

Tourism in Mexico:

Many Faces

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TOURISM IN MEXICO: MANY FACES

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1. Preface

Tourism is a major human activity in the modern age with significant impacts in many countries. Almost 1 billion people travel each year to a foreign destination and experience life in another place. Those who see tourists have a variety of feelings regarding the merits and problems associated with having strangers in their midst. Tourism is an important feature of life in many places in Mexico and a critical element in the economy of the country as discussed on the web site: W1 (the complete list of websites is in the reference section)

A general perspective on the impacts of tourism is given by the United Nations Environmental Programme.

'On one hand, tourism yields tremendous economic positive outcomes: it is one of the world's most significant sources of economic outcomes and employment. However, tourism is a very complex industry involving numerous stakeholders (sometimes with opposite interests) and requiring significant amount of resources. As such, tourism can have very opposite effects according to the way activities are managed. Managed well, tourism can play a positive role in the socio, cultural, economic, environmental and political development of the destination and as such represents a significant development opportunity for many countries and communities. On the contrary, unchecked tourism development can lead to very damageable impacts.' (W2)

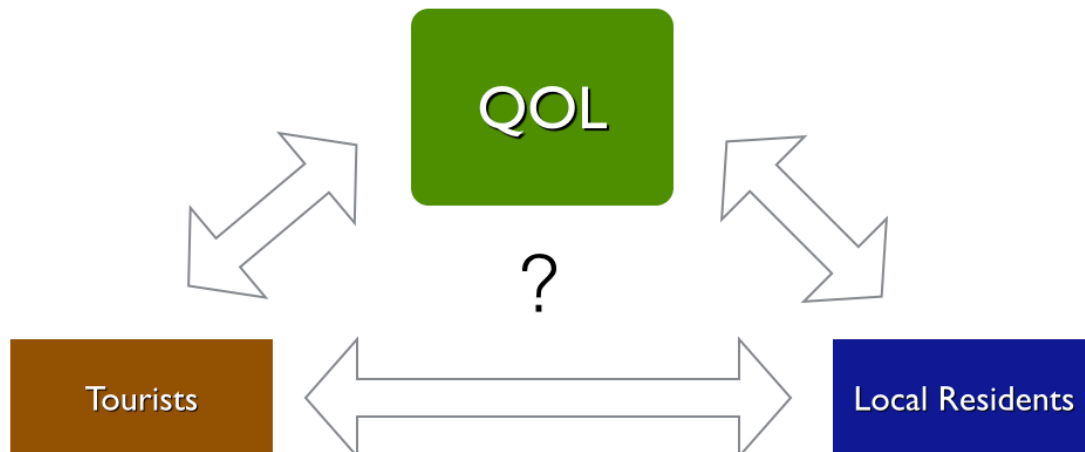
Collaborative work between academics at CUC Universidad de Guadalajara in Puerto Vallarta, and two universities in Canada (Brandon University and York University) over more than a decade has explored many of the impacts of tourism in the State of Jalisco: an overview of this research is reported in Everitt et al. (2008), Espinoza (2014), Espinoza, R., et al. (2014) and Massam, B.H. and Espinoza S. R. (2012). Possible connections between tourists and Mexicans in Puerto Vallarta (Jalisco), one of Mexico's most important tourist destinations, are given on the two schematic figures below.

Cui bono-Who Benefits from Tourism: A critical question

Aspects of Tourism in Puerto Vallarta



Tourism & Quality of Life (QOL)



While tourists visit Puerto Vallarta to enhance their QOL it is not clear how their presence affects the QOL of local residents

The imprints of tourism on Puerto Vallarta, Jalisco, Mexico Everitt & Massam et al (2008)

There are some myths about the advantages of mass tourism in Mexico as Ambroise (2013) has carefully documented, specifically using data for Cancun prior to 1995 and in recent years. Three quotations from *The Economist* capture the changing nature of tourism in Mexico and the challenges this sector of the economy faces.

A painful tune: May 1st 2009

'Traditional May Day rallies have been cancelled as the country begins a five-day suspension of 'non-essential' activities ...in the latest effort to tackle the spread of swine flu. ... Mexico's tourist industry is also suffering. So far, America, Canada and some European countries have advised citizens to avoid travel to Mexico. ... widespread bans [of flights] could be in the offing. They will hurt the economy directly, as well as any lingering aversion to travel to Mexico once bans are lifted. Mexico welcomed 21.4 million in 2007, from whom it earned US \$14.1 billion.'

Can't keep them away: Nov 25th 2010

'... 30,000 people died in last 4 years (most of them drug traffickers) ...For an economy that relies on tourism for nearly a tenth of its income, the gruesome headlines are painful. Mexico's tourism sector is doing rather well. After an appalling 2009, in which the outbreak of swine flu emptied hotels overnight, the number of visitors this year [2010] will be close to 2008's record total of 22.6 million. Even excluding 50 million day-trippers, Mexico remains the world's tenth most-visited country.'

Diving off a cliff: Sept 21st 2013

'For the first time in 55 years, this week a hurricane and tropical storm arrived almost simultaneously on Mexico's Pacific and Gulf coasts, killing at least 80 people and leaving tens of thousands homeless. Acapulco ...bore the brunt of the storm just as it was struggling to overcome a collapse in tourism and the stigma of becoming Mexico's most violent city. "Acapulco is sinking" splashed REFORMA, a newspaper. Though the resort's heyday is long past, it did enjoy a recent revival in upmarket tourism. That proved brief. The number of foreign visitors flying in plunged from almost 350,000 in 2006 to fewer than 61,000 in 2012. It received just none cruise ships last year, down from 81 in 2011. Even those most reckless of tourists, American spring-breakers, have balked. Their numbers have plummeted by 93% in three years. The main reason is drug-related violence. Acapulco, a city of 850,000, saw more than 1,000 murders last year, half as many again as Mexico City, which has ten times more people.'

The cover page shows six images of the ways that some features of tourism are manifest in Mexico, specifically in the state of Jalisco close to Puerto Vallarta: cruise ships arrive and bring tourists often for a very short stay in the harbor at Puerto Vallarta-perhaps for less than 24 hours — buses take passengers from the cruise vessel to selected retail stores to shop, then return them to the ship, some tourists seek the peace and isolation

of horse-back riding in areas far removed from resort areas, while others seek the thrill and adventure of driving all-terrain vehicles in rural settings on trails that throw up piles of dust and cause considerable damage to local vegetation. Others seek beach locations to swim, sunbathe and relax close to the sea. In certain places evidence of a new facility such as an airstrip may indicate expected and planned growth of a future tourist industry in an area currently without tourism. The removal of mangrove swamps close to the sea to prepare land for hotels and resorts can have severe environmental impacts on water quality and related ecological distress to wildlife habitats. The funding of major tourist investments is often not publicly scrutinized due to confidentiality issues, and awareness of the flows of capital and profits are also not always available to ensure that appropriate taxes are collected and the predicted expected benefits suggested by the promoters are in fact delivered. There are indeed many faces to tourism. Some of the legal and financial aspects of tourism in Mexico are addressed by Brown (2013).

A selection of six perspectives of life concerning tourism is offered in this book. The perspectives are: happiness, consumerism, aesthetics, environmental and ecological damage, bribery and corruption, and inequalities in society. With respect to tourism the first three are generally overtly displayed and viewed positively, whereas the latter three tend to carry negative connotations, and to a large extent subversive and hidden from public scrutiny.

This book focuses on features of tourism and tourists that have received little attention in the literature. Specifically we undertake an empirical study of attitudes and opinions regarding emotions and feelings experienced by local residents in five communities in Mexico when the respondents reflect on the words *tourism* and *tourists*, paying particular attention to the six perspectives outlined above. Four of the communities are in the state of Jalisco and one is in the adjacent state of Nayarit.

Our comments on the five communities are based on the empirical study and several field visits, and the results of previous work on tourism in Jalisco and Nayarit. This project complements studies over the last decade that we have undertaken in Mexico on the impacts of tourism on the quality of life of Mexicans, and the nature, magnitude and significance of economic, social, environmental and political effects.

2. Introduction

The purpose of this book is to offer some new ideas and an empirical study that examines selected features of tourism in five Mexican communities. We hope that this work on emotions and feelings, as experienced by Mexicans with respect to tourism and tourists, will raise awareness of the effects of tourism on personal wellbeing beyond the usual economic, social, environmental and political impacts that have characterized most work thus far on tourism in Mexico and elsewhere.

If we focus attention on tourism in a specific place at a particular time we can envisage a series of possible features or perspectives as shown schematically on Figures 1 and 2. The challenge for the researcher is to find a suitable way to evaluate and assess the nature of the perspectives on the wellbeing of local residents in the place under investigation. In this study we focus attention on thoughts, feelings, emotions and the ways the mind converts experiences into language and reactions. The general topic of consciousness that relates the mind to feelings and emotions and wellbeing is highly complex and controversial; it touches fields of neuroscience, belief systems and culture. Some schematic presentations and connections are offered in section 4 to introduce the reader to the variety of possible connections. A recent book by Harris (2014) draws on his scientific background on the study of the brain and neuroscience as well as his critical analysis of matters of belief, spirituality and happiness. A readily available introduction to these topics is offered by Harris in his reading of chapter one of his book *Waking Up*. (W3)

FIGURE 1: THREE PERSPECTIVES OF TOURISM



FIGURE 2: SHADOW SIDES/PERSPECTIVES OF TOURISM



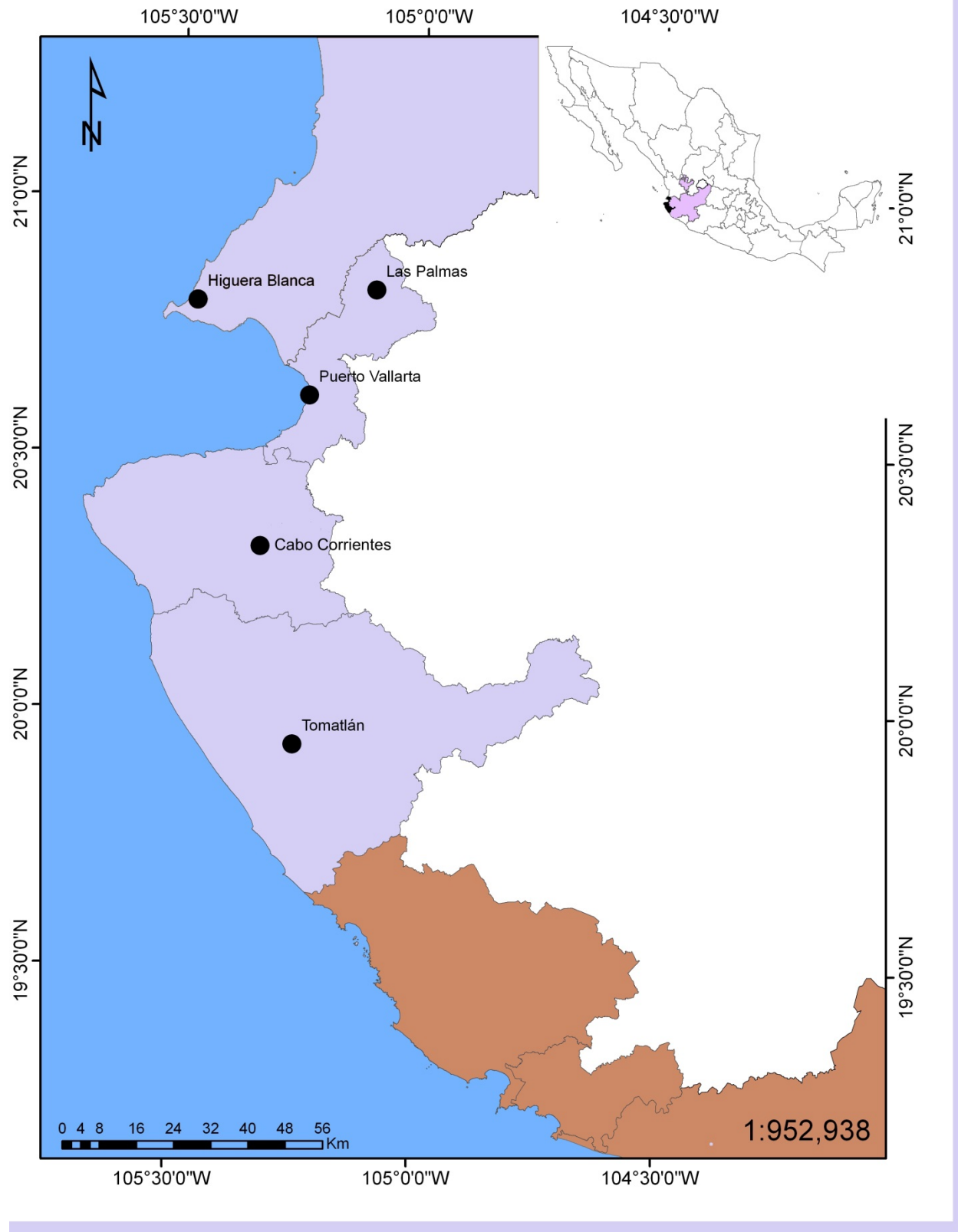
The five communities — Puerto Vallarta, Las Palmas, Tomatlán, Cabo Corrientes and Higuera Blanca — in which we have selected respondents to answer express opinions about feelings and emotions to a set of 6 questions are shown on the maps below. Details of the questions and the responses are provided in later sections.

Puerto Vallarta is one of the most important tourist destinations in Mexico with a population approaching 300,000. Tourism is well regarded here and Mexicans in the state of Jalisco generally consider it as valuable source of employment and a secure prospect for a sustainable future with distinct benefits: though not without some challenges regarding the distribution of benefits and possible changes due to the fickle nature of international tourism. Las Palmas (c 4,000) is situated close by and clearly residents there are strongly influenced by their proximity to Puerto Vallarta and enjoy some of the benefits of employment opportunities relating to tourism. On the other hand Tomatlán (c 35,000) has very limited direct experience of tourism, but in recent

years there have been very significant debates there regarding a most ambitious set of proposals by major international and national investors to develop a massive resort complex, build a new airport and develop the coastline in ways to rival Cancun. Local residents have a variety of opinions about the merits of these plans in the light of the speculative nature of costs and benefits. An overview of this project is given on the web sites (W4, W5).

Cabo Corrientes (c 10,000) is situated in the mountains and with several small towns and settlements are slowly emerging as a set of small-scale tourist destinations. All these communities are in the state of Jalisco. Higuera Blanca is a very small community of less than 1000 people, without clear identity on most maps of the state of Nayarit; close by is one of the largest and most recent and ambitious tourist developments in Mexico at Punta de Mita with a vast complex of luxury condominiums, time-share apartments and the vast hotel complex of the Four Seasons Hotel which serves an affluent international clientele. Residents of Higuera Blanca are rarely involved in working or visiting the tourist areas nearby: some of the people we met view tourism with suspicion, and they lack detailed awareness of the precise nature of the tourist developments nearby. Some details of the developments at Punta de Mita are on the web site (W6).

In section 3 we provide a comments regarding the six perspectives referred to on Figures 1 and 2, and in section 4 a variety of ways that thoughts can relate to feelings and emotions is explored. This exercise informs the development of a questionnaire which is used for the collection of empirical data. An overview of the data collection protocol is given in section 5. We offer in section 6 a discussion on the notion of 'cultural setting', as elaborated by Hofstede et al. (2010), as the context in which individuals express feelings and emotions. Also we describe a Locus of Control study to evaluate the attitudes of individuals about their views of the world. For comparative purposes we include some data from Canada to highlight contrasts between the two societies, and to throw light on the ways Mexicans develop opinions about tourists as visitors to their country. We also include some data from interviews with Canadian Buddhists for comparative purposes. They tend to have a particular view of life and the material world, and matters of control and influences on quality of life which involves an understanding of the mind rather than possession of assets and circumstances that others may believe engender happiness. The detailed responses to a set of four questions that yield numerical information are displayed graphically and summarized in section 7. Overall conclusions are offered in section 8.





3. Perspectives of life that relate to tourism

In this section we offer brief remarks about the six perspectives of life that inform the questions that were developed and used in the survey conducted in the five communities. The perspectives obviously are not discrete and they have very broad impacts which go far beyond tourism, yet we argue that the main features of each one can be considered as a focal point regarding the impacts of tourism in a community. The six perspectives are

- Happiness
- Consumerism
- Aesthetics
- Environmental and ecological damage
- Bribery and corruption
- Inequalities

There is a widespread perception that happiness and consumption are connected and that as the availability of consumer goods increases and the means to make purchases i.e. income levels grow, so happiness is enhanced. Of course happiness as relief from material deprivation is increased as basic needs are made available to citizens in the form of food, shelter, security, access to health care, education, a clean environment and the like so the quality of the lives (QOL) of individuals is improved. Governments and the private sector typically promote consumption as the way forward for a society to develop and become richer while offering more and more choices to citizens and so a stable happier world results. A very useful introduction to the notions of consumerism within contemporary society and the consequences of mass production and advertising as they relate to the production and consumptions of goods with a global setting is given on the web site (W7).

'Tourism can bring many economic and social benefits, particularly in rural areas and developing countries, but mass tourism is also associated with negative effects. Tourism can only be sustainable if it is carefully managed so that potential negative effects on the host community and the environment are not permitted to outweigh the financial benefits.' (W8)

The Canadian Institute of Advanced Research (W9) is involved in an international project on connections among material consumption and well-being. Some details are given below.

Canadian Institute for Advanced Research (CIFAR) (Materialism and Emotions)

Social Interactions, Identity and Well-Being Program

...contrary to popular belief, money is not the sole measure of happiness and well-being.

In fact, social factors such as identity, sense of community, family and friends, good health, and good government appear to be far more important to people's sense of well-being than their s.

CIFAR's program seeks a more realistic picture of how people behave.

Program members use theoretical and empirical research from many sources to create an expanded formula for measuring well-being.

Program members are using epidemiological and experimental methods to find new, more accurate ways to measure people's satisfaction. The results of CIFAR's *Social Interactions, Identity and Well-Being* research has the potential to effect sweeping changes to both economic theory and practice.

CIFAR<http://www2.cifar.ca/research/social-interactions-identity-and-well-being-program/>

The notion of QOL is complex and much has been written about its definition and measurement, and ways to promote it. Massam (2002) offers a summary of the literature and recognizes that public planning, when combined with private living, is the way forward to improve life chances and social stability. The QOL of an individual or community and hence happiness goes far beyond the consumptive aspects of a society and touches matters of feelings, emotions, faith, belief, trust, respect, dignity and identity: these intangible aspects of life contribute very significantly to a person's sense of purpose, and can yield a richness of contentment as he or she moves from birth to death in the knowledge that they have lived meaningfully within their social context with its values and attitudes. An approach to the study of QOL has been developed by researchers at the University of Toronto that embraces a set of three elements of life: being, belonging and becoming. The basic information about this approach is shown below (W10).

QOL is “How good is your life for you?”

Being

- Physical- my body and health
- Psychological- my thoughts and feelings
- Spiritual- my beliefs and values

Belonging

- Physical- where I live and spend my time
- Social- the people around me
- Community- my access to community services

Becoming

- Practical- the daily things I do
- Leisure- the things I do for fun and enjoyment
- Growth- the things I do to cope and change

The QOL of citizens must take into account existential aspects of having and being. The heightening of consciousness from the Hegeleian perspective argues that this is the cause, not the effect, of the material world. The means of enhancing consciousness to empower citizens to define and implement alternate paradigms of progress beyond economic growth toward the public good and *homo sustiens* is a challenge to all concerned people, whether citizens, politicians, bureaucrats or laypersons.

Within the discipline of psychology the sub-field of hedonic psychology has emerged. A brief introduction is offered below from the book by the Nobel prize-winner Kahneman (2011).

In the nineties, Kahneman's research focus began to gradually shift towards the field of “hedonic psychology.” This subfield is closely related to the positive psychology movement, which was steadily gaining in popularity at the time. According to Kahneman and colleagues,

“Hedonic psychology ... is the study of what makes experiences and life pleasant or unpleasant. It is concerned with feelings of pleasure and pain, of interest and boredom, of joy and sorrow, and of satisfaction and dissatisfaction. It is also concerned with the

whole range of circumstances, from the biological to the societal, that occasion suffering and enjoyment.” (Kahneman, Diener and Schwarz, 1999, ix)

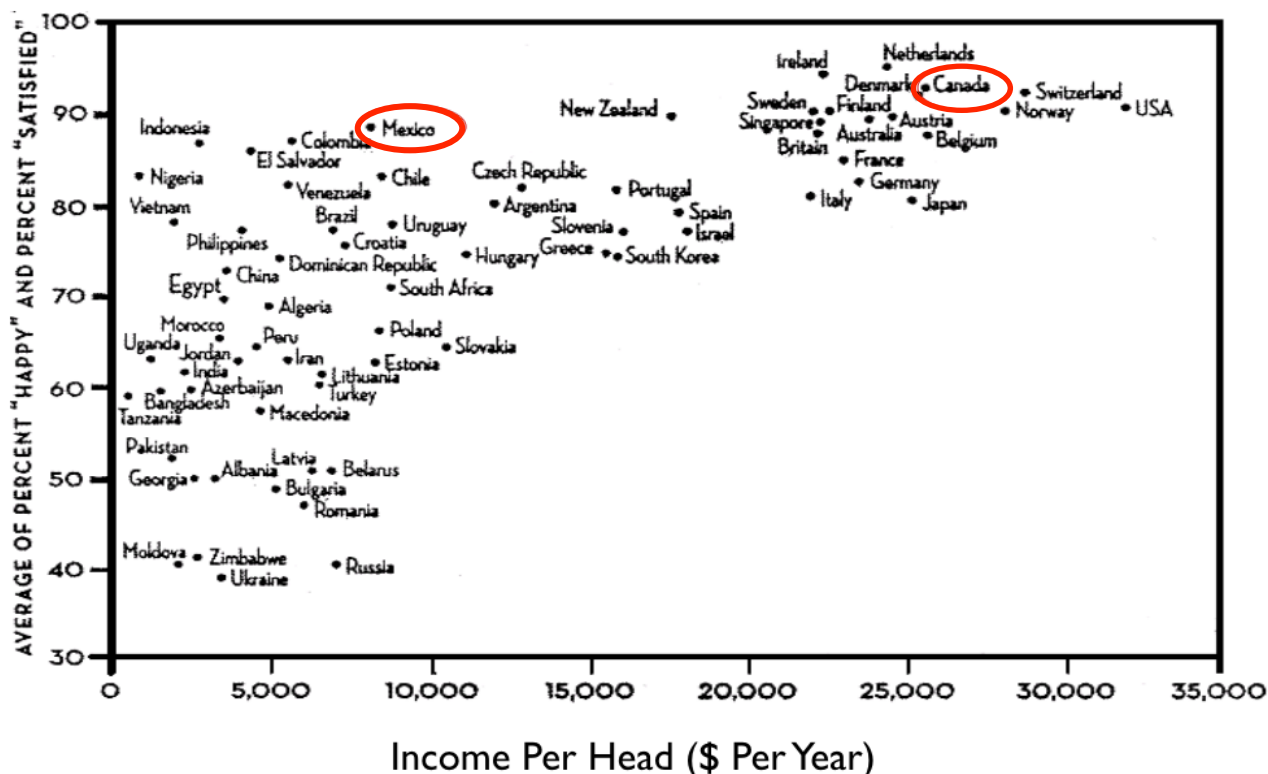
The US Constitution speaks of the right to ‘the pursuit of happiness’ as if it is a commodity to be sought after! The revered Buddhist teacher Ajahn Sumedho (2014) asks, what is happiness? ‘You may think it’s how you feel when you get what you want: unhappiness is not getting what you want.’ In the Buddhist teachings these narrow views are delusions as they are related to our senses and hence narrow and liable to impermanence. The notions of happiness as lying beyond sense-related feelings and emotions is explored in work by Gilbert (2006), Layard (2005) and Haidt (2006): their work is most informative and instructive for all who have an interest in the human condition and the ways that lived experiences influence the quality of our lives.

Hofstede et al. (2010, 278) offer comments on happiness within the context of values that define the culture of a state: this work will be used in section 6 when we explore the cultural setting of Mexico within which impressions regarding tourists and tourism is evaluated. ‘Happiness, or subjective well-being, as academics prefer to call it, is a universally cherished goal. Unfortunately, some nations as a whole do much better than others in the universal chase of happiness.’ Hofstede et al. (2010, 278) remind us ‘There is vast academic literature on SWB (subjective well-being). Usually two main aspects are distinguished: a cognitive evaluation of one’s life and a description of one’s feelings.’

The renowned British economist Layard has provided rich material on the topic of the emerging so-called ‘science of happiness’, and at the level of the state it is abundantly clear that happiness is less related to income as a measure of consumption potential, than to less tangible elements of life as referred to earlier. The figure below suggests that Mexico with a modest income level enjoys a level of happiness that is equaled by states with considerably higher income levels for example New Zealand, Canada or USA. It appears from the graph that countries like Britain, France and Germany with prosperous economies and high levels of life expectancy, literacy and material comforts and access to high quality social services and public goods have lower happiness levels than Mexico. Expectations are high in western rich countries for many, and the gap between what citizens have and what they want is in some cases large, hence unhappiness results. Further elaboration on the relationships between happiness, consumption and personal finances is given in the publication of Deaton (2008): connections between health, well-being and happiness are explored using world survey conducted by Gallup in 2006. (W11)

The results suggest patterns similar to those identified on the graph by Layard (2005). A somewhat difference perspective on happiness as well-being is offered by *The Economist* in an article –The Pursuit of Happiness–published in 2011 on well-being and wealth. A Better Life index is used to measure well-being: the graph of ‘well-being’ and ‘wealth’ places Mexico in the lowest sector of 34 OECD countries. (W12)

Comparing Countries



*SOURCE: RICHARD LAYARD, HAPPINESS – LESSONS FROM A NEW SCIENCE, PENGUIN BOOKS, LONDON, 2005, P. 32–33.

Bhutan has introduced the notion of happiness into their national planning to replace Gross National Product: this experiment is in its early days and is worthy of attention to watch how it evolves as global capitalism grows and consumption and advertising increases, and more and more tourists visit this isolated state high in the Himalayas that remained cut off from the world for centuries until recent years. Three websites that refer to happiness and progress are (W13, W14, W15).

A vast international project on happiness is based in the Netherlands: it is perhaps the largest project of its kind in the world and serves scholars, planners and researchers who seek ways to enhance the human condition and to identify projects and policies that in fact detract from QOL and happiness even though they have their promoters. Details are available on the web site (W16) which *inter alia* provides information for 'happiness in Mexico'.

Among the many web sites that discuss happiness and consumption we offer three (W17, W18, W19) that are worthy of attention by serious scholars of the field of happiness.

One aspect of happiness some have reflected on concerns aesthetics-style, beauty, fashion, harmony, elegance, and grace — all of which it is suggested can contribute to yield a sense of worth and value in individuals and a community: a sense of innovation and change yet stability and identity that provides security and a way of life that helps citizens flourish in body, mind and spirit. Ugliness and unseemly ways of behaving, talking, and acting for example, can detract from happiness and the sublime, and are aesthetically unattractive. Of course many of the elements of aesthetics are highly subjective: beauty is indeed in the eye of the beholder! However in a community with established norms, standards and values if newcomers, for example tourists, arrive with different values about aesthetics and ways of living and behaving then potentially conflicts can arise and distress results. Our senses can detect differences, and our emotions and feelings can be disturbed if we encounter sharp differences regarding aesthetic elements of life.

To help clarify comments on aesthetics we draw on a definition from the web site (W20).

Aesthetics is a branch of philosophy dealing with the nature of art, beauty, and taste, with the creation and appreciation of beauty. It is more scientifically defined as the study of sensory or sensori-emotional values, sometimes called judgments of sentiment and taste. More broadly, scholars in the field define aesthetics as "critical reflection on art, culture and nature."

The German philosopher and critic Adorno who wrote much about aesthetics argued that aesthetics could not proceed without confronting the role of the culture industry in the commodification of art and aesthetic experience. In the first edition of the celebrated book by Croce (1902) he regards aesthetics not merely as a branch of philosophy, but as a fundamental human activity. The contemporary scholar of criticism Eagleton (1990) in his book on the ideology of the aesthetic reflects on the connection of aesthetics as perceptions of beauty and the like with control and power, politics and desire to subjugate. He speculates that 'If the aesthetic is a dangerous, ambiguous affair, it is because ... there is something in the body which can revolt against power which inscribes it ...'. (page 28). In contrast Dissanayake (1995) suggests that 'Humankind has been called tool using (*Homo faber*), upright (a hominid precursor, (*Homo erectus*) playful (*Homo ludens*), and wise (*Homo sapiens*): but why not *Homo aestheticus*? When mentioned at all, art is usually regarded as an indication of human intelligence, as evidenced of the ability to make and use symbols, or of degree of cultural development, not as something biologically distinct and noteworthy in its own right'. (page xiii) A comprehensive overview of the vast and complex subject of aesthetics is offered by the anthology edited by Kearney and Rasmussen (2001). While scholars may deliberate on the meaning and significance of the term *aesthetics* the ordinary citizens sees the world through different eyes which nevertheless is highly

significant as offering a sense of identity, satisfaction or distress which is reflected in feelings and emotions and moods.

That there are aspects of life in Mexico which are generally hidden from close public view and which touch on matters of bribery and corruption, environmental and ecological damage and inequalities, few would dispute. With respect to bribery and corruption, environmental and ecology damage and inequalities in Mexico relating to tourism we have some anecdotes and speculative evidence. However, clear incontrovertible evidence about the nature, magnitude and significance is lacking. Anecdotal stories and the occasional dramatic public display of particularly events such as deaths due to violence relating to drug activities, kidnappings or destruction of coast lines and forests for example due to storms or water management failures appear as press releases and TV news events that are reported in Mexico and elsewhere. Such events may impinge on tourism directly or indirectly but it is hard to identify the specific connections in every case. Regarding the matter of inequalities the evidence is persuasive that there are significant differences at all scales within Mexico. Precisely what roles tourism plays in exacerbating or alleviating differences is speculative. But general trends can be identified. In this project we try to collect opinions and impressions from respondents about their perceptions of such matters, rather than hard evidence of actual cases of environment or ecological damage, bribery and corruption or inequalities. Campuzano et al. (2014) acknowledge that while tourism has brought benefits to some in Puerto Vallarta, there are significant differences and spatial segregation among the rich and poor, and the benefits are unequally distributed: a typical situation in many tourist resorts in Mexico.

We include four quotations from recent articles in *The Economist* which touch on the economic world of Mexico, especially investors and the informal sector and challenges concerning justice and safety. Such matters relate to inequalities and the direct links to tourism are not always immediately evident though the service sector does employ many who serve tourists.

From darkness, dawn: Nov 24th 2012

'Some awful years are giving way to what, if managed properly, could be a prosperous period for Latin America's second-largest economy. ... Its economy remains dependent on the fortunes of the USA, and financial crises in Europe make investors jittery. Promised reforms will depend on persuading entrenched interests to accept them. Corruption and bad government, especially at the local level, may cause good initiatives to fall at the last hurdle. And the drug war is by no means over.'

Labour pains: Nov 3rd 2012

'Mexico has one of the largest informal economies in Latin America.'

Stingy by any measure: Aug 16th 2014

'Mexico is the only country in the region where the minimum wage is significantly below the poverty line. ... Big economies like Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Columbia raised their base wages from 2002 to 2011 between two and three times the breadline. In those countries income equality improved sharply as a result.'

Reality bites: May 25th 2013

'Investors who were starry eyed about Mexico's economic potential at the beginning of the year are now having misgivings. It [the OECD] calls for a mixture of policies to reduce the size of the informal economy, where 60% of unemployment languishes, mostly in small, inefficient companies. It also argues for stronger legal system that enforces competition laws, for example, and improvements to the criminal-justice process to make life safer for individuals and firms.'

Inequality within a country is touched on in the work by the Legatum Institute in their project on prosperity using a wide range of economic and social factors to measure the prosperity of a country. The study suggest that Mexico ranks 59th with Canada in 3rd position out of 142 countries. Full details of the project are on the web site (W21).

Meléndez (2008) offers a discussion paper of matters relating to connections among the free trade agreement embraced by NAFTA and tourism and the environment in Mexico. Dispute resolution matters are identified with respect to those from USA who wish to invest in tourist projects, and also the regulations concerning environmental impacts of tourist activities. These are complex topics.

One of the most famous tourist resorts in Mexico is Cancun. It is clear that the sustainability of this resort is in jeopardy according to the web site (W22).

'There have been adverse environmental effects as a result of the governments drive to develop mega-projects along Mexico's coast. Cancun's carrying capacity has been exceeded to a point where the benefits of tourism are beginning to significantly diminish. The unchecked development of Cancun has considerably contaminated its lagoon in the west. Parts of the lagoon have been destroyed to make room for a major highway system. In addition, new strains of vegetation species have appeared which cannot be cultivated in the indigenous environment. This vegetation often washes onto the road producing foul smells which negatively affect tourist perceptions. A nearby rainforest has lost some 60,000 hectares simply as a result of the development plans. The erection of hotels and restaurants not only destroys wildlife in the rainforests but hotel owners are also forced to import exotic plants to replace those which they have carelessly destroyed. It is also apparent that in the areas where hotels were constructed, the surrounding environment suffered far more environmental damage during Hurricane Gilbert than those areas that were preserved in their natural state. The

construction of 120 hotels in 20 years has also endangered breeding areas for marine turtles, as well as causing large numbers of fish and shellfish to be depleted or disappear just offshore. In order to prevent further environmental destruction many Mexican conservation groups have lobbied the Mexican government to regulate the development of Cancun and other tourist hot spots.'

Environment problems relating to the development of Cancun are presented on the web site (W23).

Kersten (1997) has examined the impacts of tourism on regional development especially in Chiapas following NAFTA.

"Tourism helps to speed up development in poor countries. It is easier to attract tourists than to sell high-tech products on the world market." (OECD 1995, 39)

'In Mexico, under the impacts of neoliberalism and the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), this statement seems to be especially cogent for the "poor of the poor", the unskilled workers, subsistence farmers, unemployed or dislocated. Tourism in Mexico will probably create new jobs in the near future and has some comparative advantages against other sectors as well as against the U.S. and Canada. Therefore, until the overall level of Mexican development rises and Mexico's comparative advantages in tourism and elsewhere decreases (OECD 1995, 39), one could argue that tourism might offer a safe haven for some of Mexico's poor thereby diminishing some of NAFTA's expected drawbacks for the poor.'

Eberts et al. (2011) (W24) offer an empirical study of the environmental and health problems of the massive waste dump near Puerto Vallarta. They suggest that there are some connections among tourism in Puerto Vallarta and the size of the dump and the material stored there.

More systematic empirical research is needed to provide data which can be replicated and publicly scrutinized on matters concerning the shadow sides of tourists. This work is controversial and potential threatens some vested interests.

4. Feelings and emotions: Connections to senses and wellbeing

From the moment of birth until we draw our last and final breath experiences impinge on us as sentient beings. Our five senses detect each experience and send messages to our brain: there may be conscious awareness or not of the experience, and reactions may be consciously recognized or subconsciously absorbed into our being. Our bodily functions may be altered temporarily or more permanently: our senses are heightened or dulled and emotions and feelings occur. The mind is at work to evaluate, judge, cope, explain, reject or otherwise ignore the experience or sensations. In this section we display two schematic diagrams to illustrate some of the connections among experiences, emotions and feelings and well-being. We also offer some comments regarding experiences, for example, seeing tourists or thinking about the words *tourism* or *tourist*, and the emotions, feelings and sentiments that are created and expressed. The questionnaire used for the survey attempts to elicit responses from a sample of adults and young people in each community when they reflect on tourism and their experiences of seeing tourists.

The world famous neurologist Professor Antonio Damasio has studied the brain and mind for many years and systematically examined connections between experiences and feelings, emotions and moods of subjects. He has observed that joy or sorrow can emerge only after the brain registers physical changes in the body. In an article in *Scientific American* in the section on MIND he reflects on *feeling our emotions*. Details are on the web site (W25).

'For centuries, the fleeting and highly subjective world of feelings was the purview of philosophers. But during the past 30 years, Antonio R. Damasio has strived to show that feelings are what arise as the brain interprets emotions, which are themselves purely physical signals of the body reacting to external stimuli.

'MIND: So, then, feelings are formed by emotions?

Damasio: Yes. The brain is constantly receiving signals from the body, registering what is going on inside of us. It then processes the signals in neural maps, which it then compiles in the so-called somatosensory centers. Feelings occur when the maps are read and it becomes apparent that emotional changes have been recorded—as snapshots of our physical state, so to speak.'

Differences between emotions and feelings are explored by Voris in his article at (W6).

Over the course of our work over the last decade many Mexicans have shared with us their informal anecdotal opinions about tourists and tourism. In general terms feelings can influence the way a person leads their life and the way they relate to others. Feelings can be recognized as a state of consciousness resulting from emotions, sentiments or desires. In psychology, the word feeling is usually reserved for the conscious subjective experience of emotion. A gut feeling, or gut reaction, is a visceral emotional reaction to something. It may be negative, such as a feeling of uneasiness, or positive, such as a feeling of trust. Gut feelings are generally regarded as not modulated by conscious thought, and as a reflection of intuition rather than rationality. Affect refers to the experience of feeling or emotion. Emotion can be differentiated from a number of similar constructs within the field of affective neuroscience:

- **Feelings** are best understood as a subjective representation of emotions, private to the individual experiencing them.
- **Moods** are diffuse affective states that generally last for much longer durations than emotions and are also usually less intense than emotions.
- **Affect** is an encompassing term, used to describe the topics of emotion, feelings, and moods together, even though it is commonly used interchangeably with emotion.

We experience the world through our five senses: sight, sound, taste, smell and the largest organ of the body-the skin-detects and feels, and the mind mediates and creates thoughts, reflects on memories and generates emotions and feelings: words come to mind and sentiments arise-positive, negative or neutral. We may choose to develop a narrative around the experience and seek to explain, control or understand causes and consequences or even to assign blame or responsibility. Or we can be at peace and be fully aware of the feelings and accept them with equanimity and a measure of detachment. A narrative may seem to give us a sense of control or despair, and cause us to be angry, joyful, frustrated or a whole range of expressions may come to mind. Our sense of identity and belonging gives us security to cope with circumstances that potentially create distress. This aspect of identity is elaborated in the work by Hofstede et al. (2010) and his international research team referred to later in section 5 on dimensions of the culture of a nation.

'Feeling (vedana) in the Buddhist tradition, is just the basic affective tone of our experience, most simply as pleasant, unpleasant or neither-pleasant-not-unpleasant, distinct from the mental or emotional reactions which it often initiates. Feelings are present whenever there is consciousness, whether we are aware of them or not. Sometimes they may be quite subtle, and other times we are simply not aware of them. In practice there is actually a continuum of feeling tones, which range from the most ecstatically pleasant to ordinarily pleasant, neutral or slightly unpleasant, to excruciatingly unpleasant. Unlike the brain, the mind has no fixed form or dimension. As

consciousness it precedes things. Mental and physical phenomena are interdependent. Mind does not make the physical, but it is mind which is the more important, as it can acknowledge and recognize, define and qualify, organize and integrate the physical. And it is the moral quality of mind, defiled or purified, which conditions the affective quality of our experience. The mind is the source of both misery and joy, depending on how it has or has not been developed.' Ajahn Thiradhammo, Treasures of the Buddha's Teachings, Publications, 2014.

I may accept that I am a conscious being, though precisely what this implies defies a neat description. I can inquire as to the content of my consciousness and conclude it embraces emotions, feelings and memories which in total comprise what some philosophers refer to as *qualia*: that is the specific quality of one's subjective experiences of the world, like the taste of sea water or the smell of coffee, unmistakable and possibly unique to each of us. Can we prove their actual existence? Is consciousness simply the medium in which I live and have a sense of personal identity? One problem is how to represent it, especially in different selves from my own.

"Qualia are the subjective or qualitative properties of experiences. What it feels like, experientially, to see a red rose is different from what it feels like to see a yellow rose. Likewise for hearing a musical note played by a piano and hearing the same musical note played by a tuba. The qualia of these experiences are what give each of them its characteristic 'feel' and also what distinguish them from one another. Qualia have traditionally been thought to be intrinsic qualities of experience that are directly available to [introspection](#)." (W27)

"Introspection is the process by which someone comes to form beliefs about her own mental states. We might form the belief that someone else is happy on the basis of perception – for example, by perceiving her behavior. But a person typically does not have to observe her own behavior in order to determine whether she is happy. Rather, one makes this determination by introspecting." (W28)

A schematic representation of some of the connections and consequences of experiences when a Mexican encounters a tourist are shown on Figure 3. Experiences with tourists can be considered as a *lived experience*: this term has been used by Massam et al. (2012) to examine the stated subjective QOL of respondents as a complement to other studies of QOL that rely on objective data sets to determine QOL scores. A lived experience is subjective and relates to memories and perceptions. Such memories can impinge on the body's immune system and in some circumstances generate sickness and distress. A schematic illustration of the connections of memories to distress is given on Figure 4 drawing on the celebrated work of Selye.

FIGURE 3: HOW DOES A MEXICAN REACT TO A TOURIST?

EXPERIENCES OF/WITH TOURISTS

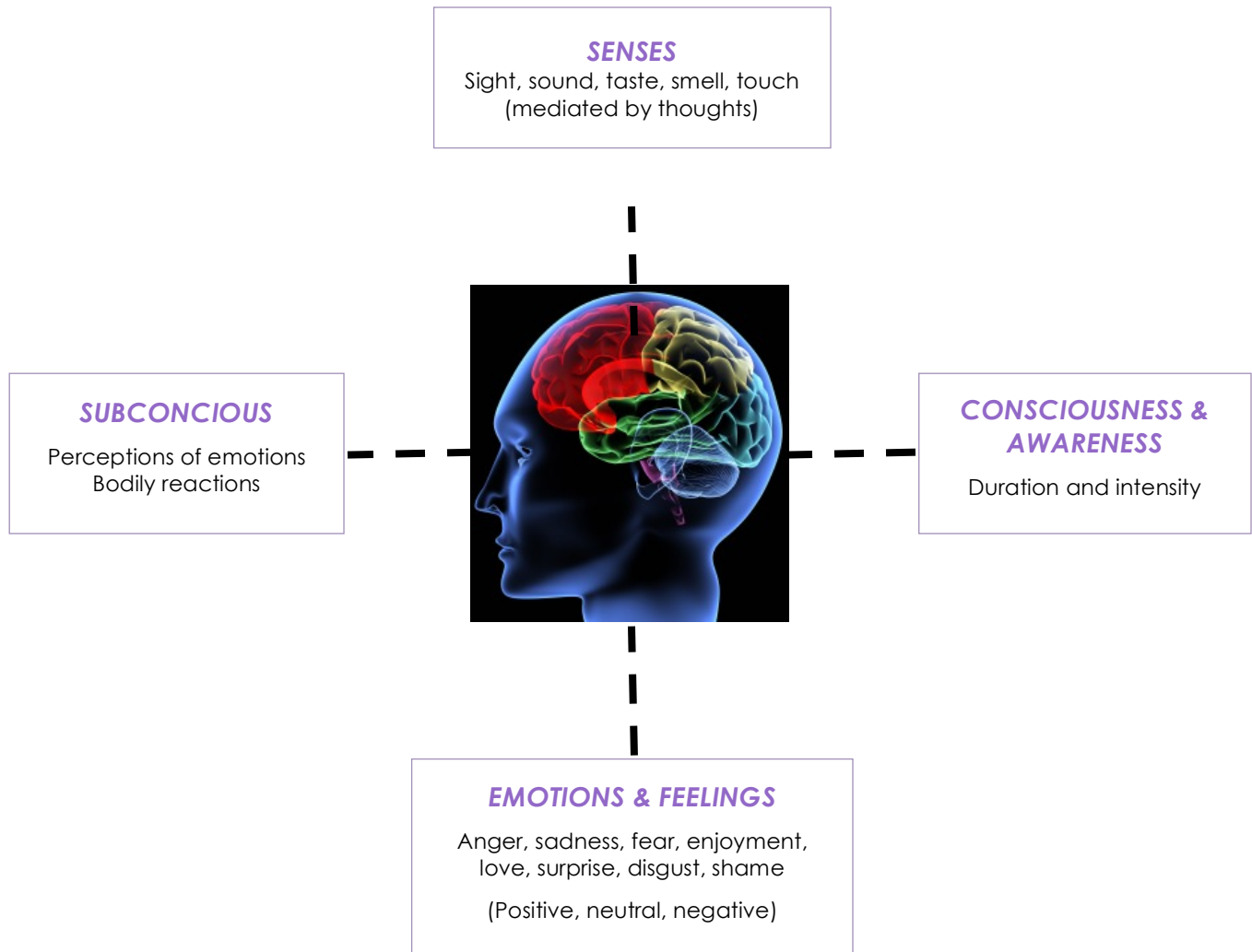
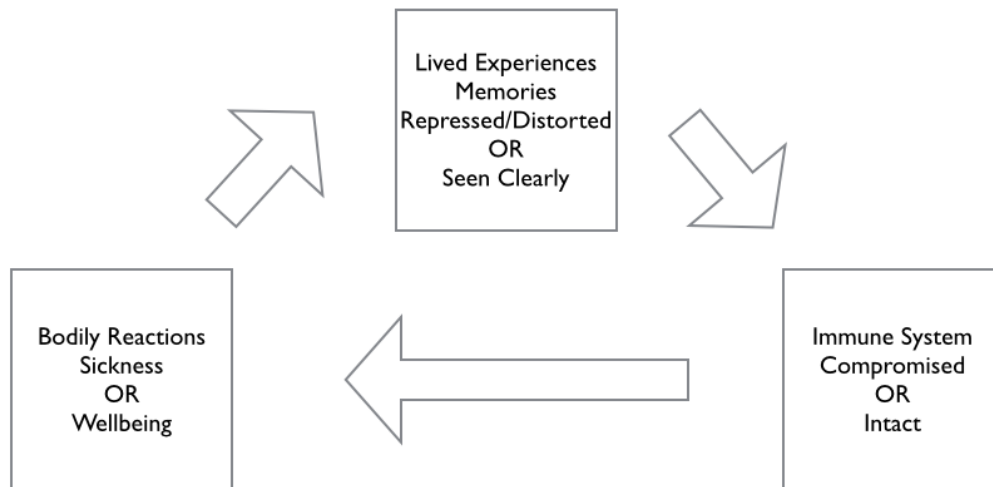


FIGURE 4: MEMORIES-IMMUNE SYSTEM-WELLBEING



Dr Hans Selye (1907-1982)-founder of medical study of stress.
The Stress of Life (1956)

PNI- psychoneuroimmunology- a growing field of medicine

Prior to developing a questionnaire discussions between Massam and Espinoza took place at CUC with members of the research team who would administer the questionnaire to ensure they had a good understanding of the purpose of our project, and be aware of some of the difficulties of explaining the nature and purpose of project to respondents in the focus groups.

5. Overview of data collection

During the months of May and June 2014 Rodrigo Espinoza and his research team at CUC Universidad de Guadalajara in Puerto Vallarta prepared two types of questionnaire:

1. Locus of Control survey
2. Opinion survey

Espinoza selected a sample of 20 respondents in the five communities under investigation: 10 adults and 10 young people. The communities were selected to cover a range of types of tourist destination that are accessible to the research teams. .

First each respondent completed a Locus of Control questionnaire. We used the set of 13 questions original questionnaire of Rotter (1966) shown on the web site (W29). But in order to focus some attention on tourism two of the original questions were replaced. The original Questions 4 and 8 were replaced by:

Question 4

- *The idea that tourists treat Mexicans badly is nonsense*
- *Most Mexicans don't realize the extent to which the way they are treated by tourists is influenced by accidental happenings*

Question 8

- *In the case of the hardworking Mexican at a resort there is rarely, if ever, such thing as an unsatisfied tourist*
- *Many times work opportunities with tourists tend to be so unrelated to how hard I am prepared to work*

The LOC scores are reported in section 6.

Second, data on opinions, feelings and emotions were collected in a series of focus groups, and collective responses derived and recorded. A set of 6 general topics was developed drawing on the six perspectives discussed in section 4 and from earlier discussions with colleagues in Puerto Vallarta at CUC, and tested with a sample of students in the Universidad of Guadalajara in Puerto Vallarta, as well as with selected individuals and officials in each community. This specific project on the impacts of tourism and tourists on life as impacting feelings and emotions was discussed with the respondents, as a complementary study to previous work on tourism published by CUC. The respondent were informed that this project is being undertaken in order to raise awareness of approaches to the study of tourism in all its many aspects and to help

those in authority and all citizens make wise decisions and plans regarding tourism in Mexico.

The information from respondents in the communities of: Tomatlán, Cabo Corrientes, Puerto Vallarta and Las Palmas were collected in two focus groups separately of adults or young people. In La Higuera Blanca only one focus group was used because the respondents preferred this approach.

The following series of 6 questions were used to solicit responses on attitudes, emotions and feelings about tourists and tourism.

Questions

1. We each experience the world through our 5 senses: sight, sound, feel, touch, smell. When you think of a tourist which words describe how you feel with respect to each sense?
2. Feelings and emotions are connected though our minds and bodies, our consciousness and sub-consciousness: examples of emotions are anger, happiness, surprise, sadness, shame, pleasure, jealousy. Consider which emotions you experience when you think about tourists and tourism.

Which 3 or 4 emotions do you generally feel when you think about tourists?

How intense are the emotions: are they positive, negative, neutral: weak, strong, neutral?

How long do the emotions last: a few minutes/hours/days?

3. FIVE true/false claims about tourists and tourism are presented for you to reflect on. There are no wrong or right answers.
 - a. I feel good about myself and my family: true/false/uncertain-neutral
 - b. I feel concerned about myself and my family: true/false/uncertain-neutral
 - c. Tourists and tourism are a mixed blessing and I am unsure about how I feel about them
 - d. Some tourists make me feel good about life
 - e. Some tourists make me feel concerned about myself
4. Do you think that tourism and tourists add to/reduce/change your overall happiness/buying habits/sense of beauty and aesthetics?
 - a. Do they (tourists and tourism) increase happiness/buying habits/sense of beauty to me and my family? True/false/neutral
 - b. Do they (tourists and tourism) reduce increase happiness/buying habits/sense of beauty to me and my family? True/false/neutral

- c. Do they (tourists and tourism) not change increase happiness/buying habits/sense of beauty to me and my family? True/false/neutral
 - d. Some kinds of tourists and tourism add to happiness: True/false/neutral
 - e. Some (tourists and tourism) change my buying habits and add to my sense of beauty and aesthetics: True/false/neutral
- 5.** Do you think that tourism and tourists has anything to do with bribery and corruption/environmental & ecological damage/inequalities in your community? Reflect on this general question.
- a. Do you think they (tourism and tourists) have anything to do with bribery and corruption in your community or state? True/false/uncertain
 - b. Do you think they (tourism and tourists) have anything to do with environmental and ecological damage? True/false/uncertain
 - c. Do you think they (tourism and tourists) have anything to do with bribery and corruption and environmental and ecological damage?
 - d. Do you think they (tourism and tourists) have anything to do with bribery and corruption, environmental and ecological damage, and inequalities?
- 6.** Overall what are your general feelings, emotions and thoughts about tourism and tourists, and the impacts on your life-style and future of your community?

6. Tourism in Mexico: Cultural setting & locus of control

Two questions have challenged scholars through the ages. Why do we do what we do, and why do we feel what we feel? When we consider how Mexicans feel about tourists and tourism we suggest that opinions and feelings are strongly influenced by a number of factors related to two basic contextual settings. The first setting involves the values and attitudes that are shared by the majority of citizens, which some scholars, such as Hofstede et al. (2010), have referred to as the cultural setting. Second, the mind-set of the individual who views the world and their position in it as a response to their own ability to take responsibility and control their lives and destiny influences attitudes, feelings and emotions. A set of techniques have been developed to measure this aspect of an individual's personality. They are generally called Locus of Control (LOC) surveys after the term was introduced by Rotter in the 1950's. An individual responds to a set of 13 general questions and a score is derived which in the Rotter questionnaire ranges from 0 to 13. A high score suggests the individual has virtually no control of the outcomes in their life and the controls are external to the person. A low score suggests the individual has control of their lives.

For comparative purposes we derive LOC scores not only for Mexicans in the 5 communities but for a sample of individuals in Canada. A sample of Canadian Buddhist is also included. This allows a modest set of comparisons to be made with suggested implications regarding levels of wellbeing of Mexicans in the light of their perceptions of the impacts of tourism in their communities. An overview of LOC is offered by Fournier on the web site (W30).

'The extent to which people believe they have power over events in their lives. A person with an *internal locus of control* believes that he or she can influence events and their outcomes, while someone with an *external locus of control* blames outside forces for everything.' (W31, W32)

The quality of life and wellbeing of a Mexican is influenced by public planning and the provision of public goods like clean water and air, safe streets, health care and education facilities, public security etc. Also the value systems which embrace the individual give rise to a sense of identity and belonging, and personal security that engenders confidence and worth, and the capacity to cope with the exigencies of life in ways that give meaning and purpose to existence. The market provides goods and services that can enrich the life of an individual by offering consumer goods that please the senses and satisfy the basic needs. However, the basic needs are often distorted by the creating of wants far beyond basic requirements: consumerism is

rampant in many parts of Mexico and this has profound effects on the lives for many. When tourism and tourists enter a region then all aspects of life there can be altered for a Mexican: they are exposed to different values and attitudes, consumption patterns can be disturbed, attitudes toward public goods can be modified and the sense of identity and belonging can be challenged.

To complement the LOC study we use the work of Hofstede et al. (2010) in Belgium who have examined the six dimensions that characterize value systems in a state that in total capture much of the essence of the cultural setting in which opinions are formed. We include summaries for Mexico and Canada.

A summary of the scores for the LOC study are given below, with some comparative scores for students in Canada. We also have applied the questionnaire to a sample of Buddhists in Canada: individuals who turn away from matters of controlling their external world and paying less attention to material affairs rather they tend to focus on controlling their attitudes towards whatever situation they find themselves in to seek acceptance and equanimity to life and events.

The results for the LOC surveys are given on Table 1

TABLE 1: LOCUS OF CONTROL SCORES — MEXICO

Community	Young	Adult	Max	Min	Average
Puerto Vallarta	5.1	4.8	11	0	4.9
Las Palmas	4.1	5.1	9	2	4.6
Cobo Corrientes	5.2	5.7	9	2	5.4
Higuera Blanca	5.3	6.3	9	2	5.8
Tomatlán	5.8	6.3	9	3	6.0

LOCUS OF CONTROL SCORES — MEXICO, CANADA & BUDDHISTS

	Min	Max	Average
Mexico	0	11	5.3
Canada	6	9	7.5
Buddhists	3	5	3.3

The range of scores for sample in the Mexican communities is large: from 11 to 0, whereas for the Canadian sample the range is smaller from 6 to 9, and for the sample of Buddhists it is very small from 3 to 5. This suggests considerable variation in attitudes in the Mexican communities, with more consistency among the Canadian sample, and considerable consistency among the sample of Canadian Buddhists.

The average LOC scores for the five communities are generally lower than the Canadian sample with two communities—Puerto Vallarta and Las Palmas having the

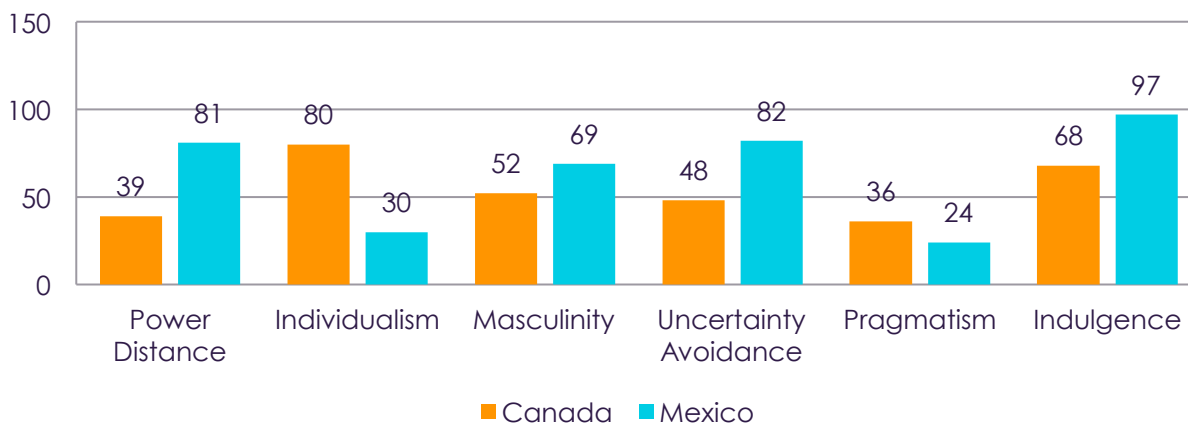
lowest scores (below 5). Tomatlán has the highest average score of 6. Overall it appears that most respondents share the view that they feel they have quite a lot of control over their lives. If we examine the scores for males and females there are only minor variations and no clear patterns emerge. Adult females in Higuera Blanca have the highest scores suggesting less control of their world than other females in the communities. With respect to differences in scores between young people and adults, with the exception of Puerto Vallarta, adults appear to have higher scores with the most pronounced differences being in Las Palmas and Higuera Blanca. Young people appear to feel they have more control over their lives than adults, but the difference are not very pronounced.

The LOC scores for Canadians are generally somewhat higher than the sample of Mexicans suggesting they feel they have less control of their lives, even though they enjoy higher material comforts and life chances in economic terms and in terms of the provision and access to public goods like health care, education, personal safety and security, clean air and water and utilities. The scores for the Buddhist sample are low and even though the sample exhibits a wide variety of economic situations, life styles and ethnic backgrounds and financial security they seem to enjoy a sense of internal control of their life chances.

The Hofstede Centre in Belgium has been involved in international projects to identify and characterize cultural traits of many countries: empirical evidence confirms intuitively experienced notions that each country has a set of particular cultural elements that provide the context for the life of citizens. It is within this context that citizens live their daily lives and judge others beyond their borders and others who visit the country as tourists for example. Much has been made in recent years of global trends of markets and consumerism that soften the differences among values in countries, yet it is clear that local values still run deep within some countries such as Mexico. In essence the Hofstede Centre has identified six basic dimensions that capture the major aspects of the culture of a nation. The dimensions are:

- Power distance
- Individualism
- Masculinity
- Uncertainty avoidance
- Pragmatism
- Indulgence

The details of the six dimensions are given on the web site (W33). A graphical display of the cultural dimensions for Mexico is given on the web site (W34). We also include the dimensions for Canada and visual differences can be clearly seen.



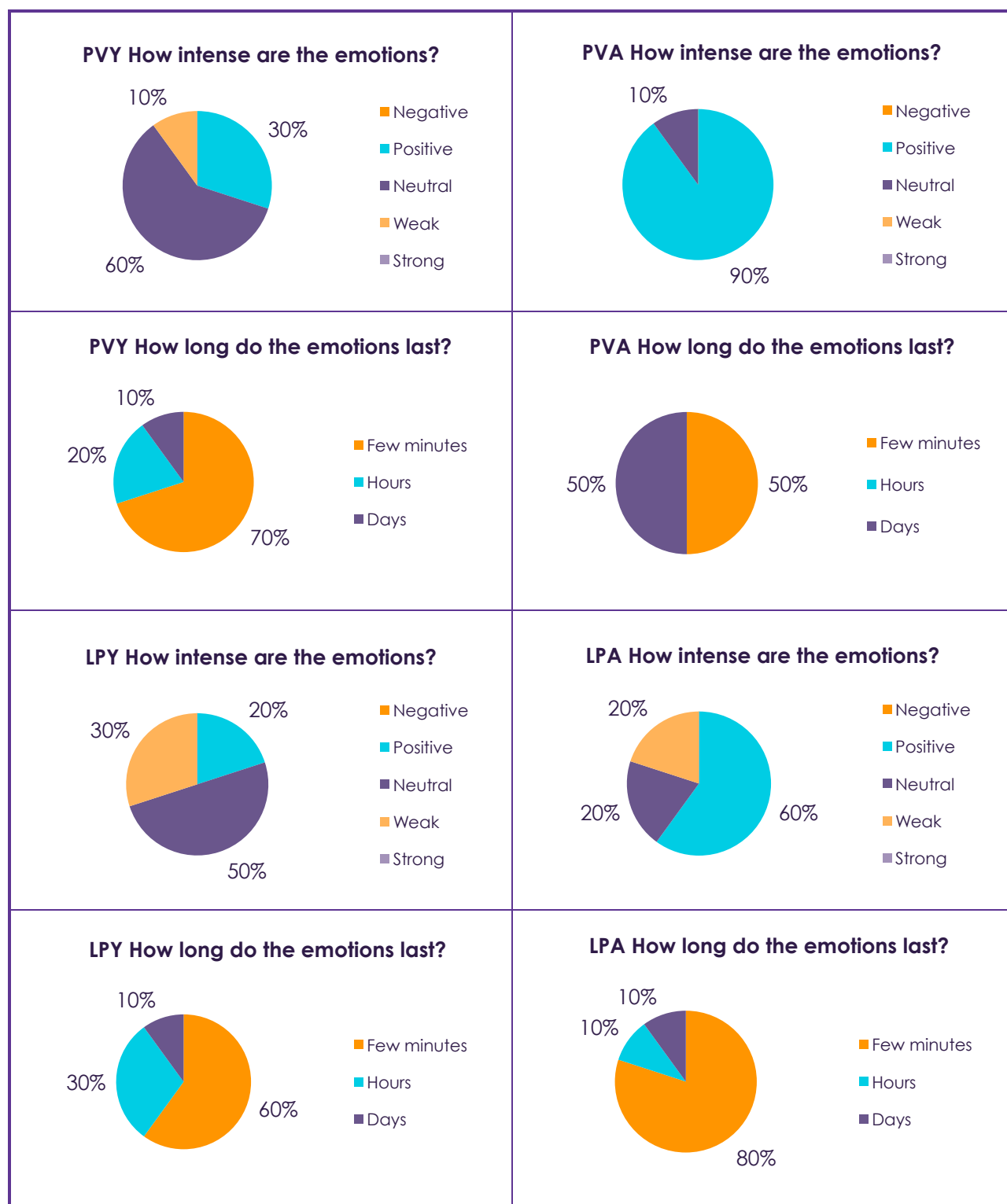
Essentially Mexico is a nation with well-established traditional values of male dominance, the avoidance of uncertainty about the future and compliance with strong central authorities that are removed from the daily lives of most Mexicans who rely on their families and close networks of friends for emotional support and identity. A sense of worth and belonging and enjoyment of life is deeply engrained in the society with shared values of stability, albeit in a country with considerable contrasts of wealth, economic opportunities and material conditions. On the other hand Canada is a country with a loose-knit society of many new immigrants; Canadians enjoy material wealth and apparent opportunities and prides itself on individualism, acceptance of others, egalitarianism and independence of spirit for citizens to make their own way in life. A full elaboration of the dimensions for the countries is given on the web site (W34).

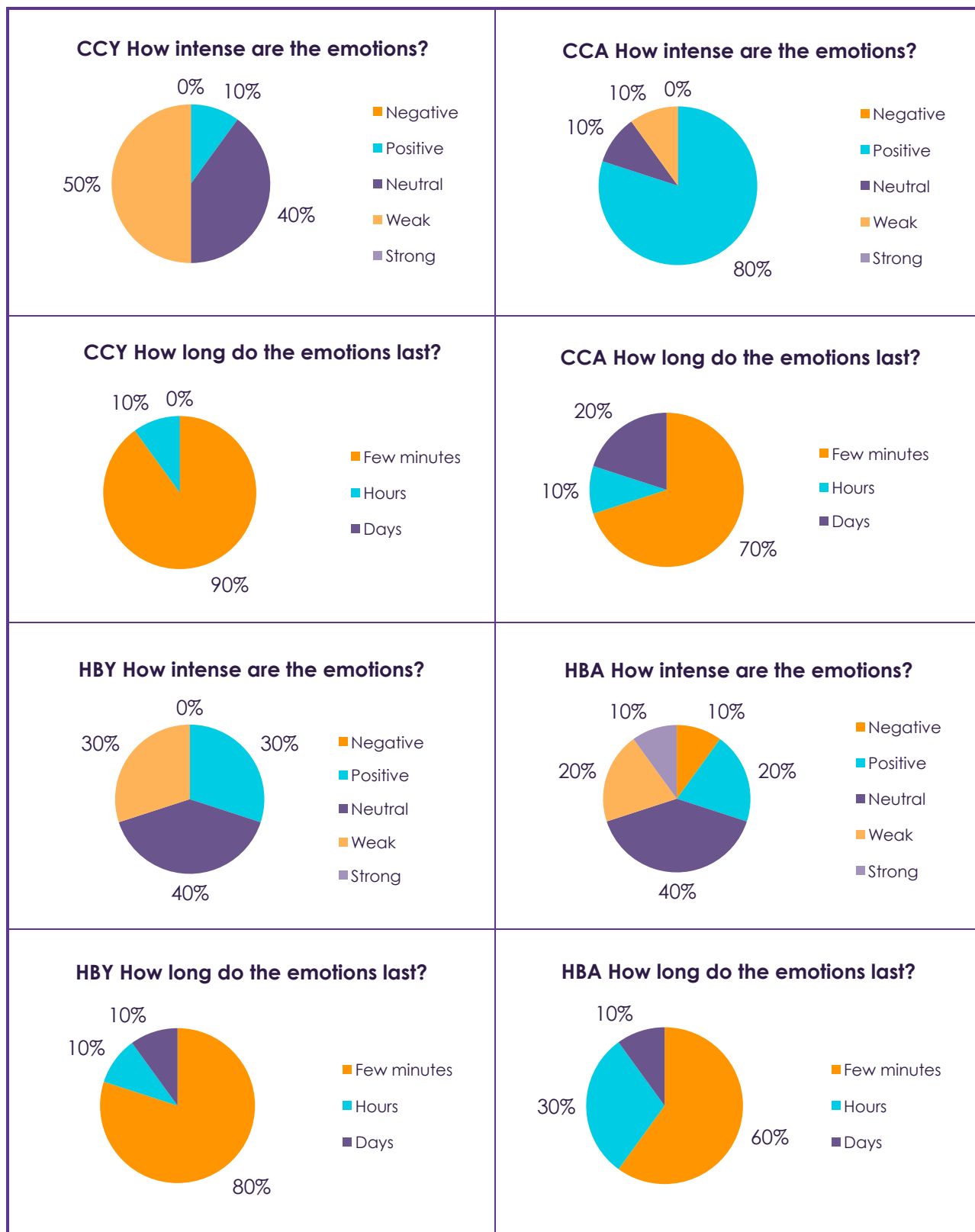
Canada exhibits high expectations and belief that they control their lives, yet some Canadians in the sample appear to fall short of their ideals, and struggle to do better by having more leisure time, better home and more family time yet feel constrained by circumstances beyond their control to achieve these. Canadians have on average higher LOC scores (7.5) than Mexicans (5.3), and much higher scores than a sample of Buddhists, who score on average 3.3, perhaps indicating close adherence to the Buddhist path of life that suggests that the controls that really count in life are of the mind and attitudes rather than material matters *per se*. Mexicans seem to feel they control their lives by rights and obligations within their tight moral circles of family and friends. Their material wealth is low and expectations are not pressing matters that create distress. They tend to exhibit an acceptance of life as it is rather than as it should be. Future research could focus more deeply on long-term studies of trends in changing attitudes of adults and young people as the economy of Mexico evolves, government policies are implemented regarding labour laws and environmental regulations take hold and safety, security and the judicial system improves. Attitudes towards tourists will evolve over time.

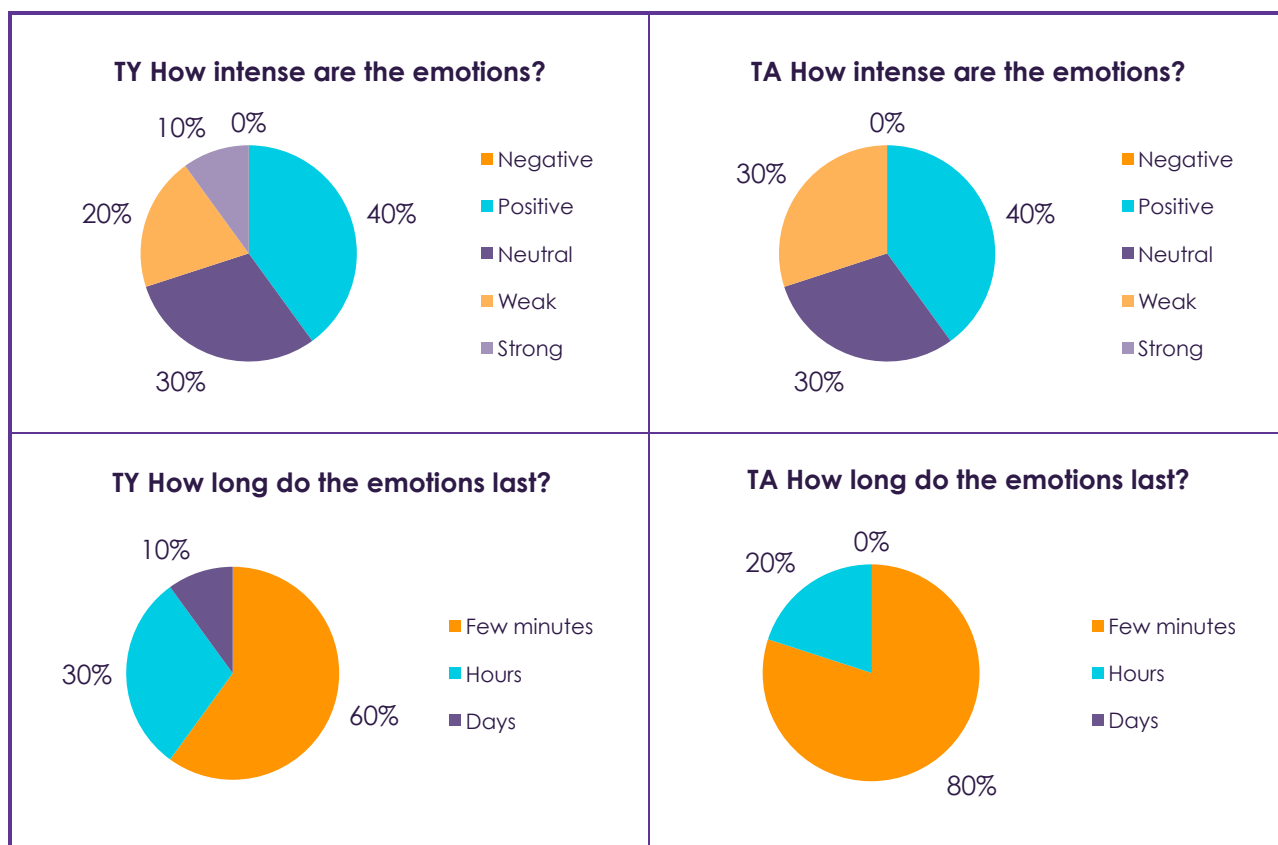
7. A case study of attitudes toward tourism & tourists

In this section we will present a summary of the subjective responses to four questions used in the questionnaire. Specifically we will offer a set of four figures to illustrate the results, and pertinent comments about the nature of the responses are given. Rather than present tables of the numerical values we have constructed a set of diagrams that give visual representation of the empirical results: numbers are included on the diagrams. For each question we present results in each community for the young people interviewed and the adults. Rather than describe in detail and interpret each circular diagram in each figure we will draw attention to specific elements portrayed, and leave it to the reader to draw their own more detailed conclusions. A set of comments concerning each figure is offered.

FIGURE 5: FEELINGS ABOUT TOURISM/TOURISTS — DIRECTION, INTENSITY, DURATION







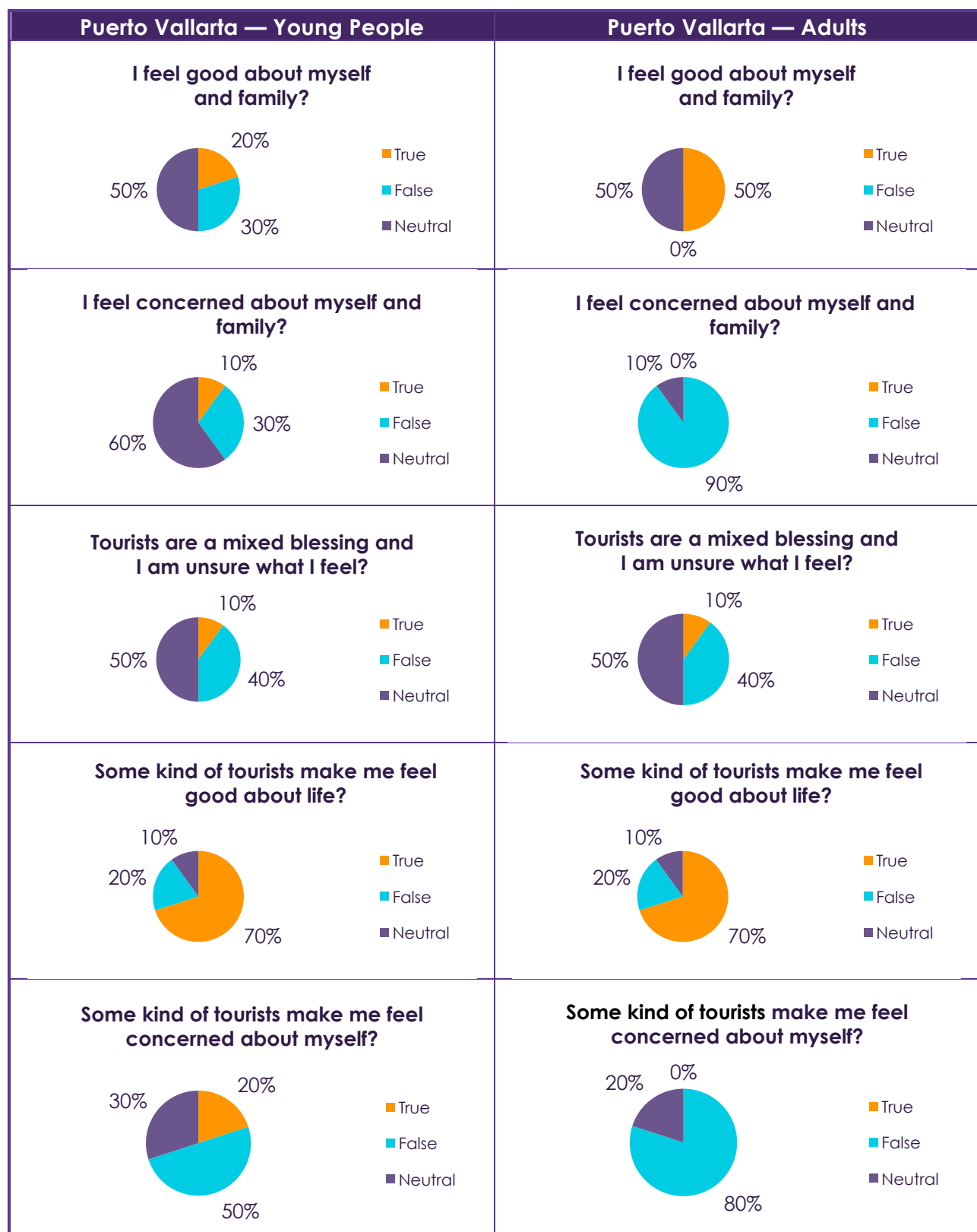
PVY Puerto Vallarta – Young People
 PVA Puerto Vallarta – Adults
 LPY Las Palmas – Young People
 LPA Las Palmas – Adults
 CCY Cabo Corrientes – Young People
 CCA Cabo Corrientes – Adults
 HBY Higuera Blanca – Young People
 HBA Higuera Blanca – Adults
 TY Tomatlán – Young People
 TA Tomatlán – Adults

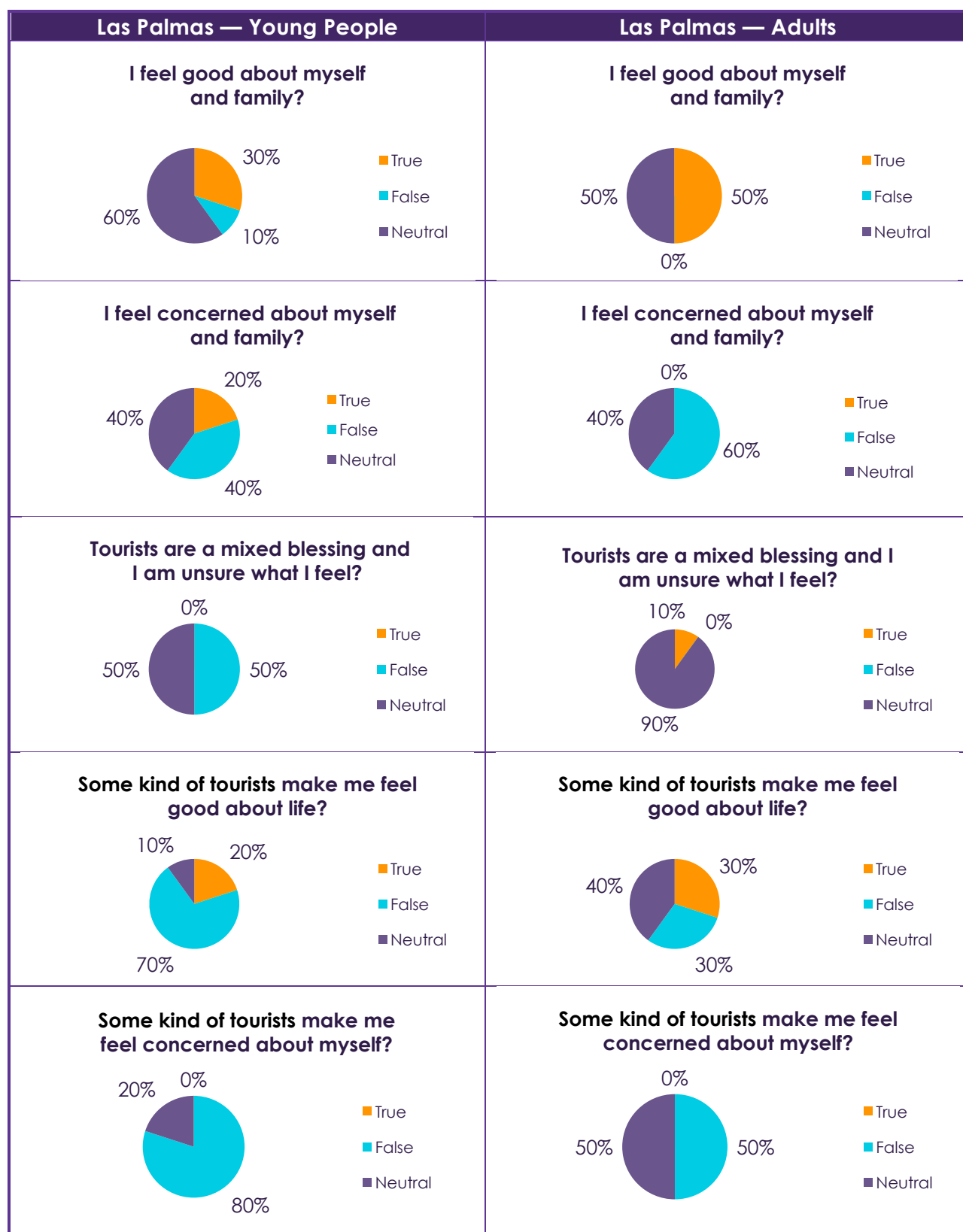
COMMENTS ABOUT FIGURE 5

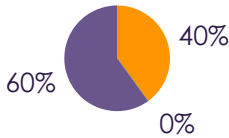
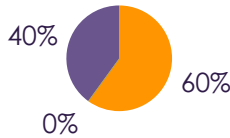
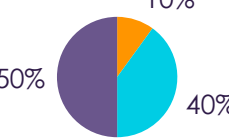
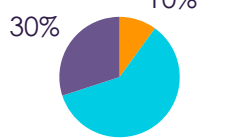
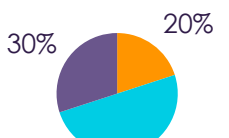
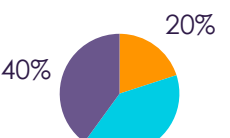
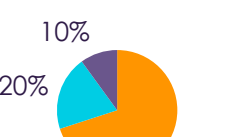
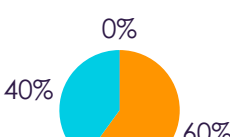
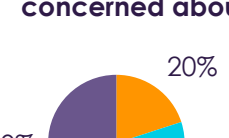
- With respect to the intensity of emotions relating to tourism and tourists, 30% of young people in PV had positive feelings whereas 90% of adults did. This was the highest level of positive feelings across the study communities.
- With respect to how long the emotions last it is interesting to note that 50% of adults in PV reflect on the emotions for days, whereas the majority of young people reflect for only a few minutes (70%).
- In LP we again can see variation between the level of positive emotions towards tourism and tourists with 20% of young people and 60% of adults.

- In contrast to PV, in LP young people and adults tend to reflect on these emotions for a short time (few minutes) 60% and 80% respectively and only 10% of both groups reflected for 'days'.
- In line with PV, with respect to the intensity of emotions relating to tourism and tourists, 10% of young people in CC had positive feelings whereas 80% of adults did.
- Also in line with LP, in CC young people and adults tend to reflect on these emotions for a short time (few minutes) 90% and 70% respectively.
- In HB young people (30%) and adults (20%) are the least positive about tourism and tourists compared with the other communities in the study.
- Yet in line with LP and CC, in HB young people and adults tend to reflect on these emotions for a short time (few minutes) 80% and 60% respectively.
- In TA young people and adults exhibit the most balanced range of emotions toward tourism and tourists with no category scoring more than 40%.
- Yet the trend of limited reflection on these emotions continues as young people and adults in TA reflect for a short time (few minutes) 60% and 80% respectively.

FIGURE 6: THOUGHTS ABOUT TOURISTS — TRUE/FALSE





Cabo Corrientes — Young People	Cabo Corrientes — Adults
I feel good about myself and family?  40% 60% 0% True False Neutral	I feel good about myself and family?  40% 60% 0% True False Neutral
I feel concerned about myself and family?  10% 50% 40% True False Neutral	I feel concerned about myself and family?  10% 30% 60% True False Neutral
Tourists are a mixed blessing and I am unsure what I feel?  20% 30% 50% True False Neutral	Tourists are a mixed blessing and I am unsure what I feel?  20% 40% 40% True False Neutral
Some kind of tourists make me feel good about life?  10% 20% 70% True False Neutral	Some kind of tourists make me feel good about life?  0% 40% 60% True False Neutral
Some kind of tourists make me feel concerned about myself?  20% 50% 30% True False Neutral	Some kind of tourists make me feel concerned about myself?  30% 30% 40% True False Neutral

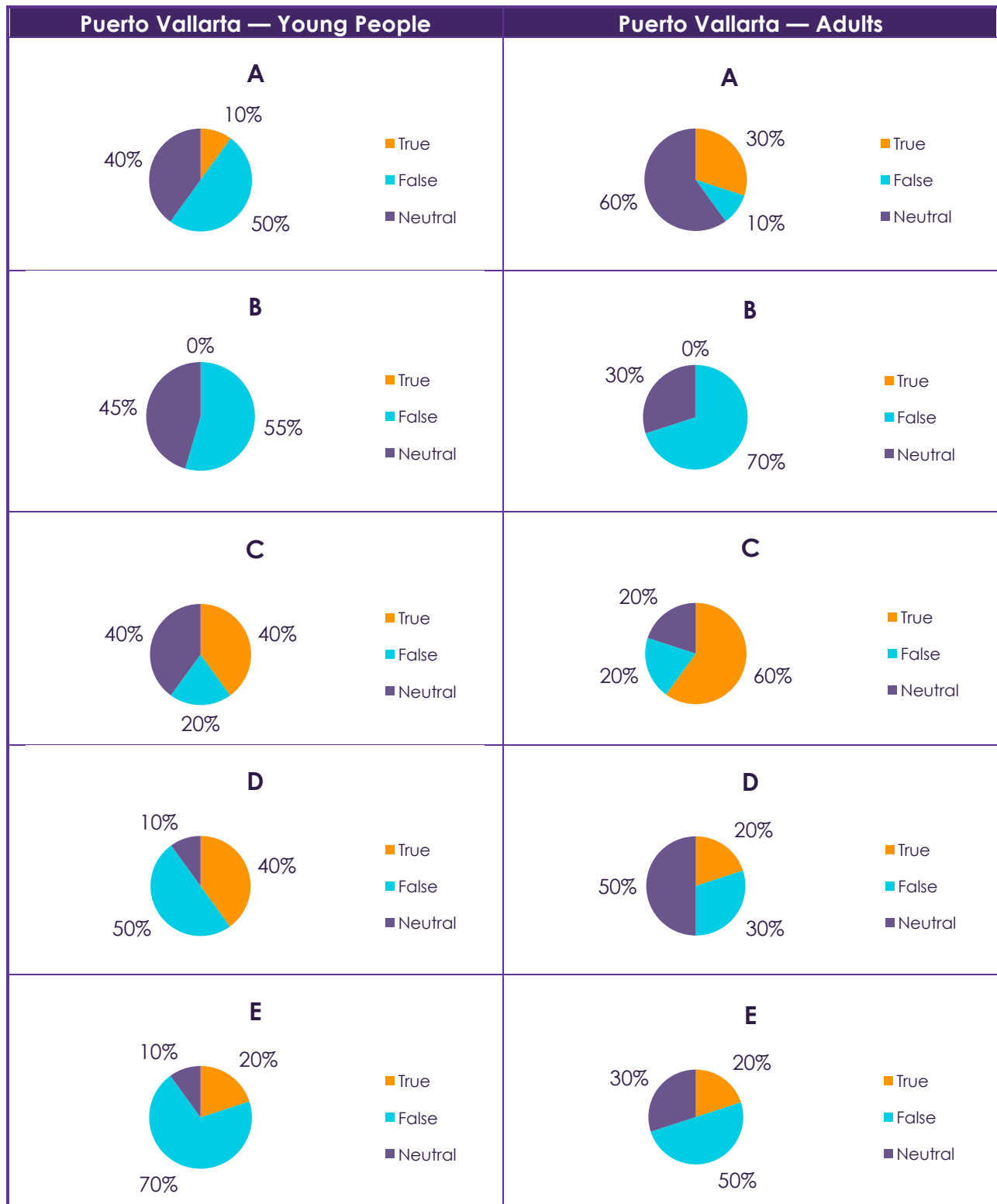
Higuera Blanca — Young People	Higuera Blanca — Adults
I feel good about myself and family? 30% 0% 70% True False Neutral	I feel good about myself and family? 20% 40% 40% True False Neutral
I feel concerned about myself and family? 10% 60% 30% True False Neutral	I feel concerned about myself and family? 20% 50% 30% True False Neutral
Tourists are a mixed blessing and I am unsure what I feel? 10% 60% 30% True False Neutral	Tourists are a mixed blessing and I am unsure what I feel? 20% 50% 30% True False Neutral
Some kind of tourists make me feel good about life? 50% 20% 30% True False Neutral	Some kind of tourists make me feel good about life? 50% 10% 40% True False Neutral
Some kind of tourists make me feel concerned about myself? 0% 70% 30% True False Neutral	Some kind of tourists make me feel concerned about myself? 10% 60% 30% True False Neutral

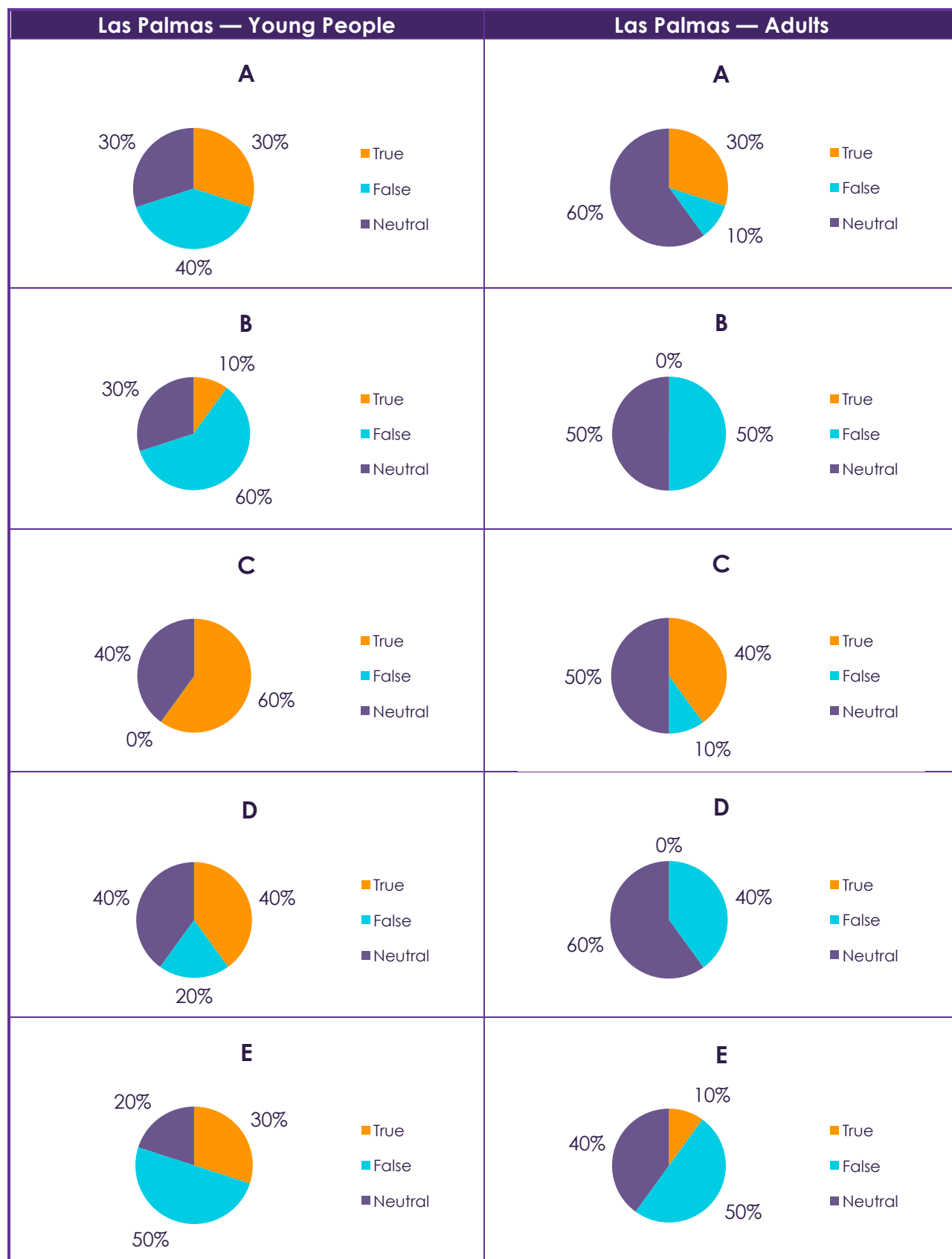
Tomatlán — Young People	Tomatlán — Adults
I feel good about myself and family? 20% 10% 70% True False Neutral	I feel good about myself and family? 40% 0% 60% True False Neutral
I feel concerned about myself and family? 30% 0% 70% True False Neutral	I feel concerned about myself and family? 0% 40% 60% True False Neutral
Tourists are a mixed blessing and I am unsure what I feel? 20% 20% 60% True False Neutral	Tourists are a mixed blessing and I am unsure what I feel? 20% 40% 40% True False Neutral
Some kind of tourists make me feel good about life? 30% 10% 60% True False Neutral	Some kind of tourists make me feel good about life? 30% 0% 70% True False Neutral
Some kind of tourists make me feel concerned about myself? 40% 20% 40% True False Neutral	Some kind of tourists make me feel concerned about myself? 20% 30% 50% True False Neutral

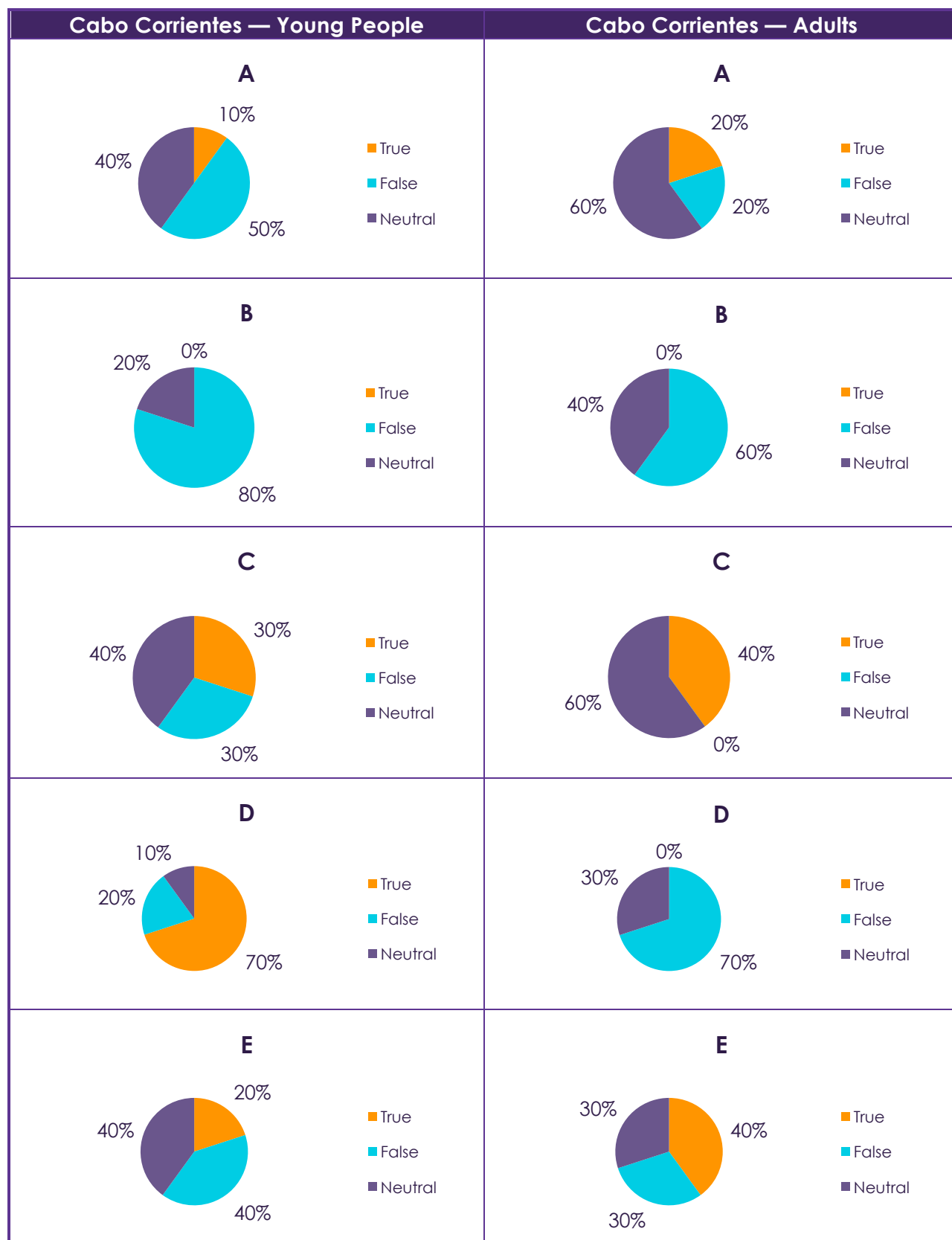
COMMENTS ABOUT FIGURE 6

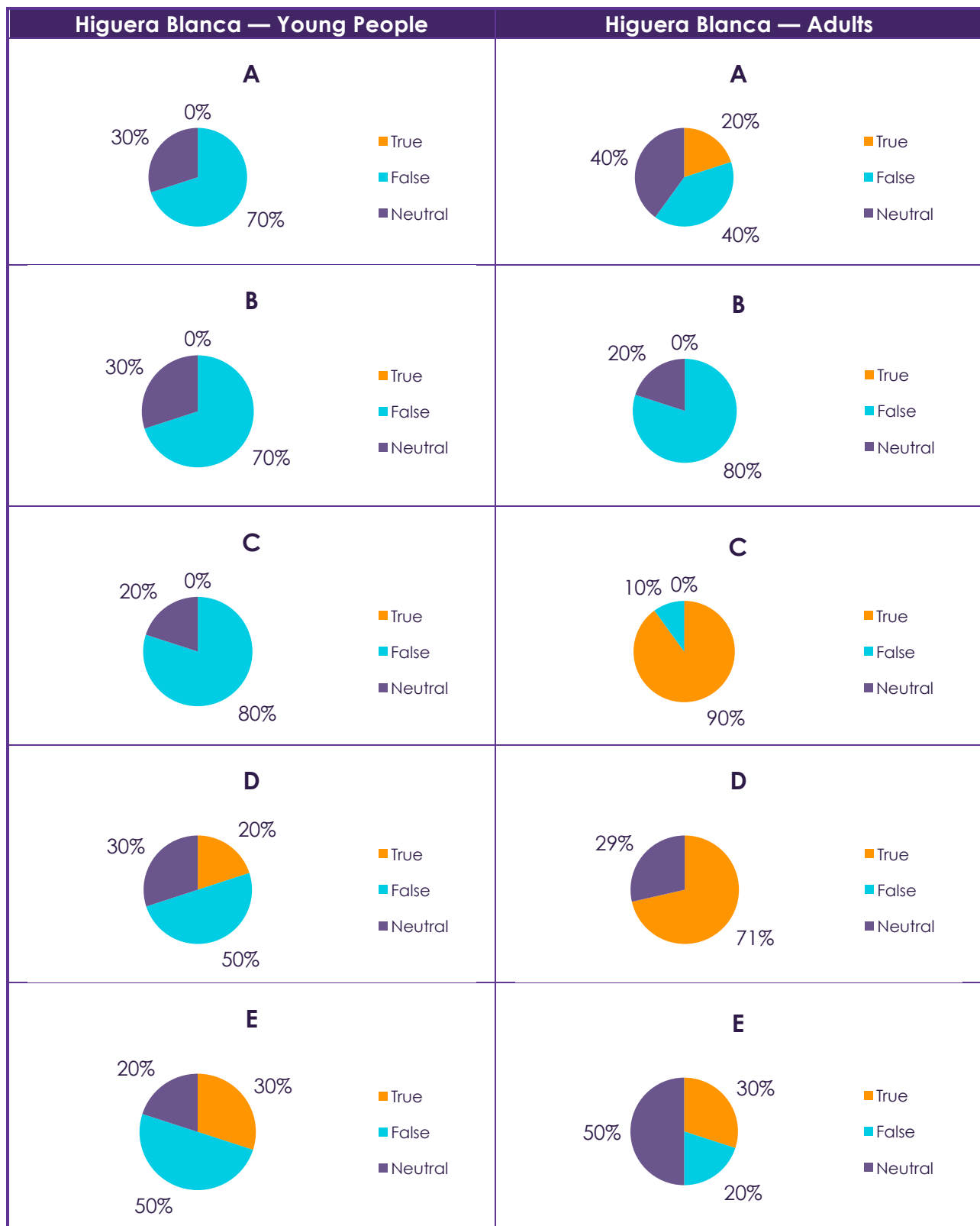
- In PV 90% of adults are not concerned about their families or themselves but only 30% of young people are not concerned. Moreover whereas no adults reported not feeling good about themselves or their families, 30% of young people did.
- Interestingly young people and adults in PV feel the same about whether tourists are a mixed blessing or not and whether some kinds of tourists make them feel good about their lives or not.
- In LP 90% of adults had neutral feelings about whether tourists are a mixed blessing or not, whereas 50% of young people thought they were not a mixed blessing.
- In LP 70% of young people felt the statement some kinds of tourists making them feel good about their life was false but only 30% of adults agreed.
- For the 5 questions posed in figure 2 the responses by young people and adults in CC were the most balanced with no significant variation for any of the responses.
- In HB no young people reported feeling bad about themselves or their families whereas 40% of adults did. However the rest of the results were fairly balanced between the two groups.
- In TA 30% of young people reported feeling concerned about themselves or their families but no adults did. However, 60% of young people said that some kinds of tourists make them feel good about their life compared to only 30% of adults.

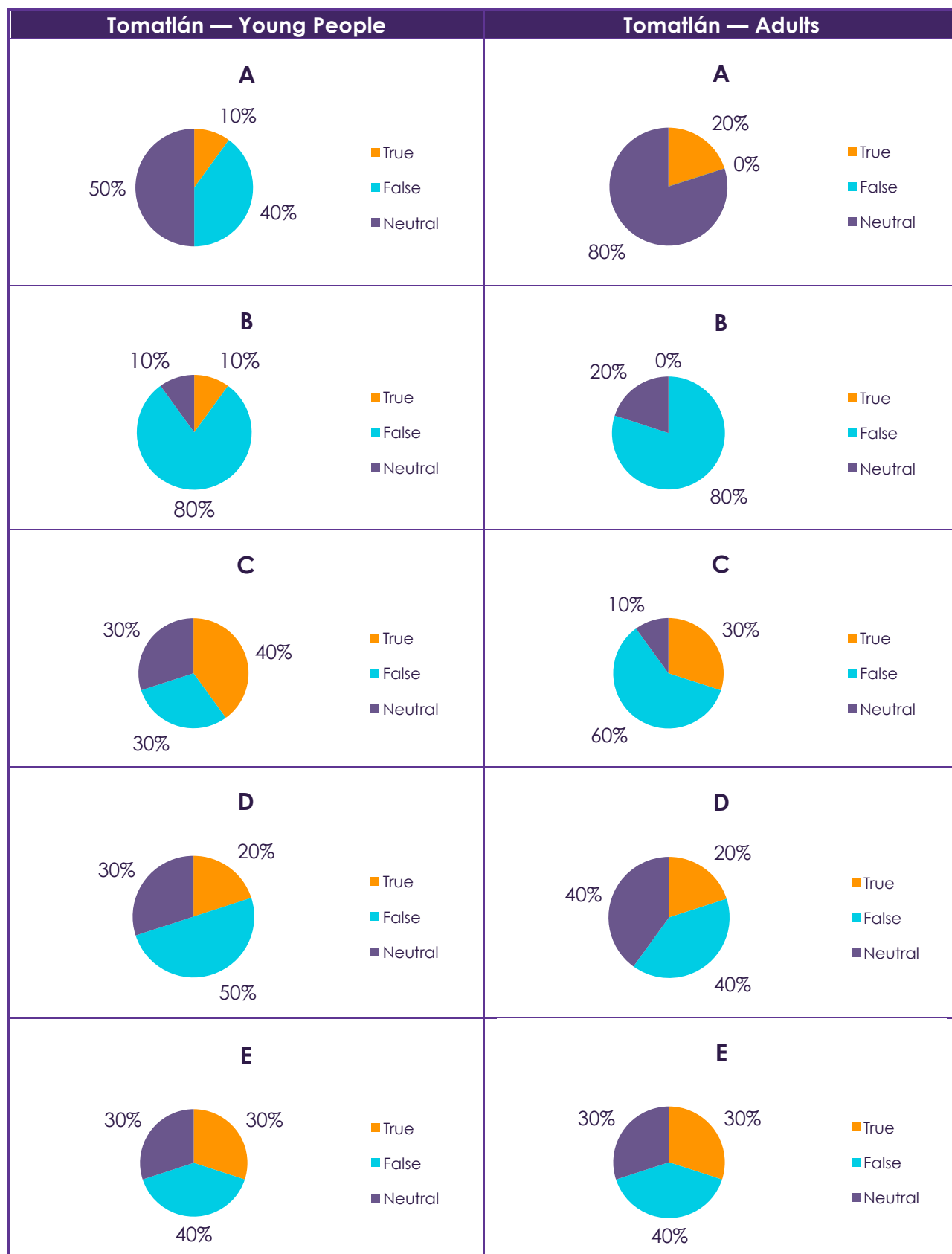
FIGURE 7: THOUGHTS ABOUT TOURISM/TOURISM-HAPPINESS AND BUYING HABITS — TRUE/FALSE











QUESTION A

Tourists and tourism increase my happiness, my buying habits and give a sense of beauty around me; the same is true for my family:

QUESTION B

Tourists and the tourism reduce my happiness, my buying habits and give less sense of beauty around me; the same is true for my family:

QUESTION C

Tourists and tourism do not change my happiness, neither my buying habits, nor gives a sense of beauty around me; the same is true for my family:

QUESTION D

There are tourists and tourism that do not change my buying habits and make me feel happier:

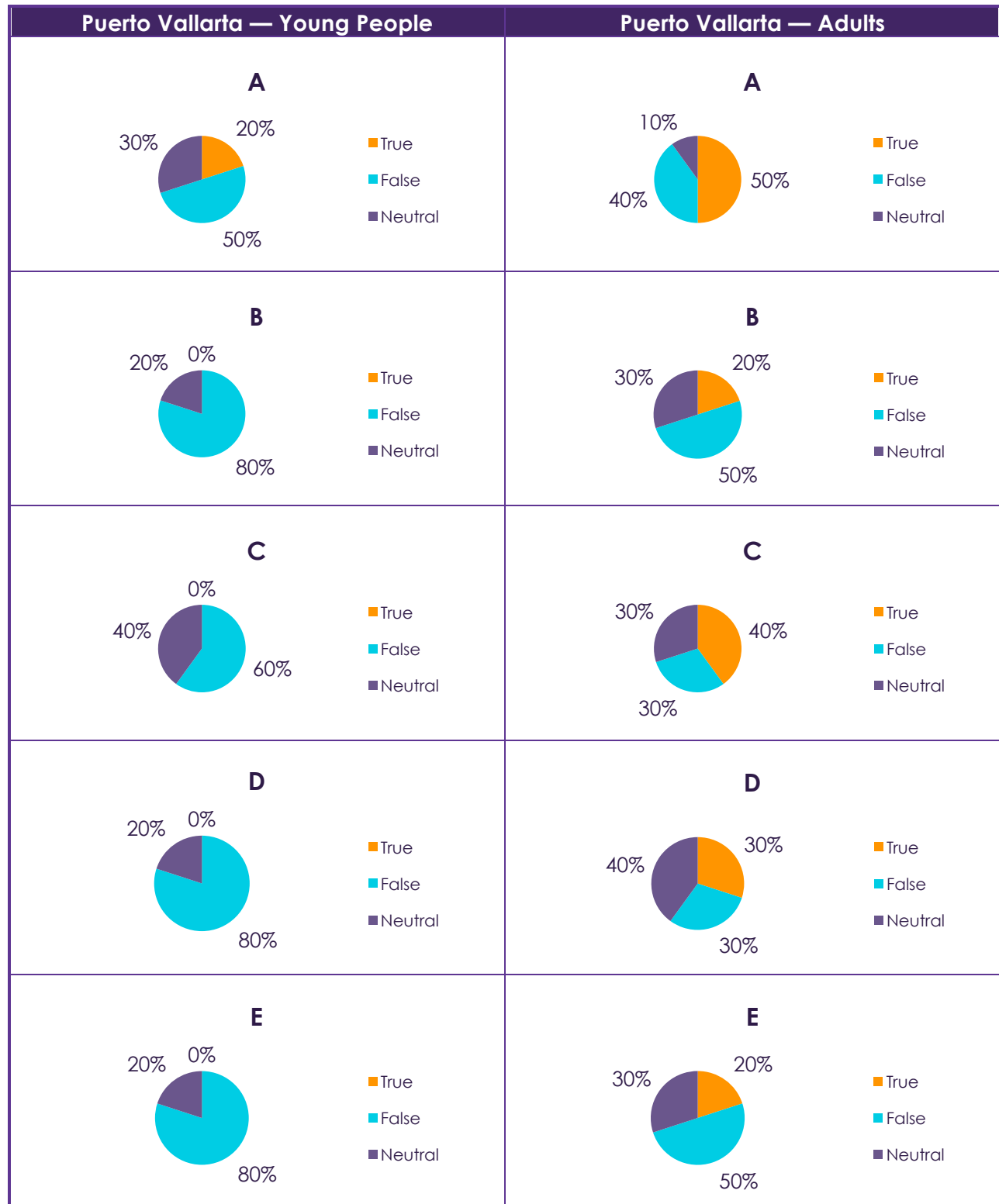
QUESTION E

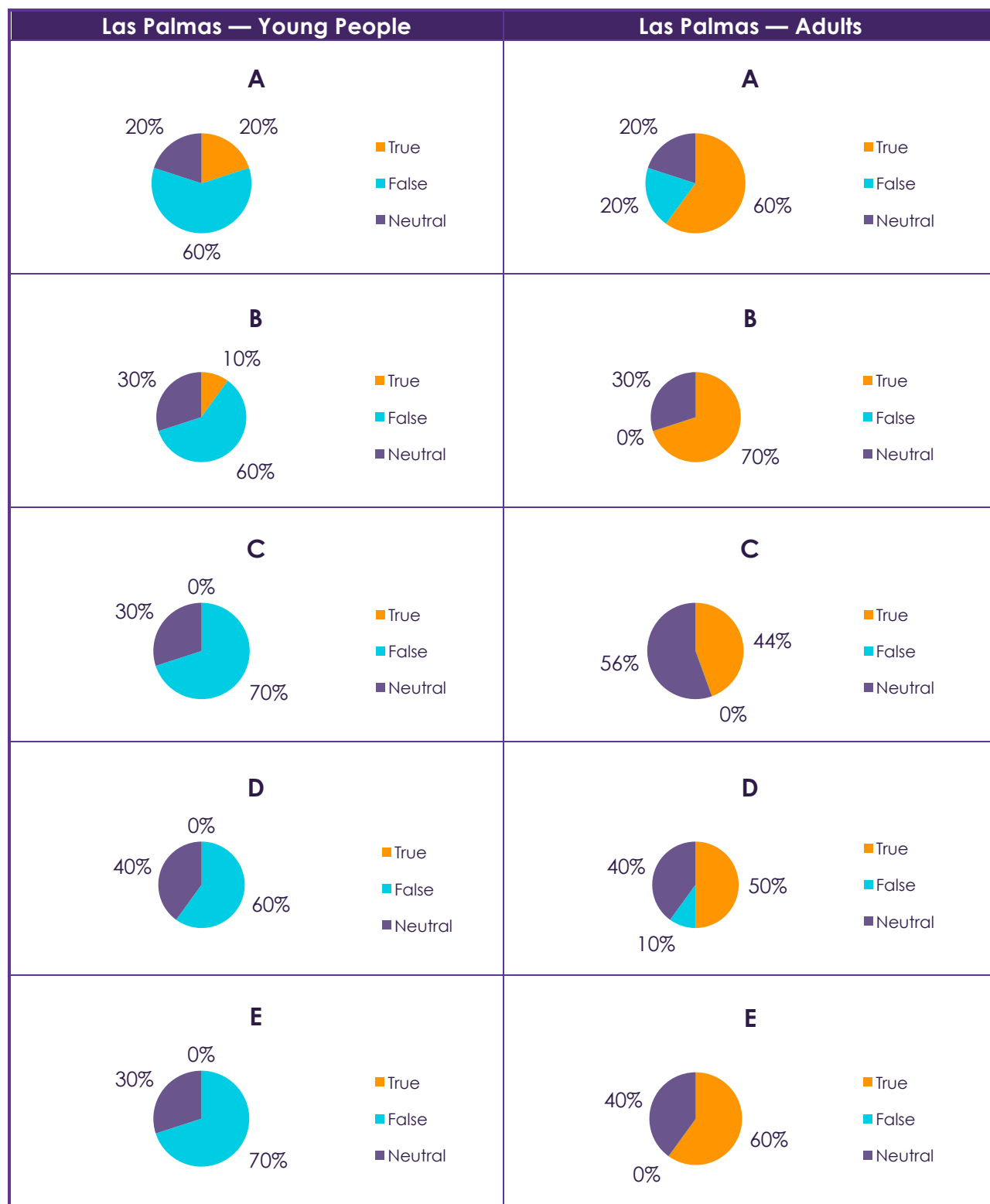
There are tourists and tourism that makes me feel happier because they increase beauty around me and encourage me to change my buying habits:

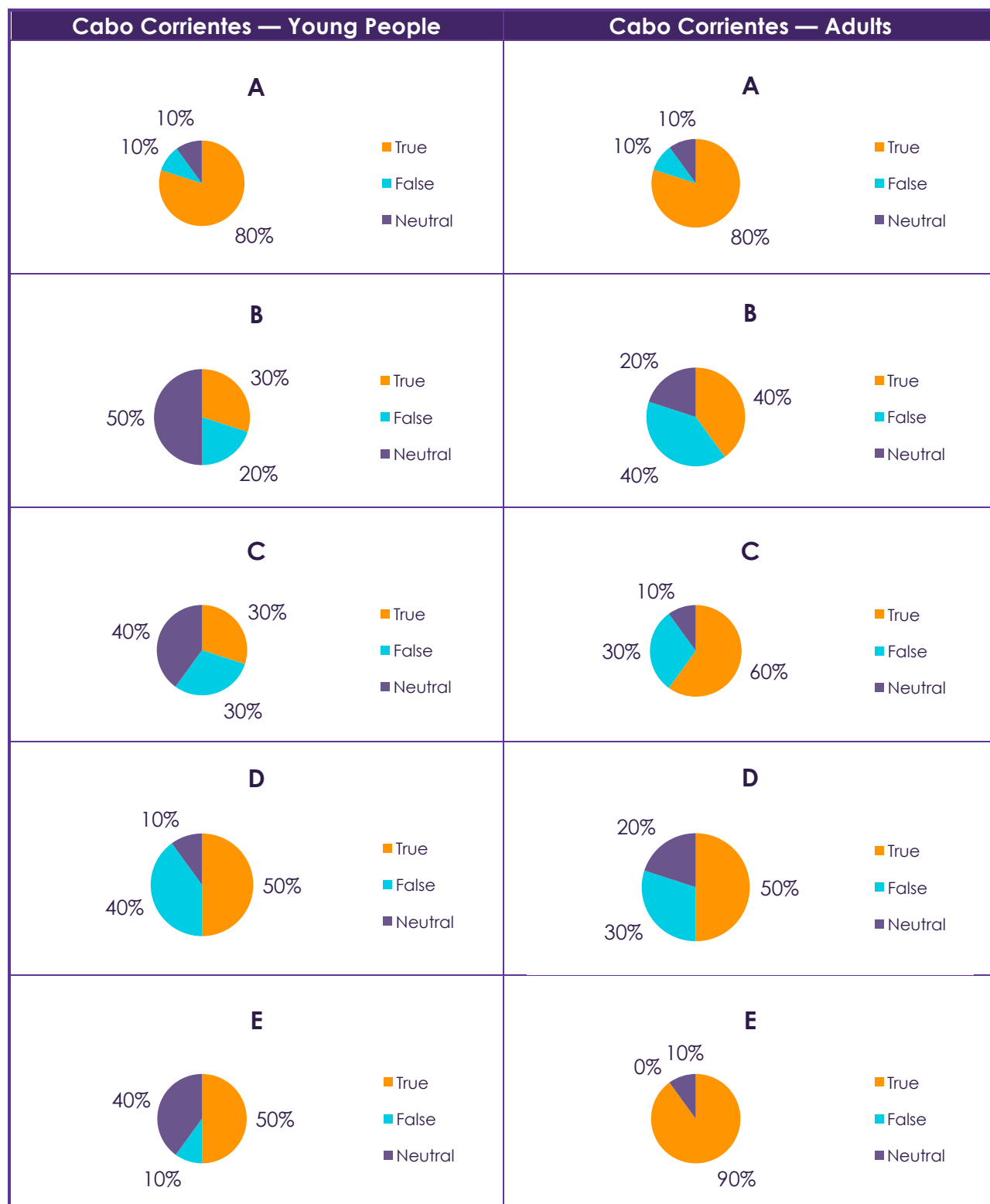
COMMENTS ABOUT FIGURE 7

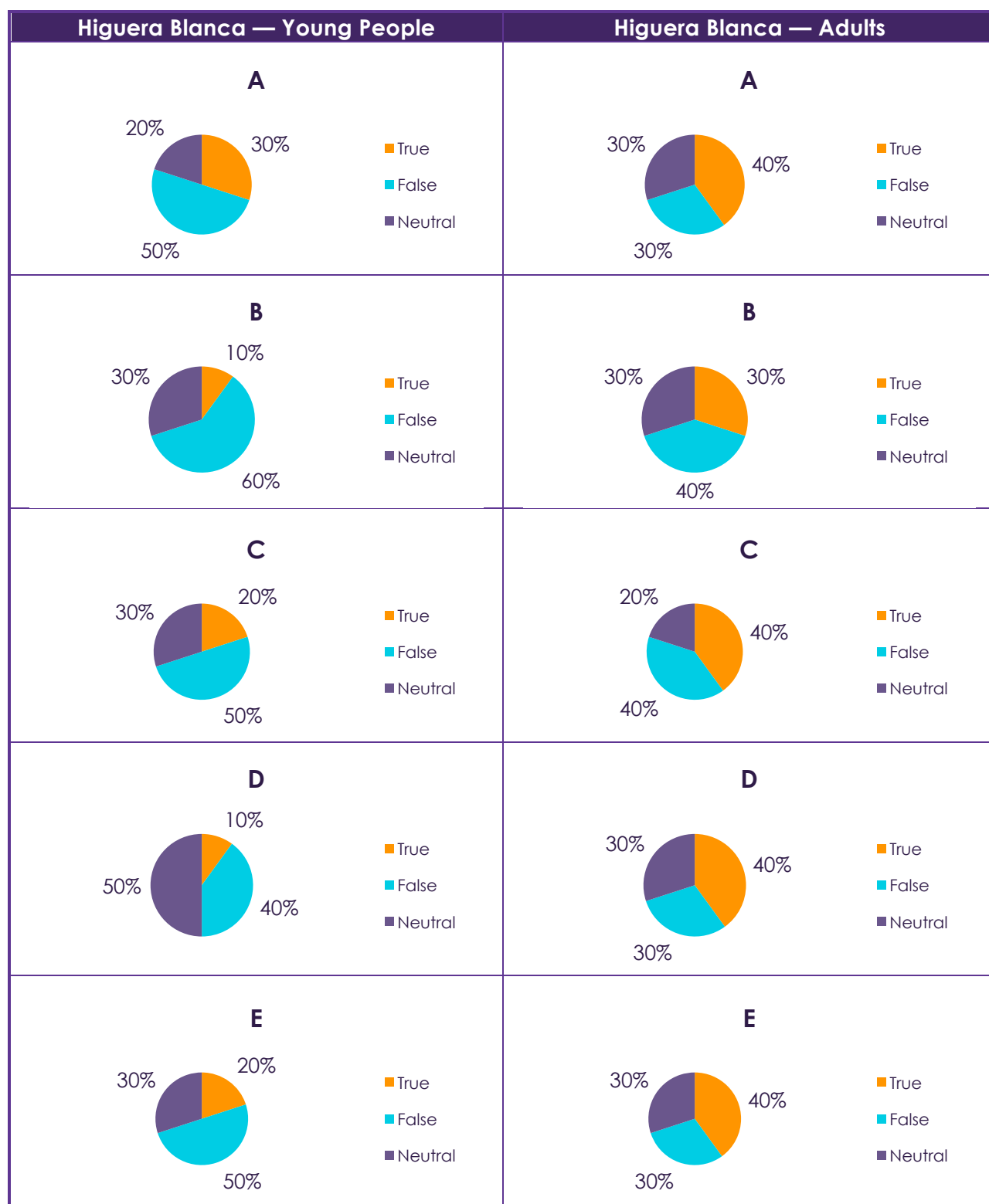
- In PV 50% of young people said that tourists and tourism did not increase their happiness compared to 10% of adults.
- Similarly in LP 40% of young people said that tourists and tourism did not increase their happiness compared to 10% of adults.
- In CC 80% of young people and 60% of adults felt that tourists and tourism does not reduce their happiness.
- Yet in CC 70% of young people said that some kinds of tourists and tourism do not change their buying habits and happiness compared with 0% of adults.
- In HB 90% of adults agreed that tourists and tourism do not change their happiness but 80% of young people did not. In TA, however, only 30% of agreed and only 30% of young people did not.

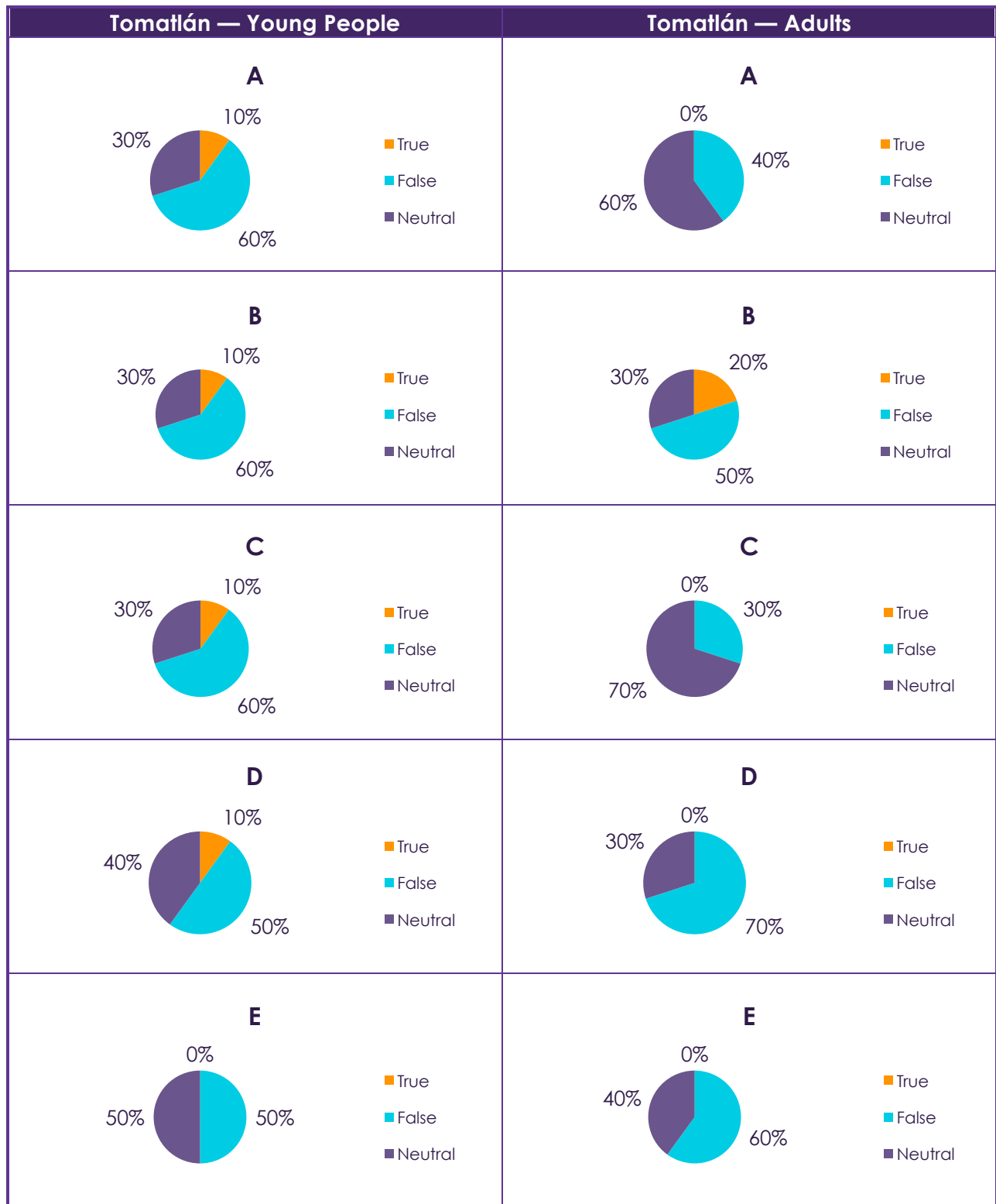
FIGURE 8: THOUGHTS ABOUT TOURISM/TOURISTS—BRIBERY & CORRUPTION/ENVIRONMENTAL & ECOLOGICAL DAMAGE — TRUE/FALSE











QUESTION A

Tourists and tourism have nothing to do with bribery and corruption in Tomatlán, or in the state of Jalisco:

QUESTION B

Tourists and tourism have nothing to do with the environmental or ecological damage in Tomatlán, or in the state of Jalisco:

QUESTION C

Tourists and tourism have nothing to do with the inequalities and inequities in Tomatlán, or in the state of Jalisco:

QUESTION D

Tourists and tourism have nothing to do with the corruption, environment & ecological damage in Tomatlán, or in the state of Jalisco:

QUESTION E

Tourists and tourism have nothing to do with the bribery and corruption, environmental & ecological damage and the inequalities in Tomatlán, or in the state of Jalisco:

COMMENTS ABOUT FIGURE 8

- In PV 50% of adults felt tourists and tourism have nothing to do with bribery and corruption compared with 20% of young people.
- In PV 40% of adults felt tourists and tourism have nothing to do with the inequalities compared with 0% of young people.
- Similarly in LP 60% of adults felt tourists and tourism have nothing to do with bribery and corruption compared with 20% of young people.
- With respect to environmental or ecological damage in LP 70% of adults felt tourists and tourism have no influence compared to only 10% of young people.
- In LP 60% of adults felt tourists and tourism have nothing to do with bribery and corruption, environmental & ecological damage and the inequalities in Tomatlán, or in the state of Jalisco compared to 0% of young people.
- As with the responses in figure 2 CC feature the most balanced between the responses from young people and adults except for question e. Here 90% of adults felt that tourists and tourism have nothing to do with bribery and corruption, environmental & ecological damage and the inequalities in Tomatlán, or in the state of Jalisco compared to 50% of young people.
- The responses in HB were also fairly balanced but whereas 40% of adults felt that tourists and tourism have nothing to do with the corruption, environment &

ecological damage in Tomatlán, or in the state of Jalisco only 10% of young people agreed.

- In TA 0% of adults and 10% of young people felt that tourists and tourism have nothing to do with the corruption, environment & ecological damage in Tomatlán, or in the state of Jalisco:

8. Concluding remarks

From our empirical work over the last decade, and talking to many tourists and local Mexicans it is hardly an understatement to claim that most tourists go to Mexico to escape: to get away from winter, cold days in a northern climate and work, in order to seek sun, sea and fun, and spend time with family or friends in a new place where daily life has a different rhythm. Some come to Mexico to see cultural remains and monuments, and to savour a way of life they envisage as relaxed, joyful and readily affordable. The sight of colourful exotic flowers in full bloom, blue skies and opportunities to walk a Malecon, spend time in a relaxed way, stop to eat and drink outdoors at leisure, all make the experience a pleasing one and a welcome change to daily life elsewhere. They are typically not disappointed and vow to return again. They may have heard of drug arrests, and civic unrest or social disruptions, health issues and environmental damage caused by tourist developments or cruise ships, but in the safety of their resort or tourist town they largely feel safe and secure and untouched by such events. The tourist is happy to be in Mexico.

For Mexicans who live in communities where tourists visit another view of life is experienced. The Mexicans find their happiness and pleasure in being with their families and friends, working and managing the best they can with the means they have without, for the most part, rancor, envy or jealousy of the lives of the tourists. Do they dream of escaping to another place to relax and find pleasure? They often eat in groups; enjoy music and sharing many of their possessions with neighbours and extended families. Their needs are to a large extent catered for through informal networks of contacts among neighbours and family members. The tourists typically live in a world where time is seen as a commodity to be used carefully and allocated specifically in allotted amounts to defined tasks: they are intrigued and often frustrated because they envisage that Mexicans seem to perceive time in another way: as flexible and somewhat unpredictable in the way it is used. There is a clash of values on occasion.

Hofstede et al. (2010, 4, 6, 12) draw attention to cultural difference between groups and the consequences when they differ. 'The world is full of confrontations between people, groups, and nations who think, feel, and act differently. Every person carries within him- or herself patterns of thinking, feeling, and potential acting that were learned throughout the person's lifetime. Culture is always a collective phenomenon, because it is at least partly with people who live or lived within the same social environment, which is where it was learned. Culture is learned, not innate.'

'It is perplexing that humans beings possess magnificent skills of reflection, empathy, and communications but are nonetheless capable of waging intergroup conflicts on

massive scales over just about anything. Apparently, we do not use the same moral rules for members of our group as we do for others. But who is “our group”? People draw mental a line around those whom they consider to be their group. Only members of the *moral circle* thus delimited have full rights and full obligations.’

In Mexico especially in tourists resorts there are two distinct moral circles: one containing tourists and one with Mexicans.

Drawing on the specific comments to two questions in our survey: specifically questions 1 and 6 we offer brief concluding remarks. For example for Q1 it is clear that respondents do recognize that tourists and tourism expose them to new experiences and evoke sentiments that impinge on the senses, as well as creating some emotional responses albeit not explicitly defined in terms of nature or intensity. Without exception all respondents expressed strong views that tourists are basically different from Mexicans and the differences are manifest especially in terms of language, behaviour, and overall demeanor and dress. Basically tourists are different from locals and are seen as such, and this is not generally too problematic but it does have some consequences. In a few cases judgmental comments were made: tourists are too noisy, dress and behave inappropriately and use their money to do things we cannot afford to do. The values and attitudes prior to the arrival of tourism are being eroded and replaced by new experiences and attitudes. The overall opinions did not vary among the 5 communities or as between adults and young respondents.

With respect to Q6 a variety of issues are identified as relating to the impacts of tourism and the presence of tourists in a community. Overall there are somewhat contradictory comments made by respondents, but the consensus is that for each community some benefits of tourism are recognized, especially in terms of job opportunities, but there are disadvantages in terms of environmental damage and erosion of traditional ways of life and cultural values. Tourism is accepted and encouraged as a reality of the modern world but its sustainability is questionable as a long-term secure prospect for future generations of Mexicans.

With respect to tourism as an expression of cultural encounter Hofstede et al. (2010, 392) offer the view that matches our experience of tourism in Mexico very closely, namely:

“Intercultural encounters in tourism: ...the most superficial form of intercultural encounter ...what one group (tourists/locals) picks up from the other group is on the level of symbols: words, fashion articles, music, and the like. The economic effects of mass tourism on the host country may or may not be favourable. Traditional sources of income are often destroyed, and the revenues of tourism go to governments and foreign investors, with the consequence that the local population may suffer more than it benefits. The environmental effects can be disastrous. Tourism is, from many points of view, a mixed blessing. Tourism can nevertheless be the starting point for more

fundamental intercultural encounters. It breaks isolation of cultural groups and creates awareness that there exist other people who have other ways. The seeds planted in some minds may take root later. On the basis on intercultural encounters, the possibilities of tourism probably outweigh the disadvantages."

The sociologist Zygmunt Bauman argues that the paradox of our era is captured in the view that 'Never have we been so free. Never have we felt so powerless.' To a certain degree this is perhaps the situation in Mexico when Mexicans reflect on tourism and the benefits and consequences. The challenge for Mexico, and for so many societies as they gain economic prosperity, is to accommodate this paradox in ways that sustain a decent way of life for all.

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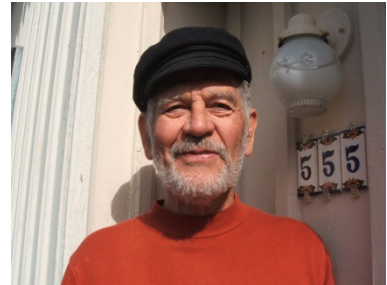
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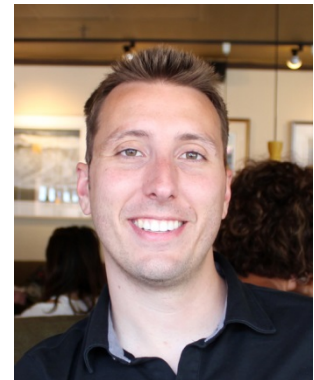
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