
A TOURISM PROGRAM OF GOVERNMENT AND ITS PLACE IN THE PROCESS OF PRESERVATION OF CULTURAL HERITAGE ON THE EXAMPLE OF 'PUEBLOS MÁGICOS' IN MEXICO

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(Received 2 March 2018)

Abstract

The study describes the creation of selected tourism programs in Mexico and their activities in specific locations. It reflects programs' focus and clarifies the purposes of their emergence on the example of 'Pueblos mágicos'. The main goal is to clarify how the application of the tourist program effects preserving of cultural heritage. The author describes the cultural heritage and its individual components according to the existing division, defines the research area, and justifies its selection. Concrete elements, from classified tangible and intangible heritage groups, are selected and submitted to ethnological research. The author also presents the theoretical approaches for characterizing opportunities created by tourism programs, clarifies the methodology of the research and describes the research locations. In the conclusion, the evaluation of impacts of the program on studied components of cultural heritage is presented.

Keywords: cultural heritage, tourism, programs, Pueblos mágicos, Mexico

1. Introduction

The diversity of Mexico as a country with a wide historical, cultural and natural potential confirms the versatility of the tourism offered by the Mexican government. The first period of modern tourism began in 1945 [1]. Mexico is the fourth largest biodiversity in the world and in terms of the number of UNESCO cultural heritage, Mexico is the eighth. Based on the number of foreign tourists, Mexico is the first among the Latin American countries and the world's tenth. Tourism creates about 3,254 million direct jobs, representing 7.3% of the total workforce. The revenues from tourism are Mexico's third largest source of foreign exchange. More than 60% of GDP is generated by services that include tourism [MZV: *Economic information about the territory – The United Mexican States – Mexico*, https://www.mzv.sk/documents/10182/620840/EIT_Mexiko_

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Jun2015.pdf, accessed 11.01.2018]. Since the 1970s, the Mexican government has set up a sustainable tourism program to create one of the main pillars of the domestic economy. The conceptual changes, made annually by the Ministry of Tourism (SECTUR), are part of this strategy. Since 2001, the Mexican government has created a new network of tourist destinations through political programs and investments from the Treasury, and it presents them as new alternatives to tourism. They are focused at presenting Mexican culture through direct contact with a visitor. The SECTUR will try to offer tourists additional opportunities for modern resorts on the Gulf of Mexico, the Caribbean Sea and the Pacific Ocean, or, on the other hand, numerous pre-Columbian and colonial monuments.

Primarily, this step can be explained by the improving economic performance of tourism, as well as the presence of other untapped opportunities hidden in the diversity of the country. (Since 2001, which is considered to be a breakthrough in the development of tourism programs, revenue from tourism has increased every year. A certain decline and growth slowed down in 2009 as a result of the economic crisis. An increase was recorded in the following year, culminating in a record growth in 2014 [DATATUR, *Compendio Estadístico del Sector Turismo de México*, <http://www.datatur.beta.sectur.gob.mx/SitePages/CompendioEstadistico.aspx>, accessed 11.01.2018].) The Ministry of Tourism has set up programs and defined the goals of making their current tourism offer even more effective. The programs focus their attention primarily on areas with weaker economic backgrounds. Geographically, we can designate the effects of programs as a nationwide [SECTUR, *Programas regionales*, <http://www.sectur.gob.mx/programas/programas-regionales/>, accessed 11.01.2018].

The vision of an increase in the number of tourists and the multiplication of tourism revenue is not the only official resolution of their creators. Just like they seek to promote the development of tourism by these programs, they have also prepared the concept of their use in other spheres of Mexican society. Some of the priorities are the construction of infrastructure, renovation of engineering networks and modernization of technical equipment of local authorities as well as households. For inhabitants, these priorities should bring business support, help in keeping traditional crafts and also the opportunity to work in tourism. They do not forget to develop education, to protect the environment or to preserve cultural heritage.

In the following text, we analyse functioning of the programs by fulfilling their predefined plans. There are a few spheres to which they interfere, and they cannot be thoroughly explored within the scope of this work. The issue contains a wider range of topics, and their intertwining could lead to inaccuracies in making conclusions from results of the research. In order to avoid such mistakes, we choose one specific component as a subject of research that is influenced by program and then it undergoes an ethnological examination. We focus on documenting and describing concrete manifestations of the impact of tourism programs in the context of preserving cultural heritage. Research focused on

cultural impacts is a good alternative for the application and use of anthropological theories and methods of ethnological research.

2. Tourism programs of regional and national character

Political programs focused on tourism can be marked as a new wave of activation of tourism in Mexico, according to their current form, the growth of their scope and their expansion. The first programs put into practice were 'México Norte', 'Ruta de los Dioses', 'Tesoros Coloniales' and 'En el Corazón de México' [<http://www.sectur.gob.mx/programas/programas-regionales/>]. All of them have been launched during the first years of the new millennium and they are still functional today in extensive territories along the Mexican border with the US, Central Mexico, but also Aguascalientes, Durango, Guanajuato, Michoacán, Querétaro, San Luis Potosí and Zacatecas.

When assessing the performance of tourism programs through ethnological research, we need to consider the most appropriate way of delimiting the research environment. As discussed in the previous chapter, we have to narrow down the research field. We believe that, in spite of the same basic objectives of their occurrence, deviations from the impacts on specific localities, which depend on several factors, may arise in connection with their functioning. Based on statistics on the visibility of individual regional programs, we think that the difference in the inflow of foreign tourists can be reflected in the recorded impact on specific spheres of society in the research localities. Although it can be assumed that the observed interactions may be similar or identical in most of the running tourism programs, we cannot rule out certain variations. In order to avoid generalizing and distorting the results in their research as a whole, we focus on the concrete one. We apply the research to a program called 'Pueblos mágicos', which is the most successful one, according to the Mexican government. Statistics show that this program has been the driving force of Mexican tourism in the last two years. Regional character was exceeded probably due to over-standardized marketing compared to other alternatives and especially thanks to the potential, which is also hidden in its name. Magical places, as we can freely translate, can be part of any location without further specification. The magic spot or otherwise its charm (charisma) as an abstract feeling is particularly inconclusive and it is up to the creators to represent it or, in some cases, to create it. The secret and unconsciousness, hiding behind the metaphorical name, have proven to be a well-functioning advertising, especially for foreign tourists. At the time of its origin, it was launched in four cities. At present, over a period of fifteen years, the number has increased to more than eighty and this number will probably continue to rise.

The rapid trend of introducing the program into various parts of Mexico, along with the political background of its emergence, is increasingly confronted with critical responses. Problems with corruption, unpleasant interventions and globalization are also condemned by experts in connection with the longer run of the program. There are voices that condemn interventions of tourism programs and criticize them for failing to meet the set goals. In our research, taking into

account the impacts on the preservation of cultural heritage, we try to record these interventions and possibly explain the reasons for their occurrence.

3. Program as a creator of environmental change

In the process of introducing policy programs to promote tourism in specific locations, we focus on defining the cultural space that is created by their application. This definition and its specification serve us as a tool for more specific explanation of created environment.

Tourism programs are launched in cities without any adaptation to their host. We can call them ‘controlling elements’ that affect the cultural environment of cities by their mechanisms. Whether or not the members of these spaces personally recognized themselves or associated any other ties, they are members of the same constructed space. A Benedict Anderson concept that explains the notion of an imaginary community helps us understand this issue [2]. It represents its concept on the example of a nation. A nation can become a nation only when each of its members is able to imagine being a member of the community with unknown people in unfamiliar territory. Based on his explanation of the imaginary communities, the way of creating, and thus determining a common starting point when comparing them is substantial [3].

If this space is a construct, as we may assume based on the way of programs application; we can also use the theory of Eric Hobsbawm of a constructed tradition. According to his definition, “in principle, the traditions are based on two mechanisms. Either they are fictional artefacts of ritual symbolism and moral instruction, or they are simply designed to old habits.” [4] In order to construct the cultural space in the way we analyse it, we can also look at the point of view of postdoctoral Jean Baudrillard and his concept of simulacra [5]. Simulation theory is based on the simulation of phenomena and the substitution of reality. It was based on certain cracks in the artist's real world interpretation, which led him to know that they were replaced by the unrealistic characters he called simulacra. He continues to develop his thesis and speaks of the disappearance of reality, as he loses the possibility of distinguishing between real and imaginary. This encounter between real and imaginary can be used to interpret the changes associated with the application of Mexican tourism programs and their perceptions by local inhabitants. In this case, the concept of real may be replaced by the concept of original, expressing cultural environment before running the program. The imaginary environment, defined by Boudrillard, is complemented by the constructed tradition of Eric Hobsbawm, and this limits the location after launching the program. Such a defined space based on selection of individuals or groups, is the bearer of a culture that is modified by tourism programs to some extent.

The field of tourism is analysed mainly in relation to economic factors and its impact on macroeconomics and microeconomics. Even on the topic of the impact of tourism on preservation of cultural heritage, it is proven that

interdisciplinarity is necessary in the current trend of analysing the modern problems.

As Juan Carlos Monterrubio Cordero recalls in his publications, tourism has become the subject of several disciplines [6]. The disciplines such as psychology, anthropology, ecology, economics and others have created a field of research through which we can analyze specific themes in this field. In the past, he noticed the realizations of tourism research were results of several disciplines, working without co-ordinated cooperation. Research findings were mostly the results of individual disciplines in isolation. The current approach by J.C. Cordero evaluates interdisciplinary and perceives the systemic nature of the steps. He critically evaluates the absence of a separate theoretical concept for the analysis of tourism issues. According to Monterrubia, the concepts that are part of current tourism research have originated in the already mentioned disciplines.

One of the conditions for entering programs into cities is to preserve individual attributes of cultural heritage. It is assumed that the original character of culture is one of the temptations of tourism locations. In setting the sustainable development of tourism by the Mexican government, we can assume that SECTUR will try to keep the original character of the locations, through the program. In this case, cultural heritage refers to architectural works, works of monumental sculpture and painting, features or structures of archaeological nature, inscriptions, cave dwellings, and combinations of elements of exceptional world value in terms of history, art or Science. Groups of separate or connected buildings are also included. They, due to their architecture, homogeneity or location in the country, have an exceptional world value in terms of history, art or Science. This definition also includes locations - human creations or combined works of nature and man, and areas including archaeological finds of exceptional world value from a historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological point of view. This is how cultural heritage is defined based on the Convention on the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, which was adopted in 1972 in Paris [*Convención sobre la Protección del Patrimonio Mundial Cultural y Natural 1972*, http://portal.unesco.org/es/ev.php-URL_ID=13055&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html, accessed 11.01.2018]. The cultural heritage that is the subject of this study is also an intangible cultural heritage. It includes traditions, rituals, performing arts, social habits, festive events, knowledge and experience about nature and the universe, or the knowledge and skills required for traditional crafts. The Convention for the Protection of Intangible Cultural Heritage [*Convención para la Salvaguardia del Patrimonio Cultural Inmaterial*, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0013/001325/132540s.pdf>, accessed 11.01.2018] was signed in 2003 to protect this category of cultural heritage that is transmitted from generation to generation [*Folk culture - Definition of terms*, <http://www.ludovakultura.sk/index.php?id=5981>, accessed 11.01.2018].

4. Research realization

Due to the political background of the program, it is clear that its functioning is built on several levels. Each of them intervenes in different ways in the program, and their research would require several procedures and methods to address these complex issues. The research of the program at the highest levels could be distorted by their political background. We cannot also exclude this fact when analysing lower-level research issues, but considering weaker political ties, risk should be smaller. Another fact that discourages us from researching the program at its higher levels is a substantially larger area of research and it is not our capacities to cover the topic at this level of research.

The ‘Pueblos mágicos’ program is composed of three levels in certain dependencies, just like other tourism programs. Their symbiosis creates a functional whole as we know it from practice. The state, as a program maker, is at the highest level in this case. It created the program on the basis of a certain idea and to fulfil its goals, which had mainly economic purpose. So the state is at the top of this imaginary relationship. Another component operating at a lower level is the city (self-government) that is directly applying for entry into the program. There is certain dependence between these two levels, primarily the economic dependence. The municipality’s compliance with the rules is funded from the state budget, and the state, on the other hand, earns indirect income from a higher number of tourists. The economic symbiosis between the state and the local government also works thanks to the end group, the lowest level of this chain represented by the inhabitants of the cities with the attribute ‘mágicos’.

On the basis of the established topic of this study, we carried out research at the level of the end group - the inhabitants of the program locations. There are several arguments to justify the choice. Medium or high level research analyzes rather economic aspects of the project and political interventions, and this is the subject of studies of other disciplines. It can also be assumed that some facts related to the impact on cultural heritage may be concealed or distorted at the governmental or regional policy level, especially in the case of negatives. Of course, this cannot be ruled out even at the lowest level of research, but in this context it is less likely.

5. Methodology

The openness of a qualitative research or interview does not only allow new information about the issues, which relation with the chosen topic was not assumed, but it also provides the opportunity to complement the theoretical models of researchers about new ideas and ‘variables’ [7, 8]. We have chosen a qualitative form of research that is more intense. It focuses on a relatively small number of cases (an individual, group, organizational or settlement unit, a particular process or event) that may be examined in more detail. Its use is associated mainly with the emphasis on the course and operation of circumstances, narrative descriptions with the aim of not disturbing the natural

environment of research. In qualitative research, proof is the form of interconnected and more or less proven assertions that describe the dynamics of the system of relationships. A field researcher does not see 'variables' or 'factors', he sees people doing things together in a way that clearly connects them. In one's opinion, it even reveals the theoretical relationships in situ - in their original state [9].

In this case, the attempt not to disrupt the area of research may sound absurd in relation to the different cultural environment in which we undertook the research. It is true that the researcher is easily recognizable and may not be accepted by the community. Based on previous experience, longer stay in the location may minimize or eliminate this problem [10]. Qualitative research works with a narrower research sample, but it also takes a longer time. Jiří Reichel puts openness in the first place in association with qualitative research [11]. He evaluates it as a flexible tool for responding to any changes in field research. This basic principle is an appropriate tool, especially in a cultural setting where the researcher does not encourage confidence in an initial contact.

As a main technique of research, we chose the participating observations. This technique applies to longer-term observations of a defined set of phenomena that the observer seeks to understand and explain from the point of view of the person under investigation.

Scientific observation could be defined as a deliberate observation in order to capture the most accurate moments of objective fact that serves as an initial material for establishing general contexts through subsequent analytical operations. During the observation, the researcher records a great deal of information related to the research intentions, and thus he faces various obstacles to observe certain aspects of observation, whether it is non-commitment, systematic or managed planning [12].

The technique of the participating observations was supplemented by an interview technique. We interviewed the respondents in the form of a semi-structured questionnaire with semi-open and open question types. This form of interview gives the respondent the opportunity to express himself more freely. Often we find other topics suitable for completing the studied topic in the free interpretation of the respondent. The disadvantage is a longer analysis of the obtained material [13].

From previous experience, we are more careful about the use of the questionnaire, but we cannot take more time to obtain the material from some respondents, so we find this method appropriate from a certain sample of respondents. The biggest risk during specific questions is that the informant, despite the lack of knowledge, provides misleading responses, only to meet the expectations of a researcher.

The selection of the research sample was subject to deliberate rules. It has been tailored to meet the widest range of residents of selected locations. We assumed that the broader the spectrum of respondents selected, the more we can make the results of the research objective. The first criterion was to divide the informers by age. The purpose of this breakdown was to create a research sample

in which a wider generation spectrum would be represented. The second selection criterion was to create a research sample depending on project participation and to divide the respondents into passive and active actors in relation to the 'Pueblos mágicos' program. We assumed that the opinion of the respondents could be influenced by their personal participation in the project structure. A complementary selection of informants was carried out using the snowball method, but we continued to stick to the basic selection criteria. The snowball is a suitable method of selecting respondents for long-term research. As the search for other respondents is based on the help of previous informants, the researcher comes to a new respondent with some recommendation. In most cases, mediated contact helps to increase confidence in the relationship between the researcher and the informant.

6. Research locations

In the characterization of the research locations, we focus exclusively on the justification of their selection, as they do not need a more detailed description to fulfil the topic of the study. Research was carried out in two villages within the scope of the program. It may seem that, with the extensive range of tourism programs and the large number of locations represented in the 'Pueblos mágicos' program, it would be more appropriate to carry out research in several locations. We realize that the implementation of research is only partly described in the subject of tourism programs and that the conclusions themselves may not be applicable to other locations as well. There are three reasons for designing this research. In the first case, we have selected specific locations that have common features to allow comparison of the information obtained and confirm the relevance of the conclusions. With a wider choice of sample, we were afraid of inaccuracy and confusion due to the different nature of multiple locations. The second reason is that exploring the current topic requires a location that is exposed to the project for a longer period of time. Only a small number of villages and towns fulfil this condition because the tourism program is practically new. The third reason is that both research locations have the Indian character. In both places, we expected the presence of the original components of Indian culture, in particular the still present Indian language – Nahuatl. The language belongs to the Utah-Nahuas language family, which was spoken not only by the Aztecs, but also by the people sharing the Nahuatl culture. The rule of Uto-nahuan languages is based on a widely accepted linguistic theory in the southwest of today's USA, from where they spread to the north (Oregon) and south to Central America, including the Mesoamerican. In central Mexico, it was probably the midday of the first millennium after Christ [14].

The research was carried out in two Nahuatl villages - Tepoztlan (Morelos) and Cuetzalan (Puebla). Tepoztlan is one of the founding villages of the program 'Pueblos mágicos' (Tepoztlan entered the program in the second year of his launch - 2002). At the same time, it did not avoid sanctions resulting from non-compliance with the basic rules. In 2008, the village was removed from the list for

the gross violation of program. (According to respondents, the main reason for the decommissioning of the program was the long-term violation of regulations related to the observance of the order.) A similar mechanism applies by the Ministry of Tourism in Mexico today. This proves that the benefits in connection with the program are not unlimited. Every year, the members of the program submit compliance with the conditions and an overview of the activities for the past year. Tepoztlan fulfilled the conditions again in 2010 and it was re-listed. We chose Tepoztlan as a research location due to its short distance from the capital of Mexico. We assumed that proximity to the metropolis could reflect on the topic under consideration. Specifically, we expected a higher frequency of tourism and possible changes in the structure of the population.

The second location of research is Cuetzalan. (Like Tepoztlan, it joined the program in 2002.) The village has a traditional Indian character as well as a Tepoztlan, but on the other hand it differs from its geographic location. In our case, a specific place is not essential, but rather its accessibility. Cuetzalan is located in the north of the state of Puebla in hardly accessible terrain. There is only one road that is closed several times a year. The village is then cut off from the rest of the country.

7. Tourism program versus preservation of cultural heritage

The distribution of cultural heritage to tangible and intangibles, which has been put into practice by conventions by the UNESCO World Organization, is also suitable for differentiating the research locations of the submitted study. The explored area divides this mechanism into two parts that expand our data collection capabilities and analyse program impacts. With regard to intangible cultural heritage, we can only analyse the direct testimonies of respondents and look for the gap between their statements. An extensive sample of respondents can limit possible mistakes in interpretation, but some deviations cannot be ruled out. In the research of tangible cultural heritage, in addition to the already mentioned method of direct interviews, it is possible to use visual research methods to obtain information, which in this context can be marked as more objective. We try to minimize inaccuracies in the final findings by defining research space and a narrow range of research objects.

In the research of the tangible heritage, we focused on preserving the form of architecture in the research locations from the pre-program period, with attention being drawn to preserving its original appearance and character.

The first visible area, where the creator of the change program can be identified, is the square itself in both cases. The colours of the exterior are unified on almost all buildings in the immediate centre and around the square. (Exceptions are only those buildings or those parts of buildings the owners of which refuse to adopt a regulation on the uniformity of appearance of the exterior façade. We have documented a few cases when the building was program painted by program representatives. The owner, at his own expense, refurbished the building again according to his own ideas. We mapped three cases in both

locations.) The facades of the buildings have colours officially representing the program. (The official colours of the program are white and wine red. They are along with the flag, logos or mottos part of the tourist marketing brand 'Pueblos mágicos'.) Appearance is subject to templates that characterize the program rather than the place in which it operates. The concept of creating individual parts located in the square is the same in both research locations. Layout of benches, materials, pavements and planted trees are repeated and carry the program features. Changes, from the perspective of a tourist or non-interested visitor, are considered as a shift or development towards current trends. Local population sees this as a change of the original state, which does not fulfil the original idea of the realization of tourism in the form of 'Pueblos mágicos'. The program is designed to create a tourist environment in the original form of the towns and by their changing also the overall character of the program changes. In the research locations, we saw several forms of resistance to interventions in the original architecture. In Cuetzalan, the 'Pueblos mágicos' sign should have become part of the square in the middle of stone pavement. After expressing disagreement on the part of the local residents, program representatives decided to withdraw this idea. Similar disagreements were expressed in Cuetzalan with the reconstruction of the square, which included the exchange of benches. The protest was not directed against renewal, but against the appearance itself. The new designs did not accept the original form of the square. Despite the dissatisfaction of many people, this change has been made. Significant resistance was formed in the Tepoztlan when changing the old marketplace, which was part of the square. The new project was supposed to change the original open space to covered space in the form of two-store building. The residents organized several protests and the construction project was suspended. In Cuetzalan, in connection with the observance of the original form of architecture, the roofs were exchanged on private buildings near the centre of the village. The clay material used in this area was supposed to be used. Self-governing region should partially finance the change from the program fund, but it did not happen. Owners bought cheaper material from private sources and they changed it themselves. The appearance of buildings does not coincide with their original appearance. Based on these statements, we observe a number of self-government interventions that do not coincide with the original plan of the program and which took place at the time of its operation in the locality. We do not know exactly if they were promoted by the program representatives, but the fact is that they have not prevented their implementation.

Changes in architecture are also reflected in an increase in the number of tourists in locations. We evaluate them in two points. The first is the creation of new accommodation units near the centre or right in the centre, which by their architecture do not fit into the neighbouring buildings. This category includes hotels, guest houses and recreational facilities. They are created in places of original buildings constructed from the original material – adobe (Bricks from raw clay produced by moulding and drying). The appearance of a new building build on remains of the old one does not bear its features. The character of the building reflects modern building styles and modern materials. Of course, we

admit the natural development of society, but taking into account the circumstances and the concrete situation, we cannot forget the nature of the tourist locations, which should be maintained in this case from the point of view of the program. So despite the acceptance of some changes attributed to the current development, we cannot accept variations in capacity building for tourists in this form as positive, in connection with the maintenance of the original nature of the architecture.

Increased number of tourists to locations under the 'Pueblos mágicos' program is reflected in architecture and other ways. During the research we were introduced to the term 'domestic' tourist. The Mexicans designate by this term people from abroad who settle down in the places of their original tourist destinations. The place they visited touched them so much that they decided to move there. Tourists also bring their habits with them. Among other things, they are reflected in the creation of settlements, especially in Tepoztlan, where you can find streets with a distinct European character.

From the perspective of intangible cultural heritage, we will not deal with individual social practices, rituals, or festive events. We draw attention to the basic bearer of intangible cultural heritage - the language, in this case the Indian language, whose presence in the two research locations is confirmed by previous research. While we saw similar results in the research of the cultural heritage of architecture in both areas of research, we have discovered some differences in the study of the language. Despite the fact that the program is characterized as an Indian linguistic area with a native Indian language, it has such features only partially. We met with a few respondents who speak the language in question, but their knowledge is mostly passive. Individual speakers cannot communicate with each other and the language is used as a commercial tool for presenting Indian culture. The informants said that they do not speak Nahuatl but they use it only as part of some cultural events, celebrations and politicians' visits, organized under the program. Most of these events are linked to the Indian origin of the village in Tepoztlan, and therefore replicas, lyrics and songs appear in their narratives during their course. We asked their protagonists how and where they learned this language. Except one respondent they all answered that they memorize or only read texts because they do not understand the language. In Tepoztlan, similar responses were repeated in most cases, and we were not familiar with any institution that would be involved in the preservation or teaching of this language. If similar activities are organized, they are not set up by the local government or program representatives. We cannot totally exclude the conduct of events related to the preservation or revitalization of the Indian language, but if they are, they are not systemic.

As Viktor Krupa recalls, "averting the danger of the disappearance of the linguistic community and the language in its entirety is very difficult and often needs to be met with the restoration of at least some functions, especially with a representative, symbolic and emotional function" [V. Krupa, *Language Revitalization in relation to Ethnic Identity*, <http://www.saske.sk/cas/archiv/1-2007/krupa.html>, accessed 11.01.2018]. By examining, we can prove that by

organizing Indian events at least a representative function of a language exists. However, the question remains whether or not it will continue to do so.

We saw a different situation in Cuetzalan, where it is present in the usual conversations of the local population. When searching for respondents, we were unable to establish contact because the speakers spoke Nahuatl and they did not want to speak Spanish with us. The functionality of the language under examination can be proven mainly in a multigenerational representation. Nahuatl is a communication language of homes and it is taught in local schools [15]. Even before concluding the conclusion, it is necessary to specify Cuetzalan as a place with distinctive Indian character not only in the region but also on a wider national scale. It is believed that isolation of the location, more difficult accessibility, and perhaps even stronger social awareness all preserve the original elements of culture to this day. This condition is also reflected in wearing of traditional clothing or the preservation of traditional occupations. We return back to the program in the locality and the results of the research that was carried out. We cannot mark the action of the program as the main engine of the contemporary form of Nahuatl in Cuetzalan. Respondents do not consider the program to be a suitable alternative in development of tourism. The current functionality of the language is the result of a process falling within the time horizon prior to the introduction of the tourist program. Most informers did not indicate any benefit in maintaining or preserving their current status through tourism program activities. The natural development of the society also comes with interventions that change the Indian character, but the change is not resolved at such a pace as in other similar locations. In searching for system procedures how the program solves the issue of maintaining the Indian language in the research locations, we were unable to identify such activities accurately. Taking into account the current situation in Cuetzalan, it seems that it does not require the solution, but Tepoztlán loses its Indian character. At a critical point of view, we cannot de-emphasize the secondary impacts of tourism that come with an increasing number of tourists and their cultural habits. As can be expected, their influence will increase and without concrete steps the situation is unsustainable.

8. Conclusions

Research of the impact of a tourism program on specific components of cultural heritage brings a number of problems that have a wider context and cannot be precisely defined as the consequences or form of intervention of this program. Although we focused on one characteristic issue, the complexity of the problem opened up among the informants other negative experiences with the program. We believe that the overall negative view of the respondents could partly influence the opinion on the subject under consideration. For this reason, the impacts and effects of the tourism program cannot be clearly defined. During concluding the conclusions, we do not forget on the natural development of a society that penetrates into all its areas. Even taking into account listed factors, the observed impacts are divided into active and passive.

As passive we mark the interventions that come with establishing of a program on the location. It is related to the arrival of tourists and changes of the environment. This effect is difficult to alleviate. Changes come along with the habits of tourists and directly or indirectly affect the original environment of the location. We mark them as passive for the ambiguity of origin. As we can also mark them as a consequence of the program's action, similarly it can be the natural development of the society. Although their origin is unclear, research suggests that the tourism program accelerates this natural development by its local action, and the changes it brings are more aggressive. The main driver of change in passive intervention is foreign tourists. Their activities profile a new society in the research locations. With the new society also new forms that replace the original ones come.

As active impacts, we assess the conscious interventions and regulations by the program's representatives. Here we include regulations and standards that alter or distort the original location features preserved from the pre-establishment period. In summing up, respondents' testimonies are apparently largely opposed to the program. Criticism from domestic people is addressed to active self-government interventions. They recognize the need for tourism, which is the source of work opportunities. However, they do not accept the way and the form of current realization. Answer of the respondent in Tepoztlán will serve as an explanation:

“What does that mean ‘mágico’?” What is magic? I have been living here all my life and I do not look for magic, I'm not a magician. This is my home and it is ‘sagrado’ (sacred) to me. We cannot allow tourists to destroy the place which is the reason why they came here in the first place.” [*Research notes*, Informant, Tepoztlán]

Both passive and active interventions, as we have characterized them, affect the preservation of cultural heritage. According to the obtained data, we can state that through the research program in research locations there are changes which cannot be classified as positive. Evaluations can also be affected by the relatively short time span of the overall program coverage in Mexico. The study does not have the ambition to generalize the research results on the whole spectrum of cultural heritage conservation issues. However, the article in question may point to a number of problems associated with the application of tourism programs.

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