



UNIVERSIDAD NACIONAL AUTÓNOMA DE MÉXICO

POSGRADO EN CIENCIAS BIOLÓGICAS

INSTITUTO DE INVESTIGACIONES EN ECOSISTEMAS Y SUSTENTABILIDAD

Manejo Integral de Ecosistemas

**DESARROLLO TURÍSTICO Y MANEJO DE ECOSISTEMAS
EN LA COSTALEGRE DE JALISCO, MÉXICO.**

TESIS

**QUE PARA OPTAR POR EL GRADO DE:
DOCTORA EN CIENCIAS**

PRESENTA:

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Dr. Isidro Ávila Martínez
Director General de Administración Escolar, UNAM
Presente

Por medio de la presente me permito informar a usted, que el Subcomité de Ecología y Manejo Integral de Ecosistemas, del Posgrado en Ciencias Biológicas, en su sesión ordinaria del día 09 de mayo de 2016, aprobó el jurado para la presentación del examen para obtener el grado de **DOCTORA EN CIENCIAS** de la alumna **RIENSCHÉ MARION** con número de cuenta **512451503**, con la tesis titulada **"Desarrollo turístico y manejo de ecosistemas en la Costalegre de Jalisco, México"** dirigida por la **Dra. Alicia Castillo Álvarez**.

Presidente: Dr. José Manuel Maass Moreno
Vocal: Dra. Tuyeni Heita Mwampamba
Secretario: Dr. Eduardo García Frapolli
Suplente: Dra. Margaret Skutsch
Suplente: Dr. Ludger Brenner

Sin otro particular, quedo de usted.

Atentamente
"POR MI RAZA HABLARÁ EL ESPÍRITU"
Cd. Universitaria, Cd. Mx., a 14 de junio de 2016

Dra. Maria del Coro Arizmendi Arriaga
Coordinadora del Programa



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Audaces caminaron todo el día, treparon sobre los acantilados, hundieron los pasos en las playas, cruzaron pantanos, recorrieron brechas y veredas, pasearon bajo palmares. El sudor barnizaba rostros, torsos, brazos. Reducían a números la belleza: tantos kilómetros a tanto, tantas hectáreas que convertidas en metros cuadrados darán un promedio de tanto según la zona del fraccionamiento, tantos turistas a tanto diario; este, aquel, aquel y otro servicio, tanto; y tantas lanchas de pesca, tanto de derechos por esto y aquello, tanto de peajes, tanto de plusvalías por la carretera, por las presas, por las avenidas y establecimientos generales.

- *Ustedes saben que hay quienes ahora se titulan “vendedores de paisaje”.*
- *Muy bien, requetebién, aunque aquí venderemos tierras con riego, agua con peces, bosques con caza, desmontes, plantíos, y si se puede hasta las nubes.*
- *Usted es capaz de industrializar el sol.*
- *Cómo de que no.*

*“El Amarillo” alias Roberto Paz Vizcaíno, visionario de Tenacatita.
Agustín Yáñez. 1960. La tierra pródiga (p.58).*

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Resumen en español

El presente trabajo analiza el turismo como una actividad económica que produce fuertes y complejas repercusiones en el sistema socio-ecológico (SSE) local. El objetivo general es entender las relaciones entre los distintos componentes del SSE en cuestión y más particularmente: identificar, sistematizar y analizar el papel del desarrollo turístico en el manejo de ecosistemas en el desarrollo turístico emergente de la Costalegre de Jalisco. Se busca entender las percepciones y puntos de vista de los distintos grupos de actores con la finalidad de construir propuestas para un desarrollo turístico más sustentable de acuerdo a las condiciones ecológicas y sociales del lugar.

El acercamiento se llevó a cabo en tres fases que se presentan en tres artículos. El primer artículo analiza la dependencia del turismo de los servicios ecosistémicos y muestra un análisis de posibles escenarios futuros del futuro desarrollo de la región tomando en cuenta actuales discrepancias y potenciales conflictos en el acceso a ciertos servicios ecosistémicos. El segundo artículo aborda la arena institucional de los actores involucrados en las decisiones sobre la interfase del desarrollo turístico y la conservación de los ecosistemas en el área de estudio. Se hace énfasis en la regulación correspondiente y en su relación con la toma de decisiones *de facto*; identificando a actores claves, nuevas formas de gobernanza y el surgimiento de instituciones. El tercer artículo luego incorpora la visión de la población local sobre el rol del turismo y su compatibilidad con sus modos de vida tradicionales. Se analizan tanto los cambios percibidos por el turismo en la actualidad y la relación entre la población local y los tomadores de decisiones involucrados como las respectivas expectativas de la población frente a un desarrollo a futuro.

El enfoque metodológico de corte cualitativo y el uso del marco conceptual de los SSE combinado con el acercamiento a profundidad desde tres ángulos complementarios contribuye tanto a la construcción de nuevos marcos conceptuales para el estudio del turismo, como a la construcción de explicaciones más integrales de esta actividad. Por otra parte, esta tesis responde tanto a la necesidad inmediata de entender lo que significa el turismo para la región de estudio, como a la urgencia de proponer estrategias no solamente para la mitigación de conflictos si no también para elaborar propuestas para un desarrollo socio-ecológico integral e incluyente de la región Costalegre.

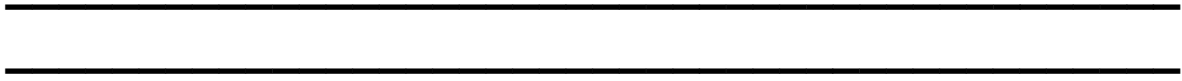
Resumen en inglés (Abstract)

This study consists of an analysis of tourism as an economic activity that produces strong and complex effects on the local socio-ecological system (SES). The main objective was to understand the relationships between the various components of the SES in question and specifically, to identify, systematize and analyze the role of tourism development in ecosystem management in the emerging tourism development of Costalegre of Jalisco. We sought to understand the perceptions of tourism of the different groups of actors and to compare their points of view in order to construct shared visions of future tourism development.

The study was conducted in three phases which are presented as articles for publication as explained below. The first article discusses the dependence of tourism on ecosystem services and analyses possible future development scenarios for the region, taking into account current discrepancies in access to certain ES and associated potential conflicts. The second article addresses the institutional arena of the actors involved in decisions about the interface of tourism development and conservation of ecosystems in the study area. The corresponding regulatory framework and its relationship with *de facto* decision making is emphasized, key actors are identified and new forms of governance and the emergence of new institutions are described. The third article incorporates the vision of the local population of the role of tourism and its compatibility with their traditional lifestyles. Expectations of local communities, changes perceived from tourism and the relationship between the local population and decision makers are the center of this article.

The qualitative methodological approach that was applied based on the conceptual framework of SES and applied from three complementary angles (local socio-ecological system, regional regulatory and local perceptions) contributes to the construction of new conceptual frameworks for the study of tourism. Furthermore it shows how to destangle complex situation step by step to finally build comprehensive and integrative explanations based on the actors' perceptions of reality. Moreover, this study responds to the need to extend the ongoing research in the study area about tourism's environmental impacts to incorporate socio-ecological questions and social and socio-economic implications of tourism for the different actors groups of the study area. Strategies for conflict mitigation and proposals for a comprehensive and inclusive socio-ecological development of the Costalegre region are needed due to the accelerated proposals of tourism..

Capítulo 1 Introducción



Los humanos formamos parte de la naturaleza y dependemos de ella (Martín-López & Montes, 2011). Nos la apropiamos, la transformamos y nos aprovechamos de sus distintas funciones, la “manejamos”. Por otro lado, sus características y condiciones biofísicas nos permiten desarrollarnos, nos inspiran, pero también nos ponen limitaciones.

Entre las actividades humanas, el turismo por su “paradoja ambiental” (Williams & Ponsford, 2009) ilustra ejemplarmente esta interdependencia: bien que los ecosistemas o el entorno natural son lo que vuelve único un destino turístico y de los cuales depende en gran medida su éxito; por el otro lado la misma actividad lo impacta. Con base en Gössling (2002) se analizó el turismo como una forma de relacionarse con el ambiente y los ecosistemas mediante varias interacciones. Estas interacciones a su vez dan lugar a una “interfase” turística-ambiental que se ilustra en la Figura 1.

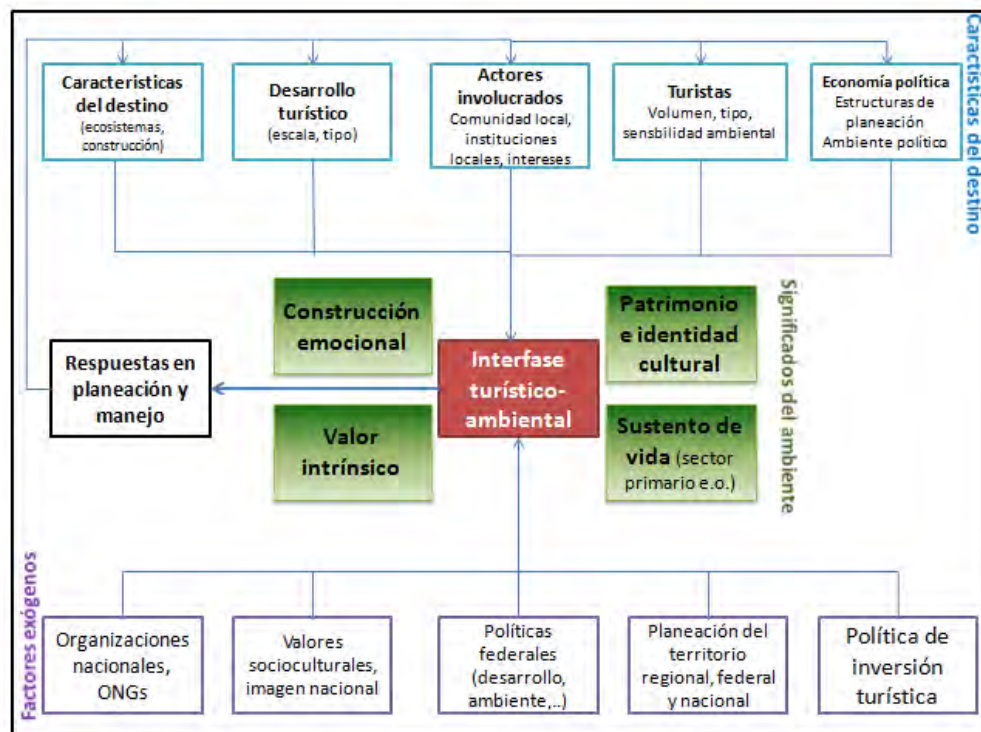


Figura 1: Modelo de la interfase turística-ambiental compuesta por los significados del ambiente, las características del destino y los factores externos que se deberían de tomar en cuenta para su planeación o análisis holístico. Elaboración propia basada en Sharpley (2009: 25 y 126) y Toledo (2008).

La interfase turística-ambiental se da entre factores característicos del destino y los factores exógenos que quedan fuera del alcance pero que la influyen directamente en la interfase mediante políticas o valores inherentes. Las características del destino están bajo el control de la planeación o del manejo. Es importante resaltar que la interfase (al

centro) no es meramente el lugar físico de la actividad turística, sino también generadora de emociones y de identidad. Puede igualmente funcionar como fuente de sustento de vida (generación de ingreso) o como alternativa a actividades tradicionales. Es vital comprender esta interdependencia de las actividades humanas con el medio ambiente a fin de garantizar la buena sobrevivencia de ambos a largo plazo, o dicho de otra manera, de encaminarlas hacia la sustentabilidad (Brundtland, 1987; Fisher, Turner, & Morling, 2009; MEA, 2003).

Avanzar en la búsqueda de la sustentabilidad en la actividad turística es de especial importancia debido a su importancia económica mundial y a su crecimiento acelerado de los últimos años (Budeanu, Miller, Moscardo, & Ooi, 2015). Especialmente urge entender la lógica atrás del desarrollo turístico para encaminarlo hacia un desarrollo menos conflictivo y ambiguo, y por ende más sustentable (Butler, 2013).

En la región Chamela-Cuixmala de Jalisco, México (alrededor de la Reserva de la Biosfera con este mismo nombre), varios trabajos de corte ecológico y socio-ecológico empezaron a identificar el turismo como uno de los factores de cambio importantes de la integridad socio-ecológica (Castillo et al., 2009; Castillo, Magaña, Pujadas, Martínez, & Godínez, 2005; Ceballos, Székely, García, Rodríguez, & Noguera, 1999; Maass et al., 2005). Además, aunque la promoción turística de la parte costera de la región bajo el nombre “Costalegre” había sido lento y de bajo impacto (Castillo et al., 2009), desde el año 2006 emergieron varios proyectos grandes de desarrollos hoteleros e inmobiliarios (véase Tabla 1). Algunos de ellos ya se aprobaron y se están construyendo actualmente, lo que sigue provocando inquietud tanto en el medio conservacionista y académico (Boege et al., 2010; Castillo, Dominguez, García, Quesada, & Vega, 2007) como entre los habitantes de la región. Los habitantes se componen de ejidatarios, avencindados y pequeños propietarios, además de varias grandes propiedades privadas con dueños tanto nacionales como extranjeros. Cabe mencionar que se constataron en las primeras entrevistas informales llevadas a cabo la ausencia de información con respecto a los planes de desarrollo y una clara falta de comunicación entre los distintos actores involucrados en el desarrollo de la región.

Los intereses y preocupaciones relacionados con el probable desarrollo turístico e inmobiliario en esta región se centraban principalmente en dos temas: 1) la conservación

de los ecosistemas, en particular la integridad de los ecosistemas costeros tales como las dunas costeras y los manglares y del bosque tropical seco (Maass et al., 2005; Trilleras, 2008); y 2) el manejo y acceso equitativo a recursos naturales tales como el agua (potable para consumo humano y de buena calidad para consumo agrícola y pecuario), así como a las playas y costas por parte de los habitantes locales y turistas (Castillo et al., 2009; Flores-Díaz, Castillo, Sánchez-Matías, & Maass, 2014; Maass & Burgos, 2011).

Basado en estos trabajos preliminares, el presente trabajo buscó entonces contribuir a generar información socio-ecológica más específica sobre el desarrollo turístico e ampliar la gama de las visiones y opiniones de los distintos actores involucrados (de manera directa e indirecta) y su rol en la toma de decisiones locales y regionales sobre el futuro de esta región. Específicamente se buscó por primera vez incorporar al sector desarrollador turístico y de los propietarios de las extensiones privadas de la costa. Se exploraron significados e implicaciones de un posible “desarrollo sustentable encaminado por el turismo” o un “desarrollo turístico sustentable” (DTS) como hilo conductor para poder dar recomendaciones concretas.

Marco conceptual general de la tesis

El enfoque de los sistemas socio-ecológicos (SSE) (Berkes & Folke, 1998) ubica al ser humano adentro de la naturaleza y permite a su vez un acercamiento sistémico e interdisciplinario, dado que las interacciones son tan complejas que soluciones disciplinarias muchas veces no son viables (Martín-López & Montes, 2011). Además, es necesario estudiar los SSE en contexto y su interrelación con políticas a distintas escalas y diversos sectores (Brondizio, Ostrom, & Young, 2009), como también incluir el análisis de las relaciones, interacciones y retroalimentaciones de los componentes del sistema (Anderies & Janssen, 2013). La Figura 2 muestra el marco conceptual de las tesis. El turismo se estudia como una forma de manejo de ecosistemas que a su vez está posibilitado y regido por la presencia de ciertos bienes y servicios ecosistémicos turísticos (DeGroot, Wilson, & Boumans, 2002; MEA, 2005b).

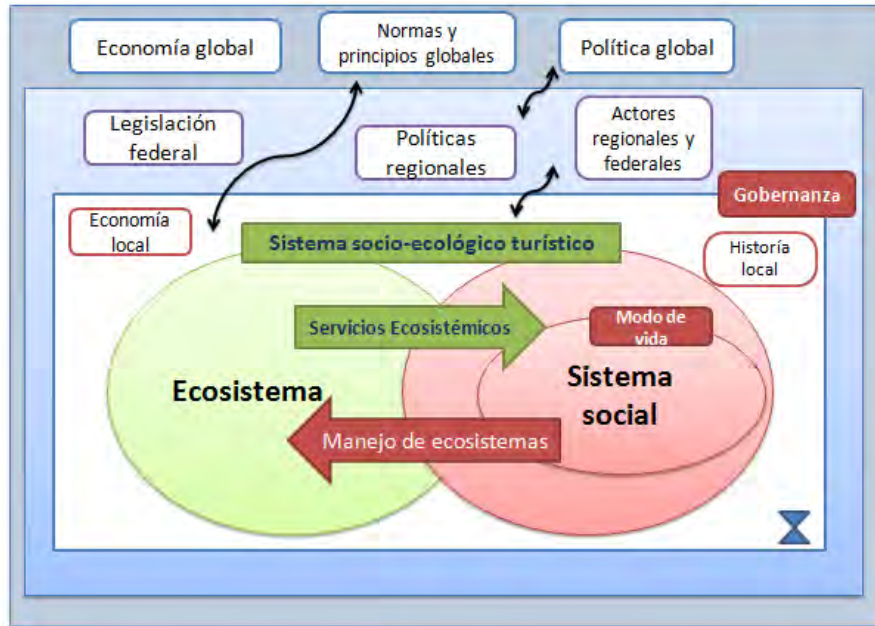


Figura 2: Marco conceptual: Estudio del SSE enfocado a la actividad turística. El SSE local se enmarca en los SSE regional/federales y el global. En rojo se señalan conceptos analíticos enfocados a los sistemas sociales; en verde los conceptos analíticos enfocados a los ecosistemas y los SSE. Además, se identifican elementos claves que se analizan en los distintos niveles, tales como la economía e historia a nivel local, la legislación, las políticas y actores a nivel federal y regional. La economía y las condiciones políticas enmarcan los subsistemas. Ambos son permeables y entre ellos se dan procesos permanentes de intercambio. Finalmente el reloj de arena indica el tiempo e implica que el SSE no es estático sino que cambia.

El primer capítulo se concentra en el SSE como base y “habilitador” de toda actividad humana, enfocado a la actividad turística. La relación entre el hombre, o los actores involucrados en el turismo, con la naturaleza se analiza mediante el concepto de los llamados “bienes y servicios ecosistémicos” (MEA, 2003), los cuales en el caso del turismo en ocasiones también se denominan “elementos turísticos de fondo” (Briassoulis, 2002: trad. prop.). A parte de identificar los servicios ecosistémicos turísticos más relevantes de Costalegre, se analizan sus principales grupos de usuarios y las consecuencias de diferentes decisiones sobre el futuro del SSE en cuestión.

El capítulo dos analiza a nivel local y regional la gobernanza turística con sus respectivas instituciones y organismos formales, incluyendo el análisis de la legislación pertinente en la intersección ambiental-turística. Para ello, se caracteriza el desarrollo turístico y se analiza la arena legal e institucional en Costalegre, identificando a los principales (grupos de) actores, sus asociaciones, alianzas y conflictos.

El tercer capítulo se centra en el rol y la participación de la población local en la actividad turística ya que son los campesinos o ejidatarios quienes son los principales actores en el manejo de ecosistemas en esta región y en México (Gutiérrez-Estrada & Gerritsen, 2011; Toledo & Barrera-Bassols, 2009). Para caracterizar el rol del turismo con respeto a los modos de vida (“*livelihoods*”) (Scoones, 1998, 2009) y para la construcción de un desarrollo sustentable local, se busca, entre otro, analizar las disyuntivas entre actividades productivas neo-tradicionales como la ganadería extensiva y la agricultura (Berkes & Folke, 1998).

La discusión general finalmente junta los resultados claves de los tres capítulos para generar conclusiones integradoras y discutir posibilidades de un turismo sustentable en la Costalegre.

Objetivo general

El objetivo general de la presente investigación es identificar, sistematizar y analizar el papel del desarrollo turístico en el manejo de ecosistemas en la Costalegre de Jalisco desde la perspectiva de los distintos grupos de actores involucrados en el desarrollo turístico para dar recomendaciones para un desarrollo turístico sustentable de la región de estudio.

Objetivos particulares

Los objetivos específicos incluyen:

1. Caracterizar la actividad turística en Costalegre.
2. Mostrar la dependencia de la actividad turística de los servicios ecosistémicos e identificar los principales grupos de actores involucrados en su manejo.
3. Entender el escenario institucional y legal en el que se realiza el desarrollo turístico.
4. Identificar a los actores involucrados (“*stakeholders*”) y sus roles en la toma de decisiones y gobernanza de los servicios ecosistémicos turísticos.
5. Documentar la relación de la actividad turística con la población local desde la perspectiva de la población.

El presente documento, el manuscrito de la tesis, está compuesto por los tres capítulos o artículos de investigación que repondan a estas preguntas específicas y en su conjunto al

objetivo general. El capítulo 2 responde al objetivo particular 2, el capítulo 3 responde los objetivos particulares 1, 3 y 4 y el capítulo 4 responde al objetivo particular 5. La discusión del capítulo 5 retoma las conclusiones principales y da lugar a presentar recomendaciones para el futuro desarrollo de la región de estudio.

Conceptos clave

A continuación se presentan los referentes conceptuales claves de la investigación:

Sistemas socio-ecológicos

El término de los “sistemas socio-ecológicos” (SSE) se desarrolló para reforzar el concepto del “ser humano en la naturaleza” y para integrar a los humanos (el sistema social) firmemente en el estudio de los ecosistemas (Berkes & Folke, 1998), a la vez que hacer énfasis en que los humanos forman parte de la naturaleza y dependen de ella (MEA, 2005a). En los últimos años surgieron varios acercamientos para estudiar los sistemas socio-ecológicos o también llamados “socio-ecosistemas” (Anderies, Janssen, & Ostrom, 2004; Berkes & Folke, 1998; Olsson, Folke, & Hahn, 2004; Ostrom, 2009), con el interés de documentar y analizar las relaciones, interacciones y retroalimentaciones de los distintos componentes del socioecosistema (Anderies & Janssen, 2013). Entre las aportaciones cabe resaltar el enfoque sistémico, es decir la necesidad de estudiar los SSE como sistemas complejos y adaptativos (Alliance, 2010; Holling & Gunderson, 2002), en contextos más amplios y con interdependencias entre varias escalas y con otros sistemas (Brondizio et al., 2009).

Manejo de ecosistemas

El manejo de ecosistemas se puede definir como “la explotación, conservación y restauración ecológica” (Maass, 2003) por acciones muy concretas, “guiado por metas explícitas, ejecutado mediante políticas, protocolos y prácticas específicas” (Christensen et al., 1996: 668; trad. prop.). Siempre involucra y combina conocimiento sobre las relaciones ecológicas con la realidad socio-política y por lo tanto involucra actores de distintas áreas y niveles ya que los componentes de los ecosistemas se organizan de forma jerárquica a escalas múltiples (Grumbine, 1994, 1997; Olsson et al., 2004).

Para este trabajo, el concepto de manejo de ecosistemas se entiende por una parte como las múltiples formas de aprovechamiento de los ecosistemas y a su vez como la

búsqueda y definición de las condiciones ecológicas y sociales deseadas para una región particular (Christensen et al., 1996; Grumbine, 1994). Una de las metas principales de la investigación es la identificación de las acciones necesarias para cumplir con los objetivos planteados.

Entre las formas de aprovechar a los ecosistemas, también se considera la actividad turística (en todas sus formas) como un tipo de “manejo” o “uso”. En el caso de los ecosistemas mexicanos, son en su mayoría campesinos quienes viven y se apropian directamente de los ecosistemas y los manejan de manera directa e inmediata (Toledo, Alarcón-Cháires, & Barón, 2002; Toledo, 2010). Las formas de uso o manejo están por lo tanto guiadas tanto por usos y costumbres, como por políticas ambientales, estrategias de ordenamiento y tecnologías disponibles (Toledo et al., 2002). Puede ocurrir que estas formas de uso o manejo entren en conflicto de intereses con otras formas de aprovechamiento o de conservación de los ecosistemas, sobre todo cuando se insertan nuevas actividades como el turismo. Por lo tanto se considera de suma importancia en el estudio de manejo de ecosistemas, la identificación y el rol de los distintos actores en la toma de decisiones y el análisis de las formas de manejo y gobernanza.

Turismo y “turismo sustentable”

El turismo es un fenómeno complejo y difícil de definir por ser un producto de varios factores que interactúan y que involucran un conjunto de actividades económicas con facetas sociales, económicas y territoriales (Fernando-Vera, López-Palomeque, Marchena, & Clavé, 2013; Holden, 2008). Existe una gran variedad de definiciones generales (véase Morley, 1990), científicas (Butler, 1999, 2013) o técnicas de organismos como la Organización Mundial de Turismo (UNWTO) o la Secretaría de Turismo en México (Sectur). En su origen, el turismo es un “subconjunto de viaje” que tiene que ver con desplazamientos de los turistas por razones recreativas o de ocio (UNWTO, 2015). La definición específica luego depende de las necesidades particulares, muchas veces con la finalidad de generar estadísticas.

En este caso definimos el turismo como una “actividad económica consumidora y un fenómeno social dinámico con un importante componente espacial” (Butler, 1999, 2013; Gössling, Borgström Hanssen, Hörstmeier, & Saggel, 2002; Holden, 2008; Sharpley, 2009). Las actividades turísticas pueden llevar consigo un re-descubrimiento o una

revaloración de ciertos paisajes o componentes del SSE (Fernando-Vera et al., 2013), y así dar lugar a fortalecer la identidad social (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2006) o ayudar a fines de conservación ambiental (Bieling, 2009).

Ya desde la década de 1960, el rápido crecimiento global del turismo inició una preocupación por sus posibles afectaciones ambientales y socio-culturales (Budowski, 1976; Sharpley, 2009). Empezando con trabajos sobre los problemas ambientales del turismo tradicional masivo (Holden, 2008), y posteriormente también se empezaron a estudiar los impactos sociales se propuso el concepto del “ecoturismo” junto con diversas otras alternativas al turismo tradicional o masivo (Cater, 1993; Buckley, 1994). Actualmente, el ecoturismo o turismo sustentable son los segmentos de crecimiento más rápidos (UNWTO, 2014). Sin embargo, la “elasticidad” de los conceptos (Carrier & MacLeod, 2005: 316) en conjunto con las innumerables definiciones y conceptos siguen provocando mucha crítica (Gössling, 1999; Weaver & Lawton, 2007), entre otro por ser “retóricos y reactivos” (Hardy et al., 2002: 490) o “demasiado utópicas y genéricas para lograr una aplicación general” (Torres-Delgado & López Palomeque, 2012: 9; trad.prop.). Además, en su aplicación todavía prevalecen las dimensiones ecológicas y económicas (Hardy et al., 2002) a pesar de que lo que finalmente une al ecoturismo, el turismo ecológico y al turismo sustentable es su diferenciación del turismo tradicional masivo e incorporar principios “sustentables” (Solow, 1991).

En 1990 se desarrolló una estrategia para el desarrollo sustentable del turismo (“*Strategy for sustainable tourism development*”) en Vancouver, Canadá, que marcó el inicio del turismo sustentable como discurso dominante en la academia y en la planeación turística e inclusive influyó las políticas públicas a nivel mundial (Sharpley, 2009). Sin embargo, hasta la fecha hay poca evidencia de que los principios de un desarrollo sustentable hayan sido aplicados fuera de algunos proyectos a pequeña escala (ibid.: xiv). El discurso proviene y se ha quedado en gran medida en el ambiente académico y de programas gubernamentales. Académicamente, el “turismo sustentable” ha resultado ser un campo en expansión continua y sujeto de varios meta-análisis (Budeanu et al., 2015; Butler, 1999, 2013; Liu, 2003; Ruhanen, Weiler, Moyle, & McLennan, 2015). Ruhanen et al. (2015) explican la transición de la discusión desde el nicho del eco-turismo hacia consideraciones del desarrollo sustentable para el turismo de masas, alcanzando a examinar las implicaciones del turismo en general para retos globales como el cambio

climático. Aunque ha habido varios intentos de desarrollar conceptos, parece existir un consenso sobre la poca claridad de la relación entre el turismo y el desarrollo sustentable (Hardy et al., 2002; Torres-Delgado & López Palomeque, 2012) y todavía hay cuestiones centrales no resueltas, tales como su implementación y la faltante o ineficiente participación de los distintos actores que se reconoce como esencial (Waligo, Clarke, & Hawkins, 2013).

Delimitación y descripción del área de estudio

La región Costalegre abarca cerca de 300 km de línea costera del Estado de Jalisco y una superficie total de 577,200 ha [sic] (DOF 12/12/1990). El área núcleo de este estudio es la costa del municipio La Huerta. Esta zona resultó interesante por la presencia de un conjunto único de actores conservacionistas, desarrollos existentes particulares y distintos grupos de desarrolladores turísticos. Es aquí donde históricamente se ha dado el conflicto más fuerte entre conservación y desarrollo (turístico) (Tello-Díaz, 2014), resurgiendo más recientemente de nuevo con varias propuestas recientes y una nueva preocupación por parte del sector conservacionista y parte de la población local.

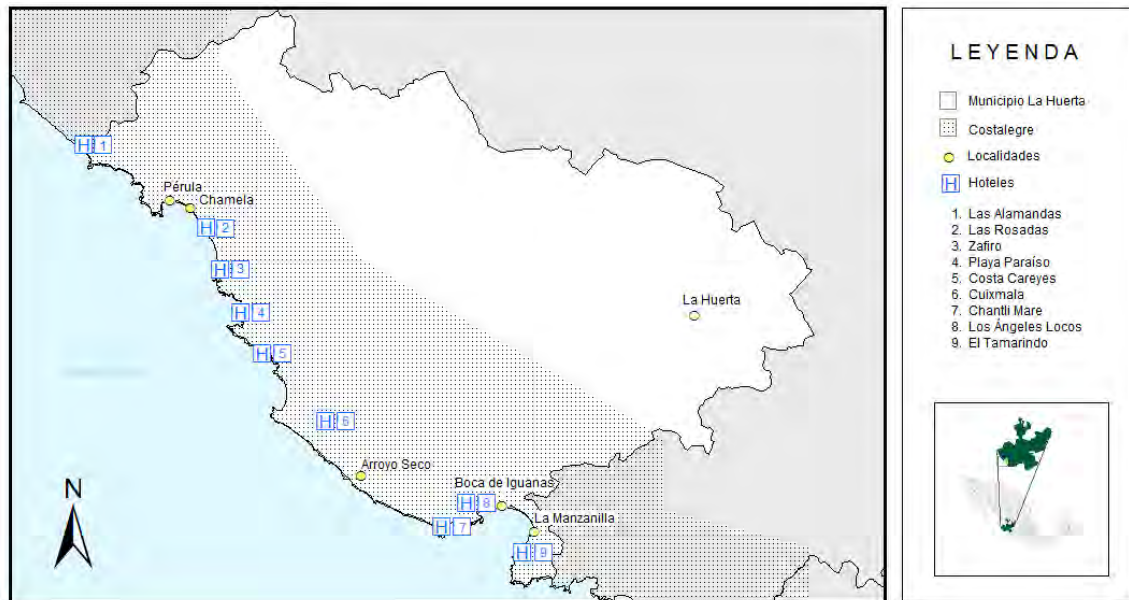


Figura 3: Área de estudio.

Entre los actores conservacionistas presentes cabe mencionar a la Reserva de la Biosfera Chamela-Cuixmala (RBChCx) administrada por la Fundación Ecológica de Cuixmala (FEC) en conjunto con la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM) a través de

la Estación de Biología de Chamela que forma parte de esta reserva. Los desarrolladores se componen de distintos grupos de empresarios mexicanos y extranjeros con intereses que incluyen un desarrollo masivo, a la vez que promover y ampliar la existente oferta de “Gran Turismo”. Se caracteriza además por una escasa población (11,52hab/km²) que se concentra en Núcleos Agrarios. Para la región Chamela-Cuixmala, el 53% de la tierra es de tenencia ejidal, para el Municipio La Huerta la tasa aumenta hasta el 70% (INEGI, 2010). Los habitantes se dedican a la ganadería extensiva y a la agricultura de temporada en las planicies. El sector económico más fuerte es el sector terciario con servicios (como la construcción) o pequeños negocios. La tasa de marginación es baja (CONAPO, 2001; RAN, 2005; SIEG, 2010).

El Municipio La Huerta forma parte de la región Chamela-Cuixmala que está considerada como una de las áreas mejor estudiadas del continente americano, en particular por sus investigaciones sobre el funcionamiento del bosque tropical seco (Maass et al., 2005; Noguera, 2002). Fue a partir de algunos trabajos de investigación llevados a cabo en la RBChCx que los investigadores empezaron a dar este nombre a los alrededores de la reserva cuando se extendieron los trabajos a visiones más socio-ecosistémicas (Flores-Díaz et al., 2014; Maass, 2003; Pérez-Escobedo, 2011).

La Sierra Madre del Sur es el parte aguas de las cuencas hidrológicas de los ríos que desembocan en el Pacífico en el área de estudio. Los ríos pequeños e intermitentes en su mayoría juegan roles importantes para la composición del ecosistema y para el acceso al agua (Flores-Díaz et al., 2014; Saldaña-Espejel, 2008). El relieve se divide en la zona costera, los lomeríos y la sierra con un rango de altitud desde 0 m en la costa hasta 2,400 m en la sierra (Cotler, Durán, & Siebe, 2002). En la zona costera, el clima es semi-seco cálido y muy cálido con lluvias principalmente por la presencia de ciclones en verano. El promedio anual de precipitación es de 752 mm con una enorme variabilidad intra- e interanual, se concentra en cuatro a cinco meses con diferencias desde 453 mm hasta 1,393 mm al año (García, Ceballos, & Adaya, 2003; García-Oliva, Camou, & Maass, 2002). La temperatura media anual es de 24.6° C, con un promedio anual máximo de 30° C y un mínimo de 19.5° C (García-Oliva et al., 2002).

La región Costalegre se encuentra biogeográficamente en el Neotrópico (Ortega, 1995). Los tipos de vegetación principales son la selva mediana subcaducifolia (27.68%) y el

bosque de encino (27.64%) con la mayor cobertura, seguido por la selva baja caducifolia también a veces generalmente llamado bosque tropical seco (BTS) con el 18%, el bosque de pino con el 7.5%, y finalmente el bosque mesófilo de montaña con un 1.2% de cobertura (CONABIO, 1999). La planicie costera jalisciense central presenta una gran variedad de ambientes naturales, y es aquí donde se da la mayoría de la agricultura de riego y de temporal, así como pastizales cultivados con el 18% del territorio. En la planicie costera predomina el BTS (Jardel-P., 1994) y en las partes montañosas se encuentran bosque tropical subcaducifolio, mesofilo de montaña de encino, pino-encino, pino y oyamel (Jardel-P., 1994). La costa está formada de acantilados rocosos con pequeñas bahías y enseñadas con playas arenosas, además de bahías más extensas como Chamela, Tenacatita y Navidad (Ortega 1990 cit. en Ortega, 1995). En la zona costera el tipo de vegetación predominante es la selva mediana subperenifolia, pero también se pueden encontrar manglares con pastos y matorrales y varios tipos de humedales, así como porciones de dunas costeras. La selva mediana subcaducifolia en conjunto con la selva baja caducifolia forman parte del BTS, el cual en la región Chamela-Cuixmala para 1999 representaba el 45.6% del territorio (CONABIO, 1999).

El BTS, el ecosistema tropical más amenazado a nivel mundial (Challenger, 1998; Janzen, 1988), es el principal ecosistema tropical del país en cuanto a superficie (Rzedowski, 1978), y alberga una gran biodiversidad y un alto número de endemismos (Ceballos, Székely, García, Rodríguez, & Noguera, 1999; Gómez-Pompa & Dirzo., 1995; Rzedowski, 1991; Trejo & Dirzo, 2000). Para la creación de la RBChCx se hizo especial énfasis en la necesidad de conservar el BTS y los humedales costeros ya que estaban subrepresentados en esquemas de conservación en México y a nivel global (Ceballos, Székely, García, Rodríguez, & Noguera, 1999). Maass et al. (2005) resaltan que son sobre todo las características biofísicas del BTS, las que determinan en gran medida las interacciones hombre-ecosistema presentes y a futuro en la región debido principalmente a la escasez de agua como principal limitante para cualquier actividad humana (Flores-Díaz et al., 2014; Saldaña-Espejel, 2008). Trabajos más recientes parecen indicar que es sobretodo el acceso desigual al agua y a otros bienes ecosistémicos entre distintos grupos de actores los que limitan las actividades que se llevan a cabo (González-Villarreal, 2015; Riensche, Castillo, Flores-Díaz, & Maass, 2015).

1.6 Turismo en Costalegre

Aunque la región Costalegre no está muy desarrollada turísticamente, ofrece una amplia oferta turística. En 2014 el 87% de la afluencia turística registrada en Costalegre era nacional (Anuario Estadístico 2014, no publicado) y aprovechó la oferta de “pequeños hoteles, rústicos, privados en sitios inexplorados” (Fonatur, Gobierno de Jalisco & Secturjal, 2011). Según la planeación oficial de Costalegre, este corredor ubica y promueve la variedad de su oferta (desde el turismo popular hasta el Gran Turismo) en distintas ubicaciones a lo largo de la costa. Existen unos desarrollos muy exclusivos de turismo de lujo en sitios selectos con una importante concentración en la costa del Municipio La Huerta donde se concentra el denominado Gran Turismo que corresponde al 46% de la oferta total del municipio (Fonatur, Gobierno de Jalisco & Secturjal, 2011). Es este sector de Gran Turismo que se ve actualmente en importante expansión, tanto por los proyectos recientes de hoteles de lujos como por la ampliación de la oferta inmobiliaria residencial exclusiva. La Figura 4 muestra la caracterización detallada de la oferta turística del Municipio La Huerta:

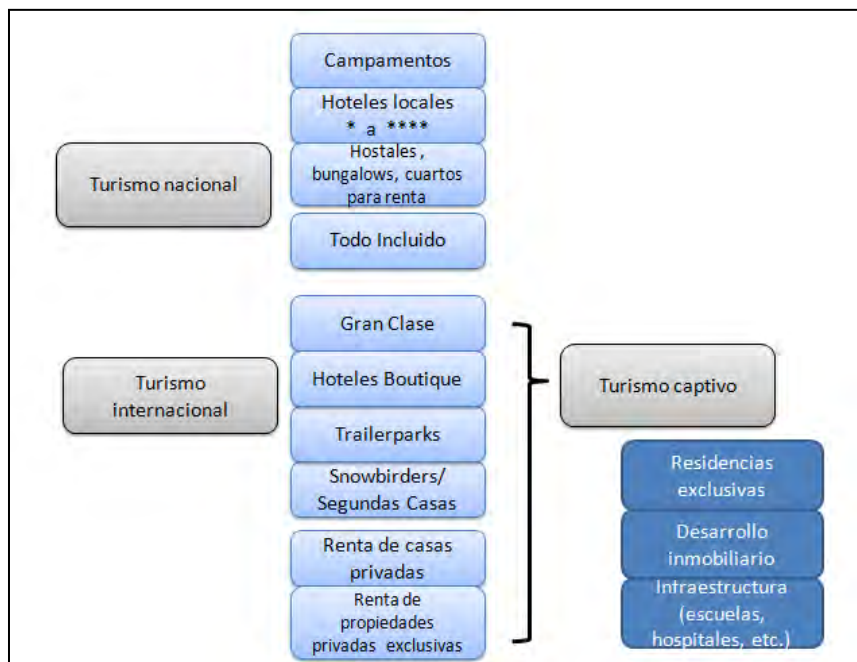


Figura 4: Tipos de turismo presentes en el área de estudio. Se identifican tres tipos generales de turismo (cajas grises) que son turismo nacional, internacional y “cautivo” (véase siguiente párrafo). Estos se componen de diferentes tipos de establecimientos turísticos oficiales y privados (mostrados en las cajas azules). Información basada en trabajo de campo, Costalegre, 2011, 2013; Fonatur, Gobierno de Jalisco & Secturjal, 2011.

El nombre de “Costalegre” para la costa jalisciense formó parte del intento por parte del Gobierno Estatal de promover el turismo costero. Así que se estableció de manera oficial

el nombre con la publicación del “Programa Costalegre” y el anuncio de respetivos proyectos de inversión turística en el año 1992 (Condetur, 1992). Además, la Costalegre o el “Corredor Turístico Ecológico denominado Costalegre” fue declarado “Zona de Desarrollo Turístico Prioritario” a inicio de la década de 1990 (DOF, 05/12/1990). Cabe mencionar que la costa de Jalisco había sido desde los años cuarenta, considerada con alto potencial turístico (CPCJ, 1943) y como un importante factor detonador de desarrollo (CPCJ, 1958). En los años siguientes y hasta la actualidad, han habido varios intentos de impulsar el turismo por la parte del gobierno mediante programas específicos (FONATUR, Jalisco, & Jalisco, 2011; Gobierno de Jalisco, 1985; Gobierno de Jalisco, 2012). Sin embargo, a pesar de su nombramiento oficial en 1990, la región Costalegre no despegó y su nombre y conceptualización quedaron poco claros (Andrade-Romo & Chávez-Dagostino, 2000). En 2011 se hizo un nuevo esfuerzo de mercadotecnia y se creó la nueva marca Costalegre por iniciativa de la Secretaria de Turismo de Jalisco (Secturjal) en conjunto con el Fondo Nacional de Fomento al Turismo (Fonatur) para revivir la región turística. Como resultado, en 2012 se publicó el Programa Subregional de Desarrollo Turístico de Costalegre del Estado de Jalisco (DOF 04/02/2012, FonaturJalisco & Secturjal, 2011). Analizando el conjunto de los proyectos turísticos sometidos a su evaluación en los últimos años (véase Tabla 1), parece que finalmente se va a desarrollar el área.

Tabla 1: Desarrollos turísticos. Compilación propia con base en la revisión de las Manifestaciones de Impacto Ambientales (MIA) correspondientes; en el caso de ampliación no se presentó MIA y los datos provienen de las paginas web de los proyectos o de comunicados de la prensa y Secturjal (nombres *en negrita*).

Proyecto	Año	Tamaño en ha
IEL La Huerta	2006	256,6
Marina Careyes y La Tambora	2007	161; 681,7 La Tambora
Las Rosadas	2009	181,9 (169)
Zafiro (incorporación de IEL La Huerta y Marina Careyes y La Tambora)	2010 2013	910,64
Hotel Cheval Blanc (Louis Vuitton)		
Rancho Don Andrés	2007 y 2011	577,91
San Carlos		147,19
Desarrollo Vistas	2012	1178,21
Hotel Four Seasons (Modernización y ampliación del complejo El Tamarindo)	2013	
Ampliación	2014	43 departamentos

Careyitos (complejo Costa Careyes)	más amenidades y casas
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Trabajos previos se han desarrollado por parte de la Universidad de Guadalajara por un grupo de investigadores con sede en Puerto Vallarta, siendo éste su principal lugar de estudio junto con la costa norte de Jalisco, con énfasis en el turismo de la naturaleza, el impacto social del turismo en distintas localidades, turismo y desarrollo sustentable, entre otros (Espinoza-Sánchez, Andrade-Romo, Chávez-Dagostino, & Zepeda-Arce, 2012; López-López, López-Pardo, Andrade-Romo, Chávez-Dagostino, & Espinoza-Sánchez, 2013; Malacara, Sandoval, & Becerra, 2013; Márquez-González & Sánchez-Crispin, 2007). En Autlán, Jalisco, un grupo de la misma universidad trabaja sobre turismo sustentable en el interior del Estado de Jalisco (Gerritsen, Jiménez-Lomelí, & Ortiz-Arrona, 2005; Gerritsen, 1998; Gutiérrez-Estrada & Gerritsen, 2011). Para el área de estudio, la Costalegre y más específicamente el municipio La Huerta, existen algunos trabajos exploratorios sobre la actividad turística, sobre la percepción de turistas nacionales, administradores de hoteles y la integración de estas visiones en el manejo de ecosistemas (Arreola, 2010; Castillo et al., 2009; Godínez, 2003). Cabe mencionar que existen también trabajos históricos y de la ecología política que se exploran más adelante.

La costa de Jalisco estuvo incomunicada con el resto del país durante hasta tarde en el siglo veinte (Rodríguez-Batista, 1989). Aunque durante el gobierno de Agustín Yañez contruyó una carretera uniendo el interior con la costa en la década de los 1950s, fue hasta 1971 con la inauguración de la carretera costera # 200 que la región efectivamente dejó de ser un lugar remoto (Tello-Díaz, 2012). Desde los primeros intentos de poblar la costa para desarrollarla mediante el turismo a partir de la década de 1960 y pasando por la creación de los ejidos costeros y la llegada de la UNAM no fue hasta que llegó la familia Brignone la que por su cuenta impulsó el turismo con los primeros grandes hoteles (véase Cap. 3). Con la crisis económica viene la fase de estancamiento general y luego el surgimiento de conflictos entre intereses conservacionistas y desarrolladores en los años noventa. Más recientemente, se ha visto nuevamente un acelerado crecimiento en las propuestas de nuevos proyectos después de la apertura neoliberal y la modificación del Art. 27 constitucional (Olivera-Lozano, 2014). Los intentos más recientes se pueden caracterizar como una búsqueda hacia un desarrollo más ordenando, de acuerdo a los planes de desarrollo y de planeación territorial. No obstante, siguen presentes conflictos de intereses entre los distintos actores involucrados, los cuales son parte de los análisis

del presente trabajo.

Enfoque de investigación, metodología y análisis de datos

Se buscó documentar y analizar las perspectivas, significados e interpretaciones de los distintos actores sobre su interacción con su entorno (el ecosistema) y con los demás actores (la parte social). Estos fenómenos se basan en construcciones sociales que reflejan valores, significados e intereses particulares de los integrantes (Cantrell, 1996), por lo tanto un enfoque de corte cualitativo (Dieckmann, 1999; Taylor & Bogdan, 1987) y métodos cualitativos de la investigación social fueron escogidos. Estos buscan adentrarse en el sentido de las acciones de los actores sociales y permiten indagar más profundamente sobre las visiones individuales de los actores (Drury, Homewood, & Randall, 2011). A su vez, admiten y demandan una reflexión constante sobre “asuntos de significado, sesgos y exactitud del muestreo” en el propio proceso de investigación (Drury et al., 2011:18; trad. prop.), además de permitir la adaptación flexible de los métodos de acuerdo a los nuevos aprendizajes (Newing, 2011b) .

Aunque se llevó a cabo una preparación teórica previa al trabajo de campo, la estrategia de investigación fue inductiva, es decir, guiada por preguntas directivas o “hipótesis de trabajo” (Hernández-Sampieri, Collado, Lucio, & Pérez, 2008) con la finalidad de no delimitar previamente el alcance de la investigación y así permitir un entendimiento profundo del fenómeno (Cloke, P., Cook, I., Crang, P., Goodwin, M., Painter, J., & Philo, 2004; Newing, 2011b). La meta fue buscar construir teoría a partir del análisis de los datos, un enfoque que también se conoce como Teoría Fundamentada (Charmaz, 2005; Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

El proceso cíclico de análisis de datos ocurre paralelamente a la toma de datos (Taylor & Bogdan, 1987). La colecta y el análisis de datos se retroalimentaron mutuamente y permiten simultáneamente enfocar y afinar ambos procesos (Charmaz, 2005). Cabe resaltar, finalmente, que cualquier análisis basado en datos, hasta la misma obtención de éstos, era equivalente a una interpretación de los datos (Strauss, 1995) o como lo pone K. Charmaz: *“La teoría fundamentada implica desarrollar ideas más y más abstractas sobre los significados, acciones y mundos de los sujetos de la investigación, además de buscar datos específicos para rellenar, refinar y corroborar las categorías conceptuales emergentes. El resultado de nuestro trabajo es una interpretación analítica de los mundos*

de los participantes y de los procesos constituyentes de como se construyeron estos mundos". (Charmaz, 2005, p. 507; trad. prop.)

El diseño de la investigación con la combinación de métodos variados y complementarios permitieron llevar a cabo una triangulación metodológica (Flick, 2004) para no solamente corroborar los datos desde distintos ángulos, sino también obtener visiones más completas (Jick, 1979; Newing, 2011b). La Figura 5 indica los métodos utilizados para cada capítulo.

Capítulo 2	Capítulo 3	Capítulo 4
Revisión de periodicos/ prensa local/ DOF		
Recorrido de campo		
Revisión documental		
Encuesta hoteleros		
Entrevistas con informantes		
Entrevistas actores claves/ líderes de opinión		
		Taller
		Encuesta habitantes

Figura 5: Métodos de investigación por capítulo de tesis. Los métodos en negrita indican la importancia del método.

Para estudiar el contexto y el estado de la investigación actual en el sitio de estudio, se llevó a cabo una revisión y análisis documental (Hernández-Sampieri et al., 2008). Documentos incluyeron: documentos históricos (Colegio de Jalisco), tesis de la región (Universidad de Guadalajara (UdG), UNAM) y propuestas de desarrollos turísticos en el área de estudio con sus respectivas manifestaciones de impacto ambiental (MIA). Igualmente se analizaron los Planes Nacionales de Desarrollo (PND) y el Plan Estatal de Desarrollo de Jalisco (Jalisco 2030), así como planes y programas municipales de La Huerta (Véase Anexo 1 para consultar la lista específica de los documentos consultados y analizados). Además, se hizo una búsqueda durante todo el tiempo de la investigación de fuentes periodísticas, así como de información hemerográfica. Se consultaron artículos de los siguientes periódicos y revistas: *Proceso*; *El Informador* (Guadalajara); *Verdebandera Periodismo Ambiental* (Guadalajara) y los trabajos de periodismo ambiental de Agustín del Castillo (<http://www.agustindelcastillo.com/>).

El trabajo de campo se llevó a cabo durante los años 2012 a 2015 en varias salidas de campo con un total de 107 días en campo. Se recorrieron todos los pueblos costeros del área de estudio (Véase Figura 5) para conocer y realizar un inventario de los establecimientos hoteleros, así como para complementar los registros oficiales de la delegación regional de turismo (Delegación Costalegre). Además se recorrieron las playas abiertas a pie y la costa en lancha para conocer las instalaciones turísticas y las playas y bahías cerradas (Véase Anexo 2 para la lista completa de las playas del Municipio La Huerta con el estatus del acceso actual).

La entrada al campo y los primeros contactos se establecieron por acercamientos previamente establecidos en el equipo de trabajo. Para encontrar más actores de un tema (ejemplo: prestadores de servicios turísticos) se recorrieron las localidades y también se usó el método “bola de nieve” (Hernández-Sampieri et al., 2008). En el caso de los desarrolladores turísticos, fue necesario establecer contacto previo para entregar cartas de presentación oficial y agendar citas. Incluso en algunas ocasiones se enviaron los guiones de entrevista previa a una cita. No fue posible entrevistar a todos los actores directamente por lo cual se recurrió a fuentes secundarias, tales como entrevistas publicadas, representaciones en el internet (páginas web) y folletos de publicidad. El tema del vínculo de confianza para compartir información (Drury et al., 2011) y el acceso libre a la información son temas que se retoman en la discusión general.

Las entrevistas a profundidad dieron lugar a recorridos por las instalaciones hoteleras y mansiones privadas y permitieron la observación participante y participativa (Spradley, 1980). La documentación fotográfica complementaria permitió por un lado la corroboración de información obtenida a través de diversas fuentes y por otro lado daba espacio para profundizar en ciertos temas. En varios casos, la entrevista proporcionó el acceso a partes de la costa que están en manos privadas. Los métodos de muestreo variaron de acuerdo a las preguntas específicas de investigación. Se usaron tanto el muestro conveniente, el sistema “bola de nieve” y para la encuesta se aplicó el muestreo aleatorio (Newing, 2011b). Se usó además el muestreo teórico para identificar a informantes claves (Jacob & Eirimbter, 1999),.

Los tipos de entrevistas incluyeron entrevistas informales y semi-estructuradas a profundidad. Esas últimas usaban guiones con preguntas abiertas y sobre temas

específicos relacionados con los objetivos de investigación (Hernández-Sampieri et al., 2008). Se realizaron tanto a expertos como fuente de información adicional, como a líderes de opinión y actores claves para cubrir los objetivos de la investigación. Las entrevistas a veces se llevaban a cabo como grupo focal cuando se unía a la conversación más de una persona. En una ocasión se organizó un taller con el objetivo específico de realizar grupos focales para permitir el intercambio y la discusión entre sus integrantes (véase Capítulo 4) (Newing, 2011a).

En dos ocasiones se usaron encuestas para coleccionar de manera rápida y sistemática información cuantitativa de una muestra de una población (Hox, De Leeuw, & Dillman, 2008): Al inicio se realizó una encuesta con los establecimientos hoteleros locales mediante un formato estandarizado con preguntas en su mayoría cerradas sobre información estadística básica (número de cuartos, uso de agua) en combinación con preguntas abiertas sobre percepciones del turismo (Newing, 2011c). Al final de la tesis se diseñó una encuesta basada en resultados previos para profundizar en éstos (véase Cap. 4).

De acuerdo con el enfoque de investigación, los datos se analizaron de manera cualitativa combinada con estadística descriptiva (Charmaz, 2005; Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Mayring, 2007; Newing, 2011b). Para tal fin se usó el programa de cómputo *Atlas.ti7*, una herramienta para el análisis de datos textuales. Las transcripciones de las entrevistas, las respuestas de las preguntas abiertas de las encuestas, anotaciones de los diarios de campo se ingresaron al programa. Para su análisis, los datos se codificaron, se clasificaron y se organizaron en categorías para identificar patrones que permitieran construir explicaciones de acuerdo con los principios metodológicos del análisis cualitativo (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Mayring, 2007). La agrupación de datos y el encontrar sentido en un análisis textual son fundamentales en el análisis cualitativo basado en la Teoría Fundamentada (Strauss, 1995).

La presentación de los resultados se hizo mediante una narrativa (Newing, 2011b), resaltando los contextos situacionales y estructurales (Strauss, 1995). Se usaron diagramas de flujo, sociogramas, mapas integradores e ilustrativos de los datos obtenidos, siempre de acuerdo a los objetivos específicos.

1.8 Estructura de la tesis

Como se explicó al inicio, el presente trabajo está estructurado por tres artículos de investigación, es decir que cada capítulo es un complejo temático en sí. El capítulo 5 contiene una discusión integradora que da lugar a conclusiones y reflexiones más generales; además de retomar los últimos objetivos específicos y construir una propuesta de desarrollo más sustentable para la región de estudio y avanzar el estudio del turismo dentro del marco de los sistemas socio-ecológicos.

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Capítulo 2

Tourism at Costalegre, Mexico: an ecosystem services-based exploration of current challenges and alternative futures

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Tourism at Costalegre, Mexico: An ecosystem services-based exploration of current challenges and alternative futures



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ABSTRACT

Tourism, as all human activities, is dependent on the natural environment and its respective ecosystem services (ES). Different user groups manage and consume these touristic ES differently, resulting in discrepancies and potential conflicts. Despite the urgency to find inclusive local approaches for sustainable development, tourism studies still analyze socio-economic and ecological impacts separately and lack integrated social–ecological approaches to improve foresight in tourism planning. Based on a growing concern regarding the future of Costalegre on the Jalisco coast of Western Mexico, we analyze through interviews, surveys, and participant observation the dependence of tourism on specific ecosystem services and conduct a scenario analysis which shows present and future implications for the social–ecological system. Furthermore, this analysis shows in detail how different scenarios change ES provision and people's livelihoods. Key findings include identifying freshwater provision and cultural ES as the most important touristic ES. At a regional scale, peasants in ejidos are the main ES stewards, whereas high-class tourism facilities constitute important local stewards. Benefits, mainly access to freshwater and the beach, are unequally distributed, provoking conflicts among different ES user groups that may escalate in the near future. Improved communication between all user groups and strengthening of key political actors seem to be the most immediate recommendations to ensure the long term sustainability of this particular region. This work may contribute to improved planning and decision-making as our ES based scenarios are a first step to integrate social–ecological knowledge into improved decision-making. At a local scale, the study reveals the most likely future development options and their social and ecological consequences. It could also serve as a baseline for informed policy making.

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1. Introduction

Tourism is an expanding activity worldwide, both in terms of occupied space and as a growing market (Butler, 2013) having important implications on natural resources and locals' livelihoods (Andereck, Valentine, Knopf, & Vogt, 2005; Gössling, 2002). Tourism's dependence on natural resources and ecosystem services (ES) that are often shared with local inhabitants sometimes leads to actual social conflicts (Bieling, 2009; Jafari, 1982; Williams & Ponsford, 2009). While there is

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no doubt about the urgent need to find local approaches to sustainable development (Hanspach et al., 2014) and while sustainable tourism *per se* is a popular research topic, tourism's links to human well-being and long-term ecosystem maintenance remain undervalued within tourism research (Buckley, 2012; Gössling, 2002). Thus new means have to be found to improve well-sustained decision-making in order to deal with uncertainties (Christensen et al., 1996; Peterson et al., 2003). This paper highlights the present and future dependence of tourism on ES, using the Costalegre region in western Mexico as a particular case study. We examine current and future interactions between different ES users in the region to identify and analyze discrepancies, conflicts in the management of ecosystems, and access to ES. Different future options for the study area and their implications for ES provision and people's livelihoods are revealed in a scenario analysis, that, without predicting, shows viable options for a region and can enhance people's assessment of their futures (Peterson et al., 2003). In this regard, our research approach of ES based scenarios is a first step to integrate besides human and political preferences, ecological knowledge into tourism related planning for a specific site (Constanza, 2014; Raudsepp-Hearne et al., 2010). Our research questions were: (1) Which ES permit tourism? (2) Who are the different user groups and what is their role regarding ES management? (3) What are the perspectives of tourism stakeholders regarding ES? (4) How are ES benefits distributed? (5) How does tourism affect the long term provision of ES and the livelihoods of locals?

2. Conceptual framework

We draw on the concept of ES defined by the Ecosystem Millennium Assessment Initiative as 'the benefits people obtain from ecosystems' (MA, 2003, p. 53), using its categories of: (i) Supporting: services necessary for the existence of other services; referring to basic or intrinsic biological processes such as photosynthesis and atmospheric oxygen production, (ii) Provisioning: tangible goods such as wood or food, (iii) Regulating: benefits obtained from ecosystem processes, such as water purification or material recycling, and (iv) Cultural Services: nonmaterial benefits such as spiritual values and knowledge systems (De Groot, Wilson, & Boumans, 2002; MA, 2003). Provisioning services are the most tangible or visible whereas the others are generally less tangible and more difficult to perceive (Chan et al., 2012; Maass et al., 2005).

To examine interactions among the users, stakeholders and ecosystems, we use the typology of Swallow et al. (2009), who propose three actor groups: ES stewards, ES beneficiaries, and ES intermediaries. An ES steward is recognized as having the right to interact with an ecosystem, accepting limitations on those rights and obligations to maintain the ecosystem. ES beneficiaries are those individuals, families, towns and organizations, among others, who benefit from the services provided by an ecosystem, and ES intermediaries are entities that directly or indirectly shape interactions among ES stewards, ES beneficiaries and the ecosystem itself.

Although prediction is extremely difficult in social–ecological systems with high uncertainties, research needs to provide information contributing to decision-making in ecosystem management (Peterson et al., 2003). Therefore, we perform a scenario analysis to illustrate possible future directions for our study site (Duinker & Greig, 2007).

3. Study area

The area between Puerto Vallarta and Manzanillo on the Pacific coast of Mexico was officially decreed as a priority tourism area in 1990 under the name 'Costalegre Ecological Tourism Corridor' (DOF, 1990); considering tourism as 'the impulse for regional development' (Government of Jalisco & SEMARNAT, 1998). Fig. 1 shows the actual delimitation of Costalegre as the coastal strip of three municipalities: La Huerta, Tomatlán and Cabo Corrientes.

In this biologically diverse region (Ceballos & García, 1995; Challenger, 1998; Noguera, Vega, & Aldrete, 2002), important areas are still covered by well-conserved tropical dry forest (TDF) (Trejo & Dirzo, 2000). Its climate presents a strong seasonality; annual mean precipitation is 788 mm of which 80% falls in the period from June to October (García-Oliva, Camou, & Maass, 2002). In the coastal area with predominant TDF, nearly 90% of rainfall returns to the atmosphere (Burgos, 2004). The remainder is utilized by the ecosystem components; at the ecosystem level, water is the most important limiting factor (Maass et al., 2002, 2005). For human use, including tourism, water is consequently scarce (Maass & Burgos, 2011).

Costalegre's biology has been extensively studied, essentially due to the presence of the Chamela Biological Research Station of the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM; for its acronym in Spanish) and the Chamela-Cuixmala Biosphere Reserve (Ceballos, Szekely, García, Rodríguez, & Noguera, 1999), nevertheless social implications and site specific assets of the management of TDF still are less studied (Maass et al., 2005).

The population density in Costalegre is low; in the municipality La Huerta, for example, 11.8 habitants/km² with a growth rate of 2.6% (SIEG, 2010). From 1950 onwards, ejidos (institutions created after the 1910–1917 Mexican revolution for the collective use of lands) have represented the principal land tenure system, covering 70% of this municipality (César & Arnaiz, 2004). The main economic activities include agriculture, cattle ranching, fishing and forestry (Ortega, 1995). Tourism has also been considered in coastal development plans since the 1940s (Del Castillo, 1991); however, it has been growing slowly for more than seven decades. At present, La Huerta municipality hosts 50 tourism resorts with less than 1000 hotel rooms in total (Castillo et al., 2009). The development has been mainly in the hands of few European and Mexican entrepreneurs who own luxurious mansions, villas and a few hotels. In recent years, proposals for still exclusive but definitively larger tourism projects have spread and continue to do so, especially in the coast of La Huerta. In 2007, scientists from UNAM demonstrated the unsustainability of two projects and, at that time, were able to prevent their implementation (Castillo, Domínguez, García, Quesada, & Vega, 2007). However, one of these projects was resubmitted in 2010, rejected again by scientists and

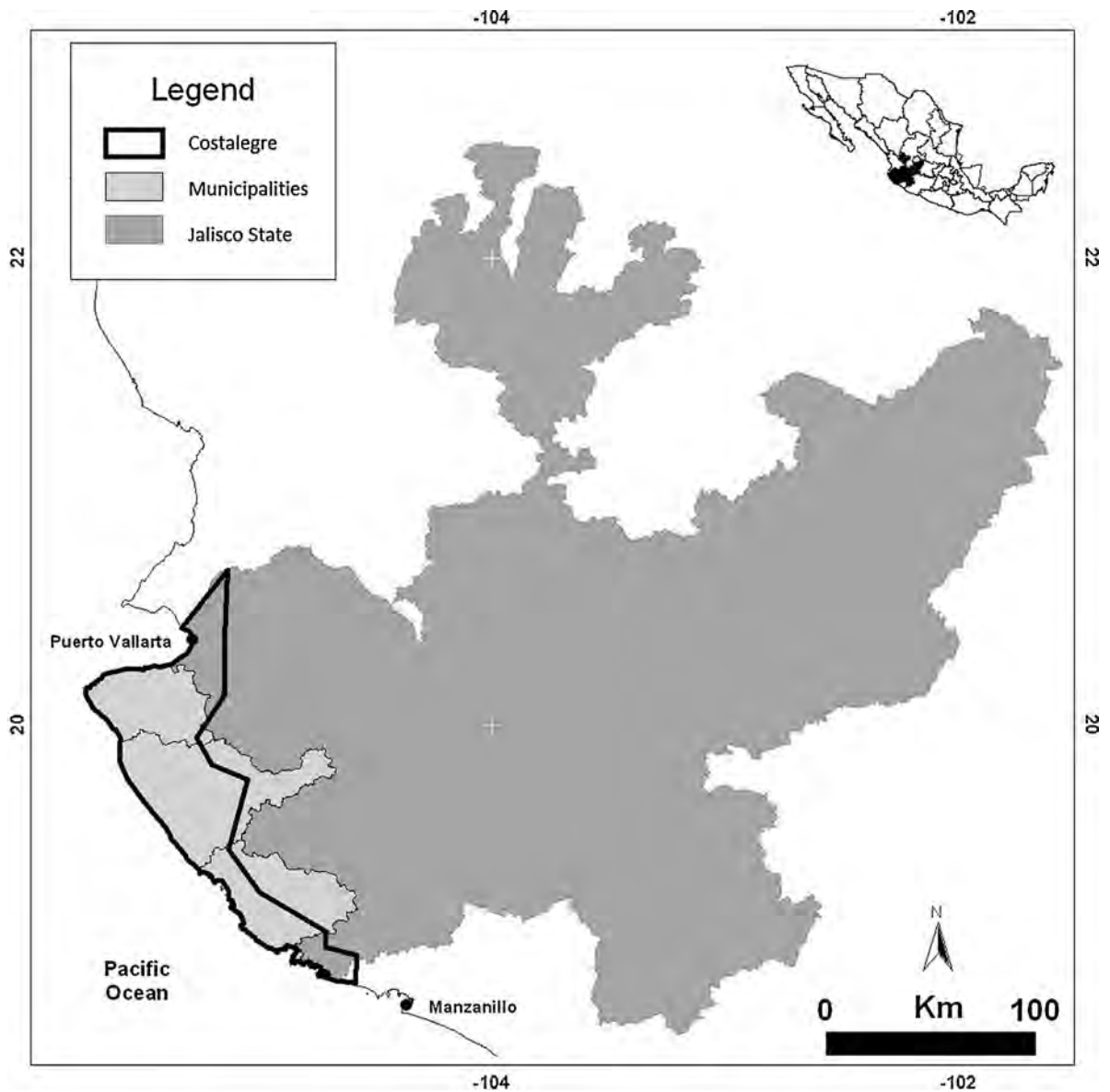


Fig. 1. Study area location: La Huerta municipality within the Costalegre area on the Pacific coast of Mexico. Based on INEGI (2002) and DOF (1990). Digital data 1:50,000. Decimal degrees.

conservationists (Boege et al., 2010), but finally approved by Mexican environmental authorities (SEMARNAT, 2010); current development plans include seven larger projects (FONATUR (Fondo Nacional de Fomento al Turismo), Government of Jalisco, & Secretaría de Turismo de Jalisco, 2011). These development plans (since 2002) in La Huerta, would increase the offer of rooms by at least 70% (author's calculations). Considering the strong interest of both conservation and tourism lobbies in La Huerta municipality, this study analyses long term implications of these activities on the local social–ecological system and evaluates possible conflicts or synergies among them. Spatially, the study area concentrates Costalegre's coastal ecosystems that are influenced by the watersheds of the rivers Purificación, Cuitzmala, and San Nicolás (see Fig. 2).

4. Research methods

The present analysis is based on scientific research conducted over more than 20 years in the municipality of La Huerta; in the last 15 years our group's interest has been to understand rural livelihoods in the region. Identifying tourism as a recurrent factor in changing traditional economic activities and land use, we have applied our expert knowledge to the discussion of key findings. Where appropriate, we provide references to our previous work and include direct quotes from interviewees, as well as descriptions obtained through participant observation. In addition, data have been obtained over the last four years:

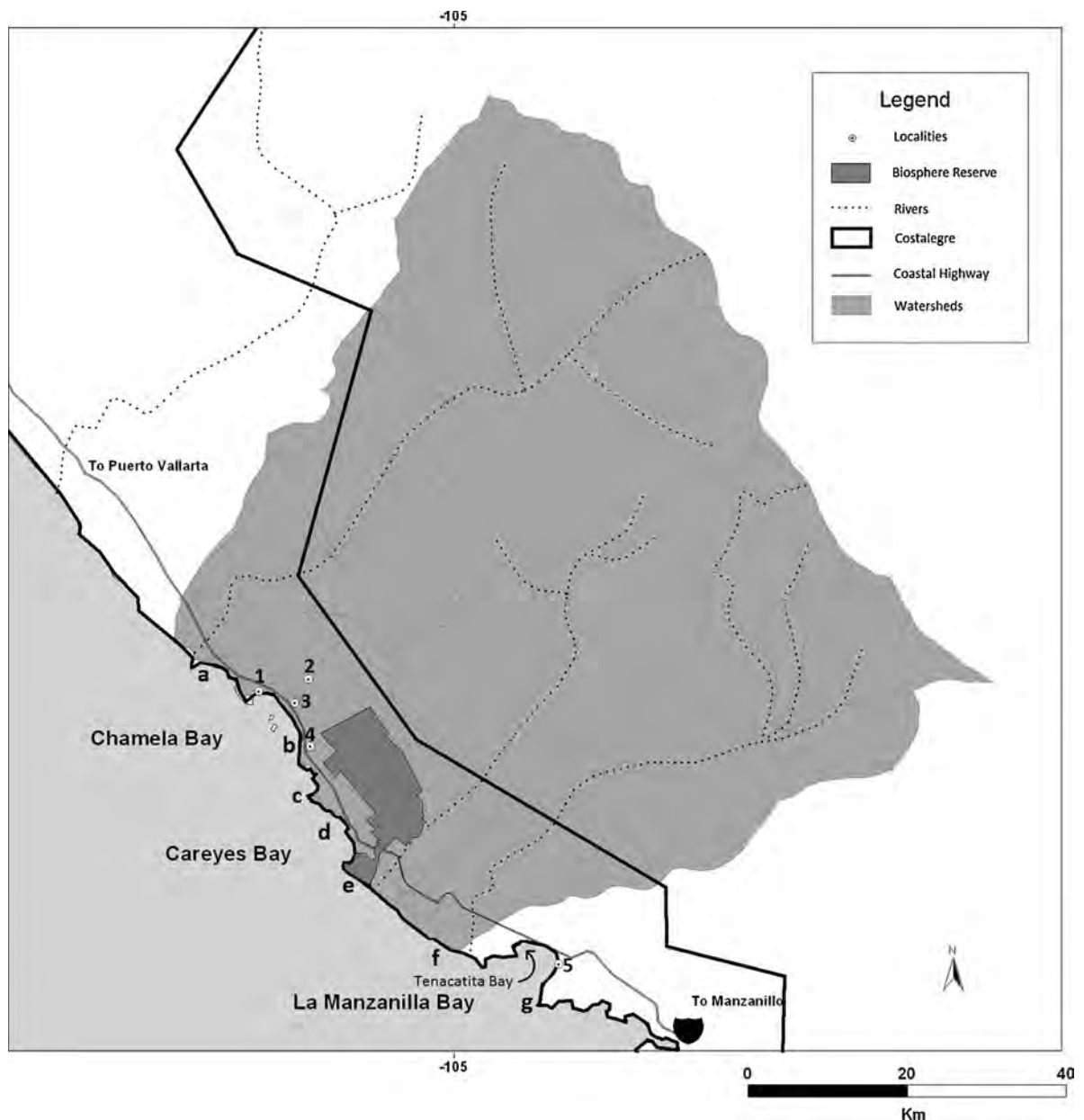


Fig. 2. Study area details: main rivers (San Nicolás, Cuitzmala, Purificación) and their watersheds, location of Chamela-Cuixmala Biosphere Reserve, hotels, selected coastal towns, bays and beaches. Based on fieldwork and INEGI (2002). Digital data 1:50,000. UTM's.

In 2010, a survey of 104 low and middle class tourists was conducted at public beaches during a school holiday break and in 2013, a total of eight semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted with key informants and local leaders (municipality and federal government agents, owners of luxury developments). Substantial information was also obtained from analyzing documents (touristic projects and their respective environmental impact assessments; governmental environmental planning and conservation) and from fieldwork (repeated field trips [60 days in 2012/2013], participant observation, and photographic documentation). Sample determinations, observations, interviews, and surveys followed social research guidelines (Newing, 2011; Patton, 2002; Robson, 1994). The main topics covered perspectives of ES and issues related to environmental policies and tourism development on the Jalisco coast. Qualitative data from interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed for analysis.

The scenario exercise is both explorative and strategic (Börjeson, Höjer, Dreborg, Ekvall, & Finnveden, 2006), aiming to elucidate possible directions for the Costalegre region in the near future (10–50 years). It is based on our research expertise combined with recent direct data regarding tourism and from the analysis of new tourism proposals. To construct our scenarios, we analyzed tourism's dependence on ES and combined then key ES together with other indicators. As an expert

team (Flyvbjerg, 2006), we discussed and determined specific trends based on the trajectory of the social–ecological system (Dearing, Braimoh, Reenberg, Turner, & Van der Leeuw, 2010) and also characterized possible effects on people's livelihoods. Although the analysis is qualitative, we provide a final score of positive and negative effects to allow direct comparison between the scenarios.

5. Results

After giving a general overview of actual tourism development in Costalegre, our findings are presented following our research questions (see Section 1).

The current panorama of tourism facilities (2013) includes 53 establishments offering a total of at least 1047 rooms; this number has not changed significantly over the last ten years. Nevertheless, of the former exclusive hotels, only one (Las Alamandas) is still in operation. Club Méditerranée has been demolished, El Tecuán is abandoned, El Tamarindo and Hotel Careyes are temporarily closed. Besides the classic tourist establishments (hotels and villas), there are many high-end private houses and mansions for rent. In 2013, at least 55 luxury buildings for rent (in sites named Careyes, Cuixmala, and El Tamarindo) with their respective 'infinity pools', outdoor areas and a total of 170 bedrooms were counted (Delegación Costalegre, 2013; www.careyes.com; www.cuixmala.com; www.paralelo19.com). Prices ranged from US\$320 (small beach house in off-season) up to US\$16,500 per night for a seven-bedroom palace for the holiday season 2013. Corresponding real estate prices in Costa Careyes include US\$330,000 for a condominium or US\$5,000,000 to US\$20,000,000 for a 'luxurious beachfront villa' (www.lapuntareality.com). Less exclusive private housing exists mainly in La Manzanilla village or in Pérula village with prices ranging from US\$8 to US\$40 per night.

5.1. ES permitting tourism

Table 1 shows the different ES permitting tourism at Costalegre. The order of the components and processes comprising the supporting ES on the left column follows the order of their importance to the prevailing 'sun and beach' tourism.

5.1.1. Cultural services

The esthetic appeal of the beaches, tranquility and recreation activities represent the main attractions of Costalegre. The Chamela-Cuixmala Biosphere Reserve constitutes a place for the fulfillment of scientific and educational interests. The Chamela Biological Research Station mainly provides educational opportunities through outreach activities: a yearly 'Open Doors' event and workshops at local schools and communities. La Manzanilla ejido runs a crocodile breeding program and offers educational tours for visitors. Some non-governmental organizations and foundations maintain turtle protection and bird watching activities (Fundación Ecológica de Cuixmala A.C., Fundación de la Costa de Jalisco, A.C., Fundación El Tamarindo A.C., Tierralegre A.C.).

5.1.2. Provision services

As explained in Section 3, precipitation is highly variable and concentrated over short periods of time and overall water is a scarce resource for human activities. Local towns, private houses, mansions and most tourism facilities on the coastal plain obtain freshwater from wells, whereas inland ejidos face difficulties and frequently need to transport this resource from distant places at high costs. Data collected in 2002 (Castillo et al., 2009) show that, of 31 tourism facilities, 21 used wells while the rest were connected to public water networks (which are also fed from wells). Freshwater is paid for differently in the study area; hotels obtaining water from wells are reported to only pay for the electricity required to pump the water; payments range from US\$2 to US\$9 per month. In 2013, however, a public well administrator reported selling 8000 l of water for US\$45.

According to the Mexican Constitution, water is a resource owned by the whole nation; its extraction requires a concession from the National Water Commission (CNA, for its acronym in Spanish). For the municipality of La Huerta, from a total volume of a 24,234,777 m³ per year, more than 22 million m³ are used for agriculture, nearly 900 thousand m³ for urban or domestic uses in towns with a similar figure for services, which includes provision of water to business facilities such as shops or restaurants. The only registered hotel has permission to obtain 240 thousand m³/year, which is about a quarter of the total volume authorized in the urban or services categories (CNA, 2013). This hotel is highly exclusive, catering for a maximum of 34 guests with 20 resident workers on the premises, making a total of 54 people as water users.

Seafood is the most important food provisioning service. Hotels and restaurants are supplied mostly from local fishing cooperatives and smaller hotels buy meat and vegetables locally because it is easier and cheaper. Larger facilities buy these from outside the region, arguing they get better and more varied products. Wood from 'Parota' (*Enterolobium cyclocarpum*), 'Barcino' (*Cordia* spp.) and 'Primavera' (*Tabebuia donnell-smithii*) is used in tourism establishments for furniture and construction. 'Guayabillo' (*Piranhea mexicana*) is used to build 'palapas' (open-air beach-front constructions), particularly important in 'Careyes style' architecture where guayabillo and palm tree (*Orbignya cohune*) trunks with clinging 'matapalo' (*Ficus* spp.) are commonly used as ornamental columns. Moreover, local plants are used for ornaments and, according to data collected in 2002, three establishments (out of 32) exhibited parrots (*Amazona finschi*) (Castillo et al., 2009).

Table 1

Ecosystem Services (ES) allowing tourism in Costalegre. Description of supporting ecological components and processes; identification of ES and benefits for humans. ES in capital letters show their relevance for tourism.

Ecosystem components and processes (supporting)		Ecosystem services	Human benefits (related to tourism)
Marine	Terrestrial		
Cultural services			
Maintenance of sea and beaches. Variety of landscapes.	Maintenance of natural terrestrial habitats. Variety of landscapes.	RECREATION. LANDSCAPE AESTHETIC APPRECIATION.	Outdoor-activities: sunbathing, swimming, walking on beaches and natural trails. Enjoyment and contemplation of landscape beauty; enjoyment of tranquility.
Maintenance of sea and beaches.	Maintenance of natural terrestrial habitats. Existence and variety of human shaped elements.	Scientific and educational interests. Spiritual, artistic, historical interests.	Opportunities for understanding ecological and social processes; opportunity for alternative tourism activities such as eco-tourism. Esthetic appreciation; spiritual value and historical recognition of human-made sites.
Provision services			
Underground balance between seawater and freshwater on coastal region.	Watershed functioning: role of vegetation, soils and rocks in infiltration, storage and water flow in rivers and springs.	FRESHWATER SUPPLY.	Drinking water, showers, baths; swimming pools, jacuzzis; cleaning and laundry; irrigation of gardens and golf courses.
Biodiversity: Presence of sea animals.	Soils and water supply for agro-ecosystems.	Food.	Fruits and vegetables (low local consumption). Seafood (fish, crabs, and others).
Presence of sand, stones and shells.	Plants and animals ecological cycles.	Biodiversity goods: construction materials, plants as ornaments, animals as attraction.	Tree trunks, palm leaves, stones used for building houses, shelters and fences; local plants as ornaments and animals as tourist attraction (parrots).
Regulation services			
Part of global water cycle.	Watershed functioning: role of vegetation, soils and rocks in infiltration, and drainage processes.	FRESHWATER RECHARGE AND QUALITY ASSURANCE.	Cleaning of used water; security of water quality for human use.
Atmospheric processes, and sea currents.	Atmospheric processes and vegetation cover.	CLIMATE REGULATION.	Favorable climate (temperature, precipitation; shadow provision).
Maintenance of mangroves, inbuilt beaches, buffer zones.	Maintenance of vegetation cover.	Disturbance prevention.	Protection in case of strong winds; river floods and hurricanes.
Sea biochemical processes.	Terrestrial biogeochemical processes.	Waste and wastewater treatment.	Natural processing of organic wastes.
Maintenance of sea current system, rock and shell weathering.	Rock weathering, and decomposition of organic matter in soils.	Soil erosion control. Beach and soil formation, retention and maintenance of fertility.	Gardens' growing, sand in beaches for leisure activities.

5.1.3. Regulation services

Freshwater quality is an extremely important regulation service. Several rivers drain into the Pacific Ocean in the Jalisco coast and, as shown in Fig. 2, three watersheds play a crucial role in water availability and quality in our study site. Since there is greater rainfall in the upper parts of these watersheds (Piña, 2007), the water drains through vegetation into soils and into the water table maintaining the permanence of rivers and provision of water to the coastal region. Riparian vegetation plays an important role in ensuring water quality, since it filters chemicals, influences water speed, prevents erosion and shapes the river bed (Kiley & Schneider, 2005). Thus, recreational activities such as swimming or fishing in coastal aquatic systems are possible (Flores-Díaz, Castillo, Sánchez-Matías, & Maass, 2014).

Microclimate regulation is another very important service. Due to the wind and sea currents, and because of its location, Costalegre has a warm climate with most rainfall associated with tropical hurricanes. The vegetation cover functions as a barrier, maintaining humidity and acts as a buffer for solar radiation and absorbing heat. Bare soil and rocks could not act as a buffer and thus alter the climate, becoming hotter, dryer and perhaps even more variable (García-Oliva et al., 2002).

Construction of hotels often leads to partial alteration or destruction of beaches, river lagoons, estuaries, mangrove forests, and river mouths. The consequences of destroying mangrove swamps are especially severe given their function as natural coast protection against hurricanes or tsunamis (Barbier et al., 2011). In La Huerta, the overall mangrove population recently increased slightly, but was negatively affected at specific sites (Del Castillo, 2014).

Natural biogeochemical processes decompose organic matter and human waste, treat wastewater, and recycle organic matter (Jaramillo, Martínez-Yrizar, & Sanford, 2011). Regarding tourism facilities, only one hotel has reported having a water treatment plant to separate solid residues and maintain compost (Castillo et al., 2009). Since the publication of that report then, ten more upper-level hotels separate their garbage and treat gray water.

The strong seasonality of the precipitation, along with the several highly erosive rain-storms that fall onto the convex rolling topography annually, make the soils in this zone particularly susceptible to soil erosion (García-Oliva, Maass, & Galicia, 1995; Maass, Jordan, & Sarukhán, 1988). Soil erosion control by the natural vegetation cover is therefore one of the most important regulation services in the study area. Soil formation, retention and fertility maintenance represent other important ES for productive activities (Maass et al., 2005), but are also important for tourism development because of their role in the long-term processes of sand and soil formation that create the sand beaches and soil available for the gardens of hotels and mansions.

5.2. User groups managing touristic ES

According to the typology proposed by Swallow et al. (2009), Figs. 3 and 4 present the different stakeholders of the identified ES. In Fig. 3, ES stewards and beneficiaries are presented in relation to each touristic ES. The criteria for the importance of each steward depend on the area of their land and location within the watersheds. As shown on the left side of the figure, the most important ES stewards are ejidos; they own 70% of the land in La Huerta municipality, which provides the highest number of ES. Their lands provide an esthetic landscape and play a role in all of the identified regulation services (see Table 1). Their role in water provision (quantity and quality available; processes closely related to groundwater renewal dynamics that occur at the watershed level) is of great importance. Federal lands, mainly water bodies and surface currents (rivers, streams which by law are considered federal zones) as well as Ramsar sites, play important roles in the regulation of ES and also in providing esthetic qualities. The hotels' natural and built environments as well as the many protected nesting sites for sea turtles (*Lepidochelys olivacea*, *Dermochelys coriacea*, *Eretmochelys imbricata* and *Chelonia mydas*) (Ceballos et al., 1999; Garcia, Ceballos, & Adaya, 2003) are relatively smaller in size, but also provide cultural, provisioning and regulation ES.

The right side of Fig. 3 identifies the direct tourism related ES beneficiaries, recognizing on one side local inhabitants owning small hotels, hostels, trailer parks, and/or restaurant, on the other side, there are the high-end-hotels and luxury mansions for rent. In between these extremes exist small and medium sized facilities, that are not only smaller, but the owners usually live in the premises. In medium size and bigger premises, the owners frequently live outside the region.

Actors access differently to the benefits of ES (black dots denote access and gray dots denote restricted or no access). Cultural ES such as recreational opportunities and landscape esthetics provide benefits that are mostly used by luxury and medium size hotels, mansions and villas. Although small businesses also obtain these benefits, they do not represent an important monetary income. This aspect will be discussed in more detail in Section 6.1. When identifying ES, almost all stakeholders are benefit from freshwater access in quantity and quality. Most regulation ES deliver benefits at various spatial and temporal scales, and, in general, social groups cannot be excluded from obtaining these benefits.

Fig. 4 illustrates tourism's embedding in different national and global interconnected geographical scales (Hall, 2008), following global markets and trends. ES intermediaries can thus be identified as agents that promote and permit these connections (Swallow et al., 2009). Examples of intermediaries at Costalegre are the municipality and its tourism department, the Costalegre tourism department, the Costalegre association of entrepreneurs, real estate agents and cooperatives, as well as federal and state tourism, environmental and social development ministries. Some of these users may act as stewards, intermediaries and beneficiaries at the same time (Swallow et al., 2009).

5.3. Perspectives of ES by tourism administrators, tourists and locals

Landscapes do not only have biophysical attributes; they are also subjected to and influenced by cultural perceptions; landscapes are created by people who give meaning to them (Bhattacharya et al., 2005). Tourists visit Costalegre mainly for its isolated beaches (Castillo et al., 2009; Delegación Costalegre, 2011). In the survey conducted with 104 tourists, most (82%) people appreciated the beauty, cleanliness and tranquility of the beaches; they come to rest, swim and sunbathe. More than 60% of tourists have visited the site more than three times; 50% because of its beauty, more than 30% for the 'tranquility of the beaches' but only 10% considered the native vegetation an attraction. Nature is seen as conserved and a source of ES (85%) and visitors explained that increasing tourism facilities could have irreversible consequences, emphasizing water scarcity (83% of people), increased temperatures due to the lack of vegetation (80%) and extinction of local fauna (92%).

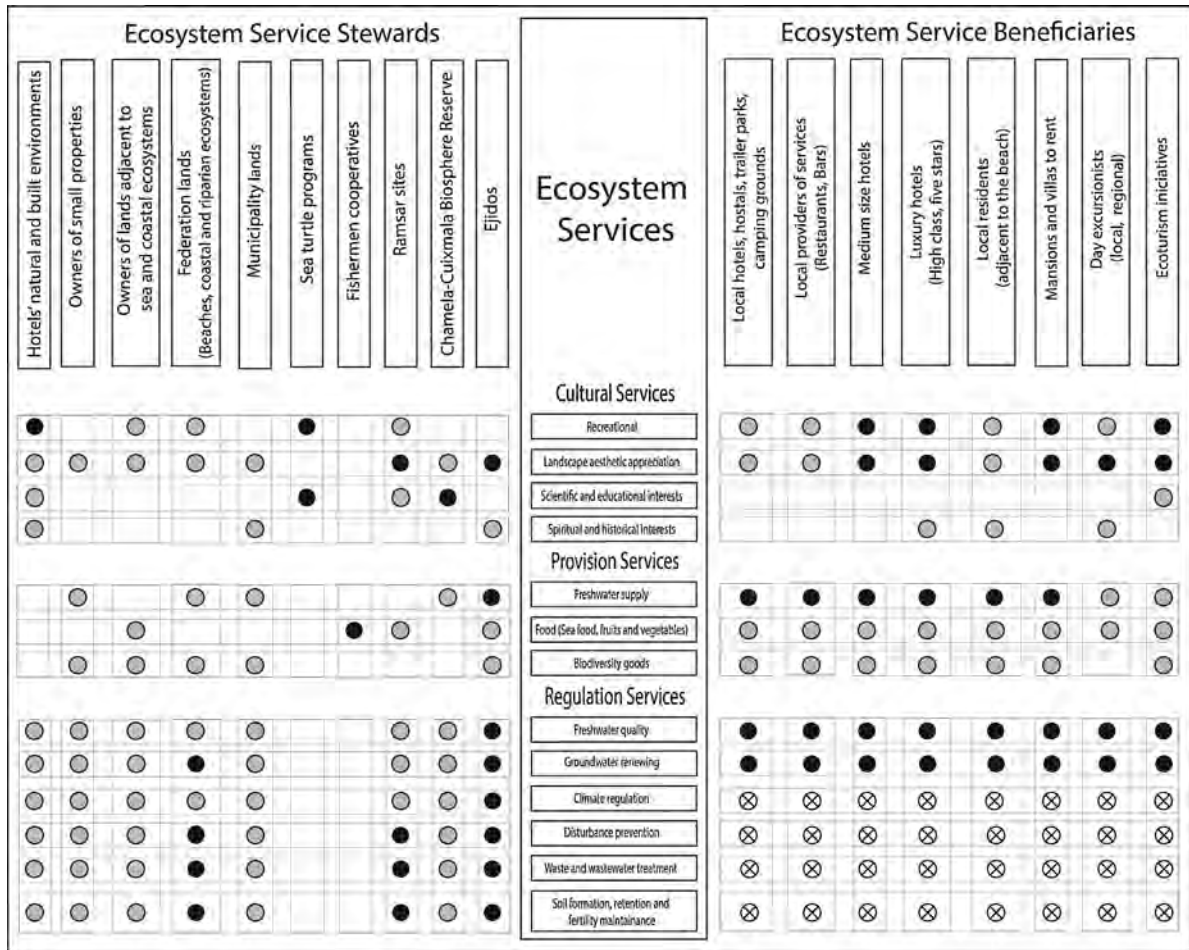


Fig. 3. Identification of ES stewards and beneficiaries related to touristic ES and illustration of different degrees of involvement in providing or receiving benefits. For ES stewards, dark dots denote greater and gray dots lesser involvement in the provision of ES. For beneficiaries, dark dots denote more to ES and gray dots less access. Regulation services marked with dots with an x provide benefits to all groups of society.

Participant observation and interviews with peasant families revealed that the local inhabitants also visit the beaches, rivers and wetlands for recreational activities such as swimming and fishing. Landscape appreciation and recreation are not only restricted to the beaches and sea. In inland ejidos such as Juan Gil Preciado, people enjoy the ‘monte’ (colloquial Spanish term in Mexico for forest vegetation such as TDF), particularly during the rainy season when ‘the green is beautiful’ (Cordero, 2005). People of several ejidos reported enjoying the shade and freshness provided by trees and finding peace and tranquility (Maass et al., 2005).

5.4. Benefit distribution of tourism related ES

Since stewardship in our case study is related to the control and management of specific areas of land, it is locally limited. Benefits, however, do not always follow this pattern; sometimes they are obtained at a distance. We therefore divide the reception of benefits into regional and local scales. In Fig. 5, we provide two examples of touristic ES that illustrate differences in the benefits obtained by particular stakeholders. In example A, ES such as water provision (including processes of groundwater renewal and water quality) are delivered from upper and middle parts of a watershed (where the stewards are mainly ejido owners) but are consumed in distant locations such as the coastal strip (by local communities and tourism businesses). In contrast, example B shows ES such as landscape esthetics or tranquility of the site (highly appreciated by tourists) that are provided and consumed at more local scales. The stewards are owners of ejido lands as well as private owners within the coastal strip.

5.5. Future scenarios: livelihoods and long term ES delivery

Four scenarios are shown in Table 2: (A) Massive tourism: based on Federal and Jalisco state interest in increasing tourism to maximize economic benefits as well as to alter the current image of Mexico in the world, big chain hotels and other

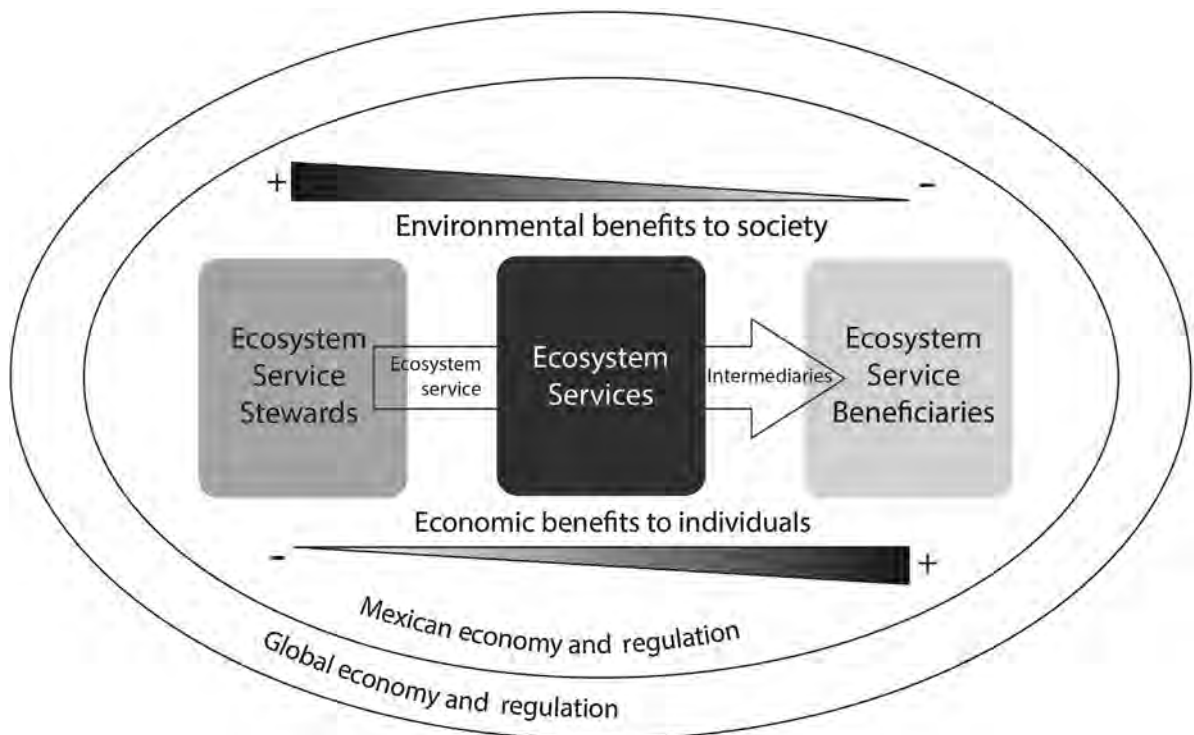


Fig. 4. Interactions between stewards, beneficiaries and intermediaries of touristic ES situated in national and global contexts.

facilities are built; (B) More high-end tourism: led by powerful entrepreneurs (some living in the region), more luxury and highly exclusive tourism projects are approved; (C) Environmental conservation: following conservationist's interest (particularly the Chamela-Cuixmala Biosphere Reserve), more land is exclusively dedicated to ecosystem conservation, extending existing natural reserves; new tourism projects as well as rural forms of land use are not permitted anymore; (D) Integrated Management: based on local initiatives seeking to promote the well-being of rural inhabitants as well as to support ecosystem's conservation and restoration (The District Council of Rural Development discussed later in Section 6.2), stakeholders negotiate a balanced scenario comprising a mixture of tourism, primary production activities and natural protection.

While the last scenario (D) could easily be dismissed as too ideal, both scenarios B and C, provide more positive than negative effects, although there is an important difference between the two since the environmental conservation scenario (C) implies no positive effects for local communities. The high-end tourism scenario (B) has less positive effects on ES and a small positive effect for local inhabitants. Massive tourism (A) appears to be the most negative scenario.

6. Discussion

Table 1 in Section 5 showing the present dependence of tourism on ES for the Costalegre region in western Mexico was the basis to construct the scenario analysis (Table 2, same section) that anticipates future developments of ES delivery and their implications on the local social–ecological system. We now discuss selected topics and implications of our key results, and then reflect on limitations of our research approach.

6.1. ES stewardship: recognition and negotiation

There is a constant failure to acknowledge the dependence of human life on ES (Daily, 1997). Thus, making ES visible to society and particularly to those stakeholders directly related to decision-making processes (from local landowners to national and international agencies), remains an important task. Disseminating the notion that the manner in which we act has great impact on the life support systems of the Earth and provokes inequalities among people is still a considerable challenge. The expressed views on ES documented here must be shared and, moreover, the impacts (positive and negative) of tourism in the region should be not only the subject of discussion but also of negotiation.

Data show that local inhabitants recognize the recreational value of forests and rivers as well as the beauty and tranquility of beaches and rivers (Maass et al., 2005). However, the development of new tourism facilities is controversial. Some locals (peasants and fishermen, as well as hotel administrators) agree with the new developments and criticize the posture taken

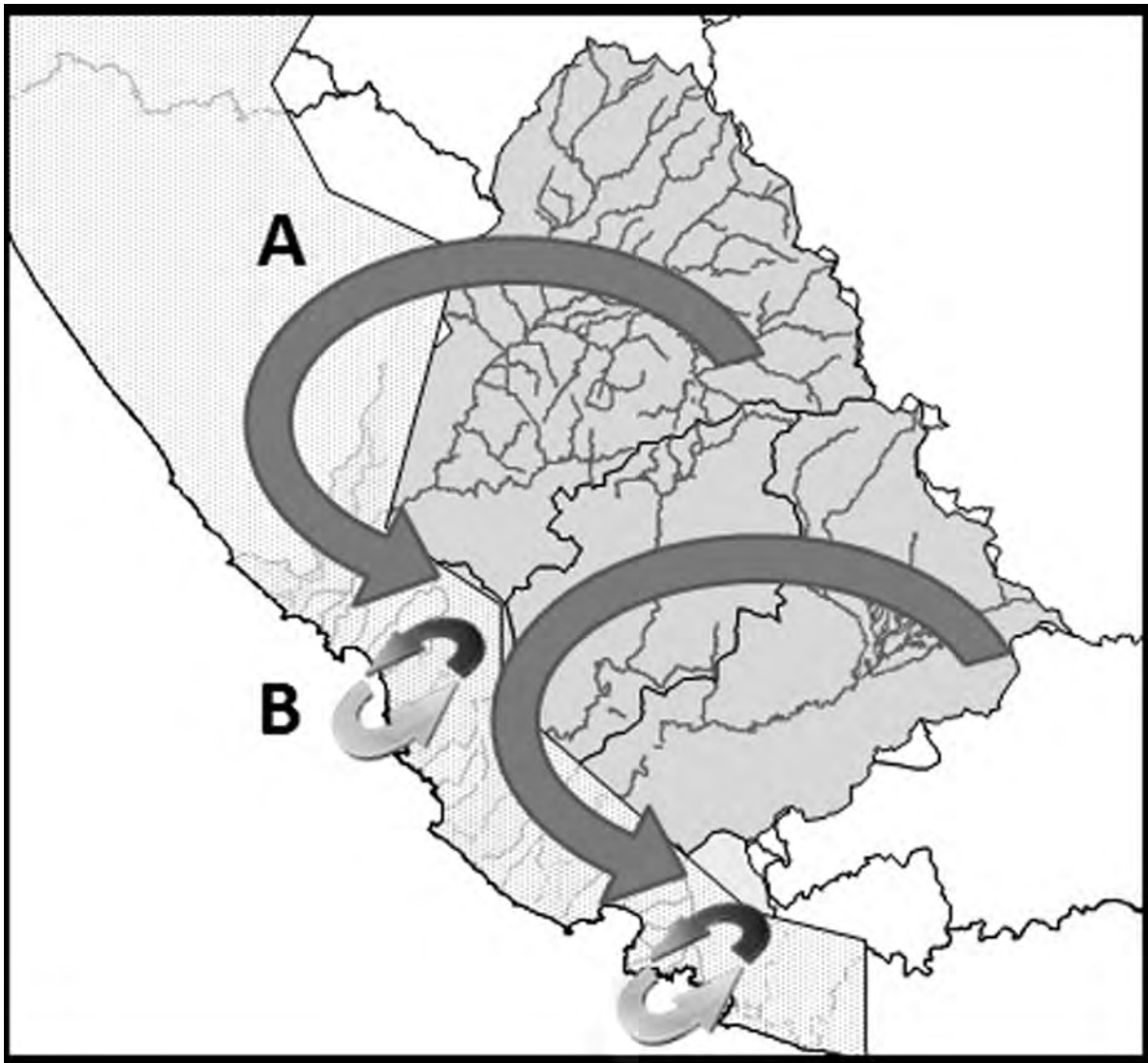


Fig. 5. Spatial location of stewardship and generated benefits. Example A shows regional touristic ES and B shows local touristic ES.

by UNAM scientists, arguing that the new projects will provide new and much needed employment in the region. Some sustain that the projects provide opportunities for selling “unattractive” inland properties, helping to sustain their families. Others are more aware of the negative impacts, particularly in relation to water availability: “we are not sure how the new constructions are affecting our wells”, “several hotel’s sewage are contaminating water bodies”. Regarding the closure of beaches for fishermen: “formerly, I owned a seafood restaurant on the beach, not anymore” and “I now have difficulties to access the beach and to move my merchandise”. Overall, more research is needed to better document the views of rural people to take their perspectives, values and needs into account (Williams & Ponsford, 2009) when planning and examining development projects in the region.

Intermediaries such as scientific institutions and governmental and citizen organizations should be much more proactive in communicating the strong dependence of human societies on ecosystems raising awareness in order to prevent their deterioration (Roux, Rogers, Biggs, Ashton, & Sergeant, 2006) and to promote participation in knowledge building (Hage, Leroy, & Petersen, 2010). If ejidos and private landowners would actively resume their role as main providers of ES, this could lead to conservation commitments or to negotiations with the new tourism entrepreneurs that are a key user group in transforming the social–ecological system at Costalegre. To be able to negotiate access to ES, all user groups must have access to relevant information. At Costalegre, scientific knowledge is constantly created but often not shared with non-scientists; very few initiatives exist aimed at mobilizing knowledge, such as those promoted by the Chamela Biological Research Station. Of great importance is the District Council of Rural Development formed by municipal agents, local stakeholders and the few scientists that participate in monthly workshops and meetings. On the other hand, the Chamela-Cuixmala Biosphere

Table 2

Four possible future scenarios in Costalegre. Symbols mean: ↗ increases, ↘ decreases, ≈ constant, + positive effect, – negative effect.

Type of indicator	Indicator	Scenario A (massive tourism)		Scenario B (high-end tourism)		Scenario C (environmental conservation)		Scenario D (integrated ES management)	
		Trend	Effect	Trend	Effect	Trend	Effect	Trend	Effect
Supporting ecosystem	Natural vegetation cover (including presence of fauna)	↘↘	--	≈	+	↗↗	++	↗	+
Selected ecosystem services	Freshwater supply	↘↘	--	≈	+	↗↗	++	↗	+
	Freshwater quality	↘↘	--	≈	+	↗↗	++	↘↘	+
	Wastewater treatment	↘↘	--	≈	+	↗↗	++	↘↘	+
	Local climate regulation	↘↘	--	≈	+	↗↗	++	↘↘	+
	Soil erosion control	↘↘	--	≈	+	↗↗	++	↘↘	+
	Retention and maintenance of fertility	↘↘	--	≈	+	↗↗	++	↘↘	+
	Waste management	↘↘	--	≈	+	↗↗	++	↘↘	+
	Disturbance prevention	↘↘	--	≈	+	↗↗	++	↘↘	+
	Beach and soil formation	↘↘	--	≈	+	↗↗	++	↘↘	+
	Recreation	↘↘	--	↘↘	+	↗↗	--	↘↘	++
	Landscape esthetic appreciation	↘↘	--	↘↘	+	↗↗	++	↘↘	++
	Scientific and educational interests	↘	-	↘	+	↗	+	↘↘	++
	Spiritual, artistic, historical interests	↘	-	↗	+	≈	+	↗↗	++
Other implications on local communities	Local jobs (directly and indirectly tourism related jobs)	↗↗	++	↗	+	↘↘	--	↗	+
	Migration (to urban areas or US)	↘↘	++	↘↘	+	↗↗	--	↘	+
	Agricultural activities (food crops and livestock)	↘↘	--	↘↘	--	↗↗	--	↘	+
	Selling of lands	↘↘	--	↘↘	--	↗↗	--	↘↘	+
	Access to beaches	↘↘	+	↘↘	--	↗↗	--	↘↘	++
	Fisheries	↘↘	--	↘↘	-	↗↗	--	↘↘	++
	Locals lifestyle changes	↘↘	--	↘↘	-	↗↗	--	≈	++
Total score of effects		+ = 5 - = 34		+ = 16 - = 8		+ = 24 - = 16		+ = 28 - = 0	

Reserve should accept its responsibility and act as an important mediating agent (Blauert & Zedec, 1999; Price, 2002) in order to facilitate the dialogue necessary between the different levels of government, the private tourism sector and the local communities.

6.2. Freshwater provision and cultural ES as main touristic ES: but who benefits?

As seen in Fig. 3 (Section 5), at a regional scale, peasants in ejidos are the main ES stewards, whereas high-class tourism facilities constitute important local stewards. Benefits, mainly access to freshwater and the beach, are unequally distributed, provoking conflicts among different ES user groups that have potential for future escalation. The most striking difference found is between peasants of ejidos, the main stewards of ES since they own the largest proportion of land in the study area, and the tourism businesses and residents who own and sometimes live on the coastal strip. The latter two obtain benefits that are transformed into monetary profits. Access to freshwater (availability in quantity and quality) by the tourism businesses is of most importance. Provision of this resource is strongly related to the presence of vegetation and the adequate functioning of the variety of ecosystems on ejido lands. Water access may therefore constitute the most unequally distributed ES, as illustrated by the following example: A mansion for rent advertises a swimming pool of one million liters (www.careyes.com); a volume that, although not directly consumed, would satisfy the water needs of a peasant with 40 head of cattle (considering rainy and dry season necessities) for a period of 21 months (Cohen, 2014). In terms of costs, the swimming pool owner pays US\$1600 for that water (concession processing plus monthly payment; CNA, 2013), while the peasant pays US\$7400 for the same amount. While coastal inhabitants with well access often pay only for the water pump electricity, cattle owners often pay for the water, the water pump and fuel for transport. It is even more astounding to note that a similar amount of water is the average consumed per day in US golf facilities (Barton, 2008). Regardless of the existing difficulties of the rural population in terms of obtaining freshwater in the study region (Castillo et al., 2009; Maass et al., 2005), prospective tourism developments are proposing golf courses surrounded by artificial lagoons on the coastal strip (Operadora Chamela, 2009), even pronouncing present environmental asymmetries (Zhour, 2004). To date, the problem of future freshwater provision remains unresolved, even though developers speculate about desalination of seawater or bringing the resource from other watersheds, which would surely entail unsustainable energy costs and alterations to ecological processes at different spatial scales (Einav, Harussi, & Perry, 2003; Zhou & Tol, 2005).

Beach access is another topic that has created actual conflict in Costalegre. While Mexican law states that owners of lands adjacent to a beach must leave a passage and allow access, this does only happen to a very limited amount at Costalegre. A recurrent argument used for restricting beach access is to ensure their cleanliness and for species protection (García et al., 2003). Recent interviews (2012, 2013) with hotel administrators, tourism developers and municipality agents revealed an overall consensus of a 'lack of culture' in tourists and day excursionists that leads to serious contamination of beaches and water bodies, especially after main holiday periods (Easter week and Christmas/New Year's Eve). However, closing the beaches means depriving locals from their right to enjoy beaches for recreational purposes and blocking access to working areas in the case of fishing cooperatives or small informal businesses or ambulant vendors. Of 36 public beaches in La Huerta municipality (Del Castillo, 2012), only five remained completely open to the public in 2013; some of the closing was conducted in the context of the new tourism projects.

It seems that the bigger question is whether different land uses in Costalegre could be made compatible (Budowski, 1976) and to which extent the protected area, sustainable productive activities and tourism are possible. Unlike other case studies that document unequal access to ES among different stakeholders, at Costalegre the strong conservation lobby forces adjustments which should offer opportunities to include long term ecosystem maintenance and sustainable livelihood for the local population.

6.3. Uncertain future: high-end tourism vs. conservation

Examining scenarios from Table 2 (Section 5.5), the environmental conservation scenario (C) based on the type of conservation notion that has prevailed in the study area, focused on increasing "pristine" landscapes (Pujadas & Castillo, 2007), seems to provide more positive effects on ES delivery but negatively affects the local communities, particularly in terms of their possibility to continue working as peasants or fishermen. Interestingly, benefits vary depending on the type of tourism (A and B), with high-end tourism having the most balanced outcome, after the idealized scenario (D). An effort to secure water availability and fishing activities allowing access to beaches remains an important challenge for the tourism business. Scenario C has also to be confronted with the question of how to promote among local inhabitants the need to safeguard biodiversity and ecosystem functions (Gössling, 1999).

Results show that freshwater availability is the main ES at risk when increasing tourism in Costalegre. Ecosystem functioning has evolved in accordance with precipitation fluctuations, which are highly variable (García-Oliva et al., 2002). This makes water a limiting factor for ecosystems and a scarce resource for the human population. There is no information regarding a threshold that could provoke an irreversible shift that would not allow the ecosystem to respond and thus conserve its essential properties (Walker et al., 2006). While the water cycle functions at larger scales, such as that of the whole watershed, a threshold may exist for the coastal ecosystems. Water is extracted from wells near the coastline and, if extraction continues to increase, seawater intrusion may occur in these wells. This could diminish and even stop access to freshwater, altering and even destroying coastal ecosystems such as mangroves. Despite uncertainty, humans are capable of foresight, and can learn and act in order to manage resilience (Walker et al., 2006). Often in tourism settings, local elites with high economic or political power shape decision-making (Hall, 2011) which happens at Costalegre (Ávila-García & Sánchez-Luna, 2012). The presence of the Chamela-Cuixmala Biosphere Reserve, however, has been able to put limits to new tourism projects (Boege et al., 2010). Voices of locals, however, are still very much underrepresented (Brenner & Aguilar-García, 2002) making it urgent to advance in systematizing local views and their forms of living, facilitating the necessary step for them to be able to participate in obtaining tourism's benefits (Andreck et al., 2005).

6.4. Constructing alternative futures

Providing information and enhancing communication among the stakeholders of Costalegre is essential, but organizational and institutional shifts are required as well to find new forms of managing ES. Collective management could align stakeholder activities through autonomous agents (Muradian, 2013). Existing social organizations, such as the District Council of Rural Development, and its citizen's association mentioned in Section 6.2, seem to be key political actors and a suitable platform from which exchanges of information, views and proposals can take place. To involve tourism associations, as well as scientists, conservationists and other relevant local, state and federal governmental agencies is crucial in order to set common goals. When aligned to other productive activities and development goals, tourism can be conceived as a positive factor bringing benefits to local communities (Holden, 2008), without negatively affecting landscapes and ecosystems.

To compensate for the unequal benefit distribution, mechanisms such as payments for ES have been suggested. At present, three ejidos located near the Biosphere Reserve receive governmental payments for ES and are encouraging others to do likewise. While it is still not clear whether monetary stimuli work in the long term, schemes have to be designed and implemented according to particular settings and contexts (Muradian, 2013). In our case study, water provision is and will only be guaranteed by the existence of vegetated lands in middle and upper parts of watersheds. The owners of these lands, however, do not fully recognize this situation and thus do not demand rewards. Direct monetary payments related to tourism are only known in the form of selling land with direct beach access. Conflicts over water and beach access already occur in Costalegre and can easily escalate; it is therefore urgent to construct agreements through participatory actions within an integrated ES management approach in order to guarantee the long-term maintenance of the Costalegre

social–ecological system. Here, ES based scenarios could be seen as a first step to integrate ecological knowledge and social preferences into planning for a specific site (Constanza, 2014; Raudsepp-Hearne et al., 2010).

6.5. Limitations of research approach

Case studies are well suited to generate context-specific social knowledge and expertise (Flyvbjerg, 2006). Overall generalizations, however, are not possible but restricted to a geographically defined area (Yin, 2011). Several of the conditions examined in our case study, nevertheless, are present in Mexico and other Latin American contexts where tourism is seen as a relevant economic activity to be promoted and supported by governments. Its relationship with natural ecosystems is therefore an essential issue that needs to be taken into account.

The concepts of ES (Daily, 1997; MA, 2003) and their user groups (Swallow et al., 2009) have allowed us to identify the specific connections between different actors and their interaction with ecosystems. Their respective simplicity has also been useful in terms of understanding tourism in Costalegre and, particularly, to examine the roles played by the different actors. Despite its worldwide attention from academics and practitioners (Fisher, Turner, & Morling, 2009), its applicability is still under debate because of unresolved questions such as: “why does human well-being increase while ES decrease?” (Raudsepp-Hearne et al., 2010).

Our scenario analysis, when applied to planning, can be a first step to discuss and develop joined strategies regarding how to achieve desired goals (Peterson et al., 2003). Although it is based on expertise and context-dependent knowledge (Flyvbjerg, 2006), it provides a synopsis and an illustration of possible futures; further benefits could be achieved when practiced in a fully participatory manner with relevant stakeholders.

7. Conclusion and outlook

Governmental plans and the growing list of tourism infrastructure proposals anticipate tourism to be the booster of further economic and social development in Costalegre (Government of Jalisco, 2012). However, we have shown that currently not all user groups benefit equally, neither from present ES nor from ES based tourism. Future developments could render these environmental and social discrepancies more or less severe. This is why we have forecast probable implications for the most likely forms of future development and their specific implications on ES delivery, not only for tourism but for the general social–ecological system.

In this regard, the paper is an invitation to improve dialogue among stakeholders and to jointly construct viable futures to preserve the Costalegre social–ecological system in the long-term (Hanspach et al., 2014). The scenario analysis based on the ecological examination of ES might serve as a baseline to develop scenarios in a participative way to include relevant stakeholder groups more actively.

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Capítulo 3

Broader participation or maintenance of existent power structures – regional tourism governance in Mexico

Target journal: International Journal of Tourism Research

Abstract

To make tourism development more sustainable and inclusive of all involved actors, new institutions arise often from the private or society sector. While these institutions generally respond to specific needs as for example a perceived lack of governance or inefficient decision-making processes, on the other hand these new actors often do not act transparent and/ or inclusive and thus their accountability and legitimacy can be questioned.

For an emergent luxury tourism region on the Mexican Pacific Coast, we identified local actors, institutions and governmental agencies involved in tourism development at Costalegre. We analyzed their roles and strategies in the actors' arena both from analyzing public policy and the actors' own perspectives and understandings of their role for the region. A focus lied also on the role and actual use of public policy and governmental planning instruments. Through a mixed-methods case study approach we interviewed 34 actors on the local, regional and federal levels involved in tourism and the interphase between tourism and environmental conservation. Policy document analysis, participant observation and a survey with tourism establishment administrators enabled to complete an in-depth analysis.

Key findings include 1) Discrepancies between formal governmental tourism planning pathways and actors actions; 2) a perceived lack of governance combined with lacking acknowledgement of main actors; 3) the identification of shared interests between tourism developers and conservationists and how actors use creatively existing institutions and design new ones for their purposes which are thus highly relevant for further efficient planning of the region. Generally, 4) in the quest for effective local participation of all involved actors and the balancing of their interests, we discovered a two fold legitimacy gap in tourism decision-making at Costalegre.

This research advances understanding of roles of tourism planning actors at local level and gives hints of how to promote further collaboration between seemingly opposed actors to fully ensure inclusive participative planning.

Keywords

Sustainable tourism planning, participative planning, governance, tourism, Costalegre

Introduction

Institutionalizing sustainable development into tourism policy and planning has not necessarily led to a more participative or practical application at the local level (Torres-Delgado & López Palomeque, 2012), despite the academic interest on the implementation of this normative concept through effective innovative governance forms (Bramwell, 2011). Actors' networks and the role of the local government have received special attention within the search to include effectively the variety of actors of tourism related activities into planning activities (Beaumont & Dredge, 2010; Ruhanen, 2013), especially in emergent tourism settings (Reed, 1997). Overall, as Dredge & Jamal (2015) point out, although tourism policy and planning have been popular research topics, little is still known about their detailed processes and final outcomes, especially regarding the role of specific actors within the overall outcome (Airey, 2015). The rise and presence of new actors is not necessarily an indicator of collaboration, and collaboration may not mean to obtain an adequate policy outcome (Wan & Bramwell, 2015). While the effective involvement of all stakeholders in planning processes has been repeatedly stressed for their overall acceptance and long-term functioning (Newig & Fritsch, 2009; Valente, Dredge, & Lohmann, 2015), Mexico's planning generally lacks in that aspect (González-Tejeda, De la Torre, & Alfaro-Milán, 2014; Valencia-Sandoval, Flanders, & Kozak, 2010), and even more in tourism destination planning (Cervantes-Borja & Gómez-Uzeta, 2007; Hernández, Jiménez, Montes-Peña, & Jiménez, 2007).

Despite the nearly 30 years since the Brundtland report (Brundtland, 1987), sustainable tourism has seen little theoretical advances (Torres-Delgado & López Palomeque, 2012) as can be seen by its predominant sectorial application. Mexico's traditionally centrally state-led tourism development is no exception: Although the country's acknowledgement of the Rio Declaration and the following Agenda 21 program lead to efforts to promote decision-making and planning processes decentralization and the incorporation of all actors in the case of tourism through regionalization (Brenner, 1999; Chávez-Dagostino, 2006); policies remain still sector specific as in the sectorial program "Agenda 21 for Mexican Tourism" (Sectur, 2002; Semarnat & Sectur, 2001) and the following "Sustainable Tourism Program" (Sectur, 2011).

Identifying written rules and regulation that shape human-environmental interactions are only one side of the equation, while real life actions are influenced not only by different

legal mandates, but also through not only lobbying, alliance-seeking and local power displays (Ruhanen, 2013), but also by the need for cooperation and synergies between different actors and sectors to ensure suitable policy outcomes (Adams & Hutton, 2013; Clancy, 1999).

Recognizing that traditional tourism planning models fail to acknowledge the multi-and transsectorial boundary less dimensions of human-environmental interaction (Dredge & Jamal, 2015; Osorio-García, 2006), human's multilevel interactions with their natural environment are often studied as complex socio-ecological systems (Berkes & Folke, 1998) a framework that scholars also propose for tourism studies.

Research aim

The general research aim was to understand decision-making processes and stakeholders' interactions for the particular case of tourism development in Costalegre. In line with recent research attempts, the intention is not to include all tourism relevant policies, but to more specifically focus on the social construction about what tourism means for the different actors and how they interpret their role in its overall development (Dredge & Jamal, 2015). The specific research questions were:

1. What is the legal framework for sustainable tourism and which tourism planning instruments exist at Costalegre?
2. Who are the involved actors in tourism development at Costalegre?
3. How do the involved actors (governmental agencies, developers, and social and private actor groups) interact?
4. How do the mentioned actors see the role of tourism and their contribution to (tourism) development in the Costalegre region?
5. Exist shared factors among all involved actors to support sustainable tourism planning for Costalegre?

Conceptual References

The following concepts were identified as essential to conduct the present study:

Governance

The central focus of governance are the relations between actors, their interaction and the decision-making processes (Hufty, 2011); often the relationship and conditions for ordered rule and collective action between state intervention and societal self regulation is

addressed (Gössling & Hall, 2006; Stoker, 1998). We focus this study on the relations between actors, their multiple interactions and decision-making opportunities, but also on inclusive and effective participation in these processes (Hall, 2011c; Hufty, 2011).

In this context, concepts of power and policy and the rules of the game and systems in which actors interact (Adger et al., 2003; Hall, 2011a) are examined, including the discussion of actor groups that influence or try to influence governance processes (Bramwell, 2011, p. 411). Furthermore, questions of how a social system accepts or not political agendas (Hall, 2011b) are a topic as well as the consideration of how rules and institutions could be designed specifically to maintain the functionality and continuance of a system (Kersbergen & Waarden, 2004). New governance concepts like informal networks can result to be more effective than the government (Borges, Eusébio, & Carvalho, 2013) but their legitimacy is not always accounted for (Lemos & Agrawal, 2006). Furthermore, the steering role of the state is still present in issues of governance in the tourism activity (Wan & Bramwell, 2015).

Social networks

Social networks are defined as “groups of actors linked by repeated interactions allowing information and resource sharing, competition, and cooperation over time” (Agrawal et al., 2013). These networks can thus be understood as the outcome of the needs of society; government steers but does not control; and there is considerable interdependence at all levels of authority. Organizations sometimes do not produce outcome and/ or are corrupted by local power actors; as well as local governments cannot be seen as neutral participants, they decide to generate information, transfer it (or not) and provide economic assistance (Beaumont & Dredge, 2010). While policy analysis comprise generally settings, policies and actors, often the local outcome has to do also with strength and (or lack of) power of keys actor (Guerrero-Rodriguez, 2011; Reed, 1997). The analysis of the actors and their interaction and networks includes thus expressly the dimension of power.

2. Research Framework and Methods

Study area

Costalegre was selected as a particular case study to describe and analyze tourism networks at local level. This “touristic corridor” was meant to connect two mayor tourism sites on the Mexican Pacific coast, Puerto Vallarta and Barra de Navidad (DOF, 1990). At

the administration level, Costalegre comprises the coastal areas of four municipalities (Cihuatlán, La Huerta, Tomatlán and Cabo Corrientes) (See Figure 1). While the core analysis of this study focuses on La Huerta Municipality, relevant regional and federal actors and their cross-level interaction are also considered.

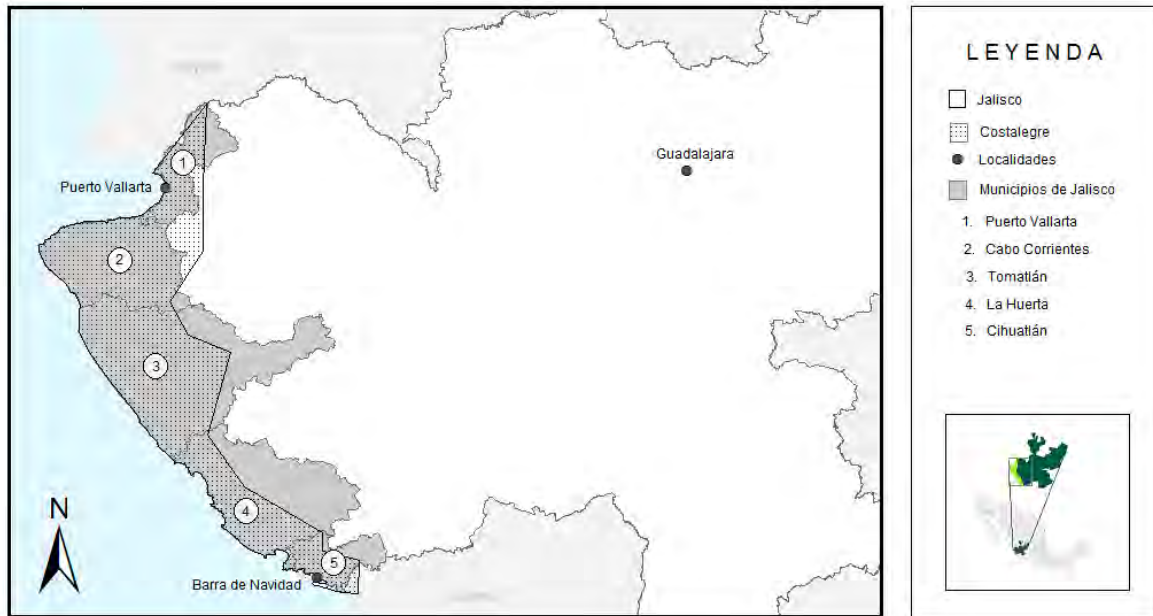


Figure 1: Study area showing the location and composition of the Costalegre region. The focus lies locally on La Huerta Municipality (Number 4). Elaboration based on DOF (1990).

Costalegre region is sparsely populated, La Huerta Municipality had in 2000 a total population of 23,000 people (11.8 habitantes/ km²) with a growth rate of 2,6% (SIEG, 2010). Land tenure is divided between social property, mainly ejidos (institutions created after the 1910-1917 Mexican revolution for collective land management) (Warman, 2001), private and federal land properties. Overall in Costalegre, 25% of the area is under a private regime and 75% is regarded as social property. In La Huerta's portion of Costalegre (the coastal part see Figure 1), 80% of the land is in collective land management form and 20% in private/ federal regime. Considering the part of the coast where the private properties are concentrated, in La Huerta 33% of the coast are in private hands (all percentages from CEURA, 2011; Technical report. Unpublished). While recent tourism development led to the denying of access to public beaches, the so-called "privatization of beaches", a good part of the Jalisco coast has been in private hands for a long time: former haciendas (Hacienda Apazulco founded in 1959: 32.700 ha and Hacienda Chamela-Cuixmala founded in 1861: 90.000ha) remain nowadays as large private properties under the

administration of old military family clans or European and Mexican magnates. The arrival of these families happened nearly at the same time as the colonization of the coast with Ejidos in the 1950 and 1960 (Castillo et al., 2009; Rodríguez-Batista, 1989). Little later scientists and conservationists arrived and achieved the establishment of the Biological Research Station Chamela of the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM) in 1971. In 1988, UNAM and the Ecological Foundation Cuixmala (Fundación Ecológica de Cuixmala or FEC) founded by one of the rich families promoted the creation of the Chamela-Cuixmala Biosphere Reserve, decreed in 1993.

Tourism had been in the development plans of the region since the 1950s (CPCJ, 1958), to recuperate and develop the abandoned coastal region (Ortega, 1995). However it was through private initiative, namely one of the new European inhabitants, who attracted the first international known hotels with Hotel Club Mediterrannée Playa Blanca (1974) and the self-operated Hotel El Careyes (1976) in the area nowadays known as Costa Careyes (see Figure 2). This could be considered as the starting point of tourism in Costalegre (Tello-Díaz, 2012).



Figure 2: Important localities and hotels of the study area.

Throughout the years numerous tourism projects, massive hotels and real estate plans came and went and until today, the coast is generally considered as little developed and

pristine (Castillo et al., 2009; FonaturJalisco & Secturjal, 2011). Touristic offer, infrastructure and access vary strongly among the different villages, hotels and resorts of Costalegre's 300 km of coastline extension, a feature that has been considered both as a difficulty and caveat for promotion. Overall, the destination is described as little developed and rustic, but exclusive and pristine (FonaturJalisco & Secturjal, 2011).

Officially, Costalegre comprises 3200 rooms in 187 establishments (FonaturJalisco & Secturjal, 2011), an offer that has nearly not increased in the past years. La Huerta holds 23% of Costalegre's hotels (40) and concentrates the high-end offer, as in 4*, 5* and luxury hotels, of Costalegre. Table 1 illustrates the exact numbers.

Table 1: Tourism establishments in La Huerta. Overview and comparison of official and field data. Private housing of La Manzanilla is further explained in the following text. Based on SIEG La Huerta 2010, Costalegre, 2013, fieldwork 2013-2014 and internet sources.

Tourism establishments La Huerta	Official statistics	Own research
# hotels (and rooms)	40 (881) or	
	30 (676)	62 (1000)
# unregistered hotels	~ 50%	
	(estimated by Regional Tourism Office)	
# private luxury mansions (and rooms)	Not counted	55 (171)
# private housing (La Manzanilla)	Not counted	166 (500)
Total offer	40 (881)	283 (1671)

This table shows the importance of non-official tourism forms at Costalegre. While local establishments mainly operate throughout the main holidays (Christmas, Easter, Mexican summer holidays), bigger hotels, luxury hotels, and private mansions are open all year round. Generally spoken, the tourism offer is rustic and the public mainly made of seasonal international tourism (snowbirders from Canada and the United States during the winter months) and national tourism during the main holidays (Easter week, Christmas and New Year's Eve). As in other parts of Mexico, these snowbirders often develop into long-term tourists and trailerpark and RV users to second-home builders (Coates, Healy, & Morrison, 2002; Hiernaux-Nicolas, 2005). One prime example of this type of residential tourism is the case of La Manzanilla, a formerly small fishery village with 1037 inhabitants (INEGI 2010) that has been transformed into a service village with art galleries and important expat-

community that falls asleep during half a year. All beachfront houses are second homes to snow birders from Canada and the United States that reside from November until May and rent their premises in the rest of the year through an all-inclusive service provided by one of the village's own nine real estate and housing companies. Like this, nine officially registered hotels face 21 operating establishments with 223 rooms plus 166 privately rented homes and bungalows with a total of 500 rooms (based on an average of three rooms per bungalow). Other examples for this residential tourism are found in Arroyo Seco where the whole beachfront is made of newly built second homes; as well as to very much less extent Punta Pérula and El Rebalsito localities. Tourism officials see this form of "informal tourism" as one of the main challenges to organize and improve Costalegre's tourism offer, a part from the economic losses.

Exclusive luxury gated communities have been constructed in Costa Careyes since the 1970s. Recent developments nowadays combine traditional hotels with adjacent real estate development, talking about "captive tourism" as in trying to transform tourists into residents (tourism developer). As these luxury homes need housekeeping and gardening all year round, although to a less extent than classic hotel tourism, the luxury homes are acknowledged among the rural population as an important employment option. They do not form part of the official tourism statistics as their renting is normally done online through several specialized agencies or privately.

Although tourism development at Costalegre has always been behind governmental expectations, or otherwise phrased of little impact and slow growth (Castillo et al., 2009; Maldonado, Flores, Chávez-Dagostino, & Bravo, 2015), its direct and indirect income generation has helped the transition from formerly first sector based economy to the third sector already since the 1990s in the region (Vera-Cortés, 1994).

Tourism and ecosystem conservation have for years been the main two future options for the region (Maass et al., 2005; Riensche, Castillo, Flores-Díaz, & Maass, 2015), with their respective polemics and preoccupation of specific parts of the local population. Rural inhabitants for instance have frequently expressed their concern over issues like freshwater availability (Maass et al., 2005; Maass & Burgos, 2011); academics were and are worried about the tourism's closeness to protected areas (Ramsar sites and the Chamela-Cuixmala Biosphere Reserve (ChCxBR)) (Boege et al., 2010; Castillo, Dominguez, García, Quesada, & Vega, 2007). Other research sees the closing and/ or

restricted beach accesses as unequal power displays between developers and the rural population (Avila-Garcia & Sánchez-Luna, 2012; Ramírez Corona, 2013). And also among the wealthy families there is no common opinion over the preferred future development (Tello-Díaz, 2014).

Recently, several new combined real estate and tourism projects in La Huerta municipality have been proposed, some of which are now in construction (Las Rosadas, El Tamarindo) or already partially operating (Zafiro). Table 2 lists all proposed projects:

Table 2: Planned tourism projects. Based on revision of respective MIAs. Data marked with “**” is drawn from FonaturJalisco & Secturjal, 2011.

Project	Initial proposal	Size in ha	Rooms/ Residential Units (RU)
IEL La Huerta	2006	256,6	670 rooms
Marina Careyes y La Tambora	2007	681,7	-
Las Rosadas	2009	181,9	139 RU
Zafiro	2010	910,64/ 1320	1840 rooms
Rancho Don Andrés	2007 y 2011	577,91	-
San Carlos	-*	147,19	-
Paraíso Costalegre (Extention)	-*	700	-
El Tecuán	-*	1060	2500 rooms
Estero Verde	-*	400	1800 rooms
Casitas Careyes (Remodellation and extention)	2014	-	180 RU

Research design

An inductive research approach was chosen to document and analyze the point of views and perceptions of different stakeholders from their own perspective (Cloke, P., Cook, I., Crang, P., Goodwin, M., Painter, J., & Philo, 2004; Taylor & Bogdan, 1987). The data collection took place in repeated visits to the study area between 2012 and 2015 with duration from five days to two weeks. Initial broader research questions guided the work that was then narrowed down within the simultaneous analysis process (Newing, 2011b). The qualitative content analysis of the data following the principles of Grounded Theory (Charmaz, 2006; Strauss, 1995) allowing data-based theory construction.

The research framework focuses on the different sectors involved in decision-making processes and their inherent differences in being guided or restricted and using (or not)

rules and/ or norms. Moreover it illustrates the different repercussions of the policy outcome and actions for the different actor types. The framework is sufficiently open to include notions like power (Reed, 1997) and network analysis (Dredge, 2006) into the detailed analysis throughout the research process. Figure 3 illustrates the conceptual framework:

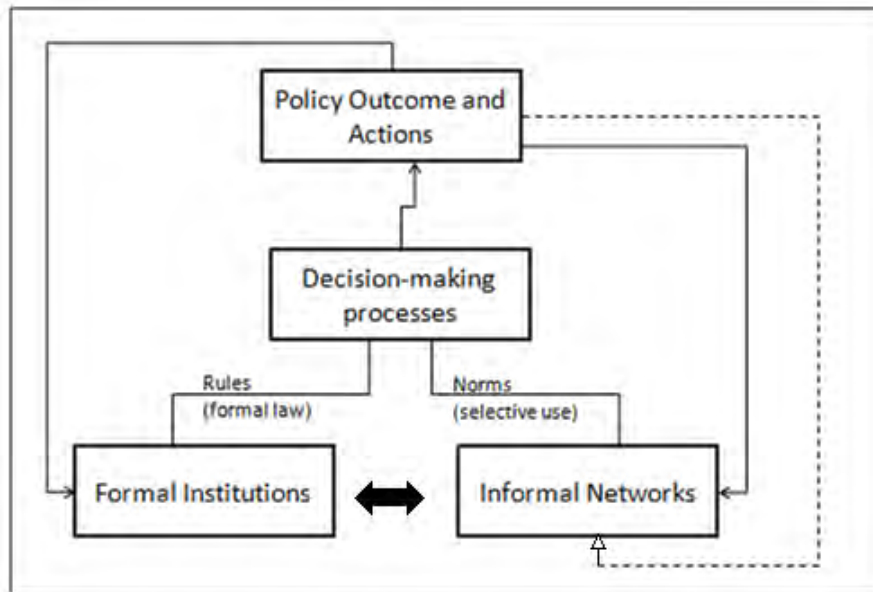


Figure 3: Research framework to study the outcome and interaction of formal institutions and informal networks and their use of norms and rules to guide and influence the decision-making processes. Based on Agrawal et al. (2013).

Methods

A mix of multiple social research methods was employed to enrich data, enable triangulation and cross checking of the results (Newing, 2011b). Document revision and analysis included governmental programs and laws (Environmental and Tourism Law and regional Tourism Programs) as well documentation of the tourism developments (Environmental Impact Assessments, promotion material, public records, web pages, and regional newspaper articles).

Preliminary interviews with a historian and academic researchers (Guadalajara University) and the revision of historic accounts (Ramírez-Rodríguez, De la Cruz-Agüero, & López-Ferreira, n.d.; Rodríguez-Batista, 1989, 1993, 1995; Archive of Colegio de Jalisco) enabled to understand the site specific history. Field trips provided further in-depth understanding of the regional and local history, allowed the corroboration of statistical information and permitted participant observation to elaborate context-based questionnaires and

interviews.

27 surveys and structured interviews with closed and open-ended questions were conducted with owners and/ or employees of local low and middle class tourism establishments (see Attachment). Sometimes they were applied as focus groups when two or more persons were present and partaking in the conversation. Whenever possible, participant observation during walks through the establishments was conducted to triangulate information and to ask further site-specific questions. 34 semi-structured in-depth interviews with governmental agents, opinion leaders, luxury hotel owners and tourism developers were conducted (see Table 3). Their respective role-understanding and interaction form the core units of analysis of this paper.

Table 3: Interview participants divided by sectors. The total number of interviewees per sector is given in parenthesis for later indication of frequencies. Focus group indicates the presence of two interviewees, otherwise several charges indicate one person with several charges.

#	Sector and actor	Specifications
Governmental Sector (7)		
1	Director and sub-director of the Tourism Department La Huerta	
2	Mayor La Huerta	Tourism and its role (economy/image) for La Huerta Municipality, beach access, interaction with other actors,
3	Tourism Trust Costalegre	Fideicomiso Costalegre
4	Regional Tourism Office Costalegre	Representative
5	State Congress: Tourism commission	Secretary of Tourism Commission
6	Tourism Secretary of Jalisco (Secturjal)	CEO of Tourism Destination Planning and Development
7	Environmental Secretary of Jalisco (Semadet)	Secretary Semadet
Conservationist Sector (5)		
8	Biological Field Station Chamela	Former Director
9	Biological Field Station Chamela	Director
10	Ecological Foundation Cuixmala (FEC)	Focus group: Executive Director and Scientific Coordinator
11	Restauracion Project Zafiro	Biologist as scientific director of the project
12	UdG Coastal Center Melaque	Coastal management, role of academics for the region Costalegre
Tourism Sector (Hotels and developments) (10)		
13	Las Alamandas,	CEO
14	Los Angeles Locos	Focus group: Director and biologist
15	Los Angeles Locos	CEO

16	Costa Careyes	CEO
17	Costa Careyes	Turtle Protection Program Careyes
18	Zafiro	Focus group: Biologist and Project Director
19	AECA	President and Developer Zafiro
20	Playas Paraíso	Owner and CEO
21	Chantli Mare	Owner and CEO
22	Cuixmala	Self-understanding of tourism and Cuixmala's role for the region
23	Real Estate Association	Founder and ex-president
Local tourism initiatives (5)		
24	Surf y sport fishing Pérula	Ecotourism entrepreneur
25	Touristic boat trips	Owner of restaurant El Jabalín
26	Touristic cooperative of fishermen in Pérula	President
27	Crocodile conservancy and Environmental Management Unit (UMA) La Manzanilla	Focus group: Manager and Ejido promoter
28	Ecotourism Tierralegre La Manzanilla	Founder and CEO
29	Birding group "Sal a pajarear A.C." El Tamarindo Foundation	Focus group: founder members and employees
Opinion leaders (4)		
30	El Rebalsito "beach privatization"	Ejido President
31	"Tenacatita libre" social movement	Canadian Activist (El Rebalsito)
32	Xamelta inhabitant	Environmentalism, Initiative "No-Take-Zone Chamela"
33	Zafiro inhabitant	landowner Zafiro, foundation Polo Careyes
34	Playa Jaibas	Caretaker and manager

The interviewees were chosen upon their specific role for the region based on previous work (Rienschke et al., 2015), on overall experiences in the study area, and also through the use of snowballing sampling method (Taylor & Bogdan, 1987). Secondary sources (public records as websites, published interviews, and informants) were used due to some actors' reluctance to share information. Granted interviews were often extended (up to 3h) and led to joint visits of field sites (construction area, premises). Their content varied upon case, but always included: the role of tourism for the region, knowledge and participation in "Costalegre", identification of and interaction with other actors, beach access and management, the role of local population, relation of tourism and environment.

Data analysis

Interviews were in their majority audio recorded and completely transcribed to be analyzed with the help of Atlas.ti (Version 7.5.7), a software program for qualitative data analysis based on Grounded Theory (Strauss, 1995). Data was coded and categorized to allow

deep analysis and theory construction (Charmaz, 2006; Strauss, 1995). In some cases the interviewees did not agree to recording and answers were then recorded in written form as field notes and also incorporated in the analysis. To construct codes and categories within the qualitative analysis, observations (memos) of fieldwork from the field-diary, notes and complementary information were also used (Strauss, 1995). Theory construction was based upon data analysis that took place at the same place as data collecting and feed each other until saturation (Charmaz, 2006; Newing, 2011b). Then, illustrative diagrams and figures were built as basis for the narrative. Frequencies of mentions of the same idea are included when relevant as well as descriptive statistics, and sociograms based on the interpretation of the actors' perceptions about their connection and interrelation with other stakeholders (Alberich et al., 2009; Andreola, 1984).

Results

We present the findings of our research following the five research questions (see last paragraph of the introduction).

1. Tourism policy and policy instruments for sustainable tourism planning

The Mexican governmental tourism agencies on the federal level are the Tourism Secretary (Secretaría de Turismo or Sectur) which is supported by two Para-State organisms: the National Tourism Promotion Trust (Fondo Nacional de Fomento al Turismo o Fonatur) and the Promotional Tourism Board (Consejo de Promoción Turística de México o CPTM). The federal tourism secretaries are autonomous.

The Sectorial Tourism Program 2013-2018 is Mexico's main planning instrument for tourism policy. For the current legislation period (2013-2018), its four strategic goals are: i) Sectoral planning and transformation, ii) Innovation and Competitively, iii) Foment of Investment and Promotion and iv) Sustainability and Social Benefit. These topics are in accordance with the National Development Plan. The normative programs "Agenda 21 for Mexican tourism" and the renamed "Sustainable Tourism Program in Mexico" incorporate sustainability and participation of local stakeholders needs into tourism policies and programs (Martínez-Moreno & Ruiz-Andrade, 2006.).

For Jalisco, since its State Development Plan of 2007 (Plan Estatal de Desarrollo or PED 2007-2030) its regions' role are considered the key to insure inclusive planning and

coordinate the direct interaction with the municipalities, helped by the federal agencies Semadet (Secretary for Environmental and Land Planning or Secretaria de Medio Ambiente y Desarrollo Territorial) and the Planning Unit of the Tourism Secretary Secturjal (Secretaria de Turismo de Jalisco). Following the PED 2030 several regional programs were defined, among which the “Regional Development Program 2030, Region 08 Costa Sur” for Costalegre. The “Promotional Tourism Law of the State of Jalisco” has the objective to plan, promote touristic activities in Jalisco and its municipalities, and to use efficiently and sustainable natural and cultural touristic resources (Art. 5). Concrete actions are contained in the corresponding “Sectorial Tourism Promotion and Development Program Jalisco 2030” and its specification “Subprogram: Promotion, Help and Development of tourism and ecotourism” that specifies actions and tourism segments to achieve the program’s goals. These programs are somehow follow-up programs of the Land Use Planning Program of Costalegre decreed in 1999, however, the relation among the different plans and programs is not specified. In 2011 then, the “Sub-regional Tourist Development Program Costalegre” was elaborated and published in 2012 (Fonatur Jalisco & Secturjal, 2011). This latest emphasizes the sustainable land and resource use of Costalegre’s region in accordance with existing Land Use Planning Programs and environmental laws. It furthermore refers explicitly to the local Land Use Planning Programs of the four coastal municipalities that integrate Costalegre, from which all but La Huerta have decreed their Land Use Planning Programs.

Figure 4 resumes main tourism policies and their interaction with development plans and conservation planning instruments.

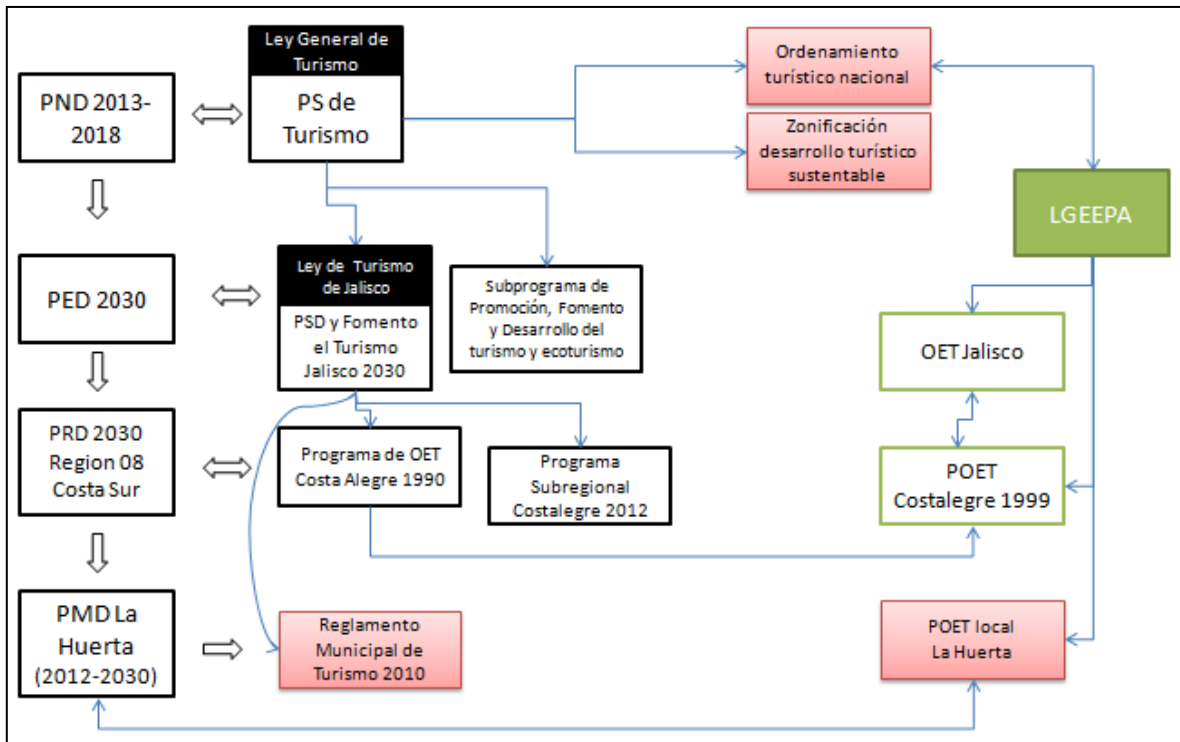


Figure 4: Tourism policies at all governmental levels. National, State, Regional and Municipal Development Plans are indicated together with their tourism programs and laws. Blue lines indicate the interaction between the policies. Not existing or not actualized programs are indicated in grey. Laws are indicated in black/ dark grey.

All Urban Development Plans or Programs have to take into account the strategies and categories of the Ecological Land Use Planning Programs (Ley General de Equilibrio Ecológico y Protección al Ambiente or LGEEPA). Furthermore, the “Sustainable Rural Development Law of the State of Jalisco” (Ley de Desarrollo Rural Sustentable del Estado de Jalisco) sets the basis and defines the economic and social improvement of the communities through the involvement of all corresponding sectors as its goal (Art. 12). It mentions for example the capacitating of rural inhabitants through investment in agro-industries and rural tourism. The Land Use Planning Program for Jalisco refers to Agenda 21 acknowledging the need for specific new planning instruments to promote sustainable tourism development and to conduct studies about environmental impact.

On local level, the “General Development Program La Huerta Municipality 2012-2015” (PGM or Plan General del Municipio La Huerta 2012-2015) names the goal “manage the investment and encourage further tourism investment in different municipal locations” and proposes the following actions: construction of a touristic port, waiting cabins at principal crossings and a lookout.

The parallel existing long-term plan “Municipal development Plan La Huerta 2012-2030” (PMD or Plan Municipal de Desarrollo La Huerta 2012-2030) states as main challenge for tourism the “sustainable development of potentially virgin destinations with the aim to use natural resources but to conserve them for future generations, having in mind the best economic profit for receptor communities to generate well-being” (PMD: 38). Here, the concrete actions include: to facilitate administrative proceedings (permissions), improve the overall touristic services, and to train tourism agents, and finally to promote ecotourism within the municipality through the creation of a “Touristic Corridor Municipality Valley”. The tourism department did not have an actualized tourism plan.

Tourism is, as shown, only briefly mentioned on municipal level. No coherence, or synergies between the already existing coastal touristic offer with newly planned inland ecotourism are mentioned; the different planning instruments stand separately at different governmental levels and show non-alignments of the regional tourism programs and plans with their corresponding local, regional and state-level development plans. These guiding instruments are important in shaping local actions and decision-making processes. Their non-existence causes planning insecurity that lead already two localities to decree their communal land use plans (La Manzanilla, San Mateo) as alternative planning instrument.

2. Identification of involved actors

Table 3 (p. 75) showed all interview participants consulted about tourism development at Costalegre. Interviews were dependent on functioning agencies and their willingness to share their insights (see also Limitations of the research).

Governmental tourism agencies

The Federal Executive Government coordinates the planning activities in each federative entity, establishes the baselines to achieve goals and promotes and ensures the democratic participation of social actors. Concordance between sectorial programs, the PND and the respective programs and governmental levels is important, the Federal Government coordinates with other entities to co-develop of the planning in their jurisprudence and to ensure the municipality’s participation (PND 2030). For tourism, Sectur is helped in its task by several sub-secretaries for planning, operation and innovation and also by Fonatur, whose main task lies in the encouragement of touristic investment. Fonatur’s mission is to identify, carry out and spark off sustainable projects to

achieve regional development, employment, economic development and social well-being.

In Jalisco, Seturjal has the tasks to plan, conduct, coordinate, promote and orientate economic and social development of the State of Jalisco in the area of tourism in accordance with the State Development Plan (Ley Orgánica del Poder Ejecutivo del Estado de Jalisco, Art. 22 and 34). These strategic planning activities include the sustainable use of natural resources and the extension of existing infrastructure as well as the coordination of investment and planning of tourism. Central points are the creation of new tourism products or destinations and the improvement of existing infrastructure as well as the promotion on special events and on international markets. Secturjal creates links between investors and public administration and promotes existing destinies. To do this, Secturjal establishes tourism policies and coordinates the application of other legislation in terms of tourism and also delegates faculties to public agents or to its delegations or regional offices as their regional representations, for example the Regional Office Costalegre in Barra de Navidad (www.secturjal.jalisco.gob.mx).

Despite Jalisco's general focus on tourism with emphasis on the strategic areas Puerto Vallarta and Costalegre through the definition of priority tourism regions in coordination with Secturjal, its budget does not reflect this rhetorical importance. The data from the year 2010 (*Presupuesto de Egresos del Gobierno del Estado de Jalisco 2010*) stated an budget of 61,184 millions of Mexican pesos for all 21 governmental programs. The "Desarrollo y Fomento al Turismo" of the tourism secretary received 187 millions of Mexican pesos or 0.3% of this budget (16th of 21 place) (CEURA, 2010).

The Municipality has its own juridical character that with faculty to formulate, approve and administrate the zonification and urban municipal development plans and, furthermore, to administrate its land and land use. The Municipality thus has the faculties for formulating, approving and administering the zonification and land use plan of urban municipal development (Ley de Asentamientos Humanos. Art. 115 I, II, III and V). While in the past administration period the tourism department had no proper department and was just a subordinated topic within the economic development department, in the current administration there is a tourism department. However, the department head shares her responsibilities with another area, the department for gender. To help this situation, another tourism sub-director was assigned to help in the department.

The municipal and regional tourism councils were not constituted in the whole administration period of the municipality (2012-2015). Fonatur concludes a general lack of importance in tourism development in all four coastal municipalities of Costalegre but highlights especially La Huerta: “In the case of La Huerta the situation is pitiable. Despite counting with tourism developments of international reputation (Careyes, etc.) [...]that do not receive the adequate support, furthermore the administration is seated far from the coast and thus far from the real demand of administrative services, a fact that complicates futher the bureaucracy.” (CEURA, 2010).

Figure 5 shows the interaction of governmental actors in regard to new tourism projects.

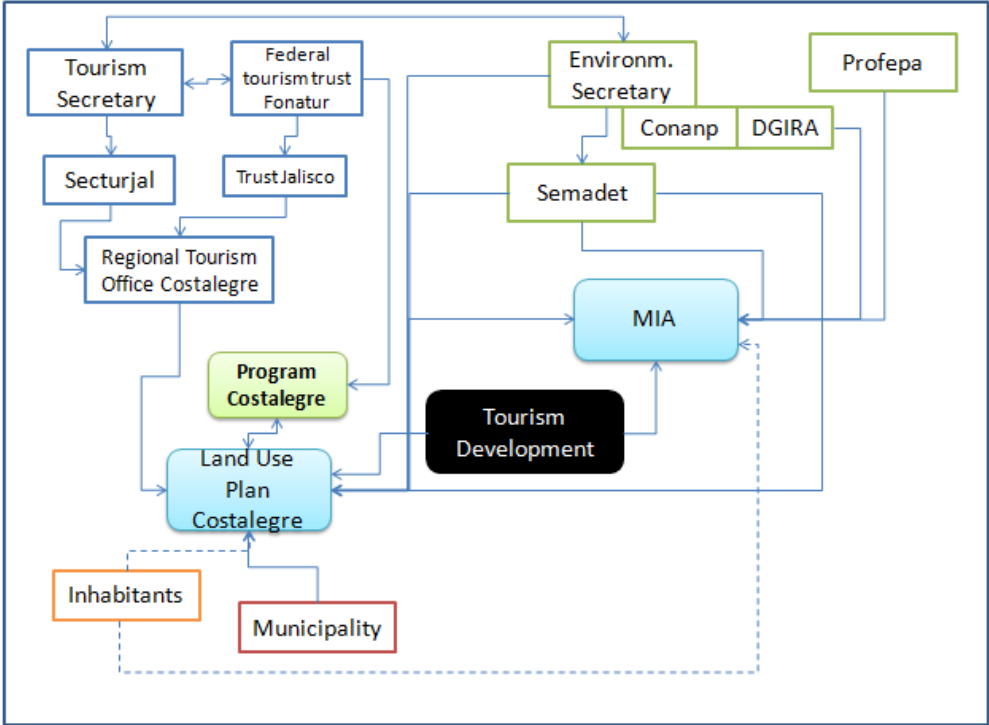


Figure 5: Governmental Agencies involved in potential tourism development through their involvement in environmental planning instruments (MIA and Land Use Plans). Tourism sector is shown on the left side, environmental sector on the right side. Their main interaction happens at the application of the environmental planning instruments in grey boxes. Municipal and inhabitants’ involvement is shown, in the case of inhabitants the potential involvement as real participation is yet to be achieved as mentioned in the text.

Finally, as an answer to the dispersed and often not working actors, within the recent “Sub-regional Program for touristic development in Costalegre” (DOF, 2012) where 77 new tourism projects of different size are planned, the creation of a new “agency” is mentioned and proposed to better coordinate and develop the touristic promotion of Costalegre,

however without specifications (FonaturJalisco & Secturjal, 2011).

As for further tourism actors, the Federal Tourism Law (2009, regulations 2015) defines the existence and composition of advisory tourism boards (*Consejo de promoción turística*) with members from all other sectors as well as representatives from private and public sector on invitation. These boards advise and propose actions and analyze touristic programs. In Jalisco, the Advisory Board was established but did not work. At regional level, the Advisory Tourism Board of Puerto Vallarta and Costalegre seems to be working but the informant (from UdG) felt “not really a part of it” as academic advisor, and no further contact could be established. The Promotional Tourism Board (*Consejo de Promoción turística de la zona (CPTM)*) is conformed but does not function. And finally, the municipal and regional tourism boards, as mentioned were not even conformed. Especially the intermunicipal tourism boards would have been a great opportunity to reunite the four Costalegre conforming municipalities over municipal boundaries.

Municipal Advisory Tourism Boards (*Consejos consultivos de turismo*) have to be established within each municipality (Federal Tourism Ley) to integrate different sectors and the municipal president into tourism businesses. Regional Advisory boards are composed of several municipalities. However, in reality they do not work. “A Municipal Advisory Tourism Board is municipal responsibility; I cannot put myself over the Municipality’s authority. [...] This is crucial, I try to motivate, to convince them to invite to reunions, to bring the service provider together, I mean I nearly provide them with the whole structure for the board and everything, but even then.... If the Municipality doesn’t take responsibility I cannot do anything.” (Tourism Office Representative) Similar situations occur for the Regional Advisory Tourism Board (*Consejo de Turismo Regional*) and the State Tourism Advisory Board. The tourism secretary establishes furthermore the tourism promotion boards “COPROFOTUR” (Tourism Promotion and Development Board Costalegre), “con la finalidad de que al menos haya algún tipo de sesión para hablar de la situación turística de los lugares”.

COPROFOTUR had been working until recently (2010) and is frequently identified in interviews (5/10). However, its reunions were sporadically and often difficult because of the variety of involved hotel types and needs (hotel owner). Often, “it wasn’t always convenient to assist because it involved a lot of time and gasoline and the discussions led

to no outcome” (hotel owner), an opinion that was mentioned several times (8/10). It is the municipalities’ responsibility together with relevant tourism entrepreneurs and developers to organize this board. As the hotels have their own need and markets, where often the interest differs between smaller national hotels and Gran Tourism, the interest in a common organization is not evident (8/10). Now the private association AECA took over this public agency’s role and function (6/10). Although not inclusive, in order to be “more efficient” (Regional Tourism Representative), AECA claims to “represent the majority of the important hotels” (AECA president).

Finally, the Tourism Trust Costalegre (Fideicomiso Costalegre) is formed by two representatives of COPROFOTUR (Premium hotels), the presidents of two hotel associations, one representative of the State Tourism Trust and Costalegre’s delegation representative. Its goal is the touristic promotion through a 3% tourism tax by designing prospects, web sites, etc. The idea is to promote its members in the region. However, as seen in the section of premium hotels, the diversity of hotel actors does not encourage one common promotion strategy or a corporate image as governmental actors and tourism as its representative explained.

Hotel establishments and their public and private organizations

Several tourism associations and boards are promoted and some are established at Costalegre: 1. Society of hotels, motels and restaurants of Costalegre, 2. Hotel and restaurant representatives of Costalegre, 3. Representatives of restaurants of Costa Norte, 4. Board of hotels, motels and developers of Costalegre. As Costalegre comprises both administrative units of “Southern Coast” and “Northern Coast”, the choice is upon the hotel owner. Sometimes the farer away Northern Coast Board is preferred as it includes Puerto Vallarta and “is overall more active and offers more training opportunities” (hotel owner).

Of the 27 interviewed low and middle class establishments (21 low and middle class hotels, 5 bungalows and one camping ground), 16 interviewees gave extended answers. Considering overall familiarity with Costalegre and personal attachment, on the operational level, the accompanying survey conducted revealed that the majority (12 of 16) had a clear idea of Costalegre as geographic area and/or touristic location and felt that they formed

part of it. However, considering any partaking, 13 out of 16 had never heard “of any form of organization” and 10 out of 16 did also not know of any formal Costalegre related touristic organization or office. Yet, at least three respondents knew and were personally in contact with a representative of Costalegre through the regional tourism office, and/ or a hotel board.

Overall, this overview shows the complexity of public and semi-public actors present in the Costalegre region and indicated the challenges of theoretical mandates and actual everyday business that enables or hinders a certain actor to work.

Non-governmental organizations and initiatives

Only very few non-governmental organizations are present in the study area. Some very local initiatives exist as well of social-ecological character like *Unidos por Barra de Navidad* and *Iniciativa Tenacatita* that treat social issues related with beach management and closing of beach access; or of pure environmental character like *Ecobana and Amigos de la Carey* that promote turtle conservation. The private estates with their luxury hotels (El Tamarindo, Cuixmala, Careyes, and Las Alamandas) often have one or several foundations (*Fundación Careyes, Fundación Cuixmala*) with different emphasis: environmental education (*El Tamarindo A.C.*), art projects (*Arte Careyes*), in their majority they promote social development through environmental education besides charity and social well-fare work.

Academic and Conservationist Sector

As main conservationist actor exists the Biosphere Reserve (ChCxBR) and its managers the Biology Institute of UNAM through its Biological Field Station Chamela (EB) and the Ecological Foundation Cuixmala (FEC). Both EB and FEC have premises within the Biosphere Reserve which is why, locally; all three actors are often referred to in interviews as “the biologists” despite their differing interests as will be shown later. The Management Plan of ChCxBR that dictates the tasks and overall mission has not been updated since 1999. Considering one repeated critique as in the missing communication and linkage with the local communities, both former and actual station chief mentioned these tasks not to be included in their mandate. Neither was it the task of the biologist to review MIAs (Environmental Impact Assessments) or to involve themselves in planning or regional decision-making processes. However, they have been asked to emit their opinion several

times regarding tourism developments' MIAs by governmental authorities (Conanp). This involvement then led them a few times to stop tourism projects and thus a "anti-development" posture of the overall "biologists" has been assumed from other actors (rural population and tourism developers). As the station chief points out "we might not want to take a position towards tourism development but we will have to."

Close to the FEC is the "Coast's Defense Board" that has been active in the creation of the Biosphere Reserve and in the MIAs. The University of Guadalajara with its Department for Sustainable Coastal Development in Barra de Navidad is another academic actor in the study area. The study area is furthermore recognized as "Priority Hydrological Region" (Semarnat), "Priority Eco-region Global 200" (WWF), "Priority Terrestrial Area" (Conabio) and "Water Reserve Chamela" (Conagua, Conanp, WWF). Several Ramsar sites are present: La Manzanilla Estuary and the wetlands of the Biosphere Reserve. Also national protection categories with the beaches and island protected as "sanctuaries". "Natural Reserve Zafiro" adjacent to the Biosphere Reserve is the newest voluntarily protected area (Conanp) established by one of the bigger tourism developments who started to construct in 2012. However, a responsible governmental agency is almost nonexistent. Conanp is only consulted externally in the case of the Biosphere Reserve and the creation of local Ramsar boards was not successful because of the lack of interest of the local actors (Tourism representative). Some turtle protection programs report their work to Conanp (Careyes Turtle Program, Los Ángeles Locos). But overall, the lack of resources (economically and personal) does not allow the good functioning of the governmental agencies (Academics' opinion).

Concerning the natural protection areas (ANP for their abbreviation in Spanish Area Natural Protegida), Conanp, Mexico's official organism for all Biosphere Reserves does not interfere with the mostly private ChCxBR. Ramsar site's councils established by Concap that would be responsible for the regional management of the eight Ramsar Sites of Costalegre are neither constituted. Figure 6 resumes the existent actors of Costalegre.

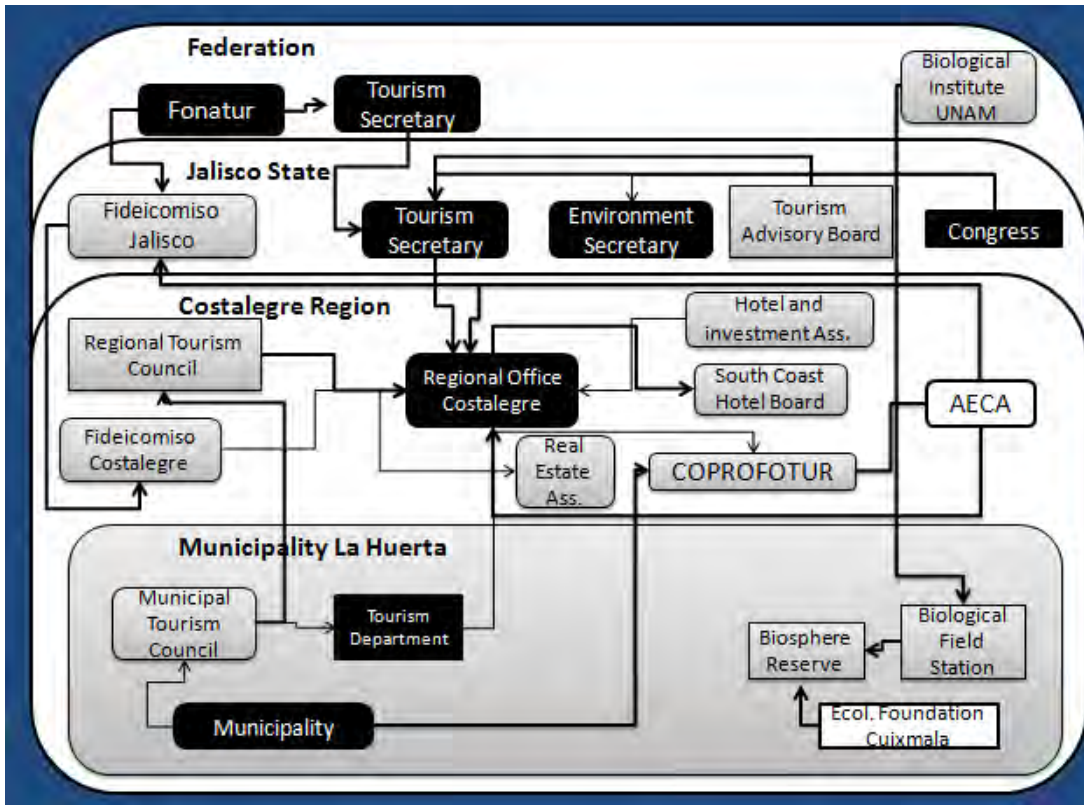


Figure 6: Identification of actors in the intersection of tourism and conservation. Actors are located in their respective governmental level from municipal to federal level. Governmental agencies are illustrated in blue, academic sector in green and actors of the private sector in orange. The color grey indicates that the specific actor is not actually existing and/ or working.

3. Interactions of involved actors and actor groups

The interaction between the different actor groups ranges from non-existent over consultation, sporadic involvement to constant presence and pro-active behavior in cross-sectorial topics. Table 4 shows the action strategies for the selected actors:

Table 4: Actors' strategies as acknowledged by other actors. The "x" indicates a certain behavior/strategy, a capital X indicates strong presence this behavior/strategy. Elaboration upon interview mentions.

Actor's strategies	EB/ UNAM	FEC	Tourism developers (AECA)
Local presence	X		X
Pro-active behavior		X	X
Reactive behavior	X		
Active regional involvement and participation		x	X
Passivity	X		
Contact to local authorities	X	-	X
Contact to federal authorities	X	x	X
Leadership	X	x	X
Selectivity of members	-	X	X

Concerning the presence of the actors, generally EB and UNAM known and acknowledged as important conservation actor in the region and especially for their intervention in the proposals of new tourism projects. FEC however, is nearly never explicitly mentioned. All members of the tourism sector, the mayor, and Environmental Secretary acknowledge AECA as principle voice of the tourism developers, as mentioned previously.

Considering their interventions, FEC and AECA act pro-actively. FEC' leading role in the promotion of the ChCxBR is only acknowledged by the conservation actors and the Land Use Planning Programming Program of Costalegre is often attributed to UNAM/EB. Recently, FEC "got tired" of their intervention in tourism planning and does not partake that actively any more (FEC). Their "X" is based on the author's interpretation and testimony of the FEC itself.

AECA is a relatively new actor (not older than 2010) and is active in all sectors and at all governmental levels. Especially close contact has been revealed to the State tourism planning direction and in the formulation of the latest tourism development program of Costalegre.

As also already mentioned, EB/UNAM is mainly focused on research and less on societal involvement, beyond scientific outreach activities. This is the view of their representatives and as this also clearly identified by other interviewees but the mayor, who sees in the UNAM an ally for "controlling tourism development". FEC generally does not mingle with locals as well, but while FEC in certain occasions acts very specifically on their own accord, the EB is more passive and as public research institution generally only intervenes on direct mandate from other governmental agencies (in this case Conanp or Semarnat) in regard to tourism development. Both contacts with local authorities are low to non-existent in the case of FEC. Regarding the environmental agencies responsible for natural protection areas on federal level there is however some contact.

FEC and RB have acted only at few but important occasions as leaders in decision-making processes as mentioned. Among the other actors the ChCxBR is considered as important local environmental and conservationist leader. As for the selectivity of their members,

while the criteria is not relevant for this public university/ research station, FEC is a very discrete private institution and AECA is also highly selective about its members. Generally, information is shared sparsely between the actors.

To illustrate the many actors in the general panorama, Figure 7 shows a sociogram::

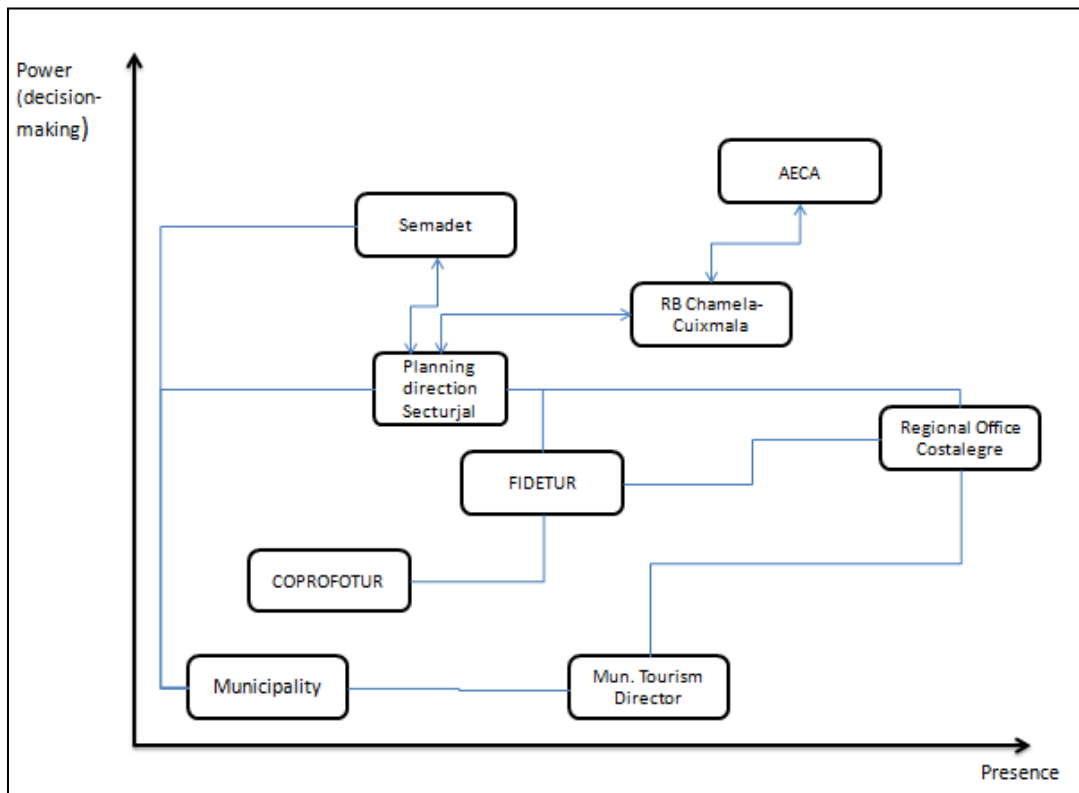


Figure 7: Sociogram of tourism decision-making actors. Mentioned are only actively working and functioning actors. Actors are positioned in regard to their perceived power in decision-making processes (y-axis) and presence in the study area (x-axis). Relations are indicated as cooperation (simple line) or conflictive relation (line with arrows). Own interpretation based on interview data.

4. Actors' perception of their roles and contribution to (tourism) development in the Costalegre region

The role of the actors can result from their legal mandate and/or desired positioning in the case of private actors. Sometimes, the legal mandate or lack of can be contradictory to self-perceived role as seen in the case of the Regional Office Costalegre whose role is bound and limited to studies and advisory functions. In the case of the Municipality, its mandatory leading role is often compromised by performance problems. We now analyze how the different actors perceive their role for tourism development.

Municipality

The Mayor clearly sees no future in traditional activities like agriculture and livestock herding: “[Traditional activities] have no future; [...] tourism’s role [is] to take off the municipal economy”. Since his electoral campaign, he looked for “close contact” with the developers, “This is where we wager in from part of the municipality. This coming together has been mainly for getting them to know us and to get to know our work plan, how we want to support them and foment these investments in order to develop the coastal zone.” A narrower analysis showed that the cooperation consisted mainly in “permissions and authorizations for the developments”. While the developers need specific permits from the Municipality, for their planning they do not take much into account (tourism director), even the basic statistic information they might search is generally provided by federal agencies.

The municipality recognizes various limitations to their work: besides the lack of resources and personal they recognize difficult cooperation with other municipalities and levels as for example the steering periods are not coordinated among them. Lack of preparation, corruption, mixed priorities and short time solution seeking are among other problems. For example water treatment plants are built but not maintained working. In the case of tourism developments, the mayor asserts “Sometimes the need to generate employment options leads to not paying attention to environmental impacts”. The following statement: “This corruption brings problems that could affect on long-term the inhabitants and surpass the capacities of the municipality. [...] It is important to work with the UNAM or other civil organizations to watch very closely over the tourism development because they bring development to the municipality but also affect negatively the nature” shows the complexity of tourism development’s implications in the Municipality.

Exemplary for mentions of other governmental actors (5/7) which associate the lack of development and overall passivity in the region with the weak municipality figure the following citation resumes the overall notion: “It is very important to mention the lack of compromise from municipal institutions or municipal authorities in order to generate ordered development and to be at the same level as other destinations, because promotion is not everything. Promotion could be millions of pesos but [...] this [lack of compromise] is another reason why the region not develops.” (Reg. Tourism Office). Figure 8 illustrates further the expectations towards the municipality compared with the

municipality's own understanding:

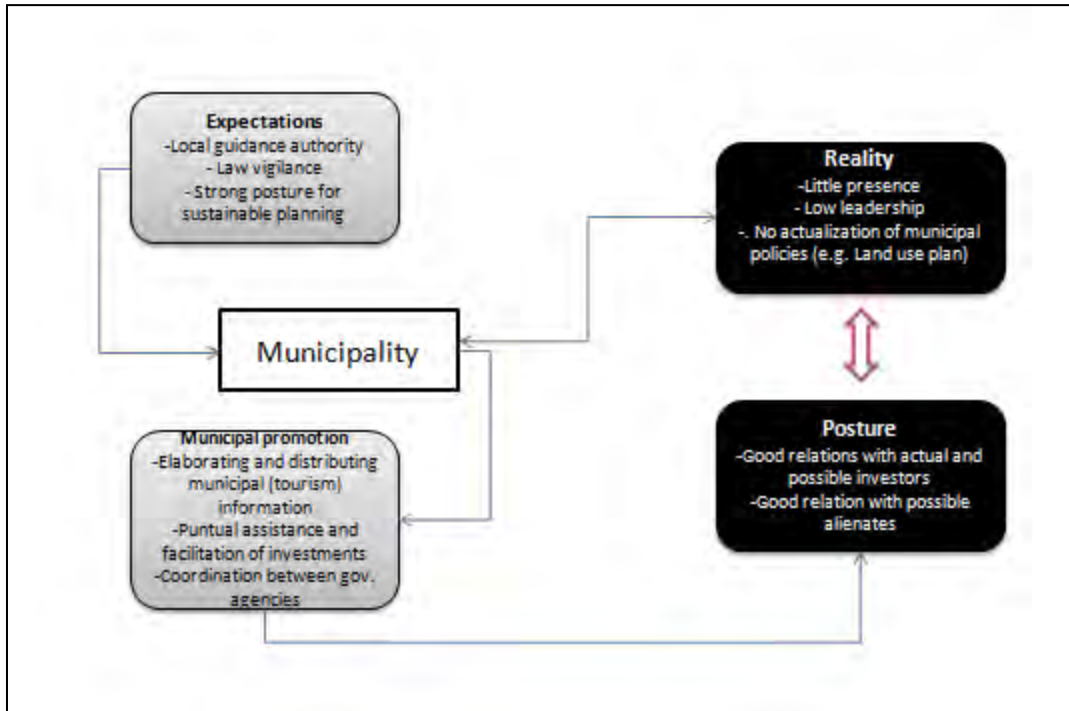


Figure 8: Understanding of municipality's role for tourism decision-making: contraposition of actors' expectations and municipal understanding. Municipal opinion based on tourism director and mayor. Actors' expectations based on all tourism and conservation actors.

Expectations towards the Municipality are immense as illustrated; however, as explained, the municipality cannot always respond accordingly. This becomes very apparent when governmental agencies (4/7), opinion leaders (3/4), conservation and tourism sector (10/10) as well as the tourism initiatives (3/5) together expect the municipality as main legal authority to act and to emit a strong position, whereas for the municipality the prospect of employment generation often outweighs other concerns. Municipal agents focus on “a good relationship between external actors with the municipality” as these often bring “social well-fare projects and economic benefits”.

Regional tourism office Costalegre

Formerly, the State Government did everything from the planning until the execution of new tourism developments. Now the task of tourism secretaries is different and more about attracting more investors, as in preparing and announcing the areas and to develop a plan, an overall touristic profile what could be done potentially in touristic matter to a certain area. They emit mere guidelines whose execution and respecting the regulation is

not in the control of their agencies. Part of the office's work is consultancy for the developers. "This is very complex. It is complex because at the end of the day you are no part of the decision-making and if you have no say in the decision-making it is sometime desillusioning... how to explain? It drains all energy out, sometimes you don't want to take part in new projects, because like this study, we have had an infinity of them." As the representative explains, his main work consists in elaborating studies for the corresponding authorities. "If they choose not to apply them, this is their decision. We do a complete study [...] but our intervention ends with handing it in. We do not parttake in applying them, this is the responsibility of others." The local representation Costalegre has limited powers, reaching from the elaboration and provision of touristic information, to partaking in tourism boards and being the regional contact for other tourism actors. However, it has no executive mandate. Concerning tourism development, "The municipality is the maxima authority."

High-end hotels: Luxury and Boutique hotels

As mentioned, the coast of La Huerta municipality comprises 40% of the luxury hotel segment of Costalegre, aside from several large private estates with luxury mansions and some with tourism and/ or tourism related real estate projects (see description of study area). Mexico's official hotel categories reach up to five stars. The hotels in La Huerta denominate themselves as "High-End", "Luxury", "Gran Tourism" or "Boutique Hotels", as no official category or standard exists. The situation of existing a part from the governmental tourism organization and its promotion effort has lead to the search and creation of private labels like "Boutique Hotels of Mexico" (<https://www.hotelesboutique.com>). Costalegre's only hotel that opted for the "Boutique Hotel of Mexico" affiliation claims itself as "independent, without any official or governmental organization structure" (owner). In fact, Mexico's Boutique Hotels created their own standards and organization a part from the Sectur. While the owner is in contact with the regional tourism office, promotion and all development is more with the private association.

Costalegre's other hotels undertake their own promotion efforts and generally do not form part of any tourism establishment association. Some take part of private platforms like "Small Luxury Hotels of the World" (www.slh.com) or luxury travel platforms like Virtuoso (www.virtuoso.com). As the representative of the Regional Office Costalegre points out, this diversification of actors does not help to create a cooperate image of the destination

nor to create unity or common position regarding the future of Costalegre. On the other side, this diversification of publicity clearly reflects the fact that official promotion and organization channels are insufficient and not inclusive of the whole rich offer of Costalegre.

In their interviews, the opinion leaders as in land private luxury hotel owner and tourism developers, who often assume various roles, claim to be “few and all on the same side” (opinion leader, AECA president). As they were not satisfied with the existing tourism organization and the effectiveness of decision-making, they opted to found their own, the AECA. This new association is exclusive, membership is paid and selected in order to ensure effective decision-making. The tourism secretary is not involved and only sometimes invited. Also not all luxury hotels take part; the perhaps most exclusive one stays apart and does not interact with anyone openly.

The presented common vision of Costalegre’s future is made out of a mix of luxury real-estate development combined with high-end tourism development. By respecting existing planning instruments and environmental regulations, maintaining own nurseries and mitigating environmental impacts on the one side and trying to include the local population (Chamela) and fishermen, the AECA and specific tourism project Zafro claim to be fully sustainable and a model project “better than Careyes” as they do not to repeat well-known errors of Integrated Planned Tourism Centres (CIP) like Cancun with environmental and social disasters. They learn from their direct neighbors not to repeat errors like not to include the local fishermen.

AECA

The tourism association of the private sector composed of selected members of the luxury tourism and real estate developers of Costalegre evolved from the need of efficient decision-making and with the aim to give Costalegre a strong voice regarding possible new investors. AECA “es un facilitador la asociación, porque para el gobierno de cualquier jerarquía, es más fácil hablar con un representante de un grupo de inversionistas, que hablar con cada uno, entonces esto en realidad fue el origen de esto. [...] lo que nosotros tratamos de hacer es pedir para todos, para intereses más grandes.” (President AECA). AECA furthermore is very transparent about its politics: first of all member selectivity. The members establish their own criteria of how they want the future of the region and on that

base they invite other actors. “Like this we built a “common image” for the region to promote only the type of projects that we see compatible with the existing tourism offer.” (ibid.). Figure 9 illustrates the overall origin and strategy of this newly established actor. Interestingly, all governmental actors know and acknowledge AECA as one of the central actors of Costalegre. Also in the new Sub-Program Costalegre from 2012, AECA is included as leading promoter.

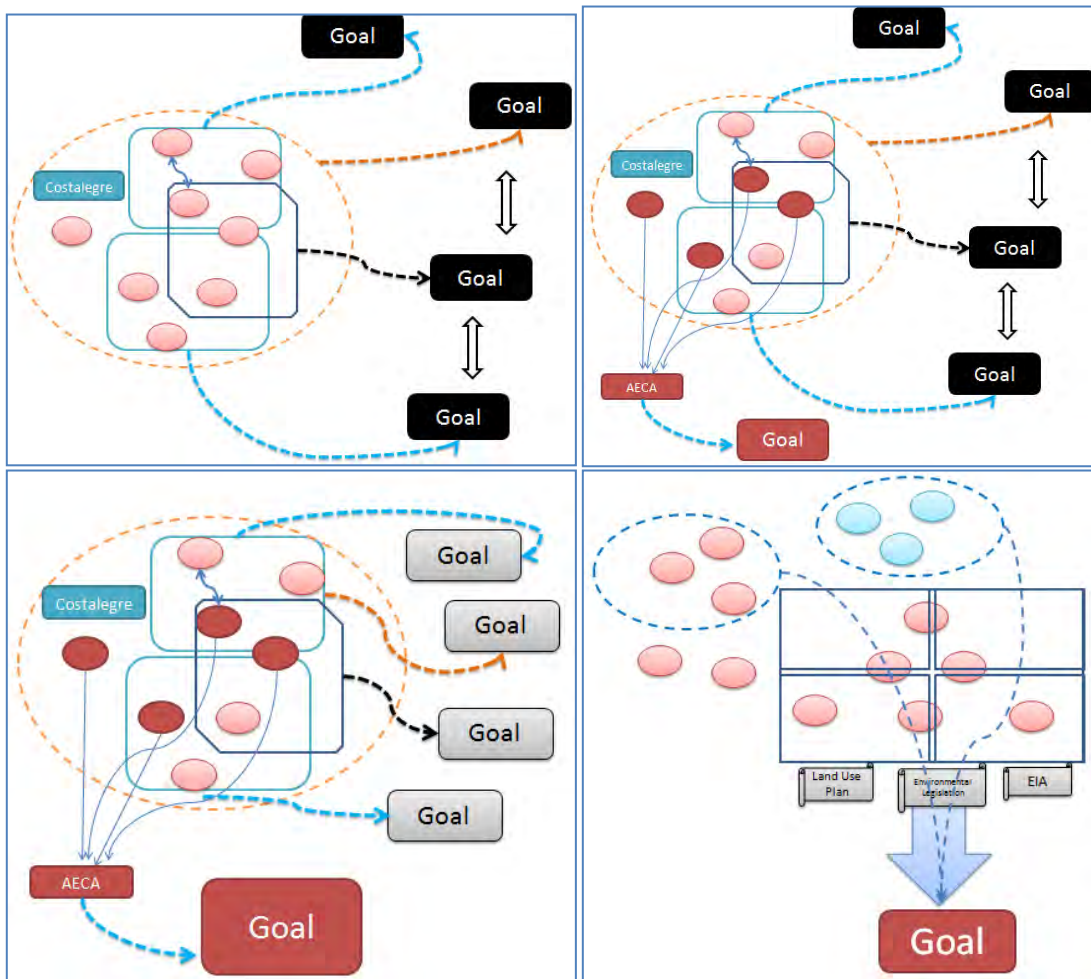


Figure 9: AECA’s strategy to align all actors with the same interests and goals and to position themselves as “unique window” for further tourism development. From upper left: current situation with dispersed actors reunited in different associations with respective differing goals, upper right the rise of AECA with former integrants of other associations and new formulation of a goal; bottom left: positioning AECA’s opinion and goal as most relevant and representative one for the whole Costalegre; bottom right: future situation where AECA represents the unique tourism development window for future investments by using existent public policy and planning instruments to ensure the wished policy outcome.

Conservationist Sector

Identified among the different actors and local inhabitants simple as “the biologists”, the

principal conservationist actors in the study area is composed of the Biological Fieldstation Chamela a dependence of the National Autonomous University of México (UNAM) and the Ecological Foundation Cuixmala (FEC) that together co-administrate the Chamela-Cuixmala Biosphere Reserve since its decree in 1993. Both actors are located within the premises of the Biosphere Reserve. The FEC was founded in 1988 with the explicit aim to preserve the local ecosystems through the creation of protected areas, in this case the Biosphere Reserve that allowed continuing former land use. While normally CONANP would be in charge of the Biosphere's administration, in this case, it is the owners of this private reserve (Anna Pujadas & Castillo, 2007). The other university with presence in the study area is the University of Guadalajara mainly through its Coastal Extension Centre in Barra de Navidad.

Since its foundation in 1988, the FEC, first alone and later through the technical advisors committee of the Biosphere Reserve, has been very active using and extending environmental instruments for ensuring its interests as in the conservation of ecosystems. Not only did they actively promote the creation of the Biosphere Reserve but also were very active in promoting the Land Use Planning Program (POET 1999), as well as several declarations of natural sanctuaries of turtle nestling beaches and islands.

In the last years, the FEC and EB have been mostly involved very punctually in the tourism development through the revision of environmental impact assessments of the constructions which Semarnat (DGIRA) asked of the technical advisory board of the Biosphere Reserve. In two concrete cases, their negative revisions stopped two mayor tourism projects (Boege et al., 2010; Castillo et al., 2007). While the researcher and directors of the EB do not want to take position concerning the future of the region, as its current director pointed out, he fears "in the future we will have to take sides if we want or not." Both former and current director refer to the institutional mandate that guides their work as in basic biological and ecological research. While environmental education activities and outreach activities with the adjacent communities have been part of their work, all other projects and individual more socio-ecological orientated research or the involvement with tourism developments through restoration projects are completely in the hand and good sense of the individually responsible researcher. Nonetheless, for the rest of the actors, governmental and private sector alike, the EB forms part of the RB Chamela-Cuixmala and is associated with the negative revision of several MIAs. Even some

researchers criticize openly the passivity of one of the main institutional actors and ask for more pro-active involvement with the local inhabitants and their economic activities. This conglomerate of FEC, EB and the different scientists working at the fieldstation generally are referred to as “conservationists with extreme opinions” (17 mentions from 34). While clearly some sub-groups of the scientists and individuals are actually working in tourism development related projects (mainly restoration) or in project related to integrative ecosystem management, also the group of purists exists, or, in the words of a developer: “There are people who don’t want one single leaf to be moved.”

Developers are no uniform group. However, the president of AECA who claims to speak for the luxury developers points out that “New investors prefer to invest elsewhere where no strong conservationist lobby exists”. This has led in the past to transfer investments to other parts of the country. Here, the FEC agrees with the AECA and sees their existence and public positioning together with the official decree of the Biosphere Reserve as “a hard nut to crack”. Considering the BR, tourism developers acknowledge it positively in terms of long-term planning security as in ecosystem protection and integrity stopping its conversion into agricultural land or massive hotel projects. Its presence now is widely seen and promoted as a “plus” for the exclusive and environmental friendly high-end tourist not only during the interviews with all tourism related actors but also in the closer examination of promotion material from Costalegre as well as from the luxury hotels..

5. Common base for sustainable tourism development?

Finally we chose the topic of conservation to illustrate prominent shared but conflictive understandings and interpretation of the other actors’ roles. Generally there is consensus that tourism is the only long-term viable option for the future of the region among all sectors. However, the specific understanding and execution of decision-making processes differ. Figure 10 illustrates these differences:

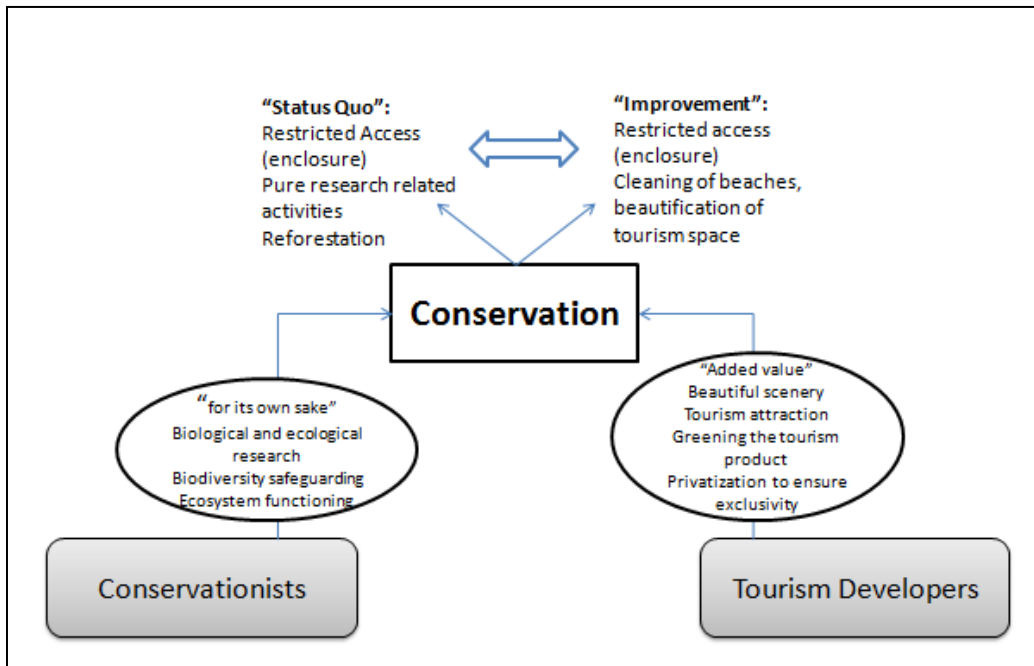


Figure 10: Conservationists' and tourism developers' motivations for ecosystem conservation and their definition and implications of it.

Traditional activities are “incompatible with the region” and moreover “economically very limited” (FEC). Tourism is seen as the most appropriate economic activity for the region as well in the Plan Use Plans as by several interviewees (governmental, conservationist and tourism sector), however not in its present “chaotic” “unplanned” form, nor “disguised real-estate projects”. For the FEC “Real-estate business is to buy, to sell and go away, this is a disaster. Tourism activity has to be more cautious as in not cause a collapse.” This is where they differ from the developers (Zafiro, Careyes) and the tourism secretary (Federal and regional). In their opinion, residents seek long-term involvement with the region whereas the tourism industry seeks the quick profit. All sectors agree unanimously that the future lies in ordered and planned development and in monitoring the tourism activity and its legislation.

The main preoccupation of the conservationist sector is the overall compatibility of conservation and tourism “there are a lot of very strict procedures [within applied conservation] and if you do it [conservation] with touristic goals is just doesn’t make sense any more” (conservation actors). In this case they were referring to the liberation of turtles, a prominent tourism and conservation activity at Costalegre. But on other occasion the selecting planting of decorative plants or the fumigation of undesired insects were

examples used to illustrate that “sustainable” or “green” tourism especially in the luxury segment always has to do with aesthetics and comfort and that the Tropical Dry Forest with its particularities is not always entirely tourist-friendly. Nonetheless, intact and pristine nature as an “added value” as the developers refer to it or like the conservationist phrase it: “What happens now in the region is that tourism capitalizes the environment. All but absolutely all tourism projects are advertising the Biosphere Reserve in their proximity. It is like a symbol “estandarte”. It is their way to show that they form part of the conservation, like saying they recognize its importance, but then they are incongruent in their actions” (FEC).

As the EB director puts it “how nice that they [the developers] do not permit people [local inhabitants; note of the author] entering their premises because they [the inhabitants; note of the author] don’t know how to take care of the environment, they are too filthy. [...] But on the other hand, what can I say about their management plans.... I evaluate them and what is happening there, I don’t see seriousness in these plans. For me, people are finally interested in economic gain and obviously they will respect some trees and scenery because as we know, the beauty of this place is based on the nature, thus they won’t change this to not to change the natural enchantment.” Other academics see potential synergies and promote the search for compatible projects between tourism and conservation, like fish shelters, “No-take-Zones” and “Floating marinas”. In this regard, a part from the general announced “reserves” within the grand coastal extensions of the current and future hotels, one of the developments, Zafiro already had officially registered in 2012 a 280,48ha natural reserve under the “Voluntary Conservation Program” of Conafor. This seems to be indicators that common points of departure among the different actors and sectors exist.

The main environmental planning instruments applied in Costalegre are different types of protected areas, Land Use Planning Programs and MIAs. MIAs are controversial among the actors: often, MIAs are understood as “just another paperwork” and not “in its potential for alienating and generate growth processes and regional development” (Semadet), however the developers explained their repeated effort and improvement of MIAs and mitigation measures “strict to the rules”, while for the conservationists (5/5) they lack congruence in their present form. Also the wished for cooperation from the developers in the elaboration of the MIAs for example by ChCxBR, or as other scientist (UdG) put it “a

more pro-active behavior from the conservationist sector” is not that easy as MIAs are done by specialist, generally biologist in consultancy firms.

For the developers and existing development it is clear to promote ordered development strictly to the existing law and rules. All about the complex and complicated tourism planning is “based on land use planning, and like this we have it visualized from our strategic work point” (Zafiro).

Governmental actors assert that one strategy to improve the tourism planning has to do with regulating existing hotels and the other strategy concerns are the new ones. “The new entrepreneurs acknowledge the importance of these planning instruments and their importance for the overall planning of the region” (Semadet). At the same time, Semadet asserts that the existing Land Use Planning Program is outdated and still not used as a basis for decision-making by all actors, for example not by the municipality. As some developers see it, the program is seen as limitation and not possibility.

Discussion

Before starting to discuss, we briefly resume the core findings of our research:

- 1) Discrepancies exist between formal governmental tourism planning pathways and the policy outcome.
- 2) While overall a lack of governance was perceived at Costalegre, some actors are commonly acknowledged (Regional Tourism Office, AECA, “Conservationists”) that differ however in their decision-making interests and power.
- 3) AECA as private sector actor is an example of how actors use creatively existing institutions and design new ones for their purposes which are thus highly relevant for further efficient planning of the region.
- 4) The identification of shared interests between tourism developers and conservationists gives clues to further research in order to propose concrete actions for local sustainable (tourism) planning.

Results of missing governance

Local governments, Municipalities, which have certain assets as in local knowledge or their closeness to actors, are meant to resume responsibility for sustainable tourism development (Ruhanen, 2013; SECTUR, n.d.; UNEP, 2003). However, in this case, La

Huerta Municipality has not done the step inherent in Agenda 21 programs from a mere service and infrastructure provider to a more active role in planning and coordination. This is the overall consensus of all interviewed actors, inclusive the mayor. Reasons are manifold. Additionally to the frequent changes of municipal administration (three years period) and difficult starts due to no-alignment with regional and state administration changes combined with no continuity in the directions' work (no passing of archives or work documents); often the municipal agents have little capacitating. Their mandate and more important genuine interest is restricted to their own municipality. This is apparent in the not existing, not reuniting or overall not functioning interdepartmental and interinstitutional boards on all levels. While the municipality has the entitlements but personal and resource shortcomings, the regional tourism manager has long experience he is restricted in his work by the lack of collaborators and his mandate. His role is to promote the destiny, not able to sanction situations. Missing entitlements to ensure law enforcement can be stated as limiting factor for effective governance.

Destination planning is really complex, which can lead a variety of public and private actors to be forced to collaborate in order to face (global) competition (Borges et al., 2014). Exhaustive research and interviews with experts at local, regional and federal level revealed no existent archive about submitted tourism projects and furthermore no common pathway for new proposals.

At Costalegre traditional formal decision-making processes have resulted to not be efficient or effective. While the new actors seem to have established themselves as institutions along Costalegre, their legitimacy and equity as well as their including of all actors remains questionable. Discussion is needed of how to make decision-making processes inclusive and efficient as well as equal and legitimate (Adger et al., 2003). The observed tendency from shifting initiatives and responsibilities from the public to the private sector has been documented also in the area of conservation, in the case of the privately managed Biosphere Reserve ChamelaCuixmala(Anna Pujadas & Castillo, 2007).

While the effectiveness of formal institutions has been questioned not only in the Mexican case but also and especially in the still sectorial approach of (not only) the Mexican government (Brenner, 2010), the recent mushrooming of new institutions does not seem able to help the integration of non-participative actors nor to decision-making. Actors reported little or nor participation in sector specific comitees (e.g. Ramsar Site Committees)

and the re-encounter with always the same actors in newly established gremia.

Creative use of public policy and planning instruments

Tourism is seen as only viable employment form among hotels of all classes, tourism developers and the conservationists. While opinion leaders state tourism's importance to retain the youth in the region, to improve the well-being of the region; for the conservationist the change of direct ecosystem dependence from agriculture and livestock herding to tourism is preferable. But both sectors agree: "Tourism is the only viable option for the region". However, in the opinion of hotel managers and tourism developers, the municipality does not do anything to promote further tourism development. Some go even so far to claim that tourism at present is virtually not existent (Zafiro). Only few (Las Alamandas) refer to the importance of existing tourism networks.

Another frequently mentioned topic is the importance of communication infrastructure, mainly the airports and renewal of the coastal highway.

Under the discussion about land-sharing or land-sparing, integration and separation of (agricultural) economic activities with conservation activities have been discussed for some time now (Abson et al., 2014). Especially in the light of sustainable tourism development, the question of combining tourism with traditional activities and ecosystem conservation is more actual than ever. At Costalegre covered partially by tropical dry forest, one of the world's most threatened ecosystems (Janzen, 1988), changing land use and cover is of particular interest to conservationists. To ensure conservation, several protected areas have been established: Ramsar Sites ChamelaCuixmala Biosphere Reserve and La Manzanilla Estuary. A number of beaches are also protected areas for turtle reproduction. On the other hand, planning instruments seek to promote sustainable land use. In Mexico, after environmental aspects started to find their way in legislation in the 1970s, it was until the 1980 that first environmental Land Use Planning Programs saw the light. Nowadays they are considered as an important environmental planning instrument with participative character (Rosete-Verges, 2006). The POET Costalegre from 1999 was one of the first participative ones. However, it caused irritation during the participative process (Magaña Virgen, 1992) as well as after publication as several actors, e.g. involved Municipalities, claim to not have been properly involved in the planning process (Pers. Com.). Land Use Planning Programs and Protected Areas are both normative environmental planning instruments and are directed to a sustainable land use. As with

other normative instruments, often their implementation is the problem. Also here at Costalegre, still the main perceived threat is the chaotic growth of tourism development at Costalegre..Here “environmental planning has not achieved to be translated from discursive into concrete and effective actions” (Lezma & Gaizbord, 2010: p. 13). The initial declaration of Costalegre as a “tourism corridor” to connect major tourism destinations and to provoke a trickle-down effect of tourism’s benefits as in employment and income generation has been proven not to be working at different other occasions (Torres & Momsen, 2005).

Haugland et al. (2011) propose that a tourism destination moreover has to be considered as a network whose success is dependent on the performance on its interacting actors. The challenge however is the complexity and the multilevel networks that have to be incorporated into an overall decision-making framework. Here, still more and improved understanding of the motivations of formal and informal actors are needed within all public private and civil society sector (Dredge, 2006). Network analysis can here be used not only to analyze relationships between actors but also to assess more deeply their interrelations (Presenza & Cipollina, 2010).

Often power relations still sway collaborative decision-making processes, and “conventional power holders” retain their power and influences, especially in emergent tourism settings (Reed, 1997:569). For the study region, it has been documented how the local elites, as in the owners of land extentions, play laws to maintain and/ or extend their influence and power or use to pursue their own interest (Ávila-García & Luna-Sánchez, 2013; Benseny, 2007). Especially evident was this through the Land Use Planning Program Costalegre from 1999. Conventional power players getting away with their plans, but accommodating other interests (conservation, locals). Thereby the importance of individual character of actors and the individual leadership potential has to be considered (Reed, 1997). Generally there is a need for systematic and research, but difficulty to abstract from local level due to uniqueness of municipalities (Reed, 1997).

Tourism development as best practice option? Bases for a shared tourism proposal.

The differing opinions of the actors groups regarding the best option for the future of Costalegre are shown in Figure 11.

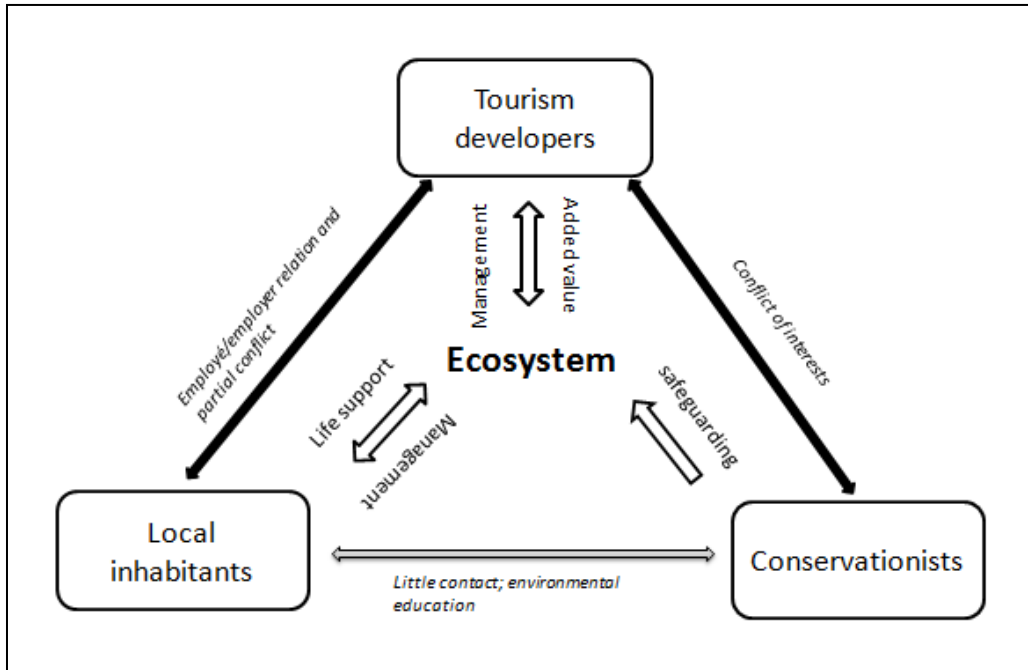


Figure 11: Significance of the ecosystem for the different actor groups and their interaction with the ecosystem and among the actors.

While the local inhabitants' life support depends to some extent directly on the ecosystems, for tourism the ecosystem mean "an added value" to their tourism product. The conservationists' interest lies exclusively on research in order to understand and safeguard the ecosystems. It is here where the phrase "nice things get privatized sooner or later" (quotation from tourism developer and academic) is to be applied for both conservationist and tourism developers. Both try to "safeguard" the ecosystem from the locals, only for different reasons. While conservationists accuse the tourism developers frequently of "green-washing" or a "Pintadita de verde" (academic), the conservationists are accused of not really caring for the cause but to act because of private interest as in securing their privacy. However, both parties take action as path dependency and limited scope of action explains the influence of actors and governmental agencies in settings (Röhring & Gailing, 2012); "The government has proven its absence for two reasons, one for ignorance [...] on the other hand they don't want to participate because it is political cost, every time they try they get themselves burned. [...] Here, authority doesn't exist" (developer).

Agreement exists also in a changed role of the actors: "Before, they wanted to kill the developer; today they build him a statue. [...] And the same with the biologists, nowadays

they even advise the developers” (developer). Essentially, because the common practice among all actors is to overcome the lack of governance or education through privatization and the idea “nice things get eventually privatized”

As shown by Riensche et al. (Cap. 4), in Costalegre, like in many other similar contexts, tourism is mainly a complementary income source for the local population. Middle and lower class hotel owners saw: “There is no problem with tourism and traditional economic activities at all”. “On the contrary” were common (15/16) answers to this question. Tourism sector (7/10) and conservationists (4/5) sustain that “Agriculture is not really important [...] there are less and less farmers, but what is really important are the lands that are going to be touristic and this is where the problem lies, where people are going to fight over.” Nevertheless, it has been documented that tension because of development arose and still arises (Avila-Garcia & Sánchez-Luna, 2012; Ramírez Corona, 2013) mainly through the dislocation of the fishery and related beach restaurant that were closed down. The opinion of several developers can be resumed with the AECA president’s words: “We know that conservation works but if there is no generation of income it won’t work because. But if the reserve disappears the inhabitants will be miserable. [...] You need to redefine the economy and giving people employment is primordial.”

One recurrent solution to solve complex problem settings seems to be the so-called mushrooming of actors and institutional arrangements through the creation of new intersectorial and multilevel governance agencies, as happened recently with the Watershed Councils in the study area to improve their management (Flores-Díaz et al., 2014). Yet, as the Costalegre Tourism Representative puts it: “When they call for participation, always the same actors show up. [...] and if the boards do not work on municipal level, how do you expect them to work at the regional level?” More institutions do not lead necessarily to more or broader participation, or to better policy outcome (Newig & Fritsch, 2009). Especially in a complex and multisectorial topic like tourism, the complexity of involved actors and regulation is immense, as has been shown throughout this analysis. Moreover, in several topics as for example coastal or beach management, scholars already claim overregulation (Lawless et al., 2010).

Even though the tourism developers “sometimes stretch the law” (Mayor) and in generally are not taking into account the local authorities and their plans, the municipality welcomes

their presence especially “for the social progress and investment options”. All conservationists agree that well-planned and surveyed tourism development is the only long-term viable option for the local socio-ecological system. Although the specific opinion differ from academic to academic and while some are more concerned about the extension of grassland for livestock herding, others are preoccupied about turtle conservation programs. Overall the current situation of price markets for cattle and the low income from fishery are not looking well in the future. This causes economic problems and migration. Tourism is thus seen as an option to hold the youth in the region. AECA has been identified as key leader or “cohesive element” for tourism planning in Costalegre.

In the discussion about who decides about the future of Costalegre, there is a notable absence of local or international NGOs. Despite of closed beach accesses, the knowledge about a growing number of nonregistered tourism premises, no movement has arisen. This could be explained partially because of a certain economic and emotional dependence of the inhabitants to the former and current tourism developments (Riensch et al. en preparation, see Section 4). On the other hand huge extensions of the coast have been private for a very long time. Since most localities and Ejidos are of very recent creation (1950 to 1970s) (Castillo, Magaña, Pujadas, Martínez, & Godínez, 2005) and the concerning parts of the coast including their beaches have thus been “private”, only in a few cases where tourism developers recently closed the access to popular local beaches the inhabitants rebel. These are the cases of Tenacatita Beach and El Rebalsito and Negritos Beach and Chamela. While in Tenacatita the local inhabitants and foreign residents organized movements and achieved to re-open the beach in 2016, in Chamela the inhabitants were relocated and are in the process of integrating them as a “typical village” according to the Zafiro tourism development.

Exceptions or intents of citizen’s organizations exist only at a very local scale for example the beach committees in La Manzanilla or Tenacatita that also promote environmental education or organize help after natural disasters (hurricanes Jova 2011 and Patricia 2015). Interestingly, common to all of these initiatives was the presence of external agents as in Ex-pats organizations or Foundations of philanthropy of the Luxury hotels. Noteworthy is the absence of bigger national or international NGOs. This could perhaps be partially explained by the strong conservationist lobby with the administrators of the Chamela-Cuixmala Biosphere Reserve and FEC, as some interviewees pointed out.

While for one of the old European family leader the actor constellation and their particular interests seem “simple and straight forward”, our in-depth analysis of the actors’ arena reveals them to be very dispersed.

On the first view a sparsely populated region with strong conservationist lobby and some important luxury hotel and real estate development that has been in the hand and under the vigilance of all other longtime residents, might be analyzed very straight forward. Albeit when trying to figure out why recently several tourism projects have been approved with or without the consent of these longtime residents, the analyses gets more interesting and less clear. Partially the development could be explained through the Land Use Planning Programing and official development plans that are coming to light right now, some years after the PROCEDE (Fernández-Moya, 2012), as the strategic planner of the tourism secretary pointed out “it will be the next years that will show what the amendment of the constitutional article will bring through intensified development”. Local power plays are the other half of decision making. At nearer analysis, while now all the old European families are generally on the same side regarding conservation and to promote sustainable tourism, in the details as in exact size of tourism development they still differ.

It is not always easy to distinguish between a developer and a resident or a resident and governmental agent as generally one person has various roles. E.g. one of the current main developers is at the same time the president of AECA. Also within the conservationist sector are different groups and opinions more though because scientist might work at EB or FEC but are individuals and entitled to their world vision. Thus, some scientists chose to cooperate with the developers in restoration projects while others stick to the institutional opinion of not viability of the said project and thus not to cooperate. Clearly, to the overall public these individual positions are not visible. Several actors, especially of the tourism sector, however agree on the necessity of a more pro-active compartment of academia in general. One of their propositions is “not after emitting an MIA but to cooperate in the elaboration of the MIA.” However, this could result difficult, as seen by one scientist: “Developers contract scientist approved by them to conduct the MIA, depending on their interests. [...] Sometimes they contain a lot of information without evidence. The science beyond MIAs is often very poor.” Tourism development does not to seem to follow regulation: “And then, even if it [our scientific opinion] is backed up with scientific evidence

and references and even the support from Conanp, [to not accept a MIA] the projects are approved” (conservation sector).

All in all, while the cooperation and a more “pro-active” involvement of the conservation sector might seem evident and wishful, it seems not to be that easy to set it in practice. For now, several developments have their resident biologist (e.g. Turtle sanctuary Careyes), private reserves (Zafiro, Cuixmala) and a scientific restoration project of Zafiro is ongoing. However, no general cooperation has been achieved and while luxury hotels and developers managed to form their association (AECA) to articulate their interests and create synergies, this still seems far from possible considering all actors in La Huerta Municipality and less overall Costalegre.

Limitations

Due to the reluctance of some key actors, not all points of view are presented based on directly obtained data (Las Rosadas, Four Seasons El Tamarindo, Cuixmala Estate and the Coastal Defense Board). Furthermore, not all actors who theoretically should have been present at the study site were actually working and thus neither available for statements or interviews.

Generally, the actors were very cautious to share their information and grant access to their premises. The regional tourism office Costalegre was one main informant and could have acted as a gate-keeper. However in most cases the representative’s opinion was corroborated through other actors or through follow-up interviews with the concerned actors.

Conclusion and Outlook

On a more applied point of view, this paper is the first to document commonly shared goals and discrepancies among the main actors involved in the interplay of conservation and tourism development in the socio-ecological system of Costalegre. The dialogue and interaction between actor groups seemed often inhibited by negative perceptions about the intention of the other party which resulted in reluctance to share information among actors.

As seen in this study, tourism development outcome can be dependent on the leadership of certain key actors combined with the creative use of exiting normative planning

instruments (Giest & Howlett, 2014; Stolarick, Denstedt, Donald, & Spencer, 2010). Further research is needed to help finding legitimacy and accountability for these new institutions and to determine their role and interaction within the established actor groups, especially with the local government.

While differing interests might not always result compatible in the end, this result might be a call for action to all actor groups to combine their resources and energy to shape the future of Costalegre together. As pointed out by Presenza & Cipollina (2010), the willingness to cooperate comes back to the perception of the intention of the other involved actors. In this particular case of high-end luxury tourism developments combined with potentially environmentally aware clientele and the intact TDF as an added value to the tourism product, we see potential for a future best practice example of how to combine sustainably tourism, conservation and improved well-being for the local population.

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Capítulo 4

Local communities' expectations and livelihood changes due to tourism development: towards a participatory assessment

Target journal: Journal of Sustainable Tourism

Abstract

In the quest for sustainable tourism development, it is of utmost importance to acknowledge and incorporate the views of all stakeholders in order to understand and better plan projects that secure particularly local people's livelihoods. While tourism research has paid a lot of attention to study the social impacts of tourism on host communities and the attitudes of host populations towards tourism development at different stages of development, most of this research has been mono-sectorial and mainly of quantitative nature.

The inherent limitations thus include missing explanatory capacity to capture the manifold interactions between tourism and residents' livelihoods and well-being. Moreover, results could be more convincing when including external factors like the environment or a participatory livelihood assessment that documents and reveals the actors' perspective. Using a multiple methods research approach, we carried out a participatory workshop with 26 local residents and conducted then a survey (N=125) with residents of three exemplary localities at Costalegre on the Mexican Pacific Coast complemented by two interviews with local opinion leaders.

Results showed that the few conflicts resulting from tourism did not influence to much local people's overall positive attitude towards tourism development, more though, tourism was considered as of low impact and as compatible with traditional livelihoods. The villages were identified as "touristic", tourism has always been present, even if only at nearby places (beaches, touristic sites). Tourism played important roles in income generation and for emotional attachment in an area with overall happy inhabitants with a strong sense of community attachment. The opinions about current and future tourism projects are positive with only slight concerns about the prospect of having too much tourism in the future and independent from the level of contact or exposure to tourism. For the future, employment, income generation, and community infrastructure development are associated with tourism, while asking to respect traditional livelihoods.

Through its participatory approach, this study extends the existing literature about tourism's impact on residents' well-being. Our findings provide important clues about how local people's perceptions may enhance land use planning that promote a transit towards sustainable livelihoods, ecosystem conservation and regional social equity.

Keywords: local tourism impact, wellbeing, sustainable livelihoods, Costalegre, Mexico

1) Introduction

Tourism, especially when it is nature-based, is often seen as a multiple purpose tool; as driver of economic development and social progress which will contribute to the well-being of host populations especially in rural marginalized areas (Andereck, Valentine, Knopf, & Vogt, 2005; Tao & Wall, 2009). At the same time, it is seen as a possible advocate for preserving natural habitats and ecosystem conservation (Bieling, 2009) and is thus a favorite solution in the search for sustainable tourism development (Poudel, Nyaupane, & Budruk, 2014; UNEP & UNWTO, 2005).

However, as tourism is a complex and trans-sectoral activity that does not happen isolated from other activities (Tao & Wall, 2009), it often competes for space and resource use with different stakeholders and can therefore provoke conflicts between economic activities and/ or between members of different social groups (Gerritsen, 1998; Milcu, Sherren, Hanspach, Abson, & Fischer, 2014). In the case of rural producers such as farmers or fishermen, tourism development, despite of its transformational or modernization potential (Mbaiwa, 2011; Stolarick et al., 2010), it seldom replaces completely the existing traditional activities, moreover it complements or diversifies them (Tao & Wall, 2009).

The relationship between tourism and wellbeing has become a more popular topic in recent years (Nawijn & Mitas, 2012), using the concepts of well-being (McCabe & Johnson, 2013; Rogers et al., 2012; Muzaffer Uysal, Sirgy, Woo, & Kim, 2016) and sustainable livelihoods (Scoones, 1998, 2009; Shen, Hughey, & Simmons, 2012) to research the perspectives of host population towards tourism. However, the use of mainly quantitative designs to measure tourism impact on host populations (Naidoo & Sharpley, 2015; Ozturk, Ozer, & Çaliskan, 2015) limits the in-depth understanding and mainly addresses only tourism's general impact on livelihoods (Aref, 2003). Furthermore, despite perceptions about real and perceived impacts of tourism in host communities being a popular research topic in tourism studies since the 1980s (Ap, 1992; Deery et al., 2012), a search in Google Scholar revealed that this is not true for residents' expectations (73.400 vs. 1.030.000 results, searching "community, tourism" and either "impact" or "expectation", March 3th 2016, 4pm).

As mentioned, the social impacts of tourism have been primarily studied through quantitative research approaches which limits their ability to explain - and not only describe in detail fragmented issues - the interdependence between tourism and host populations (Deery et al., 2012). To prevent superficial and partial understanding, and in order to assess tourism-livelihood interactions as an interactive whole in an integrative way overcoming disciplinary boundaries, its study as a complex adaptive system has been proposed (Farrell & Twining-Ward, 2004; Tao & Wall, 2009). Also the incorporation of macro-factors like the environment is recommended (Nawijn & Mitas, 2012).

Based on these ideas, the present study aims at documenting and analyzing the visions, opinions and expectations of local rural inhabitants of the Costalegre region on the Pacific coast of Mexico in relation to tourism development. We use a qualitative social research approaches with a participatory assessment of livelihoods to examine the views and perspectives of different stakeholders in the Costalegre region towards their well-being in relation to tourism. This with the end to contribute to the extension of qualitative and participatory tourism impact research (Deery et al., 2012; Poudel et al., 2014).

The Costalegre region on the Pacific coast of Mexico represents an interesting scenario to analyze the interaction and interdependence between tourism and local livelihoods. While the scenic beauty had attracted foreigners and tourism developers since various decades (Tello, 2012), tourism development had been slow until very recently (Castillo et al, 2009). In 2006 a total of six important tourism projects were proposed, worrying the Biosphere Reserve managers as well scientists working at the Chamela Biological Field Station. Between the different interests and already existing conflicts between conservationists and tourism developers (Boege et al., 2010; Castillo et al., 2007; Tello-Díaz, 2014), there are also the interests of local inhabitants, mainly composed of “campesinos” (peasants belonging to Ejidos) and people living in smaller localities. While their role for ecosystem management is known and documented (Schroeder & Castillo, 2013), there is also history of failure to involucrate them into planning and decision-making (Pujadas, 2003; Pujadas & Castillo, 2007). In this situation, it results extremely relevant to document and understand the perspectives of local inhabitants regarding tourism development. Our specific research questions were:

- a) How do local inhabitants see the relationship of tourism with their traditional livelihoods?

- b) What is the perceived role of tourism (present and past) for the residents/ local people' well-being?
- c) What are the local people's opinions about current and future tourism projects?
- d) What are the expectations of the local people regarding the new tourism projects?
- e) Are there differences between the three selected localities about their opinions and expectations considering their specific histories?

The following **conceptual references** were found as essential to design and conduct the present investigation.

Well-being: To determine an individual's well-being, a variety of subjective and objective measures beyond mere economic indicators are available and necessary (Forgeard, Jayawickreme, Kern, & Seligman, 2011; Stiglitz, Sen, & Fitoussi, 2009). The concepts of "quality of life" (Costanza et al., 2007; Stiglitz et al., 2009), "happiness" (Veenhoven, 2013), and "subjective wellbeing (Rogers et al., 2012) are all used - even interchangeably (Diener & Suh, 1997) - to study human well-being. These multiple terms and conceptualizations (Forgeard et al., 2011; Raibley, 2012; Rogers et al., 2012) vary across cultures and socioeconomic gradients (MEA, 2003; Nawijn & Mitas, 2012; OECD, 2013). There is widespread agreement that subjective indicators are as important as objective indicators in measuring a multi-dimensional concept like well-being (Clark & McGillivray, 2007). Most authors, however, agree that subjective measures are much more difficult to use, both in terms of scale and context. In this study, we will use the term well-being and define it as "the subjective enjoyment of life" (Nawijn & Mitas, 2012) which we will assess in relation to tourism.

Sustainable Livelihoods: The term and concept of "livelihoods" refers to the diverse and complex interactions of activities of rural people to gain a living (Chambers, 1995; Scoones, 1998, 2009). In order to understand the role of tourism beyond mere employment option, this concept seems apt as it considers employment as only one part of the complex livelihood of rural communities (Chambers, 1995). Here, the term livelihood is used to guide the description and analysis of the case study's localities beyond mere demographic data.

Perceptions: The support or attitude towards tourism by the host population can be

explained by the perception of tourism's real impact (Jurowski, Uysal, & Williams, 1997). Perception in its simplest definition is the way people think about and/ or understand phenomena (www.meriam-webster.com). To understand the perceptions of local communities regarding livelihoods and their factors of change, and to include them into decision-making processes is especially important as communities have a key role in ecosystem management (Durand, 2008; Toledo et al., 2002; Toledo, 2010).

2) Research design and methods

Study area

The study area was conducted in three specifically chosen localities of La Huerta Municipality in the State of Jalisco on the Pacific Coast as can be seen in Figure 1.

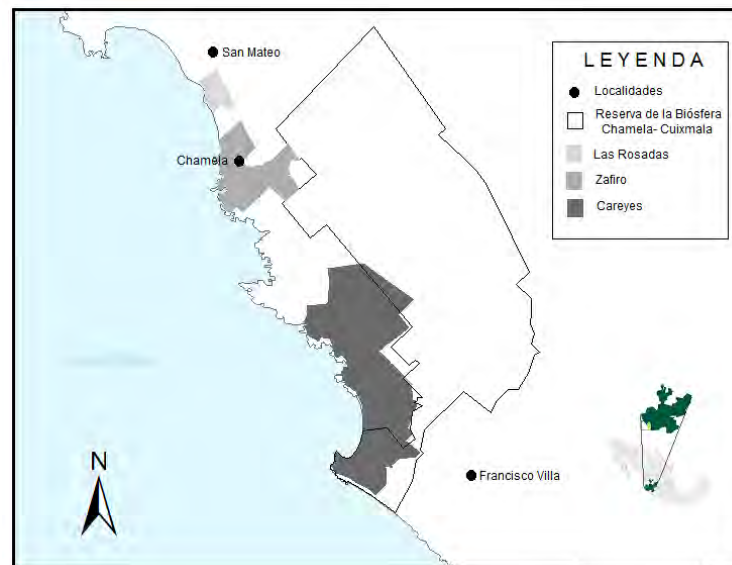


Figure 1: Study area showing the sites of survey application, main tourism developments and location of relevant beaches. Own compilation based on MIA Las Rosadas, MIA Zafiro and RAN 2012.

The municipality La Huerta is part of a dormant touristic corridor between two major touristic sites (Manzanillo and Puerto Vallarta) and hosts small hotels in some rural localities as well as a few international renowned high-end tourism facilities which were opened since the 1970s. Club Mediterranée Playa Blanca was the pioneer hotel (1974) that after having been in operation for nearly 30 years closed in 2001. Hotel Plaza Careyes was the second built and although closed down for remodeling in the 1990s. The former

hotel area known as Costa Careyes remains an important luxury housing community and offers high-end tourism in private villas. While overall development has been slow and of little impact until today (Riensch et al., 2015), In recent years, new tourism projects such as Zafiro Las Rosadas and Rancho Don Andrés may alter the whole area known as Costalegre. Nevertheless, the model of tourism development has a history of provoking conflicts between social and conservationist actors (Avila-Garcia & Sánchez-Luna, 2012; Maass et al., 2005; Tello-Díaz, 2012). The importance of tourism in some coastal villages of the area has been documented recently (Maldonado et al., 2015), but no comprehensive studies of the local communities' expectation and opinions exist. Thus, three localities with different degrees of exposure to tourism and tourism related activities were chosen for an in-depth analysis: 1) **Francisco Villa**, the village with the strongest connection with tourism and tourism related real estate through proximity (to Costa Careyes) and through providing workforce. The village is mainly urbanized and its inhabitants work in the third sector (smaller businesses, construction and other services). 2) **Chamela** is a small locality that can be described as heavily exposed to emergent tourism development. Chamela was founded in the 1950-60s as a community of saltmine workers that settled down on lent land. The community grew and in 2001 there were 22 households dedicated to fishing activities having also some small restaurants on the locality's beach (Martínez-Hernández, 2003 and INEGI 2001). The community was relocated in 2006 by the emergent tourism development "Zafiro" and deprived of their coastal lands and beach facilities. Nevertheless, the new Zafiro development donated land to the community in the proximity of its premises which allowed the community to settle down. Finally, 3) **San Mateo** is an Ejido founded in 1967 with an important urbanized centre. 41% of its population works in the tertiary sector, as in service related activities such as construction businesses, repair shops, besides working in livestock production and temporary agriculture activities (INEGI 2010). The ejido was adjacent to the sea but lost this access recently because it sold land to the real-estate and tourism development "Las Rosadas" which is currently under construction.

Research Design and Methods

We documented and analyzed local inhabitants' perspectives through a mixed-methods approach (Newing, 2011b). We chose an interpretative research design to be able to gain deep insight of the social constructs of reality of the study subjects (Denzin & Lincoln, 2013). Fieldwork took place between 2012 and 2015. Figure 2 illustrates the used social

research methods and how these depended on each other, thus allowing us to generate more specific research questions based on the obtained data as well as to triangulate the emerging results (Newing, 2011b).

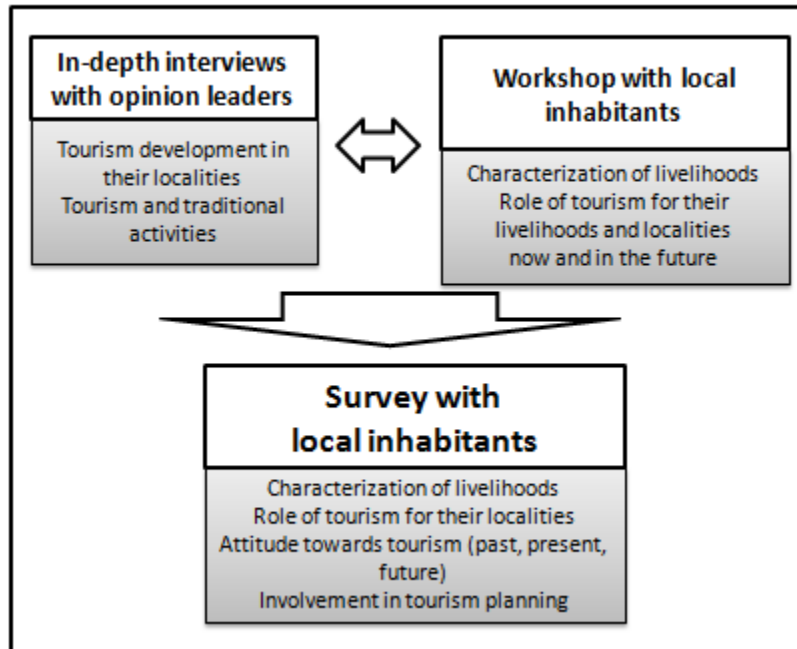


Figure 2: Research design in three steps. Informal interviews lead to the choice and general design of the case study. In depth interviews and a workshop about the future of Costalegre with scenario elaboration helped to deepen the understanding of the livelihoods and to find specific topics that were then used in the survey conducted about tourism’s relationship with local livelihoods and well-being.

In-depth interviews

We conducted informal interviews with local inhabitants and two in-depth interviews: the municipal agent and the president of the fishermen’s cooperative (relevant opinion leaders) in the rural locality of Chamela.

Workshop

Based on preliminary findings and relevant topics that emerged from the interviewees, we organized a workshop named “The future of our coast” (October 25th 2014) with 26 participants from 11 families from the localities Chamela, San Mateo, and Francisco Villa. The main objective of this participatory workshop was to document the perspectives of members of the localities about their actual and potential tourism offer. It was organized as focus groups per locality and consisted of four guided activities. To start, the participants were asked to identify per family the different income sources through assigning 20 beans to the prepared following categories: agriculture, livestock production, fishery, subsistence agriculture, employment, own business, governmental help, and remittance (See Figure

3).

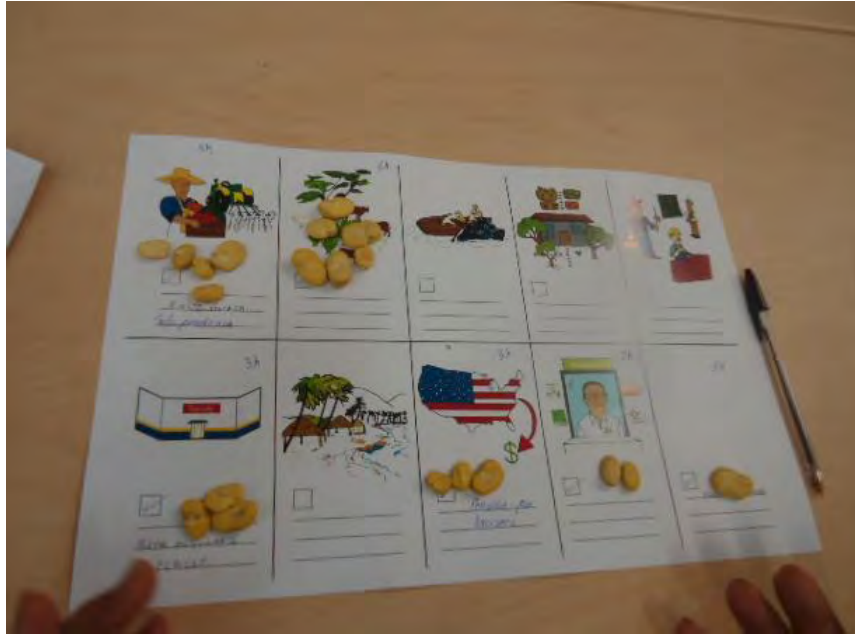


Figure 3: First workshop activity: Identification of the composition of the family income and assessment of economic importance through the collocation of beans.

The next activity consisted in identifying existing and possible touristic attractions of their localities; it was conducted in three groups for the corresponding localities. The groups not only identified possible attractions but also negative factors detracting tourism. The groups presented their results in a plenary session which concluded in a discussion of the whole group. The final activity then consisted in developing “Future Scenarios” (Priess & Hauck, 2014) and to identify the limiting factors, the needed key dynamics and driving forces that lead or not to the desired futures identified (Kosow & Gassner, 2008). To get started, each group developed one “ideal scenario” to show where they would want their locality to be in 5 years if there were no limitations. Then participants were asked to imagine their locality in five years if everything continued the same way as present time which was the “status quo scenario” or reality check. The comparison between both developed scenarios allowed the identification of the limiting factors or driving forces that hindered or limited the realization of the ideal scenario. All scenarios were presented and discussed in a plenary session to allow the exchange of ideas among the three.

Survey

To characterize more in detail the relationship of the local inhabitants with current and future tourism, a survey was administered face-to-face in the three same localities (October 2015). With the household as a sample unit, the survey was administered to one

adult family member. The sampling followed the guidelines of a probability sampling (Newing, 2011c), using self-created maps and applying the survey to all houses in Chamela and every third house in San Mateo and Francisco Villa.

Questions and the categories constructed as answers were developed out of core findings of the workshop and enriched by literature results about tourism and host community's relationships (Andereck et al., 2005; Deery et al., 2012), livelihood assessment (Scoones, 1998, 2009) and measurement of subjective wellbeing (OECD, 2013; Stiglitz et al., 2009). Its five main sections comprised: 1) demographic data and livelihood components, 2) perception of local history and actual tourism, 3) personal relation to and opinion about tourism, 4) personal and community's life and well-being, 5) relation and opinion of future tourism projects.

A pilot survey was conducted which included statements with the Likert Scale format but it revealed difficulties for respondents. Statements were thus simplified to only choose between options of "yes", "no" and "I don't know", as for example, addressing statements such as "The new projects are taking into account the local's needs". The final survey's design included close-ended and open-ended questions. Open-ended question such as "If you were to write a letter to the promoters of the new tourism projects, what would you like to say?" and "Do you think there could be many tourism development built here?" were added to give respondents the opportunity to freely express wishes, fears or thoughts regarding the already mentioned projects under development (see Appendix).

Table 1 resumes the information of data collection for the three localities under study.

Table 1: Overview over the localities under study with numbers of workshop participants and people surveyed. Compilation based on fieldwork.

Name	Households INEGI (2010)	Workshop participants	Surveys	Interviews
Chamela	27	8	22 (4 pilot study)	Municipal agent President of fishermen's cooperative
Francisco Villa (F. Villa)	200	10	60	
San Mateo	130	8	39	

Data analysis

Qualitative data from open-ended questions in interviews, the survey as well as information from the workshop in the form of charts, drawn maps, images, and tables constructed by participants were analyzed with the help of Atlas.ti software (Version 7). The data was codified, and recurrent themes and common patterns identified to then construct narratives and explanatory diagrams in order to allow the construction of theory (Charmaz, 2005; Strauss, 1995). Descriptive statistics was also used to analyze and present quantitative results in order to complement the qualitative data.

3) Results

The results are organized following the five research questions (See last paragraph of the introduction). Results from the workshop and the survey are presented followed by the results obtained from the two interviews conducted with two local authorities in the community of Chamela.

The inhabitants' perspectives: their livelihood at present and expectations for the future

The three participating localities in the workshop included Chamela, a locality close to an emergent tourism development (Zafiro) where fishing is the main economic activity, the Ejido San Mateo that is close to a future development (Las Rosadas) and has a well developed urban centre with a dominating service sector. Finally Francisco Villa, a locality with longstanding history in service provision for luxury tourism developments. As mentioned earlier, a total of 11 families (26 people) participated in the workshop. It should be noted that the assessment of the family's income in the three communities revealed a complex compositions of up to 6 different sources. Formal employment was the most important income source throughout all localities.

Role of tourism

Focusing on tourism, a first result of the workshop is that the inhabitants do not see their localities as touristic sites *per se*. However, they identified various possible touristic attractions in their localities as shown in Table 2. At the same time, also negative factors were mentioned.

Table 2: Participative identification of existing positive and negative tourism factors of the three localities.

Locality	Existing and possible touristic attractions
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	Positive Factors	Negative Factors
San Mateo	Man-built sites General services Nearby beaches View	Water shortage Sewage problems Insecurity Limited investment capacity
Francisco Villa	Natural sites Nearby tourist sites Inhabitants	Missing training and governmental aid Insecurity Sewage problems
Chamela	Basic touristic services Organization of inhabitants	Closed beach access Missing touristic services Lack of access to best beaches
Consensus	Natural attractions Disposition of inhabitants Nearness of tourism sites	State and lack of basic public services Missed opportunities in developing own projects

While the detailed analysis showed a few site-specific differences in the existence of man-built sites of interests (the church in San Mateo for instance) or existing basic touristic infrastructure (housing options in F. Villa and San Mateo, guided tours in Chamela), the group discussion revealed an overall consensus about the relevance of pristine environments such as beaches and rivers, the closeness to nearby developed tourism sites (Costa Careyes and Cuixmala, see Figure 2) and the disposition of the inhabitants (their organization and serviceability) as main positive factors to attract tourism.

Consensus was also reached about the state of the actual urban image of all three localities with missing public infrastructure and services on the one hand and lacking own initiatives and/ or governmental aid and training as main reason to why the possible points of attraction did not enable the transformation of these sites into touristic places. San Mateo's inhabitants stressed on the availability of freshwater: "For tourism development, we need water and as you know there is little water" Moreover, some wells already show problems with salinization and the inhabitants don't have enough water "it may be enough for the inhabitants but not enough for tourism". People from F. Villa mentioned also missing water supply infrastructure.

Livelihoods – now and in the future

The inhabitants assessed their livelihoods through the development of future scenarios. Figure 4 illustrates the process for one locality:



Figure 4: Illustration of the scenarios that were elaborated in focus groups. Here F. Villa's "Ideal Scenario" on the right and the "Glum Scenario" on the left. The scenarios were elaborated to discuss hopes and plans of the community and to discuss limiting factors.

The analysis of the ideal scenarios revealed the following main results: Concerning the "ideal scenarios", all three localities hoped to have clean environments, especially rivers, followed by better education (qualified teachers) and community infrastructure (better school buildings, library, recreation spaces) (Chamela, F. Villa). The need to safeguard their communities and the community-owned lands was expressed; San Mateo claimed "no more selling of Ejido lands", as well as to respect existing laws and agreements (San Mateo and Chamela). All localities wanted to improve their urban image through the construction of recreation facilities like parks or plazas, paved roads and sidewalks, and freshly painted houses and the improvement of public services (especially sewage systems and water management) and public transport (F. Villa, San Mateo). People expressed not to be entirely satisfied with their income produced by their traditional activities: "Livestock production means a lot of work, needs a lot of supplies, there are no holidays, and it is chicken feed." (San Mateo) In Chamela, people expressed to want to modernize the fishing activity and invest in fishery (oyster farms for example) because traditional fishery doesn't allow them to make a living. The establishment of local markets with fair prices was also mentioned.

However, when the participants were asked to do a reality check, as in evaluating whether this ideal scenario was likely to be achieved, all three localities identified important limiting factors that hindered the achievement of their ideal scenarios. Among the limiting factors

all localities agreed on:

- 1) Lack of governmental support (especially from the municipality); not providing information and guidance as well as not providing basic public services.
- 2) Problems with the internal organization of inhabitants in the communities (lack of fulfilling and respecting agreements, lacking responsibility, accountancy, bad administration of public goods).
- 3) Lack of economic resources resulting of: lacking dignified and well-paid employment options, the benefits not staying within the local community, missing preparation (no qualified teachers).

In a concluding way, the livelihood assessment showed that the inhabitants were happy with their current ways of life which are well rooted within their communities, expressed a high attachment to their living space and conditions as well as the surrounding ecosystems. The family income is composed of different income sources of which the formal employment is the most (economically spoken) important one. The people are proud and motivated to further improve their localities especially to make them more attractive for possible tourism and in less expressed way also to develop activities to attract tourists such as ecotourism activities like boat tours. Interestingly, no participant proposed to invest in tourism establishments (e.g. to open a hotel), plans were more related to open own businesses related to construction or auto repair or smaller businesses such as groceries or clothing stores.

The inhabitants identified important areas of improvement in order to progress their livelihoods, high lightening missing governmental support, internal organization problems and overall a difficult economic situation resulting from missing education and employment options. Also, no inhabitant showed directly interest in partaking in tourism business, only extending existing boat rides were mentioned.

Relationship between tourism and livelihoods

However, in the discussion several negative consequences of tourism were revealed that especially occur if tourism isn't well planned as happened in the past because of missing involvement of authorities in tourism development and the lack of negotiation between inhabitants, authorities and developers (F. Villa). San Mateo suffers already from "chaotic growth" caused by bad planning, which is why they are organizing their own communal land use plan. "There are two options: either you don't grow and don't get any tourism or

you grow and get also its negative consequences” (San Mateo). The role of the Chamela Biological Fieldstation was identified as a main obstacle to further tourism; they explained this attitude from scientists and conservationists: “because of lack of understanding of the people’s realities”. (F. Villa)

In relation to the workshop, the participants acknowledged that the mixture of group exercises among members of the same localities together with plenary session with everyone expressing ideas helped to get to know the point of views of the inhabitants of the other villages and to find common interests and concerns. “It is good to get to know the opinions and needs of the younger generation” (San Mateo). The need to cooperate was expressed “Together, we have to bring the region forward for the sake of our children.” (Chamela). And also “We have to organize ourselves and not wait for the government to help us, then it is possible to change.” (F. Villa).

These first impressions about the relationship between the inhabitants and existing and future tourism development were incorporated into the survey, whose results are presented in the next paragraphs.

Detailed analysis of inhabitants’ perspectives about past, current and future tourism development

Description of the study population

A total of 125 households were surveyed in the three localities: 39 in San Mateo, 64 in Francisco Villa, and 22 in Chamela. More women than men answered the survey representing the family views (62%). The biggest part of the respondents corresponded to the age range between 36 and 50 years old (36%) followed by an important part (22%) of older people (> 60 years old). The majority (70%) of the population was not native to their current residence and was born in other parts of the Jalisco state or adjacent states (Michoacán, Colima). However, several inhabitants arrived already as small children or babies: of these 70% nearly all people (92%) have been living at their current locality for more than 20 years (40%), or even more years (55,7%). Over half the population (57%) did not course or finished primary school, thus having a low level of formal education in the three communities.

Considering economic activities; in Chamela 73% of the economically active population (59%) works in the first economic sector, mainly as fishermen. In San Mateo it is 23% and

in F. Villa only 15% of their respective economically active populations. While in Chamela 81% of the women are housewives, in San Mateo and Villa only 50% mainly stays at home.

Relationship between tourism, future tourism development and people's livelihoods

Characterization of inhabitants' livelihoods

To extend the livelihood assessment, the following sub-sections were used in the survey:

1) subjective well-being with regard to happiness and overall state, 2) community attachment and 3) general living conditions and recreation opportunities.

1) Well-being:

People expressed to be happy throughout the three localities (97,2%). Table 3 shows what people like most about their places of living. Notions were not different among the localities and are thus presented for the whole study population surveyed.

Table 3: Notions of happiness. N= 125. Most frequent answers are shown in bold. Various enumerations were possible.

Notions of happiness	Absolute number	% total answers
Calmness	61	48,8
Village and general living conditions	26	20,8
Environment (recreation, contemplation, scenery)	22	17,6
Having beaches and ocean nearby	15	12
General disposition and kindness of inhabitants	15	12
Water availability	9	7,2
No theft, troubles	5	4
Having family members close	4	3,2
"It's beautiful."	2	1,6

Furthermore, people reported throughout the localities to feel healthy (82%) and to have access to medical care (96%).

2. Community attachment

The community attachment is evaluated through the statements shown in Table 4:

Table 4: Assessment of community attachment. The statements are shown as used in the survey. Some results are given as total percentage for all three localities; when necessary the specific locality is specified. Interesting results below/ above average are highlighted in bold and further explained in the following paragraphs.

Statement	F. Villa		San Mateo		Chamela		Total
	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	

Inhabitants help each other.	21	29%	50	95%	74	78%	80%
My locality has grown in the past years.	19	34%	52	86%	87	81%	84%
The locality grew due to the arrival of people from the outside.	19/52	37%	26/38	68%	4/20	20%	84%
"I feel informed about major decisions concerning the village."	24/62	39%	21/43	49%	18/22	82%	60%
"I have been consulted in these decisions."	34/62	55%	21/43	49%	7/22	32%	50%
People assist to information meetings.	17/61	27%	11/43	26%	22/22	100%	78%
"I take active part in a community organization."	13/62	21%	11/43	26%	10/22	45%	29%
Festivities and village life are alive.				90%			
The price of living is fair.	28/62	45%	21/43	49%	16/22	72%	53%

The perception of unity and helpfulness among community members varies between the three localities: it is very low in F. Villa (29%) and very high in San Mateo (95%). Whereas F. Villa did not grow ("we are stuck in between the river and Zapata, we have nowhere to grow" survey respondent in F. Villa), both other localities acknowledged their expansion. Interestingly, San Mateo, the community with the highest perception of the presence of outsiders has also the highest notion of unity. Traditional festivities are still very present in all communities (90%).

Chamela's inhabitants indicated 100% assistance to community meetings and generally being feeling very informed about decision about the future of their locality. Half of its population takes active part in several organizations. In contrast, assistance to meetings is low both in San Mateo and F. Villa (26% and 27%). Half of the population of all three localities report to have been specifically consulted in decision-making processes.

Pathways and future of the localities

In all three localities, more parents think that their children will not follow their professions (Chamela 73%, San Mateo 61%, and F. Villa 69%). There were no differences between Ejidatarios (inhabitants with possession of communal land and thus generally involved in traditional economic activities like livestock production and agriculture) and other inhabitants. Of 22 Ejidatarios, nine saw their children continuing their traditions and 12 did not (one did not know).

When asked if the youth generally stayed or left the localities, the opinion differs among villages: While in Chamela 91% thinks the youth is staying, in San Mateo and F. Villa only 36% and 26% respectively share this opinion. In Chamela, the main reasons to stay were: “they [the youth] have already their work here: they are fishermen” and the other reason is early marriage within their community: “they find partners at a very young age”. In the other localities main reasons to move out were to study or to find work in other parts of Mexico or in the United States. Some shared opinions were “Those who can, go” because “here there are no work options” and those who stay “They work in whatever there is a job.”

3. General living conditions and recreation opportunities

Results regarding general living conditions and recreation opportunities are shown in Table 5:

Table 5: Assessment of general living conditions and recreation opportunities

Statement	F. Villa		San Mateo		Chamela		Total	
	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%		
Conditions of public infrastructure (street conditions, transport)	Good	3	5%	1	2%	2	9%	5%
	Regular	16	26%	18	42%	14	64%	40%
	Bad	43	69%	24	56%	6	27%	55%
I have access to all public services.	Electricity							98%
	Water							95%
	Sewage							3% * (no sewage available in study area)
There are places for recreation in my village.	61/62	98%	41/43	95%	0/22	0%	80%	
Preferred recreation spot (open-ended questions; various mentions possible).	Beach	19		14		5		n/a
	Plaza	18		22		10		n/a
	Home	21		1		3		n/a
	River	8		4		4		n/a

Community infrastructure

Regarding the perception of the general community infrastructure, overall “bad” classification in F. Villa as well as in San Mateo are given, and “regular” notions in Chamela. This is worth mentioning as Chamela is the only locality with no paved roads at

all and also the only locality without a town square or built church. Both other localities do acknowledge their recreational infrastructure and well equipped central plazas.

As for recreational activities and favored leisure locations, the preferences vary among the localities: Chamela and San Mateo prefer the town squares (Chamela’s inhabitants go to San Mateo), whereas Villa’s inhabitants choose to rest at home. Of special interest here is the environment with its beaches or rivers that do not rank first. Considering the beaches, closing of beach accesses is one of the mentioned disputed topics related to tourism development. 80% of the study population feels “affected”, with 42% stating they are not going any more, or are restricted in their use of beaches (access control by a security guard, not being able to enter the beach by car). Among the consequences of closing beach accesses to the public is the loss of income options from informal selling activities and even complete change of work where beach restaurants (“palapas”) had been closed down. Residents have changed former practices and they now frequent other beaches. The following table (Table 6) illustrates how people now use the different beaches shown in the left column of the table (see Figure 1 in the Introduction for location of these sites).

Table 6: Beaches frequented by villagers. Most frequented beaches are indicated in bold and the X indicates the closest beach to each locality that is not always the most frequented.

Beach	Chamela	S. Mateo	F. Villa
Pérula	11	26	14
La Boca (Chamela)	10 X	3 X	6
Xametla	15	11	12
Careyitos	1	1	45 X
Cocinas Island (close to Pérula)	3	2	0
Tenacatita (one hour South of F. Villa)		2	24
San Mateo		2	1

The following topics of the survey included 1) how the inhabitants see the importance of tourism for their locality and personal livelihood and 2) the perceived relationship between the tourism developments with their livelihoods.

b) Role of tourism for the localities

Present

Like in the workshop, nearly all respondents identified their region as touristic (97,6%), referring however to the existence of nearby tourism sites and beaches and not directly to their villages (90,4%). While some respondents identified smaller restaurants and at lesser quantity housing services (rooms for rent), 1/3 of the respondents attributed the lack of

tourism to missing developed points of touristic interest in the villages.

For about 50% of the respondents, tourism had “always” or at least for a long time (more than 10 years) been present in the region. Besides the inauguration of the coastal highway in 1972, the Club Mediterrannée Playa Blanca (Club Med) in Careyes is often mentioned as the starting point of tourism in the region. Also, among the 50% of all respondents that had an idea of the local tourism’s origin, 21 of 55 respondents clearly identified foreigners as leading forces. The owners of Careyes who built the first big hotels (Club Med and El Careyes) were rightfully identified by 45% of all respondents.

According to 67% of people surveyed overall tourism has diminished more recently, mainly due to closed beach access and the closing of the big hotels (Club Med, El Careyes and El Tamarindo) (for the location of the hotels see Figure 1). Table 7 shows some of the reasons given for this phenomenon. Some people (30%) seem to see an increase in tourism due to a shift from conventional hotel tourism to private luxury housing options.

Table 7: Reasons for diminishing (-)/ increasing (+) tourism.
Results from open-ended question, people gave various answers to the question
“Why do you think the overall tourism affluence changed in this region?”

Reason	Absolute mentions	Percentages
- Closing of beach access	33	34
- Closing of Club Med	16	18
- Insecurity in the whole country	12	13
- Closing of other hotels (e.g. El Careyes) more recently	9	10
- Overall slow economy (in the country)	6	7
+/- Shifts to luxury housing	8	9
+ Publicity efforts	5	5
+ Church construction	1	1
+ Recent construction of access road	1	1

Tourism’s role in people’s income

78,5 % of the study population acknowledged an indirect relationship of their income to tourism. With only 24 of the interviewees (19%) as direct tourism related employees (tourism or real-estate related activities like gardening, house-keeping, and maintenance,

secretary, among others) the overall importance of tourism as indirect family income is vastly acknowledged by 79% of the study population. Among the complementary income options are: temporary and/or seasonal work (construction, housekeeping), more clients for local businesses (shops, restaurants) and activation of local economy (29%), boat trips offered by fishermen (16%), family members work in tourism and help in the family's income (14%), and finally the informal beach selling of products like soda, cut fruits or handcraft (7%). Overall, people think that tourism development is compatible with the existing economic activities (75%), however they seem unsure whether the development takes into account the local's needs (50% of agreement in the three localities).

Emotional attachment

In F. Villa a significant number of respondents mentioned that their village would be "screwed" or "messed up" (12%; original expressions in Spanish: "jodido" and "fregado") while these expressions were not used in neither of the other localities. Generally, F. Villa's inhabitants showed throughout the surveys strong attachment to the actual (Costa Careyes and Cuixmala) and former tourism sites such as Club Med "it fed a lot of villages". Several quotes refer to the education they received through formerly working there or before in Club Med: "My brother learned in Club Med and he is now a kitchen chef in an important hotel chain"; as well as to the attachment and employment security the hotels provided: "I used to work for 13 years in Club Med", "I worked in the kitchen of Cuixmala for many years". Whereas at present expressions include the following: "I used to work at Club Med, but now I do whatever job I can find".

Tourism related community improvement

50% of the study population of Chamela and F. Villa acknowledge general improvements of their localities related to donations and initiatives from the owners of the private mansions (Careyes and other foreign residents) and tourism developers (Zafiro, Las Rosadas). In San Mateo even more than 66% agree with this statement. The most important improvements include: Infrastructure (improved street conditions, public gardens), housing conditions (renewal and painting), and donations for celebrations and the school building and school activities. Also water related improvements were sporadically mentioned (five mentions in total): a water treatment plans (San Mateo), a dike construction (F. Villa), a new well and donation of water filters (Chamela). In Chamela, Zafiro's donation of land and the developers help to legalize the settlement (the lands

where the new houses were built) were important. Furthermore, an overall cleaner community and also beaches were associated with positive tourism related achievements.

Future: employment preferences

Asked about work preferences, all inhabitants reported to want to work as employees in the tourism developments (average of 62%). However asked whether they preferred working as employees to their actual work, F. Villa was not decisive (47% yes, 42% no), in San Mateo a bit more than half of respondents said no (56%) and in Chamela the biggest fraction (36%) was unsure. All localities agreed that “tourism developments employ mainly outsiders”. However F. Villa agreed less (63%) than San Mateo (68%) and Chamela with impressive with 91% of positive responses.

While F. Villa’s and San Mateo’s inhabitants saw a strong dependence on tourism, measured in agreement to the statement “there will be no employment options besides tourism development” (74% and 68% resp.), only 36% of Chamela’s inhabitants agreed to this. This difference could perhaps be explained by the fact that at the time of the survey application, exactly two inhabitants of Chamela were employed by the tourism development (2014).

c) Residents’ opinions about current and future tourism development

Current tourism

There seems to be a consensus among the three localities that at present, there is “not much” tourism (average 80% agreement) and furthermore restricted to Christmas or school holidays (78% agreement). Only, F. Villa, having luxury housing options nearby that operate the whole year round, agrees less with tourism being restricted to vacations (71%).

Tourism is generally not related to crime, especially in Chamela, no one made this connection. Although the general perception is that there is not much tourism in all localities; considering employment generation, tourism is important in F. Villa and in San Mateo with over 80% of agreement, whereas in Chamela less than half of the respondents agreed to that statement (see Table 8).

Table 8: Opinions about today’s tourism specified for each locality (N=22, 36, 64). Note: Percentages do not always count up to 100% as “do not know” answers were not included in the analysis.

Statement		Absolute number			Percentage			Total
		Ch	SM	FV	Ch %	SM %	FV %	%
Tourism is present only in vacations.	Yes	20	32	46	90	82	71	78
Tourism increased crime and insecurity.	Yes	0	3	6	0	8	9	7
Tourism provides currently a lot of employment.	Yes	10	34	54	45	87	84	80
Overall, there is not much tourism.	Yes	20	29	52	91	74	81	80

Tourism development now and in the future

When asked to identify current projects under construction, respondents mentioned first Zafiro, then Las Rosadas and remodeling Careyes' hotel. About their level of agreement or disagreements, 62% in Chamela, 69% in San Mateo and still 52% in F. Villa answered to be "in favor" of the projects. It should be noted that an average of 30% of respondents were "unsure" of their view regarding these new projects. Those in favor of the projects gave mostly the following reasons: the generation of better paid employment options and hope improved living conditions as well as psychological well-being, revival of their livelihood and overall economic growth. Among the reasons against the development were the closing of beach access, the disturbance of the quietness and changes in people's livelihoods ("it is not the same as before", closing of beach restaurants, having more foreigners). About 1/3 of the respondents in every locality conditioned their positive opinion, e.g. "tourism brings a lot of employment, but I don't agree with closing the beach access". Some residents (9% of the statements in Chamela and 5% of the statements in San Mateo) did not see any connection with their livelihood to tourism at all "They don't affect me at all" (San Mateo) or did not see any reason of why to be against it "Why do we have *"monte"* (colloquial term in Spanish to refer to the Tropical Dry Forest) if we don't generate benefit from it?" (F. Villa)

Relationship and communication

Huge differences occur in the flow of tourism information towards the inhabitants and their contact with municipal authorities about the projects. While in Chamela 64% stated to have had contact with the developers and 68% with the authorities, in San Mateo and F. Villa nearly no contact has been established from neither side. This is consistent with the statements of the opinion leaders (see next section).

d) Expectations

No major differences about general expectations about the new tourism projects were found between the three localities, thus results are presented for the whole study population. 88% of the study population wants generally more tourism in their locality and 73% cannot wait until the existing ones open again. The projects are seen as to bring hope (85%) and more order and cleanliness (63%) to the villages. Although currently the perception is that there is not much tourism-related employment, 87% of the respondents agreed to the statements “there will be more tourism employment in the future” and also 85% to the tourism-related generation of more business opportunities. 77% of all respondents agree that tourism-related jobs will help the youth to stay in the region: “At the beginning I was against it, but the fishing is not going well. And there will be a lot of employment. Before, those who studied who usually leave the community, now they will stay.” Some are a little bit more cautious: “Perhaps my children will benefit. The fishery already doesn’t allow us to make a living” (both quotes from Chamela).

Both San Mateo and Chamela agreed that “a lot of land has been bought by outsiders” (81% and 77% respectively). “They take over people’s lands” or “it is an important income source but I don’t like our country being sold to foreigners” (San Mateo). However, until now the tourism developments seem to have had little to no effect on community life, neither problems in the community life nor more unity have occurred as all three localities reported. Concerning the question if the new developments take part in political decision-making processes, it is only Chamela that reported the Zafiro development to be making a lot of decisions in the community (72%). Some isolated quotes, however, show some influences “Careyes doesn’t allow that our region converts into a new Acapulco. They control everything. The same happens with those in Chamela.” (F. Villa).

When asked to select a feeling in regard to the new projects, people of all three localities chose hope (64%) over indifference (18%) over anxiety (18%) as can be seen in Table 9.

Table 9: Feelings in regard to tourism development.
Choice between hope, anxiety, and indifference.

Locality/ Notion	F. Villa		San Mateo		Chamela		Total mentions	
Hope	46	68%	27	75%	13	59%	69	or
Anxiety	10	15%	2	6%	3	14%	12	or
Indifference	12	17%	7	19%	4	17%	19	or

				18%
Other:	<i>Pleasure</i>	<i>Stress, despair, rage</i>	<i>Resentment, discomfort</i>	7

For the question “Could there be too much tourism with the new projects?” 64,9% of the respondents answered “yes”. However, while the majority of San Mateo and Chamela think that too much tourism is possible (71% and 81% respectively), this goes only less than half of the respondents of F. Villa (43%). A closer look at the given reasons revealed moreover that this statement of “too much” is dependent on certain conditions as can be seen in Table 10:

Table 10: Reasons and conditions of too much tourism development. Most frequent answers in bold. Open-ended question. Categories were constructed based on a qualitative analysis of answers.

Factor	F. Villa	San Mateo	Chamela
YES, because of the overall scenic beauty (= attractiveness) of the region.	5	8	4
YES, if the new tourism projects were open and functioning.	8	10	5
YES, if all existing hotels were working and the localities in better conditions.	7	0	1
Yes, if the beaches were open to the public.	0	1	3
ALREADY too much tourism. (in the vacations, generally not feeling at ease)	3	1	0
NO, because of limited space and interest	7	4	1
NO, tourism/ tourists are not interfering with our life and never bothering.	7	0	1

Only a small percentage of the inhabitants consider the existing scenic beauty as sufficient for (too much) tourism development. The rest condition the development to the existence and functioning of new (all localities) and existing hotels (F. Villa) and to open beach access (Chamela). Reasons against the possibility of too much tourism in the future were limited space and interest and the general perceptions that tourism and tourists are not interfering with the livelihood. This was mostly mentioned by F. Villa’s inhabitants.

“Possible requests” from the residents for the developers revealed further concerns as shown in Table 11:

Table 11: Requests of inhabitants for tourism developers in the three localities. Absolute number of mentions. Most frequent answers in bold. These were answers to open-ended questions, thus categories were elaborated upon a qualitative analysis.

Request	F. Villa	San Mateo	Chamela	Total
To consider well-being/ community development of localities	18	10	5	33
To respect traditional activities and customs	9	8	9	26
To employ locals	13	11	1	25
To open soon and start functioning	12	9	4	25
To take into account local inhabitants' needs	5	7	1	13
To respect the environment	4	4	1	9
To provide better payment	4	2	0	6
SUM	65	51	21	137

While generally spoken, the request of the communities for the developers seems to be of the utmost concern; the localities show differences in their specific interest: For F. Villa and San Mateo besides promoting community development, the employment of locals and the functioning of hotels are considered the most urgent. For Chamela it is the respect for local traditional activities and customs which is considered the most relevant issue. Some respondents did not articulate requests, expressing that their concerns would not interest the developers “What can I say?”, however the majority of the respondents opted to articulate their expectations and hopes in regard to employment and respect for the local people.

When asked to imagine their localities and region without tourism, the people gave the following answers: (Note: categories were developed on responses to an open-ended question, and textual citations are used.) F. Villa is imagined as “poor, without employment options, at a standstill and without development and education”. One respondent expressed “It would be good to have more employment, a strong source of employment. This would rise up everything. There are only so much temporary employments; we need a real big employment”. Moreover, right now, tourists “come only for a little while to the village” or “they don’t visit the villages, they just lock themselves up” indicating the perceived need to improve the urban image in order to be interesting for tourists. San

Mateo without tourism would be “poor, without employment options, like it is now”. One inhabitant asked for “Respect. Let the poor do their work. They need liberty and access to the ocean”. Finally, Chamela would be “poor, isolated, at a standstill, sad and like it is now or as before the starting of the new development”. One inhabitant of Chamela explained: “We don’t see anything good for the fishermen coming from tourism, but when there will be no fish any more, at least there would be tourism.”

e) Overall differences between the three localities

While generally no completely different perceptions between the three localities were visible, we now highlight some details for each locality based on the previously presented statements: San Mateo’s inhabitants felt more strongly about the already present and future improvements in their locality. Chamela’ residents are the only ones to be satisfied with the state of their community infrastructure. They are very participative in their community and feel overall very informed about tourism development. Although they see that tourism developments employ mainly outsiders, this community sees tourism as an option for their youth’s future. While in the other communities the expectations and hope towards the tourism development focus on employment generation, Chamela wants first to have respect for the traditional economic activities and customs. F. Villa has the strongest emotional attachment to former, current and future tourism development. They cannot image to have “too much” tourism contrary to the other localities and see generally no conflict with their traditional livelihoods at all. Also, it is the only locality to have all year round tourism. They do not feel involved or informed and hope to find more employment in the hopefully soon working hotels.

Opinion leaders’ perspective about the touristic development “Zafiro” on Chamela’s livelihood

According to Chamela’s municipal agent and the president of the fishermen’s cooperative (the locality’s most important economic activity), at present a close contact between the tourist developers and the village authorities exists. This “very good relation” as the municipal agent defines the contact with “the company” (as they refer to the tourism development), has not always been easy. “When Zafiro arrived five years ago, people felt dislocated. Now the relation [with them] is very good, at the beginning it wasn’t. [...] we feared to be displaced, but they are helping us where the Municipality isn’t.” He went even so far as to say “We are one Zafiro family now.” The president of the fishermen is more

reserved and indicated the contact has been good and promising since the beginning, but that recently the relation had been suffering because of the missing employment.

While the municipal agent states that there are no huge changes to be noticed in everyday life “it is like before, just that we are on the other side of the road”, he later concedes “I preferred it at the former place [closer to the beach and ocean]. Adding to that, improvements realized by the tourism development Zafiro include new and better fishery equipment; the construction and remodeling of fishermen’s storehouses and the school building, as well as the donation of part of the development’s land to allow the settlement of the community including support to obtain in the properties’ legal certifications.

While both interviewees are grateful for the regularization of the locality’s land thanks to the tourism development, and sustain that the village is now cleaner, regulated and even improved, the restricted beach access is one of their main claims: “The “Happy Coast” is no more, now it is “Sad Coast” for what is happening with the beaches.” (Municipal Agent) However, they conceded: “The door closed because of us”. The fishermen’s president explained: “When the beach access was still public, everybody came in their cars, all kind of people, with their BBQ, picnic, lots of plastic bags with food. [...] Before, nobody cared; you arrived in your truck, enjoy the beach and then leave everything dirty behind you, especially people from outside.” Now, after Zafiro closed the access, “We pay attention to our trash. We don’t want them to sack us, too. We take bags and leave everything proper. Now the beach is private terrain.” His fellow fishermen learned: “after the displacement [of Chamela], the beaches are cleaner, as is the fishing equipment. [...] they [the company] constructed sheds to help us protect and store our equipment” and respect these decisions, “only fishermen can enter to do their job, always keeping in mind to keep everything clean”. The fishermen are allowed to bring their families and other workers but with the responsibility to behave properly on the company’s premises, as part of an education and awareness-building process.

The president of the fishermen cooperative expressed concerns regarding the not fulfilled promises for employment generation; “Zafiro has not given work as they promised”. Even more, they closed the existing beach restaurants that “had been operating since 1984” and the small brick factory without (yet) generating new income sources.

The president of the fishermen's cooperative seems hesitant about the general impact of tourism development on his or his fellow fishermen's livelihoods. He explained: "I like my profession. Our fishermen cooperative has 24 members, and the families and their sons are interested in this activity, it is what they do and what they know to do, they do not know anything else; it is like "in the agricultural fields". The relation with tourism is not always straight forward "sometimes people come for boat trips, but not on a regular basis. But we are fishermen, sometimes there are problems with the authorities who ask for tourism permissions and the register. It's not always convenient. [...] Now tourism is big. It's easier; it's faster money, that's fine. There is no problem if there is not too much. The president of the Cooperative expressed that he preferred the beaches empty and he was also afraid of ascending living costs with tourism development. In his words: "with tourism development it would be more expensive to buy a soda"; however he did not see too much interest in developing the region: "there is a tourism office in Barra [de Navidad], and a closed down hotel [...] they have tourism boats, they want to develop more, put docks, but the biologists [referring to the scientists working at the Chamela Biological Fieldstation] forbid it". Although he thinks that tourism development may affect negatively the inhabitants, he does not seem too preoccupied: "There is generally not much interest [in developing]".

The municipal agent disagrees here: "Some say the developers are bad people because they invade us, but I say that it was our fault to sell to them. It is. We are provoking an invasion of foreigners. Zafiro has bought 3000ha. Well, I am in favor of development, but I am not fine with closing the beach access." But more importantly seems the following: "We hope to obtain benefit. They already painted 25 boats in bright colors." [...] "The idea of Zafiro is to urbanize Chamela, to change it in something like Careyes Village.", referring to a village built by Costa Careyes during the 1970s as a home for their workers. The village then evolved with a well-thought architectural concept including art galleries, souvenir and lifestyle shops and fancy restaurants as a model village for tourists and residents of Costa Careyes. He clearly sees ongoing transformation of the village and seems eager for possible benefits of further incorporation of Chamela into the tourism development.

In conclusion, both interviewees perceived a close relationship between the developers of Zafiro and the local authorities. Moreover they recognize a strong influence of Zafiro on the economic activities and the education of its inhabitants. Various improvements were mentioned as important: the regularization of the locality lands which implied security for

the inhabitants in terms of owning their homes. Having cleaner beaches and investments in equipment and housing are seen as good benefits. They both accepted that inhabitants are still waiting for employment options but seem to differ in their overall perception of the importance of tourism in people's livelihoods.

4) Discussion

Our main results include:

1. While the inhabitants perceived some conflicts resulting from tourism (beach access, land selling, unplanned growth), their overall positive attitude towards tourism development was not affected, more though, tourism was considered as of low impact and as compatible with traditional livelihoods.
2. As for tourism's role for the livelihoods and well-being, the localities identified themselves as "touristic", tourism has always been present, even if only at nearby places (beaches, touristic sites) and with generally low presence. Results showed important income generation from tourism or tourism related activities in all communities. Moreover also an emotional component of tourism as in employment security and an overall revival effect in the community. Overall, the well-being assessment showed people to be happy and with strong sense of community attachment (unity among people, active community life).
3. Expectations showed hope in regard to employment and income generation, and community infrastructure development. However, they are also cautious and emphasize to respect traditional livelihoods.
4. While there are very specific differences in the answers among the localities as pointed out in the corresponding sections, nearly no general differences between the three localities concerning their opinions and expectations based on their specific histories could be identified. Specifically there were no differences in community attachment or overall disposition towards tourism based on Ejido or locality status, whereas the employment dependence to tourism development corresponded to the exposure to tourism projects.

In the following discussion we retake some of the issues highlighted in the introduction and emphasize the lessons learned from methodological approach.

1. Tourism and traditional livelihoods: Conflict or co-use of spaces?

Whenever an existent viable socio-ecological system is to be changed through new actors and economic activities like in this case, tourism development, local people need to adapt and thus every change should be carefully adapted into it (Tao & Wall, 2009). Of special difficulty here is the promotion of dialogue and the construction of consensus among stakeholders who may have different roles and power over decision-making processes. Therefore, transformation should be slowly and conducted in such ways as to reduce disturbances (Milcu et al., 2014). Although actual and potential tensions between different traditional activities and tourism have been documented (Rienschke et al., 2015), the overall complementary role of tourism as shown in this study is consistent with a recent analysis conducted in the Chamela bay that reach the same conclusions about tourism as a complementary income activity for local fishermen (Maldonado et al., 2015). Mexico's rural livelihoods are characterized by "multifunctionality" and diversification of income options (García-Barrios et al., 2009; P. R. W. Gerritsen, 1998), as it has been shown for this study area, too. Considering tourism, no hostile opinion was found, on the contrary, partial and sometimes strong positive sentiments towards tourism were expressed by respondents. Moreover, people are open to work as employees in the new tourism developments although they generally prefer their current jobs and ways to make a living. Globally, rural producers are faced with various challenges in the era of climate change (Bennett, Blythe, Tyler, & Ban, 2015). Agriculture in rural Mexico is not only an important economic activity but has also deep cultural and social meaning (Campos, Velázquez, & Bocco, 2012; Campos, Velázquez, & McCall, 2014). In the Costalegre region, the expansion of agricultural and livestock production activities are not growing due to limitations related to soil types and difficulties in land topography (Cotler et al., 2002; Maass, Balvanera, Castillo, Daily, Mooney, Ehrlich, Quesada, Miranda, Jaramillo, García-Oliva, Martínez-Yrizar, et al., 2005) but also because of law restrictions resulting from the Land Use Plan of the Jalisco coast decreed in 1999 (Pujadas, 2003). However, as results have shown, among rural inhabitants there are also feelings of hope through partial livelihood adaptations or shifts to get away from subsistence farming and cattle raising activities to be able to move into more semi-skilled and skilled employment options that tourism may offer (Eakin, 2005).

It has to be mentioned however, that conflicts exist between tourism developers and the local population, mainly considering the access and use of the beaches that is partially depriving traditional fishing, fishing related beach restaurants and recreation activities.

Besides a conflict between activities, it is also a conflict of space. While the tourist space is difficult to define and delimitate (Urry, 1996), the example of tourism development in the case of Costalegre and more specifically in Chamela is exemplary of possible co-uses of space. The combination of different uses of a certain space can provoke outcomes like the homogenization, degradation, differentiation and enrichment of the concerned space (Gerritsen, 2014). While the developers sustain that under status-quo, a co-use of space is only very limited through strict rules and strictly defined access rights of the fishermen; they see also possibilities of enrichment to show tourists “authentic” working environments of the fishermen. Generally as formerly mentioned, tourism does not happen in an isolated sphere, it uses traditionally used living spaces as well as constructed tourism artifacts (Hiernaux-Nicolas, 2009). The definition of tourism space has to be based on multi-functionality in order to be sustainable (Więckowski, 2014).

Tourism, especially in its varieties of ecotourism and nature-based tourism can be seen as a type of neoliberalization of nature, as in putting values and external economic governance onto formerly uninteresting and unused parts of the ecosystem, almost always followed by the inherent privatization and inevitable enclosure (Hill & Gale, 2009). Others call this form of ecosystem management an exogenic exploitation of the environment (Carrier & MacLeod, 2005; Kieffer, 2014). Local residents mentioned at various times that the mere presence of the pristine nature attractions was not sufficient to attract tourism and that they did not have the knowledge and resources to transform themselves and their localities into tourism attractions. Now, with the presence of tourism developers, they even agreed to a certain improvement concerning their management of their environment especially considering environmental conscience regarding the conservation of natural ecosystems.

2. Local’s well-being as important planning instrument

Studies about social impact of tourism are numerous and it seems to have reached some level of maturity, with recent research focused on refining measurement instruments as well as ways to understand its effects on local peoples’ daily livelihoods and well-being (Andereck, Valentine, Vogt, & Knopf, 2007; Deery et al., 2012). Research has shown that besides general demographic factors and the specific dependence to tourism, the role of various values, like community attachment, social and environmental convictions and questions of perceived power, influence importantly residents’ perception of tourism (Deery et al., 2012). While the issue of well-being has been a popular topic in studies about

tourists, in the debate about sustainable tourism development, the question has been extended to tourism’s role for the well-being of host communities (Willis, 2015).

Based on the related literature and on the results of our study, we propose the following ideas (see Figure 5) to explain the interrelation of tourism developments and the local residents focusing on the social impact and expectation generation:

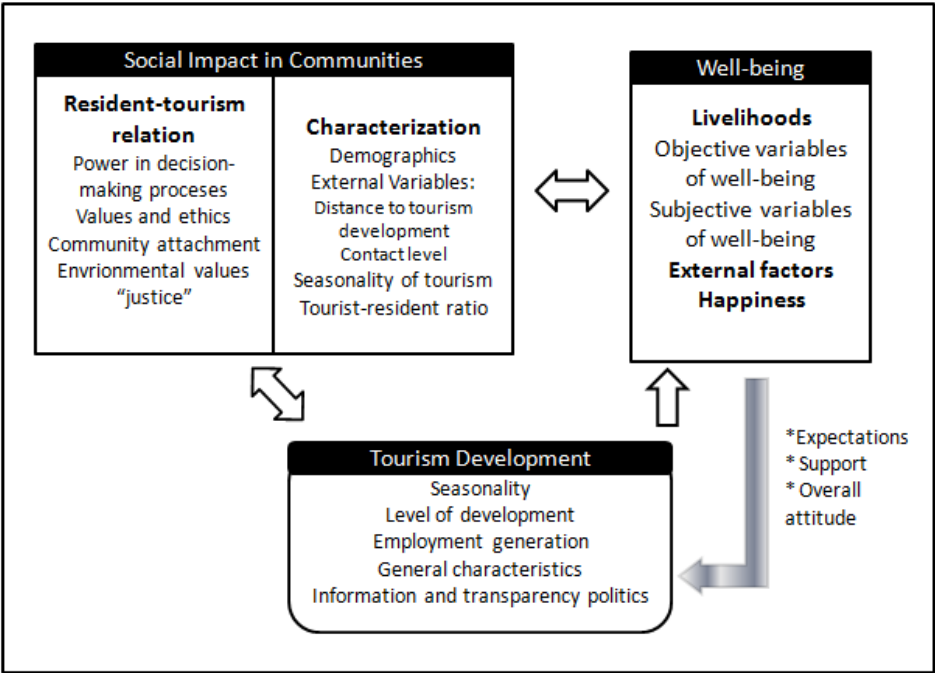


Figure 5: Tourism’s generation of social impact of tourism on local communities and on their well-being. Interdependence between well-being and perceived social impact are shown as well as the generation of expectations, possible support and the overall attitude towards tourism development. Based on Deery et al. (2012).

Our proposal high lightens the importance to understand in detail the social impact on the resident-tourism relation and on the overall community structure (“Characterization”) that heavily influences the perceived subjective well-being of the residents. The community’s well-being, here assessed through livelihood and happiness description, moreover is also directly influenced by the tourism development. It is the well-being that is responsible for the final attitude and or support for tourism development. While the assessment of tourism had more benefits that explain the overall attitude, it clearly helps explain and improve the relationship – if wanted.

As mentioned before, a regional Land Use Planning Program was decreed in 1999 (Programa de Ordenamiento Ecológico Territorial de la Costa de Jalisco or POET). It is

worth mentioning that it was the first in Mexico that included a consultation process (SEMADES, 1999). However, despite the government's efforts to consult the local population, no real participation was achieved and resulted in the denial of 5 of the 10 involved municipalities to sign it (Ana Pujadas, 2003). Since its decree, several attempts have been made to renew the POET or to develop municipal and community land use plans. For the four coastal municipalities, only one, La Huerta, has not been able to present a land-use plan to guide decision making and land-use planning in the very center of the new tourism developments either in construction or in the process of been approved by the environmental authorities. This lead to the situation where until today, federal tourism planners, local tourism entrepreneurs as well as conservation actors based their projects on the POET which as emphasized earlier, did not take into account the views and needs of local rural residents. Nevertheless, entrepreneurs argue that POET was "a participatory agreed plan").

The inherent question is as to how to assign greater agency to both: improvement of rural peoples' livelihoods as well as to long term maintenance of natural ecosystems in tourism planning. The ecosystem service concept has been helpful redefining the human-environment relationships emphasizing the benefits humans obtain from nature. We suggest that ecosystem conservation and social well-being within tourism development could benefit if the benefits local people bring to from ecosystem conservation is highlighted (Riensch et al., 2015) and serve as strong and better arguments than monetary values when planning land-use (Chan et al., 2012). Moreover, tourism development should be placed into a broader regional development plan so the impact of modernization or changing of traditional livelihoods does not weaken social structures and institutions making local inhabitants more vulnerable (Stolarick et al., 2010).

3. Towards locally sustainable tourism development

One interesting question in the research regarding the social impact or the perception of tourism is to understand the purposes of the studies carried out. What goals motivate the interest to research tourism's social impacts on livelihoods? Often studies are about detecting support or rejection towards tourism development in order to anticipate possible reactions from different stakeholders (Mason & Cheyne, 2000; J. Williams & Lawson, 2001). Another issue is related to address the implied or explicitly need for improving communication, information exchange, transparency in how projects are conducted and

even to design awareness campaigns to show residents that tourism can bring relevant benefits (Andereck et al., 2005).

In agreement with the call for more integrative and systemic assessments of tourism impacts on livelihoods and sustainability (Tao & Wall, 2009; Villamagna & Giesecke, 2014), we propose the following model of interaction (see Figure 6):

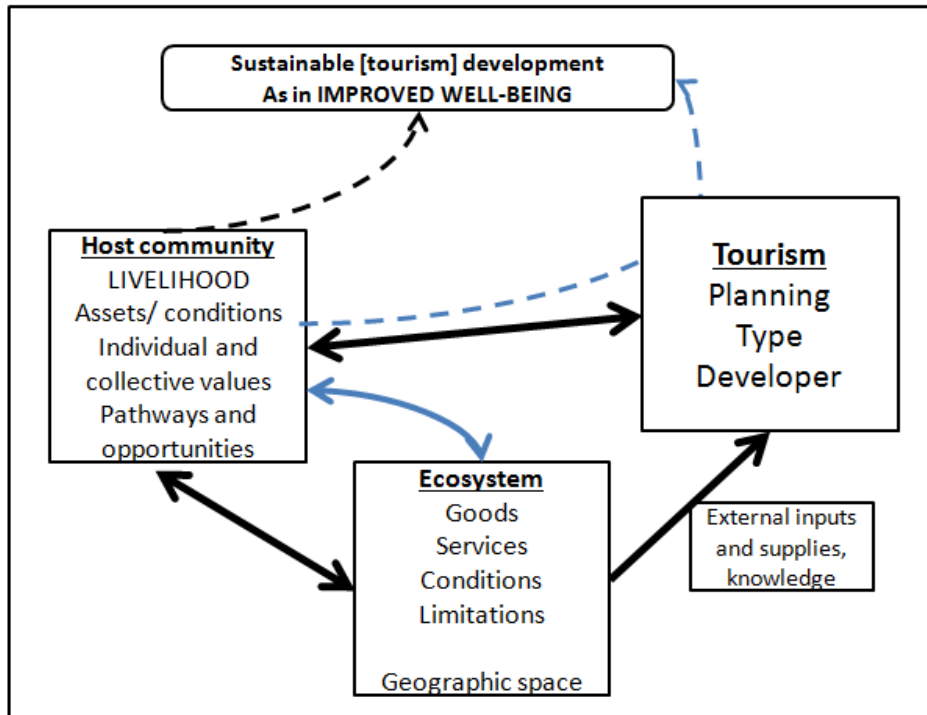


Figure 6: From direct to indirect ecosystem (service) dependence: tourism as a possible promoter for ecosystem conservation: Connections between a host community, tourism development and the ecosystem. Direct and indirect dependence of the host community from ecosystem services are shown as well as the possible direct or indirect achievement of improved well-being. Connecting lines are defined as follows: blue lines: indirect dependence, black: direct dependence.

By explicitly addressing the characteristics and roles of the three core integrants, as in host community, ecosystems and tourism, their interdependences are shown and specifically defined. While for rural livelihoods their focus of income generation still mainly relies on primary production (agriculture, livestock herding and fishing) and thus depend directly on ecosystems, with shifts and/ or changes towards tourism, they may lose this strong dependence, as it is already starting to happen in the study area. However, this diversification of the family income is seasonal and not very reliable as residents pointed out, until now tourism generates jobs and no year-long work contracts.

The transformation of ecosystems and their specific characteristics through external

supplies and knowledge to tourism destinies and/ or attraction generates a new player in the system and new interrelations as pointed out. Because tourism is especially dependent on ecosystems, the uniqueness of a certain location and overall scenic beauty or water availability (Briassoulis, 2002), all of its actors, as in tourists, developers, but also in employees are dependent on the status and conservation of the ecosystems. For the rural communities or employees this shifts their direct dependence on ecosystem goods (timber, agricultural products, water, among others) to an indirect relationship (income generation through tourism and tourism related activities that depend on intact ecosystems). Overall, all activities' goal would be to move towards sustainability defined as in the generation of well-being that can be achieved directly through adaptation within the community or indirectly helped by income diversification or tourism inspired conservation of ecosystems. Overall, an incorporation of the needs of all system's components is necessary to generate long-term well-being or sustainability.

6. Methodological approach

Few studies are actually conducted before tourism development takes place (Mason & Cheyne, 2000; Rasoolimanesh & Jaafar, 2016; Sinclair-Maragh, Gursoy, & Vieregge, 2015); and there are no studies that accompany a study area over long periods of time in order to document and evaluate the changes taking place in people's ways of living or in their perceptions towards tourism. Here, the localities were chosen to try to see differences among their perceptions towards tourism at different stages of tourism development. In our view, there is a need not only to examine the complex interrelationships between tourism and different economic activities, but also to incorporate broader issues related to the livelihoods of local residents into tourism research designs. It is not only relevant to describe the relationships between host populations and tourism, but to incorporate the needs, values, perceptions of the population as well as the specific situational contexts where projects are formulated and implemented (J. Williams & Lawson, 2001). This study provides information and explanations that advances the research of the nexus between peoples' well-being and tourism by applying an approach that explicitly incorporates a broader perspective on livelihoods of resident populations (Nawijn & Mitas, 2012).

Participative Livelihood Assessment: Lessons learned

Our approach to separately incorporate into the study different stakeholders' views through conducting in-depth interviews with opinion leaders separately from the participative

workshop with general residents, showed to be very appreciated by the participants. As expressed within the workshop, some participants felt that the workshop created a space where they could freely express their views as the following statements show: “We are among ourselves; there are no important persons present. The intimacy allowed us to discuss openly.”

The complementary livelihood assessment through different methods and with individual and group exercises proved to be useful. While some attributes like the specific income composition and the graduation of importance during the workshop worked very well, the same questions were not consistently answered in the surveys (asked about other sources of income besides the main employment, only few respondents said “yes” but later revealed to have for example income from occasional touristic boat trips). The development of scenarios allowed the researcher to closely examine all drawn elements to be able to interpret importance of specific elements (e.g. nature elements, the football field, characteristic monuments of the community). The discussion and exchange between the groups’ members helped to complete the community image, something that is not possible through a survey.

In order to not influence the participants of the workshop, its theme was chosen openly “the future of our region” and not directed towards tourism. An activity about tourism attractions however brought the topic of tourism into the attention of the participants. The following discussion and elaboration of scenarios had some relation with tourism and thus showed the importance and presence of tourism in the livelihoods of the participants. However the results were not dominated by an artificially tourism-centric debate.

Limitations of the research

While the number of participants in the workshop was relatively low, and thus only one focus group for each locality was conducted, the intimacy allowed for extended discussion and sharing of opinions. In this way it should be mentioned that more invitations were sent to the three localities but as moving results often difficult, organizing the meetings at the localities (like in the school premises) might result in more participation. It would have also been interesting to have had several scenarios within one locality to promote the discussion within a locality and like that to identify possible shared ideas.

Based on the good experience with the participative scenario development, it would be interesting to repeat this exercise with more localities to document the perceptions of the whole Costalegre region. Moreover it would then be interesting to present these results to the tourism developers and also to governmental authorities. A combined elaboration among actors from tourism, government and the local communities is considered as difficult based on the participants' opinion to be likely intimidated and not to participate and discuss to the same extend (Cooke & Kothari, 2001).

Survey responses were dependent on established confidence and trust with the researchers. It was not always clear whether all respondents felt sure enough to answer completely freely. This could have resulted in slightly more positive responses regarding the tourism projects, especially in Chamela where the development is just adjacent to the village and people commonly expressed (during fieldtrip visits) that they (the developers) are continuously watching as to who visits and even talks to people. The shared impression of two people who helped taking data for the survey felt also that people were sometimes careful not to talk "badly" about the tourism development. However, the detailed analysis of the surveys showed consistency with the workshop and interview results and more importantly, there were also differentiated answers. While using various survey administrators could have resulted in slight differences in the answers (Hernández-Sampieri et al., 2008), it also allowed importantly the triangulation between the perceptions of the administrators to detect possible contradictions (Jick, 1979). This was not the case here.

5) Final reflections

As well-being and related concepts gained very recently importance in the sustainability discussions (Rogers et al., 2012; Sen, 2013), in the debate about ecosystem service conservation (Abson et al., 2014; Chan et al., 2012; Milcu, Hanspach, Abson, & Fischer, 2013), and also in tourism (Willis, 2015); the concern and understanding of them has to find its role and place in land use planning. At Costalegre, after phases of spontaneous tourism generation and uncoordinated development, the region has entered in a tourism planning phase. Several documents, regional land use plans (DOF, 1990, 2002) and regional tourism development plans (DOF, 2002; FonaturJalisco & Secturjal, 2011) emphasize their commitment to sustainability as in respecting the local communities' needs and environmental concerns. The present study seeks to promote this need and tries to give first results in this direction.

Our participative multi-methods approach to assess the importance of tourism for the well-being of the local communities goes in the same direction as King et al.'s (2013) claimed need for advancing the existent research through the use of mixed methods to enable deeper understanding of the importance of key factors in the overall life quality.

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Capítulo 5

Discusión general

Las conclusiones principales de la tesis son las siguientes:

1. Existen discrepancias entre los actores involucrados en el SSE de Costalegre sobre el acceso a los SE; además de que no todos los SE están reconocidos por todos los actores.
2. El manejo integral de los SSE debe tomar en cuenta la existencia los diversos intereses de todos los actores involucrados para asegurar su buena sobrevivencia. Esto requiere en el caso de Costalegre de construir estrategias que permitan la coexistencia del turismo de lujo, las actividades económicas locales (pesca, turismo local, entre otro) y la conservación de ecosistemas.
3. En las políticas públicas que encaminan el desarrollo turístico se encuentran discrepancias entre lo planeado y la realidad por falta de gobernabilidad y gobernanza.
4. La ausencia de cumplimiento de las funciones del gobierno, así como mecanismos de toma de decisiones ineficientes permitieron la consolidación de nuevas instituciones entre los que destaca una organización privada de la industria hotelera.
5. Aparte de las políticas sectoriales inadecuadas para gobernar el turismo como fenómeno interdisciplinario, su débil aplicación, la ausencia de mecanismos de seguimiento y aplicación de sanciones especialmente en la interfase turístico-ambiental, además de la falta de comunicación entre actores son un retos clave a superar para identificar metas compartidas a fin de construir acciones concretas para un desarrollo turístico sustentable.
6. Ente los habitantes, existe apoyo al desarrollo turístico ya que éste es percibido como compatible con sus estilos de vida o hasta necesario para complementar el ingreso. Aunque existen conflictos relacionados al turismo (acceso a playas, venta de tierras ejidales), hasta el momento éstos no juegan un rol importante en la actitud hacia el turismo en Costalegre.
7. El turismo parece ser una fuente de identidad y de apego emocional en la región Costalegre, sobre todo por la provisión de empleo e ingresos económicos y una percibida dinamización de la economía de los pueblos.
8. Frente a un posible desarrollo turístico, la población tiene expectativas sobre la generación de empleo y la inversión en infraestructura pública. Por otro lado,

también expresa, pero en menor medida, tener que medir el desarrollo turístico y respetar los modos de vida tradicionales.

9. No se constataron diferencias entre los habitantes de las tres localidades rurales con diferentes estadios de desarrollo turístico (larga historia, reciente desarrollo, desarrollo a futuro) con respecto a sus opiniones o expectativas. Tampoco se encontraron diferencias en este sentido entre ejidos y localidades. La dependencia del empleo es el factor más relevante que explica la relación positiva hacia los desarrollos turísticos.

Estas conclusiones dan pautas para construir propuestas de un mejor manejo del SSE turístico. A continuación se reflexiona sobre temas relacionadas con esta posible transformación.

Conservación mediante ANP: la RBChCx

La presente tesis surgió por la preocupación de los efectos que los nuevos desarrollos turísticos en Costalegre pudieran tener sobre la integridad de los sistemas socio-ecológicos locales en los alrededores de la RBChCx. Como se ha mencionado, por ser sus terrenos mayoritariamente de propiedad privada y en menor medida perteneciente a la UNAM, la RB está cerrada a la visita de pobladores o turistas. Sin embargo, su presencia significa también la de la UNAM como institución de educación superior pública desde hace más de 40 años en una región esencialmente rural y alejada de núcleos poblacionales importantes. La actual misión del Instituto de Biología y por ende de la EB Chamela consiste en desarrollar investigación científica, participar en la formación de recursos humanos de alto nivel en su área, así como en difundir el conocimiento entre la sociedad mexicana, con el propósito de contribuir a la comprensión y conservación de la biodiversidad nacional (www.ib.unam.mx [21/04/2016]). Recientemente, para la otra EB “Los Tuxtles” en Veracruz que fue creada poco antes que la EB Chamela, es claro que la investigación básica y el no tomar en cuenta a las comunidades aledañas no es viable para la sobrevivencia del ecosistema (Martínez-Ramos, Ortiz-Rodríguez, Piñero, Dirzo, & Sarukhán, 2016). Cabe señalar que a diferencia de la EB “Los Tuxtles”, en Chamela, existe una buena cobertura de la vegetación en los alrededores del ANP, como ya se mencionó anteriormente.

Mientras que la EB Chamela busca proteger el área que tiene, sus funciones esenciales son la investigación y la educación (al ser parte de una universidad). Además, lleva a cabo

esfuerzos para dar a conocer su investigación y buscar incidir en las prácticas agrícolas y ganaderas en la región mediante proyectos que buscan entender la realidad campesina y por ende la construcción de prácticas de manejo de los ecosistemas más integrales. Asimismo, se han llevado a cabo talleres y reuniones sobre diversos temas y recientemente se tuvo una entre académicos y autoridades locales para intercambiar ideas sobre los efectos del huracán Patricia ocurrido en octubre de 2015. La parte de la FEC está manejada como propiedad privada con seguridad y control rígido de acceso incluso para los científicos de la EB Chamela.

Para los desarrolladores e inclusive la FEC, la RBChCx, es un “jardín privado” (expresión de un desarrollador) que da una plusvalía a la región y por ende al producto turístico. Debido al interés de proteger tierra despoblada frente a un desarrollo masivo, el terreno de la actual EB Chamela fue donada a principios de los setenta, por un habitante local. De tal manera, es posible entender lo que está ocurriendo hoy en día como una repetición de la historia de cerrar espacios públicos o partes de los ecosistemas al público general con fines de conservarlos. “Lo bonito se privatiza” (comentario del presidente AECA). Se identifica entonces en la región motivos similares para cerrar el acceso a áreas naturales que, al final de cuentas, se parecen en forma y consecuencia para la población local.

A nivel mundial, las Reservas de la Biosfera se diseñaron explícitamente para incorporar a las comunidades locales en estrategias de protección de los ecosistemas a través de estrategias de aprovechamiento sustentable de los recursos naturales. En el caso de la RBChCx no se tienen localidades en su interior según su área original decretada en el año 1993. A pesar de que la RBChCx se incorporó posteriormente al sistema Ramsar (02/02/2004) y al Programa Internacional Hombre y Biosfera (DOF 27/10/2006), extendiendo su área a casi 70.000 ha incluyendo ahora localidades humanas, siguen ausentes estrategias que busquen incorporar a los pobladores en su plan de manejo. Cabe señalar también, la falta de investigaciones sobre la sustentabilidad de los distintos sistemas de manejo, así como la implementación de sistemas que mantengan la biodiversidad a la vez que provean de sustento a las familias campesinas.

Pujadas & Castillo (2007) documentaron hace más de diez años que el sector conservacionista está lejos de ser unificado en el área de estudio. Recientemente fue

confirmado (por un miembro del comité técnico asesor) que la administración de la RBChCx entre la FEC y UNAM sigue sin funcionar bien internamente. Sin embargo, en su última evaluación externa se mencionó que el control de acceso estricto o la privatización *de facto* de gran parte de la reserva ha sido una estrategia útil para preservar la fauna y flora (Carreón & Soler., 2007). Por otro lado, se están reportando “invasiones” por parte de ejidos y conflictos (todavía aislados) por trabajos de los biólogos que se pueden explicar debido a una falta de comunicación y poco contacto con la población local que ha sido documentado durante años (Carreón & Soler., 2007; Castillo, Pujadas, Magaña, Martínez, & Godínez, 2006), algo que no es único en esta RB (Halffter, 2011; Martínez-Ramos et al., 2016).

Donde sí se logra unión y presentarse como un frente común del lado conservacionista es cuando es necesario revisar las nuevas propuestas de desarrollos turísticos, sus MIA, los planes de desarrollo territorial o los proyectos de infraestructura pública y emitir opiniones en conjunto en nombre de la RBChCx. El reducido contacto que existe entre la academia y el sector turístico es a veces polémico, como indican comentarios de las entrevistas de ambas partes, incluyendo el rechazo completo o las opiniones sesgadas. En la academia dedicada a estudiar el fenómeno turístico, sin embargo, durante décadas la discusión ha girado alrededor de encontrar un balance entre la sustentabilidad y la rentabilidad de los desarrollos turísticos (Moeller, Dolnicar, & Leisch, 2011).

¿Conservación y turismo?

La EB Chamela surgió principalmente por el interés de ocupar tierras sin un uso productivo que se combinó con la presencia de algunos biólogos haciendo estudios sobre la vegetación y la fauna del BTS. De forma similar la creación de la RBChCx fue promovida por lo menos parcialmente, por intereses de garantizar el no-desarrollo de la región y de los predios cercanos a las tierras de los dueños de grandes mansiones presentes en la zona desde décadas atrás. Hoy en día sigue la expansión activa del territorio privado designado a la conservación privada mediante la compra de parcelas en las localidades y ejidos cercanos que debe seguirse investigando.

Nuevas vertientes del turismo, tales como el turismo de naturaleza, ha sido identificado como promotor o ejemplo de la llamada “economía verde”, que desplaza las actividades económicas tradicionales de tal manera que se argumente su sustentabilidad (Duffy,

2015) O como lo expone Fletcher (2011), el turismo sostiene la expansión del capitalismo. Esta expansión más allá del éxito de los hoteles o la industria *per se*, es también un resultado de los esfuerzos de usar al turismo como estrategia de desarrollo de regiones marginadas y más recientemente para promover un desarrollo sustentable apoyado en la conservación de la naturaleza (UNWTO, 2013).

Los conservacionistas suelen ver de manera muy crítica la expansión del neoliberalismo, por estar basado en los mecanismos del mercado y por una precaución general ante una gestión no incluyente y la expansión de roles del poder existentes (Adams, Brockington, Dyson, & Vira, 2003). Por otro lado, otra forma de cooperación del sector privado con el gobierno son las alianzas entre lo público y lo privado (*public-private partnerships*), que es como se puede identificar el programa subregional Costalegre (FonaturJalisco & Secturjal, 2011) que fue impulsado por Fonatur con una fuerte cooperación de la AECA (véase Cap. 3). March & Wilkinson (2009) identifican una diferencia conceptual importante entre el desarrollo planeado y ordenado del turismo y el actual manejo susceptible a los vaivenes del poder, debido a los roles que asumen distintos actores (Guerrero-Rodríguez, 2011; Wynberg & Hauck, 2014). Otro tema poco atendido tanto por la ciencia como por la gestión pública y que explica la falta de gobernanza turística (Vargas Martínez, Cruz Jiménez, & Serrano Barquín, 2015).

Las nuevas formas de conservación incluyen la venta de porciones de la naturaleza para conservarla (Büscher, Dressler, & Fletcher, 2014), y estructuras como los sistemas de extensionismo (los técnicos forestales, por ejemplo) que en México se encargan de administrar programas gubernamentales de aprovechamiento de recursos y de conservación con las comunidades (Haenn, 2016). Más allá de los insumos de bienes y servicios ecosistémicos necesarios para cualquier actividad humana y su inherente impacto del ambiente, las características del turismo se pueden resumir como consumo del espacio (Urry, 1996) y “la mercantilización de la estética” (Vargas del Río, 2015). De esta manera, se enfatiza el carácter no extractivo y compatible con otras finalidades de uso del terreno. Si a esto se le añade el avance de la conciencia ambientalista, el nuevo patrón de desarrollo es lógico: “el modelo rural-comunitario puede “ayudar” a mantener la naturaleza preservada y cualquier tipo de industria es condenada por razones ecológicas; el turismo ecológico y a pequeña escala puede ser el modelo que parece conciliar este dilema” (Vargas del Río, 2015, p. 303; énfasis en original).

Se tienen, entonces, como instrumentos clásicos, la planeación ambiental espacial para encaminar y armonizar el desarrollo socio-económico con aspectos de protección ambiental (Silva & Acheampong, 2015) o las manifestaciones de impacto ambiental (MIA) para obtener los permisos correspondientes. En su estudio comparativo de los países de la OECD, Silva & Acheampong (2015) identificaron como principales hallazgos además de la naturaleza política de los MIA, el costo y fuertes limitaciones en cuanto a la capacidad e independencia de la opinión científica (Perevochtchikova & André, 2013).

Bravo et al. (2007) resumen como principales fallas de los Ordenamientos Ecológicos Territoriales (OET) en México, la falta de certeza en sus definiciones (por ejemplo la “zona costera”), la difícil cooperación entre las distintas agencias gubernamentales a distintos niveles para gestionar los OET y finalmente la existencia de jerarquías no claras. Aunque debería existir congruencia entre los OET de los distintos niveles (Art. 20 LGEEPA), en la realidad existen muchos casos de planeación múltiple con fines diferentes, ya que los OET son sectoriales y responden a sus respectivos programas lo que puede provocar incompatibilidades y/o conflictos sobre usos específicos (Bravo et al., 2007). Bien que los OET pueden ser considerados como un instrumento que logre un desarrollo sustentable mediante una planeación integral, hay que reconocer que sus distintas modalidades todavía no están bien vinculadas lo que hace difícil o imposible su meta principal, “ese objetivo común de las políticas de OET, que es alcanzar mayores niveles de bienestar y desarrollo para la sociedad mediante el manejo adecuado de los recursos naturales y una cultura de protección y conservación de la naturaleza” (Salazar, Izquierdo, & Bocco, n.d., p. 41). En el caso de la Costalegre, la historia del OET decretado en 1999, se puede clasificar como oportunista y poco participativo (Pujadas 2003), además de que no ha sido complementado por los OET locales que se están elaborando hasta muy reciente y todavía falta el Municipio de La Huerta, el municipio con más movimiento en lo que respecta a la inversión turística e inmobiliaria extranjera.

En México existen compensaciones monetarias mediante el “pago por servicios ambientales” (Conafor), los mecanismos de REDD+, pero no se conocen cuotas ambientales relacionados con la actividad recreativa en la naturaleza, como por ejemplo una cuota para tener una playa limpia y con servicios de salva-vida, como existe en

algunos países europeos (Bieling, 2009; Lee & Iwasa, 2011).

Turismo sustentable en la Costalegre

Para que un municipio de acuerdo a su rol de acuerdo con la Agenda 21 integre las políticas públicas y tenga un papel más importante para orientar el aprovechamiento de los recursos hacia la sustentabilidad y juegue su papel protagónico como promotor estratégico y conductor del cambio y enlace entre grupos, se requiere de capacidades, aptitudes y responsabilidad en el gobierno local, así como contar una comunidad local activa (O'Riordan 2013). El municipio *de facto* no está presente en Costalegre. Algunos problemas de gestión conocidas son la poca continuidad o el desfase de las políticas públicas a distintos niveles (Hernández, Jiménez, Montes-Peña, & Jiménez, 2007), aparte de los problemas de capacidades económicas y de capacitación limitadas.

Debido a la falta de gobernanza por parte de los organismos públicos y por ende el no cumplimiento de la normatividad ambiental y/ o turística, por ahora parece que los grandes tomadores de decisiones son un grupo líder compuesto por magnates terratenientes y desarrolladores turísticos. Los dilemas que enfrenta el gremio conservacionista es si sumarse activamente a la discusión, debate y lograr que sus argumentos se tome en cuenta en la toma de decisiones, o continuar reaccionando a las siguientes propuestas a través de revisar críticamente las MIA presentadas para el subsecuente desarrollo de hoteles, carreteras y otros proyectos de nueva infraestructura (Büscher, Dressler, & Fletcher, 2014). Considerando el tipo de desarrollo turístico, los intereses de los desarrolladores manifestados en las entrevistas y por ende el perfil del mercado que busca atraer, Costalegre pareciera apto para transformarse en un caso ejemplar como destino sustentable.

Para ello será importante tomar en cuenta todos los actores presentes. A parte de las localidades y ejidos, es importante nombrar dos grupos poco consultados y/o involucrados: los propietarios de los grandes extensiones y los llamados *snowbirds* de Canadá o Estados- Unidos.

Snowbirds

Aunque la población creciente de las "segundas casas" de propietarios extranjeros, en su mayoría de Estados Unidos o Canadá, es creciente y mereciera más atención, los

fenómenos de los *snowbirds* apenas se están estudiando en otras partes de México (Coates, Healy, & Morrison, 2002). Las segundas casas están en la intersección entre los turistas y los migrantes ya que pasan largos periodos fuera de su país de residencia (Müller, 2011). Aunque a veces aparecen muy interesados e involucrados en la vida cotidiana, no siempre es el caso. Están entre los turistas, la población rural y otros habitantes regulares ya que en general entran con visa de turista y no tienen derechos ciudadanos. Tampoco queda claro quien tiene legitimidad para participar en procesos de toma de decisiones locales (Farstad, 2015; Hall, 2014).

En el área de estudio hay generalmente dos tipos de segundas casas: las de clase mediana de retirados estadounidenses o canadienses en los pueblos o en cercanía de los pueblos existentes y las segundas casas de lujo con playas de acceso restringido y desarrollos cerrados en las cercanías de las localidades existentes. Generalmente, los *snowbirds* tienen la fama de involucrarse mucho en obras caritativas y de protección del medio ambiente, como se mencionó frecuentemente en las entrevistas. Además, existen estudios (Mottiar, 2009) que muestran claramente como los dueños de segundas casas entran en procesos de toma de decisiones locales, a veces de manera más activa que los locales. Es un sector que no está atendido por las políticas locales. En su totalidad, aunque es muy heterogéneo, tiene el potencial de influenciar mediante la demanda del mercado.

Los nuevos – antiguos hacendados

Varios de los hoteleros con los desarrollos de lujo aparte o en conjunto con los nuevos desarrolladores están actualmente logrando mantener su forma de manejar y extender sus tierras para sus fines de conservación, producción agrícola o turismo según requieren. Varios comentarios tanto anecdóticos como comentarios documentados en la encuesta (véase Cap. 4) indican que se están comprando terrenos ejidales, sea para transformarlos en complejos turísticos o para preservarlos. Estas tierras “ya no se trabajan, están para conservación”. El factor común es que se privatiza parte del paisaje, especialmente de la costa, en extensiones de tal tamaño que se podría hablar de la existencia de nuevos tipos de haciendas. Algunos habitantes de la región que antes eran los dueños de sus terrenos (ejidatarios), vendieron por completo o parcialmente sus terrenos y buscan trabajar en las opciones que les dan los nuevos dueños. Parece ser un tema poco atendido en el área de la conservación, estudiar bajo enfoques de la antropología cuestiones de roles de clases sociales de la conservación, incluyendo el rol del ejidatario

o campesino como trabajador en los hoteles (Haenn, 2016). Tampoco se ha atendido la parte del hedonismo y de la segregación social y espacial a la hora de estudiar los imaginarios del turismo de lujo (Thurlow & Jaworski, 2012) con sus playas privadas, exclusividad y naturaleza “prístina” sin presencia humana.

En Costalegre, los elementos centrales del turismo son la naturaleza (principalmente las palyas) y los recursos naturales, basándose la actividad turística por ejemplo en la morfología costera o el clima local y menos en el mercado laboral regional o la proximidad a un mercado de consumidores (Brenner & Aguilar, 2002); es decir el paisaje juega un rol principal en la planeación turística (Bieling, 2009; César, 2007). Sin embargo, no existen cooperativas locales, aparte de los pescadores que dan paseos turísticos como complemento económico, sino los empresarios y desarrolladores hoteleros que promuevan sus destinos “verdes” y a través de la generación de plusvalía mediante la creación de ANP (Bieling, 2009) como se ha visto en Costalegre con el desarrollo Zafiro o en el marketing de la RBChcx como atractivo para el turismo.

Recientemente la conservación mediante instrumentos neo-liberales ha recibido mucha atención en el ámbito académico (Büscher, Dressler, & Fletcher, 2014; Fletcher, 2011). El neoliberalismo tiene profundas implicaciones de cómo los humanos se relacionan con la naturaleza. Se transforman bienes y servicios ecosistémicos en atractivos turístico que luego llegan a sustituir actividades económicas tradicionales por falta de acceso a recursos económicos, como en el caso de los pescadores. Por otro lado existe “[...] la compra de tierra para cederla a la conservación en áreas naturales privadas; la incorporación de tierras privadas a áreas protegidas propiedad del Estado; la creación de fondos y fideicomisos privados para la conservación; el establecimiento de productos financieros -bonos, acciones, créditos- exclusivos para la conservación y la disminución de la presencia del Estado en la práctica de la conservación; así como su alianza con ONG, empresas privadas, comunidades e instituciones multilaterales para la ejecución de proyectos de conservación” (Durand, 2014, p. 201).

De esta manera el turismo transforma “paisajes en productos y comodidades” (Gössling, 2002, p. 547; trad. prop.), lo que a su vez resulta en un rechazo por los conservacionistas más extremistas. Aunque los casos de éxito del turismo para la conservación de la naturaleza son pocos y aislados (Bieling, 2009; Hall, 2010; Wensink & Pienkowski, 2013), existen una serie de posibilidades de insertar aspectos de conservación en proyectos

turísticos.

Varios de los habitantes de Costalegre con grandes propiedades mantienen proyectos de desarrollo turístico o de bienes raíces en una parte de su propiedad, mientras que el resto sigue sin desarrollar este tipo de actividades. Estos propietarios son los que se promueven como “reserva ecológica privada”, área de protección o incluso se insertan en programas de conservación voluntaria (promovidos por Conanp). No obstante, no existen registros o estudios sobre la integridad de estas reservas privadas, ni están reglamentadas. Viendo la importante porción de tierras que está en manos privadas, sería importante considerar estudios a futuro sobre su funcionamiento y rol.

Reflexiones finales

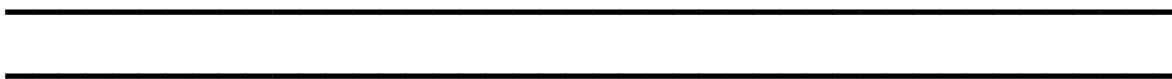
Para encaminar el turismo hacia el llamado desarrollo sustentable se tiene que entender cada vez más la complejidad de sus distintas facetas. Esto implica tomar en cuenta a todos los actores involucrados y tratar de entender las razones y motivaciones de su actuar afín de luego construir conjuntamente estrategias y planes de acción concretas. En este sentido, el presente trabajo documenta y explica las posiciones de distintos actores y provee, basado en los resultados obtenidos, algunas ideas para planear un desarrollo turístico sustentable a escala local.

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Anexo



Cuestionario Agua y recursos naturales unidades turísticas

Formato de encuesta

FECHA:

Contacto:

Nombre del Hotel _____

Año de inauguración _____

Funciona sin interrupción si no

Especificar: _____

Ampliaciones/ Cambios si no

Especificar _____

Administrado por los dueños empleado otro, especificar

Capacidad del hotel	
# cuartos	
# villas <input type="radio"/> # bungalós <input type="radio"/>	
# otro _____	
Origen del agua	
Pozo	# _____ profundidad _____ m capacidad _____ m ³ Concesión si <input type="radio"/> no <input type="radio"/> Comparte el pozo Especificar _____ Calidad _____ Siempre tiene agua <input type="radio"/> si <input type="radio"/> no Problemas de salinidad <input type="radio"/> si <input type="radio"/> no
Planta purificadora	<input type="radio"/> si <input type="radio"/> no capacidad _____ m ³ <input type="radio"/> No sabe
Planta potabilizadora	<input type="radio"/> si <input type="radio"/> no capacidad _____ m ³ <input type="radio"/> No sabe
Registro de uso de agua	Registro desde año _____ Agua usada en periodo _____ m ³ / _____ (semana o mes)

	<input type="radio"/> No hay registro <input type="radio"/> Hay registro pero no se puede consultar <input type="radio"/> No sabe
Almacenamiento	Estanque _____ m3
Si no tiene pozo	
Origen del agua	Especificar lugar _____ Cómo llega el agua? pipa <input type="radio"/> tubería <input type="radio"/> red publica <input type="radio"/> Distancia _____ km <input type="radio"/> No sabe
Pago del agua	¿Se paga? <input type="radio"/> si <input type="radio"/> no ¿a quién? _____ ¿bajo qué régimen? ¿cuánto? <input type="radio"/> por pipa _____ pesos <input type="radio"/> por cantidad _____ pesos <input type="radio"/> nada más la electricidad _____ pesos (por bombeo) o especificar _____ _____ _____ <input type="radio"/> se paga mantenimiento de la bomba y del pozo _____ pesos (_____ veces al año) <input type="radio"/> No sabe
Monitoreo de la calidad	
Fugas	
Salinidad	
¿Hay suficiente agua todo el año?	<input type="radio"/> si <input type="radio"/> no especificar:
Medidas para ahorrar agua	<input type="radio"/> si <input type="radio"/> no especificar:
Sensibilización de huéspedes	<input type="radio"/> si <input type="radio"/> no especificar:
Sensibilización del personal	<input type="radio"/> si <input type="radio"/> no especificar:

Programas de "sólo lavar toallas usadas"	O si O no especificar:
De quién depende el manejo del agua	
Tener agua	
Problemas técnicas	
Agua/ cuarto	
	# total de xx y capacidad Regaderas # _____ Tinas # _____ m3 Jacuzzis # _____ m3 Pool individual # _____ m3
Agua/ villa etc	# total de xx y capacidad Regaderas # _____ Tinas # _____ m3 Jacuzzis # _____ m3 Pool individual # _____ m3
Áreas verdes	Extensión m3
Uso	
Riego	
Plantas	
Hortalizas/ etc	
Alberca(s)	
#	
Capacidad	
Mantenimiento	
Otras actividades	O Tenis O Golf (m2) O Animales O Lanchas O Tours

	O
Gente y/o empleados viviendo en la propiedad	# personas
% de la propiedad de construcción	
% “reserva” sin manejo	Aplica O si O no _____ m2
Basura	
Separación	<input type="radio"/> No <input type="radio"/> Composta <input type="radio"/> Separación <input type="radio"/> Especificar _____ <input type="radio"/> No sabe
Qué pasa con la “basura”	<input type="radio"/> el municipio se la lleva (a donde _____) <input type="radio"/> Lo Reciclable va a _____ Especificar _____ <input type="radio"/> No sabe Responsable para detalles de la basura <input type="radio"/> Hotel <input type="radio"/> Municipio <input type="radio"/> otro, especificar _____ <input type="radio"/> no sabe
Drenaje	
	<input type="radio"/> Planta de tratamiento <input type="radio"/> Fosa séptica <input type="radio"/> Red pública <input type="radio"/> otro, especificar _____ <input type="radio"/> no sabe Responsable para detalles del drenaje <input type="radio"/> Hotel <input type="radio"/> Municipio <input type="radio"/> otro, especificar _____ <input type="radio"/> no sabe

Animales de atracción (# y especie)	
Programa de conservación (flora, fauna)	Registrado Especies Detalles
Origen de la comida	
Vegetales y fruta	<input type="radio"/> Hotel <input type="radio"/> local <input type="radio"/> región (Vallarta, Manzanillo) <input type="radio"/> nacional <input type="radio"/> internacional <input type="radio"/> orgánica ; Interés <input type="radio"/> si <input type="radio"/> no (varias opciones) (cual es la más frecuente *)
Lácteos y huevos	<input type="radio"/> Hotel <input type="radio"/> local <input type="radio"/> región (Vallarta, Manzanillo) <input type="radio"/> nacional <input type="radio"/> internacional <input type="radio"/> orgánica ; Interés <input type="radio"/> si <input type="radio"/> no (varias opciones) (cual es la más frecuente *)
Pescado	<input type="radio"/> Hotel <input type="radio"/> local <input type="radio"/> región (Vallarta, Manzanillo) <input type="radio"/> nacional <input type="radio"/> internacional (varias opciones) (cual es la más frecuente *)
Carne	<input type="radio"/> Hotel <input type="radio"/> local <input type="radio"/> región (Vallarta, Manzanillo) <input type="radio"/> nacional <input type="radio"/> internacional <input type="radio"/> orgánica ; Interés <input type="radio"/> si <input type="radio"/> no (varias opciones) (cual es la más frecuente *)
Recursos locales	

Material de construcción	O si O no Especificar _____
Plantas ornamentales	
Animales, sub-productos	
Otro _____	
Otro _____	
Otro _____	
Turista	
¿Por qué viene?	1 (no importa) - 3 (neutro) – 5 (muy importante)
Clima	<input type="radio"/> 1 <input type="radio"/> 2 <input type="radio"/> 3 <input type="radio"/> 4 <input type="radio"/> 5
Servicio	<input type="radio"/> 1 <input type="radio"/> 2 <input type="radio"/> 3 <input type="radio"/> 4 <input type="radio"/> 5
Exclusividad	<input type="radio"/> 1 <input type="radio"/> 2 <input type="radio"/> 3 <input type="radio"/> 4 <input type="radio"/> 5
Tranquilidad	<input type="radio"/> 1 <input type="radio"/> 2 <input type="radio"/> 3 <input type="radio"/> 4 <input type="radio"/> 5
Playa	<input type="radio"/> 1 <input type="radio"/> 2 <input type="radio"/> 3 <input type="radio"/> 4 <input type="radio"/> 5
Vegetación: fauna, flora nativa	<input type="radio"/> 1 <input type="radio"/> 2 <input type="radio"/> 3 <input type="radio"/> 4 <input type="radio"/> 5
Cultura local	<input type="radio"/> 1 <input type="radio"/> 2 <input type="radio"/> 3 <input type="radio"/> 4 <input type="radio"/> 5
Seguridad	<input type="radio"/> 1 <input type="radio"/> 2 <input type="radio"/> 3 <input type="radio"/> 4 <input type="radio"/> 5
Animación / Tours	<input type="radio"/> 1 <input type="radio"/> 2 <input type="radio"/> 3 <input type="radio"/> 4 <input type="radio"/> 5
Otro	<input type="radio"/> 1 <input type="radio"/> 2 <input type="radio"/> 3 <input type="radio"/> 4 <input type="radio"/> 5

1. Guía de entrevista para hoteles económicos

- ¿Qué rol tiene el turismo para este lugar (pueblo) y la región? (Alternativa: ¿El turismo es importante aquí en el pueblo?)
- ¿A qué se dedica la gente aquí principalmente (a parte del turismo)?
- ¿Ha habido cambios en la actividad principal (Especificar desde cuando vive aquí)?
- ¿Cómo ve el turismo en la actualidad (en este año)?
- El turismo tiene consecuencias. ¿Cuáles son los lados positivos y negativos del turismo? (¿Hay consecuencias negativas?)
- Existen rumores de desarrollos grandes en la región (Hoteles). ¿Le gustaría que cambiara el turismo?
- Ha escuchado de “Costalegre”?
- ¿Qué es?
- ¿Hay una organización? Hay un contacto?
- ¿El turismo, los hoteles en este lugar están organizados? (¿Se reúnen periódicamente?)
- ¿Cómo se relaciona el turismo con otras actividades? ¿Hay rivalidad? (por ejemplo entre turismo y pescadores)
- Hablando del medio ambiente: ¿Hay una relación entre turismo y medio ambiente? ¿Cómo es la relación?
- ¿Hay consecuencias positivas/ negativas del turismo en el medio ambiente?
- ¿Cómo aprovecha el turismo el medio ambiente?
- ¿Ha escuchado de cuotas ambientales? (Por ejemplo, en algunos lugares se paga una cuota para la limpieza de las playas)
- ¿Sería buena una cuota ambiental aquí para el medio ambiente?
- ¿La gente estaría de acuerdo?
- ¿Hay actores que protegen el medio ambiente? Quienes son?
- Tiene contacto con ellos?
- ¿Tiene una certificación ambiental?
- ¿Ha escuchado del “ecoturismo”? ¿Qué es?
- A veces se privatizan las playas para el turismo. ¿Aquí ha pasado?
- ¿Es buena idea?
- Comentario final. ¿Quiere añadir algo?

2. Formato Encuesta para Unidad Familiar

Encuestadora _____ Fecha _____ Numero de la encuesta _____

→ Siempre hay varias opciones, se vale a contestar “no sé” o “no quiero contestar”

D: Datos generales para entender como vive Usted		
D1	Localidad	<input type="radio"/> Francisco Villa/ Emiliano Zapata <input type="radio"/> Chamela <input type="radio"/> San Mateo
D2	Sexo	<input type="radio"/> Mujer <input type="radio"/> Hombre
D3.1	¿Nació aquí?	<input type="radio"/> Si <input type="radio"/> No
D3.2	Si no, ¿Dónde nació? Y ¿En qué año llegó aquí?	Lugar Hace años/ año:
D4	¿Cuántas personas viven con usted (Incluyéndolo a usted)?	<input type="radio"/> 1 <input type="radio"/> 2 <input type="radio"/> 3 <input type="radio"/> 4 <input type="radio"/> 5 <input type="radio"/> más:
D5	¿A qué se dedican los adultos? Incluyéndolo a Usted (1.)	1. 2.
D6	Si tiene hijos: ¿Piensa que sus hijos van a seguir sus actividades?	<input type="radio"/> si <input type="radio"/> no <input type="radio"/> no sé <input type="radio"/> no tiene hijos
D7.1	¿Usted tiene planes de realizar otras actividades en el futuro?	<input type="radio"/> Si <input type="radio"/> No <input type="radio"/> no sé
D7.2	¿Cuál/es? Pregunta abierta	
D8.1	¿Tiene otros ingresos para sostener a la familia?	<input type="radio"/> Si <input type="radio"/> No <input type="radio"/> No desea contestar
D8.2	¿Cuáles? Voy a leer opciones y Usted escoge todas que aplican.	<input type="radio"/> Huerto familiar <input type="radio"/> venta de dulce/ fruta/.... <input type="radio"/> Apoyos gubernamentales <input type="radio"/> Remesas <input type="radio"/> algún comercio <input type="radio"/> Trabajo por jornales <input type="radio"/> Trabaja (no de tiempo completo) en restaurante, hotel, EBCh, rancho, casa particular, <input type="radio"/> Otra:
M9.1	En relación con la tenencia de la tierra, de las siguientes opciones ¿cuál le corresponde?	<input type="radio"/> Ejidatari@ o <input type="radio"/> Hij@ de Ejidatari@ <input type="radio"/> Vecindad@ <input type="radio"/> Pequeñ@ propietario@ <input type="radio"/> otro:
M9.2	Si es ejidatari@, ¿es?	<input type="radio"/> en el lugar de residencia <input type="radio"/> otro:
M10.1	¿En general la vida en [su localidad] es agradable, está contento aquí?	<input type="radio"/> contento <input type="radio"/> no contento <input type="radio"/> no desea responder
M10.2	¿Qué es lo que más aprecia de su localidad? Pregunta abierta	

T: Turismo: **historia y actualidad en su pueblo** [turismo tanto en el sentido de que la gente de aquí viene a pasear un rato en la playa o que viene gente de afuera a quedarse]

T11.1	¿En su localidad o muy cerca de su localidad hay turismo?	O si O no
T11.2	En caso de si: ¿Dónde? Escoge de la lista:	O aquí en el pueblo O en las playas del pueblo O en las playas cercanas O en lugares cercanos (casas privadas, hoteles,...)
T11.3	¿Qué tipo de turismo hay?	O la gente de aquí (pueblo y región) viene a su día de playa O la gente de aquí (pueblo y región) viene a hospedarse O gente de más lejos viene a pasar su día de playa O gente de todo México viene a hospedarse O vienen también extranjeros a pasar en la playa O vienen también extranjeros a hospedarse
T12	Y <u>Su pueblo</u> ¿qué ofrece? Escoge todas las opciones que aplican de la lista	O servicios como paseos/ escuela de surf/ buceo O palapas O lugar para acampar O restaurantes O cuartos para rentar O hoteles pequeños O hoteles de lujo O casas de lujo para rentar O hoteles de lujo cercanos O casas de lujo cercanas O otro:
T13. 1	¿Desde cuándo visitan turistas la localidad o sus playas (si es el caso)? Escoge de la lista.	O desde hace 10 años O Desde hace 20 años O Desde que está la Carretera Costera (1972) O desde que estaba Club Med/ Careyes (1968) O Siempre ha habido turismo O No recuerdo O otro:
T13. 2	¿Ha habido cambios en el turismo los últimos años?	O si O no O no sé
T13. 3	En caso de que si: ¿Cómo fue el cambio?	O hay más turismo O hay menos turismo O se desvía el turismo a otro lugar cerca
T13. 4	¿Sabe cuándo o por qué?	O Año: O no recuerdo O por la inseguridad O por que cerraron el acceso a la playa O otro: O no sé

T14	¿Por qué viene el turista a su pueblo? Escoje de la lista	O Servicios (Restaurantes O, Palapas O, Hospedaje O) O Naturaleza (Playa O, Río O, Represa O, Clima O) O monumentos (iglesia) O fiestas o eventos del pueblo O visitar la familia/ los amigos O a descansar O otro:
T15.1	¿Sabe cómo o quién inició el turismo en su localidad?	O si O no O no sé
T15.2	En caso de si: ¿cómo? Escoje de la lista.	O fue iniciado por gente del pueblo O fue gente de afuera : O fue un programa del gobierno: O fue cuando empezaron los hoteles (Club Med, Careyes,...) O otro:
Su relación con el turismo actual		
T16.1	Aunque no trabaje directamente con el turismo, ¿el turismo aporta a la economía familiar?	O si O no O no sé
T16.2	En caso de si: ¿Cómo? (Pregunta abierta)	
T17	Las personas que viven en esta localidad, ¿a dónde van a descansar? Escoje opciones	O a la playa del pueblo O a playas cercanas O al río O a la boca del río O al monte O otro:
T18.1	¿Usted (su familia) va a la playa?	O si O no O solamente por el trabajo
T18.2	¿Con qué frecuencia va a la playa?	O muy seguido (todos los fines de semana) O dos veces al mes O de vez en cuando (puentes, cuando viene familia,...) O casi no va O nunca → SEGUIR CON T21.1
T18.3	¿A cuál playa va en general?	Playa:
T18.	¿A parte de esta playa, también va	O Pérula O Careyitos O Xametla O otra:

		no sé
T24	Con el turismo ha aumentado la criminalidad.	O de acuerdo O no acuerdo O no sé
T25	El turismo está dando mucho empleo a la población.	O de acuerdo O no acuerdo O no sé
T26	No es mucho el turismo que hay en el pueblo.	O de acuerdo O no acuerdo O no sé
<i>Ahora, le voy a preguntar sobre <u>su vida en su localidad</u> como es ahora.</i>		
T28	¿En su localidad, en general la gente se ayuda?	O si O no O no sé O no deseo contestar
T29	¿La gente es unida en su pueblo?	O si O no O no sé O no deseo contestar
T30. 1	¿Ha crecido su pueblo en los últimos 10 años?	O si O no O no sé
T30. 2	Si si: ¿A qué se debe?	O crecimiento natural de las familias O hay más gente de a fuera O otro:
T30. 3	¿Las jóvenes en general se van o se quedan aquí?	O se van O se quedan O no sé
T30. 4	¿Por qué? (Pregunta abierta)	
T31. 1	¿Cómo se siente de salud?	O bien O más o menos O no bien
T31. 2	¿Tiene acceso a servicios médicos?	O no O si O no sé
T32. 1	Sobre el futuro de su pueblo: ¿Se siente informado sobre las decisiones que se toman sobre su localidad?	O si O no O no sé O no deseo contestar
T32. 2	¿A usted en particular le han consultado? ¿En que forma?	O si O no O no sé O no deseo contestar Forma:
T33	¿La gente asiste a las reuniones del pueblo?	O si O no O no sé O no deseo contestar
T34	¿Usted es miembro de un comité/ grupo de mujeres?	O si O no O no sé O no deseo contestar
T35	¿En su comunidad están todavía presentes las costumbres y fiestas?	O si O no O no sé

T36	¿Tiene acceso a créditos, programas de apoyo?	O si O no O no sé O no deseo contestar
T37	¿Aquí el precio de la vida es accesible?	O si O no O no sé O no deseo contestar
T38	¿Cómo ve el estado de sus calles, banquetas, del transporte en su pueblo? Escoge:	O bueno O regular O mal O no sé
T39	¿Tiene todos los servicios (luz, agua, drenaje)?	O Luz O Agua potable O Drenaje O Electricidad O no sé
T40	¿Hay parques con árboles o jardines u otros lugares <u>públicos</u> para descansar?	O si O no O no sé
T41	¿Qué tipo de lugar público prefiere para descansar/ reunirse con amigos? Escoge de la lista.	O Playa O Plaza del pueblo O jardín público O Sombra de un árbol O monte O boca del río O otro:
Ahora vienen preguntas relacionadas con los nuevos proyectos turísticos:		
F42.1	¿Ha escuchado de los nuevos proyectos turísticos?	O si O no O no sé
F42.2	¿Aquí en el pueblo o cerca hay?	O si O no O no sé
F42.3	¿Cuáles son? (Pregunta abierta)	
F43.1	¿Ha tenido contacto con los desarrolladores/ la empresa?	O si O no O no sé O solo con la cooperativa/ el comité
F43.2	¿Ha tenido reuniones con autoridades al respecto de los proyectos?	O si O no O no sé O solo con la cooperativa/ el comité
F44.1	¿Está en favor o en contra de estos proyectos?	O en favor O en contra O me da igual O no sé
F44.1	¿Por qué? (abierta)	
F45.1	En relación a los proyectos turísticos: ¿Ha escuchado de cambios/ mejoras de infraestructura o de remodelación?	O si O no O no sé
F45.	¿Cuáles? Escoge de la lista las opciones que	O ampliación de la carretera costera

2	aplican.	<input type="checkbox"/> aeropuerto <input type="checkbox"/> remodelación de casas <input type="checkbox"/> mejora de las calles <input type="checkbox"/> nuevos jardines <input type="checkbox"/> apoyo a la escuela <input type="checkbox"/> otro:
F45. 3	¿Actualmente ya están algunos de estos cambios/ mejoras mencionados? ¿Cuáles? Subraye en F45.2 las opciones.	<input type="checkbox"/> si <input type="checkbox"/> no
F45. 4	En caso de haber cambios: ¿A Usted le han afectado?	<input type="checkbox"/> si <input type="checkbox"/> no <input type="checkbox"/> no sé
F45. 6	¿Está satisfecho con estos cambios?	<input type="checkbox"/> si <input type="checkbox"/> no <input type="checkbox"/> no sé
<i>Voy a leer frases en relación con los nuevos proyectos turísticos y usted me dice si <u>está de acuerdo o no o si no sabe.</u></i>		
F46	Ojalá existieran más nuevos proyectos en mi pueblo.	<input type="checkbox"/> de acuerdo <input type="checkbox"/> no acuerdo <input type="checkbox"/> no sé
F47	Los nuevos proyectos van a sacar adelante mi pueblo.	<input type="checkbox"/> de acuerdo <input type="checkbox"/> no acuerdo <input type="checkbox"/> no sé
F48	Los nuevos proyectos están tomando en cuenta las necesidades de los habitantes de mi pueblo.	<input type="checkbox"/> de acuerdo <input type="checkbox"/> no acuerdo <input type="checkbox"/> no sé
F49	Con los nuevos proyectos están hay más orden y limpieza en el pueblo.	<input type="checkbox"/> de acuerdo <input type="checkbox"/> no acuerdo <input type="checkbox"/> no sé
F50	Los nuevos proyectos protegen el medio ambiente.	<input type="checkbox"/> de acuerdo <input type="checkbox"/> no acuerdo <input type="checkbox"/> no sé
F51	Con los nuevos proyectos, ahora la vida es más cara en mi pueblo	<input type="checkbox"/> de acuerdo <input type="checkbox"/> no acuerdo <input type="checkbox"/> no sé
F52	Ya hoy en día hay más trabajo en mi pueblo por los nuevos proyectos.	<input type="checkbox"/> de acuerdo <input type="checkbox"/> no acuerdo <input type="checkbox"/> no sé
F53	En el futuro va haber más trabajo para la gente del pueblo por los proyectos turísticos.	<input type="checkbox"/> de acuerdo <input type="checkbox"/> no acuerdo <input type="checkbox"/> no sé
F54	Los jóvenes no se van a ir porque tendrán una opción de trabajo en los nuevos proyectos aquí.	<input type="checkbox"/> de acuerdo <input type="checkbox"/> no acuerdo <input type="checkbox"/> no sé
F55	Los proyectos van a traer más negocios.	<input type="checkbox"/> de acuerdo <input type="checkbox"/> no acuerdo <input type="checkbox"/> no sé

F56	Los NP me permiten continuar con mis actividades de siempre (como la siembra, ganadería).	O de acuerdo O no acuerdo O no sé
F57	Los nuevos proyectos turísticos ya deberían construirse y funcionar.	O de acuerdo O no acuerdo O no sé
F58	Es por los conservacionistas que no empiezan a funcionar los proyectos.	O de acuerdo O no acuerdo O no sé
F59	Los proyectos han comprado muchos terrenos del pueblo.	O de acuerdo O no acuerdo O no sé
F60	Con los nuevos proyectos, el pueblo está más unido que antes.	O de acuerdo O no acuerdo O no sé
F61	Los nuevos proyectos han traído problemas entre la gente del pueblo.	O de acuerdo O no acuerdo O no sé
F62	Trabajar como emplead@ en los nuevos proyectos es algo que deseo.	O de acuerdo O no acuerdo O no sé
F63	Prefiero trabajar de emplead@ en los proyectos que mi trabajo/ ocupación actual.	O de acuerdo O no acuerdo O no sé
F64	Los nuevos proyectos emplean gente de a fuera.	O de acuerdo O no acuerdo O no sé
F65	Si no hubiera los nuevos proyectos, no habría ningún trabajo en mi pueblo.	O de acuerdo O no acuerdo O no sé
F66	Los nuevos proyectos tienen poder en las decisiones políticas de la región.	O de acuerdo O no acuerdo O no sé
F67	En mi pueblo, los nuevos proyectos están tomando muchas decisiones (sobre el futuro del pueblo).	O de acuerdo O no acuerdo O no sé
<i>En las siguientes preguntas le pido que complete la frase con una de las opciones de la lista.</i>		
F68	Con los nuevos desarrollos, siento	O angustia O esperanza O indiferencia O otro:
F69	Los nuevos proyectos benefician principalmente a: escoge de la lista	O la población local O a los dueños O a los turistas O a nadie O otro:
F70	Los nuevos proyectos perjudican/afectan principalmente a: escoge de la lista	O la población local O a los dueños O a los turistas O a nadie O otro:
F71	Para mi, el turismo actualmente es:	O fuente de ingreso complementario O fuente importante del ingreso familiar

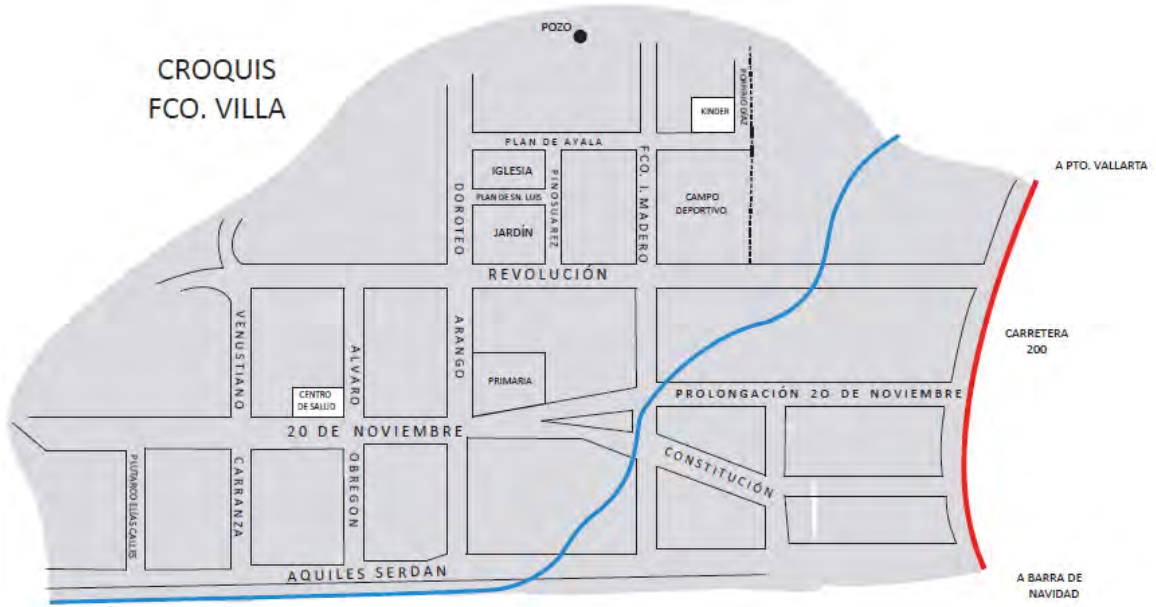
		O no tiene relación con el ingreso familiar
F72	En el futuro, con los nuevos proyectos espero que sea:	O fuente de ingreso complementario O fuente importante del ingreso familiar O sin relación con el ingreso familiar
F73	Si tuviera algún deseo al respecto de los nuevos proyectos: ¿qué sería? (Pregunta abierta)	
F74	¿Cómo sería su pueblo sin turismo? (Pregunta abierta)	
F75.1	¿Puede llegar a haber demasiado turismo en su pueblo? <i>(OJO: demasiado al parecer en la región tiene connotación positiva)</i>	O si O no O no sé
F75.2	¿Por qué? (Pregunta abierta)	
F76	¿Quiere comentar algo más?	
Datos estadísticos		
	¿Nos puede dar la siguiente información para fines estadísticos?	
E1	Edad ¿En qué año nació?	Año: _____ o Edad _____ años O no desea contestar
E2	Grado de Escolaridad ¿Hasta qué año fue a la escuela?	O sin grado O Primaria O Secundaria O Preparatoria O Universidad O otro: O no sé O no deseo contestar

4. Croquis de las localidades (Capítulo 4)

Como parte de la generación de información se elaboraron los siguientes croquis de las localidades en base a mapas existentes (San Mateo, F. Villa) y en recorridos en campo (Chamela) ya que esta última localidad no contaba con mapa. Cabe mencionar que a finales de 2015, el desarrollo turístico desubicó nuevamente algunas casas de la localidad. Además, fue la localidad que más fue afectada por el huracán Patricia. Por lo tanto el croquis de Chamela tiene valor histórico y ya no refleja la situación actual. Elaboración técnica: Regina González.



CROQUIS
FCO. VILLA



El futuro de la costa de Jalisco



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Centro de Investigaciones en Ecosistemas
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