vital aspect of sustainable tourism development by the United Nations, as it was included in the UNEP Principles for Implementation of Sustainable Tourism (2002), in which it states that an indispensable condition for successful tourism projects and for ensuring their sustainability, is the involvement of stakeholders, including local populations.

Participation is a key factor in development. According to Spiegel community participation is a desired and necessary part of development activities. As he notes, *'Citizen participation is the process that can meaningfully tie programs to people'* (1968). People know best about their own needs and resources: if all members of a local population are at all stages involved, then programs are more likely to be successful than programs imposed externally or top-down (Spiegel, 1968).

Mathbor (1997) states that participation in government schemes most of the times means nothing more than '*using the service offered or providing inputs to support the program*', in accordance with Garrod's 'lower level of involvement'. This differs from stronger forms of participation, which fits in with Garrod's 'higher level of involvement' and involves *'control over decisions, priorities, plans, and implementation; or the spontaneous, induced, or assisted formation of groups to achieve collective goals'* (Mathbor, 1997).

According to Kaufman and Alfonso (1997), effective community participation may lead to empowerment at the personal and social level, to economic development, and to socio-political transformation. Fifteen years later, the UN report on extreme poverty and human rights (2013) continues to share this perspective. As mentioned in the introduction of this research, in the report Magdalena Sepúlveda states that 'Meaningful participation can build skills, knowledge and confidence and plays an important role in breaking down the cycle of disempowerment and inequalities […] and therefore contributes to development' (United Nations News Centre, 2013). The importance of involvement of the local population for development can therefore not be denied.

§2.1.3 Sustainable tourism development

As the WTO Report of Multi-stakeholder Working Group on Tourism (2002) reads:

'A sustainable approach to tourism means that neither the natural environment nor the socio-cultural fabric of the host communities will be impaired by the arrival of tourists. On the contrary, the natural environment and the local communities should benefit from tourism, both economically and culturally. Sustainability implies that tourism resources and attractions should be utilised in such a way that their subsequent use by future generations is not compromised.'

Tourism is one of the world's largest industries and is a significant source of foreign currency and investment for many of the developing countries. Rising living standards and increased leisure time in the West; and advances in transport technology, long periods of relative political stability, media promotion and the development of a highly professional tourism industry in many developing countries have all contributed to a significant growth in tourism over the last few decades. It is recognized that this growth in tourism could contribute to the economic development of these countries (Mowforth & Munt, 2003).

However, the benefits that tourists perceive of holidays and traveling are often not shared by the local populations of the localities they visit:

One can argue that attracting tourists is in the benefit of the local population because of the creation of employment. However, work in the tourism industry can be very intensive; often there are only a few administrative positions; and there is little upward mobility (Carrigan, 2011). Moreover, it is important that the local population is not too dependent on tourism. For example, if a terrorist attack takes place, a dip in tourism will surely follow for a period of time meaning that many people will lose their means of income (Carrigan, 2011).

Furthermore the construction of infrastructure could be seen as the development of a locality. However, this is often translated in the construction or improvement of roads, while water and electricity deserve a higher priority (Wipf et al, 2005).

The different benefits and drawbacks of tourism for a locality are dependent on the type of tourism. Eco tourism will have a lesser impact on environmental degradation than sport- or adventure tourism, where land function has to undergo greater change

to become a ski resort for example. Wipf et al. (2005) have concluded in their study that the deforestation of areas to open ski (and other) resorts enhances the annihilation of declining forest species. Constructing ski runs and access roads leads to the degradation of the original ecosystem (Wipf et al. 2005).

Furthermore, sport- and adventure tourism can greatly contribute to property price inflation: because of the growing interest of (foreign) investors in both land and existing buildings to open up or build resorts or make space for activities, property prices will go up so that property will become unaffordable for the local population. Wildlife and leisure tourism are a greater threat to cultural destruction than religious and cultural tourism, since the latter types of tourism feel religious affinity or come to actually see and experience the local culture, which will only become stronger when it can be 'sold' as a product.

The local context also determines which benefits and drawbacks of tourism are experienced by the local population of a tourism destiny, and to what extent. In rural areas, the development of tourism can be seen as important in replacing the lost employment in the agricultural industry. However, the peaceful and quietness of rural areas and the laidback lifestyle and closeness to nature of its inhabitants can easily be disrupted, and their cultures destructed (loss of religion, rituals, or language) by attracting (more) tourists.

In urban areas like Guanajuato, the peacefulness and quietness is already relative. However, property price inflation and overcrowding are of bigger issue in these areas (van den Berg, van Vijik & van Hoi, 2003). Furthermore, problems like environmental degradation and cultural destruction need not be neglected: with the increase in tourist facilities and the construction of infrastructure and buildings, urban areas will have to expand land inwards. Large parts of rural areas are incorporated into urban areas, disturbing fauna and local people, for example by noise (van den Berg, et al., 2003). Paragraph 2.1.4 elaborates further upon issues that are particularly faced by historic cities like Guanajuato.

Over the past few decades, people have increasingly become more aware of these problems, stemming from 'a one-sided focus on tourism as an instrument for development' (Baud &Ypeij, 2009). Many have argued that the local communities and national and regional governments should be the beneficiaries of tourism development, and not just foreign companies (Mowforth & Munt, 2003; Pigram,

1990; UN, 2005). And as people have become more aware of the impacts of tourism on a local population and its environment, "sustainable tourism*"* is now a key factor for tourism development. Planners, policy makers and tourists perceive it as an alternative approach to tourism and the negative effects that generally are associated with it (Mowforth& Munt, 2003).

Although mainly focused on environmental aspects (like the Brundtland report), social and economical aspects are just as important. To promote the participation, control and ownership of local populations many sustainable tourism initiatives have been implemented. These include "nature-based tourism", "ecotourism" and "cultural tourism" (Baud &Ypeij, 2009).

According to Ijasan & Izobo-Martins (2012), "tourism development*"* involves *'the broadening of the ownership base [so] that more people benefit from the tourism industry, skills development, job and wealth creation and ensuring the geographic spread of the industry throughout the province'*.

Sustainable tourism development is concerned with tourism that is based on the principles of "sustainable development". Sustainability principles indicate the economic, cultural and environmental elements of tourism development, and an appropriate balance between these must be established to ensure its long-term sustainability (UN, 2005), meaning that it is also focused on next generations. "Sustainable tourism development*"*, then, could be defined as *'tourism that respects both local people and the traveller, cultural heritage and the environment, which seeks to provide people with an exciting and educational holiday that is also of benefit to the people of the host country, [now and in the future]'* (UNESCO, 2012).

In their research, Moscardo & Woods (1998) describe how sustainable tourism development emphasises three features. First, life of the local population in its original environment is emphasised. Second, emphasis is placed on the continuity of tourism, cultures and natural resources, and third sustainable tourism development emphasises the balance of the needs of all stakeholders (local government officials, the local population, the business community, architects, developers, and planners). In accordance with these three features, the World Tourism Organization holds on to three types of criterion of sustainable tourism development, including: the protection

of the resources of the environment; the involvement of local communities in economic and social benefits of tourism; and a high quality experience for visitors.

According to the United Nations, Sustainable tourism should

'1) Make optimal use of environmental resources that constitute a key element in tourism development, maintaining essential ecological processes and helping to conserve natural heritage and biodiversity.

2) Respect the socio-cultural authenticity of host communities, conserve their built and living cultural heritage and traditional values, and contribute to inter-cultural understanding and tolerance.

3) Ensure viable, long-term economic operations, providing socio-economic benefits to all stakeholders that are fairly distributed, including stable employment and income-earning opportunities and social services to host communities, and contributing to poverty alleviation.' (UN, 2002)

Juganaru et al (2008) describe different types of sustainable tourism. With regards to urban / city tourism two types are applicable and show strong resemblance with the parallel to the UNEP Principles for Implementation of Sustainable Tourism: soft tourism, and solidarity and responsible tourism.

Soft tourism has both social purposes, like respect for customs, traditions, social and family structures of the local population; and economic purposes, like equitable revenue distribution and tourism offer diversification.

Solidarity and responsible tourism is a movement that 'aims at keeping under control and valorise tourism economy, to the benefit of local communities at destinations, in a territory development intercession' (Juganaru et al, 2008). This form of sustainable tourism engages in the responsibility of all the actors that are involved: tourists, intermediaries and the local population. The responsibility here is based on respect of their environment and local values and customs, as well as a certain equitable redistribution of the generated revenues.

Both types focus on the respect of the local population and their environment, and on a more fair distribution of tourism revenues, of which a large part is destined to

improve life conditions of the local population.

§2.1.4 Cultural tourism in historic cities

According to Terralba & Vinuesa (2010), the concept of the historic city as a tourist resource has evolved from older perceptions that primarily valued museums and architectural features to the wider attention to cultural, social, economic and historic dimensions. We are now facing a historic-cultural product that ' contributes to making a city special, so that given its own identifying features it can become a focal point for tourism' (Terralba & Vinuesa, 2010).

Nonetheless, while tourism provides opportunities for the maintenance of architectural heritage and the functional recovery of the centre of a historic city, tourism also generates negative effects in functional, social, environmental, and landscape terms. The introduction of tourist activities in a historic city has therefore not been free of conflict: the coexistence of old functions and new tourist functions creates permanent tension. This tension of change, and urban and tourism planning faces problems in adapting older cityscapes to new needs (Torralba & Vinuesa, 2010). The Guidelines of the European Association for historic towns and regions (EAHTR) reads:

'Cultural tourism is important to conserving and realising the value of our heritage. It also enables cultural exchange and encourages cultural diversity to flourish. It is a route to individual personal fulfilment and a major creator of jobs and investment. Tourism, however, is an industry facing in many different directions and one which has many […] implications – all of which bring challenges and opportunities.' (2006)

For the definition of *cultural tourism* and *historic cities* in this research, the definitions of the EAHTR (2006) of these concepts will be adhered to: cultural tourism will thus be defined as a type of tourism of which the principle purpose is to share and enjoy culture and heritage (both physical and intangible), including identity, tradition, language, landscapes, buildings, collections and the arts; and by historic cities, cities and parts of larger urban areas are meant that have significant cultural and heritage assets.

Even though tourism is not new to historic cities, and provides them with benefits like generating economic value, the impact of tourism can pose serious problems for historic cities, like damage to both the sense of place and cultural identity (UN, 2005).

As most historic places and cities are relatively small, a large amount of visitors could result in congestion, disturbance and a sense of displacement for local people (van den Berg, van Vijik & van Hoi, 2003). Furthermore, according to the EAHTR, 'Adapting a historic place to the demands of the 21st century can bring fear of physical change' (2006). Nonetheless, historic buildings that are now being neglected because of lack of money can be used for tourism purposes, so that investing in maintenance is possible. The upkeep of these buildings and the conservation of other cultural and heritage assets is important since they all contribute to the distinctiveness and strong sense of place, and these qualities need to be retained to be able to attract high value tourism. In addition, 'Properly managed tourism can help local people to understand and value what is distinctive about their place' (EAHTR, 2006).

According to the EAHTR, it remains a major policy challenge to reconcile the potential conflicts between promoting both tourism and sustainability. Therefore, the EAHTR has set several principles for safeguarding sustainable cultural tourism (2006), four of which are best applicable in this research and for Guanajuato and parallel to the UNEP Principles for Implementation of Sustainable Tourism, mentioned in paragraph 2.1.3. These are:

- Tourism is an economically important activity and cultural tourism should contribute to an overall programme of sustainable development
  → In Guanajuato, as in most historical cities, the focus of development is often on the (historical) centre of the city and on tourism related issues (see paragraph 3.3.1). Earnings from tourism should also be used for non-tourism related issues so that overall sustainable development can be reached.

- All local stakeholders (including government officials, the local population, and the business community) must be involved in the development of cultural tourism, as effective management and development requires consensus and coordinated action.

→ According to Spiegel (1968), when all members of a local population are at all stages involved, programs are more likely to be successful (see paragraph 2.1.3). In Guanajuato the involvement of different stakeholder groups could increase public's trust in the (municipal) government, which is currently lacking, as will be shown in paragraph 6.3.2.

- Equity is important to long-term sustainability and cultural tourism therefore should aim to provide benefits to the local population in an equitable way
  → Ijasan & Izobo-Martins (2012), state the ownership base should be broadened so that *'more people benefit from the tourism industry, [...] ensuring the geographic spread of the industry throughout the province'.*
  In Guanajuato, people are benefitting from tourism directly, indirectly, or not at all. Especially people who are living in the outskirts of the city who are not working (nor have a member of the household working) in the tourism sector are left behind. The aim of the State Program for Tourism 2013-2018 is to spread the positive impacts of tourism in such a way that (people living in) these areas will also benefit.

- The identity, culture, rights and beliefs of the local population need to be respected at all times.
  → With cultural tourism, the historic place product includes, culture, heritage, attractions and facilities. As was mentioned in the previous paragraph, tourism development plans and the coming of visitors should not disrespect the local population and/or disturb their environment in such a way their quality of life comes at risk (UN, 2002). Furthermore, to be able to continue to offer this historic place product and guarantee high-quality culture, heritage, attractions and facilities, identity, culture, rights and believes of the local population need to be respected (EAHTR, 2006).

Cultural tourism is an important part of the Mexican economy; and there is a compelling case for preserving the cultural heritage. The principles set by the EAHTR aim to provide a consistent framework for decision making by governments on both the municipal and the state level, leading to the delivery of more sustainable cultural tourism at the local level by safeguarding the identity, rights and beliefs of the local

population; ensuring equity among and the involvement of all stakeholders; and geographically spreading the benefits throughout a locality.

§2.2 Major theories

This paragraph explains the theory of social exchange and the stakeholder theory as an effective framework for sustainable tourism development.

§2.2.1 Stakeholder theory

A stakeholder is, *'any group or individual who can affect or is affected by the achievement of the organization's objectives.'* (Freeman, 1984).

As mentioned in §2.1.3, a large body of literature recognizes the crucial role stakeholder groups have in tourism development (Campos et al., 2011; Koster, 2007; Jodar Sanchez, 2007). Subsequently, the support of all stakeholder groups is fundamental for achieving sustainable tourism development.

According to Freeman (1992), stakeholder theory is an idea about how business really works. It implies that for any business to be successful it has to create value for customers, suppliers, communities, employees, financiers (shareholders, banks and other people with the money), it implies that you cannot look at any one of those stakes in isolation: their interest has to go together and the job of the manager/entrepreneur is to figure out how the interests of these stakeholders go in the same direction. Each individual group is important for a business to be successful. Stakeholder theory is the idea that each one of these groups is important to the success of a business or a project: together different stakeholder groups create something that no one of them can create alone.

To translate the stakeholder theory to tourism development, Sautter and Leisen (1999) state that *'Freeman's concepts requires the tourism planner(s) to have a full appreciation of all the persons or groups who have interests in the planning, process(es), delivery and/or outcomes of the tourism service.'*

Based on comparisons of multiple stakeholder groups, Byrd et al. (2009), distinguish

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different attitudes and interests of tourism between four major groups whose perspectives and interests differ: (1) local population (permanent residents); (2) entrepreneurs; (3) tourists; and (4) local government officials. A clear understanding of the different attitudes and interests of these four groups is fundamental for reaching comprehensive planning and management, which leads to sustainable tourism development (Abbasi Dorcheh & Badaruddin, 2013).

Findings of the research of Byrd et al. (2009) are shown on the next page, in Table 2.1, representing the significance between the local population (permanent residents), entrepreneurs, tourists, and government officials (based on a one-way analysis of variance with Scheffe test).

The findings of the test indicate that only for two of the nine statements there were no statistically significant differences between the different stakeholder groups. None of the groups believe that tourism development increases traffic problems, nor do they think that it reduces the quality of outdoor recreational activities.

The results of this study clearly support the idea that differences in perceptions of the impact tourism has on a locality do exist between different stakeholder groups. With a Scheffe-test it is determined which groups specifically differ. The perceptions of the local population (residents) and the local government officials differ on all seven statements, whereas residents and tourists differ on just one item, with tourists being more positive on the possible improvement of the local economy through an increase in tourism. Entrepreneurs and local government officials have different perceptions on three statements, where the group of local government officials seems to have more positive perceptions: tourism development increases a local population's quality of life; tourism development improves the local population's appearance; and increased tourism improves the economy.
The statement that tourism improved the local economy showed the greatest differences between groups.
Where government officials had the most positive perceptions of tourism, residents had the least positive perceptions. In all cases, entrepreneurs and tourists where in between the two extremes (Byrd et al., 2009).
Even though this comparative study was based on research in North Carolina, and can therefore not simply be applied to another locality, the findings of this study support

Variable	Mean residents ($n = 305$)	Mean entrepreneurs ($n = 91$)	Mean tourist ($n = 92$)	Mean government official ($n = 48$)	F ratio	Probability	Scheffe test ($p < 0.05$)	Scheffe test ($p < 0.10$)
Tourism produces long-term negative effects on the environment.	2.63	2.47	2.46	2.21	3.46	0.016	R > GO	
Tourism development increases a community's quality of life.	3.62	3.59	3.73	4.08	4.70	0.003	GO > R, E	
Tourism development improves a community's appearance.	3.78	3.80	3.98	4.21	4.99	0.002	GO > R, E	
Tourism development increases the number of recreational opportunities for local residents.	3.76	3.86	3.88	4.10	2.75	0.042	GO > R	
Increased tourism improves the local economy.	3.98	4.08	4.21	4.42	7.56	0.000	GO > R, E; V > R	
Tourism reduces the quality of outdoor recreational opportunities.	2.49	2.36	2.32	2.17	2.25	0.082		
Tourism development increases crime.	2.92	2.63	2.67	2.43	5.61	0.001	R > GO	R > E
Tourism development increases property taxes.	3.19	3.08	2.96	2.75	3.58	0.014	R > GO	
Tourism development increases the traffic problems.	3.64	3.59	3.75	3.65	0.52	0.667		

Table 2.1: Test of the significance of views and attitudes between the local population (residents), entrepreneurs, tourists, and government officials (based on a one-way analysis of variance with Scheffe test). *Source: Byrd, E. T., Bosley, H. E., &Dronberger, M. G. (2009). 'Comparisons of stakeholder perceptions of tourism impacts in rural eastern North Carolina'. In: Tourism Management, Vol. 30. No.5. Pp. 693-703.*

many of the findings by previous researchers (Kavallinis & Pizam, 1994; Murphy, 1983 and Puczko & Rats, 2000). In other localities different results may be found, but based on this study and the previous studies mentioned above, it can be assumed that 'stakeholder groups will differ in their perceptions of tourism development in their community [locality]' (Byrd et al., 2009).

It is important to note, however, that it is possible that not all members of one stakeholder group feel the same way. Andereck et al. (2005) explain that '*stakeholders' attitudes toward and support for tourism in their community will be influenced by their evaluations of the actual and perceived outcomes tourism has in their community*', and can therefore differ from the attitudes of other stakeholder (group)s. This is where the social exchange theory comes into play.

§2.2.2 Social exchange theory

As the involvement/participation of the local population (or 'community participation') is considered as a central aspect of sustainable tourism development, and since most studies have recognized stakeholders groups being a crucial part of tourism development (see previous paragraph), the theory of social exchange provides an effective framework for sustainable tourism development.

The theory of social exchange, popular among numerous studies concerning tourism development (Harril, 2004; Andereck et al., 2005), is an extension and an evolution of the theory once introduced by Long, Perdue & Allen (1987), which explained resident's differing perceptions towards impacts. Ap (1992) applied the model of social exchange theory to the visitor-host interaction in tourism, describing it as '*a general sociological theory concerned with understanding the exchange of resources between individuals and groups in an interaction situation*'.

The basic premise of social exchange theory is that people engage in an interaction process where they seek and follow something valuable (Abbasi Dorcheh & Badaruddin, 2013). After considering the costs and the benefits of an exchange, individuals choose to engage in a certain exchange. Perceptions of this exchange tend to differ, since people who perceive the outcome positively will evaluate the exchange differently than people who perceive it negatively (Gursoy, Jurowski and Uysal

2002). This means that the perceived value of the outcome is a vital factor for determining the residents' perception towards tourism.

In a tourism context then, the model of social exchange theorizes that residents' attitudes toward tourism, and level of support for its development, are contingent upon their own evaluation of the possible outcomes of tourism development. Whereas some individuals merely benefit from tourism, others may experience only the negative outcomes. This means that the impacts of tourism are not equally distributed. Within the context of tourism the exchanges here include serving the needs of visitors in different aspects (social, cultural, environmental).
In short, from a tourism point of view, social exchange theory suggests that residents evaluate tourism, and subsequently its development, based on the costs and benefits incurred as a result of tourism development.

There has been mixed support for social exchange theory in the tourism literature: whereas various researchers have found support for it (Harril, 2004; Byrd et al., 2009; Andereck et al., 2005), others have not been conclusive (Ap, 1992; Gursoy et al, 2002), or find the theory too simplistic.

According to Miller (2005) the theory oversimplifies human actions by reducing them to only short-term and self-interested exchanges, and above all to a '[…] rational process that arises from economic theory.' She states that issues of cultural context and variations of culture are completely neglected by the theory, which would be based too much on a costs and rewards concept. Miller (2005) explains that all cultures are different and that in some cultures people might not even seek a reward for an exchange (or relationship). Stolte et al. (2001) think that there is too much of an economic focus within the theory, while people are not simply rational cost-benefits calculators: emotional, historical and cultural factors may also play a role.

However, this theory is of good use for this research, since it explains how individuals can be encouraged by self-interest to make decisions that will benefit (mainly) themselves. Also, if it appears that residents do not differ in attitudes and views according to the variation in perceived benefits and/or costs, this research could serve as a good critique to the theory.

§2.3 Conclusion

For providing a comprehensive theory, it is crucial to relate the theories with each other.

First, the stakeholder theory explains how it is essential for the success of a project or business that all stakeholders are involved, and that you cannot look at any one of those stakes in isolation: interest of all groups have to go together and in the same direction. For the success of development plans, therefore, the involvement of all stakeholders through public participation is key factor. Within today's modern and interconnected world, interests of different groups are inevitably intertwined, because one way or another: people are all involved in public life, which has extended beyond just a shed or a neighbourhood. With the inclusion of all stakeholders in the decision making process of tourism development, all issues and voices are brought into the public arena, according to the UNEP Principles for Implementation of Sustainable Tourism (2002) an indispensable condition for successful tourism projects and for ensuring their sustainability.

It is, however, important to bear in mind that not all members of one stakeholder group may feel the same way. And here comes the social exchange theory, explaining resident's differing perceptions towards impacts, into play. From a tourism point of view, social exchange theory suggests that residents evaluate tourism, and subsequently its development, based on the costs and benefits incurred as a result of tourism development.

An interesting finding of Faulkner (1997), however, states that there appears to be a tendency among residents to acknowledge the many benefits of tourism, irrespective of both their involvement and other background factors that influence their exposure to the impacts of this activity.

Second, the stakeholder theory is centred on interests at different levels, ensuring an all-encompassing view, a characteristic that could also be ascribed to the social exchange theory, which also looks at the interests of different people or groups.

It is evident that the stakeholder theory puts emphasis on the attention that all of the stakeholder groups should receive, and shows that both among and within these groups there are different views on the extent to which tourism has the potential to contribute to development. Although the benefits that can be derived from tourism are important to many people living in a tourist destination, the costs should not be

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overlooked. As the tourism sector in Guanajuato is very diverse and some people live in remote areas, far away from the slightest bit of the tourism scene, impact of tourism differs among the population. Whereas some individuals merely benefit from tourism, others may experience only the negative outcomes. And according to the basic premise of social exchange theory people will always engage in an interaction process where they seek and follow something valuable. Hence both visions need to be harmonized in development plans, meaning that compromises are inevitable, for the success of development.

From both theories, important notions can be derived. First, it is important to note that development should not be something where only the government and (foreign) entrepreneurs have a say in things: for the success of development plans, visions of all stakeholders need to be involved. Second, besides the possibility that tourism can contribute to development, its potential to increase inequalities among the population should never be neglected.

Cultural tourism is an important part of the Mexican economy; and there is a compelling case for preserving the cultural heritage. For safeguarding the identity, rights and beliefs of the local population, ensuring equity among all stakeholders, and geographically spreading the benefits throughout a locality, the costs and benefits of tourism must be considered, and both the stakeholder- and the cultural exchange theory can provide a comprehensive framework for this when combined.

3. Regional Framework

The regional framework outlines the regions' characteristics and thereby contributes to obtaining a more comprehensive idea of the study and the geographies of the place. In this chapter, first the focus is on the broader national level, after which a regional and local perspective on the city of Guanajuato is taken.

§3.1 Mexico

Mexico is located at the southern tip of the North-American continent, and is considered part of Latin America, since it was conquered by Spain in the sixteenth century.

Figure 3.1: Map of Mexico. Source: http://www.topteninn.com/maps/mexico_map.html

Mexico is the 13th largest and the 11th most populous country in the world, occupying 158.450 square miles of land area and home to 115 million inhabitants (July 2010 estimate, CIA). A map of Mexico is shown in figure 3.1.

Mexico has the second-largest economy in Latin America, and as the country just became a member of the Pacific Alliance, it is one of the most important emerging economies (US Department of State, 2010).

For the average Mexican, the annual income is $9,240 (GNI per capita in PPP terms). The population living below $1.25 a day is 0.7%, which is a lower rate than in most Latin American countries. The Human Development Index (HDI) for Mexico is 0.775, ranking the country 61 out of 187 in terms of human development (UNDP, International Human Development Indicators, 2012), so that Mexico is considered as a country with high human development.

However, there is a large inequality in distribution of income. The inequality adjusted HDI shows a loss of 23.4% with a HDI of 0.593. Rural areas are often neglected and huge shantytowns surround the big cities. Nonetheless, efforts to decrease these inequalities are being undertaken by the government on different levels. As will be further discussed in §6.2.1, With the State Program for Tourism 2013-2018, Guanajuato aims at spreading the positive impact of tourism to also benefit the outskirts of the cities that currently are left behind. This is in accordance with Ijasan & Izobo-Martins (2012), who state that "tourism development" involves *'the broadening of the ownership base [so] that more people benefit from the tourism industry, skills development, job and wealth creation and ensuring the geographic spread of the industry throughout the province'*.

Another issue for Mexico, that does remain a major concern, is violent crime. The country has one of the highest rates of kidnappings in the world, and more than 35.000 people have died in drug-related conflicts since in the period of 2006-2012 (CIA, 2010).

Even though, there are large parts in Mexico that are considered safe for travellers, (SECTUR, 2012) this image of Mexico as a violent and corrupt country with a considerable rate of inequality, makes that many international tourists are reluctant to visit other places in Mexico than the big Americanized resort areas in the South Coast where crime rates are much lower (US State of Development, 2010). This is a shame for tourists, since Mexico has a lot more to offer, but even a bigger shame for the country itself because it now cannot take full advantage of the development potential of the tourism industry (State Program for Tourism 2013-2018).

§3.2 Tourism in Mexico

'Tourism is one of the most important and dynamic economic sectors in the world today, both for its level of investment, job creation and earnings potential, and for its contribution to regional development.' (SECTUR, 2012)

The 1920s can be considered as the birth of the tourism industry in Mexico (Baran, 1975). Three stages of development of the sector can be distinguished (Chavéz, et al., 2009). First, between the 1920s and 1940s, laws were implemented, allowing all foreigners to enter the country, and all businesses and entrepreneurs to establish themselves in Mexico. In 1937 the Department of Tourism was created to develop all activities related to tourism. Small hotels were built and tourism agencies were set up. Second, from the 1940s until 1960s, the tourism product started to become more developed: travel agencies multiplied, bigger hotels were built, and tourist transport was created. Third, from the 1960s onwards, actions to stimulate tourism were undertaken, promoting the tourist attractions in the country and hosting important international events, like the Olympics in Mexico City in 1968. Big hotels and restaurants continue to be built, and tourist destinations are being exploited up to now (Chavéz, et al., 2009).

The first localities to develop themselves as tourist destinations were: Acapulco, Manzanillo, Mazatlán, Puerto Vallarta, Cabo San Lucas, Isla de Cozumel, Isla Mujeres, Veracruz and Mérida, all located near the Mexican coasts and offering entrance to archaeological sites (Chavéz, et al., 2009). Guadalajara and Mexico City followed soon after, as the major international business centres of the country (Chavéz, et al., 2009).

Ever since the Mexicans defeated the Spanish viceroyalty in the 19th century in Guanajuato, Mexicans travel to Guanajuato to see 'the birthplace of the war of independence'. However, it took more than a century for the tourism sector in Guanajuato to really start to develop, when in 1953 the public performances of the 'Entremeses Cervantinos' were hosted officially. These small plays were first performed by a group of students on the Plaza de San Roque (Guanajuato) in 1947, as homage to Cervantino (Chavéz, et al., 2009). This homage of Cervantino became an annual thing, and people from all over the country came to celebrate Cervantino. Twenty years later, as an extension of the 'entremeses', the three-week-during

Cervantino festival was born, hosting all sorts of cultural events and activities, and international tourists were also drawn to the city (Chavéz, et al., 2009).

In 1988 the historic town of Guanajuato has been inscribed on the World Heritage List for its baroque architecture and adjacent mines among other things. Still, the city lacks an international image as a destination for cultural tourism. This could probably be ascribed to the fact that other cities in Mexico, such as Cuernavaca, Tulum, and Cancun are known for the vast history of the Maya, and relatively early on became part of the itinerary of international travellers who wanted to see ruins and learn about ancient cultures.

Nowadays, Mexico ranks number 10 in the world for visits by foreign tourists and number 17 in terms of earning generate out of tourism (SECTUR, 2012).
Currently, Mexico's tourism industry is the nation's fifth-biggest source of income. With the number of international visitors increasing and new infrastructure built, it is predicted that this sector will take on even more economic importance by the end of 2018 (US State of Development, 2010). Tourism represents 9,3% of the Mexican gross domestic budget and employs about 7 million people throughout the country (US State of Development, 2010).
According to a report by Consejo Nacional Empresorial Túristico (2013), in 2012 Mexico received over 23 million international visitors and the industry generated $10.7 billion in foreign exchange inflows, which is an increase of respectively 2.56% and 10.5% compared with the year before (See Graph 3.1 and 3.2).

The increase of international tourists in Mexico in unexpectedly high, considering the high number of people that got killed in drug-related violence in the period of 2011-2012, which amounts to 6.200 people (CIA, 2010). However, most international travellers to Mexico visit just the south of the country, as these main destinations are considered safe for travellers (SECTUR, 2012), and so the potential of the tourism sector is not maximised yet.
According to Arrioja (2013), the Mexican government invested $23.3billion in infrastructure in 2013, and for the first time the infrastructure strategy included tourism development: new airports, cargo and commercial ports, railways and highways are being constructed to link well-known transportation hubs with lesser-

known tourism destinations. However, investments in safety seem to be of higher priority to be able to stimulate the inflow of visitors (Arrioja, 2013).

Graph 3.1: International visitors to Mexico 2007-2012
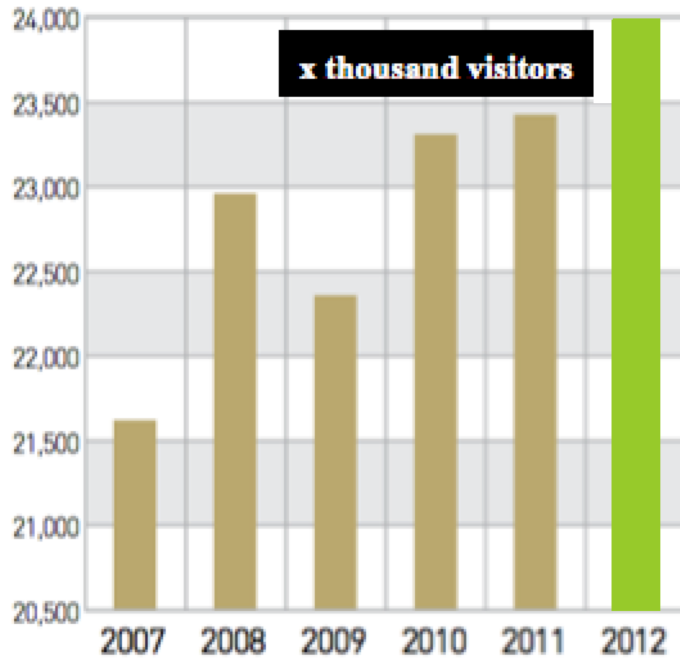
Source: Consejo Nacional Epresarial Túristico (2012), Pp. 18

Graph 3.2: Foreign exchange inflows in Mexico 2007-2012

Source: Consejo Nacional Epresorial Túristico (2012), Pp. 18

§3.3 Guanajuato: state and city

§3.3.1 Characteristics

Due to the image of Mexico as a violent and corrupt country, tourism is mainly growing in the south of the country, which is considered safe to travellers. Nonetheless, the state of Guanajuato, recommended as a safe place to tourists by travel agencies and guides (Tripadvisor, 2006; Never Ending Voyage, 2013; Lonely Planet, 2014), is doing its best to attract more international visitors, by promoting what specifically its capital city has to offer: a rich and typical Mexican culture and a pleasant environment to celebrate holidays (Tourism Review, 2013).

Guanajuato (city) is the capital city of Guanajuato state and counts with 171,709 inhabitants. The city is located in a valley surrounded by the Sierra de Guanajuato mountains and was founded in 1559. Guanajuato became a silver mining city after silver was discovered there in the 17th century. The city of Guanajuato is the 8th most important destination in the country (Tourism Review, 2013).
Other popular cities in Guanajuato state among tourists are San Miguel de Allende and Dolores Hidalgo.

Tourism in Guanajuato city is characterized by its focus on its historical centre. Figure 3.2 shows the main tourist area within the borders and the larger centre in the pink circle. It is obvious that tourism is very limited to the historic centre of the city, a feature of historic cities (Torralba & Vinuesa, 2010). The vast majority of tourist activities, hotels, restaurants and other tourism facilities are located in the historic centre of the city, which is circled around the 'Jardin de Union', a small rectangular garden, and 'Teatro Juarez', a theatre in French architectonic style. From my own observations I can say that most tourists don't move outside of these imaginary borders, where there is almost no security, roads become less accessible, and street lanterns are missing. This is contrary to the principles of the EAHTR (2006) that recommend earnings from tourism being also used for non-tourism related issues so that overall sustainable development can be reached (paragraph 2.1.4).

According to the European Festival Association (EFA), internationally the city is best known for its acclaimed annual international culture & arts festival, Festival Cervantino (2014). However, whereas a lot of national tourists come to visit
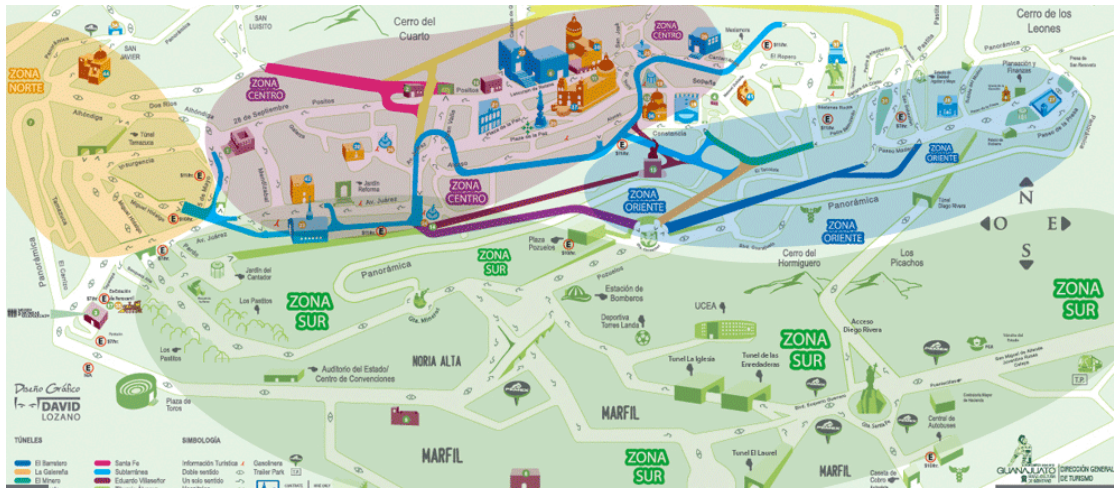
Figure 3.2: Map of Guanajuato capital. Source: http://www.guanajuatocapital.mx/en/

Guanajuato, apart from the festival the city is still not very popular with foreign tourists (SECTUR, 2012-II). According to Torralba & Vinuesa (2010), this is in line with the developmental phase of an historic city, when most visitors are nationals while the city is still consolidating its position as an important tourist destination.

Compared to other places in the state, Guanajuato is relatively safe and provides all sorts of facilities to serve various types of tourists (Tripadvisor, 2006; Lonely Planet, 2014). However, these facilities are also provided by other cities, like San Miguel de Allende (an hour away), and, as I can tell from my own observations, generally of higher quality than those in Guanajuato. San Miguel de Allende offers more standardised facilities, which means that a certain degree of quality is guaranteed, and is therefore able to attract more foreign tourists and retirees than Guanajuato (CNN, 2013). This is another indication of Guanajuato still being in a developmental phase of becoming an important tourist destination (Torralba & Vinuesa, 2010). In paragraph 5.1 it is described in detail through which phases localities can go before they become fully developed tourist destinations.

§3.3.2 Tourist attractions and facilities

In the map below (Figure 3.3) the city centre is shown with its main attractions and accommodations. As mentioned before, most hotels are located within walking distance of the 'Jardin de Union', with the smaller the distance to the garden, the

higher the quality of the hotel. Interesting tourist attractions are also located close by the garden.

In Guanajuato, hotels and restaurants range from basic to more luxurious facilities. There are currently 109 accommodations in the city (16% of the total of hotels in the state), with 2.745 rooms available. This puts Guanajuato on a second place, following Leon with 124 accommodations (El Financiero, 2013). There are no large international hotel chains and most accommodations in Guanajuato are considered small and intimate, which is once again in accordance with a developmental phase of a tourist destination: Guanajuato counts with 87 official hotels, 13 official hostels and 4 registered guesthouses (El Financiero, 2013; Lonely Planet, 2014). In addition, a lot of families offer rooms for rent in their houses or run unregistered B&B's (Ruiz Lanuza, 2012). Unfortunately it is hard to estimate the number of these accommodations, and therefore their contribution to the economy.

Other tourist facilities, like bars, restaurants, cybercafé's and shops are to be found all throughout the centre. In one of the in-depth interviews that were conducted for this research, Ángel Sanchez, head of the local tourism office in Guanajuato, states that the present supply of accommodation is now more varied than a few decades ago, when the city didn't try as much as now to attract more foreigners. He explains that, back then, tourism was very limited to middle-class national visitors, and accommodations and other facilities catered to them. According to Sanchez, with the introduction of boutique hotels, B&Bs and western and Asian restaurants in the last decade, nowadays both higher- and lower-class (inter) national visitors are also drawn to the city: the wide range of facilities is able to cater various demands of tourists. This indicates that Guanajuato is keen to jump to a next phase of the development cycle of tourist destinations (see paragraph 5.1).

Guanajuato counts with 18 museums, 5 colonial churches, 3 main theatres, and several other historic buildings (Ruiz Lanuza, 2012). On the nationality of hotel and other facility owners is no data available.
Other sights and activities in and around Guanajuato include a visit to the mines, an ex-hacienda (about 10km away), the statue of Pipila, the statue of Jesus Christ (about 5km away), a hiking tour in the mountains and various extreme sport activities. The
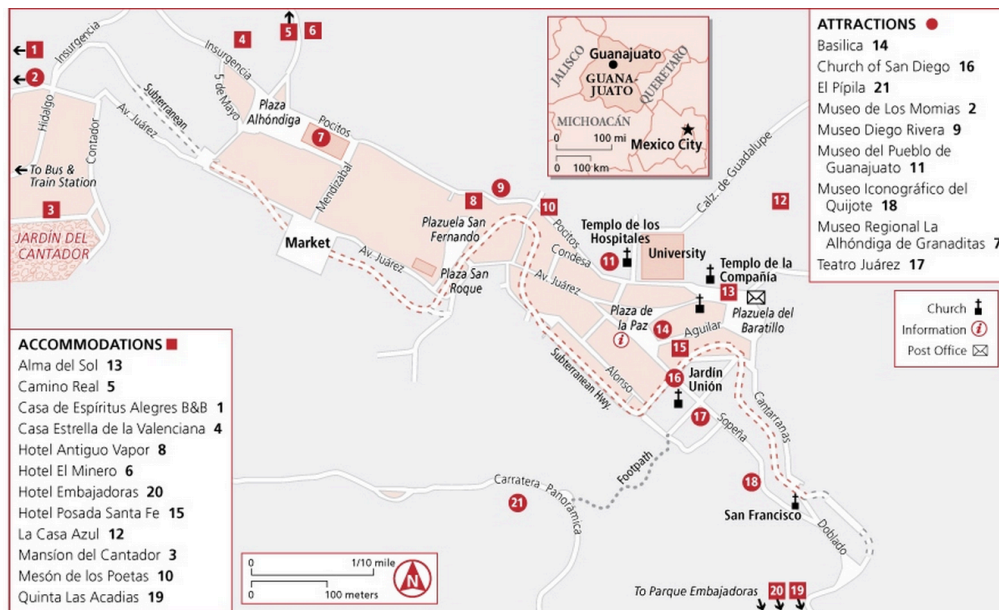
Figure 3.3: Location of hotels and other tourism facilities and attractions in Guanajuato. Source: *http://www.frommers.com/destinations/guanajuato/maps#sthash.dFZTKzqD.hF6Kz7hU.dpbs*

city of León is 40 kilometres away and is the main point of entrance for international visitors to Guanajuato as it has nearest airport to the city.

§3.3.3 Tourists

With about 1.8 million visitors annually, both national and international (SECTUR, 2012-II), Guanajuato is connected to both other parts of Mexico as well as to other localities around the globe. Compared to the more developed tourist destinations Playa del Carmen and 'Mexico's leading tourist resort' Cancun, respectively receiving 2 million and 3 million visitors annually (Burton & Rhoda, 2010), Guanajuato is doing very well, especially for a historic city (Torralba & Vinuesa, 2010). However, whereas the majority of visitors to the more developed tourist destinations, Playa del Carmen and Cancun, are international tourists (Burton & Rhoda, 2010), according to the report of SECTUR (2012-II) on the visitor profile, the majority of tourists that visit Guanajuato are nationals (96%). Of the 4% international tourists, the vast majority comes from the United States (61%), with the remaining 42% ranging from countries in Latin America to Canada and European countries (Tourism Review, 2013). As mentioned in paragraph 3.3.1, this is in line with the developmental phase of an historic city, when most visitors are nationals while the

city is still consolidating its position as an important tourist destination (Torralba & Vinuesa, 2010).

Of the visitors, a percentage of 76% have tourism purposes. 30% of the visitors stay in a hotel, 15% stay with family/friends and 49% are day-trippers (SECTUR, 2012-II). The relative high percentage of daytrippers can be described to the fact that the vast majority of Guanajuato's visitors are nationals, often living in cities and villages closeby (Ruiz Lanuza, 2012).

The average length of stay in Guanajuato when staying in a hotel is 1.7 days, which is very short. For example, the average length of stay in more developed tourist destinations like New York, Miami and Cancun have an average length of stay of respectively 4, 3 and 6 nights (Travel and Research Association, 2014). For San Miguel the Allende, the average length of stay is 1.9 nights (Amigon, 2014). But from my own observations I can say that, besides good dining, there is not much to do there, and Guanajuato offers a lot more activities and events. The minimum goal then, is to extend the average length of stay to a minimum of two days at least (SECTUR, 2012-II).

When looking at the length of a visit when staying with family/friends, the average is considerable higher: 3.8 days (SECTUR, 2012-II). This can also be described to the fact that the vast majority of Guanajuato's visitors are nationals, as they often have family members living in the city with which they can stay. (Ruiz Lanuza, 2012).

Different types of tourists can be distinguished to understand their behaviour and effect within the tourism industry.

The division between people coming for a holiday (65%) and day-trippers is important, since the first group has a longer average length of stay than the day-trippers, and therefore spend more money during their stay (SECTUR, 2012-II). The group of day-trippers includes people visiting family/friends; people visiting for work/congresses; and people visiting cultural or sports events.

Another type of tourists consists of the residential tourists that are clearly present in Guanajuato, the majority of them North American and Canadian retirees or exchange students (Ruiz Lanuza, 2012). As the term 'residential' already indicates, this group of tourists has a much longer average length of stay than people coming for just a holiday, in some occasions they even buy a house. However, they are still considered

a tourist since most of them decide not to become a Mexican citizen, and reliable information on their length of stay is not available. Furthermore, because of their different cultural values and attitudes they have fallen between two stools: tourists and residents (Ruiz Lanuza, 2012).

§3.4 Conclusion

Mexico is one of the most important emerging countries, and has the second-largest economy in Latin America. Mexico ranks number 10 in the world for visits by foreign tourists and number 17 in terms of earning generate out of tourism. However, inequality is very high. This together with the image of Mexico as a violent and corrupt country, makes that tourism is mainly growing in the south of the country, which is considered safe to travellers.

Nonetheless, the state of Guanajuato, also recommended as a safe place to tourists by travel agencies, is doing its best to attract more international visitors, by promoting what specifically its capital city has to offer: a rich and typical Mexican culture and a pleasant environment to celebrate holidays.

The increase in the number of visitors is undoubtedly related to economic earnings for the state treasure, and therefore tourism is seen as an important contributor to (economic) development. To maximise the potential of the tourism sector, however, investments in safety should be high on the priority list to be able to stimulate the inflow of visitors.

4. Methodology

§4.1 Research questions

The research objective of this study is to identify and gain a deeper understanding of the views and attitudes of residents in Guanajuato towards tourism development, and investigate how these views and attitudes are translated in local population support and integrated in the State Program of Tourism 2013-2018. Hence the problem addressed in this research is:

What are residents' attitudes and views towards tourism development, and how are these attitudes and views integrated in tourism planning and policies?

By means of a range of sub questions, the research question is answered. Each of these sub questions analyses a different aspect considered important for this research.

1. What characterizes tourism in Guanajuato?

It is essential to have a comprehensive understanding of the setting in which the research takes place, namely the tourism scene in Guanajuato. Characteristics of tourism in Guanajuato will therefore be carefully studied. Among these are: the number of tourists visiting annually; the different types of tourists that are visiting; the average length of stay of tourists; average budget of tourists; and the main reasons for visiting Guanajuato.

2. What are the perceived benefits and costs of tourism by the residents?

This question focuses on the perceived benefits and costs the residents experience by tourism, and how they react upon this. Here attention is paid to the ways in which tourism can possibly support residents' economic, social and cultural needs, and the ways in which tourism can be a threat to the livelihood of local households.

The focus will mainly be on costs and benefits perceived by the local population, but there will also be looked at the perceived benefits and costs of the other stakeholder groups: entrepreneurs, tourists and government officials. Both direct and indirect benefits will be studied, while taking into account economic, social, environmental,

political and cultural implications.

3.a To what extent do the perceived benefits and/or costs of tourism influence residents' attitudes and views towards tourism development?

This question will examine the extent to which residents' attitudes and views towards tourism development are influenced by their perceived benefits and/or costs.

3.b To what extent do views among various groups within the population differ?

This sub question focuses on the diversity of the population and examines if the different stakeholder groups have different opinions about tourism and different attitudes towards tourism development.

4. How were residents involved in the development of the Guanajuato State Program of Tourism 2013-2018?

This question examines how the government of Guanajuato involved the residents in the decision-making and development of the Guanajuato State Program of Tourism 2013-2018, and how this is actually translated into the planning, management and execution of the State Program for Tourism 2013-2018. How and how long residents are involved is studied by this question.

§4.2 Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework on the next page describes how both the economic level and residential factors influence the perceived benefits and costs from tourism by residents, and how this is expected to affect both their level of support for tourism development and their wish to become more involved.

§4.3 Methods & Techniques

For my research I made use of qualitative methods to analyse residents' behaviour: assess their views/attitudes towards tourism, because this approach produces a more detailed and nuanced assessment of attitudes than quantitative methods, and therefore fits the research objective very well. There was quantitative information available in the State Program for Tourism 2013-2018, although these data lacked in-depth

Economic
characteristics
of tourism

Income
level

Economic
dependency
on tourism

Level of
residents'
support
for
tourism
developm
ent

Involvement
community in
decision
making

Environmental
change *

Social change *

Political change *

Landscape change *

Perception
of tourism

Desire to
become more
involved in
planning
tourism
development

Social factors
of community

Perceived
positive or
negative
cultural-social
exchange by
residents

Historical
factors

*As a consequence
of tourism

Figure 4.1: Conceptual model

information. The qualitative methods/approaches helped me provide a deeper understanding of the actors, opinions and issues at stake.

The primary mode of data-collection was in-depth face-to-face interviews (in the form of informal conversations or semi-structured interviews) with 31 people in
For this research a total of 20 semi-structured in-depth interviews have been held, together with another 11 informal conversations.
Guanajuato: 3 government officials, 9 foreign residents, 19 local Mexican residents.
In order to better understand the data collected, both participant observation and a thorough literature review were used as complementary methods. The 20 semi-structured interviews were held with the representatives (2) of the tourism

departments of both the state and the city, and with both the foreign born (5) and the local born population (13), all of them seen as stakeholders. Most pre-defined important topics were: public participation; initiatives; corruption; development; tourism; and tourism development. There was no intentional order for the topics nor for the interviews.

The research combined two major topics: tourism development and public participation. Theories and approaches used in this research are either related to tourism development or public participation, namely: stakeholder theory, social exchange theory, sustainable tourism development, and cultural tourism in historic cities.

The objective of this research is to gain a deeper understanding of the actors, opinions and issues at stake. A big advantage of using this interview technique is that '[semi-structured interviews] can offer greater depth of perception and understanding about participants wider feelings and associated outlook about the research subject' (Hopewell, 2012), while structure entails a certain interview framework to maintain control over the subjects that need to be dealt with. A semi-structured interview, therefore, means that there still is room for deviation: respondents are being given plenty of space to develop their own answers. This way, areas considered important to the interviewer are covered, while the respondents have a wide scope to elaborate on their own thoughts and what they regard important in their lives (Desai & Potter, 2010). This may result in new findings, which are just as important but may otherwise have been neglected. For instance, one of the participants started about UNESCO, which was not one of my pre-defined important topics. However, after telling me about its links with Guanajuato I decided to make it one of the important topics for the next interviews as well. If I had followed a certain strict structure, asked only certain questions, this topic might never have been brought up, which would be a shame since it provided me new insights in property (and other) regulations in Guanajuato.

§4.4 Sample

Concerning the sample, the number of interviews is based on a feeling of saturation:

when there was no longer new information provided with every new interview, it was considered unnecessary to try and increase the number of respondents. Furthermore, enhancing and intensifying contact with already interviewed residents provided even more in-depth information and better understanding of their backgrounds, values, views and attitudes, as these respondents became more confident while talking for a second or even a third time. This seemed like a more effective way of obtaining the data considered important.

The sample population consists of residents of Guanajuato of which some of them were chosen in conjunction with both my supervisor, Nancy Fiator, and Ricardo Torres, professor at the Guanajuato University. These first respondents were chosen on the basis of their relationship with tourism. Besides those 'chosen informants', according to snowball sampling I approached other respondents, making sure a variety in gender, age and place of birth would be obtained, and that separate groups of residents, who could be distinguished according to their relationship with tourism were targeted: inhabitants who benefit directly from the tourism industry (people who receive income from working or investing in the tourism sector), like entrepreneurs and service providers (Group A), inhabitants who do not benefit directly from the tourism industry, like students, lawyers, housewives, etc. (Group B), and those inhabitants that could be considered part of the tourist population, like (inter) national retirees, exchange students, etc. (Group C).

From my own observations, men were more willing to participate. Of the respondents 60% is male and 40% is female. Respondents were further divided in age groups. In Graph 4.1 the variety in age and gender of the respondents is shown.

Furthermore, snowball sampling proved to be very useful to assure that both people living in the (center of the) city and people living in the outskirts were reached. Snowball sampling is especially useful when trying to reach populations that are difficult to access or find. Without the referrals of the previous participants it would have been very difficult to reach some of the respondents living in the outskirts of the city, since these people are in a certain way excluded from the city and from my own observations I can say that they are usually very shy and don't talk that much with 'outsiders' (e.g. people not living in their neighborhoods).

Thus, referrals from the previous respondents are used to gather the required number of and a variety of participants. In this research, snowball sampling has helped in identifying more respondents that would otherwise not have been included in the

research, but who now contributed many valuable insights to the study.

Graph 4.1: Diversity of respondents
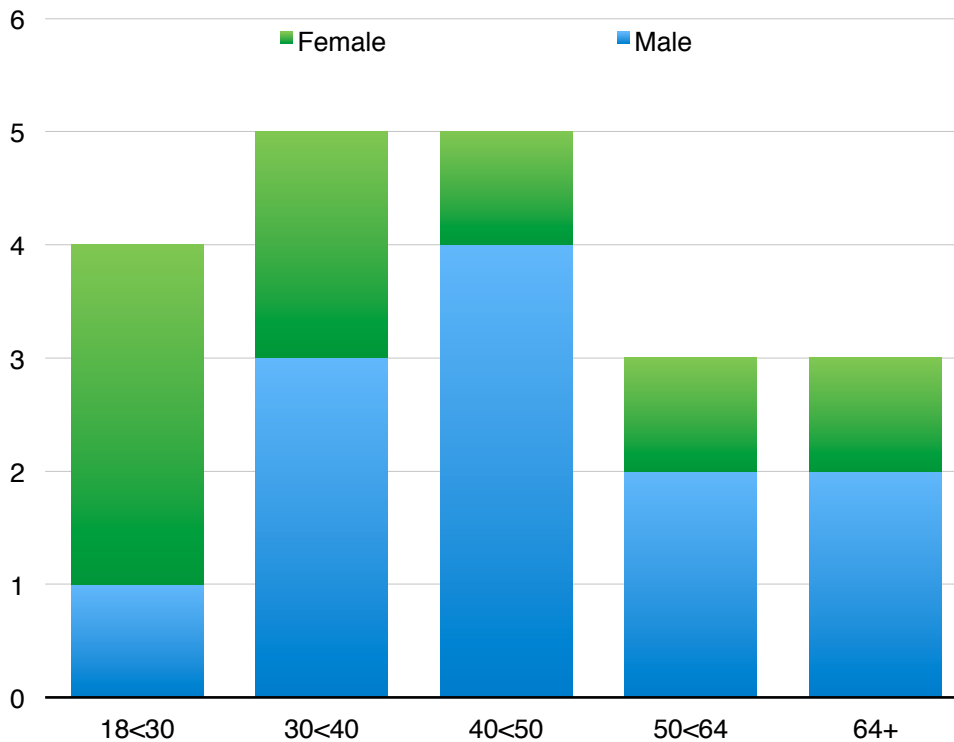
I did not want a representative sample of the population per se; rather I wanted to include people in my research that could provide me with some valuable information and interesting insights, to gain a better understanding of the actors, opinions and issues at stake. However, I did want to be able to analyse and say something about different stakeholder groups, therefore I ensured to have interviewed various people within every stakeholder group: government officials, tourists, local population and entrepreneurs. This was done on the basis of snowball sampling.

The fieldwork plan included informal conversations before and after having started with the actual interviews, as a means to approach people for the in-depth semi-structured interviews or obtain information about people who might be interested in participating. In the beginning this method proved to be somewhat difficult, as people on the streets were often in a hurry or turned out to be Mexican tourists. What did work, however, was approaching people in public places that are mainly visited by

locals. In Textbox 4.1 is described how I changed my strategy to approach residents for informal conversations.

However, because not all the residents in Guanajuato visit those places, this might introduce bias and can therefore give a distorted view of the reality. Therefore, choosing various participants in consultation with my supervisor, Nancy, together with snowball sampling was a good additional method to get people with different interests in and a different relation to tourism involved in the research.

In-depth semi-structured interviews were not held with everyone I had informal conversations with. This, because some of the people I had spoken to were out of town or hard to reach.

Textbox 4.1 Sampling strategies – In my first week after arrival, I started with approaching random people on the streets for having an informal conversation. As it turned out, most people I approached were Mexican tourists, not the public I was aiming for. In some cases when I did manage to get hold of a Guanajuatense, he or she was in a hurry. This made me realize that I needed to change the strategy and so I came up with the idea to visit places where mostly locals go to, like the gym, several 'cantinas', the university, etc. This strategy proved to be very useful, as at least I was sure that I would encounter the local population and grabbed them at the exact right time (not running to get in time for work).

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§4.5 Secondary data

As mentioned in the first chapter, the State Program for Tourism 2013-2018 already held surveys among residents and other stakeholders prior to the development of the plan. I used this Comprehensive program for tourism as the secondary data for my research. However, there was only very little information on results obtained with the questionnaires available.

Tourism involves money and politics, and the interests of some very powerful people are at stake. It is therefore interesting to combine these secondary data with the data of my research to see how many people actually feel involved.

§4.6 Reflections on field research

What was striking, was that all participants were very open and very happy to provide me with information. Also, they were all very helpful. For example, there was actually no need for asking if they knew other people who might be interesting for my research: almost every time the interviewees could inform me about other possible participants before I could even ask. Furthermore, several of the respondents kept sending me emails with articles, websites or other additional information that they considered useful for me, even after I had left. Up to this very day I receive messages with suggestions.

Attempts to set up meetings almost always succeeded: only once an appointment was rescheduled and only a few times the participant came more than 10 minutes (which is nothing in Mexico) late.

As Guanajuato is a small city, with an even smaller part where 'all the things happen', on my daily walks around the center I would almost every time encounter someone I had had an interview with. Together with the fact that there is a free WIFI connection throughout the center, which makes that most Mexicans are very accessible by phone, this way I managed to keep or regain contact with participants and obtain even more information.

Before starting my field research, among the expected limitations were insufficient participants because of lack of will to participate in a research or other barriers preventing people from being interviewed. This turned out to be a very unnecessary worry as almost all people I approached were willing to participate in the research without hesitations. Their openness and helpfulness made the field research less complicated than expected.

One of the predetermined risks was missing valuable information since I did all the interviews myself in another language than my mother tongue. I was afraid that people would be speaking with an accent, would not articulate clearly or would even use slang. However my fear for this has proved unfounded as Mexican is considered a very clear dialect of the Spanish language, and all of the respondents did their best to speak in an understandable language (without slang). In the rare occasions when I did not understand a word or a sentence, I just asked and an explanation was provided.

Another limitation that did not occur even though it was expected was the time available for the research. The process to gain access and plan interviews was not as time consuming as expected. Already in the starting phase of the field research, it was easy to come in contact with institutions and the municipality of Guanajuato. The second day after arrival I met with my supervisor and that very same day I had already scheduled an interview with a professor of the University of Guanajuato a week later. After the interview, this professor put me in touch with the head of the tourism department of the municipality and so the ball had started to role. Furthermore, as the Latino culture is known for it's 'mañana-mañana' attitude, I was surprised with how fast government officials and others responded after sending an email and the fact that most of the times they were able to schedule an appointment for an interview some day of the very same week.

It should be noted that there inevitably will always be a certain degree of subjectivity in qualitative research. Part of this is the researcher's interpretation of respondents' answers. In addition, respondents' attitudes towards the researcher and highly sensitive subjects can also cause subjectivity from the respondents themselves. Because of the researcher-respondent relationship in which different socio-economic status, cultural differences, gender and origin play a role, subjectivity is undoubtedly present in this research.

§4.7 Conclusion

The research question '*What are residents' attitudes and views towards tourism development, and how are these attitudes and views integrated in tourism planning and policies?*' is central to this study.

During the field research, a qualitative approach was used. This approach provides a detailed and nuanced assessment of attitudes, necessary for answering the research questions.

Because different stakeholders with different views are involved, informants were chosen on the basis of their relation to the tourism industry. In addition, a snowball sample turned out to be very useful for approaching other informants.

For this research a total of 20 semi-structured in-depth interviews have been held, together with another 11 informal conversations. With several of the respondents

there were multiple encounters, which provided with additional insights and intensifying contact proved to be more valuable than increasing the number of respondents, since this resulted in more in-depth information and a better understanding of the backgrounds, values, views and attitudes of the respondents. There were no difficulties in getting people willing to participate. All respondents very much liked to be involved in the research.

A certain degree of subjectivity should be taken into account, because of my own interpretations. In addition, it is possible that different views and attitudes towards tourism are adopted, and that a somewhat different image from observations is obtained, since the research did not take place during the high season, like Cervantino Festival.

5. Tourism in Guanajuato: prospects, stakeholders & impacts

Whereas in Guanajuato, the capital of Guanajuato state, mining used to be Guanajuato's biggest source of revenue, nowadays, with an increasing number of visitors, tourism is one of the biggest contributors to the city's economy. To be able to manage this number that continues to rise, efficient policies are needed. ?

Figure 5.1: the houses in Guanajuato literally colour the city. Houses in a neighbourhood outside of the centre, painted in a wide variety of bright colours.

§5.1 Prospects

In the State Program of Tourism 2013-2018, the Mexican government recognizes that tourism is one of the main activities to stimulate the economic development of a country, and considers the tourism industry as a potentially beneficial sector. The majority of all sorts of plans, programs and strategies on different government levels are therefore directed to take advantage, in one way or another, of the touristic development of the country, states and cities that integrate these (The State Program of Tourism 2013-2018).

Compared to 2012, the number of visitors to Guanajuato increased with 7% in 2013,

and for 2014 an increase of another 8% is expected, which would result in 1.8 million visitors annually (Tourism Review, 2013). As stated in paragraph 3.3.3, this is a relatively high number for historic cities that are still in the developmental phase of the tourist area life cycle (see Graph 5.1).

Tourism development is often justified by its positive economic effect on the local population (such as the creation of jobs, environmental improvements, greater choice of services, etc.). Tourism in the state of Guanajuato is the second most important contributor to the state budget, representing 9.4% of the state GDP. According to Tourism Review:

'Tourism authorities plan to make the central Mexican state of Guanajuato the main cultural destination in the country by 2018. The plan released as the State Program of Tourism 2013-2018 includes the objective of 28.6 million visitors [to the state] *and tourism revenue of 75,500 million pesos (USD 5.7 billion) to be achieved by the same year.'* (2013)

In addition, for Guanajuato State, Tourism authorities expect that the number of people that are working in tourism related services will increase from 160,000 in 2013 to 194,000 by 2018, which is an increase of 21.25% (Tourism Review, 2013).

As most historic places and cities are relatively small, a growing number of visitors could result in (more) congestion, disturbance and a sense of displacement for local people (van den Berg, van Vijik & van Hoi, 2003). As is discussed in detail in paragraph 3.1.4, to safeguard sustainable cultural tourism in a historic city like Guanajuato, tourism development plans should not be of disrespect towards the local population and/or disturb their environment (EAHTR, 2006).
Furthermore, the benefits of tourism (in this case the creation of 34,000 jobs and a tourism revenue of USD 5.7 billion) should be geographically spread and on an equitable basis (EAHTR, 2006). The revenue should not only be reinvested in tourism related activities, but should serve the overall development of a locality.
Unfortunately no one could provide me with data or figures on reinvestments of tourism revenue. Nonetheless, in one of the in-depth interviews conducted for this research, Ángel Sanchez, head of the local tourism office in Guanajuato, defends the

disproportionate importance accorded to and investments in the tourism industry by stating that *'investing in [water, safety, electricity and maintenance of the houses] will not generate money [...] but with the money made out of tourism investments, these can be paid.'*

According to Ángel Sanchez, the above mentioned positive economic effects of tourism will even be bigger if Mexico can achieve a more positive image within the media, so that more international visitors are drawn to more northern parts of the country (and therefore also to Guanajuato). Right now, violence and drug cartels in the North would, according to Ruiz Lanuza (2012), cause a slower take-off of international tourism in other parts of Mexico besides the South. Therefore tourism development in Mexico is marked by differences in each state. To illustrate, states in the south of Mexico, like Yucatan and Oaxaca, have positioned themselves as a tourism destination for over decades and are now well known among foreign tourists, whereas in Guanajuato, international visitors account for less than 5% (SECTUR, 2012-II). And so, since the vast majority of Guanajuato's visitors are nationals, the city serves a great domestic market. When this changes, and more international visitors are drawn to the city, Ángel Sanchez expects the tourism revenue to increase considerably.

The State Program of Tourism 2013-2018 for Guanajuato states that 'the understanding of the touristic phenomenon as an economic activity appears to be a difficult task for a large part of the local population'. It is therefore that, even though Guanajuato has been a tourism destination for decades, tourism development is still in a starting phase. Butler's Tourism Area Life Cycle, showing how a tourist destination goes through different phases, confirms this. When applying the model, which describes a tourism destination passing through different phases, onto Guanajuato, the city is obviously still in the development phase (Graph 5.1).

In this phase more and more amenities and attractions arise and their quality improves. Big companies become interested in the area and start to invest money in the region. The stock of hotels and restaurants becomes more modernised, services improved, city centres are made more compatible, and the range of cultural events increases. The number of tourist arrivals then begins to grow rapidly and the number

Graph 5.1: Hypothetical Evolution of a Tourist Area according to Butler's 1980 Tourism Area Life Cycle
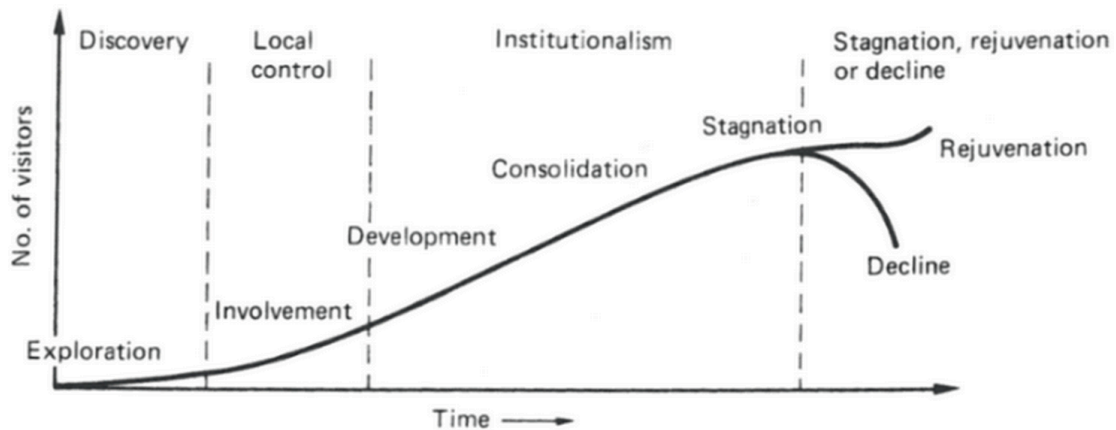
Source: Arlt, W. (2003). Available at: http://www.arlt-lectures.com/2002ssGeoVIv03-08.htm

of job opportunities for the local population expands, in both the tourist sector and in construction and services.

In the interview, Roberto Cárdenas, general director of strategic planning of the tourism secretary of Guanajuato, says that various certification schemes have been implemented to be able to guarantee similar quality of services in different hotels, restaurants and bars, and that there have been seminars for all service providers to stress the importance of the quality of services. Furthermore, Cárdenas confirms that there are still no hotel chains (like Hilton, Sheraton, etc.) present, and states that, although more and more people make their money from the tourism industry, the local economy is not dominated by tourism yet (one of the features of the next stage of Butler's cycle).

With an increasing number of visitors coming to a historic city like Guanajuato, 'a new opportunity [is offered] to address the issue of the functionality of the historic city and to establish new uses for underemployed heritage and city centre features' (Torralba & Vinuesa, 2010). However, the coexistence of old and new functions creates permanent tension. This tension of change, and urban and tourism planning faces problems in adapting older cityscapes to new needs (Torralba & Vinuesa, 2010).

Following the stakeholder theory, to be able to reconcile the needs of the local population and the 21st century tourism industry, coordinated action is needed: consensus among different stakeholder groups is a prerequisite for effective management and development policies (United Nations News Centre, 2013)

§5.2 Stakeholders

The capital of Guanajuato counts with 171,709 inhabitants, of which the vast majority of Guanajuatenses is working in or has a job (indirectly) related to the tourism industry (INEGI, 2011). Examples of people that have formal jobs that are indirectly related to the tourism sector are development officials, government officials, and professors at the university. People with formal jobs directly related to tourism are certified tour guides, cab drivers, employees or managers of hotels/restaurants/bars/shops/museums/tourist offices, etc. Furthermore some people work informally as shady uncertified tour guides, unofficial cabdrivers or street vendors (own observations during research).

Head of the local tourism office in Guanajuato, Ángel Sanchez, states that for Guanajuatenses that are lacking education and/or don't find a job in the formal sector, the informal sector directly related to tourism is perceived as an easy way to make a good living, whereas for entrepreneurs Guanajuato is believed to be a good place, full of opportunities, to start a business in the tourism sector, like accommodations or restaurants, airlines or tourist attractions. Most of these are small and medium enterprises, which is a distinctive of cultural tourism in historic cities like Guanajuato (Pierce, 2011, Torralba & Vinuesa, 2010).

According to the Bureau of Economic and Business Affairs (2013), compared to other cities in Mexico, Guanajuato has a very attractive investment climate. Besides the several quasi-free trade zones which only allow for warehousing of product for short periods of time, the Mexican government approved the operation of more traditional free trade zones (FTZ) in 2002 (Bureau of Economic and Business Affairs, 2013). This new regime allows for repair, distribution, manufacturing, and sale of merchandise. For companies that are operating within these FTZs to take advantage of tax benefits there is no export requirement. Guanajuato is one of the four cities where

a FTZ is approved, so that in the past ten years foreign entrepreneurs have become more and more interested in Guanajuato (Bureau of Economic and Business Affairs, 2013), and form a big stakeholder group with regards to the tourism sector. Foreigners own most of the more luxurious hotels and restaurants, since most Mexicans do not have the means to make such investments (Pierce, 2011). This makes writer Bonfil Batalla afraid of the 'real' Mexico' becoming overshadowed by an 'imaginary Mexico' imposed by the West. In his book, 'Mexico profundo: una civilizacion negada', he describes how according to him Mexico becomes 'Disnified', with big and American style resorts, hotels, foods and people, competing with local businesses by offering tourists the comfort and quality they are used to and the locals often fail to offer. Furthermore, According to Ruiz Lanuza (2012), with the number of foreign entrepreneurs in Mexico increasing, real estate prices go up. This does not only places local entrepreneurs in a difficult position, but also inhabitants, now housing prices are up (Ruiz Lanuza, 2012). Obviously, the attractive investment climate for foreign entrepreneurs leads to conflicts of interest between different stakeholder groups, and it is therefore a challenge for the government to come up with policies that reconcile interests of both groups. For the development of such policies then, it is important to involve all stakeholders, so that effective management and development can be reached (paragraph 2.2.1).

Besides (foreign) entrepreneurs, the government is another stakeholder group that tries to cash in on the tourism industry. As the government at all levels recognizes the development potential of the sector for the city, state and even the country, countless efforts are being made to attract more visitors and more foreign entrepreneurs to the city (State Program for Tourism 2013-2018). Apparently, tourism plans and programs are being promoted to the citizens as beneficial for the city on all fronts. However, as the city is becoming more crowded with both constructions and visitors, the question arises if the benefits of tourism in Guanajuato outweigh its costs.

§5.3 General tourism impacts

In Guanajuato, people are benefitting from tourism directly, indirectly, or not at all. Especially people who are living in the outskirts may easily be (economically) left

behind. Equity, however, is important to long-term sustainability and cultural tourism therefore should aim to provide benefits to the local population in an equitable way. (EAHTR, 2006), see paragraph 2.1.4.

Direct economic benefits of tourism are obviously not equally distributed throughout the local population (Mbaiwa, 2002). As mentioned in the previous paragraph, the investment environment in Guanajuato is very attractive for foreign entrepreneurs, and the more interested foreign entrepreneurs are in setting up a business in the city, the higher the property prices will go up. This makes it difficult for local people (and local entrepreneurs) to purchase real estate, especially in the centre of the city.

Furthermore, 93,4% of the 695 houses in Guanajuato capital that are considered 'bienes inmuebles catalogados' (property of cultural interest) by the International Institute of Anthropology and History (INAH) is located in the historic centre of the city (see Figure 5.2). Although these houses were originally constructed for living purposes, more and more are being transformed into tourism related facilities: already 31% of these historic buildings fulfil a touristic function (Ruiz Lanuza, 2012). At the

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Textbox 5.1. Gift shops take over. Where inhabitants less then a decade ago still bought their tools in hardware store 'El Nuevo Mundo' (The New World), in the street of Juárez, nowadays tourists run in and out everyday to buy souvenirs at a gift shop. In the same street people can buy handicrafts in a store that used to be a supermarket I did my groceries 7 years ago, when studying Spanish in Guanajuato for a year. Ramiro, former official tour operator, adds that the stationary shop on 'Plaza de la Paz' (Plaza of Peace) also had to make room for a handicraft shop just a year ago. It becomes clear that one cannot simply ignore the fact that gift shops are taking over.

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same time, buildings that once used to serve as traditional businesses, like shoemakers, grocery stores ore clothing shops, now are used as restaurants, gift shops and cafés. My own observations of this latter phenomenon are described in Textbox 5.1.

Seven years ago, I lived in Guanajuato for a year to study Spanish. Based on my own observations from both now and then I can say that with the changes in property function the historic centre not only loses its character, a gradual but visible depopulation of the area is also set in motion. Dr. Ruiz Lanuza (2012) confirms this observation. In his study on tourism in the city of Guanajuato, Ruiz Lanuza states that associated with other problems that tourism brings along (like traffic, shortage of parking lots, space occupation by terraces, and noise pollution), inhabitants of the city centre have sought for living spaces outside of the centre (2012). It cannot be ignored that this goes against another principle set by the EAHTR for cultural tourism in historic cities to be able to be sustainable (2006), which is the principle to respect the identity, culture, rights and beliefs of the local population at all times. According to this principle, tourism development plans and the coming of visitors should not disrespect the local population and/or disturb their environment […] (UN, 2002). When the city centre becomes too much focused on tourism, clearly the environment of the local population changes (and even becomes disturbed): people can no longer do their groceries near their homes, since 'gift shops have taken over' (Ruiz Lanuza, 2012).

To retain the character of the centre, especially the local population should be involved when deciding on property functions, so that the coexistence of old and new (tourist) functions creates the least tension and won't cause the local population to move (Torralba & Vinuesa, 2010). Following). After all, It's not much fun to visit a city (centre) of which the population is actually formed by tourists.

Evidently, the increase of tourism in Guanajuato has wider impacts. In addition to the impact on real estate prices, tourism also impacts the environment. Tourism can put enormous pressure on natural resources like energy, food, land and water, that may already be in short supply (UN, 1999). According to European Environment Agency (EEA) tourists that stay in a hotel use on average one third more water per day than a local inhabitant (2003), especially in the more luxurious hotels where air-conditioning systems and swimming facilities require constant water and power supply. In Guanajuato, both water and power supplies are not always reliable, and on nearly 2020 meters over the sea level, surrounded by mountains, and an average temperature of 17,8 degrees Celsius, tourism in Guanajuato especially adds to this burden on water supply (SIMAPAG, 2002).
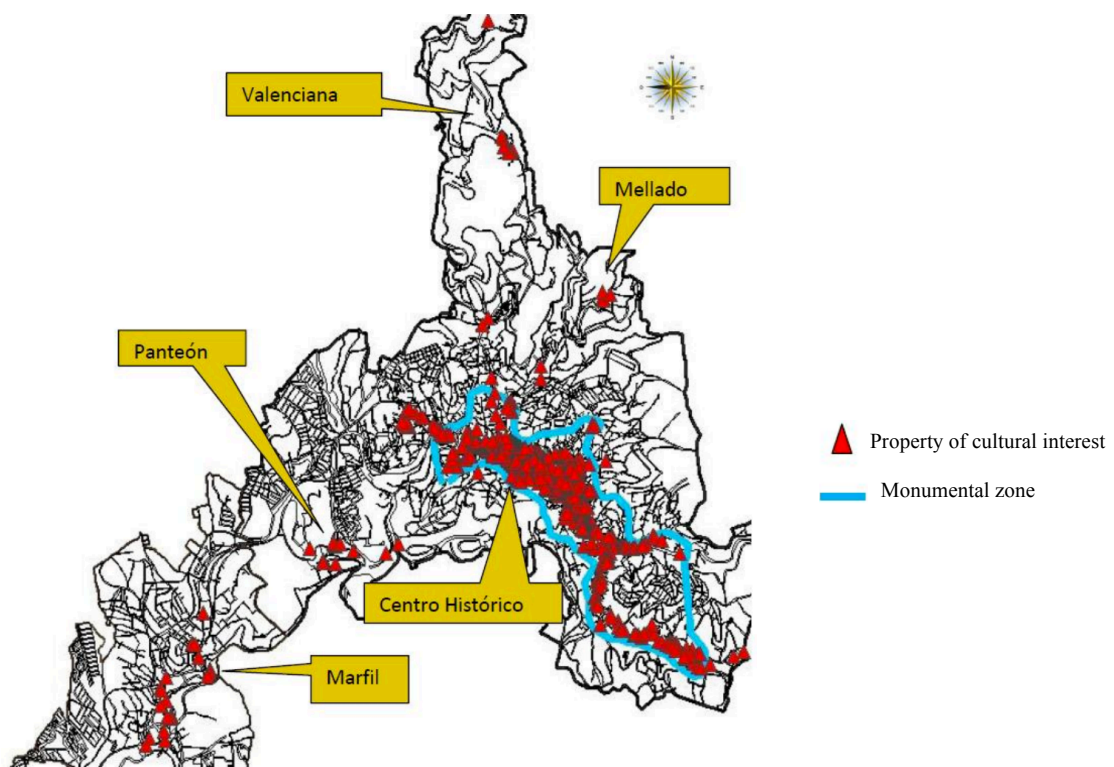
Figure 5.2: Localization of houses assigned as properties of cultural interest by INAH in Guanajuato capital. Source: Ruiz Lanuza, 2012

Besides economic and environmental impacts, tourism further affects the local population on both a social and cultural level. The depopulation of the city centre, changing the centre's image, was already mentioned. In addition, tourism activities generally cause other problems related to loss of cultural identity for example.
In Guanajuato, loss of cultural identity can be illustrated by the fact that street vendors have started to sell hotdogs, making the 'palomitas' or 'gorditas' –the typical Mexican food - disappear from the streets. In textbox 5.2 it is described in detail how at a certain point it became more cost-efficient to sell hotdogs, and street vendor Pepe changed his business to maximize his profit. This example underlines the social exchange theory, stating that people engage in an interaction process where they seek and follow something valuable (Abbasi Dorcheh & Badaruddin, 2013). In the case of street vending, this means that the perceived value of the outcome is a vital factor for a street vendor's choice to sell one product or another.

Also, in Guanajuato one can now drink coffee at a Starbucks, and the festive day 'Día de los Muertos' (Figure 5.3) is being more and more associated and intermingled with

the traditions of the North-American holiday Halloween (Viar, 2012). These phenomena appear to be conflicting with the principles of Juganaru (2008) for 'soft' sustainable tourism (see paragraph 2.1.3), lacking respect for local customs and traditions. However, not all residents feel this way (Textbox 5.2).

Other problems that are generally caused by tourism activities are increasing crime rates and inequalities in wealth and opportunities between local inhabitants. However, Guanajuato is in fact actually considered to be a relatively safe city by (inter) national tourism agencies and guides (Tripadvisor, 2006; Never Ending Voyage, 2013; Lonely Planet, 2014), and the wealth gap is not that big compared to other localities in Mexico (Ruiz Lanuza, 2012).

Textbox 5.2 'Perros calientes' –Pepe, a street vendor in the centre of Guanajuato, explains during an informal conversation how he switched from selling 'gorditas' to 'perros calientes' (hotdogs). 'Because of the recession a lot of people lost their job. They started making and selling food in the streets. At one point, there were so many stands offering gorditas that competition was killing. At this point I decided to diversify and try something I had seen in León: selling hotdogs. It worked. More people are selling other types of food now, hamburgers for example.' Pepe is not afraid that this phenomenon would harm or change the Mexican culture. 'We are still very religious people, meaning that when normally there are stands selling hamburgers or hotdogs, these stands disappear on Wednesday and Friday, because of our religion.'

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§5.4 Conclusion

With an increasing number of visitors, tourism in Guanajuato is now one of the biggest contributors to the city's economy. The majority of government plans and strategies are therefore directed to take advantage of the development potential that the tourism sector has to offer.
Even though Guanajuato has been a tourism destination for decades, tourism development is still in a starting phase. But with the attractive investment climate, foreign entrepreneurs are becoming more and more interested and so it might not take

Figure 5.3: During the festive day 'Día de los muertos' the deaths are commemorated through celebration. This day everywhere in the city (and elsewhere in the country) dolls in the forms of skeletons and other forms that refer to death are put up as decorations, and numerous of street stands sell sweets and souvenirs shaped like skeleton heads embellished with flowers and other cheerful figures.

long before Guanajuato enters the next phase, when the local economy becomes dominated by the tourism industry. However, more foreign interest in real estate has resulted in higher –for the local entrepreneurs unaffordable- property prices.

Furthermore tourism is a huge burden on local resources like electricity and water, and can lead to cultural change. On the other hand, with the culture of others coming in, people can also become more aware of their own cultural standards and values, which in turn makes them more confident of their own roots.

6. Involvement of the local population in tourism development

The aim of this chapter is to gain insight into the involvement of the local population in tourism planning. Last year the state government of Guanajuato initiated its State Program for Tourism 2013-2018 as a means to develop tourism in the state of Guanajuato. First, an overview of various strategies to attract tourists to Guanajuato will be presented. Second the main guidelines and objectives of the State Program for Tourism are outlined. And third, in this chapter it will be explored (A) how the local population is involved in the design, implementation and review of the program, according to the state, and (B) what the inhabitants' perspective is on the inclusion of the local population in tourism development. Public trust in government institutions is considered an important part of the analysis on involvement of the local population, and therefore included as well.

§6.1 Tourism Development

Less than a decade ago, in Guanajuato tourism existed as its own, independent ministry. In 2005, however, then governor Juan Carlos Romero Hicks decided to merge tourism into the Ministry of Economic Development, and ever since it has existed as the Ministry of Tourism Development. This indicates the importance of the tourism industry for the economy of Guanajuato.

Together with Hicks, Maria Refugio Ruíz Velasco Negrete, then coordinator of Tourism Development for the state of Guanajuato, stated in 2005 to continue to make efforts to increase the inflow and length of stay of visitors to Guanajuato, and to position Guanajuato as a competitive and unique cultural destination (GTO promocíon y desarollo túristico, 2005). The idea of Guanajuato becoming the main cultural destination of the country is therefore relatively new. However, efforts to get there have varied from the State Program for Tourism that is now being implemented.

§6.1.1 Annual prizes and tourism education

To both involve the public and make the city a more tourist friendly destination, Ruíz Velasco Negrete encouraged local neighbourhoods to participate in a competition, that rewards the best-preserved and -maintained neighbourhood with a monetary prize for the cleanliness-, upkeep- and restoration efforts made by the locals. This competition is now held annually and runs statewide. In 2006, the whole historic centre of Guanajuato won the first price (150.000 pesos, or 11.000 American dollars). The prize money in turn, is invested into the maintenance and improvement of the neighbourhoods (Asch, 2009).

Furthermore, Ruíz Velasco Negrete emphasized the need to educate the population about the importance of tourism and presenting a good image to visitors (not only by the maintenance of neighbourhoods, but also by good services and politeness of citizens). During her time as coordinator of tourism development, this idea of education on tourism did not become very concrete. However, the state is now developing tourism education, hoping to incorporate this as a standard element of school curricula by 2015 (Mentado, 2014).

Roberto Cárdenas, general director of strategic planning of the tourism secretary of Guanajuato, León - *'People should become more aware of the positive effects of tourism. If more people come to the city, more hotels will be built. For the construction of hotels or new roads, construction workers are needed, but also hotel employees. Also more handicraft shops and food stands will arise. This creates jobs, and therefore more opportunities for people to make a living out of tourism'.*

§6.1.2 City branding

Just like most cities that are trying to attract tourists, Guanajuato has used various slogans to promote its image. Among these are: 'Guanajuato, free your emotions', 'City of Romance', 'Door to Mexico' and 'City of frogs'. In 2007, the municipal Tourism Council was thinking of using the slogan 'City of Festivals', stressing the importance of particularly the Cervantes festival to the city's economy, but also highlighting the many other festivals the city hosts, like the organ festival every May, the international short film festival every July, the hot air balloon festival every November and several other traditional and religious festivals throughout the year.

The fact was, that Juan Carlos Santoscov Zamora, the then Council's Director, was very preoccupied with the shortness of tourist stays in Guanajuato, as the average length of stay when staying in a hotel has stagnated at 1.6. (Asch, 2009). In his logic, by increasing the number of activities and particularly events, visitors would stay longer. And so for the objective to extend visits to a minimum of two days, according to Santoscov Zamora events branding could be a useful tool. However, because of the growing importance of the World Heritage designation[1], the trend towards joint-promotion emerged and 'City of Festivals' never made it through the selection. ''Heritage Cities'' (Ciudades de patrimonio de la Humanidad) are now branded as part of an integrated marketing scheme, *'(...) and especially, promoting circuits to link up World heritage cities that are within a few hours of each other'* (Asch, 2009). For example: San Miguel de Allende, Morelia, and Querétaro are on a stone's throw from Guanajuato. The idea behind this joint branding is making Guanajuato benefit from localities nearby that traditionally attract far more international visitors.

As was mentioned in the introduction of this thesis, according to Heenan (1978), consulting the local population is an important part in the preparation of local population strategies and local development frameworks. If the public feels involved and being heard, a positive vibe will breathe throughout the city and this tranquillity already will make the destination more tourism friendly, than one where its public is unsatisfied with their (lack of) involvement. However, there is no information on if, and if so, how, citizens have been included in this city branding to attract more tourists. Guanajuato's city banding efforts were focused mainly on 'adapting the product' (the city) to be more desirable to the 'market' (the tourists) (Holcomb, 1993) instead of to the locality (and the local population). An example of this is the way street vending is organized: certain areas in the centre are identified to be official vending zones: Jardin de Union, Plaza Mexiamora and Plaza de la Paz, and several other locations where a lot of tourists are to be found. As there are a lot of policemen in the city centre, you will seldom see vendors outside of these zones. In six weeks time I only had one encounter with someone selling tortillas underneath a small bridge in the centre. Furthermore, I never saw street vendors outside of the city centre,

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[1] The designation for places in the world that are '[…] of outstanding universal value to humanity and as such, have been inscribed on the World Heritage List to be protected for future generations to appreciate and enjoy.' (UNESCO, 2014).

where there is almost no control. A Guanajuatense living in a 'barrio' therefore needs to come all the way down to the centre to be able to get a snack.

§6.2 State Program for Tourism 2013-2018

'(...) Trabajamos en la elaboración del Programa Estatal de turismo, documento que integra visiones, sueños y experiencias de casi mil quinientos Guanajuatenses de los sectores publico, social y privado.'

'(...) Together we worked on the elaboration of the State Program for Tourism, a document that integrates perspectives, dreams and experiences of almost fifteen hundred Guanajuatenses of public, social and private sectors.'

– Fernando Livera Rocha, State Tourism Secretary of the State of Guanajuato (in: Programa Estatal de Turismo: Guanajuato 2013-2018)

Now, with the presentation of the State Program for Tourism 2013-2018, the State's Tourism Council seems to make more efforts to adapt the 'product' to the 'city' (or local population). Naturally, the aim of the program is still to attract more tourists, but this time also through the development of the city instead of through the development of the tourism sector alone. This change of discourse came with the formation of a new state government in 2012, headed by Fernando Olivera Rocha who recognizes the importance of the sustainability of development plans. 'It is important to look at how you can improve the city so that tourists are attracted. Not the other way around. My first obligation is to increase the quality of life of the Guanajuatenses, not of the tourists' (State Program for Tourism 2013-2018).

The development of tourism is even presented as part of the 'Economy for the people'. At least, that is how the program is promoted. This paragraph gives a short outline of the State Program for Tourism 2013-2018 and explores the different views and opinions of different stakeholders on the program.

§6.2.1 Outline of the program

Tourism is one of the main activities upon which the development of the country relies. In the same way, in Guanajuato tourism has become a pillar of the economy, of which its economic income has a favourable impact in most of the region. With the State Program for Tourism (or *Programa Estatal de Turismo*) 2013-2018 a bigger impact is being sought to even benefit the outskirts of the cities that currently are left behind.

The Tourism Sate Program was designed and elaborated by the State's Tourism Counsel in consultation with 350 hotel- and restaurant owners in the state of Guanajuato and based on an online questionnaire with 1500 citizens.

The main objective of the State Program for Tourism is for the state of Guanajuato to become the 6tht most important destination in the country by 2018, gaining two places (currently Guanajuato is 8tht). In trying to reach this objective, culture, promoted as the main product of the state, is used as a tool. The state wants Guanajuato to become the main cultural destination, with Guanajuato capital playing the leading role in the State Program for Tourism as the cultural heart of the state, from where tourists can easily make excursions to other cities in the state.

Every other goal is designed in such a way that it is related to and/or adds to the main objective of becoming the 6tht most important destination in the country:

> ➢ Increase the number of both domestic and foreign visitors to the state with 28.6 million
>
> ➢ Increase the economic income through the number of visitors to 75 billion pesos.
>
> ➢ Consolidate the number of jobs in the tourism sector with 194 million people working every year.
>
> ➢ Design and implement a model of excellence (certification schemes, etc.)
>
> ➢ Attract national and international investments of 2,4 billion pesos accumulated, which equals more than 2000 new guestrooms.
>
> ➢ Public investment in infrastructure of 1,5 billion pesos accumulated at municipal, state and federal level.
>
> ➢ Internationalize the brand/image of Guanajuato for its positioning and commercialization.

According to the State's Tourism Council, the main problems that have thus far been impeding a better tourism development have been identified in conjunction with people related to the tourism sector. In the description of the problems prevails the necessity of:

- Better distribution and promotion of tourism attractions
- Diversifying the attractions
- Improving the connection to and within the cities.
- Consolidation of the allocation of investments and economic support
- Reinforcing legislation so that the tourism sector is being favoured.

To be able to deal with these problems, the State's Tourism Council set five objectives/strategies:

▪ Strengthen the competitive touristic advantages of the state:
  Identifying and reinforcing those characteristics of the state that distinguish it from other tourist destinations reinforce the competitiveness of the state as a tourist destination.

▪ Stimulate tourism policies for the transformation and transversality of the sector:
  It will be fundamental for the tourism sector to maintain its transversal character to be able to take advantage of and contribute to the large variety of interactions that it upholds with other sectors of the economy.

▪ Consolidate the tourism offer in an self-sustainable way:
  With the aim, that a larger amount of tourists can enjoy the diverse tourist attractions in the present without reducing their value or capacity in the future. This will be done through support of service providers with equipment and marketing, and through information systems for visitors.

▪ Strengthen the tourism identity:
  The various characteristics that define different regions within the state should be highlighted. The involvement of the society is very important here,

as a hospitable environment is an indispensable factor to stimulate tourism in every single destination.

- Stimulate better legislation that has an impact on tourism activity in the state and monitor its compliance within their sphere of competence:
  Through legislation conditions will be fostered in the interest of both tourists as well as service providers and inhabitants of the state.

§6.2.2 Government's views on the program

After having interviewed several government officials, of both the municipality and the state government, it becomes clear that all are very proud of the city and extremely optimistic about the program. They truly believe that all targets can be reached.

Roberto Cárdenas, general director of strategic planning of the tourism secretary of Guanajuato, León - *'We have a very rich offer of culture and cultural activities. And yes, if you look at the increasing number of visitors over the past year, and we only started in 2013 with the promotion of the city as a cultural destination, yes… We are going to get there. I have always believed we can be number one.'*

However, Roberto Cárdenas agrees on the need to guarantee services of a more standard quality, and says that there have been implemented various certification schemes already to be able to provide similar quality of services in different hotels, restaurants and bars. Furthermore, he explains how for all service providers there have been seminars to stress the importance of the quality of services, explaining that tourism is a business that provides their bread every day, *'[…] if they neglect this, they will have nothing to eat. Improving services is for the benefit of your own.'*

Doyle, US embassy warden for the city of Guanajuato, also has good hopes for the state of Guanajuato to become the most important cultural destination of the country: *'The state? I don't see any reason why it should not. Accept the crime maybe. […] But I don't know, I think we could do it, there is a lot of culture, and the colonial cities are a main attraction of course.'*

When asked about the number of residents that participated in questionnaires about the program, Roberto Cárdenas admits that the number is low, but that *'[...] it was on voluntary basis, an online questionnaire that was announced in the newspaper, and therefore we are not the ones that should be looked at.'*

With an annually hotel occupancy rate of 37% (Ruiz Lanuza, 2012), the goal to attract (international) investments to build more guestrooms seems illogical. However, Angel Sanchez explains how *'[...] during the festivals, and festive days the city is so crowded that hotels are overbooked and there is a need for more guestrooms.'*

Unfortunately, none of the government officials were not willing to provide me with numbers of what has actually already been done, what targets were met so far and how.

§6.2.3 Different stakeholders about the content and potential of the program

Whereas Fernando Olivera Rocha's words sketch a very romantic image of the State Program for Tourism being based on the 'dreams' of Guanajuatenses of all sectors, interviews with different stakeholders reveal a somewhat different image.
As mentioned in the previous chapters, the research area for this thesis is the capital city of Guanajuato. Interviews were held among various stakeholders living in and/or working in Guanajuato. Furthermore interviews with government officials living and/or working outside the capital city were also held. Views and opinions related to the tourism scene in the city of Guanajuato were asked of these different stakeholders. For a complete overview of the respondents in this research, see Appendix 1.

Inhabitants of Guanajuato refer to themselves as 'población flotante', a population of which most people are neither born nor staying forever in Guanajuato. Still, all very much feel they are a real 'Guanajuatense', inhabitant of Guanajuato. However, several groups of 'Guanajuatenses' could be distinguished according to their relationship with tourism. Besides government officials, in this research a distinction is made between three different groups: inhabitants who benefit directly from the tourism industry (people who receive income from working or investing in the tourism sector), like

entreprenurs and service providers (Group A); inhabitants who within their household do not benefit directly from the tourism industry, like students, lawyers, housewives, etc. of whom their partner (or other member of the household) does not receive an income from the tourism industry either (Group B); and those inhabitants that could be considered part of the tourist population, like (inter) national retirees, exchange students, etc. (Group C). This distinction reflects the distinction made by Byrd et al. (2009), who, as can be read in paragraph 2.2.1, distinguishes different attitudes and interests of tourism between four major groups whose perspectives and interests differ: (1) local population (permanent residents); (2) entrepreneurs; (3) tourists; and (4) local government officials.

The results of this research clearly support the idea of Byrd et al. (2009) that views differ substantially between different stakeholder groups. Investors and service providers consider the program very promising and beneficial for the city.

General manager of hotel 'Posada Santa Fe', and president of the Mexican Association of Hotels in Guanajuato, Armando Lopez, believes in the potential of particularly Guanajuato capital to attract more visitors, although the city is not particularly notable for its hotels, discotheques and bars:

'The nights are very passive. However, we have a great amount of cultural activities during the day and therefore we need to focus on that branch of tourism to get different niches in the market. Besides the museums, the mines and the beautiful architecture in the city, a lot of children, students, professors and whole families visit Guanajuato just to see and learn about the independence of Mexico, that all started in this city. Thus, I believe we have enough to offer to reach this goal.'

However, most inhabitants belonging to group B or C think the program is too ambitious and will never reach its objectives:

Brenda Morales, 28, student at the University of Guanajuato - *'I think that generally urban destinations search for a 'carrot' to attract visitors, since there are no beaches and they have to compete with those destinations that do. In Mexico 80% of visitors*

go to the beach, so cities are more popular among day-trippers and people from around. Because there is no beach, no sun, the idea of a cultural destination is invented. But to be honest, I don't believe that much in cultural tourism in general. Besides, Cancun also has a lot of culture to offer.'

Mayra, 35, housewife, Guanajuato – *'The average Mexican, I believe, reads only three books every year. Therefore, how do you expect that people will care or even know that Guanajuato is a capital full of art and culture, if we have the average Mexican reading three books in one year. It's an absurd idea, right?'*

Within the various stakeholder groups people also have different opinions. For group A, all hotel- and restaurant owners that have been interviewed for this research all consider the program as very beneficial for the city and are, in general, satisfied with the program. As already mentioned in paragraph 2.1.3, according to Carrigan (2011) it is important that the local population is not too dependent on tourism. Nonetheless, Ramirez, hotel manager and head of association of hotels in Guanajuato, points out to the fact that a lot of Guanajuatenses are dependent on the tourism sector. Security of jobs is very variable since they depend of the influx of people:

'During the Cervantino Festival, we barely have enough hotel rooms, but for the rest of the year the occupancy rate is only 35% here in the capital. With more events and things to do here in the city, one of the goals of the Program, more people will come and stay for the night.'

However, all teachers in language schools that were interviewed feel that they are not benefitting from the program as much as they could. Even though more visitors could mean more language students for them, Pedro, teacher at Don Quijote Spanish Language School, says that whereas the importance of all other service providers is being highlighted, language schools are not mentioned in the program at all, while they consider themselves as an essential part of cultural tourism that could be much more exploited than it is now.

'[…] that the government gives a more official recognition to the effort that we make in the Spanish language schools. For example, if I have a group of twenty students in the school, those twenty students require a certain amount of information, basic

information about the city, things to do around here. We gladly provide this kind of information and even make recommendations of where to go, promoting other tourist services and facilities. But what do we get in return? Nothing. Not even brochures or pamphlets to better provide the information required and look more professional. We don't receive state support, but we could use a little promotion. The program could have paid at least a little bit attention to us, but we were overlooked. Too bad, because we could do so much more to benefit the tourism sector as a whole.'

Within both Group B en C there are also different opinions among people about the program and its potential. Where some people (22% in group B and 31% in group C) understand that the program is very much focused on the centre of the city because here is where most tourists go, others (74% in group B and 66% in group C) feel the need to diversify tourism by developing other parts of the city so that these parts can also share in the benefits of tourism. Camila, exchange student from Norway – *'If you can assure that the whole city improves, that is good. But if you only focus on the people and parts down town it's not. That's where the rich people live, those parts are developed well enough.'*

Mayra lives in the outskirts of the city (neighbourhood Marvil) and obviously feels left behind: *'within the last 5 years, I have seen more and more policeman walking around in the centre, especially at night. In my street, you never see them. And street lanterns […] oh it's terrible: lights in the centre don't work for an hour, everyone panics and the next hour the problem is fixed. However the few lanterns we have here aren't working for over a month now, and no one bets an eye. Yes the focus is very much on the centre. And it is not to guarantee safety for us, Guanajuatenses; it's to guarantee safety for the tourists, who obviously come first.'*

However, even though most people think that other problems the city has to deal with -before serving tourists- are overlooked, like safety, cleanliness, and traffic, some people consider it a beautiful plan to put Guanajuato 'on the map' even if this means that investments will go to tourism first place.

As was mentioned in paragraph 2.2.2, the basic premise of social exchange theory is that people engage in an interaction process where they seek and follow something valuable (Abbasi Dorcheh & Badaruddin, 2013), meaning that the perceived value of

the outcome is a vital factor for determining the residents' perception towards tourism and tourism development.

Clearly, the findings of this research are not in complete accordance with this theory, as some interviewees, like student Brenda Morales, who feel they do not perceive any personal (economic) benefits from tourism still have positive attitudes towards tourism development. On the other hand, some respondents who do say that they perceive personal (economic) benefits from tourism are not always positive about tourism development. For instance, A co-owner of a Spanish language school, Manuel, does not agree upon the size of government investments in the tourism industry, stating that *'this sector should not be a priority'*. Also, when excluding government officials, 72% of the respondents feel not part of the development plans (see Appendix 1), and this seems to be of great influence on the attitudes (of both the people that do and people that don't feel they perceive personal benefits from tourism) towards tourism development, as will be shown in the following paragraphs.

§6.3 Involvement of the local population

The Mexican constitution, at both federal and state level, stipulates that public participation not only is a right, but an obligation of the governments with the development of plans. Citizens need to be a part of the planning process, since their perspectives and views are fundamental for the success of a government within the democratic climate.

Understanding the concept of democracy has become much more complicated over the last few years with the variety of views and definitions that exist in both theory and practice increasing. Whereas some authors (Bonfil Batalla, 1996; Dahl, 2000) define a democracy as a form of government in which citizens are able to exercise their political rights (the right to express oneself, assemble and vote), others (Citroni, 2010; Melucci, 1999) believe that public participation, in collective decisions or in matters that directly affect their daily routine, should be an integral part of any democracy, and that any political action should be based on the active and continuing participation of the citizens.

§6.3.1 Involvement of the local population in the State Program for Tourism

According to the State's Tourism Council, the construction of the State Program for Tourism is based on various mechanisms of participation, guaranteeing that the different stakeholder groups have had the opportunity to express their ideas and views. The booklet of the State Program for Tourism 2013-2018 reeds: *'The involvement of the government and the society in touristic activities is vital for its development. The channels of participation need to be accessible and transparent'*. Yet, a great part (70%) of the in-depth interviewees did not know about the State Program for Tourism, in which the city of Guanajuato plays the leading role. Of the people I had informal conversations with, only 10% had heard of the program. Even though the group of respondents is small; 86% of the people that had not heard of the program indicate he or she hasn't read such a thing in the newspaper while they read it everyday.

However, the 'Guanajuatenses' themselves were not so surprised of not having heard, read or seen anything on this matter. In general, the Guanajuato population expressed negative opinions on the government and its willingness to involve the local population. They feel that their voices are not heard and wish to be better informed about tourism- and other policies.

Furthermore, the booklet of the State Program for Tourism states that there were 1.478 people from over the whole state of Guanajuato surveyed in the development phase of the State Program for Tourism. However, no one who participated in this research had participated in nor had heard of any questionnaire. In general, participants in this research considered this a very small number, since the city of Guanajuato alone already counts with 150.000 inhabitants, and the state with almost 5 million. In addition, 30% of all respondents were wondering who exactly would have been the people that did have the opportunity to participate in the questionnaires. They consider it very likely that these questionnaires are corrupt and only held among those people who receive the greatest benefits from tourism development, leaving out the rest of the local population.

Every interviewee in groups B and C feel that they did not have a fair opportunity to participate in the decision-making of the program, and most people indicate that they would have liked to be a part of the development of the State Program for Tourism,

either by being better informed or by giving their thoughts and ideas in questionnaires: when excluding the government officials, 56% of the respondents would like to be more involved in the decision making process (see Appendix 1).

§6.3.2 Involvement of the local population in decision-making in Guanajuato

As mentioned in the above paragraph, the Guanajuato population (people belonging to groups B and C) expressed mostly negative opinions on the government and its willingness to involve the local population in decision-making on whatever matter. They feel that their voices are not heard and wish to be better informed about development plans in general.

The interviewees, when asked about the government mention the word 'pesos' (the Mexican currency) very often. According to them, government officials on all levels would by and large care more about money than about the people. According to Brenda, in Mexico the government talks the talk but doesn't walk the walk: *'Every time a new government is elected, they want to make money in one way or another, so they come with a project, like building a new mall, or like now, saying they want to develop the tourism sector. At the end of the day, however, they don't do anything. In Mexico politics is a lot of talk and make believe.'*

Trust in the government is obviously lacking among the interviewees of this research. As stated in the introduction of this research, inclusion of the population can, according to special rapporteur on extreme poverty and human rights Magdalena Sepúlveda, among other things (re)build this trust in authorities, which is an important factor for consensus and coordinated action, requirements for effective management and development (EAHTR, 2006; United Nations News Centre, 2013). Inclusion of the population can take place through a higher degree and/or a lower degree of involvement (see paragraph 2.1.2). Rojelio, co-owner of and Spanish teacher at Plateros Language School, states that there is a lack of information on development plans, and therefore there is vey little opportunity for the population to consult the government on its plans (lower degree of involvement). According to him, lack of information and promotion of development plans would be the consequence of the government's fear of public participation:

Rojelio – *'While people don't know about development plans, they cannot participate, and that is exactly the tactic of the government.'*

Furthermore, several people think that in every pubic questionnaire that is being held, the government only lets a small number of people participate to meet the minimum requisites, and that most of the times these are the people that benefit from a plan, so that the government gets the right answers.

Lauri, acupuncturist, U.S. – *'This city is corrupt, one of the cities that is most corrupt I think. By corrupt I mean politically corrupt. Which means money will get you anything. The people that could change things really don't care about the poor people. People with money and power get to figure out stuff and do things the way they want. Even if it's illegal to do something, I am sure people can do whatever they want with money. They'll find their way.'*

Some interviewees also mention that the approach of the government is wrong for being too much top-down, which is in accordance with Spiegel (1968), stating that programs are more likely to be successful than programs imposed externally or top-down (paragraph 2.1.3) . According to Pedro, teacher at Don Quijote Spanish Language School the problem is the directionality of the tourism decision- and policy-making: *'Right now every decision on tourism planning is being made at state level, while what we need is to adopt policy from the bottom up. Because where the state government goes one way, the municipalities go the other. And who knows best about the local setting and what the needs of both the local population and the tourists are? Someone who is almost never there? I don't think so. And how can you ever really listen to people if this structure is being maintained?'*

§6.3.3 local population initiatives

In general, inhabitants of Guanajuato have talked in positive terms about tourism, but almost all indicate they would like to become more involved in the decision making processes around tourism development and that they would definitely have participated if they would have given the opportunity.

Betsy, janitor at Hotel Boutique in Guanajuato, indicates she is not a "heroína", that it would take a lot of her to make such efforts. She feels like she would *'have to give up*

[her] whole life to make things actually change, because the government will not listen'.

History student Carlos Guzman says that it's this very attitude of the people that has to change. He states that they need to fight this very mentality of distrust towards the political establishment. *'Only opposing the government and its plans for tourism is worth nothing. You have to come up with alternatives. We, citizens have to become more responsible ourselves, believe in what we can do and see how the government can support us. What is missing now is initiative from us Mexicans ourselves.'*
Like Carlos indicates, the ball is not only in the court of the state government. When looking at the efforts undertaken by inhabitants to become more involved with their city and its development, the initiatives coming from the population are very scarce.

Nancy Fiator, nurse and coordinator of sister cities project Guanajuato- West Virginia, also states that the local population is lacking initiative. She states that even if there are efforts made, these are undertaken by the foreigners and not the Mexicans themselves: *'When those things happen, at least its never a group of Mexicans, its always a group of foreigners that say 'we love this city enough that we will come together and make sure that things work. An example of this is the planting of trees in the neighbourhoods that are surrounding the centre [outside of the centre]. There was this group of Americans [...] they informed the people that were living in these streets about their plan to plant trees, to make the neighbourhoods more appealing. They were not asking for help, just telling them what they wanted to do, but telling them that if they wanted to become involved, they could. Of course no one joined the group.''*

To the contrary of Nancy's observations, however, there are some initiatives undertaken by the local population. For instance, Carlos is a member of different civil associations, among which the College of Historians. He explains how this college has always worked in close cooperation with different divisions of the municipality to make sure that the past and history of the city is respected. *'With success we defended the Cerro de la Bufa* ['Bufa Hill', located very close to the city] *in 2010. There was this plan of the municipality to construct a lot of houses* [and resorts; Peréz, 2014] *there. And so we stepped up, and a lot of locals stepped up with us. There were three demonstrations against these plans; one even took place during the Cervantino*

Festival. The whole city was crowded with people demanding that la Bufa would stay the way it is, without houses.'

The local population demanded the protection of its cultural heritage, the Bufa Hill, and with success. Tourism development plans should not be of disrespect towards the local population and/or disturb their environment (EAHTR, 2006).

Ricardo Torres, biology professor at the University of Guanajuato, forms also part of a civil association. He is the president of the civil association 'Somos Guanajuatenses' ('We are Guanajuatenses') that was founded as a reaction to the municipality's urbanization initiative in the Bufa area. Ricardo is proud of the success of the demonstrations and explains how this was a historical moment since this was the first time ever that the local population arranged a voting in the city that was accepted by the municipality. Over 80% voted against the urbanization of the area and the houses were never constructed.

However, according to Ricardo the process of public participation has only just started: *'Our aim for the future is that more people will become more involved in the decision-making processes in the city. We want to have a much greater participation of the Guanajuatenses in the reunions and sessions we organise. If there are plans for the city and its surroundings, it is our job to make sure that the architecture and structure of the city is respected, and that the municipality doesn't do just whatever it wants to do.'*

When looking at the degree of involvement (Garrod, 2003) and the five levels of participation (Shaeffer, 1994), mentioned in §2.1.2, for the majority of the respondents their degree of involvement can be considered as low, implying the passive acceptance of decisions that are made by others. However the desire to be involved becomes stronger, and as the two above mentioned examples illustrate, the more active citizen is fighting for this to happen.

In this research, it is shown that, following the social exchange theory, residents' attitudes toward tourism, and level of support for its development, are contingent upon their own evaluation of the possible outcomes of tourism development. However, in accordance with the critique of Stolte et al. (2001) on the social exchange theory, their evaluations of the possible outcomes of tourism development are not

(merely) dependent on economic factors: emotional, historical and cultural factors also play a role. The plan to build resorts in the Bufa zone is a good example of such a factor: if the government had gone through with their plans, one can imagine that tourism development would probably have been less popular among residents than it is now, as a piece of valuable heritage to residents of Guanajuato would have been destroyed for the sake of the tourism sector.

§6.4 Conclusion

In Guanajuato tourism has become an important pillar of the economy, of which its economic income has a favourable impact in most of the region. With the State Program for Tourism 2013-2014, a bigger impact is being sought to even benefit parts in the region that currently are left behind.

In the program the development of tourism is presented as part of the 'Economy for the people', claiming to involve the population in the design and implementation of the program. However, the majority of the participants had not heard of the State Program for Tourism and feels left out. Even though they have an overall positive attitude towards tourism and tourism development, they wish to have been more involved: the majority of the respondents is annoyed for not being involved in the decision making process of the State Program for Tourism.

When looking at the efforts undertaken by inhabitants to become more involved with their city and its development, however, the initiatives coming from the population are very scarce. Nonetheless, there are initiatives and the desire to be involved grows stronger.

Change, cannot only come from the side of the government. People have to actually raise their voice for the government to be able to hear them.

In this chapter, it is further shown that, following the social exchange theory, residents' attitudes toward tourism, and level of support for its development, are contingent upon their own evaluation of the possible outcomes of tourism development. However, in accordance with the critique of Stolte et al. (2001) on the social exchange theory, their evaluations of the possible outcomes of tourism

development are not (merely) dependent on economic factors: emotional, historical and cultural factors also play a role.

7. Perceptions of the benefits and costs of tourism

Like the previous chapter, this chapter makes use of a division of respondents in groups according to their relationship with tourism: inhabitants who benefit directly from the tourism industry (people who receive income from working or investing in the tourism sector), like entrepreneurs and service providers (Group A); inhabitants who within their household do not benefit directly from the tourism industry, like students, lawyers, housewives, etc. of whom their partner (or other member of the household) does not receive an income from the tourism industry either (Group B); and those inhabitants that could be considered part of the tourist population, like (inter) national retirees, exchange students, etc. (Group C).

As mentioned in paragraph 2.1.3, tourism is a significant source of foreign currency and investment for many of the developing countries, and it is recognized that an increase in tourism could contribute to the development of these countries (Mowforth & Munt, 2003).

Central to this study are residents' attitudes and views towards tourism development. In this chapter these attitudes and views will be discussed by analysing the perceived benefits and costs of tourism by residents.

As the tourism sector in Guanajuato is very diverse and some people live in remote areas, far away from the slightest bit of the tourism scene, the impact of tourism differs among the population. For some interviewees, tourism is a very important source of income, where only a dozen of tourists more or less can have a great effect on their livelihood. For others, however, an increase or a decrease in the sector would not have such a big impact. In this paragraph, it will be further elaborated how results of this research support the idea of Byrd et al. (2009) that differences in perceptions of the impact tourism has on a locality do exist between different stakeholder groups. Investors and service providers consider the program very promising and beneficial for the city.

Furthermore, besides the extent of the impact of tourism, a distinction can be made between direct and indirect benefits/costs. Where groups A and C mainly indicate the

industry's economic income as a major benefit, people of group B refer more to non-economic benefits/costs: *'Tourism makes the city pretty and peaceful, since the government feels obliged to paint the houses and guarantee security in order to attract tourists.'* – Brenda Morales, inhabitant of Guanajuato, student.

Nonetheless, the whole of group B sees more negative sides of tourism than groups A and C. Such as property price inflation, economic dependency on tourists and the exclusion of the outskirts: *'There is this fine invisible line around GTO downtown, which means that if you are living in the 'callejones' [alleys], in the poor neighbourhoods, we are really talking about 50 meters away from downtown, but it is so defined, so defined that when you go up the 'callejon', you are like in a 'barrio' [bad neighbourhood].'* – Camilla, moved from Norway to Guanajuato to work here and live with her Mexican boyfriend.
This is in accordance with the results of the study of Byrd et al. (2009), stating that entrepreneurs (group A) and tourists (group C) have more positive opinions on tourism than residents (group B).

Unlike the findings of Byrd et al. (2009), however, where non of the groups believe that tourism development increases traffic problems, in this research everyone in group B considers traffic as one of the problems that is increased by tourism: Ramiro, former official tour operator in Guanajuato, complains about the shortage of parking lots during weekends and holidays; Pedro, teacher at Spanish school Don Quijote, about the public transport because of the oversized contaminating tourist buses that *'nearly fit the tunnels and roads'*; Betsy, janitor of Hotel Boutique 1820, about the crowded roads and the impossibility to find a taxi during the Cervantino Festival.

People belonging to group A don't see much of a downside of tourism, and, in accordance with Byrd et al. (2009) show most resemblance with government officials: *"Something negative? No. Nothing, nothing, nothing."* –Fernando, lawyer en Guanajuato. The representative of the tourism department of the city, Angél Sanchez, doesn't see a negative side either, *'[...] only areas of opportunity'.*

In the next paragraphs, the distinction between indirect and direct benefits and costs of tourism is explored.

§7.1 Indirect benefits and costs

Continuing with the same classification of groups used in chapter 6, the research has showed that all groups, including those who do not benefit (nor lose) directly from the tourism industry (people who do not receive income from working or investing in the tourism sector, nor do they have another member of the household that does receive income from working or investing in this sector), generally receive tourism positively (100% of group A, 86% of group B and 79% of group C). As the interviewed government officials receive tourism also very positively, these results also reflect the study of Byrd et al. (2009), stating that whereas government officials had the most positive perceptions of tourism, residents had the least positive perceptions.

Overall, opinions on tourists and the tourism industry do not differ among those who benefit (nor lose) directly from tourism and those who are not. For instance, all groups consider the industry's development potential as a major benefit for the city, or as Roberto Cárdenas calls it, "tourism as a development tool". This is because most people that do not benefit directly from tourism recognize that they receive obvious indirect benefits from the tourism sector. Among these are: better service provision in the city; more employment and therefore distribution of wealth (because people who do work in the tourism industry consume more when there are more tourists); and the possibility to talk with foreigners and learn about their culture:

Mayra, inhabitant of Guanajuato, single mother and housewife – *'I like to meet people from different places, from Chiapas, Monterray, Cancun, but also foreigners. [...] I like to know more about them. I think that I have learned about a lot of places now, and you know a little bit about the cultures of the countries where people you meet live. Tourism makes this possible. '*

Fernando, lawyer in Guanajuato - *'The money is distributed amongst the people: if tour operators earn an income, they will buy real estate, buy groceries, hire people to build a home, get a lawyer when they need a divorce. [...] And so for their food, all this money will be distributed and will generate wealth. [...] Money is distributed: they get paid but make use of our [non-tourist] services.'*

However, within the group of people not benefitting directly, there are of course a few

people who do not see how they could benefit even if it was indirectly from tourism. This reflects the statement of Andereck et al. (2005), that it is important to bear in mind that not all members of one stakeholder group may feel the same way (see paragraph 2.2.1).

These people, who do not see how they could benefit (indirectly) from tourism, point out that they are used to so many foreigners walking around, and that the tourists themselves don't bother them. From my own observations and informal conversations, I can say that they even have a positive attitude towards tourists and tourism, as they are '*happy, proud, that people from such a far place as Amsterdam are interested in visiting the country*' – Ana[2], living near the Amazuca tunnel (considered as one of the more dangerous neighbourhoods).

This is contrary to the basic premise of the social exchange theory (described in detail in paragraph 2.2.2), and is in accordance with the finding of Faulkner, who states that there appears to be a tendency among residents to acknowledge the many benefits of tourism, irrespective of both their involvement and other background factors that influence their exposure to the impacts of this activity (1997).

However like others, Ana does strongly criticize the government for investing its money in the tourism industry; she feels that other things have a higher priority, like safety; better electricity and water supplies; and maintenance of the houses in the 'barrios' (neighbourhoods outside of the centre). This is in accordance with Wipf et al., (2005), explaining how the development of infrastructure is often translated in the construction or improvement of roads, while it is water and electricity that should come first place (see paragraph 2.1.3). Criticism is obviously mainly focused on policies for tourism promotion and budget allocation of the government, and not so much on tourism itself.

Ángel Sanchez, head of the local tourism office in Guanajuato, defends the disproportionate importance accorded to and investments in the tourism industry by stating that '*investing in these [water, safety, electricity and maintenance of the houses] things will not generate money […] but with the money made out of tourism investments, these can be paid.*'

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[2] This is a fake name, as the respondent did not want to be mentioned in this research

The income of the state generated from tourism was 39.595.418.821 Mexican Pesos in 2012, a 7% increase compared to 2011 (SECTUR, 2012).

§7.1.1 Tourism promotion and budget allocation

One of the main characteristics, or reasons of the beauty of Guanajuato, is the variety of candy-coloured colonial houses and buildings you find throughout the city. Mayra explains how the local government has forbidden people to paint their houses in any other colour than the bright colours that distinguish this city above the rest, and even offers incentives to local homeowners to paint their houses in bright colours.

In May 2013, the governor of Guanajuato declared Guanajuato 'the first city in the whole country to receive complete renovations for all of its houses and other buildings', through the 'Pintar tu Etorno' (Paint Your Environment) program (Galván, 2013). Not only in the centre, but also in the most desolate corners of the cities, houses were painted, with the objective to reinforcing the city's welcoming environment for tourists. However, beauty is not only on the outside.

As Mayra points out, there are many other problems the city needs to deal with, and she would have hoped that these 31.500 pesos were invested in solving these issues:

'I believe that here in the city there are lots of other things that the government needs to focus on before painting the houses. There are a lot of neighbourhoods here that don't have lights, no drainage system. A lot of neighbourhoods live in marginalisation. But they [the government] don't care about the poor, because the centre is oh so beautifully coloured, and the houses are looking nice, and they don't care about poor people in the desolate corners, because tourism takes place in the centre, The government doesn't want to take care of the alleys: after all people will be here, in the Jardin [de Union] and in the plaza's. And so money is given to people to paint their houses in wonderful colours. And of course, it is good to make the city more beautiful, because it will attract more visitors, which can be beneficial for the locals. But really, I know a lot of things the government should be much more concerned about than whether a house will be yellow or blue.'

Interviewees of both the same group as Mayra (group B) and of other groups provided similar answers when asked about the house painting program, stating that the painting of the houses only covers the real problems locals have to deal with:

Augustin Ruiz Lenuza - '*Yes the centre is taken really good care of. Houses are not only painted, but also renovated completely. Furthermore, there are a lot of officers and lanterns, and the streets are cleaned every night, so it's very pleasant to be walking around there as a tourist. But outside the centre? No. There is no monitoring, nor security, there are no lights, no cleanliness, in short: things that are indispensable to for a proper neighbourhood.*'

Camila - '*If you move out of the city centre, there's no like garbage collection, there is a bunch of garbage. And there are 20 police officers down town, so you are really safe down town, if you move 50 meters up the callejon, you are screwed.*'

When talking with government officials, Mayra's concerns (and those of most others) are confirmed. 'Tourists consider our city as 98% safe.' States Angel Sanchez, head of the tourism department in the city of Guanajuato. As tourists are mainly in the centre of the city, where a lot of security is provided, this was not a surprise to me. However, when asked how safe locals consider their neighbourhoods, he did not have an answer but laughed instead and repeated that '*[…] in the centre are not that many problems.*'

According to biology professor at the University of Guanajuato, Ricardo Torres, an increase of visitors should be a consequence of an improvement in locals' living conditions instead of the other way around: '*The natural environment of Guanajuato is not commonplace, it's not trivial nor superficial, it's directly related to the quality of live of people that are living here. It's the common spaces, public plazas, gardens, etc. that are important for that quality of life. By improving this, people will be living better, and there will be something really beautiful to see. […] The gardens and plazas should be better maintained. Grass in many parks turned yellow. People can't enjoy that. […] Better maintenance of public facilities by the government is what is needed.*'

Augustin Ruiz Lenuza also points out to the fact that with so much focus on taking good care of the colonial centre, visitors will never be incited to explore other parts of Guanajuato. Therefore, the objective of attracting more people to the city will inevitably result in more people coming to the centre of the city, contrary to the

objective of the State Program for Tourism which aims to increase the impact of tourism so that even the outskirts of the cities will benefit.

The increase of tourists in the centre, together with the in paragraph 5.5 afore mentioned problems that tourism brings along, (like traffic, shortage of parking lots, space occupation by terraces, and noise pollution), makes that more and more inhabitants of the city centre seek for living spaces outside of the centre, even if that means they have to live in a less secure neighbourhood.

§7.1.2 Increase in quantity and quality of service provision

A great and varied offer of high quality attractions and services can be leveraged to improve visitors' experiences, and increase the chance that they will visit the place a second time or recommend the place to family or friends.

According to Augustin Ruiz Lenuza, municipalities should include the tourism industry into local development plans, meaning that by improving infrastructure and public services both the locals and the tourists will benefit. *'By improving public transport or the quality of service in a restaurant, it is very likely that more visitors will be attracted to the city. Moreover, these improvements are also beneficial to the local population: they also make use of public transport, they also eat in the restaurants around here.'*

In general, all groups believe that improving tourist services will be also beneficial to the local population. However, most interviewees (67%) think that there is a lot that needs to be done regarding the tourist services in Guanajuato. They consider the quality of tourist services insufficient, and state that service providers often lack of skills and education.

§7.1.3 Cultural (ex)change

Surprisingly, people belonging to group C are the most afraid of cultural change and loss of patrimony. Whereas in general these international exchange students and retirees fear that in time with so many foreigners visiting or settling *'[...] the true Mexican flavour will get lost'* (-Lauri, American who moved to Guanajuato to work as acupuncturist), most Mexicans in group A and B are very confident about their deep rooted culture being able to resist other cultures' influences: *'Why copy theirs*

[cultures of foreigners], if they come to see our culture?' – Betsy.

There are, of course, interviewees belonging to group A and B who acknowledge the fact of a changing culture with more international visitors coming to the city. However, they consider this rather as enrichment instead of a loss. Spanish teacher Rojelio explains how he does not have the money to travel to Europe, but that he now *'[…] at least gets the chance to talk to someone from France or Germany, learn about his or her culture instead of only knowing the stereotypes'*.

Interviewees belonging to group C state that the city has changed a lot over the past decade. They mention how a lot of restaurants are now serving international food, how the English language becomes more important in the tourism scene, and how a Starbucks has risen in the middle of the city centre. However, interviewees in groups A and B see these changes as part of a natural and inevitable process that's going on worldwide: globalization.

Ángel Sanchez - *'Before there were no restaurants serving international food, but when a market arises that demands this type of places, then of course they will pop up, taken into consideration that tourism serves for many as a survival strategy. Come on now, we're living in a globalizing world, and we must be at the forefront of this process, so that these markets will also be opened to us, and we receive visitors from other countries in our restaurants ready to serve them whatever they like. But I don't see this as drastic changes, that it will entirely change the Mexican culture.'*

Mexicans are obviously very confident about their cultural roots and patrimony: Fernando – 'You will note that the roots here are very… they will rather change the culture of the foreigner, than the other way around.'

Just like the case of the Bufa zone (paragraph 6.3.3), the fear of cultural change and the perceived benefits of cultural exchange are also two examples of cultural/emotional factors that play a role in the evaluation of tourism and tourism development. Emphasizing the critique of Stolte et al. (2001) that within the social exchange theory there is too much of a focus on economic factors.

§7.2 Direct benefits

The most evident benefit that tourism can imply for local residents of Guanajuato is economic gain. Because of the mixing of local and tourists markets, it is hard to tell what the exact extent is to which economic benefits are derived from tourism. Nonetheless, various government officials and university professors shared the information available, and several citizens shared their experiences.

According to Ángel Sanchez, the local economy is for 68-70% dependent on the tourism industry, with an annual economic income of over 4 billion pesos. This is a very high percentage, considering the fact that a high dependency rate on the tourist industry is very risky (Carrigan, 2011).

However, because there are large gaps in the wages of the tourism industry and, as mentioned in paragraph 2.1.3 there is very little upward mobility in the sector (Carrigan, 2011), a lot of people started to work in the informal tourism sector:

Betsy- *'[…] the manager takes all, while the employees have killing work schedules and receive almost nothing. We take commissions from recommending our hotel guests of where to eat, to make additional money. Without those commissions I would not be able to feed my child.'*

Professor of the tourism department at the university of Guanajuato, Augstín Ruiz Lenuza, states that in Guanajuato the impact of tourism on employment is not that big in the formal sector. '*In the informal sector, the impact is much bigger. People are not dependent on how much their boss will pay them.'*

Several interviewed people are for (the majority of) their income dependent on tourism, meaning that for these people it can be argued that tourism in Guanajuato has direct economic benefits. However as the influx of tourists is very variable (depending on season for example), so is their income.

Augustin Ruiz Lenuza - *'We take advantage of those moments like the Cervantino Festival. There are a lot of restaurants and hotels that are so very lucrative during the festival, meaning that they earn so much money in those few weeks that it helps them maintaining the restaurant the rest of the year. They compensate the loss in other seasons with the extra money they made during Cervantino.'*

These people in group A, depending on tourism do recognize the risks of being

dependent on tourism:

Manuel, Spanish teacher in Guanajuato – *'If it's dangerous to depend on tourism? Yes, because it's something you can't control. Not only on the local level, also on the national and the international level. On all levels. It's very volatile; like in one moment we can have a tourism boom here in the city with many people taking Spanish classes, and the next day they might have all disappeared. How can I know what to spend if it is always so unpredictable?'*

The volatile character of the tourist influx is another reason for many people to take on an extra job in the informal sector. Manuel, for example, also serves as an unofficial translator.

Thus, even though a lot of income is derived from the tourism sector, people recognize the volatility of this income and therefore the vulnerability they are exposed to. This, together with the volatile character of tourism has resulted in an increase in the informal sector.

§7.3 Conclusion

Whereas for some people tourism is a very important source of income, and only a dozen of tourists more or less can have a great effect on their livelihood; for others, an increase or a decrease in the sector would not have such a big impact. Furthermore, when analysing the perceived benefits and costs of tourism, the distinction between indirect and direct effects is an important one, since people that don't benefit or lose directly from tourism can benefit or lose indirectly from it.
Surprisingly, even the few people who do not see how they could benefit even if it was indirectly from tourism don't complain about tourism and the amount of visitors attracted to their city. They realize that they are not losing from it either, and point out that they are used to so many foreigners walking around, that the tourists themselves don't bother them. Contrary to the basic premise of the social exchange theory (described in detail in paragraph 2.2.2), this leads to the conclusion that residents' views and attitudes towards tourism do not necessarily depend on their perceived benefits and costs of it, which is in line with Faulkner (1997), stating that there

appears to be a tendency among residents to acknowledge the many benefits of tourism, irrespective of both their involvement and other background factors that influence their exposure to the impacts of this activity.

However, their views and attitudes to tourism development do differ to some extent as the interviewees, who believe that they are not benefiting from tourism, neither directly nor indirectly, strongly criticize the government for investing so much money in the tourism industry. Like Wipf et al. (2005), they feel other things have a higher priority, like safety; better electricity and water supplies; and real maintenance (and not only the painting) of the houses in the 'barrios'.

8. Conclusion

Cultural tourism is an important part of the Mexican economy; and there is a compelling case for preserving the cultural heritage. For safeguarding the identity, rights and beliefs of the local population, ensuring equity among all stakeholders, and geographically spreading the benefits throughout a locality, efficient government policies are needed. Combining the stakeholder- and the social exchange theory can provide a comprehensive framework for these policies, since the theories respectively stress the importance of involving all stakeholders for the success of development plans, and explain that residents evaluate tourism, and subsequently its development, based on the costs and benefits incurred (for them individually and/or to the locality as a whole) as a result of tourism (development).

Guanajuato is a colonial city and the 6th most popular destination in Mexico. With the implementation of the State Program for Tourism 2013-2018, the state of Guanajuato, Mexico, is using culture, promoted as the main product of the state, as a tool to develop tourism. In this program the historic town of Guanajuato, considered the cultural heart of the state, plays the leading role.

In Guanajuato, cultural tourism has become an important pillar of the economy: its economic income has had a favourable impact in most of the region. However, most respondents feel that socio-economic benefits of tourism are not equally distributed among the population. Since equity is important to long-term sustainability, cultural tourism should aim to provide benefits to the local population in an equitable way. With the State Program for Tourism 2013-2014, an ever bigger impact is now being sought to also benefit parts and people in the region that are currently left behind. Unfortunately, none of the government officials were willing to provide numbers of what targets were met so far and how.

With an increase in tourist arrivals and tourism revenue, the city becomes evermore dependent on the tourism sector and tourism activities are more and more intertwined with the daily lives of the local population. Local residents are undoubtedly affected

by tourism. Following the social exchange theory, the perceptions of the local population of tourism implications, influence the way they think of tourism, tourism development and the State Program for Tourism as a means to achieve tourism development. However, the findings of this research are not in complete accordance with this theory: whether or not the respondents were positive towards tourism development is highly unpredictable and not necessarily connected to the (personal) perceived benefits and costs of tourism. Some interviewees who feel they do not perceive any personal (economic) benefits from tourism still have positive attitudes towards tourism development. On the other hand, some respondents who do say that they perceive personal (economic) benefits from tourism are not always positive about tourism development.

In the State Program for Tourism 2013-2018 the development of tourism is presented as part of the 'Economy for the people', claiming to involve the population in the design and implementation of the program. However, the majority of the participants had not heard of the State Program for Tourism before they were told about it during the interviews, and many respondents now feel left out. The stakeholder theory states that the involvement of all stakeholders, including the local population is considered fundamental for the success of sustainable tourism development, because effective management and planning requires consensus and coordinated action. More importantly, however, participation in the decision-making processes of the government is a fundamental human right; people should be enabled to participate in the crucial decisions that affect their own life.

The objective of this research was to identify and gain a deeper understanding of the views and attitudes of residents in the city of Guanajuato, Mexico, towards tourism development, and investigate how these views and attitudes are translated in local population support and integrated in the State Program for Tourism 2013-2018. Overall, the interviewees have a positive attitude towards tourism and tourism development. However, they wish to have been more involved: the majority of the respondents is annoyed for not being involved in the decision making process of the State Program for Tourism. They feel that they did not have a chance to make their views and opinions noticeable to the government nor integrated in the development of the State Program for Tourism.

Nonetheless, when looking at the efforts undertaken by inhabitants to become more involved with their city and its development, the initiatives coming from the population are very scarce. When looking at the degree of involvement and Shaeffer's levels of participation, both mentioned in §2.1.2, for the majority of the respondents their degree of involvement can be considered as low, implying the passive acceptance of decisions that are made by others. However, the desire to be involved becomes stronger, and a handful of more active citizens are fighting for this to happen.

Change cannot only come from the side of the government. People have to actually raise their voice for the government to be able to hear them.

Altogether it can be argued that that tourism-flows to Guanajuato have an impact on the city. It is the local context, however, that determines to a large extent what these impacts are. Public participation, in collective decisions or in matters that directly affect the daily routine of the local population, should be an integral part of any democracy, and any political action should be based on the active and continuing participation of the citizens. As stated above, public participation, and therefore the involvement of all stakeholders, is a fundamental human right; everyone should be given the opportunity to participate in crucial decisions that affect their own life. In addition, the involvement of all stakeholders, including the local population, is fundamental for the success of a government and its plans within the democratic climate.

From the above it is possible to conclude that residents' attitudes and views towards tourism should at all times be taken into consideration when planning with regards to tourism development, because it is their right and also a benefit in itself.

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Appendix 1: Overview Respondents

Table with information about interviewees
- 2 government officials
- 5 foreign residents / exchange students
- 13 local Mexican residents

Name	Age	Gender	Origin	Main occupation	Extra activities	Experiences direct impact of tourism	Knew about the program	Feels involved in tourism development	Wants to be more involved
Ricardo Torres Cervantes	41	M	Guanajuato, Mexico	Biology professor at the university of Guanajuato	Head of civil association 'Somos Guanajuatenses'	No	Yes	No	Yes
Lauri	64	F	Arizona, US	Acupuncturist	No	No	No	No	No

Ángel Sanchez	34	M	Guanajuato, Mexico	Head of the municipal tourism department	No	Yes	No (!)	Yes	N/A
Jorien Knevel	28	F	Amsterdam, The Netherlands	Administrator	Volunteer at 'TAN 473', an organization for children	No	No	No	Yes
Nancy Fiator	42	F	Denver, US	Nurse	Volunteer for 'Sister cities of Guanajuato'	No	No	No	Yes
Betsy Valdez	32	F	Puerto Vallarta, Mexico	Janitor at Hotel Boutique 1850	Takes commissions from restaurants for making recommendations	Yes	No	No	No
Camila	28	F	Norway	Exchange student	Teaches English classes at a primary school	No	No	No	No
Augustin Ruiz Lenuza		M	Chiapas, Mexico	Tourism Professor at the university of Guanajuato	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	N/A
Mayra García	35	F	Portazar, Mexico	Housewive	No	No	No	No	Yes
Brenda Morales	29	F	Guanajuato, Mexico	Student	No	No	No	No	Yes

Doyle	78	M	Texas, US	Retiree	US Embassy Warden for Guanajuato	No	No	No	Yes
Carlos Guzman	22	M	Guanajuato, Mexico	Student	Part of different civil associations	No	No	No	Yes
Fernando Iria	33	M	Irrapuato, Mexico	Lawyer	No	No	No	Yes	N/A
Roberto Cárdenas	49	M	León, Mexico	Head of the state tourism department	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	N/A
Ramiro Juarez	68	M	Jalisco, Mexico	Official tour operator	Gets commissions from restaurants for making recommendations	Yes	No	No	Yes
Manuel García	42	M	Guanajuato, Mexico	Co-owner of Plateros, a Spanish language school	Spanish teacher	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Alicia Escobar la Tapis	51	F	Leon, Mexico	Planning director of the Cerantino Festival	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	N/A
Pedro Rodriguez	52	M	Cuernavaca, Mexico	Spanish teacher at Don Quijote, a Spanish language school	Unofficial tour operator	Yes	No	No	Yes

Ramirez	41	M	Guanajuato, Mexico	Hotel manager	Head of association of hotels in Guanajuato	Yes	Yes	Yes	N/A
Rojelio Granda	39	M	Cuernavaca, Mexico	Co-owner of Plateros, a Spanish language school	Spanish Teacher	Yes	No	No	Yes

Appendix 2: Topic list in-depth interviews

1 Background information respondent:

1.1. Name, age respondent

1.2. Education/job

1.3. Address

1.4. Activities respondent

1.5. Feeling of connection with community

1.6. Feeling of connection with locality

2 Attitude toward tourism development in Guanajuato

2.1 Positive perception of tourism impacts; and perception of positive economic impacts; and personal benefits

- Improvement of investment, more development and better infrastructures

- Increased opportunities for employment

- Contribution to improving incomes and living standards

- General improvement of incomes of the locality (taxes)

- Tourism as one of principal sources of income in the economy of the locality

- Investing money in attracting more tourists to the locality is good

2.2 Perception of positive social and cultural impacts

- Improvement of the quality of life

- Greater availability of recreational and sports activities

- Greater knowledge of other cultures/communities

- Greater provision of cultural and leisure activities (greater demand)

- Residents feel proud to belong to the locality

- Improvement of quality of service (restaurants, shops, hotels)

- Improvement in level of police protection

2.3 Perception of positive environmental impacts

- Improvement of infrastructures (water supply, electricity, telephone, internet)

- Improvement of roads and public services

- More support for the restoration and maintenance of historic buildings

2.4 Negative perception of tourism and perception of negative economic impacts

- Property price inflation (increase in house prices)

- Increase in cost of living (European prices for food, hotels, activities)

- Increase in the price of products and services (European prices for food, hotels, activities)

- Benefit only for a small number of residents

- The benefits generated by the tourism activity end up with companies and persons from outside the locality.

- Increase in thefts and vandalism

- Increase in the exploitation of the native citizens (mariachi?!)

- Change/loss of traditional culture

- Problems of coexistence between residents and tourists

- Loss of tranquility in the zone

2.5 Perception of negative environmental impacts

- Damage to the natural surroundings

- Increase in environmental contamination (rubbish, wastewaters, air pollution and noise)

- Unpleasant overcrowding of public and leisure spaces

3 Involvement of stakeholders in Programa estatal de turismo 2013-2018

3.1 Participation in questionnaire

- Reason for (no) participation

3.2 Opinion of questionnaire

- Appropriateness of questions

- Topics missing

- Quality of questionnaire (misleading?)

- Clear instructions?

- Felt free to be able to answer whatever

3.3 Involvement

- Satisfaction with own involvement

- Involved through other activities than (just) the questionnaire

- Was just the questionnaire enough/ necessary?

- Can respondent think of possible other activities that were overlooked

- Does respondent feel involved?

- Did respondent wish to be involved in the first place?

- Does respondent still wish to be involved?

- Doe respondent wish to become more involved? How?

3.4 Integration in Program

- Did the respondent feel heard?

- Results of questionnaire integrated in Program?

- Translation of his/her attitudes and views in the Program?

- Missing issues

- Satisfaction with development of the Program

- Clear (visible) results now with the implementation of the Program?

4 Public Participation & Government

4.1 What does respondent think of public participation: beneficial for the community or not?

4.2 How does respondent like to see public participation in own community (what forms / to what degree?)

4.2 Public participation in government decisions

- Does respondent feel involved in government decisions?

- Does respondent wants to be (more) involved in other decision-making processes of the government?

- How would respondent like to be (more) involved?

4.3 Government

- What does respondent think of the government?

- Corruption

5 Misc.

- Does respondent wants to add anything to the interview?