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Jacobsen, Casper

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Casper Jacobsen

MULTICULTOURISM IN MEXICO'S MAGICAL VILLAGE CUETZALAN
Regenerating Mestizo Nation

Supervisors: Birgitta Svensson & Jesper Nielsen
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Name of department: Department of Cross-Cultural and Regional Studies

Author: Casper Jacobsen

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# CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acknowledgements</th>
<th>Part one: Introduction</th>
<th>Part two: The diachronic Magical Villages Program: Frames and technologies in motion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prologue</td>
<td>Chapter 1: Introduction</td>
<td>Chapter 4: The diachronic Magical Villages Program: Frames and technologies in motion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chapter 2: Governing frames</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chapter 3: Working the translocal field</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 5: When pros turn pro: Community ambassadors and social order .................................................. 98

Goodbye interview, hello meeting ........................................................................................................ 98
Analytical approach ............................................................................................................................... 100
Opening and closing: Establishing narrative consensus and ratifying participants ................................. 102
"Proud to be the first:" Mobilizing the chronology of nomination .......................................................... 109
How money circulates: Narrating economic order ............................................................................... 109
Negotiating proper representation of local attitudes and experiences .................................................. 111
Recursive regulation in the meeting .................................................................................................... 116
Privatized participation and the unitary community ......................................................................... 120

Chapter 6: Multicultourism in the Magical Village: Setting temporality and translocality ...................... 124

Remaking the urban environment ...................................................................................................... 125
Framing the setting: Interplay of narrative and signage ....................................................................... 129
Mediating the setting ............................................................................................................................ 136
In the footsteps of Quetzalcoatl: Pilgrimage to the origin of the nation ................................................ 142

Sub-conclusion of part two .................................................................................................................. 150

Part three .................................................................................................................................................. 153

Chapter 7: Networking and rooting: Ritual co-parenthood in Tzinacapan ............................................. 154

Becoming one's own informant: Revisiting forgotten field notes, glimpsing concealed figures .......... 156
Initial encounters ...................................................................................................................................... 157
Nahuatizing tourists ............................................................................................................................... 161
"More than a tourist": Co-parenthood and cultural rooting ................................................................. 166
"City-friendships" and co-parenthood as social networking strategy .................................................. 173

Chapter 8: Regenerative fiesta: Ritual configuration of history, identity, and society ....................... 181

The evolution of the fiesta: Four sequences, three components, two characters, one line of view ........ 182
Tenacious anti-conquest: Locating the discursive in(t)erventions of settler seeing-man ..................... 184
Anchoring identities in the huipil ceremony: Autoethnography in the contact zone? ......................... 191
Spatializing the fiesta and the huipil ceremony .................................................................................... 194
Temporal enclosures: Building up an information state ...................................................................... 196
Repressive authenticity naturalized: From constriction to description to experience ....................... 201
The cultural Nahua and the traditional woman: Discovering two inviolable characters ................... 203
The winner .............................................................................................................................................. 206
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PROLOGUE
Cuetzalan is a hillside town and municipal capital located in the state of Puebla, approximately 300 kilometers north east of Mexico City in a mountainous terrain known as the Sierra de Puebla. Due to its proximity to the Gulf of Mexico, the climate in that part of the Sierra is very humid, rainy, and, above all, extremely changeable. Throughout history, these climatic and geographic characteristics have complicated travel to Cuetzalan and other parts of the Sierra and, compared to other more passable regions, religious conversion of indigenous groups at the hands of European friars proceeded more slowly, just as settlers arrived late to the area (Haly 2000:163; Stresser-Péan 2009:23). When, in 1785, the first settlers established themselves in Xocoyolo, eight kilometers to the south of Cuetzalan, the area was inhabited by Nahuas and a minority of Totonacs. Population growth and famine in and around Puebla City led to increasing migration into the Sierra where land could be rented from indigenous towns (Thomson 1989:63-65). The first wave of settlers consisted of penniless peasants looking for land to cultivate, and they soon came to produce maize for Cuetzalan, where more specialized goods were being produced (Thomson 1991:212). In the first part of the nineteenth century, mestizos began to settle in Cuetzalan and San Andrés Tzicuilan, where the most fertile soil was located and, whereas the influx was limited at first, it accelerated in the last half of the nineteenth century, after Cuetzalan had been established as a municipal capital in 1837. From 1850 to 1880, the central part of town passed from hosting a minority of 30 mestizo families to a majority of 177 families consisting of 871 individuals (Valderrama & Ramírez 1993:194), comprising a little more than a fifth of the town residents (Thomson 1991:218). This second wave of settlers was interested in land for livestock farming and for cultivating subtropical crops such as sugar and, particularly, coffee. The coffee bean appears to have been introduced by settlers in the 1860s and came to be cultivated on a large scale in the region, sometimes implemented and expanded by force by local businessmen, displacing the cultivation of other crops.

The Reform War (1857-1861) and the War of the French Intervention (1861-1867) caused increasing numbers of wealthy mestizo families to flee from the district capital Zacapoaxtla, 35 kilometers to the south, and seek refuge in Cuetzalan (Thomson 1991:214-215). Coinciding with internal migration related to the political turmoil of two wars, the government in Puebla passed a new national act in 1867 (known as the Ley Lerdo), which exacted the privatization of communal land, thus undermining collective landownership as it was practiced by indigenous towns of the area and facilitating appropriation of it by incoming settlers (Thomson 1991:207-ff.; Valderrama & Ramírez 1993:194). Subsequently, during the dictatorship of President Porfirio Díaz (1876-1911),
the Mexican government employed an aggressive nation-building strategy that sought to attract European migrants and money to the countryside by offering substantial government subsidies through favorable tax agreements and the promise of supplying the needed infrastructure. Attracting European settlers was thought of as a way of importing social progress, boosting industrialization, and elevating Mexico to a higher civilizational stage through cultural "whitening" and with modified immigration laws that allowed migrants to own land and subsoil resources, agents in Europe were promoting Mexico as a country with vast and vacant land, but insufficient workforce (Buchenau 2001:31-36). As a consequence, thousands of Italian settlers, amongst others, arrived during the 1880s to the neighboring state of Veracruz, some of whom moved further inland to Cuetzalan and entered the liquor, sugar, and incipient coffee trade. In the ensuing decades, the Nahua of Cuetzalan were displaced and dispossessed of their lands, and with the arrest in 1894 of the prominent Nahua military leader Francisco Agustín, who was prime in organizing local Nahua in defense of their territory against land-grabbing mestizo and European migrants, political leadership effectively passed from the Nahua to the newly arrived settler families (Thomson 1991).

Today, Cuetzalan is predominantly a mestizo town and capital of a municipality that covers an area of 135 km² and holds a population of 47,433, of which the majority is Nahua (INEGI 2011:134-135).¹ The surrounding municipality is subdivided into dependent administrative units called auxiliary councils, each of which has a main administrative seat and political representatives (Map 0.1). Half of the population live in hamlets of fewer than 500 inhabitants, and an additional third live in villages of between 500 to 1,300 inhabitants. The only exceptions are Cuetzalan, 5,957 inhabitants, and the nearby town San Miguel Tzinacapan, 2,939 inhabitants (BUAP 2013:18). Yet, since Cuetzalan is the regional commercial hub and administrative center of the municipality, the inhabitants of the surrounding area frequently go there, particularly on Sundays, which is the prime market day.

¹ Mexico's National Institute of Statistics and Geography (INEGI) has traditionally counted as "indigenous" citizens of five years of age and above who speak an indigenous language. The 2010 census initiated new counts based on self-determination and language abilities of citizens of three years and above (INEGI 2013:77, 85). In the municipality, 30,738 citizens of five years and above speak an indigenous language (INEGI 2011:135), and of these, 30,354 speak Nahuat, while a minority of 75 citizens speaks Totonac (BUAP 2013:19). The thesis applies the term Nahuat to refer to the specific language variant spoken in the area, which has the phoneme /tl/, where other more widely known language variants have the phoneme /tl/. However, some sources cited refer to the local language variant as Nahuatl. To avoid further confusion, the thesis employs the term Classical Nahuatl to refer to the language variant spoken in the center of the Aztec empire at the time of the arrival of the Spaniards. As to orthography, the thesis follows linguist Michel Launey (2011:3-8), though with the exception of not marking glottal stops and long vowels. This orthography corresponds to that conventionally used in toponyms. However, sources and institutions cited sometimes employ other orthographies.
Before the construction in the 1950s of an unpaved highway from Zacapoaxtla to Cuetzalan, vehicular travel to Cuetzalan was sparse, with most transport done by horse or mule. Nonetheless, when the highway was paved in 1962, travel to Cuetzalan began to increase (Greathouse-Amador 2000:89); today travelers get there by bus in six hours from Mexico City, and in four from Puebla City – and often leave again within 36 hours. When asked about the origin of tourism, some people in town point to the 1970s and policies of the teachers' union, which sent newly educated teachers from large cities to rural areas. Teachers from all over the country thus began to arrive and told their relatives and friends back home of tiny and idyllic Cuetzalan. Most people, however, mention the 1980s, pointing in particular to a nationally broadcast soap opera named *El Padre Gallo*, which was recorded in town and aired in 1986. As the story goes, people from all over Mexico started to enquire about this charming little town that had preserved so much of its culture with its colonial-style buildings and terracotta tile roofing, cobblestoned streets, and a vivid indigenous Sunday market. This version also figures on a billboard in the small ethnographic museum, establishing Cuetzalan's fame in the surrounding national and international setting by pointing to the history of "Cuetzalan in the movies and TV."

Nonetheless, a new account on the origin of tourism is currently emerging and making its way into town memory. Now, tourism is increasingly being attributed to Cuetzalan's participation in the national tourism program Magical Villages, which was launched by the federal government in 2001, and of which the town has been part since March 2002. Judging from the number of official lodgings in town, which increased from four in 1988 to 22 in 2000 (Greathouse-Amador 2000:158-160; BUAP 2013:29-30), tourism and a significant part of tourism infrastructure appear to have been well-developed before Cuetzalan entered the Magical Villages Program. Indeed, Cuetzalan and other early participating towns were invited to join the program by their respective state governments on behalf of Mexico's Secretariat of Tourism (SECTUR) precisely because they were already important tourist destinations. Yet, nowadays, much effort is put into ascribing the merits of local tourism in these Magical Villages to the successful policies of SECTUR's Magical Villages Program. Tellingly, in Cuetzalan, successful business owners are most eager to make this connection, while other inhabitants find it less easy to point out positive impacts of the program.

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2 Mexico consists of a federal district and 31 sovereign states that each consist of various municipalities. Within this structure, federal institutions such as SECTUR are replicated at the state level. Sociologist Gabriela Coronado describes this political structure as a fractal pattern of self-similarity that permeates all levels of economic, political, and social organization and ties all towns in the Mexican geography into a network balanced by the federal district (2000:14-18). If nothing else is noted, reference is made to federal institutions. Reference to state versions of institutions is indicated by a bracket specifying the given state. States are also bracketed following sites and towns to specify their location.
The program has largely promoted itself as one directed toward the safeguarding of intangible and tangible cultural heritage, which is the prime attraction around which a community-based social development is to unfold through a strengthening of tourism, thus converting culture into capital in marginalized regions. In Cuetzalan, the overwhelming part of program resources have been directed into restoration projects in the central part of town, and the designation as Magical Village has sanctified Cuetzalan as the place to go in the area, while simultaneously consolidating a promotional strategy constructed around an indigenous image. As a consequence, the Magical Villages Program constructs a marginalizing labor system that rewards indigenous inhabitants with cultural recognition and the mestizo elite with a recognition economy. Yet, when seen from afar and through the notion of the homogeneous and unitary rural community on which the program bases its operation, the program is perceived as a social program that reduces poverty and indigenous marginalization. However, while the program is successfully convincing people in Cuetzalan that tourism is their destiny, and almost everyone is trying to make some sort of living from tourism, empty hotels, eateries, and restaurants make explicit the economic hardship most people in town are facing. Thus, while the program has contributed to an ethnic identity-based polarization between mestizo Cuetzalan and surrounding indigenous towns, divides in the town itself are also increasing, as a minor elite appears to be the only group profiting from this kind of tourism.

**Hope and despair in Cuetzalan**

I will never forget Esperanza, a mestiza woman in her 50s and owner of a humble eatery in front of the hotel in which we had been staying during our first days in Cuetzalan. We frequented her place daily during our first two weeks, but after our move to the other end of town, we saw her only a few times. Now, however, my partner Louise and I felt it was about time to see her.

We were both worried about how things had been panning out for her the past days and were speculating on what, if anything, we could do to help her. During those first weeks, we had been spending a whole lot of time at Esperanza's place. As we had come to find out, traveling with our eight-month-old son Julius reduced our mobility significantly and, during meal time, we were at the eatery. Esperanza and her two employees had quickly grown fond of Julius and took care of him while we were eating. A special bond between Julius and the three ladies quickly formed, and we spent a lot of time conversing with them. When we first entered the eatery, little did we know that eight months earlier, Esperanza was a cashier at the bus terminal. Esperanza had been working there for many years, but with the arrival of a new boss, she was soon discharged, as they were not getting along. We wondered how anyone would not like caring, honest, and modest Esperanza.
Nonetheless, Esperanza did not entirely abandon the bus terminal. Instead, she opened the eatery just a block from the terminal. It was not exactly because the town was in need of another eatery, but certainly Esperanza had figured out well the strategic location; on the road from the bus terminal to the town center, this eatery would be the first passengers would encounter, and it even faced the first hotel. And after a long drive from Mexico City or Puebla it is very likely that passengers would be hungry and thirsty. What Esperanza could not know when she opened the eatery was that the recently restored highway would need to undergo yet another restoration. As part of the Magical Villages Program, the highway surface would now be changed for a hydraulic concrete surface with an archaic-like cobblestone simile surface, which meant that for at least three months the brand new bus terminal and the main highway entry into Cuetzalan would be closed. All buses would be redirected to the other end of town. This piece of news reached Esperanza as the highway and bus terminal closed. Esperanza went from having a sparse number of customers to suddenly having none other than us. Realizing this, Esperanza made a quick decision and rented a place in the other end of town, where she intended to swiftly set up an eatery. Having already two employees assisting her, she decided to place one at the new place, one at the old place, and herself to commute between the two. But the new place turned out to be a bad deal. Sure, the place was near the new spot allocated for long-distance buses, but it was not on route to the town center. Instead, it was placed on a street strangely bereft of motion. Moreover, the premises were placed in the basement of a house and could hardly be seen from the street. Inside, the place was dark, damp, and infested with mildew, had no kitchen, nor electricity – just a fire-place in a wrecked patio. Worst, perhaps, the place was a nest for cockroaches. Not so oddly, Esperanza's mood turned from carefree and joyous to preoccupied and concerned.

As we approached Esperanza's place with the intent of offering some sort of support, we found the eatery to be closed. "Oh, so you still haven't heard?" the hotel clerk in front said with a perplexed look on his face. He then glanced into the ground silently and reestablished eye contact with a stern stare, "Esperanza died on Saturday." The tragic news reached us several days late, and it was only afterward that we fully understood how fragile an economic life Esperanza had been living. She was renting the premises and lived in a small back room of the kitchen behind curtain covers. It also turned out that her brother had lent her the stove, kitchen utensils, kitchenware, and tableware – even the cheap plastic tables and chairs were not her own. Esperanza had no material possessions, no money, two failed eateries, and double rent. This was more than she could take. The temporary closing of the bus terminal, which had pushed Esperanza into a desperate move to restore
her fragile business, had been the deathblow. Esperanza's two employees dialogued with her family about continuing the eatery in her honor, but to reduce debts the family had to discontinue renting the premises and her brother sought to sell off the stove and other minor assets.

While this thesis does not directly follow up on this account, the story of Esperanza underlines two key points that should be kept in view throughout. First, it stresses the degree to which people are prepared to believe that tourism is a viable way out of poverty, when few other options appear to present themselves, and when political authorities align with academic experts to present tourism as a means of emancipation. When Esperanza lost her job at the terminal and had difficulties finding another job, opening an eatery appeared to be the natural decision in a town putting the stakes on tourism. Although renting that second place turned out to be a fatal decision, the call to do so tells an important story of how much people in town actually believe that tourism presents a way out of hardship, even when there are few tourists to show for it.

Second, the story points out that the issues presented cannot be boiled down to a question of mestizos from Cuetzalan versus indigenous inhabitants in the outskirts. Most people in Cuetzalan are also losing on the government-instigated venture in small-town tourism. Basically, the Magical Villages Program is benefitting a very limited clientele, and the tourism sector is growing disproportionately compared to the number of visiting tourists. Yet, as will be pointed out, one cost of multicultourism is the aggravation of an ethnic identity-based conflict with a significant time-depth, as indigeneity becomes a translocal identity project for rural and urban mestizos.
Map. 0.1: Cuetzalan and the main seats of the auxiliary councils.
PART ONE
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The second discovery

1992 became a year of momentous irony and introspective reflection for citizens and nations across the globe, as the transatlantic event to celebrate the quincentenary of Columbus' alleged discovery of the Americas inadvertently catalyzed the mobilization of a transnational political movement called Five Hundred Years of Indigenous, Black, and Popular Resistance to Oppression. Skillfully, the movement seized attention on a stage carefully crafted for international celebration, managing to transform the event into an international field of contestation. What was conceived and planned as an apolitical commemoration of global history and the coming together of separate cultures turned out to be a depoliticized celebration of a political undertaking as the invasion and colonization of the Americas and its peoples were brought out of discursive discontinuity with contemporary political and social structures. Still today, 1992 long gone, I remember the telling embarrassment of having promptly answered, "Columbus!" to my sister's trick question of "Who discovered America?" only to get the response: "The Indians did!" Having recently read about the discovery on a packet of oatmeal, I decided never again to trust cereal-box narratives.

This admittedly simplified story situates the thesis historically, methodologically, theoretically, and autobiographically. It illustrates an emblematic instance of what the sociologist Erving Goffman has called "a change in our frame for events" and "a change in footing" (Goffman 1981:128), and Michel Foucault's notion of "strategic reversibility" in power relations (Foucault 1982:224-226; Gordon 1991:5). The story points to the sewing together of power relations and knowledge structures, and how, when the seams dissolve, the fabric is susceptible to be discarded or needs to be sewn into a new context. It shows one significant instance of ripping apart seams within a changing world order, an episode in a broad political transition toward multiculturalism. In addition, the story captures my own earliest reflection on colonial legacy and my emotional response, when I found myself enmeshed in colonial story telling as its narratives were falling apart.

Transition toward political multiculturalism and social equality

In the course of the 1990s, an unprecedented arena of political negotiation emerged for indigenous minorities (and majorities) across Latin America, as many nations within the region reformed their constitutions to accommodate notions of multiculturalism, officially recognizing the plurality of national citizens (Yashar 1999; Van Cott 2000:11; Sieder 2002:3-4). Such constitutional reprogramming signaled to the national and international communities a marked change in the
anatomy of these nation-states, which was fortified by a surge of multiculturalist ideas in national policies. The changes testified to the official commitment of these nation-states to replace assimilatory and exclusionary policies with policies of cultural diversity, social equality, and inclusion, all of which formed part of a broader democratization process. So, Latin American nation-states articulated a divide between past and present, now and then, and the ancient and the modern nation-state. By denouncing past homogenizing national policies, nation-states loosened their contemporary self-images from troubled national pasts.

While each nation has traveled separate and particularized paths toward various kinds of political multiculturalism, the Latin American transition toward multicultural citizenship is typically attributed to the sustained work of indigenous political movements and NGOs, which organized themselves transnationally beginning in the 1970s, successfully effecting changes in international law, most notably by establishing indigenous rights as human rights through ILO Convention 169 (Brysk 1994; Van Cott 2000:262-263; Sieder 2002:1-4; Stavenhagen 2002:31-32; Tilley 2002:525-531). Within this general explanatory framework, the indigenous movements are usually articulated as protagonist assisted by NGOs in a protracted bottom-up grassroots struggle to obtain international and national legal rights.

Although the symbolic message of achievement in this broad sketch should not be disparaged – undoubtedly, the path toward indigenous rights and equal citizenship has been and still is one of struggle, and chiefly one to be kept alive by indigenous political agents – it carries with it the unfortunate connotation that the field opened by political multiculturalism is primarily indigenous territory. Thus, while attention has been given to ways in which the international recognition of indigenous rights has contributed to establishing ground for an international political subject position based on indigenous identity (substituting that of class) through which the rural poor may define political struggles, less attention has been devoted to examining the impact of government policies on indigenous political subject positions (Jung 2003).

Given the explosion of multiculturalist state policies in Latin America in the past two decades, time should by now be ripe for questioning an explanatory framework constructed around reactionary governments clinging to the status quo, faced by progressive indigenous activists instigating social change. In other words, is it still tenable to view the opening of a multiculturalist space of political negotiation as the exclusive merit of nationally and internationally operating indigenous rights movements vis-à-vis reluctant states?
Anthropologist Charles Hale (2002) argued at the start of the previous decade that there has been a tendency to regard neoliberal strategies of governance as diametrically opposed to indigenous struggle, politics of multiculturalism, and cultural diversity as promoted in the international human rights setting. As Hale shows, they are not. Rather than directly confronting the agendas of cultural rights activists, neoliberal governments have sought to sap their force by proactively promoting and implementing a limited package of cultural rights. Through the strategic use of minimal concessions, Latin American governments have been oriented to redirecting the claims and efforts of cultural rights activists. This has been done by disciplining proponents seen to pose too far-reaching cultural rights demands such as claim on territory and economic resources, while rewarding proponents of limited demands, thus establishing a clear divide between acceptable cultural rights and extreme demands. As a result, cultural rights activists have been portrayed as radicalized and effectively closed off from the political debate.3

For such reasons, attention needs to be turned to the ways in which national governments, political institutions, and programs manage and shape this internationally crafted space of negotiation to probe "the ‘menace’ inherent in the political spaces that have been opened" (Hale 2002:487). Hale’s analytical perspective, then, is an appeal to look beyond the spectacular ripping apart and to devote attention to the seamless process of refitting the pieces within a new political order. With a focus on contemporary Mexico, this thesis embarks on such a mission.

**Multicultourism: Neutralizing political edge through approximation**

While the euphoria of the 1990s persists more or less unrestrictedly on behalf of indigenous peoples, the space of negotiation has diminished significantly. Carrying forth such pessimistic assertion is not undemanding, given that multiculturalist ideas have become integral to much Latin American state planning and policy. Surely, multicultural policies have been increasing in number since the 1990s, and – when regarded in isolation – specific policies show increasing attention to and sensibility of the social circumstances of indigenous groups. Although few would argue that there is no room for improvement, democracy is said to have deepened and Latin American multiculturalism is regarded as the triumph of indigenous rights movements, which brings testimony to a reversed relation between indigenous minorities and government institutions.

3 Political scientist Timothy Doyle (1998) presents a parallel analysis of the UN action plan Agenda 21 and its notion of sustainable development, arguing that the agreement has co-opted and debilitated environmentalist movements.
Nonetheless, this thesis insists on a broader perspective that does not inspect policies from the point of view of the policy areas to which they are officially designated, since, as noted by various scholars, the introduction of political multiculturalism in Mexico has been accompanied by agrarian reforms and economic policies that have had profoundly negative consequences for Mexico's indigenous groups (Jung 2003:437-441; Speed 2005; Gledhill 2014:511-512).

Instead, attention is pointed toward the fascinating ease with which government institutions have become prime innovators and protectors of multiculturalist doctrine, how multicultural policies have become the norm to the point that they are now referred to as MCPs, and how simultaneously multiculturalism has transformed into a lever for the governance of indigenous citizens, rather than a rallying cry of indigenous cultural activists with which to confront and influence government policies. The proliferation of multiculturalism needs to be acknowledged not as the triumph of indigenous activism, but as a threat to the politics of indigenous groups to glimpse the counterintuitive ways in which this political arena has emerged (cf. Yúdice 2003:160-163). From constituting an external threat to political legitimacy and social asymmetries, multiculturalism has swiftly turned into a core constituent of legitimate government.

Seen from this perspective, there is no reason to assume that the introduction of state multiculturalism necessarily reflects a profoundly shared concern between indigenous rights activists and governments. Convergence of interests must be regarded as secondary to the diverging aims of indigenous groups seeking to thoroughly reorganize unequal political and social structures and governments seeking ways to reconstitute legitimate ground for democratic rule.

Accordingly, this thesis aims to show that in Mexico in the wake of the multiculturalist surge, rather than a political and societal reorganization, what has taken place by and large is a reconstitution of the political field. This process has involved a governing effort to narrow down and tame the challenge posed by multiculturalism. One significant government strategy of redirection is what this thesis dubs multiculTourism. The suave feel of this critical term is intended to reflect the equally benign, at times even benevolent, expression of the described phenomenon. As the thesis unpacks the social detriment involved in the operation of multiculTourism, the mild expression will increasingly stand out in contradiction to the discouraging content to which it refers, adding a crucial analytical dimension to the pernicious workings of the phenomenon.

**The emergence of multiculTourism: Culture as resource**

One of the outcomes of the transnational indigenous peoples' movement's involvement in the human rights setting has been an international identity project that has codified and crafted a global notion
of indigeneity. As political scientist Virginia Tilley argues (2002), a global notion of indigeneity has become an unescapable point of reference in the configuration of local *ethnopolitics*, asserting itself as an internationally approved gauge of authentic indigeneity. For indigenous groups to frame political struggle in ways incompatible with the global configuration of indigeneity means to assume "an extra burden of persuasion" (Tilley 2002:531). Occurring simultaneously with this global sense of indigeneity, by contrast, was the key argument of the transnational indigenous peoples’ movement and human rights agencies that indigenous peoples' political rights are constituted by their cultural uniqueness, from the standpoint of which indigenous groups may make specific rights claims. The special emphasis on cultural uniqueness places indigenous people in a dichotomous political situation that leaves them torn by the demand to display cultural *uniqueness* in a way that conforms to the *hegemonic* notion of indigeneity. Moreover, such ideal vision of indigeneity contradicts the social life of indigenous people, who maneuver the everyday experience of being minorities in nation-states revolving around mestizo majority citizens. With cultural uniqueness being pivotal to indigenous political claims, cultural traditions shared with non-indigenous communities may weaken, even jeopardize, indigenous ethnopolitics (Tilley 2002:546).

In his work on the concept of aboriginality, anthropologist Patrick Wolfe refers to this contradiction as "repressive authenticity" (1999:163-214). Official notions of indigeneity structure evaluations of authenticity, and groups that fail to render themselves authentic – meaning those that are seen to have become too culturally or biologically hybrid – are rendered inauthentic and see their basis for making group claims on resources crumbling.

In a similar fashion, Charles Hale (1999) has compellingly shown how ideas from hybridity theory have become a prime means in a popular majoritarian discourse of equality in post-war Guatemala. Drawing on the universal condition of hybridity, difference is strategically effaced by ladino society with the claim that they are all mestizos, thus eroding the basis of indigenous ethnopolitics and critique of ladino racism. Conversely, indigenous peoples' attempts to organize politically in a pan-Mayan movement is challenged by majority Guatemalans pointing out the novelty and inauthenticity of such collective identity, rendering their means of organizing politically as a case of political opportunism (Hale 2002:516-517, 2006:162). Indigenous identity constructions are thus put under pressure by essentializing and hybridizing tactics, which collaborate to challenge indigenous ethnopolitics. Cultural authenticity, as Wolfe argues, constitutes a general condition that can be compromised with tremendous speed (1999:184), and it is
particularly prone to be so when its strategic relation to contemporary politics challenges majority society.

All the more interesting, in tandem with an increasing scrutiny of indigenous authenticity, the centrality of cultural uniqueness to indigenous identity politics has likewise catalyzed appreciations of and measures to safeguard cultural diversity (Tilley 2002:546). In this process, UNESCO has played a key role by promoting the idea of intangible heritage beginning in the 1970s, culminating with the 2003 *Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage* and the 2005 *Convention for the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions*. The expansion of the concept of cultural heritage to include intangible expressions is largely understood as an attempt to break with Eurocentric understandings of cultural heritage and to include the living culture of indigenous groups as part of world heritage (Smith & Akagawa 2009:1; Leimgruber 2010:163-167). Nonetheless, preoccupied with the disappearance of cultural traditions in the face of globalization and modernity, the UNESCO approach to intangible heritage is undergirded by a preservationist concern resembling that of bygone salvage ethnography (Alivizatou 2011:37-39).

Concomitantly with the growing appreciation of cultural diversity, strengthened by the sense of accelerated disappearance of cultural traditions, culture is, as anthropologist Philip Scher argues in the case of the Caribbean, increasingly perceived as a national economic resource within a heritage tourism framework and is simultaneously becoming a source of state sovereignty (2010; 2011; 2014). For this reason, cultural performance has increasingly become a domain of biopolitical government intervention. Governments take on the task of protecting and preserving cultural forms. In so doing, they come to select and define cultural expressions within a national frame, while citizens are encouraged to engage in nationalized cultural performances, which are seen to contribute directly to the national economy and identity. In this process, citizens become objects of regulation by government institutions, as governments seek to delineate right and wrong ways to engage with and (re)present national culture. Within cultural policy in the Caribbean, Scher argues, one consequence has been that culture has changed from being a universal human right to becoming a national citizen duty; citizens no longer simply enjoy the right to participate in cultural modes of expression – they are required to contribute to the national culture, identity, and economic prosperity (Scher 2014).

Similar tendencies can arguably be found elsewhere and, in the case of Mexico, multiculturalist policies appear to stand the strongest when they do not interfere with government agendas, do not look to substantially restructure society, and if they are in harmony with national economic
incentives. Differing attitudes toward cultural diversity are found in different policy areas, and a positive attitude toward plurality is likely to occur in areas that would not require high-cost government investment or diminished access to resources. Thus, while indigenous claims to autonomy and self-determination based on control of land and resources or the right to receive education in a first language has had little resonance in government policies (Speed 2005; Hamel 2008; Gledhill 2014), multiculturalist politics of recognition figure as a centerpiece in the heritage and tourism industries.

Intriguingly, Scher's point echoes an earlier parallel development in the attitude toward the tangible pre-Hispanic heritage in Mexico. The early era of Spanish colonial rule (1521-1821) was marked by symbolic destruction of tangible expressions of indigenous culture and the demolition of religious and political monuments was part of a general repression that came to alienate indigenous people from a vital part of their cultural, political, and social history. After independence, around the time of the armed national revolution (ca. 1910-1920), the tangible indigenous heritage was turned to account within the new national self-image by the academic and political elite, while contemporary indigenous culture was disregarded (Brading 2001). The emergence of pre-Hispanic archaeological monuments as national economic resources was a prime incentive in the foundation of the National Institute of Anthropology and History (INAH). Thus, when in 1938 – after nationalizing the oil industry – President Cárdenas put INAH on the drawing board, he argued that the exploration and conservation of archaeological ruins would not just produce "scientific results," but also "magnificent economic yields when signifying [an] attraction for foreign tourism," pointing to recent archaeological investigations in Oaxaca, which he noted were already "decisively" influencing regional economy (Lombardo 1993:177). From the outset, INAH thus came to embody a political strategy that sought to supply the national tourism industry with attraction value based on scientific authority, and scientific and economic aims were hierarchically interlinked within a national framework while investment in "scientific results" was understood to produce "economic yields" for the nation. Arguably, the subsequent attention to intangible indigenous heritage is part of a conceptual framework similar to the one that sparked an interest in tangible indigenous heritage. With the growing economic importance of tourism, and the growing importance of cultural heritage and cultural performance to tourism, it is not strange to find that tourism has become one of the prime spaces within which multiculturalist policies have unfolded. Cultural and ethnic diversity is highly compatible with the kinds of tourism that rest on the dogma of diversifying products to avoid substitutability (Scher 2011). Cultural heritage has become a resource that helps differentiate
destinations. Tourism, within this context, presents itself as a politics of recognition and belonging invested with an emancipating potential for cultural and ethnic minorities, whose culture will no longer live in the shadows nor face the threat of falling into disuse, since it is promised to be re-centered in tourism activities that are appreciative and rewarding of diversity. Such optimism has been echoed on a global scale, here exemplified by the words of tourism scholar Keith Hollinshead:

Indeed, it may now be expected that tourism – if Spivak's (1993:56) words may be adapted – might indeed blossom 'into a garden where the marginal can speak'. In this regard, tourism could prove to be an important piece of armoury on the part of postcolonial states and populations in their efforts and freedoms to articulate the felt nationalisms and the cherished endearments which hold them together as 'people'. [...] In postcolonial milieux, tourism will have a pivotal role to play in helping subjugated populations come to realise for themselves what had seemed impossible, and to attain what had appeared only 'imaginable'. In such settings tourism is a large international domain where embedded values and lost meanings can newly flower (2005:31-32).

Leaving aside Hollinshead's astonishing reading of Spivak (1993) and the problematic juxtaposition of "postcolonial states" and "subjugated populations," this perspective must above all be challenged for the assumption that tourism as a field of political action should somehow diverge from the larger political terrain and constitute a space where the marginal becomes central. This thesis contends that if this type of tourism does hold any emancipatory potential for "subjugated populations" and could help them "realize for themselves what had seemed impossible, and to attain what had appeared only 'imaginable,'" then analyses of this new space should proceed with extraordinary care. In the case of Mexico (and New Spain) at least, in the past 500 years no such other promising and prosperous situation comes to mind regarding indigenous minority affairs. In addition, caution appears to be warranted by the limited number of supplementary signs of increasing indigenous control over other types of resources. To the contrary, indigenous communities in Mexico have, in recent decades, faced paramilitary repression, radicalization of claims to autonomy, and extraction of resources from their immediate environments (Gledhill 2014). Therefore, with indigenous culture discovered as a national resource in tourism, there is no reason to assume that the process of extraction will necessarily pan out differently from other social processes, where indigenous people find themselves in the margins of nation-state society. Rather, it should be expected that the new field quickly emerges as an object of government and that it becomes populated by a diverse array of agents in more favorable political and socio-economic positions from which to extract and refine indigenous cultural heritage.
This is multicultourism; a strategy of government looking to narrow down, tame and steer the new space of negotiation opening for indigenous groups by offering a new multicultural national self-image that triggers new modes of national belonging and participation without confronting structural political and social asymmetries. As in other compound nouns, the first noun modifies the second, while the second determines the ontology of the construction. This means that the term does not describe a kind of multiculturalism, although both term and phenomenon have the propensity to deceive the cursory eye, but rather a kind of tourism that draws on multiculturalist aspirations, ideas, and symbols. In this sense, the term sketches a hierarchy in which the first nurtures the second, while the second defines the first. Multicultourism is a kind of tourism that feeds off the utopia of multiculturalism, but with a completely different social order on offer, and so it has emerged as a governmental response to the growing prominence of multiculturalism in Latin America and its associated indigenous political subject position. As a strategy of government, it has emancipating, empowering and philanthropic aspirations, and it attempts to make citizens take possession of its vision by making them visualize a productive synergy between intangible cultural heritage, national tourism and politics of recognition, and by issuing concrete paths through which such vision may come into existence. Multicultourism thus promulgates a setting within which rural indigenous people may simultaneously become full-fledged citizens, improve their livelihood, preserve their cultural heritage and emerge as the central agent and national figure of a new multiculturalist Mexico. Nevertheless, as the thesis shows, multicultourism becomes a state-sponsored national scramble for indigenous heritage that does not evidently place indigenous agents in the empowered and profitable end of socio-economic relations. What is worse, multicultourism appears to regenerate the project of mestizo nationalism, since through the frame of the nation, mestizos gain renewed claim over the indigenous past and heritage. The stage is thus set for a power-blind politics of recognition that extracts the economy of indigenous heritage out of the hands of indigenous groups. So, indigenous groups are symbolically projected into the center of the nation, while socially pushed further into the margins. Indeed, the very force of the symbolic projection paves the way for further social marginalization. Inevitably, it seems, the discovery of intangible indigenous heritage as a national resource leads to the realization that indigenous people are not inalienable parts of indigenous culture; within the order of multicultourism, indigenous citizens are dispensable. From this analytical stance the thesis insists that multicultourism is not primarily about tourism, but is rather a response to indigenous political mobilization and the threat posed by the increased attention to the rights of indigenous citizens.
Before and after multiculturalism: Mexico as regional pioneer in indigenous state policy

Before the emergence of multiculturalism, Mexico had long been a leading country in terms of developing specialized cultural and social policies for handling indigenous nationals and their integration into majority society. From the early to the late nineteenth century Mexico thus played a significant role in forming state policies toward indigenous citizens in Latin America by promulgating what has been called populist *indigenism* (*indigenismo*) and officializing it through indigenist policies (Knight 1990; Souza Lima 1991, 2005; Peña 2005; Sanz 2009). Indigenism has its origins in late eighteenth century Latin America, when the newly founded nation-states were looking to forge a national consciousness and identity that would distinguish them from Europe and create a national historical counter-balance to increasing industrialization and modernization. In this early post-independence context, indigenism developed as a growing tendency within non-indigenous elite society of nationalizing and romanticizing the pre-Hispanic past. In Mexico, the pre-Hispanic past was archaeologically and historically explored and selectively and symbolically incorporated in nationalist narratives mediated through visual and literary art (Barnet-Sanchez 2001). In these early nationalist narratives, contemporary indigenous people played little to no part and they were effectively separated from the glorified pre-Hispanic culture, which was instead appropriated by majority elites.

Indigenism gained widespread prominence in connection with the 1910 centennial celebration of independence in Latin America and, in Mexico, it was translated into official government policy in the wake of the armed national revolution. Although the social conflict of the revolution was largely a struggle between classes – peasants against landlords – indigenous participation in the revolution was reframed as an ethnic conflict after the revolution – indigenous groups against mestizos and creoles (Knight 1990:76-77). Attributing the revolution to indigenous groups became a founding ideological basis for post-revolutionary government, which sought to finally do away with the colonial legacy by aiding indigenous groups with entering modern society; Indigenism became a key part of official government ideology.

Official indigenism was spearheaded by artists and government intellectuals, most notably anthropologist and archaeologist Manuel Gamio. The movement was self-consciously anti-racist and as part of post-revolutionary politics articulated itself as reacting against the social discrimination of indigenous people, however, indigenists largely substituted biological racism for

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4 For more on Gamio and anthropology's role in Mexican indigenism see Brading 1988; Lomnitz 2005.
cultural and socio-political racism (Knight 1990; Doremus 2001:377; Sanz 2009:261). Whereas, indigenous people had earlier been seen as unfit for modern society as a species, indigenists argued that they were "only" culturally unfit. The problem of culture, however, could be remedied, and indigenists therefore proffered integration through state-planned assimilation and acculturation, focusing on including indigenous people into the post-revolutionary national project through education and economic and social development (Knight 1990:80-83).

The indigenist project expressed a perplexing double stance toward indigenous people. Indigenous crafts and customs were appreciated for their contribution to national identity, but other components of indigenous culture, such as language, were seen as impediments to their entry into modern Mexico and, worse, as obstacles to modernization for the Mexican nation as a whole. From the indigenist point of view, national cohesion was threatened by cultural diversity, and national progress was threatened by cultural "backwardness," and indigenists were looking to create a unified national identity that would spur national allegiance among indigenous people and insert them into the national (economic) project. Indigenists set out to investigate indigenous communities to identify and define positive and negative cultural traits. Policies were designed to handle the pivotal balancing task of sustaining positive traits and sifting out negative ones. Positive traits were those that could fit well with a folkloric expression of nationality, and negative ones were those thought to be incompatible with modern society. In the cultural evolutionist eyes of the indigenists, indigenous communities had a choice between directed acculturation or social marginalization leading to extinction (Wright 1988:368-369; Knight 1990:86-87). Since acculturation was carried out with an eye to majority society, official indigenism played a crucial role in sustaining the national project of mestizaje; the process of biological and cultural mixing that would produce the quintessential citizen; the mestizo (Knight 1990:84-87; Doremus 2001:381-382; Tarica 2008:1-3).

Indigenist policies migrated to other parts of Latin America, partly due to Mexico's active role in institutionalizing and promulgating official indigenism nationally and internationally. Beginning in 1918, government departments appeared successively in the national setting to direct the planned acculturation process (Peña 2006:282). In the 1930s, Vice-Minister of Education Moisés Sáenz visited fellow Latin American countries as official advisor, sometimes elaborating reports on the indigenous situation of those countries. When, in 1940, Mexico hosted the First Inter-American Indigenist Congress, Sáenz was involved in its organization, which presented as one of its results

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5 Department of Anthropology (1918-1934), Autonomous Department for Indigenous Affairs (1935-1947), and National Indigenist Institute (1948-2002).
the formation of the Inter-American Indigenist Institute in 1942, which was based in Mexico and headed by Gamio. Participant countries further agreed to create national indigenist government institutions that would develop and apply official integrationist policies. Thus, with Mexico playing a key role in this process, indigenism in a variety of shadings became official policy across Latin America in the subsequent decades (Doremus 2001:375; Peña 2005:726-728).\(^6\) Not surprisingly, then, the first international legislation on indigenous issues, ILO Convention 107 from 1957 – substituted in 1989 by ILO Convention 169 – had a firm imprint of Mexico's indigenist policies, encouraging the creation of national institutions specialized for the handling of indigenous affairs (Plant 1999:26-27).

Backed by the 1968 Mexican student movement, a new generation of Mexican anthropologists began to criticize official indigenism and the national anthropology that put itself at the service of an authoritarian, paternalist government and its national project of *mestizaje* (Warman et al. 1970; Bonfil 1989; Lomnitz 2005; Sanz 2010:4-9). Concomitantly, during the 1970s, indigenous intellectuals began to organize themselves, offering public critique of indigenist policy, and arranging congresses on indigenous issues, attended by indigenous community representatives. Some of the intellectuals were partly the product of indigenist education policies and worked in their home areas as bilingual teachers under the auspices of the National Indigenist Institute, thereby creating the vital connection between indigenous communities and indigenist policy (Peña 2006:284-286; Sanz 2010:9-13). Critique from this front therefore proved to be particularly damaging, since it came from a double position of exteriority and interiority to official indigenism. The breakdown of indigenism as official policy thus coincided with the political mobilization of indigenous organizations promoting specialized cultural rights and positive recognition and protection of cultural diversity.

Indigenism, then, as state policy specialized for attending to indigenous citizens, has been replaced by a "regional model" of "multicultural constitutionalism" in Latin America within a brief time span (Van Cott 2000:257-280).\(^7\) Nevertheless, despite this transformation of the political terrain, Mexico has remained a regional driving force in the formulation of policies toward indigenous peoples. Being sixth on the list of countries with most sites on the UNESCO World

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\(^6\) Indigenist state policies emerged differently and with varying intensity and duration across Latin and North America (Giraudo & Lewis 2012), however, the point is that Mexico played a crucial role in regionally promoting the idea of state policies specialized for managing and integrating the indigenous population.

\(^7\) For an overview see Van Cott (2006:275, table 10.1).
Heritage List, it may be expected that Mexico will also figure as a regional role model in the handling of intangible cultural heritage. Indeed, the term intangible heritage itself emerged from the 1982 UNESCO World Conference on Cultural Policy held in Mexico City (Leimgruber 2010:163). Further indication was brought about by Mexico's swift ratification of ILO Convention 169 in September 1990 – the first in Latin America and the second in the world – which was followed by a modification of the constitution in 1992, accommodating a view of the Mexican nation as "pluricultural" and "originally based on its indigenous peoples" (Gledhill 2014:511).

With the ratification in 2003 of the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage, the Mexican government has increased its focus on intangible expressions of indigenous culture. In addition to INAH, which is officially in charge of protecting, preserving, and promoting that part of indigenous heritage, SECTUR is becoming increasingly influential in matters of intangible heritage, seeing that this is a prime ingredient of contemporary tourism. Following a long research tradition in Mexico of doing national anthropology (Lomnitz 2005), intangible cultural heritage is largely approached by INAH from the perspective of national identity construction (cf. Vázquez 2006), thus inevitably framing indigenous heritage as national heritage. SECTUR's involvement with intangible heritage operates within the same conceptual framework and thus looks to construct a national tourism around the national heritage.

Overview and structure of the thesis

The thesis approaches the question of multicultourism from two empirical vantage points; Mexico's tourism program Magical Villages, and the Magical Village Cuetzalan (Puebla); a mestizo town and municipal capital in a majority Nahua municipality. Mexico is located in the middle of Donna Lee Van Cott's Latin American Multicultural Policy Index and is regarded to represent a "modest" version of multiculturalism (Van Cott 2006:274-277). From this perspective, Mexican political multiculturalism, neither categorized as "weak" nor "strong," does not predetermine deep pessimism or high optimism. Add to this that Mexico is the second-largest and second-most populated country in Latin America and also by far has the greatest number of indigenous citizens. Of the approximately 44.7 million indigenous inhabitants of Latin America, 16.9 million reside in Mexico, constituting 15.1% of the total Mexican population and 37.8% of the total indigenous population in

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Latin America (ECLAC 2014:36-39). Combined with its role as a regional compass in government policies toward indigenous groups, Mexico arguably constitutes a promising empirical vantage point for glimpsing current and future trends in national dealings with indigenous people in Latin America.

Departing from these empirical vantage points, the thesis is organized around three research questions tied to different analytical scales to illuminate how multicultourism operates and distributes itself:

**Scale 1: Political multiculturalism and tourism in Mexico**
Taking the Magical Villages Program as a publicly profiled example of multicultourism in contemporary Mexico (2001 to 2014) embedded in a politically expressive emancipating desire to reduce cultural, economic, and social inequality through community empowerment strategies, how does the program contrariwise, as a majority-defined activity and social technology, contribute to maintain, enforce, and/or expand existing divisions, hierarchies, and asymmetrical power relations between mestizo majority society and indigenous minorities?

**Scale 2: Cuetzalan**
Zooming in on an example of the example, how is the program enacted and negotiated in the Magical Village Cuetzalan by diverse groupings (mestizo and indigenous citizens, tourists, and newcomers) and political and educational institutions? Which kinds of identity and power configurations arise and clash?

**Scale 3: Nahuas**
How do indigenous Nahuas of the surrounding communities position themselves in relation to Cuetzalan, tourists, and the Magical Villages Program? Which modes of participation does the program make room for?

The thesis is divided into three parts. Part one (chapters 1-3) contextualizes and introduces the work, its empirical material, ethnographic setting, methodologies, theoretical stance, and mode of analysis. Parts two (chapters 4-6) and three (chapters 7-8) are composed of analytical chapters. The three research questions are geared to the analytical chapters in an accumulative sense, since the first research question crosscuts all analytical chapters, the second research question applies from chapter five and onwards, and the final research question applies to part three. Part two focuses on the generic Magical Villages Program and shows how it organizes political and social life in Cuetzalan and how it has been embedded into the urban setting. Part three turns the focus to Nahua

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9 According to INEGI, 6.6 million citizens of 5 years and above in Mexico speak an indigenous language (INEGI 2011:9), while the census based on self-determination counts 15.7 million indigenous citizens (INEGI 2013:85).
groups of the surrounding area to bring to view how they are incorporated into the program and how they maneuver within the multicultourism it espouses.

Chapter four analyzes how the generic Magical Villages Program has developed from its inception in 2001 to the point of the conducted fieldwork in 2013 and 2014, and it points to key social technologies within the program. In chapter five, some of these technologies are seen at work in a so-called Magical Villages meeting in which one group of locals discuss a consciousness-raising campaign with the aim of convincing other locals of the benefits of the program. Chapter six focuses on how the Magical Villages Program has organized the urban setting around particular conceptualizations of indigeneity that feed into a narrative setting also analyzed through a tourism magazine distributed locally and an interview with a newcomer from Mexico City.

Subsequently, chapter seven tunes in on a group of Nahua handicraft vendors from nearby San Miguel Tzinacapan and their attempt to turn the multicultourism into which they are inscribed to their own advantage. Cuetzalan's annual fiesta and its community queen pageant for young Nahua women of the surrounding area are the objects of interest in chapter eight. The chapter demonstrates how identity configurations within settler versions of local history are reactivated in public by the recurring fiesta, and how these identity configurations are subtended by asymmetrical power relations that took shape when settlers took possession of the municipal capital and regional commercial hub, and which are reinforced by the Magical Villages Program.

The analytical chapters are followed by a discussion that addresses the subtitle of the thesis, arguing that multicultourism constitutes a vision that regenerates the national project of mestizaje by turning indigeneity into a key resource to national economy and identity construction. Finally, the thesis closes with a conclusion that summarizes and reflects on the key findings.
CHAPTER 2: GOVERNING FRAMES

This chapter presents the theoretical perspectives that give life to the queries and analyses in this thesis. The theoretical grid is composed by adapting the analytical categories frame, governmentality, and translocality to each other and synthesizing them into a unitary mode of analysis captured by the term multicultourism. Multicultourism points to a mode of rule anchored in a tacit framing of Mexico as a post-discriminatory, multiculturalist society, and which looks to forge cognitive and social relations across and between social spaces. The framing reflexively embeds the mode of rule itself, and its diverse participants, in a national multiculturalist project. Yet, the term multicultourism is itself devised in the thesis as a frame to recast interpretation of such politics and its translocal effects. A fundamental theoretical premise is that frames direct our perception, thought, and action during social events (Goffman 1986:10-11) for which reason control and distribution of frames is a prime concern in the operation and analysis of government. What emerges is a highly mobile manner of directing collective conduct, which traverses and correlates social spaces with frame spaces.

The ensuing pages discuss the implications of fusing sociologist Erving Goffman’s work on frames and social interaction with post-Foucauldian conceptions of governmentality and power. By crafting a frame governmentality that focuses on the control and distribution of frames, a spatial dimension is introduced into the analysis, which is subsequently elaborated through a discussion of translocality. Finally, the mode of analysis emerging from the theoretical discussion is specified and made operational by bringing it into contact with the empirical material.

Governmentality literature is appealing for the rich framework it provides for tuning in on contemporary, decentered modes of exercising power, not the least through the concept of self-government. However, the oftentimes uncompromising focus on regimes of practices and social technologies tends to produce forms of analysis that abstract practices and technologies from the concrete settings, interaction arrangements, and animate entities that bring them into being. The identification and analysis of practices, rationalities, and social technologies sometimes conflate with the basic assumption of their causality and efficacy.

Therefore, this thesis opts for a governmentality inspired approach that includes social interaction, broadly speaking, into its empirical and theoretical platform. Goffman’s approach to social interaction is appealing, since it not only engages with questions pertinent to governmentality studies, but amplifies and substantiates the theoretical perspectives that underpin that line of research, while enriching the ontology of its empirical material. Of particular relevance is
Goffman’s dual approach to social interaction, which focuses as much on the liminal conventions that organize activity, experience, and meaning differently in various social occasions (frames) as on the structural conditions of social interaction (footing), pointing to the reflexive interplay between the two.

In their combination these disparate, although partly overlapping, theorizing traditions give way to an analysis of the translocal processes of governance that accords balanced attention to so-called top-down and bottom-up processes. The question of vertical directionality – top-down versus bottom-up – has been a long-standing controversy in constructionist research that depends on theoretical perspectives and units of analysis (Miller 2013). While such debate is productive in more than one sense, the thesis favors a balancing of perspectives, since, as the ongoing debate illustrates, and as the theorizing traditions applied point out in various ways, the question of directionality in social processes is always ambiguous, as is the metaphor of vertically arranged hierarchies of power (Ferguson & Gupta 2002).

Affording attention to the directional ambiguity of social and political processes means not to chart a flat political topography in which actors on different societal scales enter social and political processes symmetrically, with equal responsibility, and under equal circumstances, but rather to inspect the structural ground of social asymmetries.

**Governmentality: Analytics, art, and philosophy of government**

As an outcome of his genealogical analyses of exercise of power, Foucault applied the concept of governmentality in his lectures of the late 1970s (Foucault 1991) to designate a particular growing aspect of and way of thinking about government that gives preeminence to what he at one point described as the "conduct of conduct" (Foucault 1994:237). That is, a mode of governance exercised for the population and on the population by working through it (Gordon 1991:2-3; Cruikshank 1999:3-4; Dean 1999:10). Governmentality studies thus find their gravity in an analytical focus on the productive qualities of the exercise of power as they come to be expressed through knowledge forms, practices, and social technologies that look to manage and rule groups and individuals by giving shape to particular forms of subjectivity and incentivizing particular modes of action, being, and reasoning (Villadsen 2006:11-14). The primary object of regulation is thus human subjectivity, and through minute interventions in public and individual life it is sought

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10 The French manuscript (Foucault 1994:237) has "conduire des conduites," which is generally cited in English as "conduct of conduct," although the English translation of said manuscript provides another translation (Foucault 1982:220-221).
shaped in directions that make the aims and actions of individual and groups of citizens congruent with norms and visions that inform governance. This way, citizens are instrumented in practices and processes of rule and assist in ruling, partly by exercising self-regulation and partly by prompting others to perform equal modes of self-regulation. As a philosophy or strategy of contemporary, liberal government it presupposes an autonomous subject with a free will and capacity to act rationally for and on itself, as well as the feasibility and necessity of government to carve out the space of autonomy and direct the free will of that subject. From this perspective, governance seeks to construct a collaborative citizen that identifies with, subscribes to, and assumes the logics, objectives, and values that inhabit prevailing political rationalities, and citizens simultaneously become the loci, instruments, and outcomes of political intervention (Cruikshank 1999:3-6; Dean 1999:27-33; Fraser 2008:122).

Because the governmentality optics regard subjects as constructed with a restricted sense of autonomy, research within this strand of thought tends to split into two analytical foci that produce different accounts of agency; one highlights the autonomy of the subject and the other highlights constrictions on the subject (Miller 2013:264). Each focus therefore implies a preferred analytical order with discrete directional perspectives; the former employs a bottom-up view by placing analytical weight on the subject and its capacity to act self-determinedly in the face of social technologies, and the latter employs a top-down view by paying attention to how social technologies constrict and shape the self-determination of subjects. The implications of each analytical order run deeper, of course, as the bottom-up perspective assumes to some degree the existence of a primordial and non-regulable domain of the self, from where the subject can consciously glimpse and definitively resist external regulation. Conversely, the top-down perspective reflects a certain degree of determinism in assuming that regulatory initiatives are by and large effective, holding that a condition of human subjectivity is that the self is always already regulated and regulating.

At the heart of the debate are different conceptualizations of self and government, which double the complexity of the notion of self-government. Moreover, the existence of both top-down and bottom-up analyses stresses that there are, grammatically speaking, no definitive subjects and objects of rule. What springs to view is rather an ongoing positioning within and across multiple societal scales in which all entities, to varying degrees, are both subjects and objects, and always stand in a reflexive subject-object relation to "self." Thus, in various ways, governmentality studies have taken up Foucault's project of decentering the state in the analysis of exercise of power by
paying attention to how power emerges through diverse social relations, networks, and units that cut across the dictum of division between the state and civil society and the public and private domain (Cruikshank 1999:103; Villadsen 2006:11-12, 2015). This is where Foucault’s notion of power as productive (McHoul & Grace 2003:64-65; Miller 2013) gains relevance, since a focus on the ways in which power opens up paths and possibilities for some groups and certain subjectivities equally becomes a doorway to the repressive flipside.\footnote{Approaching power as productive does not entail the view that power cannot be, or is no longer, repressive. Rather, both aspects are constitutive of all power relations, and Foucault pointed out the often neglected productive side of power relations. In his historicization of government and the exercise of power, Foucault showed how sovereign and disciplinary forms of power engage with the productive kinds of power that emerge with governmentality (Foucault 1991:101-102; Dean 1999:19-20). More recently, Nancy Fraser (2008:127-128) has argued that a global governmentality has emerged to segment groups according to their degree of individualized participation in market competition. While successful participants rely on self-regulation, less successful participants are met with “brute repression.”}

The structuring of possibilities involves composing and demarcating a field of action. These are the crucial theoretical perspectives this thesis picks up on and applies. Although several scholars have sought to convert these key insights into an analytical apparatus, they have not always managed to craft a mode of analysis that demonstrates the same flexibility and mobility that characterizes the mode of rule they set out to analyze.

For an influential scholar such as sociologist Mitchell Dean, the governmentality framework leads to a materialist analysis of "regimes of practices" with a view to the rationalities, technologies, and visions that inform these practices and the way they seek to construct subjects (1999:20-33). This way, Dean consciously devotes more attention to the role of government practices in shaping subjectivities than practices of the self involved in regulating subjectivity (1999:13). Yet, such restricted analysis leaves out the locus of government – the subject in action – and therefore offers minimal room for examining how concrete subjects come into being, beyond the image envisioned by social technologies. Rather, the analysis remains at the level of discursive or idealized practice and does not engage with social practice or the practice of practices.\footnote{This critique of "discourse determinism" is one launched against Foucauldian modes of analysis in general (Mik-Meyer & Villadsen 2012:217-218).}

The analysis thereby leaves out the connective processes that bring about, or not, the social beings that may be discursively conjured from social technologies of regimes of practices. In short, the subject of such analysis is identified discursively, not socially.\footnote{The question of course rises as to whether one could arrive at anything else than a discursively situated subject. However, since discursive formations are socially situated, subjects that make use of these discursive formations could be said to be so located too.}

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This discursive trap leaves the question of how partly unanswered and substituted for a declarative because that fixes social technologies as (grammatical) subject and the subject as
(grammatical) object. Yet, as Barbara Cruikshank argues in her book *The Will to Empower*, self-government, as a crucial part of democratic rule and stability, is much more encompassing than we are accustomed to think (1999:89-103). To Cruikshank, democratic government rests on the reflexive capacity of subjects to conjure, problematize, and transform their conduct and subjectivity, and therefore democratic rule is constituted by what "we do to our selves" rather than what is "done to us by those in power" (1999:91). According to Cruikshank, governance relies on technologies of citizenship that produce actively participating democratic citizens by forging links between social order and individualized aims and aspirations, and these technologies tend to surge outside of government, within social movements, social work, policy science, and the social sciences (1999:91-92, 101-102). In short, technologies of citizenship produce citizens in the sense of making individuals self-regulating and active in particular ways. Cruikshank thus argues that a fundamental condition for "the conduct of conduct" is self-government. Nevertheless, like Dean, she stays on the discursive side of practice by pointing to a certain kind of subject as the end result of technologies of citizenship. This way, she argues that self-government stands central in democratic practice, while opting out of the empirical domain within which practices of self-regulation are situated. The subject thus remains marginal in her analytical approach, peeking out only as the result of her inquiry into discursive crystallizations of policies.

One of the side effects of such approaches is an intellectualized take on subjectivity and regulation that offers little consideration of how desires and emotions enter into the equation. Pointing to Mexico, anthropologist Monique Nuijten (2004) addresses this blind spot, arguing that governmentality does not necessarily produce "coherence" and self-similar "rationalities." According to Nuijten, the Mexican government apparatus continually re-emerges to invoke state-backed hope of social justice in marginalized groups by presenting ever new political "openings" to remedy their social situation and past injustice. By working through the aspirations and desires of its citizens, even the most marginalized groups are instrumented in practices of rule that construct and sustain the idea of a just state focused on treating all groups of citizens equally. Political openings invoke desires and images of an alternative, brighter future, yet they are bound to prescribed modes of action and being that close off other modes of action and being. The primary effect produced by government practices on a marginalized community inspected by Nuijten (2004:210), for instance, appears to be an ongoing, disempowering negation of total disempowerment, which debilitates a political subject position in total opposition to state institutions and policies.
Although the governmentality framework tends to reduce the question of rule to a matter of directing knowledge and thought on the basis of which individuals modify their behavior, Nuijten's observations need not stand in outright contradiction to conventional governmentality approaches (cf. Dean 1999:12-13). They do, however, emphasize that the work involved in conducting conduct is more diverse and subtle than oftentimes argued. As cognitive and neuroscientific research has long stressed, decision-making and reasoning is intricately tied to embodied experience and emotions (Damasio 1994; Lakoff 2008), and shaping conduct inevitably involves both head-work and heart-work. Conducting conduct, then, does not necessarily require shared rationalities, but it does involve co-producing an intersection of interests. Nevertheless, the exclusive selection of empirical material disembodied from concrete subjects and social settings appears to be ruling out considerations of how governmentality ties in with and translocalizes local politics and social relations as well as desires and emotions. This has the unfortunate effect of overlooking the many ways in which individuals with different social locations enter into governmental processes.

Conventional governmentality approaches produce further analytical problems in evading processual takes on how subjectivities are shaped and reshaped through practices, charting instead social technologies and a receptive but abstracted subject that comes to share in external aims and rationalities. First, if power emerges through social relations and networks that cut across societal scales, then analysis of rule needs to direct itself at the interface between policies and citizens, where social relations and roles come into being, that is, the concrete institutional, organizational, and social settings into which policies are inscribed and interact with subjects. Second, if the governmentality optics tune in on the productive aspects of power to problematize a clear-cut sense of directionality in rule and any knowable distinction between subject and object relations – between acting and being acted upon – governmentality studies amplify such ambiguities by empirically remaining on the discursive level of official policy, stopping short of analyzing how policies operate in action within concrete settings. If government creates subjects with certain self-regulating subjectivities, then this process must take place through some sort of interactional contact.

An additional analytical gear is arguably required to process the empirical layer within which concrete subjects are engaged in exercising self-rule. The following section makes a case for combining key insights from the governmentality framework with Goffman's frame analytical approach. The thesis thus stresses the interdependency of discursive and interactional frameworks to demonstrate how actors are simultaneously constrained and produced by discursive and
interactional frameworks, and how these frameworks equally inform and produce each other and, in that process, give way to different types of narratives and identities.

**Frame governmentality**

If modern exercise of power is characterized by a sway toward *incentivization* and persuasion rather than physical coercion, then modern rule has necessarily become a profoundly didactic activity. Within this vision, successful rule bases itself on the stipulation of social categories and roles with which subjects are prone to identify and which hold out a desirable place and plan for them within the envisioned social order.

From this point of departure, however, self-government is a somewhat deceptive term. The term implies a reflexive subject-object relation of self to self, but it inevitably follows that self-regulation occurs in response to something or some situation. Acts of self-government derive their sense as such through their link to a causative entity that transposes some degree of causativity to the subject in question; government manifesting itself through self-government. The efficacy of rule rests on the distribution of social technologies, and this process of distribution, while dependent on self-regulation, must somehow precede it. Yet, the strict focus on subject formation as the basis for self-government carries with it an unstated view of the self as a definite, discrete entity that is essentially enduring and stable. Subject formation implies a process of change within the self; the self is first to be reworked and then comes to regulate itself in new ways. From this perspective, the self is *inner-directed*, and rule is focused on shaping inner-direction (Villadsen 2006:10). Within the governmentality framework, conduct is conducted by fostering certain kinds of subjects imprinted with rationalities that make them act according to objectives of government.

Turning to the work of sociologist Erving Goffman, self-government emerges as an extensively common-place practice and basic condition of being. In Goffman's approach, the self is adjustable, always interdependent, and cannot be dissociated from the social situations and interpersonal relations through which it operates. The self is not just formed processually on an experiential level. At any given moment, selves are structured into social activities, social relations, and settings, and vice versa, and so the individual brings as much to the social situation as the social situation brings to the individual.  

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14 This point parallels the point of intertextuality in literary theory: A text cannot exist independently from other texts, but draws on and corresponds with an endless number of texts. Therefore, any text is saturated by intertextual references, and consequently any text is always already an intertext (Kristeva 1980).
In *Frame Analysis*, Goffman (1986) shows that human thoughts and actions are guided by socially organized assumptions and expectations and that human beings have the basic social capability to quickly identify social activities and the implicit rules, roles, and logics that inform them, which in turn inform individual doings. The capability of human beings to interpret, make use of, and externalize the conceptual frame within which they operate arises doubly through socialization. First, socialization exposes human beings to, and inserts them in, a wide variety of conceptual frames that become familiar and naturalized. Second, socialization as a condition of social life also induces human beings with a sensitivity to conceptual frames, which creates the condition for directing socialization through unfamiliar frames (Goffman 1986:33; Lakoff 2008:1-15). The ability to perceive what is going on, what others perceive to be going on, and what others perceive one perceives to be going on, and so forth in social encounters is the basis for adequately estimating how to contribute to and participate in them. Social frames always involve more than a single participant, and participants are located relative to the frame and to other participants.

Thus, when human beings operate within social frameworks, they are simultaneously structured and socialized into the roles, rules, and logics that inform these frameworks. Activities make individuals active in particular capacities and, while active in those capacities, they strengthen familiarity with the activity, its requirements, and the social order it envisions. While some frames are ephemeral and have little lasting consequence, other frames congeal and become integral to the organization of particular social institutions.

There are parallels between Goffman's concept of frame and the concept of *paratext* as developed by literary theorist Gérard Genette (1997), which is to be understood as a frame attached to a given text so as to mediate it. Since the paratext provides instructions on how to read and understand the text it encloses, it holds the potential of (re)shaping the reception of the text by establishing an authoritative reading and representation of it. The concept of paratext thus shares the mediating function frames also assume, and the thesis applies the term paratext occasionally when pointing to frames that have crystalized and obtained an enduring mediating permanence.

Even though human beings act and think through conceptual frames, the frames themselves are never totalizing entities and may change within and across social occasions and settings (Goffman

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15 As Goffman notes, the "primary frameworks," or "schemata of interpretation," can be divided into "natural" and "social" categories, one pointing to unanimated occurrences and the other pointing to animated, "guided doings" (1986:21-39). These frameworks, of course, intertwine, but of concern here are social frameworks.

16 The paratext may consist of diverse media such as cover illustration, title, preface, introduction, afterword, subsequent interviews with the author, and literary prizes (Genette 1997:7-8).
Likewise, frames never correspond to individuals in their entirety; they merely activate individuals in certain roles and activities that delimit modes of inference and participation. Thus, the ways in which subjects act in various social situations is not simply a matter of expressing an inner state of being, or personal stance, but of identifying the requirements presented by various social arrangements and gearing individual involvement to those requirements.

Nevertheless, familiarity with particular conceptual frames and their integral modes of reasoning is likely to be enhanced in individuals through frequent repetition, routinization, and training, and this is the case even if one is engaged in negating a particular social frame (Lakoff 2008, 2014). The conduct of conduct thus involves a sustained effort to install and keep particular conceptual frameworks in force across settings, and in this way frames can be naturalized and come to structure social life across different settings, although their stability rests on institutionalization and repetition. Social scientist Michael Billig demonstrates exactly this in his seminal work on *Banal Nationalism* (1995). Billig shows how the nation is constantly "flagged" in everyday life and how the national frame structures the way people think about, speak about, and belong in the world, yet the very ubiquity of the national frame and the routinized re-activation of it makes it largely invisible to its members as a social framework. Constant reactivation thereby makes social frameworks exist within and around individuals.

Given that individuals are both structured and socialized into conceptual frames and that these processes intersect, a governmentality framework would ideally bring to view long-term subject formation and the instantaneous ways in which subjects are structured into varying social arrangements. By pointing out how individuals engaged in social interaction navigate socially by intuitively orienting to frames, Goffman's late work (1981, 1986) helps to illuminate the loci and processes of regulation and self-regulation. Frames organize interaction and facilitate focused social encounters by producing shared understandings so that attention and involvement are effectively directed toward the social situation as it is framed rather than toward the framing of the situation. In this sense, frames are subtle social technologies, since they engage citizens in particular activities and incentivize particular modes of conduct invested in interpretational schemata that bring a larger meaning to individual actions. Frames are thus foundational sites of government and, to show these social technologies at work, social interaction needs to be included into the empirical domain, since this is where frames are negotiated and subjects are regulated. A focus on frames is thus compatible with the key theoretical perspectives on self-government and decentered exercise of power within the governmentality literature, since rule is highlighted as an immensely dispersed activity that also
ricochets among citizens. Frame governmentality can therefore help show how particular modes of rule disperse themselves to emerge as a decentered activity.

**Translocalization of frames as governmentality: Multicultourism in Mexico’s Magical Village**

The concept translocality is applied across the humanities and social sciences to consider globalization issues by directing attention to the political and social processes through which spaces are fused, places and identities are shaped, and human beings, things, and ideas travel, and notably how these processes make themselves felt in concrete localities (Brickell & Datta 2011; Greiner & Sakdapolrak 2013). The approach prioritizes detailed empirical analysis at the "receiving" end of globalization to show how global currents are processed through national and local sieves, and how global hierarchies come to expression in particular social settings. Translocality is a concept well-suited to a constructionist theoretical framework given that it highlights the processual and relational aspects of place and identity by situating local dynamics within wider social dynamics that transgress any single locality.

Anchored in the frame governmentality developed so far in this chapter, translocality is mobilized to tune into a mode of rule that forges connections and identifications between places, and on that account gains purchase on local processes. Moreover, the concept illuminates how certain manifestations of translocality enter into local politics and partake in organizing the political field. The thesis thus operationalizes the concept translocality to trace governmental efforts to construct translocal connections and identities. In short, the approach focuses on the translocalization of frames as a type of governmentality that organizes local involvement with national and global issues. In this sense, translocalized frames are terrains within which notions of the global, the national, and the local conflate. This conceptualization is captured in the title of the thesis. Multicultourism has a point of origin in a global discussion on social justice, democratic participation, and cultural recognition for minority groups and a global marketization of social relations, yet multicultourism represents a distinctly nationalized response to these global tendencies, which nevertheless comes to express itself across and within concrete social settings with historical, social, and socio-economic complexities of their own.

The introduction charted central aspects of the international human rights development that gave rise to the concept of multicultural citizenship within Latin America. This development was part of a global reorientation from Keynesian economic policies toward neoliberalism, which coincided with a shift in the balance of claims-making by social movements, turning from class-based claims of socio-economic redistribution to culture-based demands of recognition (Fraser
This broader turn toward multicultural citizenship is, however, one to be handled by individual nation-state governments, and thus citizenship issues are still fixed to membership of particular nation-states. Yet, even so, state citizenship does not apply equally across national or urban territories, nor across variegated collective and individual social locations such as ethnicity, gender, and age (Yuval-Davis 2011:48-49, 156-163). In this sense, the Magical Village is a singular national label that simultaneously looks to cushion a global discussion on multicultural citizenship in national terms and yet couch it in localized terms across disparate social settings and each of their varying internal social divides.

This intermingling of processes needs to be taken into account in questions related to citizenship issues to show how global, national, and local historical and social processes conjoin to produce places and identities, and in consequence how the processes studied situate each other (Svensson 2014). From this perspective, the thesis stresses the asymmetrical yet open-ended process of translocalization between poles differently located within hierarchies of authority. Places and people are inscribed into translocal currents and relations, constituted by two-way interactional flows, which, nonetheless, are subtended by unequal processes of filtration and interpretation. Central to these translocal processes are issues of belonging on various scales and their infusion with particular places, subjects, and local politics with a historical and social life of their own. At stake in the thesis is thus a politics of belonging (Yuval-Davis 2011) that comes across through the governance of translocal identities in which the Mexican nation re-inscribes itself into a new global order and channels a new global order into the nation. The issue, then, is not so much the "production of locality" (Appadurai 1995) as the governmental production of translocality by which global and local issues are fused into the shared conceptual framework of the nation.

The understanding of translocality developed here is inspired by the concept of transculturation as conceived by literary theorist Mary Louise Pratt in her work *Imperial Eyes* (2008). Transculturation denotes processes of selection, appropriation, and transformation of cultural features in cross-cultural interactions, undergirded by asymmetrical economic and political conditions and power relations. Another transgression concept is chosen here to avoid using the (over)loaded term culture and its problematically essentializing applications in indigenous affairs and studies. The thesis thus sides with anthropologist Lila Abu-Lughod in "writing against culture" (1991), and finds that the concept of translocality has the double advantage of situating the study in
particular localities with all their complexities, yet steering clear of entertaining the idea that localities can be taken as discrete and self-evident analytical units.\footnote{The term transculturation would appear to serve better in the analysis of early colonial, cross-continental contact zones, while in a contemporary Latin American nation-state context the term could evoke the idea of two bounded and distinct "cultures" belonging to separate lifeworlds.}

To speak of the translocalization of frames means to direct attention to the seamless process of hyphenation that brings the self into a particular self-relation relative to a frame that asserts a particular socio-spatial order. Translocal frames operate decentrally, but they are only partly configured from these localized positions, since the frames do the job of fusing together notions of the local with notions of the national and the global. Translocal frames thus infuse places into national and global hierarchies and thereby provide cognitive resources for subjects through which to interpret and define for themselves a meaningful role and place in society.

Mode of analysis

Frame, governmentality, and translocality are the three analytical categories that cut through the term multicultourism and configure the mode of analysis deployed in this thesis. Governmentality points to a particular mode of rule, frame refers to the conceptual framework and locus, where subjects and policies are brought together, and translocality denotes the socio-spatial process whereby frames are distributed. The mode of analysis is now further specified by introducing key analytical concepts and relating them to the analytical categories and empirical material. Since frames guide perception, thought, and action, frames are units of primary interest to a frame governmentality analysis, and the dispersal and reception of frames between and across social spaces are the central social processes to be analyzed.

As Goffman has shown, frames are active in all aspects of social life, but they are nevertheless particularly accessible to analysis through instances of interaction, since interactants continuously monitor and transmit cues as to the frames that are in force. This is so because frames demarcate a portion and define a version of social reality marked as relevant to the activity in question and relative to which interactants can be held morally accountable. Consequently, frames are infused with certain "schemata of interpretation" (1986:21) through which an activity, and individual contributions to it, are given meaning, and by which interactants reach a shared understanding that organizes their differentiated involvement. Interaction thus centers on "coordinated task activity" (1981:140-143) with a particular worldview and "interaction arrangement" (1981:153) that integrates and distributes certain modes of participation – the "participation framework" (1981:137)
and preferred manners of producing meaningful contributions to the activity – the "production format" (Goffman 1981:144-152).

An integral part of interaction, then, consists in interactants offering framing cues as to how their actions and words are to be interpreted, and tuning in on these practices and processes is an entry point to the analysis of frames. A condition of interaction is that utterances emerge connected to their source and the task of recipients is not to draw up connections, but to correctly identify how acts and sources are connected verbally and otherwise. For this reason, "connectives" – the linking together of source and action – tend to be received with "unguarded security," and constitute an effective means for fabricating experience (Goffman 1986:479-480).

In the final chapter of Frame Analysis (1986 [1974]:496-559), Goffman launched his frame analytical apparatus, later reworked and dubbed footing (1981:124-159), which pulls out the structural means by which individuals craft strategies of representation and discursive positions in the interactional production, reception, management, and negotiation of truth and authority. Frames codify the interaction arrangement and thus structure the range and applicability of interactional positions – the footing – which can be successfully adopted by individuals engaged in interaction (Goffman 1981:124-157). In reverse order, analysis of footing leads to the analysis of the frame space that defines social encounters.

As Goffman has argued, the terms speaker and listener are far too rudimentary to yield an understanding of participant roles in interaction. Consequently, he proposed to segment both terms into further analytical types that serve to identify the positions, alignments or "footings" that participants in a stretch of talk adopt in relation to the utterances that they and others produce. Departing from any utterance in a given interaction, the participation status of each member may be determined by their individual relation to the utterance, while the relation of all members to the utterance and, in extension, to the entire collective activity being undertaken, can be understood as the participation framework. Zooming in on the speaker, Goffman sets forth three analytical types that may come into play in the production format of an utterance: animator, author, and principal, each of which serve to identify the varied positions that speakers may attach to their own and others' utterances. The animator is the one uttering the words, the author is the one who has selected the words that are being uttered, and the principal is the one whose position is being established through the utterance. The category animator stresses that a speaker is not necessarily to be taken as composer of the words uttered (author) or as representative of the point of view expressed (principal), but sometimes takes up a capacity as mere "sounding box" (Goffman 1981:144-145).
Likewise, a speaker may be simultaneously animating and authoring an utterance, but the speaker may credit another individual or entity, present or not, with the opinion expressed through the authored words. All three functions may of course come together in one and the same entity in some utterances. Often, however, they do not, and even in cases where they may appear to do so, the speaker may be sketching a divide between a previous version of self, who is made principal (and responsible) of the rendered viewpoint, action, or episode, against which a new self emerges to express another current and more viable viewpoint that creates distance to the former self. The three concepts thus distinguish between three types of sources in interaction by their degree of commitment to the communicated message. Together with the practice of figurative embedding that draws in sources external to the agent in charge of producing the message, Goffman's analytical apparatus illustrates the endless possibilities for maneuvering and negotiating positions. As sociologists Steven Clayman (1992) and Nick Hartland (1994) have demonstrated, Goffman's analytical categories are highly useful in showing how people make claims to authority, credibility, neutrality, and truth by drawing external agents into their talk as sources that appear to stand out as independent of the speaker (or a present biographical self) and the viewpoint the speaker expresses.

From the perspective of this thesis, any piece of material, whether activity, object, talk, text, and so forth can be analyzed through the applied approach when articulating a particular "participation framework" and "production format" (Goffman 1981:124-159), and when a concrete subject's engagement with and within these can be drawn forth analytically. Such approach attempts to transgress interaction as strictly bounded by discrete social occasions and focuses rather on identifying interactional continuums that stretch across time and space. Since government is increasingly spatially dispersed (Fraser 2008:124-130) and translocal (Gupta 1995), and since interaction arrangements integral to government may saturate social life and relations in multifarious ways, the more diverse the empirical material, the richer the analysis of governance. To this end, the analysis is based on a bricoleurist stance to the selection of empirical material, which holds that it is in their combination that the different types of source material gain substantial analytical currency, since frames may cut through any aspect of social life.\(^{18}\)

The analysis includes as empirical material government documents and press releases, Magical Villages Program documents, newspaper articles, institutional (face-to-face) interaction, public

\(^{18}\) The assumption is not that such approach will produce an "exhaustive" analysis. The assumption is that such approach allows the analysis to emulate the mode of rule it traces by directing attention to the capacity of frames to disperse into and organize almost any aspect of social life. This approach gives the analysis a performative twist that facilitates a better understanding of how multicultourism works than what could be addressed in purely verbal terms.
space, public texts, tourism magazine texts, field notes, interviews, and public ritual. Asking about the modes of participation in and production of social interaction brings to the front the "interaction arrangement" (Goffman 1981:153) as a mode of rule complete with capacities, roles, responsibilities, and rights granted to diverse citizens within the envisioned social order.

Frames thus embed activities and interaction arrangements, and the analysis focuses on identifying how multicultourism cuts across diverse media and settings to emerge as a translocal frame that defines activities and organizes involvement in and across social settings. This approach requires granting a broad meaning to the concept of interaction that exceeds the face-to-face domain Goffman typically is credited for studying (cf. Manning 1992:3; Jacobsen 2010:17-19), and incorporating diverse kinds of empirical material that constitute and are constituted by transversal interaction arrangements.19

To trace the temporal dispersal of frames, the analytical chapters alternate between diachronic and synchronic perspectives.20 The diachronic moves are intended to destabilize synchronically anchored frames, and subsequent synchronic moves are intended to bring the frames to view in action. The diachronic move constitutes one type of deconstruction, facilitating another type of deconstruction, the synchronic move. These moves bring the frames to view as social technologies.

Since multicultourism comes alive in concrete localities, where global, national, and local hierarchies blend, the question of spatial dispersal refers primarily to the means through which multicultourism inserts itself into localized social relations and settings. Nevertheless, for such analysis to materialize, it also has to identify the extralocal properties of the phenomenon, which can be done only by incorporating empirical material from additional domains.

A focus on the translocalization of frames and interaction arrangements points to the distribution of ideas, participatory roles, and social values, and how such orders enter into and create social settings; it draws forth a translocal frame governmentality. Frames are the point of encounter between causativity and self-regulation, and analyzing these frames in motion offers insights into situations in which concrete subjectivities are being negotiated in particular ways and within concrete settings. Tuning in on instances of interaction helps to situate rule by providing spatial and temporal loci to the processes through which social technologies are activated and

19 This move ought to be uncontroversial, since a major part of Goffman’s empirical material too derived from outside the face-to-face domain. Frame Analysis, for instance, employs newspaper articles reporting on face-to-face encounters and extracts from stage play manuscripts, and just a single transcript from a face-to-face encounter occurs at the end of the book (Goffman 1986:548-549).
20 Chapters four and six are diachronically arranged, chapters five and seven synchronically arranged, and chapter eight alternates between diachronic and synchronic perspectives.
dispersed. Thereby, some of the limitations on governmentality as mode of rule are also brought to view. Governmentality can only ever be partly successful, since it requires that subjects identify and engage with the roles envisioned for them by government, and such roles are received differently depending on social locations. With this in mind, some sort of politics of belonging (Yuval-Davis 2011:10-21) appears to be at work, and this can be inspected by focusing on frames and interaction arrangements.
CHAPTER 3: WORKING THE TRANSLOCAL FIELD

To be able to analyze a mode of government, which seeks to efface itself as such by populating social relations, and which in its most potent form atomizes into self-government, a set of methodological moves are required that tune in on the social, spatial, and temporal axes by which government is distributed. The thesis thus brings processes of government into view by organizing analysis around diachronic axes and synchronic snapshots and along the discursive and interactional continuums that tie together space and social groups, and by searching out the changing boundaries and constraints on modes of government. To do so, analysis of government has to track down the translocal movement of government and how it is situated in concrete settings and through concrete practices (Gupta 1995:375-378). The implication is that the local is always translocal and, to draw forth such aspect analytically, research methodologies need to be configured in ways that make it possible to identify connections between localities (Hannerz 2003) with an eye to the historical contingency of such connections. Therefore, the major methodological challenges of this thesis have been how to transcend the seemingly local and the seemingly stable, and as will be argued at the end of the chapter, these challenges are intertwined.

The chapter begins by providing an overview of the conducted fieldwork, the field, and general methodological considerations involved in identifying and processing the empirical material. As the chapter proceeds, it increasingly turns to a processual view to show how a translocal field and a diachronic dimension emerged gradually during the research, and how in response empirical material was resignified and methodologies reshaped. To put it in simple terms, findings in one domain often had implications on findings in another.

Planning and starting up fieldwork

I started on a three-year fellowship in September 2012 with a desire to "go" to the field as early as possible. I wanted to move from generalized ideas to a concrete ethnographic setting, since research design and research questions tend to be modified during collection and analysis of (ethnographic) empirical material (Hammersley & Atkinson 2007:20-28). Therefore, to avoid spending too much time on topics that would have little empirical resonance, I was anxious to cut the pre-fieldwork phase short. Teaching obligations in the first two semesters set limits on the dates and duration of the travel, making feasible two months of fieldwork that could be placed within mid-December 2012 to the end of March 2013. Because my partner, Louise, would be returning from maternity leave in March 2013 to continue on her own PhD project, we decided that January and February of
2013 would be the best time to place the fieldwork, so she and Julius, our son of, then, eight months, could join me.

Having settled on the general themes of investigation, I discussed possible field sites with the former head of the American Indian Languages and Cultures section, linguist Una Canger, who has extensive fieldwork experience from Mexico. From the outset, our discussion was limited to areas with majority indigenous population and, more specifically, areas where I would be able to make use of my knowledge of Classical Nahuatl. When Canger brought my attention to Cuetzalan I was at first reluctant to pursue the matter further, because, as Canger informed me, there was already considerable scholarly literature on a range of topics about Cuetzalan and villages in its vicinity. Nevertheless, I eventually put aside the latent fear of not being able to contribute with anything additional and decided at least to investigate the matter further myself.

A search on the Internet instantly found that Cuetzalan had been part of the large-scale national tourism program Magical Villages since 2002 – a topic that had not been investigated – and it was clear that the program suited the research theme. I was no less intrigued to find that Cuetzalan has been figuring on Mexico's tentative list of UNESCO World Heritage since 2006, knowing already from Canger that the voladores ritual, which in 2009 was inscribed into the UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage list, was performed there during weekends and festivities.

From the outset, then, the research was anchored in a translocal web of connections (Hannerz 2003:21), rather than in the locality Cuetzalan, and already while planning the fieldwork, I was "composing the translocal field" (Hannerz 2003:25-28). This realization, although vague at the time, enhanced the viability of doing brief problem-oriented ethnography in Cuetzalan and stressed that fieldwork would have to be designed to trace the direct and indirect making of connections between Cuetzalan and various other settings. With this new context in mind, there were two obvious ways in which a detailed preparation for the on-site field experience could take place.

One was to mine SECTUR’s official website of documents to find out more about Mexican tourism policies and the Magical Villages Program. The scope of that task was much more encompassing than initially envisioned and, as discussed later, this marked the beginning of fieldwork rather than preparation for fieldwork. At that time, I reflected little on the ephemeral

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22 http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/en/lists. Five voladores (flying men/women) climb a pole of about 30 meters at the top of which four of them tie themselves to a frame, while the fifth dances, drums, and plays the flute in all cardinal directions on top of the pole. Subsequently, the four voladores fall backwards into the air and spin around the pole before landing on the ground, while the fifth slides and climbs down one of the four ropes.
character of the empirical material retrieved and the task seemed to consist of simply finding "the" official program document, and so I did (SECTUR 2009c), without paying attention to the curious detail that "the" document offered on SECTUR's website was digitally datable to 2009, eight years after the launch of the program.

Another way of preparing for fieldwork consisted of reading existing academic literature on Cuetzalan. Notably, two PhD theses and accompanying articles by sociologists Gabriela Coronado and Louisa Greathouse-Amador deal with tourism and interethnic relations in Cuetzalan just prior to its inclusion into the Magical Villages Program (cf. Coronado 2000, 2007, Greathouse-Amador 1997, 2000, 2005), which thus created ground for drawing in a historical perspective and gave an impression of the ethnographic setting and local agents.

Of further advantage, Canger has been carrying out fieldwork in a nearby hamlet since 2001 and with an ethnographer's eye she had already mapped the town for fieldwork, providing me with key insights into Cuetzalan and surroundings, and briefing me on three citizens who would be likely to contribute to my research and to have a wide circle of acquaintances. Of these, two were spot on, as noted shortly.

In spite of these advantages, some colleagues of mine were skeptical about my choice of field site and warned me that Cuetzalan had already been studied, echoing my own initial doubts. In the light of my own initial fears and the corresponding skepticism from colleagues, some degree of reflection on the practice of fieldwork and what constitutes the field appears to be warranted. As it so happens, the decision to bring my family to the field clashes with the same maxim that favors unstudied field sites. Due to this convergence, these issues will be discussed jointly after an introduction to the early part of fieldwork, an overview of key groups identified in the field, and a discussion of interviewing as a method for identifying social positions and group formations.

**Fieldwork in the Magical Village**

The on-site fieldwork was divided into two parts. The first round took place in January and February 2013 and the second round in September and October 2014. While the first round was planned according to a principle of "the sooner, the better," and fell into the low season of tourism, the second round of fieldwork was planned according to one of the annual peaks of community life and regional tourism; the annual town fiesta held in the beginning of October (chapter 8). Although the first round of fieldwork was not consciously planned according to low season, the division of fieldwork into low and high season produced contrasting experiences both of which form part of social life in town.
The fieldwork in 2013 was guided by two main aims. The first was to identify signs of presence of the Magical Villages Program within public space, and the second was to get an overview of how different groups participated in the program and tourism. These aims composed a provisional strategy for identifying central ways in which Cuetzalan and the Magical Villages Program were being tied together.

The attention to "signs of presence" was inspired by urban architect Anja Nelle's study of strategic interventions into public space in World Heritage Towns in Cuba, Mexico, and the Philippines (2009, 2011). Nelle devises an approach that examines urban environments according to two kinds of features: the ones that assist in producing a historic image and facilitate "time-travel" and the ones that are tied to "contemporary life" (2011:77-79). By paying attention to the distribution of these features, Nelle demonstrates one way to inspect the strategic management and production of public space within a UNESCO heritage framework.

Upon arrival, it was readily apparent that the Magical Villages Program had a more direct presence than the one envisioned in Nelle's methodology, and "signs of presence" took on a literal meaning. Attention was directed at photographically documenting obvious program objects such as display boards, street signs, and shop signs, which carried the official program logo. I also visited the Municipal Office of Tourism to find out which, if any, promotion materials were circulating. To my surprise, I received a lavish 32-page promotional magazine produced by the municipal government, sponsored in part by SECTUR and The Mexico Tourism Board, VisitMexico. Printed in color on coated paper and richly illustrated with photos from Cuetzalan's fiesta in 2011, the magazine showed indigenous people in ritual vestments performing ritual activities. The magazine had been issued in 2012 as part of celebrating Cuetzalan's decennial anniversary as a Magical Village. Such direct references to Cuetzalan's participation in the program pervaded public space. In the ethnographic museum, which displayed mestizo versions of local history side-by-side with indigenous material culture, the narrative culminated with a display board pointing to "the millenary cultures" and "World Heritage" that constitute "a living past" and for which "Cuetzalan has been designated as a Magic Town."

Tellingly, even the logo of the municipal government in office at the time (2011-2014) had incorporated the program logo and title into its design (Fig. 3.1). The Magical Villages Program thus inhabited public space quite explicitly, manifesting Cuetzalan's being a Magical Village as an overarching community identity. This trivial observation was significant for how subsequent fieldwork was organized, since it became apparent that all citizens, regardless of their degree of
involvement with the program and tourism, could be expected to adopt some kind of position relative to the Magical Villages Program.

From this perspective, on-site fieldwork would need to identify situated program practice and the ways in which diverse citizens engaged with the program. Following what Cruikshank argues about social movements, the question became one of finding out how the program was shaping "the terrain of political action" (1999:6). Although there is an inside and outside to the Magical Village, there is, from the perspective of such approach, no inside or outside to the program. There are just different modes of participation and the task became one of drawing forth how different groups participated and how the program organized the field.

Four key groups to the research

As it turned out, by following Canger's lead I struck upon two individuals, belonging to two influential groups in town. One was O, a shop owner, event-maker, and freelance IT-specialist for the municipal government, when I arrived in 2013. At that point, he was working on getting into the tourism business and had just become a member of the Municipal Council of Tourism, a civil advisory board comprising service providers and formally instituted by the municipal government with the official aim of coordinating private and public efforts to strengthen tourism. Upon my return in 2014, he was part of the municipal government staff concerned with administrating tourism. Knowing O opened many doors. As seen in chapter five, O became my pass to a local Magical Villages meeting, and he was also helpful in securing me an interview with the municipal director of tourism. O was part of a large group of citizens who were eager to volunteer their professional assistance to the municipal government through public committees dealing with tourism. Their prime concern with tourism was to make it grow in a way that would increase demand for their professional skills and services. For some, as illustrated by O's road to the municipal administration, it was a question of cultivating and filling out a need for their professional expertise within the public system. For this purpose alone, the Magical Villages Program was considered pivotal to their careers, since it has been generating an increasing workload on the municipal government, which needs to document, evaluate, manage, and promote tourism in ways that increase demand for their services. If nothing else, the program has the long-

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23 The council is part of the tourism strategy of the Puebla state government. Similar councils have been implemented in 66 of the 217 municipalities. SECTUR (Puebla) has offered courses to municipal governments on how to organize the councils (Trauwitz 2013:36-37, 42).

24 Since the municipal government determines who sits on such committees and councils, admission is likely to depend on their esteemed social position or previous voluntary work.
term effect of generating public administration employment for tourism professionals. For others, the offering of assistance was nurtured by the hope of influencing municipal tourism policies in a direction of benefit to their individual businesses – hotels, restaurants, travel agencies. For yet others, the Magical Villages Program was seen as the sure path to create a profitable tourism, and time invested would return as dividends from tourist wallets.

Benito was the other local contact associated with another influential group in town. I still recall entering his always busy shop and how he ejected from his seat with the phrase, "Let me tell you about the Magical Villages!" when I inquired about the program. Before I could blink, Benito escorted me through a series of dark back rooms leading to his café next door where I was seated and served a cappuccino, while he passionately told me all about the problems related to the Magical Villages Program, instructing me to "report that to your university!" Of particular concern to him was the dramatic increase in the number of street vendors, which disturbed not only tourists by "taking them by their collar" and begging them to buy something, but also the magic scenery. According to the program, Benito rightly stressed, ambulant vending is not allowed in a Magical Village and Benito wanted ambulant vendors off the streets and relocated to a building away from the town center where they would have all the facilities they would need. I had already been talking to many of these vendors and knew that the overwhelming majority were Nahua women and children from nearby San Miguel Tzinacapan and San Andrés Tzicuilan, who struggle with extreme poverty. After our talk I found myself in yet another uncomfortable scene. Exiting the café, I first noticed a large sign prohibiting ambulant vendors from entering (Fig. 3.3), and then, as I looked to the street, found myself being greeted by a group of vendors from Tzinacapan with whom I was trying to get acquainted.

Benito actively engaged in arranging interview sessions with municipal chronicler Hernando and shop owner Virgilio, both of whom Benito stressed were knowledgeable about town history, a topic that was also of great interest to Benito. The insistence Benito showed in arranging and effectuating these meetings was duly honored by Hernando's insistence that we could not talk before I knew town history, about which he then lectured me. Disquieting as it was to be force-fed a version of local history that began with the arrival of mestizo and European settlers in the 1850s and narratively obliterated the Nahuas, the experience made me glimpse connections between practices of settler history-making, the performance of the annual town fiesta in local identity construction, and the multicultourism, which is at the base of the Magical Villages Program (chapter 8). It turned out Benito, Hernando, and Virgilio were all descendants of the early settler families, which
explained both their fascination with town history and their privileged positions as sages. For this group, the heritage dimension to the Magical Villages Program was a prime concern, since it not only tied in with family history, but was also seen as the engine of tourism.\textsuperscript{25}

Then there was the cosmopolitan crowd, newcomers from large Mexican cities, particularly Mexico City and Puebla, and a few from abroad. Being myself identifiably an outsider, newcomers was a group of people to which I was rapidly introduced. Already, in Mexico City, I heard of Lucas from Europe who had moved to Cuetzalan six months earlier. Lucas introduced me to other newcomers, one of whom was Ernesto, a cultural activist who had been active in The Other Campaign of the Zapatista Movement in 2006.\textsuperscript{26} The campaign had brought Ernesto to San Miguel Tzinacapan – his third visit to the area – and he since decided to move to Cuetzalan to focus his political work on this part of the Sierra. Another newcomer was Louise's Spanish teacher, Lucinda from Mexico City, who had been living in town from 1988 to 1992, before spending years abroad in the United States and Europe. She had returned to Cuetzalan from Mexico City in 2012 with the hope of starting up private English teaching, perhaps also a café, and finding a more peaceful life. Nevertheless, in 2013, Lucinda left town, disillusioned by the combination of poor business opportunities and the irony of finding small-town life obsessed with making it big. Common to the cosmopolitans was a fascination with local indigenous culture and heritage and their antipathy toward the Magical Villages Program.

Of final consideration are the Nahua ambulant vendors from San Andrés Tzicuilan and San Miguel Tzinacapan. With the exception of a few boys, this group is composed of women of all ages and girls from some of the poorest families in those towns. As was the case for Maria in 2013, the vending of handicrafts was the sole source of direct personal income, yielding so little that most days a 14-peso bus trip back and forth was simply unaffordable and on other days a luxury that would erode the day's income. It was the same for the young girls who were contributing to their family's income by vending handicrafts in Cuetzalan during weekends and after school hours. During our stay in low-season, I was puzzled to see that many of the handicraft vendors came to town most days of the week, and not just during weekends when some degree of tourism was to be expected. At first, I suspected that sales were perhaps better than they tended to indicate in

\textsuperscript{25} Like other business owners in town, these families were also represented in official committees dealing with tourism and looking to influence municipal tourism policies.

\textsuperscript{26} The campaign was launched during the 2006 presidential elections as a means of tying together communities and social movements across Mexico in an alternative political project to circumvent conventional party politics (Magaña 2014:70-71).
conversations, but from what I could observe during regular weekdays, next to nothing was sold. Their presence in Cuetzalan appeared to be something of a conundrum during most of the week, since their efforts appeared hardly to be economically worthwhile. Part of the answer is, of course, that howsoever slim the income of vending would turn out to be, going to Cuetzalan constituted a slightly better alternative to staying in Tzinacapan, where there was no opportunity of vending their goods. In 2014, Maria had found part-time work in Tzinacapan and now went to Cuetzalan only on weekends and holidays. Nevertheless, even during the annual fiesta, the high point of regional tourism, she and her six-year-old daughter Yolani were selling frighteningly little. As argued later (chapter 7), it appears that the vendors were engaging in something of potentially much more significance to their lives than the casual vending of low-cost items; they were interacting with visitors with the strategic aim of establishing meaningful translocal relations. For the vendors to conduct this activity successfully, being on the spot in Cuetzalan when new tourists arrived was pivotal. Due to the short average stay of tourists, vendors need to meet them early on in their stay to have the time necessary to forge meaningful interpersonal relationships.

Probing the field through interviews

One of the effects of interviewing people on the topic of tourism and the Magical Villages Program was that it prompted interviewees to make sense of and reflect on their position vis-à-vis the program. In preparing interviewees for interviews, I therefore stressed that I was looking for their personal account and their personal views, qualifying any type of reaction or information they might have for the topics we would discuss. During the introduction, I would present myself and explain in a broad sense that I was doing a study on life in Cuetzalan and was interested to know more about tourism and the Magical Villages Program. Such introduction allowed me to set the topic of discussion, yet the emphasis on their personal experience and opinions was equally meant to encourage interviewees to take some degree of control of the conversation. Additional attempts not to steer the interviews too strictly consisted in a preference for asking descriptively and structurally (Spradley 1979:78-91, 120-131) and avoiding, as far as possible interrupting interviewees, even if they appeared to be moving away from the topics I had introduced as of interest to me.

The interviewees by no means constituted a homogenous group, and they responded differently to my way of interacting with them. Petrona, who unknowingly barged into another interview session, seemed very confident in that first encounter, indignantly telling me about how the old water fountains had been discarded in a Magical Villages project set to improve the urban image. But, in
the interview situation, she was restlessly nervous, smoking incessantly, and switching between sitting down and standing up. Apparently uncertain about what I wanted to know from her, she kept breaking off her own sentences, saying with a voice short of breath, "What else can I tell you?" In that particular case, retreating to a stricter, step-by-step questionnaire-like set of questions and more control from my side would perhaps have served better, providing the interviewee with more certainty of what I expected from the interview situation.

In a few other cases, however, I came to realize that my preconceived notion of coming with authority was not shared by the interviewees. Those interviewees were male, significantly older than me, had locally notable educational backgrounds, and held prestigious positions as municipal chroniclers, all of which allowed them to talk to me from a privileged position. In those cases, the interviewees took complete control of the interview. Municipal chronicler Hernando insisted, as already mentioned, that we could not discuss my topics before I knew about local history (chapter 8). Even as I attempted to reassure the interviewee that I did have a good overview of local history, my opinion did not seem to matter. Consequently, 57 minutes passed before we reached present-day Cuetzalan and what I conceived as the topics of interest. In an interview with municipal chronicler Cecilio, which lasted a measly 26 minutes, I was told to return when I had more questions. Despite such problems, I found that the interview technique worked well in most cases. During my interview with newcomer Ernesto (chapter 6), I suppressed a growing desire to interrupt him, as he set off on our talk – for no apparent reason, as I experienced it in the situation – by outlining the life and whereabouts of the mythistorical pre-Hispanic figure Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl.

I desperately wanted to bring him to the "real" topic and let him know that I knew all about Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl so we could cut to the chase. Luckily, I retained that pressing desire and finally came to realize that he was explaining his own life and whereabouts through reference to the pre-Hispanic mythistorical past. Had I interrupted him, I would not only have missed a fascinating account, I would also have displayed a notable insensitivity in the face of an autobiographical account that contextualized his life, actions, and ensuing accounts. Interrupting him would have cut

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27 This narrative militancy points to the importance of the perspective represented by the narrator – in this case the importance of knowing settler history, the narrator himself being a descendant of a locally distinguished early settler. Notably, I had been directed there by a descendant of another early settler family, who found it important to consult the chronicler due to his knowledge of town history.

28 Of course, I had plenty of questions, but apparently they were too open and too probing, signaling to the interviewee that I knew too little to justify taking up his time. The interviewee was simply frustrated and wondered which facts I wanted to know more about.

29 The term mythistory, coined by anthropologist Dennis Tedlock (Tedlock 1996:52), is used within Mesoamericanist research to point to a view on the past in pre-Hispanic Mesoamerica, which fused mythical events and figures with historical ones (Restall 2004:xvi-xvii).
off a context that he held to be central to his whereabouts, and I wonder how the rest of the interview would have proceeded, if he had felt I showed no interest in his person. As in other cases, the interview flowed nicely and touched on issues pertinent to the research without a need to be in strict control of the interview.

Regardless of the question of effecting direct control, the interview situation demanded some kind of active positioning from the interviewees in relation to the Magical Villages Program and some degree of explanatory elaboration on the positions assumed. Indeed, without such active positioning there would have been no (meaningful) interaction within the frames of the concrete interview situation. A fundamental assumption structuring the interview situation, then, was that the Magical Villages Program mattered somehow for the interviewee and that basic assumption was only strengthened by my coming all the way from Europe to know more about the program and its workings in Cuetzalan.\footnote{Since the Magical Villages Program inhabited public space quite explicitly, it could be argued that this framing of public space entered into the framing of the research and interaction.}

While this way of framing the interaction carries with it the obvious danger of overestimating the role of the program in local life, this mode of interaction was useful in the sense that it requested interviewees to verbally construct a position for themselves in relation to the program, which involved carving out social positions for self and others. To that end, the interviews conducted during fieldwork may be regarded as sources to the ways in which people made sense of the Magical Villages Program and their engagement with it, when directly requested to do so.

Since meaning-making is never an individual effort, but must take into account and respond to conflicting and opposing views (Gubrium & Holstein 2009; Tanggaard et al. 2014), interviews also became sources to common sourcing practices related to the program. Intriguingly, as Goffman has shown, sourcing has the finality of constructing a web of exterior agents that appear to be independent of the agent doing the talking. By engaging in interaction structured around the Magical Villages Program, I became familiar with how the program was drawn in as a source to and resource in discussions of local politics by various groups, and how various groups with their varying social locations invested their own positions with authority and delegitimized conflicting positions.

Dedicating time for undisturbed talk in confidential settings created a situation in which such positions could be elaborated in a way that was not equally feasible in the bustle of everyday business or among fellow citizens with a different take on the issues discussed. On a practical level,
interviewing also simply helped me to keep track of whether I was engaging with different groups in terms of age, ethnicity, gender, profession, and social position.31

During the two rounds of fieldwork, 23 formal interviews were carried out with the participation of 24 individuals (appendix 2).32 Interviewees and other people referred to from the ethnographic record have been anonymized by name, and personal information that would serve to identify them has been omitted almost invariably. Anonymization is important from a general point of view, since the thesis touches upon contemporary identity-political issues embedded in a conflictive interethnic history. Yet anonymization is also necessary due to the particular circumstances of several individuals who find themselves in personally and politically sensitive situations or economically and socially vulnerable positions. Nonetheless, individuals who were selected for interview due to their professional capacity have not been anonymized (completely) as to profession. Covering their professional identity from the accounts would make little sense, as they often give extra weight to the positions established through the interview situation. However, since several individuals often hold the same titles and, since official and institutional positions are by no means permanent and several individuals have entered and exited the positions referred to, the individuals in question whose institutional positions are included are not readily identifiable.

Fifteen of the interviewees are male and nine female. The unequal distribution in terms of gender probably reflects the varying importance gender groups ascribed to their own words. Men in all ages were very willing to share their opinions with me, while women, except for newcomers and those holding prominent positions, tended to doubt the utility of their opinions, sometimes referring me to their husbands. In an interview session planned in 2014 with Graciela, the owner of an ecotourism resort, she brought in her husband Víctor, the director of the resort and newly appointed member of the Municipal Council of Tourism. In the most natural way, Víctor assumed primary speakership, stressing in the prelude that being originally from Mexico City, he would contribute with an "external" and "pragmatic" view of the situation, while Graciela's view would be more "internal" and "emotive." On one level, Víctor was admonishing me for bypassing him, telling me to get my research straight and talk to those who know about these things, that is, someone like him. On another level, Víctor made use of his privilege as a man to address another man in the presence of a woman about the dangers of giving too much weight to what local women would have to say

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31 And by paying attention to the way in which interviewees constructed the positions of fellow citizens and to whom they would refer me, a rudimentary glimpse of social networks emerged.
32 Most interviews lasted between 40 to 70 minutes, but overall interview length varied from 26 minutes to 103 minutes. Interviews took place in the interviewees home, shop, or workplace, except for four, which were carried out in eateries.
about the program and local politics. He thus sought to undermine the validity of using female accounts as sources to academic work on politics and tourism by differentiating their analytical competences. It was also telling that Graciela showed no sign of objection to the gender-based curtailment of her perspectives and the discrimination of her views appeared to be uncontroversial. In consequence, Graciela suitably slid into a background role, largely supplementing Víctor's views, assuming primary speakership mainly when Víctor exited the interview situation to do business.

Distribution in terms of ethnicity was unequal too. Seventeen interviewees were mestizos (six of whom were newcomers), three were Nahua, three were Totonac, and one came from Europe. One reason for the unequal distribution is that mestizo Cuetzalan was the primary site for ethnographic fieldwork and that incoming Nahua vendors were predominantly women. Arranging formal interviews with them appeared to be out of reach due to their marginalized position in terms of ethnicity and gender as well as educational and socio-economic positions. It was my conviction that setting up formal interviews would only add to the asymmetries of our relation, and spontaneous conversation appeared to be a better way of engaging with these women. Hanging out with them and tagging along was instead my preferred mode of engaging with the Nahua street vendors.

At the end of most interviews, I would ask if there were any additional topics, which the interviewee imagined could be interesting to me. Only rarely did interviewees provide extra information, although in one case Maria used the opportunity to flip the script and ask me a question departing from our discussion of travelers becoming co-parents to Nahua children. How did I experience and feel about the way people from San Miguel Tzinacapan had received me and my family? This way, Maria clear-sightedly opened the door to a self-exploration that was central if I wanted to find answers to the questions I had been posing. The self-reflection Maria requested from me inspired me to make myself my own informant in a chapter on these interpersonal relations between Nahua and travelers (chapter 7) and, of course, her comment equally pointed to the translocal underpinnings of our relation.

My working language during fieldwork was predominantly Spanish, which is spoken by mestizos and the majority of the indigenous population. Although I could not engage in a fluent conversation in Nahuat, I made strategic use of my Classical Nahuat skills. One way to demonstrate my latent knowledge was to ask what they called something "here," sometimes introducing the term for it in Classical Nahuat, modified according to what I knew about the local variant, and from there on proceed to construct possessive forms or inflect verbs. A more rewarding way of making use of my Classical Nahuatl skills was to deliver simple one-liners to create surprise on their part as to my vocabulary, for instance by directing attention to Julius' snotty nose. Some of the vendors picked up on this immediately and actively assisted me in expressing my interest in their first language.
While arranging interviews with the incoming Nahua vendors seemed largely out of reach, getting into conversation with them was easy, since both parties had an interest in creating some kind of relationship. In general, getting into conversation posed no problem and least of all when I was moving about with my family. In the following section, the chapter makes a connection between the now-defunct notion of the isolated field and the ongoing tendency to exclude accompanying family from ethnographic accounts. The chapter subsequently reflects on how the presence of my family accentuated the translocal underpinnings of the research situation.

**Transcending isolation: The family and the translocal field**

In his *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski sets forth three principles of ethnographic method of which the most basic is that the ethnographer should "live without other white men, right among the natives" ([1922] 1966:6). For a long time, this principle figured in ethnographic writings as the spoken or unspoken ideal of proper fieldwork, often conceptualized as the lone male ethnographer's individual rite of passage in a distant community, disconnected from the home community and "the company of other white men" (Malinowski [1922] 1966:6; Okely 1996:33, 41; Flinn 1998:6-7; McGrath 1998:62; Frohlick 2002). Within this line of thought, once established and worked as a field site, the site is no longer "untouched," and therefore subsequent research is incompatible with the ideal of detaching oneself from other white men. The field site is considered to be contaminated by the former presence of other researchers who have influenced local life and, in that sense, these researchers are still perceived to be present, foiling subsequent researchers from working from a blank slate. Within this perspective, distant and rural communities are studied as isolated units with limited contact to a broader political and societal sphere (Berger 1993:179-180). A tendency in the selection of field site has been to choose remotely located villages because they are understood to be "more pure" (Pelto & Pelto 1978:179). This perceived purity evaporates once the village becomes an object of research. The presence of other non-Others in the field not only threatens to pollute the object of inquiry, but also poses a threat to the ethnographer's ability to become immersed in the studied community. Such was the assumption, even though the concrete field situation of Malinowski himself was different from the ideal presented in his work (Okely 1996:38).

The isolated community with a bounded culture therefore appears to be an object "made rather than found" (Gupta & Ferguson 1997:2-3). Given that the ideal of the lone ethnographer is fundamentally tied to the conceptualization of bounded community culture and how to do fieldwork in such a place, the same can be said about the lone ethnographer. The prevailing ideal of solitary
fieldwork helps to explain why the ethnographer's family rarely plays a role in ethnographic accounts, even though the mere presence of family shapes the fieldwork in significant ways (Gottlieb 1995; Flinn 1998:4-ff.; McGrath 1998; Poveda 2009). Either perceived as problematic or irrelevant, family presence in fieldwork tends to be neglected. Considering the reflexive surge in the humanities and the increasing significance of self-reflection to ethnographic methodology, such tendency seems surprising. It is well acknowledged that ethnographers and their personal and cultural baggage enter into the research, calling for personal introspection. But self-reflection has rarely been extended to include accompanying family, although family members form part of the ethnographer's perceived and perceiving self. Ethnographers, although reflexive on their own positions, uphold the image of the lone ethnographer by excluding accompanying family from the introspective reflection.

Anthropologist Barbara McGrath argues that unstated assumptions about ethnography underlie the tendency to downplay the role of the family in the fieldwork. To do proper ethnography, the ethnographer needs to be immersed in the studied community, a process that occurs more easily when the ethnographer brings "few personally identifying characteristics" into the field. Downplaying the role of family in fieldwork thus works to minimize the perceived threat of family to immersion and consequently to protect the validity of the research (McGrath 1998:61-62).

Nonetheless, ideas about site purity and the lone ethnographer belong to the days when the ethnographic project was conceived as a holistically descriptive enterprise that organized itself around standard themes such as kinship relations and economic, religious, and social organization. Perhaps because categories of interest in community studies were largely invariable, ethnography has been understood to study certain localities or people rather than certain cultural or social phenomena in certain locations or among certain people (Geertz 1973:22). Beginning in the 1950s, however, ethnographic studies in Mexico and Central America have turned toward a problem-directed approach that does not necessarily or primarily devote itself to holistic community research (Mulhare 2000:12-13). This reorientation comes in part from increasing attention to processes of modernization, nationalization, and globalization. This attention has brought about a perspective on rural communities as neither internally homogeneous nor isolated from broader economic, political, and social currents and networks.

Given this theoretical reconfiguration of what constitutes the field and consequently how fieldwork may be organized, it could be suspected that it was my choice of "field site" that gave rise to reactions associated to early salvage ethnography. After all, on the face of it, I chose the
archetypical field site of early ethnography; not the inner-city corner of a pulsating, vibrant metropolis close to home, but a remote and tranquil Mexican rural mountain village in an indigenous area that historically has had restricted contact with the surrounding world. Yet, this thesis does not aim to produce an ethnography of "the Nahuas of the Sierra de Puebla." Rather, the study centers on the space of negotiation that opened in contemporary Mexico after the transition toward political multiculturalism and, to probe this space, I have chosen a field site for inquiry with a majority indigenous population.

Although placed in a rural area remote from larger cities, Cuetzalan hardly exists in isolation from the surrounding world, having experienced growing tourism since the 1970s. In addition, Cuetzalan's entry into the national tourism program Magical Villages in 2002 has tied the federal and state governments into one of the prime economic activities in town in direct and indirect ways. That these political and social circumstances could be brought into view from the other side of the planet and were the crucial factors that brought me to the town in the first place only emphasizes the significance of translocal connections to social life.

It therefore appears that my and my family's presence in Cuetzalan together with that of (other) tourists and newcomers could be taken as situated embodiments of this translocality, which would entail a view of Cuetzalan as a connecting point. This would imply that translocal connections were as important to the way we were positioned in the field as they were to the way we positioned the field. For instance, while the concierge in our Mexico City hotel was perplexed to hear about our plan of an extended stay in Cuetzalan ("Nobody goes to Cuetzalan!"), no one in town wondered about our being there. After all, Cuetzalan is a Magical Village. Methodologically, this opens for considering the ways in which the ethnographic research itself entered the translocal meaning-making it had set out to find.

**Accompanying family or participating family?**

How our being in Cuetzalan as a family tied in with translocal meaning-making was the last thing on my mind before our departure.\(^\text{34}\) Prior to the fieldwork I suffered substantial practical and personal emotional concerns. As a first time father, most of my concerns revolved around Julius: Could we get the stuff we needed for him? How would we prepare his six daily meals? Would we be able to find an accommodation that could meet our different needs? A place in or close to the town center would be most suitable for the fieldwork, but would such a place be compatible with

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\(^\text{34}\) This section is based on the first round of fieldwork. An earlier version appears in *University Post* (Jacobsen 2014).
Julius' strong sensitivity to noise and his need for three daily naps? How would we get about with Julius? Then, realizing that the logistical challenges were infinite, I began to worry about how I should ever get any work done, envisioning a situation in which we would end up never managing to leave our accommodation. Since Louise did not speak Spanish, a straightforward division of logistical tasks would be difficult. More crucial, I was afraid that Louise would feel socially isolated and that her dependency on me, although temporary, would skew and put our relationship under pressure.

Many of these concerns disappeared during the course of the fieldwork as we got to know the village and our daily life became routinized, although we did face some serious logistical challenges. Simultaneously, I came to understand that I had been misguided in thinking that I would be doing my fieldwork; much of the time we were doing fieldwork together. My family was not merely accompanying me, it was participating in and influencing the fieldwork in predictable and unpredictable ways through emotions, practicalities, symbolic values, and mere presence.

The biggest challenge was to locate a home that would work for all family members. Tellingly, we ended up staying at six different places, never managing to find, as we had hoped, two quiet rooms with access to a kitchen, but instead switching from one noisy single-room accommodation to the next with sleep-deprived Julius. Although the many moves were exhausting, they provided a brutally explicit view of local sufferings during low-season; each and every hotel we stayed in and inspected was empty or had, usually during weekends, just one room occupied. The single exception to this happened during a long weekend, when hotels and the town center suddenly filled up with tourists for two days. Most of the time, then, hotels were excellent conversational settings, since desk clerks and managers had plenty of time to talk and were little likely to be interrupted.

Another advantage brought about by the many moves was that we came to know most parts of the village very well. Contrary to my initial fear, we did manage to find time to walk the village. In fact, because we lacked access to a kitchen, we came to rely on eateries for all grown-up meals, which kept us on the move during most of the day. In several places with little customer activity, the personnel took on the task of babysitting Julius during part of the meals. This not just spurred spontaneous conversation, but also secured our return, and for each return ties were strengthened.

Luckily, we had brought a backpack-like child carrier that eased transport of Julius. The carrier caused much attention from locals, who were smiling, laughing, pointing, or complimenting Julius when we moved about. However, attention stretched beyond amusement. We still recall how traffic at times congested in the narrow streets when acquaintances passing by in cars stopped to greet,
primarily, Julius. With Julius on my back, getting to talk to people was easy – this was even our experience in giant and busy Mexico City. Out in the streets, we rarely approached people to talk because people approached us instead. The encounter almost always started with them inquiring about us (i.e. Julius) than the opposite, and it became apparent that, first and foremost, many locals saw Louise and me as a parenting couple, and the lot of us as some variety of a tourist family, which caused the field situation to be turned upside down. Within the first week, we had become familiar faces in town and were transformed into local versions of ourselves. Now we were Julio, Louisa, and Gaspar and, after a few weeks, Julio was the most famous baby in town – a local celebrity sometimes affectionately referred to as Niño Dios, meaning Baby Jesus. Incidentally, we had arrived just in time for the Catholic celebrations of Baby Jesus, which take place at the end of January and beginning of February. The appellation referred to Julius' perceived likeness with the emblematic version of Baby Jesus: A white baby with fair, wavy hair and Advertisement Baby, Calendar Baby, and Gerber Baby covered related themes. Corresponding with what anthropologist Joan Cassell argues about her own children's celebrity roles during fieldwork in Jamaica (1987a:19-23, 1987b:258), Julius not just represented our locally perceived status and wealth, but embodied an access point to our family unit and its locally ascribed values and, perhaps because of this, he became a platform for verbalizing straightforward perceptions of class and race.

Julius also became the entry point of conversation with the Nahua handicraft vendors. In the beginning of our stay, the handicraft vending children would often approach us by catching Julius' attention with toys they handed to him for inspection, while adults would establish eye contact by making a hiss that attracted Julius' attention. Conversation would first center on Julius and then move to other topics. Later, as we got to know people, conversation flowed more freely, but Julius nevertheless played an important intermediate role. As an integral part of engaging with the locals, they came to carry him around in their arms, which spurred informal conversation and rapidly created ties of mutual trust, while the bodily contact and care involved induced a sense of intimacy. In short, primarily because of Julius, our circle of acquaintances in the village accelerated beyond anticipation during the first few weeks to the point that (due to tragic circumstances) we became honorary participants at the nine-day vigil of Esperanza after having spent only three weeks in Cuetzalan. The devastating news reached us several days late, and in the meantime a group of

35 These names further highlight dimensions of class and race in Mexican society. Gerber is a company that produces baby foods, among other things, and the name refers to Julius' perceived likeness to the white baby models that appear in Gerber commercials and on the company logo.
mourning relatives and friends had been scanning town to locate us. During the prayers in the daily
vigils, we were placed next to the mourning mother, whom we had not previously met, and family
members discreetly asked us to comfort her, implicitly stressing that our participation was
important. It remains uncertain whether we became honorary guests merely due to our friendship
with Esperanza and her affection for Julius and to which degree our ascribed class and race status
played a part. What can be asserted, however, is that Esperanza ran an eatery that we had frequented
habitually exactly because we were traveling with a baby. Our limited mobility and tendency
toward repetitive routines actively shaped our relations. We stayed longer in fewer locations than
had we traveled without a baby.

Some locals, however, initially faced us with skepticism. Isabel, a Nahua woman among the
handicraft vendors from San Miguel Tzinacapan, appeared noticeably dismissive or disinterested
toward Louise and me. We also felt that when Isabel carried Julius in her arms, she was testing us
by creating a distance between us, sometimes moving slightly out of sight. Our feelings of being
tested were justified when one time Lila, a young girl of the group, with whom we had a close
relation, spontaneously got up from a bench and said she would follow Isabel and keep an eye on
Julius. When, at a stroke, Isabel's attitude toward us changed, Julius was the source of this change. I
was trying to get a better grasp of local co-parenthood practices (chapter 7), because I had a hunch
that the handicraft vendors were not just vending handicrafts, but were also approaching tourists to
establish co-parenthood relationships with the visiting tourists. Inquiring about this topic was a
delicate matter and I eventually got the idea to ask by referring to Julius, explaining that it would be
useful for me to know how co-parenthood relationships come into existence in Cuetzalan.
Inadvertently, and without realizing it, I had encouraged the group to help me find a co-parent for
Julius. Four days later we met Isabel who suddenly seemed to be a completely different person,
smiling and laughing, telling us in a joyous tone that her mother "had accepted" to become co-
mother of Julius.

To paraphrase our experiences, travelling as a family unit corresponded well with local ideas of
family and appeared in all likelihood reassuring. My family role, which was played out in public,
became, perhaps, the prime optics through which I was seen, approached, and understood. I saw the
contrast situation only when I was on solitary excursions to nearby villages, where people did not
know me. Then, my presence felt more awkward, and approaching people for conversation seemed
less natural. In a sense, doing fieldwork with my family naturalized my presence in the field doubly;
moving about as a family not just corresponded well with local ideas, but also kept me in the areas where one could expect to find tourists.

Alternating between moving about alone and with my family made me think about the degree to which we are positioned and how such relations shape our experiences in the field. Generally, when I was with my family, informal conversations centered on family life, daily life, life in the village, and so on, but conversations departed from the way we were positioned by the field. When I was out on my own, conversations departed from my notions of the field, and my object of research thus came to create the premise of the dialogues.

**Fieldwork outside the Magical Village**

During the first round of fieldwork in Cuetzalan, I was becoming unsure of how the surrounding Nahua communities fitted into the Magical Villages Program, and therefore I had become unsure of how they would fit into the thesis. I was beginning to see that tourism in Cuetzalan and Cuetzalan's participation in the program are tied to the symbolic inclusion of Nahua communities, cultural elements, and heritage, yet apart from this symbolic role, the Nahua communities were not directly involved in running the program. Therefore, a strict focus on the people "in charge" of the program and the representation of Nahua culture would risk reproducing the asymmetries I was beginning to note. The ethical aspect of this concern, combined with my academic interests, was what prompted me to devote much of my time in the field to being around the Nahua street vendors. I also found it necessary to transcend the physical bounds of the Magical Village and do fieldwork in neighboring San Miguel Tzinacapan where most of the vendors with whom I was engaging lived. That part of fieldwork consisted mainly in getting an impression of the town and in visiting people I already knew. This was an important move, since community identity in Tzinacapan is decisively defined in opposition to community identity in Cuetzalan. This stood out more clearly in Tzinacapan than in Cuetzalan, but, more importantly, my being there provided testimony to our shared understanding that Tzinacapan and its citizens had something important to offer that could not be found in Cuetzalan. My presence in Tzinacapan was thus ascribed significant weight because it embodied a translocal connection that is otherwise channeled into Cuetzalan. Tourists go to Cuetzalan, not to Tzicuilan or Tzinacapan, and so residents from Tzicuilan and Tzinacapan must go to Cuetzalan to engage with tourists. To fully see myself as an embodiment of translocal structures, I had to transcend the Magical Village and find out about the paradox of living a life "outside" the Magical Village, yet "within" the program, and methodologically I had to embrace the ways in which my own presence and research entered into a translocal meaning-making fixed to the program.
This dawned on me gradually, but irrevocably so, when I returned to read my early field notes as a coherent text briefly before returning for the second round of fieldwork. At that point, the field notes had changed their status as a source within the project. The notes no longer comprised a mere inventory of conversations, events, observations, and "salient" experiences, but emerged instead as entry points into the "tacit" interaction orders that had structured encounters and interpretation during fieldwork (Wolfinger 2002:89-92). Within the field notes, the textualized fieldworker thus emerged as a figure on par with additional figures, and the textualizer who had been in charge of writing the notes emerged as an informant who had selected what to report and how to report it. With this focus, the field notes became a source to the tacit cooperation between fieldworker and textualizer, but also to the tacit, often unclear, cooperation between fieldworker and interlocutors. To be sure, the textualizer holds the final authority to include and omit observations and occurrences and imbue them with salient significance, however, upon reading the field notes, it also became clear that interlocutors had effective means of imbuing activities, encounters, and topics with pertinence. As anthropologist Barak Kalir argues (2006), reflections on fieldwork methodology often endow the fieldworker with maximized agency by portraying how the ethnographer has purposefully acted in and on the field, and less attention is granted to the ways in which the field has acted on the ethnographer. One reason, of course, may be that our own strategizing is less hazy than the strategizing occurring around us in familiar, and more so in unfamiliar, social environments. Furthermore, as anthropologists Bruce Jackson and Edward Ives point out (1996), fieldwork methodology is intricately tied to accounts on fieldwork, which are inherently retrospective and lead to purposive reports structured by conclusions and outcomes.

What makes early field notes a fascinating and extremely vital source is that they are not purposive in quite the same way as later field notes, because they are written before discursive and social positions within the field are worked out to any reasonable degree. This means that the researcher's position vis-à-vis different agents in the field is equally hazy during that time. The fragmentary and minimal understanding one has of the field, however, is a significant social handicap that often gives interlocutors with a better understanding of the social setting an upper hand in social encounters. When positions are not well worked out, it is extremely difficult to filter and interpret activities, gestures, and words, and often one has little clue as to what the received information is a source. This is something that has to be worked at through daily interaction with various groups and through retrospective reflection that incorporates fresh insights and, since field notes are filled with reports on interaction and provisional modes of grappling with their
significance, returning to early field notes or early interviews may provide significant insights into interlocutors' strategic engagement with the researcher. Early field notes are written in a state of plotlessness and are replete with unresolved inklings and queries. But in going back over early field notes much of the experience can be reframed through now familiar plots, which protrude in the writings and reported occurrences. One can therefore go back and redo "participant observation" with increased attention to the ways in which one's own agency has been instrumented and structured into social relations and, in so doing, sources are reconfigured. This way, for instance, early accounts of interaction with street vendors from Tzinacapan provided an opportunity to observe how they interact strategically with tourists to rapidly establish relationships that may stretch well beyond their initial one- or two-day stays and may bring them to Tzinacapan (chapter 7). Moreover, attempts by mestizo elites in Cuetzalan to include the practicing of intangible indigenous heritage into school curricula in Cuetzalan, which were presented as an altruistic gesture of recognition and respect toward indigenous communities, suddenly appeared to represent a repressive politics seeking to dispossess indigenous communities of one of their most effective resources for maneuvering in local politics. Nevertheless, to overcome the responsible and caring attitude of local mestizo preservationists, one has to become aware of the growing problems Cuetzalan is facing in recruiting traditional dancing troupes for its annual festivity, and that reluctance to participate is not about rejecting traditions, but fixed to local politics. Then, in turn, one may see how the Magical Villages Program contributes to a further polarization within local politics, as Cuetzalan is designated Magical Village on the basis of its indigenous heritage. And finally, the researcher, in going back to early field notes, may find that from the very beginning he emerged in the field as a translocal resource to local power struggles.

Revisiting the armchair: Website fieldwork

From the outset, Internet research proved to be a productive way of retrieving empirical material on the Magical Villages Program from across the Atlantic. Knowing from the beginning that I would have limited time to do on-site fieldwork, the thought of spending several weeks in offices in Mexico City to retrieve documents from SECTUR and other government institutions was little appealing. At first, I considered spicing up such experience by interviewing key personnel, but quickly discarded the idea on the grounds that it was simply too uncertain that I would get anything useful out of such a venture. Believing that interviews with government functionaries would not lighten the interpretational halo surrounding the government texts, but only add to them, I prioritized getting to talk to authorities in Cuetzalan who were locally involved in the program.
After all, what interested me was how the program was operating in Cuetzalan, not how functionaries made sense of it in Mexico City. Yet, to understand how the program manifests itself in Cuetzalan, one has to have an idea of how it is generically conceived, even though such conception may not correspond in detail with how the program is situated in variegated settings.

With the global surge of e-government services, the Internet provided enough of an empirical starting point to excuse my physical absence from the hallways of government bureaus. The Mexican government launched its official website in 1995, and federal government institutions launched their official webpages beginning in 1996 (Gutiérrez 2006), followed by state governments in the early 2000s (Luna-Reyes & Gil-García 2014). Following Mexico’s Good Government Agenda from 2002, which was first in prioritizing government transparency through online access to public information (OECD 2005:35-42), government websites have become one of the primary sources of public information concerning government (Sandoval-Almazan et al. 2011) and they contain official press releases, juridical documents, censuses, political plans, programs, reports, and strategies.

Without giving it much consideration, I mined the website of SECTUR and the specific webpages dedicated to the Magical Villages Program to learn more about the program. Since government documents were always just a few clicks away, retrieving this kind of empirical material appeared to be a walk in the park. An afternoon's work yielded exactly the kinds of documents I was looking for, the official program document (SECTUR 2009c), an official description of the program on the webpage, and official policy statements about cultural tourism, gastronomic tourism, language tourism, and plenty more. I then enthusiastically began to read the documents to get started on the analysis. During this initial phase, the task panned out as a purely hermeneutical one. There was enough to do with getting hold of technical jargon, organizational structures, and modes of cooperation between federal government institutions, state government institutions, municipalities, and civil society. As might be predicted, enthusiasm wore off rapidly. For reasons unknown to me at the time, the analyses seemed always to be condemned to reproduce either the program text or the terms upon which it was founded. The same problem haunted me when I was trying to produce descriptions of the program for preliminary presentations. The descriptions always ended up matching the descriptions the program made of itself, and there was no way of distinguishing between the program's saying and doing, even though obvious contradictions protruded from within the text. The analysis was caught within the frames of

reference the program had produced in advance. Obviously, the problem was a methodological one, but this realization did not bring me closer to breaking the conceptual frame of the textualized program. Reading academic articles on the program only added to my concern, since they too were largely framed by the program.

Did all this mean that no actual work could really be done before getting to Cuetzalan where situated practices could act as counterbalance to the discursive practices? It did in part, but the contours of the methodological problem presented itself when I struck upon a former program document among the harvested texts that mediated in its subtitle that this was the "final version" (SECTUR 2006a). Finding this document pointed out a central part of the problem: The program resisted its own historicization. This made sense since admitting to the existence of different program texts throughout its rather brief history would counter the central assumption guiding the program policies, namely that tourism is something that can be cultivated through government expertise and well-planned intervention. While the obsession with planning is pervasive in modern management practices and politics, convincing people of the feasibility of planning tourism to develop in a progressive manner would be seriously hampered by presenting a program biography that failed to sustain the program itself as an expression of thoughtful planning. At any given moment of its operation, the program's doings need to demonstrate the same adherence to and feasibility of planning as the program expects of its participants.

Now, the problem consisted in retrieving previous program documents that had been replaced online by the most recent program document. This problem was significant given that the data available via the internet is stored decentrally, which means that modifications in website content effectively erases the element which is replaced without leaving any trace of the revision itself. Apart from posing a threat to aspirations of democratic transparency through the right to information, the transition to e-government also constitutes a serious methodological challenge to research on political processes and governmentality-style analysis. What I initially assumed to be the program document and the official description were merely the most recent public projections of the program; I had been facing a synchronic snapshot that denied a diachronic dimension to the program. This was the cause of my many phrases containing the troubling construction: "– a program that –."

The Internet Archive (www.archive.org) was an invaluable research tool in that respect. The archive was founded in 1996 and had by the end of 2015 archived more than 459 billion cached

37 Unlike the Wikipedia format, which stores every step of the textual revision.
webpages, which can be accessed by inserting website addresses into a search tool. From March 2002 to September 2012, the Internet Archive recorded and archived SECTUR's main webpage 590 times, and from June 2004 to September 2012 the Magical Villages subpage was recorded 149 times. The archive thus provides enough material to engage with the revision history of SECTUR's websites. In the early records, significant time lapses occur, especially in the case of subpages. In those cases, revision history can be approximated by using individual records as markers of \textit{terminus post quem} and \textit{terminus ante quem} (Renfrew & Bahn 2000:131). Cross-checking between main and subpages can help to decrease the span between the two, as main and subpages are not necessarily recorded simultaneously. To that end, for instance, it can be ascertained that the Magical Villages webpage was launched between 5 April and 3 June, 2004, since the link to the Magical Villages subsite appears on SECTUR's subsite listing "Programs and Projects" on the latter date, but not on the former.\footnote{Moreover, the archive sometimes also provides a record of documents linked to on the webpages. The archive therefore opened a diachronic dimension to otherwise synchronic websites and to the program matter, as earlier program documents re-emerged.}

By extracting empirical material from the Internet Archive, it thus became possible to sketch the program's diachronic movements and to inspect the program's operation and self-image at different moments throughout its course. This made me to see that all research up to that point analyzed a synchronic and ephemeral snapshot produced by \textit{the} program document and \textit{the} description on the webpage, thus strengthening the view of self, which is integral to the program; namely the notion that since 2001 it has proceeded in a planned and orderly fashion by making use of such and such procedures. Moreover, the diachronic inspection facilitated a view of how the program at any given moment has been positioning itself within the public realm as well as how it has been looking to tie itself to the participant localities.

With this extended empirical horizon, it was possible to work against the program simply by tracing and juxtaposing the disparate program narratives and manuals that have emerged at different moments throughout its course. While each narrative operates within a conceptual frame established by the program, the emergence of a series of alternative frames assisted in their mutual deconstruction.

\textbf{Returning}

If the Magical Villages Program itself is in a continuous state of becoming, Cuetzalan too must be involved in an ongoing process of becoming a Magical Village rather than having been one since
entering the program in 2002. From this perspective, the field emerges as an ongoing translocal identity project that constructs the nation, its citizens, and a social order complete with different modes of participation. The continuous state of becoming stresses that translocality is a social process with a historical trajectory of its own, and bringing into view the historical contingencies of translocality is a means of unraveling the dispersal of government. A diachronic view on translocal bonds and connections is therefore a crucial means of transcending the seemingly local.

The second round of fieldwork therefore increased attention to the diachronic dimension involved in how the program has situated itself in town. But even before returning, the diachronic perspective had transformed the empirical material from the first round of fieldwork as sources. Now, all types of material could be approached as different moments in a translocal interaction and pointed to how translocal relations were continually being recast and intensified.

The program objects in public space were no longer mere sources to a situated practice of representation vis-à-vis tourists. By using online photo sharing sites as photographic archives, it was possible – because most photos are dated – to determine when the street signs and display boards had been installed. Interestingly, that moment coincided with the wider attempts of the program to gain public prominence.

Equally, a tourism magazine that circulated in Cuetzalan during 2012 and 2013 could no longer be regarded merely as a source to the way in which local authorities represented the town and indigenous heritage textually and visually for visiting tourists. It also became a source to a translocal interaction order within which Cuetzalan continually needs to justify its place in the Magical Villages Program, and within which the program itself and the social order it envisions have become objects of veneration. As several analytical chapters show, modes of translocalization intersect with modes of temporalization, and these cross-cutting processes protruded more clearly as social technologies in the follow-up fieldwork, as I experienced a changing urban setting with a changing cast and new ways of tying together Cuetzalan and the Magical Villages Program.
Fig. 3.1: The logo of the municipal government 2011-2014. The capital C represents the headdress used for the cuezali dance into which the Magical Villages logo has been inserted. The logo reappears with the title Magical Village after the name of the municipality. The logo thus condenses the strategic efforts to link Cuetzalan’s designation as Magical Village to the indigenous heritage (Source: Municipal government, Cuetzalan). Fig. 3.2: Cuezali headdress (Source: Casper Jacobsen, October 2014).

Fig. 3.3: Sign at the entrance to Benito’s café prohibiting ambulant vendors from entering (Source: Casper Jacobsen, January 2013).
PART TWO
CHAPTER 4: THE DIACHRONIC MAGICAL VILLAGES PROGRAM: FRAMES AND TECHNOLOGIES IN MOTION

This chapter draws a diachronic sketch of the generic Magical Villages Program through analysis of publicly available material: government and program documents, newspaper articles, and press releases that are accessible online. Such a historicizing approach has become indispensable to the analysis due to the overwhelming analytical problems that heaped up early in the research project each time descriptions of the program were to be produced. The program appeared somehow to defy description, as every descriptive text came dangerously close to program parlance. Eventually, it occurred to me that I was trying to give a static view of the program, yet the program was not static. What is worse, I had fallen prey to multicultourism, the self-mediating frame that has encapsulated the Magical Villages Program since its inception in 2001.

The strict use of publicly available texts has two purposes. First, the chapter focuses on the program’s front stage activities with the aim of showing how the generic program constructs and displays itself in front of the general public through different types of media. Second, by assuming no privileged access to undisclosed material and backstage processes in the production of public texts, the chapter assumes a spectating position to the material already produced. The thesis thus implicitly puts to test the explicit aspirations of recent governments to political transparency; textual analysis and deconstruction of front stage material will illustrate to which extent the general public is likely to get a glimpse of the program’s subtle workings.

A diachronic perspective facilitates deconstruction by bringing into view the processual aspect of how the program has been constructed and displayed, which the chapter shows to stand in contradiction to the individual crystallizations that have emerged at various stages. To accentuate such contradictions, the program is approached as a story arc, and the material is treated as signifiers in an evolving storyline. Strips of front stage activity are catalogued within discrete episodes, which, when assembled, will disrupt each of the individual front stage doings and call for a reflection on the program’s backstage processes.

As sociolinguist Charlotte Linde demonstrates, it takes serious amounts of narrative work to sustain continuity in institutional identity and memory under changing circumstances and conditions (2009:9-10). By highlighting the contradictory interplay between an ongoing structural modification of program matter and a narrative display of continuity, the chapter renders visible and destabilizes a subtle social technology by which the program accumulates and exercises authority while consistently projecting an alternative frame that refutes accumulation and exercise of authority. This should not be taken to mean that the program is only narratively wrapped in
continuity, because certainly over time the program has announced structural changes. However, changes are posited within programmatic continuity; they do not discredit earlier program practice or produce discontinuity. Rather, changes are taken as necessary adjustments to preserve continuity or to release the original intentions within the program. Change, then, is fueled by ideas of continuity, and continuity rests in the frame of multicultourism.

Opening statements

On 14 September, 2001, in the wake of the first State of the Union Address by President Vicente Fox (2000-2006), Secretary of Tourism, Leticia Navarro (2000-2003) was called to a meeting in the Chamber of Deputies to elaborate on the government's tourism policies. At the end of her introductory speech, she took the opportunity to inform the deputies of a forthcoming national tourism program, Magical Villages, which had "the purpose of adding value to the tourist activity and contributing to the regional and social development of places that hold minor advantages." As announced, three towns were already included in the program, and it thus followed that the program was not just forthcoming, but already operating.

In November, SECTUR published a National Program of Tourism 2001-2006 (SECTUR 2001). The cover carried the slogan, "Tourism: the force that unites us," and another phrase declared that the National Development Plan 2001-2006 had made tourism a "national priority for its extraordinary capacity to generate economic and social development."

The document opens with introductory words by President Fox endorsing the program and Secretary Navarro tying the document to the central strategies in Fox's National Development Plan (SECTUR 2001:6-9). Fox's introduction, in particular, is interesting because as a paratextual commentary it expresses the president's authoritative reading of his own policies. The introduction thus pre-empts public reception of the policies by expounding on what they can be taken to mean and achieve. In short, Fox crafts and selects the frame within which interpretation of his policies may legitimately unfold.

In the first phrase Fox presents a forceful introspective critique of official Mexico by pointing to "a country that over many years attempted to categorize itself as culturally homogeneous, only at last to assume and admit its multicultural and multiethnic character" (SECTUR 2001:6). Apart from being an introspective critique of majority mestizo society, the phrase is directed at the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) and its preceding 72-year hold of the presidency. The initial phrase

therefore also serves the purpose of marking a clear temporal and ideological divide between PRI's policies seen as homogenizing, exclusive, and of the past and the policies of Fox's National Action Party (PAN) seen as heterogeneous, inclusive, and pointing toward an imagined multiculturalist future. By doing so, Fox equates PAN's rise to power with a widespread desire to break with the homogenizing of Mexico. He thereby disavows the old policies and appropriates a new political climate, presenting it as a logical consequence of PAN's inclusionary political ideology. A vision of inclusionary policies thus constitutes a vital part of PAN's claim to political legitimacy, and Fox provides testimony to this legitimacy by siding with the marginalized groups that have been negatively affected by earlier unjust policies, thereby firmly categorizing his text and the policies it introduces as acting on behalf of the marginalized. In other words, Fox animates a critique of Mexico's traditional political elite, but, although he is animating the critique, he does not assume the position as principal of the critique. In his remarks, Fox embeds two sources that invest his position with legitimacy and for which he makes himself an advocate: the Mexican people who elected him and an unspecified multicultural and multiethnic who symbolize PRI's inability to create equal democratic opportunities for all Mexican citizens. The announced political course is configured as coming "bottom-down," that is, from the people and to the people, President Fox being a mere intermediary between the "two." The policies thus discursively devise a generalized citizenry and marginalized minorities as an embedded "focalizor" (Bal 2009:144-147), whose "focalization" becomes the founding justification of his tourism policies and his grip on the presidency.40

Having established his position by rejecting earlier homogenizing national policies in which cultural and ethnic diversity figured as a national problem, Fox flips the coin, arguing that diversity could prove to be a solution to economic depression. To this end, Fox presents tourism as the space of re-contextualization that will establish cultural and ethnic heterogeneity as a national resource: "Within tourism the diversity is precisely our grand capital" (SECTUR 2001:6).

While this first part of Fox's introduction criticizes past oppression of the "multicultural and multiethnic character" of the Mexican population, it also passes on a foundational idea inherent in the oppression, namely that multicultural and multiethnic dimensions are in their very essence national issues that the state needs to address politically (cf. Kernerman 2005). As Fox highlights diversity, he picks out for exaltation only expressions of a diversity that has the potential to be

40 Literary theorist Mieke Bal coined the term focalization in her narratological analysis to describe the relationship between an object seen, the agent (focalizor) from whose point of view the seeing is directed and the interpretive vision that makes sense of observed events.
converted into "capital." Hence, only multicultural features that may generate an economic surplus may be defended, and not diversity per se. Such a stance may seem little surprising within the context of tourism policy and aspirations of economic growth. Yet, the statement implies a politically proclaimed hierarchical sorting of cultural elements according to their probability of generating economy. This hierarchy has repercussions beyond the mere application of tourism policies; it promulgates an affirmative multicultural recognition structured by market logic.

Elaborating on his introspective critique, Fox gives an account of contemporary Mexico, stressing regional economic and social inequalities by charting a national North-South divide. While the North is characterized by "growth and progress," the South is characterized by "nostalgia," "immense heritage," and "a glorious past," yet also by "scant opportunities for well-being," which "impede potentiating" the "enormous capacities" of its inhabitants (SECTUR 2001:6). Fox then returns to tourism, characterizing it as one of the largest and fastest growing industries in the world and emphasizing its positive impact on the Mexican economy, while simultaneously stating that such impact has not translated itself into "social development." It thus follows that the "enormous capacities" residing in said inhabitants are of a cultural kind and to be triggered by inserting them into the national economy.

Having identified problems of social and economic development, hitherto unexploited capacities and resources among Mexican citizens, and a surging and "generous" tourism industry, all there is left to do is to combine the three factors. The overarching message Fox attaches to his National Program of Tourism is that the tourism industry will create the long-awaited opportunity for marginalized populations to release their otherwise dormant capacities, which will morph into social and economic development. Concluding his brief exposé of past, contemporary, and future Mexico, Fox addresses the program's slogan to mobilize Mexicans in the tourism industry:

It is important to stress that we cannot delay even one day further the important task of building the bridges that permit Mexican men and women to look upon themselves as one sole nation, reconstituting the communal and kinship ties that for various reasons have been hollowed out in recent years, and in this work tourism is also a powerful ally (SECTUR 2001:7).41

This conclusion highlights the inherent tensions of the tourism program. Diversity and heterogeneity are moved to the forefront, while the surrounding frames of the nation and tourism industry are heralded for their ability to create homogeneity and unity.

41 If nothing else is noted, quotes from this point on are translated from Spanish by the author. The original texts and transcripts of block quotes translated from Spanish can be consulted in appendix 1.
The vision of cultural diversity as a resource within the confines of national economy and tourism resonates beyond Mexico. As anthropologist Philip Scher (2010, 2011, 2014) intriguingly argues from the perspective of the Caribbean region, the growing appreciation of cultural heritage and increasing national measures to safeguard it coincide with radical shifts in the global economy, which have attenuated the sovereignty of nation-states. According to Scher, these developments have led to a "neoliberal nationalism" in which government institutions incentivize the privatization of public culture (2010:199-201) and craft a new source of national sovereignty through practices of authentication, promotion, and surveillance (2011). Public culture has thereby become a domain of "biopolitical governmentality" (2010), as citizens are morally compelled to perform a national culture that can be branded in the global market in differentiation from other national cultures (Scher 2011, 2014). Neoliberal nationalism thus prompts its citizens to participate in an identity politics immersed in socio-economic competition, since participation in the national economy increasingly depends on the ability of citizens to take hold of and profit from specialized identities that contribute to authenticated national culture.

Evidently, the National Program of Tourism encompassed much else than what Fox delimited; casinos, congress centers, golf courses, marinas, spa resorts, the so-called integrally planned centers and mega-projects were all part of the policies (SECTUR 2001:48-ff.). The political course Fox advocated was presented as the new track of a "double road" strategy in which the old track was also to be reinforced (SECTUR 2001:65-66). Yet, the strategic vision of the National Program of Tourism was nonetheless firmly anchored in the frame Fox had established in the introduction. Thus, tourism was emphasized for being "a factor of cohesion" that could create "national pride" and "a more equitable distribution of wealth" (2001:65). In more powerful terms:

The present vision of tourism situates itself at the intersection of the two grand challenges that confront humanity [...]: the fight against poverty, and the conservation of the environment and the cultural heritage. Tourism is capable of contributing in the struggle against marginalization and poverty [...] through the creation of wealth, [...] and] by utilizing the natural and cultural resources in a rational manner, [tourism] is an efficient ally in the protection of said heritage (SECTUR 2001:68).

Hence, the strategic vision that addresses the tourism policies embeds as principal sources the poor and marginalized, whose focalization SECTUR applies by announcing a "struggle against marginalization and poverty" and "the protection of [cultural and natural] heritage." Within this

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42 "Integrally planned centers" denote from the ground state-planned tourism destinations in coastal areas (Guerrero 2012) and "mega-projects" denote state-planned resorts (Clancy 2001).
frame SECTUR assists the poor and marginalized in their "struggle" by showing them how "natural and cultural resources" can be employed in tourism to generate wealth.

Fox's introduction and SECTUR's vision are of relevance precisely because their overarching message came to be addressed by the Magical Villages Program; it carried into effect Fox's *speaking on behalf of the marginalized.*

The launch of a support program

Yet, within the 175-page National Program of Tourism merely half a page was dedicated to the Magical Villages Program. Although a more detailed version may have circulated within SECTUR at this point, the version appearing in the National Program of Tourism marks not just the official starting point, but also a political commitment that justifies regarding it as representative of the emblematic intentions and foundational workings of the early Magical Villages Program. In the National Program of Tourism, the Magical Villages Program was launched with the interlinked purposes of strengthening domestic tourism and enhancing regional economy and quality of life in rural areas (SECTUR 2001:116-117, 168).

The initial version includes a two-line description of the program's purposes and a factsheet with four sections, which in entry words set forth the criteria for participation, the design of funding resources, the tourist segments addressed, and the types of federal institutional support offered to towns. The first phrase of the descriptive text categorizes the program, defines its target group, and identifies a demand: "Support program for typical villages with cultural-historical attractions of grand singularity, which are in need of conservation and improvement of their identity and urban image." The subsequent phrase further specifies that the recipient village has to have "tourism potential" and be "in need of improvement of tourist services" (SECTUR 2001:168). Four criteria further specify the program matter by listing the prerequisite characteristics towns need to present to obtain the offered support. First, the village should be located close to tourist sites and, second, be accessible by highway. Third, the village would have to present a historical or religious theme, and, fourth, there would have to exist "will" within society and government to participate.

Despite its brevity, the description contains several inherent discrepancies. Participant towns should be both "typical" and present elements "of grand singularity," and their "identity" and "urban image" are to be conserved and improved. These contradictions between the generic and the unique and between conservation and transformation also surface in the types of support offered. The program text offers assistance in designing policy regulations of public space to protect the urban image, but it equally signals which features the urban image should preferably present. The urban
image up for protection, then, appears not to be a present one, but one that is visualized through the various types of support offered. Installation of street furniture, tourist signage, particular forms of pavement, and painting of facades according to a "chromatic palette" are both generically asserted improvements of the urban image and intentions to nurture unique, albeit typical, rural urbanities thought to buttress the conservation of the existing urban environment (SECTUR 2001:168).

The National Program of Tourism is, however, clear about the Magical Villages Program not being fully developed from the outset. One aim put forth to "impel competitiveness" was exactly to equip the Magical Villages Program with the instruments that should carry out its intentions (SECTUR 2001:60). Furthermore, SECTUR explicitly rejects a "static" view of their policies, proffering instead an ongoing adaptation to the changing field of tourism (SECTUR 2001:20).

The rise of a brand

In August 2005, SECTUR, now headed by Secretary Rodolfo Elizondo Torres (2003-2010), introduced the biennial National Magical Villages Meeting. The first meeting took place over two days in San Miguel de Allende (Guanajuato), one of the 21 towns that were included in the program at the time. The meeting gathered mayors and local committees from all participant towns and representatives from state and federal institutions with the aim of revising participants' fulfillment of program obligations (SECTUR 2005a-b). Bringing together representatives from participant towns and 14 different federal institutions, SECTUR organized an event in which town representatives would have their work revised by teams of state and government officials with the aim of "strengthening" local efforts in tourism. Through their superior and specialized expertise, officials could thus redirect and shape local efforts with the proclaimed aim of maximizing profits for the receiving community, advising on how to modernize tourism businesses, and develop handicrafts, gastronomy, and commerce (SECTUR 2005a). Plenary presentation by local representatives was also instrumented to "share experiences," and Elizondo Torres highlighted the five most important Magical Villages, which were picked out as templates for success to inspire other towns to follow their example. For instance, San Cristóbal (Chiapas) was highlighted for its "colonial image, security, cleanliness, hospitality, culture, and tradition" (Notimex 2005). These activities became founding practices of subsequent meetings, casting them as coordinating events. Yet, the meeting additionally works as a calibrating device of institutional memory and identity, providing an occasion for authoritative mediation of results, current status and prospects for the

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future, sewn together under the headline of institutional continuity and strategic intentionality. This comes across in the inauguration speech by the secretary, who declared the program a success before iterating the origin and purpose of the program and reminding participants of the four criteria that had brought them into the program. However, while the first three criteria were reeled off in conjunction, the final criterion was emphasized:

Another indispensable requirement is that there exists will, and that it becomes conjoined, in society and the three levels of government to make the destinations successful; it is the sense of commitment expressed by your authorities and your community that determines your incorporation into this program (SECTUR 2005b).

By stressing "will" as a "commitment" to the program and as determinant of incorporation, the statement redefines the criterion from being a prerequisite requirement that facilitates entrance into the program to being a requirement for continued participation. In this manner, the secretary stressed that the designation as Magical Village is not granted once and for all. Rather, through continued action participant villages need to demonstrate that they merit inclusion and municipalities need to reconfirm their commitment to the program by showing their "will" to coordinate efforts with local society and state and federal institutions. Showing will to participate in the program means to implement the program's subject matter, which is centrally defined (and redefined) within SECTUR. Additionally, the stress on this criterion reflected another modification underway; as will be described later, the initial top-down selection procedure to recruit participants for the program was soon substituted for a bottom-up application process.

During the meeting, Elizondo Torres announced an equally significant new direction:

Magical Villages is also conceived as a brand, and to be able to support that, it has been necessary to develop and comply with a series of standards that guarantee the expectations of our visitors, who certainly will look for a different experience, with a taste of Mexico (SECTUR 2005b).

Notably, the secretary presented the "brand" function as a feature that was already present at the beginning of the program, thereby naturalizing the otherwise sudden occurrence of a new marketing function by referring to it as a conception that originated with the program. By establishing the brand function, a path opens to the creation of a centrally regulated platform of universal "standards" from which individual participant towns may be directed, corrected, and critiqued. Presenting the program as a brand, the secretary creates a new centralized subject matter to be implemented in the participant towns, and he ranks the central aims of the program above individual town interests. An inversion of the interaction arrangement and the participatory roles allocated to
individual Magical Villages and SECTUR is implied. Now, the "visitor" emerges to substitute a marginalized population as the principal of the program, requiring a fulfillment of certain expectations only SECTUR can pretend to know about. The "visitor" equally becomes principal of changes in policy, and SECTUR emerges as mere author of "a series of standards" required by an external, abstracted entity. Hence, on behalf of visitors, government intervention is necessary.

To invest the new brand function with authority, the secretary emphasized the total provisional program funding, MXN 294,000,000, pointing specifically to the increase in funding throughout 2005, totaling MXN 93,000,000, before declaring: "To date, this program includes 21 populations backed by a brand that is positioning itself more and more on a national and international level" (SECTUR 2005b). As the brand function is launched through a justifying reference to the origin of the program and measures are introduced to protect the brand, it follows that the brand is already in effect and benefitting the participant towns. Furthermore, the brand function is legitimized by explaining national and international visits to the Magical Villages as direct consequences of brand potency. Hence, SECTUR's place branding strategy becomes the connective between tourists and destinations and the program harvests credit for attracting tourists rather than the villages per se.

The "final version:" Centering the community

Concordant with the aim of the National Program of Tourism to create the subject matter of the Magical Villages Program, the first full, public version was disclosed in December 2005 on SECTUR's Magical Villages webpage (SECTUR 2005c). By then, the document had grown to 22 pages in nine sections that defined the juridical basis of the program, set forth its aims, strategies and subject matter, informed of the program's possibilities, workings, and results, and instructed (aspiring) participants and municipal and state governments of participatory obligations.

The turnabout reflected in the secretary's inauguration speech is solidified. "Types of support" in the initial program document have been transformed into "lines of strategic action" to be implemented in participant towns to safeguard program standards (SECTUR 2005c:6-8). "Strategy" appears centerpiece and the program now presents itself as, above all, strategic, while "support" occurs either subordinate to "strategy," detached from the program itself, or directed at local tourism, infrastructure, educational programs, and so forth. Whereas "types of support" indicate a palette of support from which individual participants may choose according to local political processes and interests, "lines of strategic action" connote a centrally defined non-negotiable mandatory package.
Equally pointing to SECTUR's growing control over participant towns is the increase in the number of "criteria for incorporation." The original four multiplied to 20 (SECTUR 2005c:3-5), and a "final version" expanding the criteria further (SECTUR 2006a), entered the program document on August 2006 (SECTUR 2006b). The criteria have evolved from being mere prerequisite characteristics towns need to present to access the program, since some stipulate tasks that materialize as ongoing processes. Most notably, towns are required to hand in quarterly reports that document accomplished projects and demonstrate the impact of the program on local economy and tourism (2006b:8).

Paradoxically, in outright contradiction to these measures, which diminish local definability of tourism, the program simultaneously emphasizes the importance of local democratic participation, indicating a desired bottom-up process. Local participation is highlighted by placing it first in the body of criteria and in the chronology of the incorporation procedure; the process of inclusion starts on the ground with "local society" soliciting the municipal and state governments to apply for the locality to be included into the program (SECTUR 2005c:3). Beyond that starting point, however, civil society does not figure in the additional criteria and the political process is elevated to another level beyond the reach of local society. Nonetheless, a separate section emphasizes the role of civil society, stressing that "determined participation is unavoidable," since each Magical Village is required to install a civil association called Magical Village Touristic Committee, whose members must be included in program projects (SECTUR 2005c:18).

Notably, the "final version" increased stress on the importance of participation by civil society. Under the headline "Involvement of society and local authorities" the criterion detailing the "commitment of local society" quadruples in length and appears to outweigh the shorter criterion on "commitment of state and municipal authorities." Now, the text frames on-the-ground participation as the foundational principle of the program:

The Magical Villages Program bases its strategy on the communal participation, its inclusion and permanence; its advances and achievements will be the result of the level of work that the community itself carries out (SECTUR 2006a:1).

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44 This is illustrated by three new criteria demanding that villages create an "Urban Touristic Development Plan," a set of "Regulations of the Urban Image," a "Magical Villages Program Management Plan," and a "Program for the Reorganization of Semifixed and/or Ambulant Commerce," tasks that require state and federal institutional expertise (SECTUR 2006a:1-2).
The excerpt places the fate of the program in the hands of the involved localities, giving the impression that they, rather than the political authorities, have the decisive power to define its implementation. This connects to the application procedure, which is equally presented to rely entirely on whether or not "local community" desires to participate. Local community is made to select the program rather than vice versa, and local community thereby becomes principal of ensuing processes. However, being initiator of the process comes with a "commitment," as the headline stresses, and "advancements" and "achievements" are stressed to depend entirely on individual communities' determined engagement and work. From the outset, the program places the entire responsibility on the shoulders of local society in case of failure. The generic program cannot be drawn into question; success depends entirely on how well the program is implemented locally. Hence, the program looks not merely to secure local participation, it also attempts to ensure that community participation shall not counter program aims and policies but rather assist in smoothing local processes of policy implementation. The process begins by having local society affirm its adherence to the program aims, ideals, and methods. This is reflected in an added paragraph stressing the "indispensable commitment" of constituting a "Magical Village Touristic Committee," "civil association," or "Pro Magical Villages Group." Since local society has affirmed adherence to the program, the civil association to be included in program processes is destined to be "pro" and work according to program ideals. Framing public participation so, the program attracts citizens enthusiastic about the program into local processes, precluding participation by less enthusiastic locals. In the program document, the committee has the coordinating role of "voicing ideas, projects, and priorities" between municipal, state, and federal authorities and local society to ensure cooperation and communication. This easily gives the idea that the committee is in the command center of a dialogue between equal partners. However, accompanying the increased prioritization of local participation, mediated by the totalized abstraction of "community" or "local society," is the surge of policies that constrain local ability to counter program objectives and premises. This is expressed not just by policies securing from the outset local "pro" groups as representatives of communities in their totality, but also through the simultaneous introduction of criteria that ensure that local participants are aptly instructed for their work. This is called "Development of local capacities:"

It is indispensable that the given candidate locality receives prior to the integration of its dossier an induction course of what the Magical Villages Program and its scope are, with the purpose of preventing that its objectives be distorted (SECTUR 2006a:6).
While such workshops may be understood purely as information sessions to secure that localities enter the program on an informed basis, the workshop is equally a training session that provides authorities with the opportunity to instill program objectives in the minds of participants. The excerpt furthermore demonstrates the transformation described earlier; the program no longer offers a palette of support from which local communities may pick selectively according to felt needs, it rather assumes the strategic task of carrying into effect its utopian subject matter in participant towns. The program no longer suggests; it governs.

SECTUR's on-site workshops, then, both inform about program objectives and communicate that these centrally fixed objectives are obligatory. The criterion thus points to an asymmetrical decision-making process, since all significant decisions are premeditated in the program's subject matter; the criteria for incorporation, the lines of strategic action, the objectives, the types of technical assistance from government institutions – all are pre-defined. Local participation is therefore an add-on restricted to operate within a predetermined plan. First step in securing this order is to initiate the inclusion process with a public declaration of interest in the program. Thereby, local society is excluded from the political process by their very inclusion, since the only way to become engaged is by working in accordance with program objectives.

This point is further illustrated by the expansion of criteria that restrict local decision ability. One criterion stating that localities need to count on "differentiated tourist attractions" has been specified with five mandatory categories that applying localities must address:

- Architectural harmony and conservation
- Emblematic buildings and their history
- Fiestas and traditions
- Artisan production
- Traditional gastronomy

Several of these categories tie in with additional criteria that make localities dependent on a range of federal institutions. Pertaining to architecture and emblematic buildings, for instance, towns need to present a government certified "zone of historical monuments" (SECTUR 2006a:5) and a set of "regulations of the urban image" (SECTUR 2006a:2). The program also requests that applicants consider how qualities such as local nature, rural life, and natural health resources may construct diverse kinds of tourism (SECTUR 2006a:4). Below the header "Singular Value – The Magic of the Locality" a further criterion was added:
The locality must base its argumentation on the rescue or preservation of its tangible and intangible cultural heritage, emphasizing those expressions that stand out in a particular way as attractions and motives for a visit to the locality (SECTUR 2006a:5).

After finalizing the criteria, they slid into the program document without further notice (SECTUR 2006b), and the Magical Villages webpage stated that the document presented the "methodological instruments" that had been utilized in selecting the first 23 Magical Villages.\(^45\) However, when the first program document emerged on the webpage in December 2005, the webpage also asserted that the "methodological instruments" in that document had determined the selection of the first 23 participants.\(^46\) Furthermore, prior to the publication of the first program document on the webpage, SECTUR referred only to the four criteria sketched at the national meeting in August 2005 and in the National Program of Tourism. While individual participant towns may have received a notification about the new criteria, the webpage asserted what could be termed an anti-transformation, that is, a transformation introduced through a claim of reverting to a former, original state: Once new policies were issued, they were presented as having always been in play within the program.

Crucially, such anti-transformation came to be taken for granted by all parties. Newspapers reported of towns in danger of losing their denomination as Magical Villages because they did not fulfill the basic criteria for participation. Off the record, scholars remarked that SECTUR had knowingly included many towns into the program, which upon entry did not fulfill the program criteria. Yet, many of these towns were included before the expansion of criteria.

Additionally, prior to the disclosure of the first full version (SECTUR 2005c), SECTUR's Magical Villages webpage did not inform about an application or selection procedure. The application procedure was detailed on the webpage when the final criteria slid into the program document. The first reference on the webpage to the application procedure turned up in August 2006 simultaneous with a thorough guide on how to apply.\(^47\) The new bottom-up application procedure superimposes itself on a previous, less clear selection procedure. As noted earlier, even before the program was officially launched, three towns were already included, which points to a top-down selection directed by SECTUR. Thus, an unspecified number of towns have not applied.

\(^{47}\) Captures from 2 May, 2006 and 31 August, 2006 mark a terminus post quem and terminus ante quem respectively, with the latter showing that the webpage was updated in August (when the new program document was uploaded).
for inclusion. Rather, as in the case of Cuetzalan, SECTUR prompted state governments to invite towns to join the program, and most of these towns were already regionally or nationally well-reputed tourist towns. Their inclusion in the early program phase appears to have worked to create a network of successful tourist towns, and subsequently to ignite public interest. As the following section shows, a paratext was crafted for the program simultaneously to attract positive attention to the program and make it well-known. Hence, by the time the application procedure was launched, other towns would be eager to engage in the program and become associated with the prestigious group of tourist towns. After the initial consolidation phase and the creation of the paratext, opening for applications would thus be viable and the launch of the application procedure gave weight to the introduction of elements of participatory democracy.

**Politics of recognition: A return to the paratext**

Along with the publication of the official program document and its stress on communal participation, an elaborate paratext was additionally crafted. The effort of putting the program into print, making it official and publicly known, required a clear definition of its content. The paratext itself, however, implicitly signals two further explanations. If the program was to rise as a brand that would appeal to tourists, it would be pivotal to have a clear profile that could be used in promotional campaigns. Moreover, the intention to modify the incorporation process so local communities would apply for inclusion, rather than being handpicked for the program, also demanded a program narrative that would appeal to citizens in rural areas and to municipal and state governments. Prior to the launch of the program text, the description on SECTUR's Magical Villages webpage stressed the federal institutions involved in the program and the specific policies that would boost local tourism. Now, however, the program text split into two states of talk with discrete interaction arrangements adjusted to different audiences. While one was oriented toward practices, purposes, and technicalities of program policy involved in enhancing local tourism, the new one mediated the program as a symbolic act of recognition.

Three interrelated pieces of text, which have since fused, emerged simultaneously to define the program and the Magical Village. One emerged as a separate section in the program document below the heading "What is a Magical Village?" (2005c:9), another formed a new descriptive text on SECTUR's Magical Villages webpage, replacing the former policy-oriented description, and a third was launched on the VisitMexico website.

The texts compose the atechnical side of the program. Together they compose a symbolical paratext that appears whenever the program seeks to appeal to and justify its existence in front of a
broad audience. Because this paratext circulates in diverse texts such as program documents, the public webpage, promotion material, and newspaper articles, and because it bears little direct relation to the technical side of the program, its function may be understood to mobilize interest, support, and sympathy from the citizenry in general, including citizens of (aspiring) participant towns and potential visitors. The paratext appeals also to municipal and state politicians and businesses, because it facilitates the technical and political process by steering public attention away from it. That the state of talk sustained by the paratext is not readily congruent with the state of talk focused on technical content may be illustrated by a change to the webpage in December 2005, as the paratext came to replace the former technical (para)text. The new paratext may thus be seen as brand mediation aimed at the by-standing public, while the program content is composed of technical texts directed toward an interior group of policy actors. Significantly, the interaction arrangement integral to the paratext may be seen to work to preclude serious criticism of the program, since it locates citizens of rural villages as the principal sources of the program. The program is framed as speaking and acting on behalf of the marginalized; government intervention through program policy is presented as something desired by rural citizens and which is therefore presented to occur on their initiative. Notably, by the same token, critique of the program is easily reframed as a critique of the people for whom the program speaks.

The paratext centers the Magical Village within an act of recognition and revaluation. SECTUR's Magical Villages webpage concomitantly introduced the program's purposes and the characteristics that define a Magical Village. The program asserts to contribute:

to revalue a group of populations of the country, which has always been part of the collective imaginary of the nation as a whole, and which represents fresh and different alternatives for the national and international visitors. More than a rescue, it is a recognition of those who inhabit such wonderful places in the Mexican landscape and for the good of everyone have cared for the cultural and historical richness that they embrace.48

The statement evokes both multiculturalist and nationalist ideas by referring to the collective Mexican imaginary and the wish to revalue certain populations with "cultural and historical richness." Such revaluation is accentuated as an act of recognition, consisting in displaying the said towns and their populations to the surrounding Mexican world as central constituents of national identity. An implicit hierarchy appears to be present in the text, namely that nationalism is the frame

that defines how multiculturalism may take place, rather than the opposite. Insofar as the program wishes to bestow recognition on certain populations, the recognition consists of urban, majority mestizo society accepting rural (ethnic) minorities as valid nationals by acknowledging their significance to the nation. The recognition itself, then, relies on a concept of nation defined by the metropolitan majority and recognition cannot take place outside the national reference machine. This way, the program inherently inscribes the nation into the said populations. Such hierarchy reflects what has been termed methodological nationalism; that the nation-state exists as an unquestioned premise within social and political thinking (Wimmer & Glick-Schiller 2002). The Mexican nation becomes the prerequisite for how citizens in the Magical Villages can be ascribed and may ascribe to themselves value and meaning.

Compared to the website, the text in the program document lies closer to the *speaking on behalf of the marginalized* that marked Fox's introduction to the National Tourism Program. Through an inherent introspective critique of majority Mexico, the text sides with long oppressed minorities:

A Magical Village is the reflection of our Mexico, of what has made us, of what we are and should feel proud of. It is its people, a village which through time and in face of modernity has known to conserve, value, and defend its cultural-historical heredity, manifesting it in diverse expressions through its tangible and intangible heritage (SECTUR 2005c:9).

By stressing that a Magical Village *should* evoke a sense of pride in Mexicans, the text points out that this has not always been so and is still not given. This has created a situation in which such villages have had to "defend" their "cultural-historical heredity" from pressures of "modernity" accelerated by flows from majority and political Mexico to the rural villages. The use of the word "defend" in connection with local heritage implies that it has been under attack, put in danger, or jeopardized by external forces. The focalization is anchored in the "defenders" of the Magical Villages, and the program thus rhetorically sides with them. However, even as the program *speaks on behalf of the marginalized*, it appropriates local traditions on behalf of the nation and majority society; the Magical Village, its heritage, and identity represents "our Mexico," meaning the *Mexico* of the recognizers. The program thus represents the perspective of majority society by holding that the main threat has been a failure to recognize that said villages are Mexican villages, which represent the ancient Mexican characteristics that are part and legacy of all Mexicans:

In effect, the Magical Villages of Mexico have been there for a long time, waiting for the recognition of their values and cultural-historical riches. Their authenticity, their Mexicanness, their ancestral enchantment, their colors and scents, their villagers, their singularities taken together demand today their
revaluation, to elevate them to a level of distinction, as an icon of the tourism of Mexico (SECTUR 2005c:9).

While the inhabitants of the Magical Villages have acted in defense of their heritage, engaged in freezing their ways of life, keeping modernity off the doorstep and waiting for recognition, the Magical Villages Program becomes an instrument that facilitates the long awaited recognition from majority society, taking charge of the role of defending the heritage by creating a scene for its display. The program thus sides with the marginalized to speak out against majority society and to alleviate them of their concerns. They are the real and authentic Mexicans, pure representatives of ancestral ways of life. By participating in the program, the marginalized may return to how things once were – they receive the promise of anti-transformation. This ideal is supported by the use of the prefix re- in the words recognition and revaluation, which indicates an act of repetition that leads to a return to an original, rightful order. Such argument spills over into other parts of the program text, linking the paratext with policy texts. In a section that presents program results, almost all interventions in the urban space are described with the prefix "re-" and under the general header of technical assistance. Facades, buildings, streets, parks, plazas, commercial life – in total, the "urban image" – have been the object of rehabilitation, renovation, recuperation, regeneration, recreation, reconversion, and reorganization. The transformations of the urban setting are not transformations. They constitute a return to the origin. These anti-transformations draw places out of obscurity and oblivion, make them more comfortable, friendly, and pleasurable, make them places of reunion, renovate locals’ sense of belonging. This return to how things once were is what brings more visitors, more business life, capacities, employment, opportunities that release local capacities and allow them to step out of "socioeconomic lethargy" (SECTUR 2005c:19-21).

The paratext, in its diverse forms, has been distributed widely and been drawn forth to describe the program and the Magical Villages on webpages, in news media, and tourism magazines (cf. Quintanar 2012). VisitMexico also contributed to the circulating paratext:

The grand cultural and historical richness of Mexico holds – and has always held – a large secret. Next to its large constructions, its millennial cities converted into an icon of the force of the past; together with the big modern cities, which multiply across its geography and concentrate a large part of the wealth and the productive thrust, there are delicate triumphs of the tradition and the ancestral enchantment: the
Magical Villages, small towns, and small cities that avidly treasure the other wealth […] that of the tradition.⁴⁹

The Magical Villages Program never makes direct *textual* reference to indigenous people, but nonetheless constructs the idea of the Magical Village around implicit reference to indigenous inhabitants. As this excerpt from the VisitMexico webpage illustrates, the Magical Villages are presented as counterpoints to "big modern cities," "wealth and the productive thrust," which stand against "millennial cities" "of the past," that is, pre-Hispanic archaeological sites. The Magical Villages are thereby chained together with the pre-Hispanic cities, which have been defeated and now reflect "the force of the past" and relative to which the Magical Villages emerge as "delicate triumphs of the tradition and ancestral enchantment." Thus, the paratext makes use of indigenous imagery, but it makes no explicit claims about inhabitants in the Magical Villages being indigenous. Nonetheless, the connective is there, actively directing public perception of the program as being "heavily indigenous" (cf. Wilson 2008:49).

**Permanent participation, periodic permits**

By the time of the second National Magical Villages Meeting, held in San Cristóbal (Chiapas) in October 2007, 32 localities were part of the program. SECTUR announced that the final number of participant towns would be 50, and as a new feature, representatives of towns aspiring to be included into the program were participating in the meeting. The presence of not yet included towns underlines the novelty of a bottom-up application procedure, but also the central capacity and function of the meeting. Arranged as a conference with discussion panels and workshops, the meeting constitutes a setting in which government officials may direct participant expectations toward program objectives, opportunities, and policies.

The practice of defining and exalting exemplary behavior in plenum continued, not the least by picking a host town, which the secretary had pointed to as an exemplary Magical Village at the previous meeting. During the meeting, SECTUR informed of the recently founded Interinstitutional Evaluation and Selection Committee (CIES). This committee, which included representatives from eight federal institutions, was an extension of a former committee composed solely of officials from SECTUR. Participants were instructed on how to present applications or dossiers in front of CIES. Towns would need to present their strategies and objectives in front of CIES, and SECTUR

sketched the range of legitimate objectives. SECTUR thereby introduced a task to be solved and provided the means and possible range of actions through which to solve it satisfactorily. Notably, the actions required to solve tasks depend on the knowledge and expertise – the "technical assistance" – of federal institutions.

With the surge of criteria to guide incorporation into the program, a further transformation takes place within program practice; an evaluation apparatus is set into motion to ensure that all towns meet with the new criteria and operate according to program policies. This evaluation procedure came with a sanctioning resource, since the evaluation would determine whether or not participants would have their Magical Villages certificate renewed. These periodic permits, clearly being another novel feature, were also presented as an anti-transformation. It followed that the renewal procedure was intended to ensure the permanence of participants within the program (SECTUR 2007). Again, new policy is introduced as a measure precisely to maintain the status quo. In effect, participant towns themselves are made principal of the evaluation procedure, which is to ensure the implementation of program policies that will bring about economic progress, and the introduction of impermanent permits, which will safeguard continued participation in the program.

In defense of the brand

The new directions announced at the previous national meeting gained further strength in the following years. At the third National Magical Villages Meeting in March 2009 in Tapalpa (Jalisco), a new stage marked by tighter control over participant towns was announced with the introduction of a biennial evaluation procedure. CIES would be in charge of the evaluation and the Magical Villages themselves would assist in collecting data. This evaluation procedure was to play a decisive role in the periodic renewals of the Magical Villages' participatory licenses. Villages that did not meet with the evaluation criteria would be required to carry out rectifications within 90 days. Failing to do so would lead to exclusion from the program (SECTUR 2009b). Prior to the meeting in December 2008, SECTUR had prepared a *Manual of Indicators* with a detailed evaluation procedure (SECTUR 2008). Ironically, the 61-page document was presented with the aim to be transparent about public expenditure and its impact, but it was saturated by an insurmountable topography of intertextual references to comprehensive national plans, policies, and programs, federal institutional practices and methodology primarily derived from economics. Consequently, and of further irony when considering the emphasis placed on the evaluation as an act of public transparency for the benefit of citizens, the evaluation procedures produce floods of information that conceal the more direct effect of such measures; namely that the program, in the
name of transparency, subtly installed yet another device securing centralized control of local policy making. While the secretary outspokenly presented the evaluation as a new feature, he justified the novelty by stating that the new measures were implemented to secure the "ordered growth" of the program. Hence:

All of these actions will be realized with the sole and clear purpose of protecting the Magical Villages brand and avoiding that it be discredited as well as guaranteeing that services of quality are offered in these communities (SECTUR 2009a).

The program itself is presented as unaltered, since the new monitoring measures emerge as equipment merely intended to safeguard brand values by ensuring that original program objectives are set into motion in participant towns. Moreover, as the manual states, an increased control over local spending of program funding is simply a firm commitment to political transparency and efficiency in public spending (SECTUR 2008:3). Multiple principals may be identified. On behalf of tax-paying citizens who have the right to know about public spending and its effects, on behalf of visitors risking low-quality services, and on behalf of exemplary Magical Villages that may worry about decreasing brand potency, SECTUR takes on the task of securing that participant towns implement program policies the correct way. The already established hierarchy between program brand and program participants is thereby solidified. Towns are posited as potential threats to the brand, and it follows that the brand must be protected from the incompetence and unwillingness of individual participant towns to follow program objectives. Enhancing the hierarchy between brand and participants, an asymmetrical reciprocity is underlined by implying that while the program may provide the town with unlimited benefits, the towns may aspire only to implement the ideal version of the program. Moreover, with the tax-paying citizen and dissatisfied visitor lurking in the background, lacking policy implementations in participant towns may threaten the political legitimacy of the program itself. The program is thus compelled to supervise participants strictly.

While the evaluation procedure is in itself a disciplining mechanism that allows immediate government intervention into local policies, the outcome of a failed evaluation would, even more so, work as a disciplinary measure, as stated by the secretary:

In the remote case that the competent authorities do not regularize the observations indicated by the Institutional Evaluation and Selection Committee, the revocation of its nomination as Magical Village will proceed (SECTUR 2009a).
And indeed, in August 2009, following failed evaluations, SECTUR removed Mexcaltitán (Nayarit), Papantla (Veracruz), and Tepoztlán (Morelos) from the program. This capacity to expel participant towns and the installation of CIES were the main effects of a new and expanded version of the program (SECTUR 2009c:15), which sent a clear signal to the participant towns that none of them ranked above the brand, especially because these three towns were among the most prominent tourist destinations. Tepoztlán and Papantla eventually re-entered the program in 2010 and 2012, respectively. Apart from this disciplining act, no town has since been excluded from the program. Nonetheless, the disciplining mechanism continues to play out the desired social effect. Typing *pueblo mágico* (Magical Village), *peligro* (danger), *riesgo* (risk), or *perder* (lose) into a web search engine produces a multitude of online newspaper articles expressing either how a given Magical Village is in "danger" of being removed from the program, or how a municipality or state government is refuting that a given village "risks" being expelled from the program (appendix 4). Many of these articles revolve around program criteria and the (in)ability of local authorities to fulfill them, indicating that losing the denomination as Magical Village is equal to local political incapacity or incompetence and is regarded as a catastrophe for local tourism.

At the meeting in 2009, the practice of exalting the exemplary reached new heights when Elizondo Torres announced that SECTUR had decided to withdraw San Miguel de Allende (Guanajuato) from the Magical Villages Program:

> […] not because it has not complied with the criteria – on the contrary, it has surpassed them – but because its declaration as [a] UNESCO World Heritage Site has brought them to climb to a status different from that of a Magical Village, without forgetting that the said declaration owes largely to its successful participation in this federal program (SECTUR 2009a).

This excerpt is one of few explicit examples showing how the Magical Villages Program mirrors itself in and ties itself to UNESCO practice. According to the secretary, San Miguel de Allende obtained the distinction as World Heritage Site through exemplary implementation of program objectives. Hence, the program bases a fundamental part of its authority on its capacity to work as a passageway to the UNESCO World Heritage List, which necessarily entails presenting the program

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30 This decision followed the removal of the Dresden Elbe Valley from the UNESCO World Heritage List in June 2009, the first delisting on UNESCO’s own initiative (Rico 2015).

51 The new program document was concluded 11 March, 2009 and appeared on the webpage 26 May, 2009.
as a reflection of UNESCO practices and values. Potential inscription on the UNESCO World Heritage List becomes a latent carrot and the ultimate outcome of exemplary practice.  

Providing personality

In June 2010, new Secretary of Tourism Gloria Guevara Manzo (2010–2012) chaired the fourth National Magical Villages Meeting in Morelia (Michoacán). With the establishment of a brand function and the defense of its generic construct through segregation from individual participants, a clear hierarchy of dependency had been charted. While the program did not depend on the participation of any individual town, the individual towns had become highly dependent on their connections to the brand. In a sense, the program had extracted its symbolical subject matter from its participants and iconized it as brand, which eventually inverted the relationship between program and participants. The first step in this inversion was seen in 2005, when Elizondo Torres stated that the Magical Villages were "backed by a brand." Now, a further step was taken in this sequence of inversion, as the new secretary declared:

It is the moment to focus efforts and resources so as to give to each Magical Village a clearly identifiable personality of their own, which will be achieved only if we develop new tourist products that bring added value for both marketers and Mexican and foreign visitors (SECTUR 2010).

The excerpt shows how the Magical Villages Program has established itself as a frame that organizes experience of participant towns. That is, the villages are what they are through their participation in the program and are now primarily conceived as magical. The category of Magical Village abstracts and evokes a nationalist sentiment through incorporation of particular settings. This category is then superimposed onto the villages, which are now located conceptually and hierarchically beneath the lamination of Magical Village. From within this frame the secretary envisions the program as the entity that will provide the villages with "a clearly identifiable personality of their own" through the introduction of "new tourist products." Having already abstracted a general identity from a range of particulars, the program must now provide the villages with their own generic-particular personality.

At the meeting, the governor of Michoacán, Leonel Godoy Rangel, demonstrated the public notability the program had come to achieve, and how the frame of the program could be used

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52 Hence, six of the 23 entries on Mexico's tentative list of UNESCO World Heritage (2012) are Magical Villages: Álamos (Sonora), Cosalá (Sinaloa), Cuetzalan (Puebla), Izamal (Yucatán), San Sebastián del Oeste (Jalisco) and Xilitla (San Luis Potosí). http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/state=mx.
politically to work the program. Expressing his decided effort to work jointly and in close cooperation with SECTUR, he stressed the importance of:

[maintaining] a select group of Magical Villages in the country – this is fundamental for [the program] to continue being successful – but it would also be unjust for many magical places that we still have in this country not to take them into consideration, and among those I would like to stand up for Angangueo (Espinosa 2010).

In his speech, the governor made publicly known that Angangueo (Michoacán) was in the process of applying for participation, and he took the opportunity to prioritize its inclusion into the program. Likewise, the speech illustrates that the symbolical paratext had gained a widespread appeal. If the program was about recognizing magical places, there was obviously a lot of recognizing left to do.

**Doubling up or breaking down?**

During the national meeting, Guevara Manzo announced that the program would freeze the number of participant towns when reaching 52. This would coincide with the number of weeks in a year and allow for the launch of a Magical Villages passport for visitors, divided into 52 weeks. Tourists stamping their passports in all Magical Villages would be able to win prizes and participate in special events (SECTUR 2010), which was thought to motivate Mexicans to traverse the nation and visit all Magical Villages.

The passport never came about, and the program did not close at 52 participants. Instead, in the following 18 months, the program more than doubled the number of participant towns from 40 to 83. The last seven of them were announced on 30 November, 2012, the day before PRI resumed the presidency. With PRI back in office, SECTUR put the Magical Villages Program on standby, declaring that program objectives, policies, and participant towns, would undergo analysis and evaluation to determine how the program should proceed. Due to the high number of participants, the program had become a costly affair. That year, the federal funding reached 162,818,547 MXN, while the total federal funding amounted to 1,138,988,118 (Velázquez 2013:101). Moreover, the program appeared to be posing a challenge to PRI's return to the presidency given that it was both cost-heavy, popular within the general public, and represented a central symbolic narrative of rival party PAN that was constructed as in opposition to PRI policy. Rumor had it that the program

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53 Few months earlier, the town suffered severe flooding. During his reconnaissance of the damages, Mexican President Felipe Calderón (2006-2012) stated that he would prioritize making Angangueo a Magical Village (Notimex 2010).
would perhaps be closed down, but after a long, performative pause, SECTUR declared that the program would continue after a large-scale evaluation of the towns and the program (Notimex 2013). A new version of the program was launched at the end of September 2014 (SECTUR 2014a) and, in September 2015, the number of participant towns reached 111 (Notimex 2015).54

As this chapter has shown, the Magical Villages Program has changed greatly and in diverse ways throughout its course and was never launched as a frozen non-moldable program. By providing a diachronic view on the program, the chapter has drawn forth the transformative character of the program as a social technology through which SECTUR and other federal and state government institutions achieve a more direct influence on municipal policy.

The Magical Villages Program has been analyzed in numerous studies, mainly by Mexican scholars, sometimes inspected from the perspective of public development policy, sometimes inspected as a prelude to social scientific case studies of individual participant towns. Common to these studies is their manner of approaching the program through a particular synchronic crystallization, producing descriptions and analyses absent of tempus. Frequently, these studies approach the program through its discursive texture, citing or paraphrasing the program document to "explain" the aims and workings of the program and examining how the program is panning out (Amerlinck 2008; Hoyos & Hernández 2008; Hernández 2009; Velarde et al. 2009; García & Guerrero 2014). This way, academic literature on the program presents an ahistorical view of the program, and discussions of the program largely depart from the internal logics of the program itself. Similar to what anthropologist James Ferguson (1994:9-11) argues in a review of academic literature on development, the literature on the Magical Villages Program most often operates within a version of policy science, evaluating the program on its own terms. Nonetheless, as the chapter has demonstrated, the basic term is that the terms are never fixed, but change gradually. The continuous and centrally conceived reconfiguration of the program is a forceful governmental maneuver, because it gradually reworks premises for participation according to existing political aims, while simultaneously making villages dependent on participation in the program. Towns thereby enter the program on the basis of certain premises, but step-by-step they come to participate on the basis of another set of premises. The transformative mechanism plays together with another important and unspoken mechanism, namely that the program is configured as infinite. At first glance, infinity refers to a temporal dimension, but combined with the transformative character, the temporal infinity turns the program into a social technology through which government institutions

54 This most recent version of the program was not in operation at the time of fieldwork and is not considered here.
may install, test, and remove infinite aims, criteria, and evaluations. Paradoxically, as the program facilitates centrally coordinated steering of the participant towns, antithetic narratives surge to reject such centralized management. Furthermore, new elements are presented in a manner that denies their novelty by referring them to the origin or original intentions of the program or presenting them as consolidations or clarifications of an already established practice. This way, the program continuously superimposes its current form upon its former practice and thus accumulates merits and authority in concert.

Crucially, what has remained static since the inception of the program is a mediating paratextual frame projected to the general public, which invests the Magical Villages Program with emancipatory potential for marginalized ethnic minorities, who are to experience social development by inserting their intangible and tangible cultural heritage into a labor system centered on tourism. While the paratext initially applied to President Fox's entire National Program of Tourism, the Magical Villages Program came to be the key policy to bring into motion this vision, starting shortly after the program began to launch itself as a brand. Multicultourism is the term the thesis applies to designate this frame, which has been guiding public perception of the program and contemporary Mexico as revolving around social equality through market-based national recognition of cultural diversity.
CHAPTER 5: WHEN PROS TURN PRO: COMMUNITY AMBASSADORS AND SOCIAL ORDER

Goodbye interview, hello meeting

For around three weeks I had attempted to get an interview scheduled with the Municipal Director of Tourism, a vibrant middle-aged woman with a degree in English teaching, here referred to as MC. When we arrived to Cuetzalan, she was preparing a substantial dossier for SECTUR as part of the annual evaluation and accreditation of the town as a Magical Village, and she was also planning its contribution to the national tourism fair Tianguis Turístico, which was to be held in March 2013 in Puebla City. Combined with her regular tasks, it goes without saying that MC was more than busy during our stay. This impression was also mediated by her working hours, which ran from 9 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day of the week, and strengthened by my futile attempts to track her down. Our initial contact was mediated by O, a new member of the Municipal Council of Tourism, who scheduled and rescheduled our interview appointment almost on a daily basis as MC's calendar filled up with urgent meetings and tasks. When, finally, I decided to pay MC a spontaneous visit at the Municipal Office of Tourism, the encounter resulted in a brief moment of friendly greetings and introductions that reassured me the interview was still on. I then agreed with O to schedule the meeting for 6 p.m. two days later.

When I showed up at O's shop as planned, 15 minutes before the interview, it came as no surprise when he announced that the interview was off. He and MC were going to attend a Magical Villages meeting that same evening. As I was carefully molding my face according to best smiley standards and figuring out how to respond, he proposed that I instead join the meeting. That way I would get a chance to greet MC and meet some of the people locally involved in the Magical Villages Program. When I inquired about the invitation to the meeting, O simply declared that some students from the university had called for the meeting, but beyond being a Magical Villages meeting, he was not sure what was to be discussed.

I found it notable that no further explanation was needed to summon the relevant parties, since by implication expectancies were appropriately addressed merely by categorizing the meeting as pertaining to the Magical Villages Program. Moreover, it appeared to reflect a municipal task hierarchy in which such meetings are given high priority. Prior to this occasion, I had heard of other Magical Villages meetings, but always after they had taken place. From the accounts I had received, such meetings appeared to vary in form, but nevertheless shared a particular frame of reference captured by the descriptive label and the location; the issue of concern would be the Magical Villages Program and Cuetzalan's participation within it.
Thrilled by the opportunity to finally experience for myself a Magical Villages meeting, I accepted the invitation straightaway, perceiving it as an offer of consolation for the cancelled interview and as one out of many gestures of openness and accessibility that characterized my stay. Only later it struck me that another reason why I was invited to join the meeting was that it was thought to serve as a fitting illustration of how the citizenry and the local government cooperated on common interests related to the program – a key criterion within the program that figures centrally in the annual evaluations. It would thus serve municipal interests well if, as a scientifically sanctified first-hand witness, I were to transmit in my academic work the experience of a well-functioning dialogue between civil society and municipal authorities, concertedly engaged in operationalizing the program.55

The meeting, it turned out, was arranged by five undergraduate students – one male and four female – and a teacher of tourism administration at a local branch of a large university. Present at the meeting were also, in addition to MC, O, and myself, a hotel owner and member of the Municipal Council of Tourism, and two invitees from Puebla City, who were involved in creating an online platform for cultural tourism and ecotourism. The declared purposes of the meeting were for the students to present a study they had carried out to examine to which degree locals felt included into the Magical Villages Program and, most pertinently, to facilitate a plenary discussion of a consciousness-raising campaign, which they were designing to inform locals of the benefits of the program and consequently to make them embrace the program. The sudden and late cancellation of the interview gave me the impression that the meeting was a spontaneous event. The noisy setting confirmed that impression; a café with small talk from other guests and a manager meticulously microwaving one cup of coffee after the other, while also blending ice for smoothies, was not exactly the ideal acoustic arena for a semi-formal meeting set for an academic presentation and the exchange of opinions. As the meeting evolved, it became apparent that it depended on the participation of MC, which helped explain why the meeting had to be semi-spontaneous, perhaps also waiting standby for a vacancy in MC's calendar.

55 Later, I found this hunch not to be wholly unwarranted. In the dossier MC had elaborated for SECTUR in 2012, a multitude of sources were referenced photographically to demonstrate that Cuetzalan had been thoroughly promoted “as a true Magical Village” (Ayuntamiento de Cuetzalan 2012:n.p., chapter 7.1). In addition to newspaper feature stories, tourism magazines, TV documentaries and the movie For Greater Glory: The True Story of Cristiada, the ethnography Mismo Mexicano pero Diferente Idioma, which mentions Cuetzalan’s status as Magical Village (Castillo 2007:93) was also incorporated to illustrate local fame and promotional effort.
Analytical approach

Taking the meeting as a window to the local interaction on and enactment of the Magical Villages Program in Cuetzalan at the time of fieldwork, this chapter analyzes how people come to engage in the program locally and how the negotiation of the program takes shape. Such focus encompasses an implicit consideration of who is likely to become involved and why, but it extends beyond those questions by taking into consideration the ways in which the who and the why come to be interactionally and narratively constructed. Through an analysis of the meeting in question, the chapter seeks to highlight the foundational feature of all such meetings, namely that they come into existence as specialized forms of interaction in which participants orient to and operationalize concepts and understandings within the Magical Villages Program in their discussions of local social life. By drawing forth the institutional character of the interaction as a structuring principle in such Magical Villages meetings, the chapter points to how the program facilitates particular modes of individual and collective conduct and meaning-making. Significantly, the meetings come to serve as narrative occasions and environments for a particular kind of institutional interaction that gives precedence to particular narratives and identities (Drew & Heritage 1992; Gubrium & Holstein 2009:110-111, 173-183), and the chapter examines how the participants enact the institution and negotiate and navigate their social and institutional roles (Asmuß & Svennevig 2009:7).

Doing so, the chapter brings to view a mode of government that Cruikshank terms "technologies of citizenship" (1999:3-5). Within the program, such technologies aim at forming, mobilizing, and empowering a particular class of citizens who identify with the program's vision of and paths to creating a certain tourism economy, and whose forces are joined with the local government in the task of implementing such vision through program policies. Through their involvement in a program based on notions of community development, these citizens come to recognize, reframe, and promote group interests as community interest, while disregarding the particularity of their politics, the significance of their privileged and classed positions within local power hierarchies, and the potentiality of a heterogeneous citizenry with diverging interests ensuing from different social positions. In short, participants come to acquire and embody the program's totalizing aspirations.

By deconstructing the notions of individual speakers and listeners, Goffman emphasizes the production of utterances as an interactional phenomenon that is socially situated, meaning that the interaction in a given encounter does not take place in a neatly delimited social, spatial, and temporal locus (Goffman 1981:3, 131). Rather, the interaction is situated within a broader
The intertextual field that consists of not only written documents, as sociolinguists Birthe Asmuß and Jan Svennevig denote as characteristic of meetings (2009:11), but also oral narratives and utterances produced by or ascribed to people or entities not present at the meeting. In this sense, participants interact not merely with each other, but also interact with and manage an endless number of additional sources. For the meeting in question, examples of additional sources are other citizens and the various kinds of intertextual references to the Magical Villages Program that participants draw upon and by which they come to evoke the Magical Villages Program as an institution through their interaction. They may, for instance, make use of specialized terminology or refer to themselves with the pronoun "we," both of which function to signal an institutional identity and a dis-identification with people who are not well-versed in the program vocabulary. Through such maneuvers, a team of experts emerges in contrast to the laypeople (Drew & Heritage 1992:29-32). In other instances, "we" is used to bridge the gaps and comes to signify "the community."

According to Goffman, *coordinated task activity* is the center around which utterances are given meaning, to which he refers as the *contextual matrix* in interaction (1981:143). Similarly, the term *activity type* has been coined (Levinson 1992) to capture the way language usage is socially context-dependent in being attached to activities, stressing that the structure of an activity constrains the range of relevant or allowable verbal contributions that may be produced just as activity types are tied to certain inferential frameworks that direct the interpretation and reception of an utterance. Sending out an invitation for a Magical Villages meeting may be viewed as both a delineation of a particular and institutional activity type and as the first instance of narrative activation (Gubrium & Holstein 2009:41-53), because the invitation prepares participants for the topical content, the interactional form, and inferential schemata through which participants may express their opinions about the subject matter. Some conversation analysts stress that meetings differ from so-called ordinary conversation in being set on solving certain tasks or reaching certain agreements or goals and, therefore, turn-taking designs may pattern out in ways different from ordinary conversation. Accordingly, participants may produce turns of talk that do not necessarily depart from previous turns of talk but instead depart from the topic under discussion (Asmuß & Svennevig 2009:9-15). The activity type, then, has a commanding voice in the participation framework, not just shaping listener roles but also speaker roles.

The chapter launches the analysis with a focus on the opening and closing of the meeting to show how narrative consensus comes to be established and ratified. The chapter thereby tunes in on the emergence of inferential schemata, meaning-making structures, and aims that construct links...
between the meeting participants and the program and create didactic templates for problematizing the conduct of other citizen groups. The main components of the consciousness-raising campaign are subsequently inspected to bring to view the social order that the campaign visualizes and the technologies of citizenship the students are designing to achieve such end. Finally, attention is turned to the recursive aspect of social technologies, showing how the meeting itself works as a technology of citizenship, as problematizations and discussions of others' conduct equally becomes an occasion for problematizing and regulating the conduct of meeting participants.

**Opening and closing: Establishing narrative consensus and ratifying participants**

The formal part of the meeting lasted about 90 minutes and began with the teacher explaining the occasion of the meeting before leaving the floor to the students, who had prepared a presentation of their project. Departing from the pre-given categorization of the meeting inherent in the invitation, the teacher launched the meeting by specifying how it addressed the Magical Villages Program. She and her students had observed a lack of involvement in the Magical Villages Program on the part of local society, which had occasioned the students to carry out a study of "how well the concept [of Magical Villages] has penetrated the citizenry." The study had been carried out the preceding month, January 2013, and encompassed 46 interviews with people not directly involved in the tourist sector. All respondents were located within what the participants referred to as "the Magical Villages polygon," that is, the part of town that has been subject to "improvement of the urban image."56 Because that area was chosen all respondents were both home owners and shop keepers. During the interviews, the students inquired about how well the respondents felt they were integrated into the program, how much they felt like or part of a Magical Village, and how much information they had received about the program:57

**Teacher:** We noted that there is a lack of more ... [We need to] integrate us more as citizenry in this thing about "involvement with society" concerning Magical Villages. [...] And we noted that people were interested in that; in feeling as a Magical Village, but they do not have much information. In other words, it is as if they view it as if merely the authorities are the ones using the concept, and that the citizenry is

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56 This area corresponds to the historic town center, where buildings are of a colonial, neoclassical style, with sloping terracotta tile roofing (Yanes 1994:305-307). The students' decision to focus on this area reflects the program's focus on that same area, which is where tourists are predominantly accommodated and consequently the place with the highest tourist density (chapter 6).

57 It is indicative that the concerns pertinent to these research questions may be found circulating in other Magical Villages. A recent study of Cuitzeo (Michoacán), for instance, focuses on the "perceptions" and "opinions" of the citizenry toward tourism and the Magical Villages Program, concluding that "local development" "from below" is hampered due to "an indifference from citizens toward the resources and local potentialities" (García & Guerrero 2014).
According to this account, the teacher and the students launched the initial study because they had noted a lack of involvement in the program from local society. On closer inspection, in asserting this observation as a problem, the teacher refers to an established notion within the existing Magical Villages Program document: "involvement with society" (SECTUR 2009c:3-4, 10). The teacher thus offers a technical term from the Magical Villages Program as a cognitive cue (Louwerse & Peer 2002) to justify why there is no need to expand on how or why they came to assert their observation as a problem. In this first key phrase, the teacher embeds and introduces herself and the students as collective author unit ("we noted") by which she signals her professional endorsement of and alignment with the students' activities. However, she further authorizes the perspective by making the Magical Villages Program principal of the asserted problem. The modification "this thing about" preceding the program term "involvement with society" indicates that she presents a compressed representation of a complex notion that is well-known and therefore uncontroversial among the participants. Moreover, the modification flags the change in footing by which the teacher identifies the problem with reference to the program document; she points to an external source by signaling that "involvement with society" is not a concept of her making.

Following the initial observation, the study proceeded to show that people were interested in feeling like a Magical Village, but that they felt "as if" the citizenry were not included in program processes and "as if" only the authorities run the program. Reporting the experience of the citizenry through a distancing and negating "as if," the teacher adopts a mere animating posture to mark her disaffiliation with the utterance, immediately assigning such experience to a hypothetical realm on top of which she superimposes her own informed experience of how the program really works. This way, she defines local experience and segregates it from actual program practice by categorizing

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58 Partly extemporized and presented to an audience that knows about the Magical Villages Program, this passage holds several half-finished phrases (and implicit points).
local experience as subjective and her own professional view of program practice as objective. This clears the ground for interpreting local subjective experience as an expression of respondents’ lack of information about objective program intentions and workings. Such categorization and the hierarchy it entails works to keep out of the study and discussion an exploration of the subjective experience of program practice. The categorization itself has deemed subjective experience irrelevant in advance by concluding that it is based on a failed understanding of objective program practice. Nevertheless, by emphasizing that people are interested in feeling like a Magical Village, the teacher simultaneously makes the same people principal of the consciousness-raising campaign, because the campaign intends to help them achieve the aspiration of feeling included. As the aims of the citizenry and the program become one, wrong-headed subjective experience becomes the obstacle to a full realization of the program and the self-realization desired by the citizens. To achieve these ends, citizens therefore need to be made capable of understanding the objective workings of the program. This casts meeting participants as active and progressive citizens, who try to convert passive and reactionary fellow citizens in their exemplary self-image. This way, they assume central community roles of great public utility, since they are program ambassadors and professionals thought to educate and inspire citizens so as to transform the community into a successful tourist destination. Integral to this role casting, then, is a discursive asymmetry that feeds into the ensuing interaction format, since consciousness-raising implies that an entity believed to have a superior comprehension acts on someone believed to have an inadequate comprehension.

This initial maneuver demonstrates, as Cruikshank argues, how a target group for empowerment is identified through their "lack of something" and how self-government and democratic participation appear as solutions to the identified problem (1999:3). Equally, as Cruikshank similarly argues, the maneuver demonstrates how the application of social scientific knowledge may structure problematization and remediation of conduct. In this case, the authority of teacher and students is constituted through the classic distinction between and hierarchic ordering of objective and subjective knowledge and their command of the former. While their attachment to the university and their scientific enterprise facilitate such objective position, the teacher secures authority based on objectivity by accentuating their knowledge of "the outlines" of the program. The comprehensive role of social scientific knowledge in technologies of citizenship thus shows

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59 Indeed, what makes direct comments on local perceptions superfluous is the consensus among participants on the improbability that the program is run by political authorities, which do not take the citizenry into account.
itself through the teacher's ability to recognize such knowledge forms in the program. The teacher thereby transforms the program into a manual of tourism rather than a mode of government.

Identifying a mismatch between what is perceived as subjective experience of program practice and actual, objective program practice constitutes an immediate categorization of experience that prescribes a particular interpretation: that subjective experience of program practice rests on an absence of objective information about the program. Thus, the teacher's interpretation deems subjective experience invalid because it is understood to be informed by a misapprehension of the program. It also follows that such misapprehension can be altered by supplying objective information about the program and by bringing the program to its full potential. By way of this interpretation, the teacher moves in an uncomplicated manner to the self-evident solution to the problem: designing and implementing a consciousness-raising campaign to inform citizens of the benefits of the program, which will make the citizenry embrace the program and which, in turn, will be of benefit to the whole community.

Making the citizenry principal of the consciousness-raising campaign serves a double legitimizing purpose. The teacher sketches a social order that distinguishes a general citizenry from the specialized group of citizens to which she and the students belong. Within this hierarchy, the students are granted authority to produce knowledge about "what it is the people need," but it follows that the students are not part of that category of people. Thus, teacher and students construct for themselves an ambivalent position of superiority and subordination; another group of citizens may be targeted and acted upon to alter their misapprehension of the program, but the point of departure of this reworking is the ostensible interest in the program of the very target group. From this perspective, the teacher and the students are working on the community only to work for the community. The campaign, which they command, is requested by the targets, and by taking command of the situation, they put themselves at the service of that same group of people.

In her introduction, the teacher navigates her two institutional roles as teacher at the university and as president of the Magical Villages Committee. By way of scientific inquiry, she identifies a problem in the way the Magical Villages Program is panning out in Cuetzalan compared to how it should be working according to program documents. The main problem identified is that the citizenry is not adequately involved in the program, yet the conditions for scientifically measuring adequate involvement are drawn beforehand from the program itself. The teacher thus maneuvers a position of objectivity by identifying a problem scientifically, which nonetheless has another principal, namely the program. By making the program principal of the research, the teacher avoids
assuming such principal position herself and she and the students merely undertake to evaluate the program scientifically and assist it in fulfilling its aims of community development. Significantly, the scientific inquiry shows the citizenry to be principal in that they desire to be included and in charting "what it is the people need." Hence, the scientific inquiry creates the basis for instrumenting their objective program knowledge to raise the consciousness of the target group. The teacher thereby manages to keep apart, yet combine, her two institutional roles as well as her role as fellow citizen by narratively matching her endeavor with the interests of the program, objective research practice, and the community.

Having introduced the problem, the solution, and the guiding inferential schemata, the teacher makes a change in footing by stepping out of the collective author unit ("we") to singularly author the institutional credibility of the students ("they"/"them") in the matter at hand. The two different uses of footing appear to render two different modes of ratifying the students as capable participants in the meeting. The initial use of "we" signals complete alignment between teacher and students in the formulation of problem and solution, and the subsequent use of "they" works to highlight the students' expertise regardless of their relation to the teacher. To this end, it is indicative that she emphasizes both their scientific skills ("They already did a study concerning what it is the people need") and their professional and objective knowledge of the program ("They know a lot about the outlines [of the program], and how the concept of Magical Village has developed here"), because in this manner she constructs two institutional roles for the students that converge with her own.

This introductory presentation of the students may be understood as the opening ritual bracket to the anticipated encounter. According to Goffman, every talk is enclosed within some kind of ritual brackets that establish and dissolve joint commitment and "ratified participation" (1981:130). The teacher can thus be understood to ratify the students for the planned, subsequent institutional interaction. In so doing, the teacher simultaneously encourages the additional participants to ratify the students in their capacity to take on institutionally relevant roles in the interaction.

With her introductory words, the teacher crafts a paratext that situates their preceding work and the subsequent presentation and discussion. That is, she establishes the contextual matrix or inferential framework intended to guide the meeting; she lays forth the conditions of the coordinated task activity to be undertaken. Establishing the contextual matrix that is to coordinate the task at hand therefore involves delineating a certain degree of narrative consensus. Marking out her own institutional roles and demonstrating the accordance between the two, duplicating and offering such roles for her students, figuratively embedding a general citizenry unaware of but
interested in the program, defining a problem and corresponding solution—all these moves delimit interpretive space and delineate the activity in question. In her portrayal of the study and its results, the teacher validates particular inferential schemata that facilitate certain modes of meaning-making in which not program practice but citizen conduct is to be problematized. Doing so, she prepares a narrative path for the students and the external participants to follow. Such narrative consensus may be assumed to have existed prior to the meeting, as a result of close cooperation between teacher and students on program matters. Indeed, the very act of jointly presenting the results of a study implies a certain degree of prior consensus of what the study aimed to do and what it has ended up showing. Despite this, however, the main authority of the presenting group—teacher and president of the Magical Villages Committee—introduces the event with a paratextual summary of the most significant findings, to ensure that the institutionally viable line of interpretation she represents will become the point of reference for the meeting and ensuing actions. Since the solution presented in this introduction is to inform citizens of the outlines of the program so their subjectively informed experience of the program may be altered, it follows that the study has identified a problem to be solved within the local citizenry rather than in the local execution of the program. This way, the teacher leaves limited room for criticism of local program practice and, during the meeting, the generic program itself is never questioned. In other words, and as the chapter will show, the critical perspective on program practice the teacher sketches at the beginning of the meeting coincides with the perspective of the program itself.

In the wake of the teacher's introduction, a female student and owner of a large, locally prestigious hotel assists in situating the discussion, explaining that the meeting would be one out of several in which the students would listen to different opinions as to how to structure the "real message," the message that would "reach the people:"

**Female student 1:** So, what we want is, to fit well, above all, this message, because we have some [messages], but perhaps they do not serve very well, right? And it is for that reason we want meetings with the service providers as well— with prominent people—so that it [the campaign] can have a clear idea and so that the people will accept it, in some way. [...] Because that would be the end purpose, namely, that they come to accept it.

Considering that the students had already launched the campaign on local television and radio prior to these meetings, it was not so much the content or objective of the campaign that was up for

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60 The only critique raised by the teacher is that people have not been adequately informed about program's positive effects on local life.
discussion, but rather the form that would carry it. Female student 1 thus trimmed the narrative consensus further prior to the presentation by removing from focus the initial study and its results and the campaign objective itself, restricting discussion to finding the appropriate way to direct campaign content at the local inhabitants, thus sequencing the meeting as part of a final editing and revision activity. Because the campaign has as its purpose to make people become aware of the benefits of the Magical Villages Program, the end purpose is, by extension, not just to make people accept the campaign, but to make people accept the program. The solution involves problematizing disengagement with the program in a way that makes people able to identify how their actions conflict with their own and community interests, which will eventually lead to self-regulation. This directionality of problematization – that the program is not problematized but becomes a platform for problematizing citizen conduct – is integral to program practice, and the local pro groups are key in this work.

When the formal part of the session was coming to a close, MC summed up the meeting as successful from an institutional point of view, congratulating the students on their work, expressing through her prosody and wording that she was deeply moved by their initiative, before instilling them with confidence by offering them professional advice on how to approach local citizens:

**MC:** Injecting them with affection, injecting them with positivism [sic], that is very important. May you be very positive in all of this, because the people, who will be going to the hospital, will not be positive.

So, injecting the people, that is very important. All people!

By way of analogy, MC underscores the legitimacy of an asymmetrical interaction format with a unidirectional order of speech, signaling that the targeted citizens are like ill patients in need of a cure, while the students are the clinical experts that will be in charge of their curing. This way, MC officially reiterates and sanctifies the categorization that informs the teacher's interpretation, which had deemed subjective experience irrelevant, while also prompting the students to preach the words of the program with affection and due compassion. The citizens' resistance toward the program is a disease nurtured by their lack of knowledge of the program and tourism, and it may be cured only by a persistent but caring effort to provide them with the proper knowledge. Showing that she trusts the students to take on that task, MC's congratulatory statement, professional guidance, and verbal and prosodic expression of emotion express her official, institutional ratification of the students. MC thus addresses, acknowledges, and returns to the ritual bracket established by the teacher at the beginning of the meeting by affirming the categorization, acknowledging their project, and ratifying the students as capable participants within the local Magical Villages institution. Thus, the
participants in the meeting shared an understanding of having made a transition, taking it as their
task to assist other citizens in making the same transition.

"Proud to be the first:" Mobilizing the chronology of nomination

During their presentation, the students brought forth differing selections of the campaign content,
each of which were tied to its own strategy of persuasion. The key content was reflected by the
campaign slogan: "Proud to be the first," which aligned itself with the paratext of recognition that
encapsulates the Magical Villages Program, while simultaneously addressing local criticism of the
program.

During fieldwork in 2013, locals frequently referred to how the program had "cheapened itself"
lately by doubling the number of participants, admitting into the program towns that they did not
understand to merit the nomination as Magical Village, since those towns did not possess "nearly
anything like the magic of Cuetzalan." Central to this disappointment were the six nominations in
the state of Puebla during 2011 and 2012 by which Cuetzalan had rapidly passed from being
Puebla's only Magical Village to becoming one of seven. The campaign slogan "Proud to be the
first," addresses exactly this delicate matter by historicizing the program to highlight that Cuetzalan
was the original and natural pick for the Magical Villages Program in Puebla. The students thus
seek to reinstate a former unspoken hierarchy within which Cuetzalan ranked above any other
village in Puebla. By playing on a sense of pride of not just being a plain Magical Village but of
being the first within Puebla, and therefore the most distinguished, the slogan seeks to mend
Cuetzalan's loss of authority by invoking and strengthening the sense of recognition and
authenticity the nomination as Magical Village is taken to signify. The campaign thus mobilizes the
chronology of nomination in an attempt to reestablish the former hierarchy and make locals
recollect the sense of pride originally felt.

How money circulates: Narrating economic order

Evoking in the citizenry a sense of pride in being a Magical Village would not alone suffice to
convince people of the benefits of the program. An obstacle in making people realize the ostensible
benefits of the Magical Villages Program is constituted as their lack of objective knowledge about
how a tourism economy works to generate profit for all parts of society. According to the students,

61 The "cheapening" of the program was a topic of debate in national media (Armenta 2013).
to be convinced, people would need to be informed of the economy that the program generates in the municipality:

**Female student 3:** To raise consciousness is above all to make people understand a present problem, right? In this case, we chose this thing about "Proud to be the first." But what we are also looking for is that the people know and are conscious that the tourism activity does not just concern the hotel and restaurant owners, but rather that all of this influences [intransitive] so that there will be more economy in all of the locality, as we mentioned a while ago. When more tourists arrive, well, we all benefit from it in a certain way. Because the traders sell more, not just the restaurant owners.

From this comment it follows that one source of criticism is that the program and the tourism activity are seen merely to benefit particular and privileged groups within Cuetzalan, such as hotel and restaurant owners. For this purpose, a narrative of economic circulation would need to be developed to make people see that a tourism economy does not merely benefit the selected few, but is of benefit to the community as a whole. The narrative was to be mediated in a short film recorded with local people in local surroundings implicitly addressing and countering local critique. By making use of familiar faces and settings and by creating a simplistic storyline, the short film was to render visible the way in which revenue from tourists permeated all levels of society, illustrating how money traveled from hand to hand to the benefit of all. The storyline began with and was structured around the arrival of a tourist at a hotel or a restaurant. Within this order, the tourist would quickly exit the storyline, and the hotel- and restaurant-owners would instead play the key roles as economic redistributors. As the students stressed, the hotels and restaurants "give work to people in the community" by creating employment both directly and indirectly. The hotels and restaurants not only "offer jobs with salaries," but they also buy their supplies locally as do their employees. With this storyline, the hotels and restaurants occupy key positions in the community economy and become the raison d'ètre of income from tourists, but simultaneously they work as mere monetary entry points. Consequently, they assume in the storyline an altruistic position as mere intermediaries in a larger economic transaction between tourists and total community. A social order is thus sketched in which the hotel and restaurant owners are local benefactors who create an economy for a beneficiary community. In effect, the narrative brings about the message that obstructing their efforts would be to obstruct the efforts of the community.62

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62 Likewise, restaurant owners in central Cuetzalan remarked that ambulant food vendors were hindering a tourism induced community economy by selling food to tourists at very low prices. Therefore, they maintained, local government should have them removed from the town center and they pointed out that the program does not tolerate
Rendering visible such economic cycle in a short film was thought to make people capable of recognizing the same pattern in their everyday experiences, which would make them more appreciative of tourism, the program, and the key role played by hotels and restaurants. Making citizens "conscious" that the tourism activity is a community activity would also make them capable of problematizing and regulating their own conduct, as they would be capable of specifying it as counterproductive for the community and consequently for themselves. To this end, the short film needed to be backed by statistical data that would invest the storyline with "objective" authority by providing quantitative testimony of the increase of local tourism and its positive effect on local economy. Collecting statistical data of the effects of tourism within the locality is one of the obligations of being in the Magical Villages Program and is needed for the annual evaluation (SECTUR 2008:14, SECTUR 2009c:13). Within the evaluation, the statistical data constitute measurable indicators of the degree to which the village has implemented the program successfully. Thus, the statistical data also come to serve legitimizing purposes, because it is from these figures that SECTUR may demonstrate growth within the Magical Villages and hence claim the program successful, in the same way that the villages themselves may legitimize their participation in the program by demonstrating increasing figures. Thus, key in the storyline of the consciousness-raising campaign would be to attribute local tourism economy to Cuetzalan's participation in the Magical Villages Program.

**Negotiating proper representation of local attitudes and experiences**

In her introduction to the meeting, the teacher adroitly managed to articulate local critique of the Magical Villages Program, while instantaneously invalidating it by rendering it as irrelevant and uninformed. Choosing as a solution to launch a consciousness-raising campaign is in itself, regardless of its specific content, a strong persuasion technique, because it locates a problem to be solved within the consciousness of the citizens and outside program content and practice. This reasoning also points to the existence of the indisputable premise that the program is beneficial. Critique of the program is thus reframed as the inability among some citizens to fathom the workings of the program. Those citizens are seen to constitute a threat to the program, not because they have identified a weakness within the program or its local exercise, but because their stubborn conviction hinders the full implementation of program aims. The consciousness-raising campaign

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ambulant commerce. Moreover, some stated that backpackers were not a welcome tourist type, as they spend very little money – and mainly on beer. As Benito put it: "We want high level tourism."
thus creates a unidirectional interaction order founded on a hierarchy of binary opposition between the informed, rational proponents and the uninformed, irrational objects of the campaign. The assumed benevolence of the campaign is constitutive of this unidirectional relation. The campaign derives its legitimacy from the assertion that a change within the subjectivity of the citizen will lead to a positive change in the life of the citizen and the total community. Within the teacher's account, legitimacy for the solution is drawn from depicting critique of the program as a feeling of exclusion reflective of a desire to be included.

These pre-settings came to inform the interpretation of local perception of the program, because local discomfort with the program was defined by its relation to the persuasion techniques that could overthrow local discomfort. While the students had identified discomfort with the program, they never intended to explore the dimensions of the discomfort experienced, because the critique inherent in it had been pre-categorized as invalid. The teacher had already embarked on this task by placing local experience of the program within a subjective realm nurtured by a vacuum of information about objective program practice. This way, she had invested program documents with authority and drew her own authority from her professionally informed reading of program conceptualizations and terminology. Part of the task, it seemed, was to portray discomfort from a generalized angle that best allowed for its rhetorical and practical nullification, because any legitimizing acknowledgement of discontent would otherwise lend support to critique of the program. Throughout the meeting, the topic of discomfort surfaced when the participants negotiated a coherent representation of local attitudes toward the program, which could be presented and converted by the campaign.

In the wake of the introduction, the male student was first to touch upon the topic when pointing out the target group of the campaign in response to an inquiry by the man from Puebla. In his account, the student portrayed a citizenry disinterested in the program, finding it of little relevance to people outside the tourist sector. He therefore diagnosed discontent as a sign of resignation toward the tourism sector and the program, spurred by the deceptive experience of not benefitting from the program. Following the teacher, the student interprets such local experience as a lack of information about how the program actually works:

**Male student:** The initial investigation was focused on the non-tourist sector, because we consider it to be easier, let's say, to convince the persons that are already integrated in the tourist sector. After all, they know, well, that "the benefits we have are these," since, let's say, they see more directly the benefits they have. But, um, the persons that are not integrated, let's say, directly in the [tourist] sector, they see themselves as more ummm…
The male student sketches a divide in the citizenry between people involved in the tourist sector and citizens outside the tourist sector. While citizens within the tourist sector point to experienced program benefits, citizens outside the tourist sector do not readily see themselves benefitted by the program, in consequence of which they find the program irrelevant. In his diagnosis, the male student hesitates long enough for the hotel owner to come to his assistance. According to her, people outside the tourism sector feel "relegated," indicating that people are aware of and feel excluded from the benefits that the program brings to the tourist sector. The hotel owner thus portrays a citizenry disappointed by being excluded from the program benefits, which they understand to be channeled to a privileged recipient group. In consequence, people would have appreciated inclusion, but feel that they have not been given an opportunity to participate. While the male student initially affirms her interpretation, his elaboration casts the interpretation into doubt. To illustrate how the program is being misconceived by the target group, the male student animates the said group of citizens through an embedded statement that renders absurd their claims as to why the program does not apply to them. By including into his interpretation another voice, ascribed to an original source, he invests his interpretation with a sense of empirical truthfulness. Thereby, he illustrates that disinterest rests on a lack of knowledge of the real program benefits. Hence, people themselves close their eyes on opportunities within the program by wrongfully holding that the program is not of their concern. Conversely, making people aware of program benefits and how to access them will secure their involvement with the program.

The male student and the hotel owner thus present two different versions of local discontent, which nonetheless render critique invalid by sharing the inherent idea that local discontent is based on a lack of information about the program. From both perspectives, then, the objective is to show

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63 The cascades are locally important sites of ecotourism, and Las Brisas near San Andrés Tzicuilan is considered the prime cascade site within the municipality, perhaps partly due to its proximity to Cuetzalan.

64 The male student traces disinterest in the program to citizens' failure to see why the program would be of benefit to them, while the hotel owner traces disinterest to a feeling of exclusion from the program and the benefits it is understood to bring about. In the hotel owner's version, people are not well enough informed about the benefits they are
people the indisputable fact that the program is beneficial. Such generalized and mendable discontent with the program entails no valid critique of the program, as it can be traced to an erroneous assessment that makes people feel as if they are excluded from the program, or as if the program has no relevance to them.

Soon after, the man from Puebla posed additional clarifying questions concerning the objectives of the campaign. The questions provided female student 1 with an opportunity to rephrase local discontent in her reply, undoing and delegitimizing the male student's interpretation that people feel they have no first-hand experience of program benefits:

**Man from Puebla:** [Do you intend] to simply generate a synergy or a diffusion of the information, or rather a synergy between the people, the authorities and, in the end, what is intended?

**Hotel owner:** [The intention is] that we all be conscious that we have to protect the [urban] image above all …

**Man from Puebla:** [Interrupting] Concrete actions that in some way make possible the continuation of that of [being a] Magical Village?

**Female student 1:** [We intend] to achieve that Cuetzalan is a tourist society or a tourist culture, which does not exist in Cuetzalan, right? And, well, the basis of this investigation is that many … people do know, right, of the Magical Villages, but they say that they are not taken into account to participate in this. That is: "To be frank with you, they did not take into consideration my opinion." "There are meetings, which only invite the tourist sector, but they do not involve us." And they are very conscious that it does benefit the tourist sector: "Yes, we are conscious, because we continue to sell products in the small shops, in the pharmacies," right? […] And all, um, concurred that it does benefit them, because more tourists arrive. Well, they buy a bottle of water from you, they buy a brush from you [etc.]. So, they are all very conscious that it is of benefit to them that tourists arrive and that this continues to be conserved. Well, they would like to be taken into account, and oftentimes they damage the urban image because of ignorance. Oftentimes we do things, and we do not know the damage that we are causing, and so we do it. But as one becomes more conscious, or, when you have the information, you say: "Oh no!"

According to this interpretation, people do readily experience first-hand one of the benefits of the program, revenues from selling grocery products to tourists and, therefore, they are not disinterested in the program. On the contrary, viewing already one program benefit, they desire to be more involved in program processes to increase benefits. This interpretation exceeds the nullification already experiencing and, in the male student's version, people are additionally not properly informed about opportunities to engage in the program. This is more than a difference of degree, since each interpretation suggests a different mode of action. The male student aims to assist other citizens in entering the field of tourism, whereas the hotel owner maintains that other citizens should learn to appreciate key actors in tourism, since their efforts benefit the community.
implied by the male student's interpretation, which held that people did not experience any benefits and consequently were disinterested. Hence, female student 1 disqualifies the male student's interpretation of the discontent experienced, moving discontent further away from the program itself. People are not discontent with the program, they are rather discontent about not being more engaged in the program. Within this line of argument, the consciousness-raising campaign springs as a public-service initiative demanded by the citizens themselves, who want to know more about the program and the opportunities it extends. To construct this argument, the student puts one of the persuasion techniques of the consciousness-raising campaign to work within the negotiation of the campaign itself, the narrative of economic circulation. Just as the short film was intended to illustrate, female student 1 argues that people are already experiencing everyday economic benefits, for which they are appreciative of the program. To accomplish this argument, she animates an original source to which she ascribes a wider representation than the original source animated by the male student.65

The analytical statement that "they are very conscious that [the program] does benefit the tourist sector" is supported by an original source that responds directly to the analysis: "Yes, we are conscious because we continue to sell products." This leads to the conclusion that "all […] concurred" that the program benefits them, "because more tourists arrive"

Key in that argument is the complete attribution of local tourism to the Magical Villages Program. As a result, people know the tourism sector benefits from participating in the program due to their own experience with a beneficial tourism economy. From this perspective, however, the short film no longer carries the purpose of convincing people that the program entails economic benefits, but rather to provide the complete picture of local tourism economy to prevent people from drawing, from their particular place within the economic circulatory system, the conclusion that the tourism sector (hotel and restaurant owners) is harvesting the major revenue. Moreover, having asserted that citizens want to "conserve" the tourism economy and understand the program to generate just that, she points out how their lack of knowledge of how the program works makes them work against their own aspirations. In accordance with what the (other) hotel owner attempted to assert as the prime objective of the campaign, the student argues that citizens inadvertently come

65 This is done by embedding an animator, who addresses her directly to give her a discouraging piece of information ("To be frank with you") and a collective animator ("we," "us"), who corresponds to her category of analysis ("they," "people," "all"). The embedded animator of the original source drawn forth by the male student ("I," "me") is thereby subverted by a quantitatively more representative original source that appears to engage directly with the female student to confirm her analysis.
to inflict harm on the tourism economy by failing to respect the urban image. From this it follows that the campaign needs to inform people that conservation of the urban image is a central component of community tourism economy. On this last point, however, the female student changes the perspective. While the citizens have experienced the economic benefits and want to know more about such benefits, they have not yet discovered the diverse components of a successful tourism economy. According to female student 1, their task is to regulate citizens by pointing out how their conduct impedes the tourism economy they themselves desire and already find beneficial.

**Recursive regulation in the meeting**

With point of departure in the above sketched interpretational disagreement, the chapter now highlights the recursive aspect of social technologies; they lead to self-government not in first instance within the target group, but within the group exercising the technologies. This recursive quality in social technologies may indicate why cooperation between local government and civil society – a pro Magical Villages group (SECTUR 2006a:1) – figures so centrally in the program. Problematizing citizen conduct from the particular perspective of the program leads in first instance to self-regulation. The pro group needs not just to be active in shaping tourism within their community, they need to share the perspective on tourism offered by the program. Municipal government officials are responsible for having a functional pro group consisting of exemplary citizens who can function as local program ambassadors to mold the citizenry in the image of the program. It follows that this has to be a special class of citizens: resourceful opinion makers and successful business and tourism entrepreneurs. In Cuetzalan, they belong to the mestizo elite and middle-class.

Addressing the difference of opinions between the male student and female student 1, the hotel owner embarks on what initially appears to be a line of support to the interpretation presented by the male student by referring to local voices that do not take the Magical Villages Program to be the source of local tourism, sustaining the point that the program has brought no benefits:

**Hotel owner:** I have heard the fact that they say that Cuetzalan was already a tourist site when they gave it the title of Magical Village.

**MC:** Yes.

**Hotel owner:** So that [it does] not …

**Man from Puebla:** They do not see the change!

**Hotel owner:** Aha, precisely, in other words, that it does not benefit them at all whether it is a Magical Village, because it was already a tourist site when it was nominated.
MC: Yes... but... [attempting to interrupt]

Hotel owner: [inaudible] ... these ideas flow around in many places.

At first, MC attempts to interrupt the hotel owner, but stops as she realizes that the hotel owner is merely animating, not condoning, a widespread idea. Rather, the hotel owner criticizes the male student for transmitting an idea they are working to overthrow, because it hinders people from recognizing their own (community) interest in preserving the urban image. Such carelessness is problematic, she stressed during an extended turn of speech, because when locals fail to recognize the urban image as a program benefit and lack commitment to protecting the urban image, outsiders, attracted by the prospects of setting up a tourism business, will have free rein to violate local construction norms. The hotel owner stresses this attitude as dangerous, because it jeopardizes the urban image, which is what they "live off," and she criticizes municipal authorities for not enforcing the rules of the urban image. Subsequently, the teacher emphasizes that it is difficult for the municipal government to enforce the rules, which is why the best way to solve the problem is to raise people's consciousness, stressing that "we cannot continue to worsen the village." During the discussion, the hotel owner places the male student within the problem group by pointing out that his analysis transmits the idea that the program is not yet benefitting people, and she points out that the far-reaching consequence of this idea is a disregard of the urban image. She thereby prompts the male student to regulate his interpretation of the problem. The teacher contributes to this problematization by pointing out that due to the widespread lack of respect for the urban image, local authorities are finding it difficult to enforce the regulations which makes the consciousness-raising campaign an important alternative to direct law enforcement. The male student is thereby brought forward to epitomize the magnitude of the problem and his interpretation is seen to testify to the need of working on the consciousness of citizens. Citizens simply lack the objective knowledge needed to attribute the flow of tourism to Cuetzalan's participation in the program. The significance of this perspective came across later, when the male student interrupted himself to clarify local discomfort with the program:

Male student: Oh yeah, pardon, I was asked to what extent the villagers feel proud, right? Here exists, let's say, a resentment that Cuetzalan was not the one who, um, let's say, asked for the title of Magical Village. That is, Cuetzalan was given the title of Magical Village. And what we want to bring back is that

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66 Nobody had asked him about this, but holding to have been asked about it (note the impersonal form "I was asked") and requesting confirmation by participants ("right?") he manages to seize the floor to challenge the interpretation of female student 1, while making an unspecified meeting participant principal of his remark. With such a conversation-seizing device (Gubrium & Holstein 2009:48-50) he manages to present his comment as benign and disinterested.
with or without the title, Cuetzalan is magical. In other words, it has always been so, right? So, this pride does not exist on behalf of the villagers. To be precise, the [urban] image is not protected.

To defend his view, the male student elaborates local critique, describing how some people emphasize that Cuetzalan never asked to become included into the program and never wanted to participate in the first place. On that basis, he suggests a persuasion technique that guides attention to the symbolic recognition the program has bestowed on Cuetzalan. Seeing the inclusion into the program as a consequence of Cuetzalan's "magical" essence (rather than vice versa), he argues that regardless of "the title" of Magical Village, Cuetzalan has accurately been recognized as a "magical" place. The male student thus looks to persuade people by stressing that the program is not what matters. The town matters, and since it is "magical," it fits the program. A focus on Cuetzalan's "magical" quality, in his view, may lead citizens to experience a sense of pride that will make them protect the urban image. This way, he seeks to demonstrate that his perspective would not compromise program policies about the urban image, but instead direct the attention of citizens to the particular urban environment that makes Cuetzalan "magical." The persuasion technique thus employs an idea that few locals would dispute, namely that Cuetzalan is "magical."

While such a persuasion technique circumvents the question of whether the program is benefitting the people in an attempt to overthrow a detected discomfort with the program, the perspective was deemed impermissible. Not only would it potentially nurture a Pandora's box of criticism, it would also render the program as largely irrelevant to Cuetzalan and its tourism industry. The following negative reception of this strategy shows that the campaign should not just make people act in accordance to program policies, they also need to think in line with the perspective of the program, and they need to know that tourism increases through program policies. That is, the consciousness-raising campaign is able to succeed only if it makes people see the program as the cause of tourism. The teacher soon reasserted the main point of the campaign to reject the line of argument presented by the male student on behalf of the group, a point which MC immediately supported:

**Teacher:** And basically that is it, right? To look around a bit and accept that it is a Magical Village and accept the development that this entails.

**MC:** [Interrupting] And to make them, to make them note the fact that we did not apply, or that the title of Magical Village was not applied for, but that, yes, it was given to them and that is because of the magic that Cuetzalan has. But that today it is something which is very important, which should be conserved. That you "could not care if they take it away from me?" Well, that "they won't take it? It's the same for me if they don't!" On the contrary, that it is a title that we should conserve and that we should be proud
of. And furthermore, something very important is that people feel so proud of those who were born to live here, and later those of us who live here [be proud] of being in this beautiful Magical Village, which does not have, does not have counterpart, truly. It has no match. That is something very important; that the people feel proud to live where they have to live, or where they are living, and that is Cuetzalan.

The teacher dissociates the consciousness-raising campaign from the interpretations of the male student by declaring that regardless of how Cuetzalan came to be a Magical Village, making people "accept that it is a Magical Village" and "accept" the developmental strategies of the program is a non-negotiable aim of the consciousness-raising campaign. Signaling in this way to the male student that his interpretations are neither institutionally desirable nor relevant, she seeks to close off that part of the discussion and requests him to revise his perception of the problem. As the prime institutional representative of the Magical Villages Program in the meeting, MC substantiates the problematization of the male student. By embedding statements attributed to the male student, she confronts him directly with himself, animating his negligent and crude attitude, pointing out to him how he comes to question the value of the program. Doing so, she carves out a representation of him, dramatizes his position, and prompts him to reflect on the legitimacy of his claims. In effect, the teacher and MC sanction the student by isolating his interpretation from the consciousness-raising campaign, assigning it instead to the mode of thinking that is to be acted upon. As a result, the student is made aware that he does not (yet) fully think in line with the program and therefore cannot be a proponent of the program without revising his view – raising consciousness of the problem group is impossible as long as he shares the consciousness of the problem group. MC, however, also offers him a lifeline and path to re-enter the campaign by providing him with a suitable persuasion technique that does not reproduce critique of the program: She proposes that the campaign publicly affirms that Cuetzalan did not apply to receive nomination as a Magical Village, it never needed to because it was selected due to "the magic that Cuetzalan has." This way, she sketches participation in the program as the effect of Cuetzalan's "magical" essence and sketches the nomination as a political recognition of that. Participation within the program is thus naturalized and rendered uncontroversial. However, MC ascribes importance to the role the recognition plays "today." Thus, while Cuetzalan's "magical" quality is the cause of the recognition, and citizens may recognize Cuetzalan as "magical" regardless of the recognition, the recognition has a wider significance to Cuetzalan.
Privatized participation and the unitary community

The analyzed session took shape from two institutional frameworks, as seen in the way the teacher managed to combine her institutional role at the university and her role as president of the Magical Villages Committee: the "Pro Magical Villages Group" envisioned by the Magical Villages Program to secure "community participation" in political processes (SECTUR 2006a:1). Magical Villages meetings constitute an institutionalized forum for organizing local government authorities, citizens, service providers, and, in this case, a higher education institution around the task of implementing program objectives. The session, which centered on the student presentation, was thus both a university exercise with didactic purposes and a political platform with operative consequences beyond the educational setting. The campaign was mobilized, and several students subsequently entered the Magical Villages Committee. Yet, the synergy between the two institutional frameworks illustrates how the Magical Villages meeting itself functions as a didactic platform, which in turn highlights a key didactic dimension inherent to the program; the Magical Villages Program teaches communities how to do tourism.

Being the official embodiment of the Magical Villages Program within the municipality, MC worked as the authoritative scribe, centering gravity in the official reading of the program by distributing legitimacy within the group of students according to their ability to perform institutionally authorized interpretations. This way, MC assisted the students in putting together an appropriate consciousness-raising campaign, while simultaneously giving the students the sense that she viewed the campaign not just as an independent student initiative, but as one of strategic communal concern. During the meeting, interpretational limitations became particularly clear, as the male student failed to achieve narrative recognition from other participants.

A close reading of the meeting shows that the main problem identified by the teacher is not a lack of involvement in the program by society, but rather that Cuetzalan does not meet the program criterion "about 'involvement with society'" (SECTUR 2009c:3), which figures centrally in SECTUR's annual evaluations (SECTUR 2009c:10). Consequently, the identified problem is one pre-given in the program matter and one that threatens Cuetzalan's continued participation in the program, because failure to meet with program criteria may invoke sanctions by SECTUR or lead to exclusion from the program. As is the case, the solution to the problem – consciousness raising – also figures in the program documents (SECTUR 2009c:13), and in recent years numerous Magical
Villages have designed consciousness-raising campaigns to inform the citizenry precisely about the importance and benefits of being a Magical Village (appendix five).\textsuperscript{67}

In this current case, university students – some of whom are also service providers – were mobilized to solve the double task of ensuring involvement in program activities by local citizens and instrumenting a consciousness-raising campaign to inform the community of the benefits of being a Magical Village. On a mere performative level, the student activities solve these problems for local authorities, since their engagement in these activities demonstrate an active citizenry as requested by the program, and the very launch of the campaign fulfills the requirement of using consciousness-raising techniques to consolidate program practice.\textsuperscript{68} Moreover, from the perspective of the program, public exaltation campaigns springing from citizens in Magical Villages solidify the local community as principal of program policy. On a social level, the local consciousness-raising campaign is hoped to cultivate a more positive spirit in additional citizens concerning the Magical Villages Program and to make people respect the \textit{urban image}. On an economic level, the initiative, if successful, is thought to boost tourism.

The meeting illustrates a totalizing tendency in the Magical Villages Program, since the prosperity of local tourism is equated with the local prosperity of the program. Participation in the program, then, is not primarily a matter of raising the stakes on tourism, but rather a question of putting into motion the know-how, manners, and modes of thinking that the program envisions will foster tourism. To closely follow program instructions means to generate (more) tourism. Conversely, not following program instructions is thought to diminish and jeopardize tourism.

One apparent consequence of institutionalizing the Magical Villages Program in Cuetzalan is that it constructs two distinct classes of people, which protrude eminently through the participation framework of the consciousness-raising campaign. Within the campaign there are recipients in need of having their consciousness raised and there are transmitters whose moral duty it is to perform the consciousness raising. The groups are arranged according to their alignment with the program, as one group is enlightened with the capacity to understand and bring into motion program doctrine, while another less enlightened group stubbornly insists on doing things differently from an

\textsuperscript{67} A recent evaluation of the Magical Villages and World Heritage Sites recommended two Magical Villages to raise consciousness about the benefits and importance of being a Magical Village, and Cuetzalan was recommended to raise consciousness about environmental care (SECTUR et al. 2012:370-371, 394-395, 407-408).

\textsuperscript{68} A subsequent evaluation of Cuetzalan as a Magical Village carried out on behalf of SECTUR applies the consciousness-raising campaign exactly in this performative sense, stressing how the Magical Villages Committee and the Municipal Council of Tourism have been carrying out the campaign to "raise consciousness of the inhabitants in general about what it means to be a Magical Village" (BUAP 2013:61-62).
uninformed position. The group aligning with the program includes those who can claim to understand how tourism works.

Within program doctrine, tourism is not just a collective community task, but also a moral community obligation and, since the program is equated with tourism, the community is morally obliged to work for the program. However, the major schism of such community-based vision of tourism is that economic participation in tourism is a strictly privatized matter, and since the program directs its efforts on the central part of town, the mestizo elite residing there is the major economic participant. Not surprisingly, the residents in the center are the ones who are most eager to preserve the urban image. The campaign's focus on the urban image reflects a struggle over central public space between inner-city resident merchants with fixed hotels, restaurants, and shops and incoming vendors, whose presence is problematized by inner-city residents. Backed by the program and local authorities, a struggle is waged against incoming vendors, who are understood to harm the urban image and consequently hamper tourism and commerce. What the campaign partly requests is that incoming vendors realize how their vending activities in the center damage the collective effort of the community. To make them realize this, the campaign charts a social order that renders hotel and restaurant owners as local patrons who collect and redistribute the economy in a trickle-down sense to the benefit of the community as a totality. The end purpose of making people accept the program is therefore not an invitation to the citizenry to get into tourism, but to prevent locals from countering program aims and regulations. Reaching the desired end purpose therefore entails circumventing, rephrasing, and converting local critique of the program.

The participants in the meeting are thus exactly the citizens who benefit the most from local tourism. This group emerges as the total community, since there is no forum for alternative positions. Local democratic participation is institutionalized by the program and involves implementing and being pro program policies. The Magical Villages Program has thus created a platform for organizing private business holders in central Cuetzalan in the name of the community. The classed positions of the members of the pro group are a well-guarded secret in the meeting, and it may be seen that the concept of community-based tourism helps to discursively sever their privatized interest in local tourism from their participation in program processes.

Most of the discussion in the meeting revolved around citizens in Cuetzalan and, seeing this divide within the town, it may be anticipated that possibilities for Nahuas in the surrounding area to participate in tourism are slim. Participation by Nahua communities was brought up explicitly once during the meeting. A student suggested that when hotel owners employ an indigenous woman as a
receptionist or maid, "why not dress her in the traditional vestments?" given that this will both preserve the use of traditional vestments and help sell the image of Cuetzalan. A social order thus emerges in which mestizo elite businesses are seen to create jobs through tourism and donate employment to the larger community. Within this order, Nahuas may hope to receive employment if they are willing to participate as cultural objects.

In summary, by showing how the meeting provides a framework for discussing tourism in accordance with program norms, the chapter highlights the recurring Magical Villages meeting as a central piece of such technology of citizenship. This way, the program's vision of a thriving national multicultourism emerges as a manual of tourism that the community "itself" is responsible for putting into motion. Securing the program's success therefore becomes the duty and moral obligation of responsible citizens, since the fate of the nation (and their community) rests thereon (cf. Scher 2014). In turn, citizens behaving incompatibly or showing disengagement with implementing program policies are problematized for being irresponsible. To secure the program's success, citizens in favor of the program are morally compelled to exercise technologies of citizenship on apathetic or resistant citizens to make them capable of grasping and terminating their irresponsible conduct. However, in engaging with such technologies in attempts to regulate the conduct of others, the meeting participants also reflect on their own conduct and come to self-regulate. For this reason, the obligatorily recurring Magical Villages meeting may be seen as a didactic activity that introduces local citizens to the mode of thinking integral to the program. The labeling of meetings concerning multifarious aspects on local tourism as Magical Villages meetings creates the impression of a unitary community cooperating to achieve a collective goal. The string of meetings, as an activity type, has a performative effect in so far as it testifies to and renews the sensation of a concerted community effort, an active citizenry, and social policy in motion.
CHAPTER 6: MULTICULTOURISM IN THE MAGICAL VILLAGE: SETTING TEMPORALITY AND TRANSLOCALITY

Upon arrival to Cuetzalan, I had given little thought to how the Magical Villages Program had evolved and processually constituted itself there. Neither did I realize how some of my queries departed from the image of stasis mediated of and by the program. Nonetheless, I did wonder why people tended to construct generalized accounts or point to recent events in response to questions such as: "How did you react when Cuetzalan was nominated as a Magical Village?"

Of course, in 2002, when Cuetzalan became a Magical Village, the program was not in motion in the ways it came to be later. The town was never publicly nominated. Celebratory ceremonies headed by the secretary of tourism and the respective state governors was not standard program practice and did not receive significant media coverage before the Magical Villages had been invested with a narrative of recognition and the inclusion procedure had been (discursively) reversed (chapter 4). Entry into the program in 2002 was therefore little noteworthy, neither the cause of a news story, nor of particular public concern, as later it has come to be. It was first and foremost a political decision. The event and moment I was requesting interviewees to (re)construct for me, had never occurred. Cuetzalan did not become magical by a stroke, but was inscribed into a cumulative process of transformation.

Expanding the historicization of the Magical Villages Program, this chapter analyzes how the term magical, as an integral part of a political program, has managed to assert itself as a primordial condition of social reality and become a natural way for inhabitants to think and talk about town life. In line with Cruikshank's governmentality analysis of Californian self-esteem movements (1999:6), one of the major achievements of the program is the way it has constituted a terrain of strategic political action that goes largely unacknowledged as a field of politics.

Constructionist approaches to narrative and interaction analysis stress the inseparability of narratives and the settings within which they come into being (Gubrium & Holstein 2009:123-197; Marvasti 2013). In a compelling article, environmental historian William Cronon (1992) shows how differing interpretations of environmental change in the Great Plains are implicated by the disparate narrative settings within which they appear. As Cronon demonstrates, the narrative settings work as enclosures that facilitate certain narrative paths and, consequently, certain ways to act in and on the environment, while closing off others.

This chapter extends such analytical order by examining how Cuetzalan's physical urban environment has been modified and infused with signage and narratives to produce a narrative setting revolving around a recognition framework with distinct temporal and translocal
underpinnings that organize how citizens think and talk about the town. First, the chapter shows how the urban environment has been adapted during the time Cuetzalan has participated in the Magical Villages Program. Next, the chapter analyzes a tourism magazine that celebrates the town's decennial anniversary as a Magical Village to show how mediation of urban space and social life accentuates the tendencies identified in the physical environment. Finally, the chapter turns to an interview with a newcomer from Mexico City to illustrate how individual accounts relate to the recognition framework and apply the temporal and translocal constructions previously identified.

Recasting chapter five for present purposes, the Magical Villages meeting was pointed to as an activity type centered on the notion of magical, thereby signaling both the existence of a narrative environment constructed around the notion of magical and an institutional practice through which such narrative environment is fostered, sustained, and made to exceed its institutional origin. Yet for such meetings to work as a mobilizing factor and organizing principle, the concept of being a Magical Village must have been granted a weighty, collective significance a priori. This chapter therefore spotlights how the introduction of institutional conventions into the urban setting has topicalized Cuetzalan's status as magical and made the concept a natural way through which to experience social life, the town, its citizens, and local tourism. The chapter argues that program modifications of the urban environment feed into a narrative setting in which the notion of magical comes to organize how people conceptualize and narrate about the town's past, present, and future.

Remaking the urban environment

One crosscutting feature of the Magical Villages Program throughout its history is a focus on "conserving" and "improving" the "urban image" (SECTUR 2001:168, 2005c:9, 2009c:9). The major part of program funding has been destined to such conservation and infrastructural work and may be seen as the most direct way in which the program asserts to be generating tourism. The program thus operates within a larger international framework that developed in the last half of the twentieth century, in which the idea of historic towns as heritage sites has been accompanied by a growing focus on urban conservation and increasing tourism to historic towns (Orbaşli 2000:1-3). From 2002 through 2014, eight so-called stages of "improvement of the urban image" were carried out in the central town with a ninth stage contemplated for 2015 (appendix 3). The project stages have made use of methods for limiting "signs of contemporary urban life" and installing artifacts that promote a "historic image," which are well-known conservation procedures in Spanish-colonial city centers recognized by UNESCO as world heritage (Nelle 2009), including those applied in the historic center of Puebla City (Jones & Varley 1994:38-40).
The first three stages, which were carried out between 2002 and 2004, focused on infrastructure, restoration work, and relocation of ambulant and semi-fixed commerce. Facades were modified, repaired, and painted. Overhead cables were moved underground and "Louis XIII-style" "heritage" lanterns were substituted for the existing lampposts. The plaza and church atrium had their cement tiled floor removed and were repaved with a rustic rock surface that was in use in some of the main streets of the town, and the same surface was implemented in a number of additional streets and sidewalks. A small building on the top tier of the three-tiered plaza was redesigned to host flower vendors, and – at a safe distance from the plaza – a two-story building was assigned to house a "gastronomic" market with greengrocer stalls downstairs and food stalls upstairs. Moreover, a cultural center founded in 1997, housing the ethnographic museum and the municipal archives and library, was refurbished and put into use.

Allocating buildings for specific commercial activities was intended to clear the center of most of the ambulant and semi-fixed vendors. Ambulant vending has been a recurring topic of conflict in Cuetzalan and other Magical Villages. Since 2006 (SECTUR 2006a:2), the program has formally instructed participant towns to reorganize commerce to eliminate ambulant vending in key tourist sites. The municipal regulations of the urban image ban ambulant vendors from occupying public spaces, since they and their stalls are seen to harm the urban image and the "typical scenery" (Ayuntamiento de Cuetzalan 2012:n.p. chapter 2.2.1, 2.3). Incidentally, many of these vendors are Nahuas (and Totonacs) who travel in to town from the surrounding area to participate in regional economic life.

Surely, these and subsequent reworkings of the urban topography have had an effect on how citizens experience their town. However, the significance of these modifications lies not solely in the modifications themselves, but just as much in correctly attributing the changes in the urban environment to the Magical Villages Program and regarding them as an effort to bring back the golden age of Cuetzalan. The installation of new "heritage" lanterns and a new rustic rock surface on the plaza and in the atrium, as well as the attempt to clear the plaza of ambulant vendors and

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69 The painting of facades has been an ongoing project and photos from over the years show an increasing streamlining in the colors used. Since 2012, the preferred colors have been white and red ochre. Apparently, the national tourism fund FONATUR elaborated these program colors for use in Cuetzalan (Ayuntamiento de Cuetzalan 2012:n.p., chapter 5.3).

70 The food stalls on the top-story are a well-guarded secret, which I found out about only thanks to newcomer Lucas, who suggested we could go there to get a hamburger. Alas, only the sandwich stall was open. During fieldwork in 2013 and 2014, few stalls were active and there appeared to be little economic activity.
Corresponding to the chronology sketched in chapter four, the process of attribution began in 2006 with the fourth stage of program intervention. At this point, the program had begun to position itself as a brand and transmit a narrative of recognition. During the fourth stage, restoration work focused on the plaza park, which was redesigned by substituting an antique-looking ironwork fence that corresponded in design with the installed "heritage" lanterns and new "heritage"-style benches and trash cans for a modern-looking fence (Fig. 6.1). During fieldwork in 2013, some locals were still upset about the restoration of the park and would recount how the general public had not been properly informed about the plans, discovering one day to their disbelief construction workers damaging, discarding and substituting allegedly antique water fountains and old trees, and how citizens stormed to the rescue when the same thing was to happen to the kiosk. When asked directly about the urban environment, however, most people would say that nothing has changed and that the town looks the way it always has, although some sarcastically granted that the Magical Villages Program has had the buildings of the main street repainted.

In March 2013, the park was completely remodeled for a second time during the sixth stage of "improvement of the urban image." Some locals were shocked and infuriated to discover construction workers discarding the allegedly old ironwork fences, benches and water fountains. A Citizen Front in Defense of Cuetzalan's Cultural Heritage was mobilized to combat and limit potential damages (Carrizosa 2013a-b; Hernández 2013; La Voz de Zacapoaxtla 2013; Redacción 2013). People, who few months earlier had recounted how the heritage in the park had been previously destroyed, now saw their heritage being destroyed once more. Keeping in mind that the concept of heritage can be a forceful source of identification and an effective means for mobilizing local communities against top-down paternalist politics (Smith 2007), less than seven years still seems to be a remarkably brief time span for projecting the heritage furniture into time immemorial. Nevertheless, some locals were outraged to find their heritage disappearing and others were afraid that the character of the town would change, so much so that newcomer Lucinda spontaneously decided to send me reports on the matter with photos (Fig. 6.2) documenting the damage inflicted:

Lucinda, mail, April 2013: [T]he local and state authorities decided to remodel the plaza!! So one Thursday afternoon, an official event was held at the atrium; it was about the remodeling of Cuetzalan. The governor, mayor, local officials, and school children were present but no one from the community. The next day, a bulldozer in the plaza began breaking the stone from the floor while workers were
removing the fences, benches, and fountains!! Next day, the kiosk, and later, even the big tree and some palm trees were removed... Criminals!! [English in original].

As heritage literature has long shown, the perceived age of objects does not depend on their actual age, but rather on the assumption of the objects as antique, and therefore notions of antiquity can be mediated by exploiting aesthetic and material conventions that correspond to contemporary imaginations of the past (Lowenthal 1985:242; Tunbridge & Ashworth 1996:10-11). Lucinda’s reaction to the removal of the fences, benches, and rock surface and the rise of the citizen front show how, within a brief timespan, a group of locals have ascribed a significant temporal depth to these objects, which makes these citizens perceive their removal as a violation of town heritage and a disregard of town history. To memorize such antique-looking benches and fences as recent would simply be counterintuitive, given that they are materially and stylistically framed in a style broadly perceived as "colonial," and memorizing the objects as recent would require remembering and understanding the context of their installation. Yet, the "perceived pastness" of objects also depends on the wider context within which they appear (Holtorf 2005:127-129). In this case, the objects were situated in the plaza, the heart of communal social life, and the founding space around which the old town developed, as is the case in most towns and cities in Mexico (Nuñez 2007:32-44). Locals who recounted the reworking of the park in 2006 focused mainly on the destruction of old features. Thereby, the installation of new objects was of secondary concern compared to the removal of "original" features and, once the installation of these heritage objects is no longer remembered they easily pass as antique in a plaza that is the place imbued with the deepest sense of community continuity in town.

As Goffman argues in the case of face-to-face interaction, human ability to determine what is going on in social settings depends on the capacity to "correctly [connect] acts to their source" (Goffman 1986:516). However, since deeds and acts inevitably "come to us connected to their source," receiving deeds and acts is not a matter of drawing up connections, but rather of identifying the connectives that accompany verbal and non-verbal acts. This means that connectives – the linking of source and action – constitute a particularly vulnerable aspect of experience, since they tend to be received with "unguarded security," and for the same reason, the management of connectives holds great opportunities for fabricating experience (Goffman 1986:479-480). Hence, once installed in the plaza, the heritage furniture denies its own novelty, gradually working its way into the collective memory of how the old town was. And if the rock surface installed in the plaza, atrium, and streets was not exactly remembered as the original material surface, it was perceived as
identical to the one that had originally been in use. As municipal chronicler Cecilio stated in a seminar that gathered the chroniclers of Puebla's Magical Villages, referring to the installation of the rock surface: "In a way we saw again the Cuetzalan of the early nineteenth century."

**Framing the setting: Interplay of narrative and signage**

Nevertheless, while the comprehensive installation of urban features pointing to days past have extensively transformed the urban environment and local experience of it, the transformations themselves do not self-evidently lead to an experience of urban space as contemplated by local authorities and the Magical Villages Program. Additional framing work is required to establish a connection between heritage furniture and the view on the past mediated by the program. Such framing of the setting also began during the fourth stage, as pink and yellow street name signs, tourist signs, and display boards with the Magical Villages logo came to dot the town. In 2013, the pink color on the street and tourist signs had turned pale, and some signs had disappeared. Yet, even partly dismantled and worn by weather, the program signage still provided testimony to Cuetzalan’s status as a Magical Village by weaving the local setting into a broader national history. Town history thus emerges as national history, moving Cuetzalan from the geographical peripheries of the nation to the center of metropolitan nationalism.

In the town center at least four tourist display boards were installed. The key display board carried the title *Cuetzalan* and was placed on both sides of the park (Fig. 6.3-6.4). The title on the display board may be seen to refer both to the location of the display board and to the subject matter of its two accompanying texts, which give an account of the toponymic etymology and town history. Between the two texts a map marks out the town and its historic center, and a vertical line of logograms point out the tourist attractions and services. At the top of the display board an encircled logogram is highlighted by the same yellow color that figures at the base, where the logogram reappears alongside the Magical Villages logo. The pink color, white font and yellow base with the two symbols form the design template of all the display boards and street signs (Fig. 6.5).

The yellow logogram has two intertwined origins and significances. It is copied from and represents the municipal shield as it looked in 2006. The municipal shield in turn is copied from an Aztec toponymic sign that occurs in the early colonial manuscript *Codex Mendoza*, which is widely
known and celebrated as a key source to the study of the Aztecs. Codex Mendoza consists of three pictorial sections produced by scribes from the Aztec capital Tenochtitlan with primary knowledge of the pre-Hispanic era, accompanied by written glosses and explanations in Spanish and Classical Nahuatl (Anawalt 2001). The manuscript makes mention of a town by the name Cueçalan once in each of the two first sections (Berdan & Anawalt 1992:fol. 6r, 37r), which provide a chronicle of successful city-state conquests attributed to individual rulers and a list recording the amount and forms of tribute gathered from conquered city-states within the imperial provinces (Anawalt 2001). The logogram on the display board, which also adorns the municipal shield, derives from the tribute section.

The etymological account on the display board is divided into two parts, introduced by the statement that Cuetzalan "has two meanings." This remark reflects that there are two locally competing interpretations. Nevertheless, on the display board the favored interpretation is doubly asserted by splitting it into two brief collaborating analyses with miniscule variation. One construes the etymology of Cuetzalan through linguistic analysis of the Nahuat toponym, and the other through epigraphic analysis of the Aztec toponymic sign:

It is derived from Nahuatl QUETZALLI, [""shining"",[""beautiful"]], and [""clear thing"]], TOTOTL, [""bird"",], and the final diction LAN expresses [""together"]], [""near"]] or [""among"]]; in consequence, QUETZAL-LAN means "among the beautiful birds[""] or [""together with the precious birds called quetzal""

QUETZALLAN = Quetzal-Lan. A bundle of red feathers with blue tips provide the phonetics, quetzalli, on top of the suffix tlán or lan, expressed by two teeth "place in which the quetzal birds abound" or [""near them"]]

The level of accuracy in this etymological reading is of interest here only insofar as it illustrates the means through which the "two meanings" collaborate to make local toponymic etymology relevant to a national audience. Common to both analyses is the assumption that the first morpheme must originally have been quetzal-, referring to the plumage of the colorful quetzal bird (Karttunen 1992:210), rather than cuezal- as indicated by the glosses in Codex Mendoza and cuetzal- as the toponym occurs today. An earlier form of the toponym is thus asserted in reference to the toponymic sign from Codex Mendoza, which consists in part of four "red feathers with blue tips,"

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71 Codex Mendoza is believed to have been commissioned around 1541 by the first viceroy of New Spain, Antonio de Mendoza, on behalf of King Carlos V (Anawalt 2001).
72 The analysis of the toponymic sign derives from physician Antonio Peñafiel's classic study of Mexican toponyms (1885).
and the first analysis inserts "TOTOTL" (bird) into the toponym to qualify a translation revolving around the quetzal bird.

Placing the Aztec sign at the top of the display board ensures that the reader proceeds along the same deductive line that transforms the contemporary toponym "Cuetzalan" into the "pre-Hispanic," Aztec toponym "Quetzalan." First, the Aztec sign visually mediates the feather component, and then the text specifies the component to be quetzal feathers. Thus, a connective is established between the toponym, the Aztec place sign, and the desired interpretation of the toponym, and an imagined pre-Hispanic environment "in which the quetzal birds abound" is fused with the present day environment of the Sierra de Puebla, which is widely celebrated as extraordinarily green, fertile, and with a rich flora and fauna (cf. Merlo 1995:11-16).

The preeminently placed Aztec toponymic sign plays a double framing role, though, since the very state of possessing an Aztec place sign firmly inscribes "Quetzalan" into the national legacy of Aztec culture and imperial history. The etymological exercise therefore equally works as a public performance of insiderness, which fuses contemporary local culture with major legacies of Aztec culture through a demonstration of continuity in cultural identity, knowledge, and language practices. This pre-Hispanicization of the local landscape creates a desirable narrative environment from which Cuetzalan may emerge as a central location within metropolitan nationalist narratives.

During fieldwork in 2013, municipal chronicler Cecilio lamented this tenacious folk etymology and its centrality in official town history, since it disregards another, more plausible, interpretation (Campo 1979; Coronado 2000:91) that does not depend on reconstructing allegedly altered phonemes, but departs from the toponym and glosses as they occur in the Codex Mendoza.73

When, as was the case, no-one else mentioned this interpretation, it is not just because the quetzal interpretation has long been in vogue.74 Rather, the scarlet macaw interpretation would hamper a town narrative rich in national symbolism. Due to its vivid colors and the male's characteristic long green tail feathers, the quetzal is a widely known species that is easily recognized and used as an icon in Mexico. The scarlet macaw, of course, is also very widely known and easily recognized as a species and icon. More importantly, however, the almost one-meter-long

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73 According to this interpretation, which builds on information from the Florentine Codex, Cuezalan consists of the two morphemes cuezal- and -tlan, cuezal- referring to feathers from the scarlet macaw, whose red feathers with blue tips correspond with those depicted in the toponymic sign in Codex Mendoza. As opposed to the (resplendent) quetzal bird, which is predominantly green and not known to have lived in the area (Peterson & Peterson 1992), the scarlet macaw was known to have existed in the area, Cecilio explained.

74 In the early 1970s, a quetzal bird appeared on the municipal shield (above Maya numerals), subduing a third interpretation (Arizpe 1972:13).
tail feathers of the quetzal bird were highly esteemed luxury items in several pre-Hispanic Mesoamerican societies, including among the Aztecs, who procured these feathers in vast numbers through tribute impositions on subjugated provinces. Across Mesoamerica, the quetzal bird hence gained an emblematic status and, due to its close association with elite goods, the quetzal feather has become the pre-Hispanic and Aztec feather par excellence (Miller & Taube 2003:140-141; Smith 2012:96), rendering the plumage from other colorful lowland birds of secondary importance. The special symbolic status of the quetzal feather is not the least due to being a componential feature of the pan-Mesoamerican feathered serpent god Quetzalcoatl (Nicholson 2001:246) who, with the surge of the indigenist movement and the Mexican-American Chicano movement, arguably became the pre-Hispanic culture hero of Mexico (Read & Gonzalez 2002:223-228). Since the same narrative resources are not available with the alternative interpretation, it is not surprising to find that the interpretation centering on the quetzal has more appeal. A basis for this claim may be found in the display board's section on local history:

The town of Cuetzalan has its origins from the time that the Tenochca empire expands; from the year 1475 the emperor Axayacatl converts the region of the Northern Sierra to tributary of the Great Tenochtitlan, placing Quetzalan as a center for the collection of quetzal feathers. The history of this municipality is based in the geographical account of Jonotla and Tetela, as demonstrated by the first Totonac settlements established in the zone, stemming from the foundation in the year[s] 381 and 481 CE of the towns of Tuzamapan and Ecatlán and in whose consolidation are born El Tajín, Yohualichan and Xiutetelco. Later, in 1552, it is subjugated by the Spaniards and catechized by the Franciscans and by the year 1555 it is nominated San Francisco Quetzalan due to its important socio-economic activity.

According to this text, Cuetzalan originated as a result of Aztec incursion into the Northern Sierra during the reign of Axayacatl, who made the region "tributary of the Great Tenochtitlan." Thus, "Quetzalan" arose as a consequence of imperial invasion and administrative planning with Axayacatl instituting the town "as a center for the collection of quetzal feathers." The foundation of "Quetzalan" is thus linked directly to Aztec imperial presence in the Sierra, and since Aztec imperial expansion is posited as cause of origin of the town, it may be inferred that the founding citizens were Aztecs relocated from Tenochtitlan and that the town played a crucial role as an

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55 This may change, though, as an animal conservation project is working on increasing the number of scarlet macaws in neighboring Veracruz; a move hoped to boost ecotourism in rural communities (Heisman 2015).

56 "Tenochca" is the plural form of the term tenochcatl, which refers to inhabitants of the Aztec imperial capital, Tenochtitlan.
imperial outpost in frontier land, wresting the territory from the residing Totonacs. Moreover, as "a center for the collection of quetzal feathers," "Quetzalan" is portrayed to have played a crucial part in the imperial economy, dispatching luxury goods to the Aztec elite. The display board thereby constructs a genealogy that links local citizens – most obviously the Nahuas within the municipality – to the invading Aztec imperial forces, thus framing local citizens as direct descendants of the Aztecs from the imperial capital Tenochtitlan and marking Cuetzalan as an Aztec town.

Within this historical account, the emergence of "Quetzalan" marks the end of the region as Totonac territory, and the Totonacs mainly assist in deepening the regional culture-historical time frame and are granted a presence primarily through their early settlements (Tuzamapan, Ecatlán) and regional archaeological sites attributed to them, most notably the World Heritage Site El Tajín (Veracruz) and nearby Yohualichan.

The geographical account of the region (Acuña 1985b:377-445) referred to on the display board does not mention Cuetzalan, and the Codex Mendoza does not enlist Cuezalan as a town conquered by Axayacatl or among those dispatching quetzal feathers to the imperial center. Nonetheless, the display board projects the interpretation into the early colonial era, as the Franciscans arrive in 1555 to name the town San Francisco Quetzalan "due to its important socio-economic activity." The text thus draws in the Franciscans as firsthand witnesses to the town's involvement in the quetzal feather trade, as testified by their sanctification of the toponym.

Departing from the Aztec place sign, the display boards carve out a concise regional pre-Hispanic history, which endows Cuetzalan with a central role within the Aztec empire. The feathers in the Aztec place sign are interpreted as quetzal feathers. This facilitates a reconstruction of the toponym as "Quetzalan." In translating the toponym, the quetzal feathers become a quetzal bird that is inscribed into local ecology, thus increasing the likelihood of Cuetzalan having been established by Aztec emperor Axayacatl as a major distributor of quetzal feathers to Tenochtitlan.

Following through each step of the deductive process, it is evident that the guiding interpretational principle of such history writing is to angle local history so it becomes pertinent to a national audience. Not only is Cuetzalan portrayed as having played an important part in the Aztec empire, the town is also centered in contemporary Mexico by virtue of being an enclave of descendants of the imperial Aztec capital. As such, Cuetzalan is inscribed firmly into the nation, as the nation is inscribed firmly into Cuetzalan, and for this reason it should come as no surprise that an interpretational twist has occurred at the very beginning of the deductive sequence; the Aztec place sign of the Codex Mendoza refers not to Cuetzalan (Puebla), but to Cuetzala (Guerrero)
(Smith & Berdan 1996:299). Sorting out the *Codex Mendoza* from the history on display, the remaining empirical building blocks are the toponym and a regional geographical account that makes no mention of Cuetzalan. The challenge of writing grand, national history from within the confines of a small town is illustrated time and again in local writings, which draw on written sources dealing with Cuetzala (Guerrero) to provide the vital historical detail that corroborates an Aztec origin to the town.

As illustrated, the display board's Aztec place sign and accompanying historical narrative give the impression that the historical events described have taken place in that location, and that the visitor is standing in a town space whose origins stretch back to 1475 and the arrival of the Aztecs. Placing the town map between the two texts corroborates this notion by sketching the spatial setting for the textualized historical narrative. The center of the map presents an area of white polygons representing ensembles of buildings, and in between them streets are marked out and named. The white area corresponds to the government certified zone of historical monuments, the historic center, composed of colonial-style buildings. This area constitutes the so-called Magical Villages polygon where the program has been working on the urban image. The remainder of the town is represented in the map by streetless and buildingless blanks. By highlighting the most remarkable places and mapping out routes of interest, the program display board seeks both to shape the visitors' movement through town and to clearly delimit the part of town, which may credibly work to anchor the historical narrative chosen for display. This way, the map indicates a temporal continuity in spatial terms to indicate the location in which visitors can find themselves placed at the center of an extensive and ongoing history. To this end, the display board is strategically located so that upon viewing it and reading the text, the visitor is standing on the plaza, facing the church and the atrium with its *voladores* pole and the green and hilly natural backdrop. The spatial outline of the town center with its plaza and atrium is paramount in mediating the sensation of spatial historical depth, since this architectural convention constitutes a nationally widespread model for organizing urban space, closely identified with the early colonial era (chapter 8).

The display board and its framing of local history and setting corresponds with the "heritage" furniture, since the colonial-style ironwork benches and trash cans included into their design

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77 The territory where Cuetzalan is located belonged to the tribute province Tlatlauhquitepec, and according to the *Codex Mendoza*, feathers were not part of the tribute payments of that province.

78 For instance, the photocopied booklet made to accompany visits to the ethnographic museum appropriates the geographical account of Cuetzala (Guerrero) (Acuña 1985a:314-321) to relate how Aztec ruler Moteuczoma I imposed a governor on the town (Gutiérrez n.d.:13).
plaques showing Cuetzalan's Aztec place sign (Fig. 6.6). Form, material, and symbolic content collaborate in this "heritage" furniture to frame the objects as indeterminately old. These framing conventions help to situate the "heritage" objects firmly within local collective memory, pushing them into time immemorial. A local news report, April 2013, cites an instructive lamentation from an aging resident at a meeting between local citizens, the municipal president, and representatives of federal government agencies concerning the reworking of the park:

"What I see there" – he said, showing one of the photos of the intervention – “I see with sadness. Due to this change we speak out; those of us, who hold history in our hands. [...] Now, at once, reconstruct what is possible. Imagine my sadness: nothing remains from that place where we gathered weekly for our Sunday walk and to protect ourselves from the sun,” said the elderly man with tearful eyes (Carrizosa 2013b).

In the excerpt, the resident projects the park as it was before the intervention in 2013 into a personalized life history by claiming an identity as one of those "who hold history in our hands" and asserting that "nothing remains from that place where we gathered." This hints at how the plaza, as a place of foundation in Mexican towns, is seen as a space of temporal continuity, and how the installation of the rustic rock surface and ironwork colonial-style street furniture with an embedded Aztec place sign has been contributing to spatializing this continuity and sense of deep town history.

From late 2006 to early 2013, the place sign was everywhere in central Cuetzalan, occurring in conjunction with the Magical Villages logo on tourist display boards and street name signs. Through visual juxtaposition of the Aztec place sign and the Magical Villages logo, the Magical Villages Program was tied together with the deepest sense of the past in Cuetzalan. Moreover, by marking each bit of public historical narrative with the Magical Villages logo, the signage framed such narratives as testimony to Cuetzalan's magical qualities and its status as a Magical Village. This way, the Magical Villages Program places itself as an authenticating and recognizing organ, basically signing the narratives, while simultaneously framing what may count as testimony. The signage and narratives are therefore both performative paratexts that frame Cuetzalan as a Magical Village through public recognition and didactic devices that instruct locals as to what counts as proper history, what makes the town magical, and consequently how locals may assist in contributing to such identity work.

Departing from the analysis of how the Magical Villages Program has framed the urban environment, the chapter now turns to show how mediation of town space and social life in official
promotional material accentuates the frames identified in the physical setting to further consolidate a narrative environment that ties together Cuetzalan, indigeneity and notions of the past.

Mediating the setting

In March 2012, the municipal government and the Puebla-based tourism magazine Enlázate printed a 32-page special edition in Spanish to celebrate Cuetzalan's decennial anniversary as a Magical Village. Officials of the municipal government were in charge of producing the content, and the municipal department of tourism handed out the magazine to visitors during 2012 and 2013. Thus, the magazine can be taken to embody Cuetzalan's official on-site promotional strategy during those years.79 Printed in color on high-quality coated paper and richly illustrated with photos, containing a detailed, numbered map and information on the town's main attractions, the magazine is likely to have been the prime textual source of information for domestic tourists in 2012-2013.

The magazine is divided into six sections that deal with topics such as local history, geography, eco-system, ritual dances, Cuetzalan's fiesta, architecture, and gastronomy. The accompanying photos show emblematic colonial-style architecture from Cuetzalan, pre-Hispanic ruins from Yohualichan, natural scenery, and, above all, indigenous people dressed in ritual and traditional clothes.80 Strikingly absent in the majority of photos are material features that refer unequivocally to contemporary life. A single photo showing a typical, sloping street with rock surface reveals a few cars in the far distance, and just one photo includes a white tourist wearing a bandanna, jeans, and jacket beholding a river.81 Photos showing indigenous agents apply close-up and worm's eye view techniques and are cropped closely around the human objects isolating desired scenes from undesired features. By cleaning the illustrative material of references to contemporary life, the magazine employs and accentuates the in situ framing of the physical environment that the Magical Villages Program's ongoing urban conservation has focused on fostering (cf. Nelle 2011). Moreover, the photos selected to illustrate social life in town predominantly derive from the patron saint fiesta in 2011. At this annual occasion, indigenous presence is high and traditional dances are performed. By selecting these images, "everyday" Cuetzalan is portrayed as indigenous territory

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79 Whether this edition has been distributed outside of Cuetzalan remains uncertain, but Enlázate reproduced the content in abbreviated form for the Mexican edition of The Epoch Times (Guzmán 2012:23).
80 For women this means wearing a huipil, a white short-sleeve blouse with colored embroidery from shoulder to shoulder on the back and front and a knee-length skirt. For men it means to wear white cotton shirts, pants, and often a white hat with a wide brim. Ritual clothes vary according to the ritual, but most often they are ornamented, colorful, and include hats, headdresses, and sometimes masks.
81 Ads from hotels, restaurants, tour operators, and handicraft shops take up approximately 30 percent of the space, and some of these diverge from this tendency in the official promotion strategy.
and as ritual space, and indigenous agents are primarily shown to be engaged in cultural and religious activities. Thus, the magazine effectively "under-communicates" Cuetzalan as a mestizo town, while "over-communicating" (cf. Eriksen 2002:29-32) both indigenous presence and indigenous engagement in ritual activity. The magazine opens with an editorial by the municipal president, who presents a brief synthesis of life in the municipality that tourists can expect to experience:

We are excited to present to Mexico and the world, through this medium, the pluricultural, pluriethnic and natural riches, which have given identity to our beautiful corner in the sierra, Cuetzalan del Progreso. Here you will find a variety of information that will bring you to know diverse aspects that represent the strong heartbeat of our quotidian life; a multicolored mosaic that has the tradition as a central component; a tradition that brings to the present beliefs, practices and collective sentiments that were constructed in the past; and recreated in the present. [Cuetzalan's] dances, patron saint fiestas, its gastronomy, its handicrafts, its abundant flora and wild fauna, its architecture, but, above all, its important number of indigenous residents that inhabit the municipality, all together they represent an important legacy in which the pre-Hispanic melts together with the Hispanic and the indigenous with the mestizo in an important exchange of uses and customs that have been fortifying our sense of belonging day after day (Cortés 2012:3).

In the editorial, the municipal president presents "quotidian life" as Cuetzalan's main attraction, substantiating the presentation by stating that it revolves around a tradition of beliefs and practices with roots in the past. By highlighting the "pluricultural" and "pluriethnic" "riches" and giving special mention to the indigenous people and their number, the municipal president makes indigenous locals the prime actors of "the tradition," which they bring to life in the present through their mere pursuance of everyday activities. This representation, which projects indigenous agents and their everyday life into history by stressing them as "legacy" of "pre-Hispanic" tradition, is strengthened by the accompanying photographic material. Rather than portraying everyday life, the magazine employs photos from the annual fiesta that show indigenous agents in public space exclusively engaged in ceremonial and religious activity, dressed in colorful ritual and traditional clothing, performing "the tradition." Thus, the textual presentation of local everyday life as "a multicolored mosaic" revolving around "the tradition" cooperates with the photographic portrayal of indigenous people engaged in ritual activities and dressed in colorful ritual clothes to produce a
ritualization of everyday indigenous behavior and, as the expression "multicolored mosaic" reoccurs later, it makes exactly that connection (Cortés 2012:24).

In an equally figurative manner, the magazine draws on symbols of indigenous culture when describing local everyday life. To this end, the text anchors indigenous life to rural Cuetzalan and the "pre-Hispanic" past and, conversely, the text equates mestizo citizens with "Hispanic" and contemporary urban Mexico. By pointing to the melting together of "the pre-Hispanic" and "indigenous" with "the Hispanic" and "mestizo," the municipal president evokes the ideal of (multi)cultural mixing expressed by the ideology of *mestizaje*, which has been at the core of Mexican nationalism since the revolution (Knight 1990:84-87). He thereby promises the tourist an experience of Mexico in the making by pointing to Cuetzalan as a place where an authentically pre-Hispanic indigenous culture prevails to infuse mestizo nationals with "a sense of belonging."

Indigenous life is thus temporally severed from contemporary and majority Mexico. This mechanism is repeated throughout the magazine by portraying indigenous people in opposition to or incompatible with modernity:

> It will suffice to walk the paths and royal roads or enter the houses of the Cuetzaltec territory to find oneself with boys and girls, women and men proudly dressed in their attires and speaking in the Nahuatl tongue, or masehualkopa, as it is known in the region, practicing their quotidian tasks impregnated with culture and identity and resisting the changes that the modernization processes try to impose on them (Cortés 2012:30).

By "practicing their quotidian tasks," or simply by speaking their first language, the indigenous locals are seen to resist an intruding and threatening modernity. Modernity is thus seen as encroaching on indigenous space, yet as something that can be kept away as long as indigenous communities retain their cultural practices. The culture, identity, and language of indigenous communities are thus marked as pre-modern and consequently exist as resources through which to resist modernity. In this sense, indigenous locals simultaneously become principals of an antimonist sentiment and emerge as identity resources for visiting urban mestizos, whose urban life appears to be less rooted and less authentic. In anthropologist Johannes Fabian’s terms, the text constructs a social evolutionist "Typological Time" that dichotomizes rural, indigenous locals versus urban, mestizo tourists through spatial and temporal distancing (2002:15-23). The effect is a

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82 The selective focus on ritual activity and "indexical dress" in photographic representation of non-Westerners is a widespread convention also found in a trendsetting magazine such as *National Geographic* (Lutz & Collins 1993:87-95).
"denial of coevalness" (1983:31-32) that creates a temporal disjunction between otherwise contemporary indigenous Nahuas and mestizo tourists based on notions of cultural difference. The social evolutionary underpinnings of this temporal disjunction appear through the idea that indigenous communities are able to counter modernity by maintaining their cultural practices; the existence of the described cultural practices are thus taken as indexical of a pre-modern stage in the evolutionary chart, and cultural difference largely comes to signify evolutionary differences. In this sense, indigenous locals are taken to embody a past way of life, which the mestizo tourist can experience through "shared Time" (1983:31-32), where they can observe indigenous people practicing "their quotidian tasks impregnated with culture and identity." Temporal co-existence is thus possible through spatial co-existence and modern mestizos may thus "return" to such perceived earlier evolutionary stage. As is often the case in heritage tourism, traversing space is equated with time travel (Källén 2015:103-128), as travel to Cuetzalan is subtly framed within a social evolutionist tale that relegates Nahuas to an earlier civilizational stage. Through such temporal othering, the magazine strategically employs indigenous presence in public space as a resource that symbolically situates Cuetzalan in a distant historical or mythologized national past.

The magazine "pre-modernizes" indigenous citizens further by inscribing them into nature and marking their engagement with nature as unaffected by modern, polluting technology. The perceived symbiosis of indigenous people and nature, which is pervasive to cultural tourism and ecotourism, comes to symbolize a sense of lost sacredness in the secularized, materialist world of the mestizo traveler with which indigenous life is contrasted (Taylor 2001; Badone 2004). Again, quotidian tasks and both immaterial and material cultural traits are specified to place the indigenous locals in opposition to modernity and to render them as integral components of local nature:

Cuetzalan, a municipality full of culture; with its beautiful women wearing their attire as white as their spirit and those embroideries as colorful as the nature that surrounds them. […] The communities of Cuetzalan are those that still preserve their indigenous essence almost at 100%. They all walk to work, they cultivate their crops without fertilizers, they prepare the nixtamal [maize dough] to make handmade tortillas, they transport the water from wells by means of irrigation channels, they manufacture their clothes, and many other things that the mestizo has forgotten about and exchanged for the immediacy of things (Cortés 2012:18).

The excerpt belongs to a section that celebrates Cuetzalan's first 10 years as a Magical Village. The text appears beneath a photo from the annual huipil ceremony that is part of the town fiesta (chapter 8), and alongside two photos showing a dripstone cave and a cascade surrounded by green
The photos, which juxtapose natural scenes and indigenous women wearing white traditional clothing with colorful embroideries, thus interact with the textual description that describes indigenous women in the same terms. In the magazine, the traditional clothing, which is worn for the occasion of the *huipil* ceremony, becomes indexical of local indigeneity and constitutes an x-ray that provides a view into the inner state of indigenous women; the embroideries become an extension of nature and the white color points to the "white" purity of "their spirit." The natural setting is thus constructed as the habitat of indigenous women, and nature is equally seen to reside inside the women, and this symbiosis points to the pure ways of life "the mestizo has forgotten about." This sense of purity is furthermore linked to "indigenous essence," which is seen to revolve around a pre-industrial relation to nature evidenced by their propensity to "walk to work," grind maize for "the nixtamal to make handmade tortillas," "manufacture their own clothes," and refrain from using "fertilizers." The magazine again evokes Fabian's "Typological Time" to create a temporal divide between rural indigenous Cuetzalan and urban mestizo Mexico. The present lifeways of local indigenous communities belong to the past of the mestizo, who is understood to lead a materialist life and to have "forgotten" about the authentic, previous, and indigenous way of life. Consequently, indigenous people are constructed as opposite to and incompatible with modern life, which supports the view that they go largely unaffected by modernity. In this sense, and as often seen in third-world tourism (Badone 2004; Bruner 1991), travel to certain destinations is constructed as a spiritual homecoming for the tourist, whose journey is also portrayed as a return to an evolutionary stage, where mankind is closer to the original and natural state of the world.

This notion of spiritual homecoming is consolidated in the final paragraph that justifies Cuetzalan's 10 years as a Magical Village:

Secluded from the urban way of life, Magical Village Cuetzalan – which conveys day after day the value of friendship, of receiving those who visit [the town] and get to know the life of people who live in a

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83 On the occasion of the *huipil* ceremony, young Nahua women from the surrounding area are engaged in a community queen contest and participate wearing traditional costumes. In the photo, the contestants are standing in front of a backdrop of ornaments made from green, red, and yellow leaves. The backdrop is part of the open air stage crafted for the occasion, which has been cropped out of the photo. The *huipil* queen is flanked by the additional contestants and shown seated in the center on a wooden throne decorated with plant ornaments and the headdress used for the *cuezahti* dance.

84 This conception is related to a phenomenon referred to as roots tourism, where travelers set out to explore their (imagined) genealogical past (Badone & Roseman 2004:7). Such "homeland journeys" may pan out as pilgrimages constructed around visits to symbolic places and work as a transformative rite of passage that links identities to imagined pasts (Ebron 1999). In this sense, roots journeys take shape as an intertwined emotional and temporalized journey through which the traveler explores the "source" of self and inscribes lineage pasts into the landscapes visited (Basu 2007).
completely different social context, with their indigenous communities so alive, as part of the national Mexican identity – is the reflection of our ancestors and of the magical culture that encloses this beautiful corner of the Northern Sierra of Puebla (Cortés 2012:19).

The paragraph constructs particular temporal relations between local indigenous people and the visiting mestizos, yet the inescapable context of these relations is the translocal frame of the nation: Indigenous communities do not merely represent a previous social evolutionary stage, but a nationalized, pre-Hispanic past. Extending the in situ framing of the urban environment, indigenous presence and heritage is thus employed in the magazine to further situate Cuetzalan in a historical and mythologized Mexican past. A narrative setting is thus created in which Nahuas become live signifiers of a nationalized primordiality and, consequently, figurative ancestors to mestizo travelers wanting to explore and recuperate their lost pre-Hispanic selves. As a result, Cuetzalan becomes a metonym for pre-Hispanic Mexico and emerges as the lost "homeland" of mestizo travelers by its association with indigenous people. The indigenous Nahua's perceived privileged knowledge of ancient tradition and their perceived relation to nature represents absences in "modern," urban Mexico, mediated by the "pre-Hispanic"/"Hispanic" divide between indigenous and mestizo citizens. A sense of loss of traditional society (Clifford 1986:112) intersects with "a mood of nostalgia" (Rosaldo 1989) captured in the traumatic colonial experience that produced the mestizo. Through text and images in the magazine, travel across space is thus temporalized, as Fabian points out (2002:7), but it is also translocalized. The idea that contemporary indigenous locals are "our ancestors," that is, the ancestors of mestizos, is only meaningful within a national frame that imagines a shared sense of kinship (Yuval-Davis 1997:15; Anderson 2006:5-7). When the magazine refers to indigenous citizens as "our ancestors," it creates a generational divide in which indigenous people are constituted as the old, original generation from which the young generation of mestizos has partly sprung.

As shown above, the physical urban and narrative settings collaborate in framing the destination as a medium through which metropolitan mestizo Mexicans are able to reconnect with pre-colonial, rural Mexico and recuperate their pre-Hispanic selves. The promotional material thereby brings a perceived past to life by creating a setting in which Cuetzalan's inhabitants re-enact and reactualize the past merely by carrying out their daily activities. Daily life is thereby constructed as a ritual activity through which Cuetzalan and its inhabitants keep the past alive in the present. So, this promotional material creates a setting that on the one hand is temporally and
geographically remote from "modern" Mexico, but on the other hand contributes to the construction of the modern imagined Mexican community.

In the next and final section, the chapter analyzes an interview with a newcomer to show how the temporal and translocal frames identified in the physical and narrative setting intersect and give shape to complex mestizo self-narratives.

**In the footsteps of Quetzalcoatl: Pilgrimage to the origin of the nation**

The narrative of recognition, which infuses a particular temporal and translocal order into the urban environment and into the narrative setting in official promotional material, also gives life to elaborate personal accounts, as reflected in an interview with cultural activist Ernesto. Ernesto grew up in Mexico City where he earned a degree in social sciences. At the time of the interview, he was in his early thirties and had been living in town for about six years. As he was contextualizing his life, he stressed his concern for indigenous rights issues, particularly environmental and territorial questions, dating back to his adolescence, and described some of his previous activities in other parts of Mexico. Ernesto visited Cuetzalan three times from 2003 to 2006. On the final trip, he participated in the political tour that launched The Other Campaign of the Zapatista Movement. In February 2006, the tour brought him to San Miguel Tzinacapan and, on that occasion, Ernesto decided to return to live there.

This account of how Ernesto came to Cuetzalan turned out merely to be his short version. Ernesto subsequently told me about his lasting interest in archaeology and anthropology, adding that for the past 15 years he had been studying *Ce Acatl Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl* and other historical individuals from the pre-Hispanic era. Unexpectedly, he then tied his life story into an account of the life and whereabouts of Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl, thereby employing pre-Hispanic mythistory as an explanatory frame of his own life, which consequently explained his arrival in Cuetzalan.

Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl is surrounded by controversy in the ethnohistorical documents of the early colonial era and in contemporary research (Carrasco 2000). As is characteristic of Mesoamerican narration of the past, accounts on Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl are clearly interlaced with mythical events. Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl thus conflates with the deity Quetzalcoatl and scholars disagree on whether or not Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl should be granted some degree of historicity. Notwithstanding competing interpretations and narratives, what remains clear is that the ethnohistorical sources report the Aztecs to have regarded Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl to be a priest and

142
ruler of a grand metropolis referred to as Tollan, capital of a vast Toltec empire. In Tenochtitlan and provincial city-states, Aztec rulers legitimated dynastic rule by tracing their genealogies back to the Toltec dynasty and Moteuczoma II, who ruled the Aztec empire in 1519 when the Spaniards first arrived to Tenochtitlan, has been reported to claim a direct lineage to Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl. Equally, Tenochtitlan, as the imperial center, was constructed in the image of mythical Tollan. The main plot in ethnohistorical accounts relates how Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl travelled to or founded Tollan to become ruler. In Tollan, he reshaped ritual practice by introducing autosacrifice and, according to some accounts, by eradicating the otherwise widespread practice of human sacrifice. After ruling in Tollan for many years, Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl was confronted by enemies, in most sources directed by the god Tezcatlipoca. The conflict forced him into exile and he traveled eastwards through the Valley of Mexico and Puebla to the shore of the Mexican Gulf where he eventually either crossed the sea or was cremated (Nicholson 2001:246-247).

Before joining The Other Campaign, Ernesto had been engaged in environmental preservation and assisted in setting up a community museum in Amatlán (Morelos), a small village which was dubbed Amatlán de Quetzalcoatl in the 1980s, after Mexican researchers claimed it to be the birthplace of Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl (e.g. Dubernard 1982). Having been born in Amatlán de Quetzalcoatl, Ernesto explained, Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl went to Xochicalco (Morelos) to receive his education, before arriving at Tollan, where he reigned for many years. After facing problems with Tezcatlipoca, he was forced to leave Tollan on a "pilgrimage to spread the word of life." The route took "the shape of a serpent" and passed through "the most important cultural centers of pre-Hispanic Mexico:"

Ernesto: From there he had to come to Tlalocan. Cuetzalan is the ancient Tlalocan, which is the paradise or hell of water. And that has been written in Teotihuacan for 3000 years. So, when this Mexica, Nahua, pilgrimage came here – it arrived more or less around 1470-something – the Mexica dominion was expanding. Well, they sent a great amount of people to settle in these lands, but the conquest – of being able to dominate this territory – was an idea they had acquired from the Teotihuacans; that is, to live in Tlalocan. Well, when the Mexicas arrived, which are the people, who are presently living here, they searched for and arrived at the earthly paradise, which they call Tlalticpac. And Tlalocan is a completely

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85 The facticity of Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl and the degree to which these post-conquest accounts can be assumed to accurately mediate an (if there ever was one) Aztec view of Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl has been discussed at length (see Carrasco 2000:1-62), but is not at issue here. The issue is that these accounts of Aztec mythistory play a central role in Mexican nationalist narratives today and thus continue to be productive. In this sense, Aztec mythology is an actively applied resource in modern history writing in Mexico, geared to a national audience (Jacobsen 2015).

86 Simultaneously, a plaque was installed to commemorate his birth and how in that place he took "his first steps with his gold sandals" (Alvarado & Zambrano 2012).
subterranean world consisting of caves and water. Nowadays, in any community, everybody knows what Tlalocan is, and who Tlalocan Nana and Tlalocan Tata are—who are the two gods that are governing that paradise. And one of the reasons why I have ended up in Cuetzalan is this, right? Because it is a mythical paradise of water and abundance. And it is written in the Florentine Codex, in the Codex Borgia, in a stack of pieces of history of pre-Hispanic Mexico. Ce Acatl Topiltzin passed by this place, because he had to pass by the sacred land of Tlalticpac Tlalocan before arriving to El Tajín. He left a significant footprint here, because the first historical name this place has in a map is Quetzalcoatl. Like Amatlán de Quetzalcoatl. [...] The first name in a map from 1600 says Quetzalcoatl. And it triangulates with Tlatlauquitepec and Jonotla, so there is no mistaking it. There is no mistaking it.

As Ernesto recounts Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl's "pilgrimage" across the pre-Hispanic landscape; he verbally reenacts the pilgrimage, showing how he has been traversing the same sacred landscape by demonstrating his knowledge of these places. For Ernesto, his pilgrimage began at the legendary birthplace of Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl, where he dedicated himself to the service of Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl by studying and mediating the history of his life in a commemorative museum. In his path to and from Tollan, Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl visits Xochicalco (Morelos), Teotihuacan (Mexico), Cholula (Puebla), El Tajín (Veracruz) and Chichén Itzá (Yucatán). These sites are not just major cities of different epochs in the pre-Hispanic era, but are equally emblematic archaeological sites in contemporary Mexico. While Cholula is known for holding one of the largest pyramids in the world, the rest are World Heritage Sites. Of equal importance to Ernesto's account, all these sites display architectural elements with feathered serpent iconography, and, excluding El Tajín, all sites are organized around temples displaying feathered serpents and interpreted by archaeologists as dedicated to that deity (Carrasco 2000:5).

In Ernesto's account, the itinerary of Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl's journey in the ethnohistorical account combined with the iconographic presence of feathered serpents in the same places bear witness to the historicity of Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl's pilgrimage; his historical presence has materialized in the architectural settings. Yet, the climax of Ernesto's story revolves around...
Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl's journey to find Tlalocan.\textsuperscript{89} According to Ernesto, the Mexica imperial expansion into the Sierra de Puebla was a combined pilgrimage and conquest with the purposes of locating and populating Tlalocan. Accordingly, the Mexica had learned about Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl, his pilgrimage, and the location of Tlalocan in Teotihuacan and had reenacted his pilgrimage with the aim of inhabiting "the earthly paradise." Subsequently, Ernesto depicts Cuetzalan as the Tlalocan identified by Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl by referring to "a map from 1600" that asserts the first name of Cuetzalan to be Quetzalcoatl. "Like Amatlán de Quetzalcoatl," this toponymic reference testifies to the eternal "footprint" Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl left in Cuetzalan after his visit, just as the iconography of the archaeological sites referenced evidence his visits there.

In Ernesto's fusion of pre-Hispanic mythhistory with his own life history and destiny, his travel to Cuetzalan constitutes both a symbolic reenactment of the pilgrimage of Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl and a concrete way of entering the sacred, original pre-Hispanic landscape and mythology represented by ideas of Tlalocan. Central to this experience is the presence of the local indigenous Nahuas who, for Ernesto, bear witness to Tlalocan's existence as a concrete, physical place in the landscape. Moreover, to Ernesto, their very knowledge of Tlalocan certifies that the Nahuas are indeed the direct descendants of the Mexica. As seen in the last part of his self-narrative, the importance of the identification of Nahuas as descendants of Mexica lies within its tie to the core mythology of Mexican nationalism:

\textbf{Ernesto}: So the search for and discovery of culture that unfolds in Cuetzalan is – I believe – the most important one on a national level, because Mexico, the very name of this very country, is \textit{in Nahuatl}, and it means place of the center of the universe. What I am getting at is that if people are looking for where the original and most pure representatives of all of Mexico are – these Mexica from Mexico – then here is the place. So, I arrived here due to all these circumstances; that here not only myth melts together with the history, but also because the culture still lives, walks, speaks, acts and all according to this ancient tradition. In that way [Cuetzalan] is one of the most important cultural – biocultural – bastions that exist.

As seen in this excerpt, Ernesto understands the modern nation-state as a continuation of ancient Mexico, the homeland of the Mexica from which the modern nation-state has derived its name. This understanding is possible, because the core symbol of the modern Mexican nation-state, the coat of arms, which appears on the Mexican flag, represents the origin myth of the Mexica and the foundation of their capital (Smith 2012:297-300). The mythology behind the coat of arms gives the

\textsuperscript{89} In Aztec mythology, Tlalocan is an otherworldly place of abundant water, flora and fauna, and the subterranean home of the rain god Tlaloc.
nation-state the historical depth and mythological authority that allows it to exist as a natural and unquestioned form. Today, the Mexica homeland, their city Tenochtitlan and other Aztec city-states in the Valley of Mexico, lie beneath Mexico City, and the people that inhabited these places have vanished. Yet, what Ernesto implicitly contends is that the Mexica never disappeared completely, because part of this people emigrated to Tlalocan, which he equates with Cuetzalan. Thus, according to Ernesto, the local Nahuas are the descendants of the Mexica, which is why he refers to them as "the most pure representatives of all of Mexico;" the local Nahuas are the most original Mexicans, since they derive from, represent, and thus give continuation to the original and ancient Aztec Mexico that, correspondingly, gave existence to the modern Mexican nation-state.

Thus, the climax of Ernesto's autobiographical account occurs as he embeds three narratives of mythistorical proportions into the local setting. First, throughout his life, Ernesto has been following in the footsteps of the wise and peaceful man-god Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl from which Aztec rulers and their mythical predecessors derived political legitimacy. Second, by doing so, he has come to inhabit the mythical space of Aztec Tlalocan, "paradise of water and abundance." Third, he has discovered a Mexica diaspora established just at "the end" of the pre-Hispanic era, which, in contrast to the Mexico of Tenochtitlan, has not been eliminated due to colonization.

Ernesto's account ties Cuetzalan into a national meta-narrative that not simply sets the town on a par with some of Mexico's most treasured historical sites of the pre-Hispanic era, but makes Cuetzalan trump them: When Ernesto refers to Cuetzalan as Tlalocan and states that it "has been written in Teotihuacan for 3,000 years," he appears to be pointing to the iconographic scenes on the Temple of the Feathered Serpent in Teotihuacan, which show the feathered serpent in primordial waters. By doing so, he implies that the scenes portray Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl in watery Tlalocan and, as a consequence, that this central building in the most visited archaeological site in Mexico reveres and represents the sacred geography of Cuetzalan.

Ernesto's account employs notions of local history equivalent to the ones expressed on the display board, which also asserts that the town originated with the arrival of the Mexica. Additionally, his time frame ("1470-something") corresponds with that of the display board ("1475"), and the idea that Cuetzalan was previously called Quetzalan, also expressed on the display boards, corroborates Ernesto's notion of the original place name as Quetzalcoatl. Yet, the

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90 Or more precisely, there are in central Mexico no descendants to claim lineal descent from the Mexica.
91 Historian Bernardo García Martínez (1987:162-163) first introduced the tentative hypothesis that a small town called Quetzalcoatl appearing in early colonial documents could be identical to Cuetzalan. The hypothesis consists of three pieces of information. First, Cuetzalan does not appear in the colonial record before 1563, when inhabitants declare they
major narrative building blocks are the intertwining conceptualizations of temporality and translocality that centralize contemporary Cuetzalan in a nationalized past. To this end, the contemporary Nahuas and the local natural setting are perceived as relics of the past that are able to facilitate "modern" mestizo's return to "their" Aztec past and overcome the trauma of colonization. As rural Nahuas are configured as figurative ancestors to urban mestizos, contemporary Nahuas are converted into pre-Hispanic Mexica, which provide the mestizo with a multi-layered experience of return; return to the Mexica and Aztec Mexico, to the origins of the nation, to the mythical Aztec "paradise" Tlalocan, to a sacred location discovered by Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl, to their pre-Hispanic selves, all of which are resources through which metropolitan mestizo's construct a sense of belonging. In the context of multicultourism, the Nahuas constitute live signifiers of a mestizo majoritarian national storytelling enmeshed in pre-Hispanic mythistory. As such, their contemporary lives are conquered and colonized as mestizo heritage.

moved to the location ten years earlier. Second, Quetzalcoatl appears in the early colonial record, but disappears later. Third, the two locations are geographically close to each other, and the relation between the two toponyms is "indisputable" (García 1987:162-163). García drafted maps that showed the location of towns, some of which, on the basis of his hypothesis, placed Quetzalcoatl where Cuetzalan is located today (1987:47, map 1; 74, map 2). These modern maps are most likely the ones Ernesto is referring to.
Fig. 6.2: Photograph documents absence of fences, benches, and fountains, and damages to the rock floor and kiosk (Source: Photo received from former interlocutor, Lucinda, April 2013).

Fig. 6.3: The park as it looked from late 2006 to early 2013 with its display board in front (Source: Photo received April 2013 from former interlocutor, Lucinda).
Fig. 6.4-6.5: Display board and design template with program logo and Aztec place sign (Source: Casper Jacobsen, February 2013).

Fig. 6.6: Heritage bench (Source: Casper Jacobsen, February 2013).
SUB-CONCLUSION OF PART TWO

The first of two analytical parts has shown how the generic Magical Villages Program has developed since its inception in 2001, and how it conducts and organizes political and social life in Cuetzalan by means of a frame governmentality that introduces institutional frames into the social field and urban setting.

Chapter four analyzed the Magical Villages Program via government and program documents, press releases, and newspaper articles. The Magical Villages Program emerged within President Fox's anti-establishment rhetoric that presented tourism within a recognition framework as a means for converting cultural and ethnic diversity from a national problem to a national resource. Shortly before the end of Fox's presidential term in 2006, the Magical Villages Program became the flagship of this political vision, and a paratextual frame formed around it to mediate the program within a framework of cultural recognition and participatory democracy centered on the notion of the unitary and internally homogeneous community. While the paratext never explicitly refers to indigenous citizens as the target group, it exploits the implicit connective of conceptual frameworks such as multiculturalism, marginalization, intangible cultural heritage, and cultural recognition to discursively center itself on an indigenous beneficiary. The chapter equally pointed to social technologies within the program, which provide SECTUR and other federal and state institutions with an increased influence on municipal policy. The prime social technology is the inclusion of towns into a program that is configured as potentially infinite and gradually transforms, while giving the impression of progressing along carefully planned long-term strategies. Yet, as the subject matter of the program changes, so do the demands exercised on participant towns. In line with a growing focus on local democratic participation by civil society, the program has increased its emphasis on the role of the local so-called Magical Villages Committees, institutional platforms through which democratic participation is envisioned to take place. These platforms are taken to represent local communities in their entirety; yet, as shown, they are preconfigured as being "pro" the program.

In Cuetzalan, members of the Magical Villages Committee assume the role of community ambassadors of the program. As seen in chapter five, the Magical Villages Committee is in charge of arranging Magical Villages meetings in which the Magical Villages Program and Cuetzalan's participation within it are on the agenda, and it also takes charge of the task of converting local critique of the program into appreciation. The citizens attending these meetings and engaging themselves in pro of the program are professionally tied to the tourism industry. In the meeting
analyzed, students from a local branch of a large university presented a study that showed a lack of engagement with the Magical Villages Program by the local citizenry, and they discussed a consciousness-raising campaign they were arranging to make citizens realize that the program is beneficial. As the meeting participants discussed how to reshape the way locals think about the program, they engaged in a self-regulation geared to the social technologies that form part of the program. The participants and other locals working in pro of the program, rather than the target group of the campaign, are thus the ones in town whose subjectivities are primarily being reconfigured by the program. By engaging in this kind of institutional interaction, they come to share in the fundamental ideas that underpin the program and get to see their privatized participation in tourism as a community good, which other citizens ought to appreciate. Pro citizens thus emerge as community ambassadors and benefactors who are not only voluntarily working in pro of the community, but also "give work to people in the community." Conversely, people who are working against the private interests of strong business owners are framed as showing a lack of solidarity and working against the common good of the community, and, hence, even against their own interest. In this sense, the Magical Villages Program not only subsidizes prominent business owners by directing funds into "improving the urban image" in central Cuetzalan, but also provides a privileged platform through which elite residents are able to influence municipal authorities, mobilize academic institutions, and organize around defending their private interests in the context of an increasing tourism sector.

Notwithstanding its favoring of the inner-town mestizo elite, the Magical Villages Program has, as chapter six showed, organized the urban setting in Cuetzalan around particular temporal and translocal conceptualizations of indigeneity that centralize contemporary Cuetzalan in a nationalized Aztec past. In addition to the physical setting, a locally circulating tourism magazine and an interview with a newcomer from Mexico City were analyzed to show how the urban setting is underpinned by a narrative setting that constructs travel to Cuetzalan as a journey to the origin of the Mexican nation, where mestizo citizens can reconnect with their indigenous past. This conception inevitably involves casting contemporary Nahuas as figurative ancestors to visiting mestizos. As a result, an elaborate multicultourism takes shape in which local Nahuas become live signifiers of a mestizo-centric national storytelling in the context of which their contemporary lives are conquered and colonized as mestizo heritage. Multicultourism, as expressed in the urban setting, thus creates the ground for complex metropolitan, mestizo self-narratives and becomes a resource to their sense of belonging. Moreover, as shown, multicultourism operates within a cultural
recognition framework that invests such majoritarian identity constructions with an aura of emancipation. As such, multicultourism instrumentalizes majority citizens in a nationalized recognition of indigenous culture, which simultaneously projects indigenous discrimination into the past by celebrating an ostensibly post-discriminatory Mexico, where indigenous culture is appreciated and proudly displayed in public.
PART THREE
CHAPTER 7: NETWORKING AND ROOTING: RITUAL CO-PARENTHOOD IN TZINACAPAN

Chapter five showed how the Magical Villages Program has created a platform through which successful business owners in Cuetzalan organize themselves in the name of "the community" and collaborate with local authorities to protect "the urban image" and seek to conduct the citizenry into thinking that the program is of common, rather than private, benefit. Additionally, chapter six showed how the reconfiguration of the town center, and mediation of Cuetzalan as a Magical Village, has created a certain temporality and translocality structured around Aztec heritage and Nahua contemporaries. Considering that tourism promotion depends on indigenous (symbolic) presence, yet is tightly focused on central, mestizo Cuetzalan, and that the program has been reorganizing the commercial space of the plaza to minimize ambulant and semi-fixed vending, which modes of participation in local tourism does this situation produce for indigenous people in the surrounding municipal area? How do Nahua handicraft vendors relate to the Magical Villages Program, tourists and newcomers? This chapter shows how a group of female Nahua handicraft vendors from San Miguel Tzinacapan attempt to manage the ambiguity of being desired, yet undesired participants in local Cuetzalan-centric tourism, and how they attempt to turn multicultourism to their advantage. It is not uncommon for these handicraft vendors to forge ritual co-parenthood ties to visiting outsiders, although from the perspective of day-to-day interaction with tourists, relations rarely get to that point.

In Mexico, ritual co-parenthood (compadrazgo) denotes a widespread, institutionalized practice for forging or strengthening social relations between relatives or, most frequently, non-relatives (Ravicz 1967:239; Mulhare 2000:18-19). In contemporary Mexico, these social relations may take many additional non-sacramental forms and can be formalized on varying occasions. In further difference from Europe, ritual co-parenthood relationships in Mexico tend to be long-lasting and revolve around the tie between parents and co-parents rather than between co-parents and the sponsored child (Nutini 2001). As the diverse literature on the topic has pointed out, ritual co-

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92 Ritual co-parenthood was introduced into Latin America in the sixteenth century by the Catholic Church, and was in its initial European form connected to sacramental ceremonies (Nutini 2001:245).

93 The literature on this topic is vast and tends to split into functional and structural analysis (Mendoza 2010). For an insight into the variegated shapes these relationships may take, see Nutini (1984:3-16). Sydney Mintz & Eric Wolf (1950) present a historical overview of compadrazgo in Europe since its inception in the fourth century and in Latin America since its introduction in the early colonial era. Since the 1970s, anthropology has ceased to treat kinship as a separate research topic (Peletz 1995), and literature on ritual co-parenthood per se has been sparse during the past 30 years.
parenthood relationships are multi-layered and may involve economic, moral and social obligations, and may also carry emotional, political, religious and symbolic significance (Nutini 1984:400-418). In San Miguel Tzinacapan, ritual co-parenthood plays a key role to social organization within the town by creating interpersonal networks between different households. Since these relations between households tend to be passed on from parents and co-parents to their respective children, such alliances may stretch across several generations. The same goes for conflicts and, since around 1900, Tzinacapan has been divided into three political factions with different socio-economic standings (Haly 2000:186-187). Yet, creating bonds with people in other places is considered equally important (Lok 1991:83-84), and people of the rich faction, for instance, share such ties with well-off mestizos in Cuetzalan. For those members of the poor faction who are vending handicrafts, forging lasting bonds with middle-class outsiders strengthens their social security network and mitigates the perennial harms of socio-economic vulnerability. This way of engaging with tourists would appear to be going against the stream, since interaction between tourists and those who cater to them tends to be transient and unrepeated and with few lasting interpersonal consequences. However, if multicultourism calques its symbolic matter from ethnography as has been argued in the case of ethnic tourism (Van den Berghe 1994:18-19), the emergence of such relationships may not be so strange at all in the context of ever-increasing mobility and connectivity. It may seem even less strange in a place such as Tzinacapan, which has been the object of sustained anthropological research since the 1970s (Lupo 1998:266-267).

Analyzing how such relationships emerge provides a view to the assessments involved on the part of Nahua women in their attempts to make such relationships attractive to tourists and newcomers. Hence, the chapter is organized to follow the movement from the informal and least committal end of the continuum toward the most committal, formal, and active part of the continuum, arguing implicitly that the movement toward formalized relationships should not be viewed as marginal preludes to the emerging relationships. Rather, the interactional preludes involve key identity transactions for both parties arranged around negotiations of class, culture, and ethnicity.

The chapter begins by revisiting notes from the first week of fieldwork to illustrate what I experienced as an accelerated collaborative relationship-building process through which my family and I rapidly became entangled with peoples and places. The chapter argues that the encounters as

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94 Timothy Knab's (1995) ethnographic account revolves around this once violent conflict and demonstrates how it still divided the town in the late 1970s.
portrayed in the early notes are likely to correspond fairly well to the experiences of tourists, both in terms of the description of encounters and the tourist treatment we received. An autoethnography approach is employed in the first part of the chapter to tune into the ways in which Nahua handicraft vendors engage with tourists and newcomers. Subsequently, the chapter analyzes two interviews to delve into the formation of a recent ritual co-parenthood relationship between a newcomer couple to Cuetzalan and a Nahua woman and her daughter from San Miguel Tzinacapan.

**Becoming one's own informant: Revisiting forgotten field notes, glimpsing concealed figures**

Returning for the first time to the earliest of my field notes 20 months after writing them evoked in me a mix of emotions. Although I had decided to wait long enough to hopefully re-experience my first impressions of Cuetzalan, I instantly felt that I had acted irresponsibly by letting the notes collect dust for nearly two years, before returning to them. Ambivalently, upon reading the notes I felt estranged from the text and its descriptive layer – and even disembodied from the author – and yet I felt deeply tied to the experiential layer that filled the descriptions. I recollected the events, but observing them strung out and through a retrospective, time-compressing gaze, I no longer adhered to the textual descriptions. The sensation of reading afresh a text spun long ago over experiences still so familiar to me, gave me a pronounced experience of a point Goffman made much of in his work on the presentation of self and interpretation of experience, namely, that whenever we speak of another and ourselves, we carve out an image, author a character, hold forth a figure of that other and of ourselves (1981:147-150, 1986:296, 523-537). On reading the notes, I was stunned by the characters that emerged from the text; all crystallizations incompatible with the characters I had in mind at the time of reading. Figures of myself and others, which I could no longer sustain, were pouring down on me. This, although unsettling at first, was of course not so strange, and not as devastating for my work as immediately imagined. Since the time of writing the initial notes, I had been invested in an ongoing authoring of characters, permanently adjusted by subsequent experiences in the field and in the office. The figure of an enthusiastic researcher within the text was now a character within my empirical material. Another figure emerged, namely the author-commentator, who had been in charge of writing the early field notes, carving out figures, selecting events and how to report and understand them. This figure was suddenly transposed to that of informant. I soon saw another figure re-reading the text after a long time feeling irresponsible and another figure typing this text about feeling irresponsible while no longer sharing in that sentiment.

Scanning through the descriptions of the characters, events and experiences with a different reading in mind made me realize that whatever was to be done with the field notes would entail
some form of disaffiliation or disloyalty with those past figures, since the task would now be to analyze the basis of the preliminary analyses. Inevitably, new figures would be crafted and substitute the other more distant and crystallized figures. Nonetheless, I soon came to understand that I had not single-handedly been authoring characters; if anything, the field notes capture a continuous co-authoring of figures, emerging through intersubjective fields of interaction (cf. Rabinow 2007:153-155). What the chapter therefore asks of the early field notes is: How did the co-creation of figures take shape during the first week of interaction, and how did this process support mutual efforts to initiate and strengthen our mutual engagement?

**Initial encounters**

**Field notes (12 Jan., 2013):** Today, we arrived to Cuetzalan. […] We came to a small market with many restaurants and stalls that sell handicrafts. We soon found a place outside to sit. When we were waiting for our meal, we were instantly approached by ambulant vendors selling wristlets, necklaces, tortilla cozies, and serviette dispensers with embroidered *voladores* and the like. Although I declined to make any purchases at that moment, I experienced how easy it was to get to talk to people through Julius. […] Many of the vendors were women, and many of them apparently Nahuat speakers. Altogether, many of the ambulant vendors appear to be from the surrounding villages. […] At one point there were four to five ambulant vendors encircled around the table [speaking Nahuat], and I did grasp that they were commenting on Julius.

**Field notes (13 Jan., 2013):** At the café we also met a girl named Lila who lives in San Miguel Tzinacapan. She showed much interest in Julius and asked if we believe in the "evil eye." I asked what "evil eye" was, and she gave me a brief explanation about two madams that could remove Julius' face. If it were to happen, he would cry a lot among other things. A red wristlet the girl was selling would protect him against this. Lila also told us that she speaks Nahuat and that the majority in San Miguel Tzinacapan speak Nahuat. She was happy to be speaking Nahuat and told us that her school teaches in Nahuat, Spanish, and English. […] I promised to visit one of these days. She is home in the afternoon after school. I told her that I know some Classical Nahuatl, but that I was not familiar with the Nahuat of this region. She asked me to say something in Spanish, which she would then say in Nahuat. "See that child," I asked her to say, and she quickly said a sentence in Nahuat in which the word "okich-pil" was included. I asked her if to say "my son" I would say "n-okich-pil" to which she said, "yes" and repeated slightly modified "no-okich-pil."

**Field notes (14 Jan., 2013):** As we were sitting at the café in the morning, Francisca dropped by. She did not try to sell us anything, but just entered to greet us. Concerning names, she recalled only "Julio," and we repeated introductions. She also lives in San Miguel Tzinacapan and she asked us several times if we were really going to visit them and, if so, when? She also said that we already had many friends there and she told us that her husband is a guide, so he would be able to take us around the area.
Re-reading the field notes, I was amazed to find that my vivid memory of an accelerated friendship-making process had minimized the speed by which acquaintanceships had actually developed. Starting the day after our arrival, we were approached and greeted as acquaintances by a number of Nahua women from San Miguel Tzinacapan and San Andrés Tzicuilan. Several individuals from San Miguel invited us to come by for a visit, and weaver and textile vendor Ximena from San Andrés would take me on a trip to see the Las Brisas cascades near her town 10 days later. Many of the vendors remembered us after one encounter and paused to greet us and chat, while also toning down their vending ambitions or ceasing actively to offer us goods for sale.

The excerpts from our first three days in Cuetzalan render some of our first encounters with Nahua women and children from San Miguel who walk the town to vend handicrafts. Since the highest density of tourists is to be found during weekends, Friday to Sunday are the days when all these vendors go to Cuetzalan, although some arrive occasionally on weekdays. The vendors we came to engage with sold colorful string-art key chains shaped like the headdresses used in the cuezali dance, string-art serviette dispensers with flora and fauna motifs, tortilla cozies with embroidered motifs, particularly cuezali dancers, flora and fauna motifs, braided wristlets and long necklaces made from various small seeds and one large, main seed imbued with a special power. Other vendors from indigenous communities sold woven cloth, dinner mats, dish mats, and baskets, and yet other arrived with goods such as fruits, nuts, and spices, which were not exclusively intended for tourists. The handicrafts sold by the vendors we engaged with could easily be found in souvenir stalls and shops in Cuetzalan. We were puzzled about this and asked Ximena why so many people were selling the same goods, to which she sarcastically remarked: "Those are the people of San Miguel. They are all about tortilla cozies and serviette dispensers."

Of course, they are not. Yet, the handicrafts assume a central position in structuring the interaction between the women from San Miguel Tzinacapan and tourists. If a tourist categorically declines purchase, the tourist by implication declines to engage in a prospective, extended interaction. However, the tourist may also decline for the moment or ask to see further goods, thereby welcoming further conversation. More than being material objects in a mere economic transaction, and beyond working as entry points to interaction, the handicrafts also assume a performative function and work as identity markers on each side of the interaction. The handicrafts are clearly handmade, so when ambulant vendors carry long seed necklaces in one hand and in the other carry a tortilla cozy with motifs portraying local cultural tradition, flora, or fauna these

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95 *Mucuna pruriens*, known for providing protection against evil eye, is often used as the main seed.
handicrafts constitute expressions of indigenous material culture. Walking around with the handicrafts, vendors signal they are more than just vendors; they convey their authorship of the displayed crafts. Portraying themselves as craftswomen of indigenous material culture, these Nahua women emerge as "carriers of tradition" (Yuval-Davis 1997:61). The handicrafts thus externalize the internal design of its possessor and work as testimonies of cultural and ethnic identity. Yet, since the handicrafts radiate indigenous identity, a transferal of tradition to the interacting and purchasing tourist thus takes place.

For tourists attracted to Cuetzalan by its indigenous image, the acquisition of indigenous handicrafts from indigenous vendors provides an opportunity to capture part of the assumed cultural content contained by the handicrafts and a platform for recounting a personal narrative of a cultural encounter to friends and family. For some, it may also be conceived of as a gesture of solidarity anchored in a cultural, social, or political interest in indigenous Nahuas. Nevertheless, far from all tourists show interest in the ambulant vendors and their handicrafts, and tourists may just as well turn to the many souvenir shops in town.

When the vendors first approached us, nothing suggested that we were not a regular tourist family, and as they gathered around our table and spoke Nahuat to each other around us, they verbally performed their ethnicity, providing us with a taste of authentic indigeneity. Communicating in Nahuat serves, of course, not merely performative functions directed at outsiders, but – by taking up positions around the table and letting the conversation pass over our heads while smiling and occasionally signaling at Julius – we were implicitly being invited to witness their brief but lively conversation. Anthropologist Walter Little has highlighted such performative vending strategies among Kaqchikel ambulant saleswomen in Guatemala, who also place themselves near tourists and catch their attention by speaking the Mayan language Kaqchikel. That way, the tourist is first in establishing visual contact, from which springs the ensuing verbal contact initiated by the Kaqchikel saleswomen (2004:527-530, 2008:94-98). As the description in the excerpt demonstrates, the conversation in Nahuat did not go unnoticed and enthusiastically entered my notes as an extraordinary experience worthy of report in itself. Such performative strategy has the advantage of detecting tourists who respond with positive interest to displays of indigeneity and who are thus likely to engage in conversation with the handicraft vendors. Establishing contact and opening interaction in such indirect way has the advantage of minimizing the vendors' economic intent, which is important in mediating to the tourist an "authentic" lifeworld
that does not render indigenous vendors' behavior and presence dependent on tourism and monetary economy (2008:92).

On another occasion, Lila initiated contact by attracting Julius' attention with hissing sounds and accompanying gestures. It was also via Julius that Lila first verbalized her "cultural competence" as a springboard for offering her handicrafts. Babies and small children are perceived to be particularly susceptible to evil eye and Lila initiated our conversation by asking us if we believed in evil eye. Lila's question presupposed that we would already be somewhat familiar with the concept, which reflects that most visiting Mexicans are likely to have heard of it. By bringing up this topic, Lila signaled that evil eye is a topic of everyday concern to people in and around Cuetzalan. This way, she skillfully crafted an occasion for vivifying before us a cultural trait, which could be further expanded through oral autoethnographic description. In our conversation, my inquiry about evil eye triggered an explanatory description. The description ended with Lila offering us a red wristlet for Julius that would protect him against evil eye, highlighting again the handicrafts as a mediating device between the two parties. Later in the conversation, she told us that she speaks Nahuat as do most people in her village San Miguel Tzinacapan, and told us that she was proud to be speaking Nahuat. What did not occur to me then was that all that she was telling us about Tzinacapan carried the connotative sentence "in contradistinction to Cuetzalan." Whatever she was, Cuetzalan was not. Community identity in San Miguel Tzinacapan is tightly bound to this cultural Othering vis-à-vis mestizo Cuetzalan. This binary opposition evoked in cultural terms is grounded in the shared economic and political history between these neighboring towns, the two largest in the municipality, which coincide with a mestizo (settler) and Nahua (colonized) divide. The regional hegemony enjoyed by contemporary mestizo Cuetzalan has been, and is being, gained at the expense of the surrounding Nahuas (Haly 2000:168). Had we imagined that Cuetzalan was an authentically indigenous village, Lila was informing us that it was not. With her performance, she thus implied that to experience authentic indigeneity, we would have to go to Tzinacapan. Sensing how strongly Lila felt about her village and how much importance she gave to Nahuat, her first language, I became anxious to signal my Nahuat competence. I wanted to know more about the Nahuat spoken in the area and was hoping to operationalize my skills to maintain brief conversations, and I also wanted to demonstrate my sincere interest in an important part of her

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96 In narrative research, such techniques for launching or prompting narratives are referred to by the term "activation" to point out that stories are situated in the social worlds and moments in which narration occurs, and space for narratives must be cleared in collaboration with others (Gubrium & Holstein 2009:41-53).

97 Other vendors practiced this "evil eye" sales strategy on me at later occasions.
culture. While on the one hand I wanted to transmit the image of us as a regular tourist family, I was, on the other hand, also eager to differentiate myself from the "standard" tourist. What was less clear to me was that by highlighting Nahuat as something of importance and by showing interest in experiencing an authentically indigenous village, I was expressing my support to a counter-discursive current among San Migueleños, which challenges the image that Cuetzalan presents to its tourists by refuting its claim to indigeneity. By expressing interest in San Miguel and, later on, by going there to see the village, I was taken to show loyalty to San Miguel and confirm a hierarchy implicit in the counter-discourse that placed San Miguel above Cuetzalan on a scale of indigenous authenticity. I thus indirectly joined San Miguel in challenging Cuetzalan's claim to indigeneity. My positive reception of topics such as evil eye and the predominance of Nahuat in San Miguel Tzinacapan clearly made me a tourist of special interest, and that impression would have been confirmed by my immediate acceptance of Lila's invitation to visit her hometown.

As the field notes demonstrate, the earliest encounters are bound together by the handicrafts, which function as mediating devices between the two interacting parts. Or to put it another way; the interaction emerges embedded in a transaction framework. When, on the third day, we met Francisca for a second time, she invited us to come to San Miguel and followed up several times to know whether we would come or not, if so, when we would go, all the while prompting us to make the journey by stressing our many friendships with people there. In that encounter, Francisca made no attempt to sell us handicrafts, which we found striking, since, after all, that was her (main) errand in town and we were three of very few tourists there at the time. Instead, she introduced the idea of her husband guiding us around if we should be in need of a guide.

**Nahuatizing tourists**

Friday that week I went on a lone excursion to San Miguel Tzinacapan to pay Lila and Francisca a visit. Knowing that they and other vendors would go to Cuetzalan during the weekend, paying them a visit the day before would be of advantage. Upon arrival, the plaza and streets were empty, and I soon found myself alone in the church staring at Baby Jesus lying on a small altar surrounded by colorful Christmas baubles and tinsel, small animal figurines, toys, and a complex acoustic milieu knitted out of three overlapping Christmas carols in greeting card edition. After leaving the church, I found a small shop and asked the owner for directions to Lila's house. As I turned around the first corner, I saw a girl in a green set of clothes walking toward me. It was Lila. This time she seemed different – shy – and wondered where Louise and Julius were. As I was trying to explain the reasons for my lone excursion and get a conversation going, I noticed that she kept gazing up the
road, where a group of men were working next to a pile of rocks. I asked what they were constructing and Lila, sliding in the opposite direction, replied, "They are constructing a road. My uncle is up there; he is drunk. Where do you want to go?" As we crossed the plaza on our way to Francisca, Lila met her friend Patricia and asked her to tag along. Attentive to Lila's tacit plea of molding what could be interpreted as an illegitimate rendezvous into a less problematic three-person constellation, Patricia joined the excursion.

**Field notes (18 Jan., 2013):** At Francisca's place we had pot coffee\(^98\) and bread. Francisca asked us several times if the coffee was too cold or too hot. While we were sitting there, I tried to play the role as ethnographer fully and wanted to steer to the topic of *voladores* poles. [...] Francisca quickly turned to the topic of co-fathers and co-mothers. She explained that, for instance, Patricia and Lila have co-parents from Mexico City and Yucatán, tourists that had visited Cuetzalan and San Miguel. Perhaps the intention was that I should take the bait and become co-father to Francisca's son? I asked what it implied to be co-father to a child from San Miguel. [Francisca:] A co-father goes on occasional excursions with his sponsored child and sponsors clothes, schooling, and the like.

[...]

We also touched upon the topic of tourists. Apparently, there are different categories. They use the well-known term gringo. Additionally, there is the term güero. [Francisca's explanation:]"A güero is someone who does not buy tortilla cozes because they eat bread instead of tortillas. They do not buy serviette dispensers. They buy nothing, except perhaps for a wristlet."

[...]

After we had visited Francisca, we moved on to Patricia's house. Lila could not join, as she had to return home to grind maize, but she would come afterwards. [...] As we walked further down the road, Patricia suddenly turned to the right and I quickly found myself inside a one-room plank house with beds, comal griddle on a fire-place, altar, chickens, and a family. Patricia's mother [Angelica], uncle and a few siblings were present. And a little later a woman and her daughter also entered and sat down. Startled [to see me], the woman exclaimed, "Coyotzin?" Coyote is a term for mestizo among Nahuat speakers of the area.

[...]

Nahuat was very vividly spoken in the house, and I tried to catch as much of the conversations as possible, but it was difficult. I only caught bits of it. Nevertheless, I sought to demonstrate that I knew some. We ran through the numerals and Angelica tested me. I told them that "nookichpil" was at home, and so Angelica asked what "mookichpil" is called. And thereupon what "mocihuauh" is called. "Nocihuauh? Louise," I replied.

[...]

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\(^98\) Water heated in a pot, faintly tinted with coffee and densely saturated with sugar.
They gave me a tortilla to munch and Angelica asked Patricia to apologize to me that they had not yet any food to offer. All in all, she asked Patricia to translate quite a few things, although she did manage Spanish herself. In the end, Lila showed up, but it was already 5 p.m. Therefore, I decided to return home. Lila and Patricia led me to the bus, which left immediately.

These excerpts from my first visit to San Miguel again point to the speed by which relationships developed. Two preceding transient encounters with Francisca and one with Lila were the two straws I was clutching to in order to avoid feeling like a nosy intruder or a tourist out of place. In the face of such a vulnerable situation, Francisca and Lila were my invitations to San Miguel, the lifelines without which I would have no sensible undertakings. Illustratively, meeting Patricia for the first time, I soon found my visit to San Miguel completely dependent on my frail relation to her, as we left Francisca's place and Lila went home to do household chores. This frailty vanished from view as soon as I became a guest in Patricia's humble home. Being received in such a friendly manner was reassuring in the light of my vulnerable out-of-place situation and, in a sense, the very combination of unreserved hospitality and the frailty of our relations quickly made our relation seem anything but frail. That sense of the situation was momentarily disrupted when another guest arrived and pointed out the far-fetched nature of the situation by spontaneously singling me out as "coyotzin."99 When I re-read my field notes, I was surprised to find that the chronology captured a change in my behavior after this labeling incident. To handle the crisis introduced into the interaction arrangement, I made a change of gears and began to signal my knowledge of and interest in Nahuat. I thereby challenged the "coyotzin" label and carved out a less straightforward position for myself from which the strengthening of the relationship could be sustained. Patricia’s mother, Angelica, fittingly responded to the situation with a code-switch from Spanish to Nahuat when addressing me, putting me to a friendly test and entertaining a simple conversation, a situation that would allow me to demonstrate the ability to which I could comprehend and speak the language. By bringing in Nahuat as a central feature in our interaction, we collaborated in loosening my attachment to the category of coyote and their attachment to the utterance that had produced the crisis. So, while the "coyotzin" incident initially disrupted the scene by problematizing the figures, positions, and relations we were carving out for each other, the disruption came only to accentuate the already initiated process.

99 I take her use of the honorific suffix -tzin to indicate that no offense was meant. The term coyote refers not exclusively to ethnicity, but also to linguistic competency in that it denotes an individual, who does not speak Nahuat, but one who speaks "coyotatol," coyote language, a term for Spanish (Castillo 2007:100).
Something similar had happened earlier that day when I had asked Francisca, Patricia, and Lila about the types of tourists they meet. Francisca mentioned "gringos" and "güeros." The word gringo was reserved for North Americans and I remember asking what exactly güero should be taken to mean, noting in Lila's face a slight disquietude with the topic, indicating that the category could well apply to me. Francisca nonetheless proceeded without hesitation and produced a description that was open for escape and therefore inoffensive to me. It appears that my being in San Miguel, and specifically in Francisca's house, was taken as a sign that I was a particular kind of tourist. And my going there to ask about the voladores, San Miguel's annual fiesta, and other culture-related themes only confirmed that impression. Being aware that I would be staying in Cuetzalan for some time, she introduced the topic of co-parenthood relationships between tourists and people in San Miguel.

Reading anew the early field notes, it is clear that Francisca was spot on in her observations. After Lila's account on evil eye and her passionate talk about her town and the pride she attached to the widespread, active use of Nahuat there – supplemented by a live demonstration – it now seems like I had gone to San Miguel to experience more of that sort of "authentic Nahua space" Lila had vivified before me.

Why the use of the words "suddenly" and "quickly" to describe our entrance to Patricia's "one-room plank house with beds, comal griddle on a fire-place, altar, chickens, and a family" that was "vividly" speaking Nahuat? The adverbs "suddenly" and "quickly" point to a drastic change of scene, qualified by a description pointing out the use of Nahuat and the presence of a home altar, fire-place and comal griddle. The description almost shoots me into a microcosm of alternative reality. In contrast, Francisca's sparsely furnished concrete house did not find its way into the description and the scene in the field notes departs instead from the serving of bread and coffee and is fixed to our conversation on voladores, San Miguel's fiesta, co-parenthood and tourists, the first two topics launched by myself.

Likewise, re-reading the notes made me wonder why I immediately steered from the bus to the church. Seeing how my account chains together descriptions of saints, relics, flower arrangements with the "special feeling of having the church to one self, when one feels that perhaps one should not have been there at all," it now appears that an inconspicuous collaboration took place between

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100 Güero typically denotes a light skinned and fair haired person, sometimes with the connotation of urban, middle class, the last of which was also hinted at in Francisca's comment about güeros having abandoned the tortilla in favor of white bread. The maize tortilla is part of the indigenous staple food in Mexico. In urban environments, people tend to buy premade tortillas, sometimes replacing the tortilla with white sliced bread.
two figures of self; explorer and author. Having seen from the bus a Nahuat phrase on the backside of the church, that setting seemed to be a sure bet for the explorer in search of an "authentic space" to feed to the author, whose task it would be to produce a cultural account of some kind. Afterwards, the explorer decided to seek out Lila rather than Francisca. After all, Lila was the one who had brought up evil eye and enthusiastically engaged herself in a conversation in and about Nahuat. At Francisca's place, the explorer sought to arrange the conversation around the topics of *voladores* and San Miguel's fiesta, and the author assisted by sorting out the empty concrete house from the description. The explorer, then, appears to have sought out different kinds of "authentic spaces," and the author structured the text around those "authentic spaces." As seen in the author's frame-breaking comment about the explorer playing "the role as ethnographer fully" by purposively directing the conversation to the topic of *voladores*, the "authentic space" is something that cannot merely be arrived at, but something in need of crafting. Yet, as the field notes equally show, this crafting took place in collaboration with the handicraft vendors. The day after the visit to San Miguel, we met Patricia and Angelica, who were vending in central Cuetzalan:

**Field notes (19 Jan., 2013):** Julius was in the carrier on my back saying "ja" ["yes" in Danish, Julius pronouncing it "iyah"]. Patricia heard it as "tiyaz, tiyaz!" "You will go, you will go" [expressing his desire to get moving].

As Patricia's interpretative account shows, an identity channel had opened between Patricia's family and me. By accepting the kind invitations I had received and visiting San Miguel, I had expressed an interest in getting to know the vendors and their way of life. This move opened a collaborative effort to release me from the category of coyote, conventional tourist, and explicit outsider and relations began to form, which extended my connection to San Miguel. When Patricia met Julius for the first time, she expanded the already existing identity channel. Hearing stories about his impatient character and his wanting to be on the go, she linked that piece of biography to our previous encounter in which Nahuat had played a significant role, when she interpreted Julius' utterance to signify "tiyaz." By making Julius a (soon to be) Nahuat speaker, she actively helped to negotiate a position for all of us outside the category of coyote. By extension, Patricia began to refer to Julius exclusively as "Tiyaz" ("Where is Tiyaz?"). The appellation thus tied in with Julius' biography performatively and descriptively; it expressed his (coming) capacity to speak Nahuat, and marked out a feature of his personal character. When other vendors asked why she called him Tiyaz, the appellation thus created occasions for telling this twofold narrative, which rescued us
from the category of coyote. Sharing such narrative connected us biographically, linguistically, and socially, while also creating temporal depth in our relationship.

The chapter now turns to analyze the formation of a ritual co-parenthood relationship between newcomers Lucas and Olivia and the Nahua handicraft vendor Maria and her daughter Yolani from San Miguel Tzinacapan, focusing first on an interview with Lucas and subsequently on an interview with Maria.

"More than a tourist": Co-parenthood and cultural rooting

I first met Lucas and Olivia in January 2013. Both were newcomers with university degrees and their moving to Cuetzalan was linked to their careers. Olivia had arrived from Puebla City a month earlier, but originated from another part of Mexico. Lucas had arrived from Europe in mid-2012. During our first stay, Lucas and Olivia were developing a friendship, and upon our return in September 2014 they had become a couple and were living together. Two months earlier, they had also become educational co-parents to Yolani from San Miguel Tzinacapan, the six-year-old daughter of Maria. In 2013, I had told Lucas and Olivia of my inkling that tourists occasionally come to be educational co-parents to children from San Miguel, so when I phoned Lucas upon arrival in 2014, he excitedly presented the big news and offered his assistance. During the phone call, he supported some of the preliminary thoughts I had brought up in 2013 and, as appetizers to the account in store, he emphasized the ceremonies and rituals they had attended to enter their new roles. When we went on a joint excursion later that week, Lucas and Olivia stressed individually that co-parenthood in the region, and in San Miguel in particular, differs from co-parenthood types in other parts of Mexico and abroad; elsewhere co-parenthood relations are chiefly formalities, yet in San Miguel such relationships are taken as much more sincere and extensive commitments and are conceived of as ritual kinship.

A few days later I met Lucas for an interview. Before getting to business, he wanted to tell me about Arturo, a man who had moved from Mexico City to San Miguel some years back; a story that came to tie in with the interview. In Mexico City, Arturo had formed part of a Concheros dancing troupe, which had existed "for more than 100 years" and which "recreates" or "revitalizes" "original Mexica dances," Lucas told me. When Arturo arrived in San Miguel, he wanted to teach people

101 The Concheros tradition is said to have originated in the Bajío area of Central Mexico, but from around 1900, as migration to Mexico City intensified, Concheros groups began to emerge there (Rostas 1991:3-5, 2009:165-166). Anthropologist Susanna Rostas estimated in 1991 that there were 10,000 to 15,000 members in Mexico City divided into three associations (1991:11). Some Concheros see themselves as warriors engaged in a symbolic struggle to
there to dance these original Aztec dances. Yet, Arturo encountered little enthusiasm for his idea, and over the years he sought instead to become part of already existing dancing troupes in San Miguel. Arturo eventually succeeded and had since managed to start a Concheros group there. Lucas not only thought I should talk to Arturo, but employed the storyline as a springboard to express to me his own perception of San Miguel:

**Field notes (23 Sep., 2014):** Thereupon, Lucas stressed how late the Spaniards had gained ground in the Northern Sierra – not until around the independence [1821] did mestizos and Europeans begin to flow to the area due to government policies of attracting "civilized" citizens to the country. In that respect, Lucas emphasized that these circumstances mean that San Miguel Tzinacapan is probably the most authentically indigenous village one can find – in the area as well as in Mexico.

Lucas' historical reading serves several purposes. Making the case for San Miguel Tzinacapan as probably "the most authentically indigenous village" in Mexico, Lucas implicitly challenged Arturo's initial presupposition of who would be capable of teaching whom about authentic indigenous dances. Furthermore, the reading worked to explain why Arturo had faced such problems; in San Miguel an exceptional socio-cultural cohesion exists, which provides the basis for resistance to external influences, thereby securing socio-cultural continuity. To become part of San Miguel society, certain intrinsic socio-cultural paths must be traveled, Lucas was telling me, the key one being ritual co-parenthood. From this contextualization of the ensuing interview, it is obvious that the significance of the newly established relationship, for Lucas, exceeds his concrete attachment to Maria and Yolani. Rather, the relationship reflects Lucas' beginning attachment to Tzinacapan as a place of authentic indigeneity, a place that was never really colonized, which only recently came into contact with mestizos, and which has preserved an authentic, that is, pre-Hispanic, way of life.

To set off the interview, I asked Lucas how the idea of him and Olivia as co-parents had emerged, and from whom the initiative had sprung. He told me that he had known Maria and Yolani for a long time, along with their close friend Suyapa, all of whom sold handicrafts in Cuetzalan, when he first arrived. Usually, vendors group up in no more than threes, and Maria, Yolani, and Suyapa often constituted such a group. Lucas explained that their friendship had been growing and becoming increasingly confidential for quite some time. In the beginning of 2013, their friendship...
was well underway. When, once, I went to San Miguel with Lucas, Maria invited us inside her house and insisted that we enjoy a bowl of quelite herb soup with tortillas and pot coffee.\(^{102}\) After eating at Maria's modest plank house, her husband accompanied us on a walk around the area in search of an old and knowledgeable man whose age increased steeply during our futile search for him. Suddenly Maria's husband recalled a forgotten errand and urged Lucas to spare him five pesos. With the coin in his hand, Maria's husband charged up the steep dirt road as if his life depended on it, much to our immediate amusement. As we were chuckling, bright eight-year-old Eugenia appeared behind our backs and said disapprovingly, "Did you just give him five pesos? Now he has gone to buy himself a glass of aguardiente." Our amusement having been transformed into guilt and concern, Lucas asked how large such a drink would be. Eugenia showed with her hands that such a drink could be rather large, although not quite as large as a ten-peso drink, and she told us that she had recently seen him "tossed" in the ditch, unconscious from drinking. Later on, Maria's husband caught up with us sweaty, wheezing, and incoherent, asking for another five pesos, instantly doubling the requested amount. As we left for Cuetzalan, Lucas expressed his concern, but also saw how this episode made some pieces fall into place for him. The discovery of Maria's husband's alcoholism appears later to have led to an intensification of Lucas' relation to Maria and her daughter Yolani. So, when in the interview Lucas mentions the confidentiality of their friendship, he refers to this and other social and domestic problems, which he has come to know about and talked over with Maria from that point onwards.

A little later that year, Suyapa approached Lucas to let him know that perhaps Maria would put forth the proposition that Lucas and Olivia could become educational co-parents of Yolani. Suyapa being, in the words of Lucas, an "intimate friend to Maria," had gleaned that Maria and Yolani were considering that Lucas and Olivia could be the right co-parents for Yolani. Lucas then asked Suyapa what such a relationship would involve:

**Lucas:** So, [Suyapa] told me what this exactly meant in the macehual culture, in San Miguel, exactly. She told me that this was something, well, serious. That they would make a formal invitation, that they would come to my house one day, that they would make a proposition, the two of them, mother and daughter. And then they would leave it in my hands to think it over and make a decision.\(^{103}\)

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\(^{102}\) Since quelite herbs grow wild, this dish is an inexpensive meal that helps stretch sparse income.

\(^{103}\) *Macehual* (plural: *macehualme*) is the term Nahuas in the area employ to refer to themselves (Castillo 2007:58).
Suyapa additionally explained that the relationship would be a so-called educational co-parenthood, which is organized around the child's schooling, beginning when a child leaves preschool and ending when the studies of the sponsored child are brought to completion. The relationship would involve a series of educational and pedagogical responsibilities such as supervising Yolani's progress in school, aiding her with her homework, and motivating her interest in learning. Suyapa also explained that a co-parent, although not obliged, tends to sponsor tuition fees and materials required at school, such as uniforms, shoes, schoolbags, booklets, notebooks, pencils, and the like.

Prior to the formal proposition, Suyapa thus served as the mediating entity between the two parties. Lucas did not discuss the matter directly with Maria and Yolani, since Suyapa, to his understanding, was briefing him on classified information to prevent a situation in which Lucas would stand unprepared and perhaps respond inappropriately, if Maria and Yolani were to make a formal proposition. Lucas thus perceives Suyapa as simply acting on her own initiative without Maria's consent or knowledge to bring Lucas into the right information state regarding their prospective intentions. Suyapa's "leak" is, to Lucas, morally justifiable as an act of damage control that underscores Suyapa's loyalty to both parties; Suyapa attempts to protect their relationship, which she has foreseen could potentially become jeopardized by the proposition; an outcome completely opposite to Maria's intentions. Accordingly, by accepting Suyapa's explanation that she had "observed that it could be possible that they would ask" them to be educational co-parents, Lucas "signs" an interactional contract presented by Suyapa; he agrees to preserve a situation of insulation between the two parties on the matter at hand, thereby accepting Suyapa as an independently operating stand-in principal, whose moral duty it is to inform Lucas of the cultural and social implications of such relationship as seen from a community perspective. As a consequence of indirectly launching the idea of Lucas and Olivia as co-parents to Yolani, Suyapa creates a situation in which Lucas is able to request her to enhance his information state on the socio-cultural and practical significance of co-parenthood in San Miguel. Discussion of the topic is therefore submerged in a cultural context that exceeds the concrete relationship that has made the topic pertinent to Lucas. Negotiation of the ensuing relationship takes place with macehual cultural tradition in San Miguel Tzinacapan as a principal, while Suyapa merely assumes an animating role.

A year prior to the formal proposition, Lucas thus entered a process of role preparation, and Suyapa assumed a didactic role vis-à-vis Lucas.

In Lucas' account, the first thing Suyapa stresses is the seriousness of such relationship in the macehual culture of San Miguel. Thereby, Suyapa sets a mood of formality through which the topic
of co-parenthood is to be discussed, creating a ritualistic dimension to the relationship. The ritualistic feel is mediated by the way Suyapa embeds their conversation on the topic in a collusive arrangement that projects an aura of seriousness. Furthermore, a ritualistic dimension to the relationship is indicated by highlighting its centrality to macehual culture in San Miguel:

**Lucas:** It means that you have a kinship, through this ritual, a degree of kinship with the family. And with the rest. As much with the biological as the ritual family [...] So, as you form this tie, you make yourself part of this family or this community to a degree, right?

By emphasizing ritual co-parenthood as an extensive kinship relationship that will attach Lucas and Olivia not only to Maria and Yolani but to the community at large, Suyapa also signals that despite the couple's friendship with people in San Miguel, a divide exists between them that may only be bridged through a co-parenthood relationship. Suyapa thus, almost unseeingly, points out that Lucas and Olivia are outsiders, but that they are able to become insiders and part of macehual culture. The ritual co-parenthood relationship thus becomes something worth striving to achieve since it will entail their consecration into macehual culture in San Miguel. Suyapa, Maria and Yolani thereby create an entry point into local macehual culture for Lucas and Olivia from where they obtain privileged access to "authentic" indigenous culture. Suyapa thus constructs and employs a desire in Lucas to belong to the ir community and become an initiate to authentic macehual culture.

Incidentally, Lucas also came to experience macehual culture in action around that time, as he received an invitation to participate in a ceremony that celebrated the graduation of two young men from San Miguel in which the educational co-parents symbolically devolved their sponsored child to the parents and formally concluded their co-parental responsibility. Lucas described how he had witnessed orations in Nahuat through which the co-parents and parents concluded the co-parenthood relationship, which were followed by a banquet for around 100 guests accompanied by a group of musicians playing traditional folk music. To his luck, Suyapa also attended the ceremony and came to his side to explain what was going on and paraphrase the speeches. At the time of the interview, Lucas seemed to have forgotten that he, back then, had e-mailed me a brief description of the ceremony, which included a reported conversation between himself and Suyapa on the topic of educational co-parenthood. In relation to the ceremony, Lucas was told that usually – as demonstrated by the ceremony – local co-parents would be chosen due to their physical proximity and their knowledge of the tradition, but occasionally people from larger cities such as Puebla or Mexico City were elected, or even people from far-off places. Significantly, preparing Lucas to take on the role as educational co-father may have begun before Suyapa introduced the idea that Lucas
might become one. In Lucas' account, he intertwines the ceremony and Suyapa's topical elaboration to show how he came to realize the solemnity of co-parenthood relationships:

**Lucas:** I then began to understand what it means to be a co-father [...] A banquet with so many musicians and such, all that is difficult for these people. It is a huge endeavor. That also gives you proof of a very great importance, because these people cannot afford to splash out nor to squander, and they also make you understand the degree of importance, right, to do all of this. On a social level as well, so to speak, all the guests, all who go there to that place, all those that form part of such events. So I said, "Ouch! This is serious." [...] With what Suyapa was telling me, and what I was seeing through that [ceremony], I think that [in that moment] I begin to understand what educational co-parenthood involves and what it exactly means in the *macehual* community.

As Lucas exclaims, "Ouch! This is serious" in reference to the ceremony, he illustrates a revelation that brings him "to understand what educational co-parenthood involves and what it exactly means in the *macehual* community." The reported revelation points to how Lucas is undergoing a personal transformation through participation in a cultural ceremony and the transformation mirrors Suyapa's words at the outset of the narrative, since Suyapa told him "exactly" what "educational co-parenthood" means "in the *macehual* culture," stressing that this type of relationship was a "serious" matter. By mirroring Suyapa's wording, Lucas shows that he has come to share the cultural horizon of Suyapa and the larger *macehual* community of San Miguel. At the time of the interview, the personal transformation has been completed, as Lucas has become someone who can tell others of the solemnity of the co-parenthood relationship. Significantly, when asked how his new role has influenced his relationship to Maria, Yolani, and Suyapa, Lucas emphasized a change in his relation to the community in its entirety:

**Lucas:** Arturo, this guy who tried to integrate himself thoroughly with the people of San Miguel, admitted to me that the effective way [to integrate himself] was in the end really through one of the existing, strong standards of integration; it was through co-parenthood. That was what made him see that he now formed part of the community of San Miguel. [...] And I have noted, for instance, a certain change of attitude in the other women from San Miguel, who go to [Cuetzalan to] vend. They are no longer going to classify me as a tourist [...], they know that I am the co-father of Yolani, that I have this relation to Maria. So they know that I have a relation to the community.

For Lucas, the relation to Maria and Yolani gives him a sense of membership that connects him to the town community and *macehual* culture and stretches beyond the three of them. After formalizing his relation to Maria and Yolani, other handicraft vendors have changed their way of engaging with him, and he now feels that he is being treated as someone who is part of San Miguel.
This sense of belonging is confirmed by his encounter with Arturo, who, after trying for years to "integrate himself thoroughly with the people of San Miguel," found co-parenthood relationships to be "the effective way" to make himself part of the community. Lucas' interpretation that Arturo "admitted" co-parenthood to be "the effective way" of becoming part of the community illustrates that achieving a degree of belonging to San Miguel was something Lucas had been aiming at achieving. The introduction to the interview, then, serves also as a springboard to the climax of his account: Like Arturo, Lucas himself had come to the realization that to make friends and access social life in San Miguel, the one thing that really matters is to commit oneself to the community through a binding co-parenthood relationship that displays an intention of creating enduring ties and belonging. In this sense, Maria and Yolani become resources to a cultural rooting sought for, since they provide access to "macehual culture" in "the most authentically indigenous village one can find."

Common features exist in the reported undertakings of newcomer Arturo and those of newcomer Ernesto, as seen in chapter six. Both have migrated from Mexico City and been attracted to the area due to San Miguel Tzinacapan, and they discursively tie the town and its inhabitants to the Aztec Mexica past. On the face of it, Lucas' doings differ from Arturo and Ernesto's doings in the very sense that Lucas is not a Mexican national and, in that respect, is not looking to forge ties with figurative ancestors. Nonetheless, exactly the idea about authentic, pre-Hispanic Mexico is what connects Lucas' doings to those of Arturo and Ernesto; as much as they are, Lucas too is exploring and learning about what it means to be Mexican. Having left his family and friends behind in Europe and preparing himself for a new life in Mexico, he is, together with Olivia, forming relations that make him capable of belonging in Cuetzalan. Yet, he is simultaneously forging ties to core constituents of the Mexican nation, and his endeavor is therefore not just about forging concrete social relations to people around him, but, by creating figurative links to the authentic Mexican nation, equally about him finding a place in Mexico. This activity strengthens Lucas' belonging to the cosmopolitan crowd in Cuetzalan, as he engages in meaningful conversations with other newcomers such as Arturo, who is able to confirm his ability to integrate with "Deep Mexico" (Bonfil 1989). Lucas' belonging to a group of cosmopolitans, who are on a quest to reconnect with their Mexican roots, then, makes Lucas become part of a larger national project that exceeds the concrete place in which he currently lives. Thus, the experiences Lucas shares with other cosmopolitans in Cuetzalan, when mediated through personal accounts, work as
resources that confirm for him a genuine sense of belonging in Mexico. Like other cosmopolitans, Lucas too is undergoing a cultural transformation that makes him feel "more" Mexican.

The chapter now turns to show what the ritual co-parenthood with Lucas and Olivia and friendship relations with tourists signifies for Maria and Yolani.

"City-friendships" and co-parenthood as social networking strategy

Ambulant vending in the Global South tends to be something resorted to when people have no other feasible income alternatives (Hansen et al. 2013:7-8). The people from San Miguel Tzinacapan who go to Cuetzalan to vend are part of a group in town who face harsh economic conditions. Some vend fruits, some vend baskets, and a large group vend handicrafts specifically aimed at tourists. During fieldwork in 2013, Maria was vending handicrafts full time, but in 2014 she had found part-time employment in San Miguel and restricted vending to weekends. Sometimes, I tagged along with the vendors to see how they interacted with tourists and to get an impression of how much they were selling. Seeing how apparently little they sold made me wonder why many of them sustained their efforts to sell handicrafts. Part of the answer is that the vendors are children and women, usually with no other or sparse income, so that even on days with no sale, there has been no direct economic loss, provided they walk the approximately five kilometer route back and forth instead of taking the bus. Yet, another part of the answer is that vending handicrafts is not all they do. In contradistinction to other ambulant vendors, this group is actively looking to network with tourists and newcomers. Their preference for vending handicraft merchandise is therefore not coincidental, since these wares are "natural" pretexts for engaging with tourists and thus mediate contact between the two parties. Since tourists’ average stay lasts 36 hours (BUAP 2013:136) and tourism concentrates on weekends, being on the spot in central Cuetzalan to meet tourists early on is crucial to enhance the possibility of attracting tourists to San Miguel on a flying visit. The main mission of this group appears to be to convey to tourists that Cuetzalan is really a mestizo town, and that they are Nahuas from nearby San Miguel Tzinacapan. The vendors thereby point out to tourists attracted to Cuetzalan by its indigenous image that they have not reached their desired destination and that they would have to go to Tzinacapan to accomplish the goal of their travel. If tourists cannot fit a visit to Tzinacapan into their schedule, the vendors give the tourists a reason to return on a second trip, inviting them to pass by their place, so they can show them the village.

Maria dubs these relationships "city-friendships" and laconically states, "We meet, we make friendships." According to Maria, this was how Patricia encountered her co-mother. On her first trip to Cuetzalan she met Patricia and on her second trip Patricia's family took her to San Miguel. "They
invited her to the house, they prepared mole [poblano] for her, they ate, and in that way, little by little, friendship, friendship, friendship. […] And then, afterwards, she became a co-mother. And another madam from Mexico [City], from Xochimilco, was also co-mother to her siblings."

The serving of mole poblano is indicative of the potential significance ascribed to these relations. Being an expensive and complex dish with many ingredients, mole poblano is a meal reserved for times of festivity – and for co-parents. It is also the signature dish of the state of Puebla (poblano means Pueblan) and is regarded as one of the national dishes of Mexico. The meal thus has a symbolic and emblematic significance, and the serving of mole by Patricia's family illustrates the effort made to court to the visitor. As I experienced myself, being met with such hospitality by people who obviously face extreme economic hardship is likely to make a lasting impression on the visitor. Moreover, for urban, mestizo Mexicans, witnessing the grinding of maize on a *metate* quern-stone, seeing hand-made tortillas make their way to the *comal* griddle on top of the fire-place, while being surrounded by a household of Nahua speakers is arguably a cultural performance that is likely to impress and send them on a temporal journey to pre-Hispanic Mexico. In my own visit to Patricia's house, described earlier, a "more than 100-years-old" *metate* quern-stone was soon brought forth for inspection and I was encouraged to touch it, which most likely demonstrates that visitors before me had ascribed to it a relic-like quality. At another occasion, my family and I were invited to the first communion of a daughter to another vendor. When we arrived, we were escorted past the main room with the additional guests and straight to the kitchen where we were served mole poblano and could observe middle-aged and elderly women serving, cooking, and engaged in conversation in Nahuat.

In addition to six-year-old Yolani, Maria has a 20-year-old son, Eliseo, who was living in Puebla at the time of the interview, where his educational co-father, Pablo, is also based. As a child, Maria's husband was vending handicrafts and he was the one who first established contact with Pablo when he visited Cuetzalan as a tourist. Although their relation was never formalized, Pablo supported Maria's husband financially during his schooling and subsequently helped him find accommodation and employment. Pablo still supports him as much as he can, but, as Maria puts it, now her husband "just drinks."

The co-parenthood relationship between Eliseo and Pablo has not brought about the results hoped for either. Eliseo dropped out after elementary school and has, as Maria sees it, passed on opportunities extended to him. Yet, the relationship is still significant for Maria, who stresses that Eliseo's co-father is "responsible," because he continues to look after Eliseo. Recently, Pablo even
suggested to finance a micro-business for Eliseo in Puebla. Nonetheless, to Maria's despair, her son is not interested:

**Maria:** And now [Pablo] says he saw him in Puebla. [Eliseo] was working, and he said that he, as a co-father – so that [Eliseo] may proceed forward, forward, so that he may have economy, so that he may have money – would give him a room and there he was to set up his pizzeria, in order that he vend pizzas. But he does not want to. [Pablo] wants to support him so that, he says, "You can be somebody in life;" he says, "So you proceed forward." Because our house is made of wood. […] [Pablo] says to him, "So that you will not be living the way you are living […], you will repair your house […], and you will proceed forward." But [Eliseo] does not want that either. So, he also lost the opportunity that [Pablo] was going to support him.

To Maria, Pablo is a responsible co-father because he keeps his part of the deal, even when her son has not kept his part. Although Eliseo has abandoned school and his course of education has terminated, Maria still situates Pablo's support within the co-parenthood relationship, regarding his efforts largely as a change of strategy to help Eliseo "proceed forward" and "be somebody in life." Since Pablo did not have the opportunity to sponsor Eliseo's complete schooling, according to Maria, Pablo is looking for other ways to make Eliseo independent, in this case by offering to help him set up a pizzeria that will give him "economy" and "money." Through her co-parenthood relationship with Pablo, Maria regards educational co-parenthood as something beyond financial support to cover expenses related to her son's course of education and, more broadly, as a commitment to his professional future. To Maria, the aim of the relation is to ensure that Eliseo will not face an adult life with the same fragile living conditions and material poverty as Maria.104 According to Maria, the relationship between Pablo and Eliseo is failed on the part of her son, who did not seize the opportunity to become "somebody in life" and exit from the poverty cycle into which he has been born.

Notwithstanding the failure, the relationship has not become inactive or lost its value, since Maria knows Pablo will still keep an eye on her son and is prepared to help him out, if he faces any financial difficulties. Moreover, the relationship between Pablo and Maria is undiminished in strength, and Maria can still rely on Pablo to house her, if she would need to go to Puebla, and, should Yolani need to go to the hospital there, she can also count on Pablo to cover the medical

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104 Maria likens Eliseo's material poverty to her own by pointing out his lack of "money" and that both live in plank houses in need of repair.
bills. Her relation to Pablo thus exceeds Pablo's immediate commitment to Eliseo and his schooling, since the relationship additionally provides her with a place to stay in Puebla City and, in case of emergency, with an ad hoc health insurance. By means of the relationship, Maria acquires a degree of financial, social and geographic mobility that would otherwise be beyond reach for her.

Having seen her son leave school prematurely, Maria stresses that, apart from financial support, an important task of Yolani's co-parents is to supervise her schooling, make sure she puts an effort into her homework, and provide extra tuition. Inquiring about what Maria expects from the relation, Maria, in her response, flipped the issue, pointing to the expectations with which Lucas and Olivia have entered into the relationship:

**Maria:** Well, [Lucas and Olivia] expect that the girl can manage in school and that I also help the girl to work hard so that the girl also learns and to give the girl advice so she ends school well. For example, that she becomes somebody in life, a [Olivia's profession] or a [Lucas' profession], somebody, just not nobody.

The central issue, according to Maria, is not what she and Yolani wish for. She has transferred the main responsibility for the course of education to Lucas and Olivia, and their task, in turn, is to bring about a personal transformation in Yolani; they are to shape her in their own image. How this change is achieved in concrete terms Maria cannot know with certainty, but by nurturing their relation Maria looks to activate Lucas and Olivia in formative roles vis-à-vis Yolani. Through this process, they will inevitably pass on the knowledge and values that have brought them where they are today. The aim of the relationship, for Maria, thus seems to be that Yolani ends up with an education and profession such as those of Olivia and Lucas. In achieving this aim, co-parents are helpful, as Maria illustrates by citing Pablo, Lucas, and Olivia to stress the importance of being "somebody in life," which means to lead a life that resembles more the life of the co-parent than that of Maria. By linking herself and Yolani to Lucas and Olivia's personal experiences within the educational system, the bond provides an almost "esoteric" expertise that will help Yolani move in the right direction. Maria thus ascribes greater significance to their moral and didactic support, than their financial sponsoring of tuition fees and school materials. Lucas and Olivia, who both hold university degrees, are thus drawn in as resources to Yolani's course of education and act as role models that embody the desired end point for Yolani. The specialized resources Lucas and Olivia bring to the relationship partly stem from their positions as accomplished professionals, who are to

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105 There are two minor hospitals in Cuetzalan, but in case of complicated illness a trip to the general hospital in Puebla City is necessary.
help Yolani make the right choices and achieve the skills needed to do well in the educational system. Maria's expectation and hope, then, is that Lucas and Olivia will take charge of Yolani's course of education and throughout her childhood and adolescence become live signposts of her potential future. Shortly after formalizing the relation, Maria expressed her expectations in negative form to Lucas, as reflected in my interview with him:

Lucas: Maria remarked not so long ago, "Well, in a few years, school is over with. Then she will start vending, right?" [...] But I told her, "Look, do not think that way, because your daughter is very bright and, in reality, we are in charge of her education and we want her to study as much as she is capable of and wants." And it was as if [Maria] thought, "Ouch!" She did not reply, but we told her that we are ready to help her, so the girl studies as much as she likes. That includes secondary school at least and it is possible that she will continue even further. [...] When the mother insinuated that in a few years [Yolani] would leave [school], I said, "Excuse me, but I am the co-father and I want her to study this much! She is a very bright girl. She can do many things and we will take charge of that so she achieves more, studies for more years [...]. Through you she can learn all about the macehual culture, but she can also learn about world culture. Just as she is learning Spanish she can learn, perhaps, English. She can study elsewhere. She can study in Mexico [City] or in another country and afterwards the girl will have many more options." And the mother simply did not reply. She thought that we were right in giving her an opinion in that respect.

Clearly, Maria has not chosen Lucas and Olivia as educational co-parents with the mere expectation that they can help cover educational expenses until Yolani leaves elementary school and may contribute to the household economy by vending handicrafts. Rather, by expressing her ambitions for Yolani in negative terms to Lucas, Maria portrays herself as having a limited outlook, which in effect debilitates her ability to provide her daughter with responsible parental care. Thereby, she indirectly prompts Lucas to take charge of the educational situation and to step firmly into the co-parenting role, making him concretize the alternative, more ambitious plan he for Yolani. Maria thereby directs Lucas into a position of superior expertise on Yolani's life and future, casting Lucas as prime adult role model by casting herself as an unwittingly "negligent" mother figure. In a Goffmanian sense, Maria's skillful maneuver makes Lucas assume principality of the co-parenthood relationship ("I am the co-father and I want her to study this much!") and strive to make his vision of Yolani's future come through.

Thus, while Maria and the other handicraft vendors may never know what specifically will emerge from a concrete city-friendship, they nonetheless have a precise idea of what such relationships entail in general terms; the relationships link their marginalized existence to a network
of better resourced urban, middle-class citizens who help them avert the worst harms of poverty and bring hope of social mobility in their direction. In Mexico, middle-class life is predominantly urban-based and it is indicative that these "city-friendships," when formalized as co-parenthoods, tend to revolve around education, which since the 1960s has increasingly become and come to be seen as the most salient path to middle-class life in Mexico (Gilbert 2007:25-30). Additionally, this is a co-parenthood relationship that can be maintained from a distance, since continued physical presence is less necessary than in other, sacramental types of co-parenthood relationships that require the co-parent to take the child to church. Eliseo's co-father, for instance, called regularly by phone to supervise Eliseo's schooling and to prompt him to make an effort in school. Supervision and tuition may be offered via telephone, but the calls also fulfill the important performative task of having middle-class agents repeatedly stress education as the key trait the child should strive to acquire.

Not everyone in San Miguel Tzinacapan is pleased about the city-friendships Maria and other vendors are crafting, as Maria points out through a story of how a tourist from Mexico City stayed overnight in her house:

Maria: Well, in that way we make friendships with the tourists. But not everyone! Because some companions […] do not like it. We are not all alike. We are not all alike. Other people distrust a person who comes from the outside. And I say to her, "No, he [tourist from Mexico City sleeping over] is not a bad person. He will sleep in the house," I tell her, "on the floor, but on a mattress." There he slept. Next day, he probably came to me, because he heard the conversation the other madam was saying – as if he was feeling bad – but [I said], "Do not worry, nothing will happen to you." He says, "It is just that madam, thank you so much for having a good heart, because I am," he says, "from the city. For a town," he says, "I am a stranger." [I said], "Yes, for them, but not for me." […] As I tell you, other persons do not trust a tourist that comes here, as if they are afraid of him. That person thinks that he will come and harm us, and they say, "And you, why do they not scare you?" "Why would I be afraid?" And these persons come to visit because Cuetzalan is a Magical Village and we vend handicrafts. We have to converse! Because if we don't…

In the excerpt, Maria positions herself vis-à-vis other groups in San Miguel, who are suspicious of these kinds of relationships with outsiders. Which group exactly Maria is referring to remains unclear, but it is evident that they are not part of the group vending handicrafts and, judging from Maria's concluding comments ("We have to converse! Because if we don't..."), their lives do not depend in the same way on socializing with tourists. Yet, Maria and the other handicraft vendors cannot afford not "to converse" with tourists, since selling handicrafts alone is not a feasible way of making a living. Tourists who want to visit the area are channeled into Cuetzalan due to the Magical
Villages Program, as Maria points out, and the major part of tourism expenditure flows into hotels, restaurants, and tour operators based in Cuetzalan. Since Cuetzalan constructs itself as a Magical Village through strategic displays of temporality and translocality tied together by a nationalized concept of indigeneity, the only marketable asset Maria and other handicraft vendors have is their ethnicity as mediated in such cultural terms. However, lest their efforts benefit business owners in Cuetzalan by adding a crucial performative spice to the experience of the magical environment, the vendors need to displace Cuetzalan by redirecting tourists to San Miguel Tzinacapan and insert their encounters with tourists into an alternative economic cycle that sends substantial profits their way. As this chapter has shown, this is an arduous and in many regards impossible task. To this end, the strategy employed by the female handicraft vendors reflects the realistic estimation that they will not be able to change their course of life or pull themselves out of poverty through tourism or otherwise in just one generation. Yet, they may tie themselves and their children into a wider social security network that will fend off the more serious harms of socio-economic marginalization and they can hope to forge a social network that will remove the perennial effect of poverty by creating conditions that will allow their children to take a step up the social ladder. As illustrated, the handicraft vendors thus apply an identity-based, long-term networking strategy that attempts to craft enduring social relations with urban middle-class tourists and newcomers on behalf of their children, whom are thus spun into a web of relations that transcends their (ethnically based) social class and social networks in San Miguel, and bypasses Cuetzalan.

The encounters between handicraft vendors from Tzinacapan and middle-class newcomers and tourists involve a central identity transaction through which both parties get liminal access to each other's distant worlds. This process revolves around an exchange of identity-based notions of traditional, rural, indigenous versus modern, urban, mestizo Mexico. In that sense, both groups acquire more "Mexicanness" through the relationship. While one part creates or "restores" lineage roots to pre-Hispanic, indigenous Mexico, and explores the indigenous Other as a lost, primordial, authentic self, the other part creates ties to urban middle-class mestizos, the central figures around which the Mexican labor market and state institutions are configured. The relationship is thus tied together by a transaction of the traditional and the modern, supported by mestizo fantasies about the past and the future.

Paradoxically, multicultourism is currently, it seems, the vendors' most apparent way out of the multicultourism into which they are currently inscribed. Cuetzalan is the meeting place for handicraft vendors from San Miguel Tzinacapan and tourists, and their interaction gravitates around
the notions of temporality and translocality espoused by the Magical Villages Program. The encounters thus articulate a degree of ambivalence since they situate themselves both within and outside the Magical Villages Program. The encounters are not envisioned by the program itself and in certain ways articulate critique of the multicultourism it espouses, and yet the vendors employ multicultourism to their advantage in the hope of escaping from it.
Chapter 8: Regenerative Fiesta: Ritual Configuration of History, Identity, and Society

Julius and I were standing by the plaza of San Miguel Tzinacapan watching a group of Concheros chanting and dancing in the church atrium when an old lady smilingly approached to greet us, "I have seen you in Cuetzalan. Thank you for coming to the fiesta of San Miguel! This is my village." Although we had not previously met, the old lady was apparently aware of our extended stay in Cuetzalan. Based on that source of intelligence, she thanked us for coming to San Miguel, her hometown, to experience the fiesta. Declaring her ownership of San Miguel, she transmitted an unequivocal sense of pride in her village and its fiesta. But why thank us? This chapter illustrates how a clue may be found in an ongoing identity-configured political struggle between metropolitan Cuetzalan and surrounding Nahua communities, which escalates during San Miguel Tzinacapan's and Cuetzalan's consecutive fiestas. By showing up for the fiesta in San Miguel, despite our residence in Cuetzalan, we were taken to express our sympathy for San Miguel, deeming the fiesta worthy of foreign attention. Bypassing Cuetzalan in this way, we unwittingly assisted in challenging the cultural, historical, and political centrality afforded to Cuetzalan and its fiesta within the region.

This chapter highlights the role of Cuetzalan's fiesta in a translocal configuration of identities. The chapter first sketches how the fiesta is popularly conceived within an evolutionary scheme, before proceeding to show how this conception of the fiesta is structured by and activates settler versions of local history, which feed into contemporary local politics and social reality. In condensed form, the chapter brings to view a pervasive metropolitan depoliticization strategy that naturalizes asymmetrical power relations by intensely culturalizing the indigenous as the Other and thereby rationalizing the mestizo Self (cf. Brown 2006:17-24).

Next, focus is turned to the community queen pageant called the huipil ceremony, a core activity within the fiesta in which young women vested in traditional indigenous clothes, a huipil blouse inter alia, represent the surrounding Nahua communities (Fig. 8.1-8.2). The candidates wear a long, wide skirt, a huipil blouse, a quechquemitl neck-piece and a maxtahual headdress. The headdress consists of primarily purple and a few green wool cords, which are tied together in large knots and fastened by tying it into the hair. The neck-piece consists of a rectangular piece of cloth with a neck opening in the center and is worn with the points in the front and on the back. Another neck-piece is inserted on the back of the headdress. Under the neck-piece, the huipil blouse is worn.

106 The candidates wear a long, wide skirt, a huipil blouse, a quechquemitl neck-piece and a maxtahual headdress. The headdress consists of primarily purple and a few green wool cords, which are tied together in large knots and fastened by tying it into the hair. The neck-piece consists of a rectangular piece of cloth with a neck opening in the center and is worn with the points in the front and on the back. Another neck-piece is inserted on the back of the headdress. Under the neck-piece, the huipil blouse is worn.
chapter shows how the identity configurations that emerge from the evolutionary narratives are integrated in the frame and organization of the huipil ceremony, and how the séance ritually re-actualizes these narratives. The accomplishment partly consists in constructing a cyclical, self-repeating event that is constructed and perceived as significantly organized by Nahua political authorities and communities even as the event is situated in the municipal capital and framed, organized, and mediated by the municipal administration. The focus on ritual bracketing renders visible the inconspicuous ways in which the organization of a public performance oriented toward indigenous cultural traditions is structured from above to mediate the reverse impression of an event springing from below. The analysis thus shows how the frame of the event structures the production format and participation framework in ways that require young women from indigenous communities to engage in a self-culturalization to emerge as live "carriers of tradition" (Yuval-Davis 1997:61). As the women become central objects in a public assessment of indigeneity, the regulatory and "repressive" aspect of authenticity (Wolfe 1999:163-214) comes to the front, as it enforces and normalizes the depoliticization of indigenous issues and subjects in public space. The huipil queen candidates and Nahua authorities thus become embedded sources of the authentic, cultural and religious indigene – the counterpart of a settler homo economicus.

Within this scheme, indigenous identity politics is stripped of much of its subversive potential, becoming instead embedded "autoethnographic" (Pratt 2008:9) testimony that consolidates mestizo "culture talk" (cf. Mamdani 2002). That is, resistance in identity-political terms in the context of the huipil fair works to confirm the mestizo representation of indigenous life as guided by self-contained culture. Therefore, as will be shown, attempts at transgressing mestizo "culture talk" and abandoning the culturalized indigenous character are far more threatening to the social occasion.

**The evolution of the fiesta: Four sequences, three components, two characters, one line of view**

There are structural similarities between the answers received, when, as an outsider, I asked locals about town life and about the town fiesta. In both cases, the responses took shape as accounts of an evolutionary development that fed directly into contemporary social structures. The evolutionary narrative of the fiesta is structured around four chronological sequences that are understood to map the distinct origins of what are expressed as three separate, structuring components of the fiesta, each of which is identified with a particular group. The first, and core, component has its origin in the first two sequences and is referred to as the fiesta of the patron saint. A strip from my interview with the official in the municipal administration in charge of organizing the huipil fair in 2014 may serve as an illustration hereof:
Aureliano: Well, [the Franciscans] establish themselves and establish 4 October as the principal date to celebrate the patron, which coincides with the fiestas dedicated to Xochiquetzal, which our predecessors celebrated 4 October. They coincide. And well, here these fiestas have been carried out continually from that time up to our days; that is the patron fiesta. [...] So, imagine that here in Cuetzalan all these [different] dances are gathered, and they all have the same line of thought; to please God. Prior to the arrival of the Spaniards, to please Quetzalcoatl, Tlaloc and all those you would like me to mention. After the arrival of the Spaniards, it is about pleasing Jesus Christ, the Virgin, San Francisco. But it continues to be the same line, a religious one.

The first sequence is located in the pre-Hispanic era and attaches an indigenous origin to the fiesta, which is seen as a religious celebration of one or several unspecified pre-Hispanic or, as in this case, specified Aztec gods. The second sequence is located in the colonial era and relates how, upon arrival, the Franciscans realized how the indigenous religious celebration coincided in calendar and symbolism with the Catholic celebration of San Francisco. Two festivities with distinct origins thus came to form the core component of Cuetzalan's fiesta, as they were brought together by the Franciscans, who realized their compatibility after discovering their shared essence; the festivities are purely religious celebrations, so two religious traditions merged, as the Franciscans introduced San Francisco as patron saint of Cuetzalan.

The second component arises in the third sequence, when Cuetzalan had passed from being an indigenous village to a coffee producing mestizo town. In 1949, the mestizos introduced a town fair, tending to run from 27 September to 5 October. The fair arose to celebrate the economy that resulted from the growing coffee industry and was dubbed the coffee fair. Correspondingly, its principal activity is the coronation of a coffee queen – once a means of financing the fair – but which nowadays takes the shape of a beauty pageant. Because of its original (discursive) ties to the coffee industry, the fair is understood by locals to have added an economic dimension onto the religious fiesta.

In 1963, the third component appeared when the municipal president introduced the huipil fair or huipil ceremony as it is frequently named. As Coronado argues, the huipil fair is often articulated as an altruistic attempt by mestizo society to preserve authentic indigenous culture, customs, and traditions, as well as serve as an extended hand to the indigenous communities that were coming to feel "displaced" from the fiesta due to the new coffee fair (2000:130-132). The huipil fair is, then,

107 Some years, the coffee fair has lasted 15 days (Greathouse-Amador 2000:155), but for financial reasons it was reduced to six days in 2014.
taken to join the interests of two discrete groups by adding an explicit layer of cultural preservation to the fiesta, which due to its tourist appeal is seen to strengthen the existing economic dimension.

The narrative sequences thus delineate three disparate components that extract and segregate the diverging characteristics of two groups of citizens. The religious component – the patron fiesta – is seen as indigenous in its origin and indigenous participation in the fiesta is seen as religiously motivated. The economic component – the coffee fair – was introduced by the coffee-producing mestizos who extended the patron fiesta by installing around it a market fair with events that would appeal to mestizo citizens. The cultural component – the *huipil* fair – was also invented by the mestizos who saw that the fiesta was parting into two and that indigenous participation was decreasing. To show their appreciation of the Nahua communities and to include them in the fiesta, the mestizos created an event through which indigenous customs and traditions could be displayed, celebrated, and perhaps preserved.

As the chapter will now illustrate, this plot, which is here dubbed *the evolution of the fiesta*, is doubly geared to *the evolution of the region*, the generic plot within local mestizo history-making. The former works both as a *pars pro toto* version of the latter and as a reinforcing component within it by procuring new testimony to the plot and its characters.

**Tenacious anti-conquest: Locating the discursive in(ter)ventions of settler seeing-man**

Building on historian Richard Slotkin's notion of the "frontier myth" in American national history (1992), anthropologist Elizabeth Furniss argues that historical consciousness and identities across settler societies tend to be constructed around the foundational metaphor of the frontier (1999:16-22, 2005, 2006:182-183). To Furniss (2005), the term frontier designates both a colonial conception of a particular kind of place and an ongoing process of colonial encounters. The frontier denotes an imagined, quasi-generic setting and a mode of encoding a concrete territory, and it also points to a transitory destiny and process, as the frontier is always being pushed into the horizon as civilization moves forward. According to anthropologist Patrick Wolfe, the notion of the frontier, which he sees as the "primary paradigm" of Australian settler colonialism, is informed by a binary conceptualization with the performative effect of facilitating invasion and colonization, since diverse and fragmented groups of settlers are brought together by their shared mission and opposition to indigenous inhabitants (1999:165-167). Wolfe's observation on the performative effect of the frontier myth is instructive, because it highlights a productive aspect; narratives of frontier land have informed social reality and inspired Europeans to permanently leave their homeland and settle in far-off places. Therefore, while it is valid to claim that the notion of the
frontier has skewed research on colonial encounters and colonization processes – certainly, a European point of view is integral to the term (Pratt 2008:8) and it represents an ideological construction rather than an accurate account of the colonial situation – it is equally valid to claim that abandoning the idea of the frontier altogether will similarly skew scholarly understanding of colonization processes and contemporary dynamics in settler societies: The idea of the frontier is pervasive in settler-colonial storytelling and has therefore played a vital role in settler colonialism. While settler narratives vary across time and space, they are invariably progressivist and centered on land use, territorial possession, and the encounters that follow the arrival of settlers in the frontier (Furniss 2005:28-29). In the characteristic scheme of settler colonialism, land is central to the overall project, and indigenous labor is portrayed as superfluous (Wolfe 1999:27-29, 163), because settlers were primarily interested in acquiring land on which to settle with the purpose of removing indigenous presence from those lands, rather than to exploit an indigenous work force. In frontier narratives, New World territory is therefore described as vast, basically unoccupied, vacant stretches of land rich in resources waiting to be extracted. The frontier, then, becomes an imagined space in which binary opposites meet; "civilization and savagery, man and nature, whites and Indians, good and evil" (Furniss 2005:29), and the settlers are constituted as pioneers of civilization, who defeat and subdue savage man and nature to construct towns and modern society (Furniss 2005:24, 29-30).

According to Gabriela Coronado, the mestizo construction of history in Cuetzalan centers on depictions of how mestizos arrived to transform a natural landscape into productive land by constructing infrastructure and introducing cash crops (2000:86-87, 92-93). Coronado illustrates her point with a strip from her interview with the head of the municipal archive:

Archivist: It was a town without planning, with isolated houses, mainly following an indigenous way of life, where one can talk only of survival in the economic sense, with corn and beans. With the arrival of the Spanish or the Mestizo people, another Cuetzalan emerged on an urban plane, an economic plane, because they brought other products with them to make the region grow economically … With the arrival of the Mestizos, coffee arrived and this began to generate other ways of living (cited in Coronado 2000:87).

I experienced just how central such historical narrative continues to be for local identity when it was served to me time and time again. At first, I found the local fascination for the construction of roads
and the introduction of coffee to be odd and incomprehensible. Nevertheless, it since occurred to me that this fascination was particularly vivid in the historical accounts I received from descendants of the settlers and, for some reason, I often found myself talking to them. As historian Trevor Stack has similarly experienced during fieldwork in small towns of west Mexico (2003:196), I ended up receiving accounts of local history from members of the "old" families in the town center. In Cuetzalan, the "old" families are descendants of the early waves of settlers and they are explicitly and implicitly credited with supreme authority in town history-making. Locals referred me to them constantly and the municipal government appoints its chroniclers from that branch of citizens (cf. Stack 2012:54-62). Hence, as Stack shows, town history and family histories become intertwined and members of "old" families are granted superior authority in matters of town history due to their biographical links to the prominent founding citizens who have become protagonists of what is recognized as official town history. Dodging settler versions of history, politely or otherwise, becomes difficult because "old" family members are known to know more about the town than other citizens, and their versions are linked to the founding of the town. This impression was underpinned in an interview with Hernando, one of Cuetzalan's municipal chroniclers. Benito from another "old" family had persuaded me to meet the chronicler and arranged for all of us to meet. Hernando turned out to be the great-grandchild of Jesús Flores and grandchild of José Flores, to whom are attributed the local introduction of coffee and the construction of the first highway running from Zaragoza to Tuxpan. As we sat down, Hernando insisted on presenting "some historical data" that would be "convenient" for me to know prior to "our talk." This resulted in a dizzying 50-minute monologue (interrupted only by the serving of coffee) beginning with the arrival of two groups of mestizos to the area in 1856:

Hernando: These people who arrived in Cuetzalan arrived with a different vision. […] And above all, well, they fell in love with the region, they fell in love with this zone. And they loved it as the natives of this place love and loved it. In this place, there were indigenous people. Upon arrival, the mestizos straightaway began to integrate with the indigenous class. They were fusing in a way so that they could accomplish many things. […] Communication with other towns was very difficult. Cuetzalan was incommunicado! […] There were trails, muddy trails, due to the quantity of rain precipitated in this place. […] Due to this, the paths were always muddy, they were always difficult to access. In connection to that, there were few animals for transporting the cargos. […] [The clerics] neglected to arrive to Cuetzalan and said that this was because Cuetzalan had the worst of roads. And they knew nothing about most of what

108 As historian Wendy Waters has shown, road construction played a key part in the national project in post-revolutionary Mexico (2006).
was going on here. That kept the town *isolated*. But with the arrival of these people, *other horizons* began to open. For example, and I will tell you soon, the production of unrefined whole cane sugar begins. Moreover, they made stills to produce spirits. [...] They brought it all the way to Poza Rica, Tuxpan, and to Zacapoaxtla and to other towns such as Mazatepec, so that they could make commerce. [...] And on return they would bring back products. [...] And they also began to implement *shops – bakeries, blacksmiths*. Now there were animals, so another occupation was needed, that of the blacksmith. [...] Well, yes, spirits was one of the triggers the mestizos that arrived had – not all – to make *money*. [...] But that is another way; yes, *commerce* was realized. [...] That happened in the 1880s and prior. [Emphasis in the original].

The settler mestizo that springs from the two evolutionary narratives is not unlike the *seeing-man* that emerges from literary theorist Mary Louise Pratt's reading of colonial travel accounts (2008). The traveling *seeing-man*, "he whose imperial eyes passively look out and possess," is the central character of what Pratt terms the "anti-conquest," a class of narrative strategies through which European exploration writers managed to simultaneously declare European superiority and safeguard their innocence despite their inevitable entanglement with the planetary project of imperial economic and political expansionary enterprise (2008:9). A frequent mode of securing such innocence was a descriptive segregation of humans from geography. This way, vast landscapes were constructed textually, and sometimes visually, as devoid of human activity and presence (2008:50-59). This mode of representation, which Pratt traces to the classificatory scheme of the natural sciences, places both explorer and explored in a liminal position to the described territories. However, while for the explorer invisibility facilitates an allegedly benign appropriation and re-signification of territory through an advantageously reduced role as mere observer of geographical settings, invisibility for the explored becomes a step in the direction of dispossession, *deterritorialization* and *dehistoricization*. Yet, the descriptions are not restricted to the readily visible domain, but also include inspections into passive assets that invoke prospects of a colonial future within the landscapes (Spurr 1993:28-42; Pratt 2008:59-66). What appears to situate the descriptive undertaking, then, is the identification of resources and possibilities that may expand European presence in the colony. So, descriptions of landscapes in the colonies are legitimizing impositions of an imperial vision that identifies passive resources, which await and require the transformative intervention of industrious European settlers and imperial technology. Within this order, indigenous societies are portrayed through their absences and lacks, that is, through implicit negative comparison with the homeland.
From the chronicler's account and the excerpt from Coronado's interview with the municipal archivist, springs more than a claim of transforming a natural landscape into productive land. More profoundly, the narrative describes mestizo arrival to a desolate landscape governed by a natural (dis)order in need of mestizo intervention, consisting of producing social and economic order from a passive, natural one. In the chronicler's account, the settlers "fell in love with" the lands and immediately "loved it" as do and did the indigenous inhabitants. The settlers and indigenous people are thereby joined in their mutual love of the region. The benevolent portraiture of hostile encroachment of indigenous territory is fulfilled by the "fusion" of the two groups "so that they could accomplish many things." A shared love of the lands becomes synonymous with a confluence of interests. This way, the indigenous inhabitants are narratively obliterated through complete absorption. After the settlers "integrate with the indigenous class" at the outset of the account, no further mention of them is needed, and they are removed from the account as settler history unfolds, "other horizons open," and "different visions" are implemented. This narrative strategy resembles what anthropologist Mark Rogers (1998) has encountered in his study on festivals and community identities in two regions of Ecuador. As he argues, mestizo identity stands for the totality, while indigenous identity is partial and specialized. This places mestizos in a commanding position that grants them panoptic overview (cf. Foucault 1977), which, as Pratt notes (2008:77, 201-202), is the first step toward mastery.

Preceding indigenous societal forms also go unnoticed or are denied when the chronicler points to a lack of (infra)structure, subsequently delivered by mestizo settlers. The region was "isolated," "incommunicado," and "difficult to access" and, to remedy this situation, the settlers needed to act upon the landscape. Sequestered and unplanned distribution of houses becomes a planned town with shops, new products, and a variety of specialized occupations. Fragile, unproductive, subsistence agriculture is substituted for a strong commercial and industrial economy through the introduction of new cash crops, particularly coffee and sugar, new goods and instruments. A region disconnected and isolated from the surrounding world receives infrastructure such as electricity, new roads, and a highway, and enters a wider commercial network thanks to the mestizo intervention. All these mestizo transformations of the natural landscape work to restrict continuity with previous ways of life; they are seen as new inventions and social substitutions of a natural order, a narration of how a non- or pre-place became the place it is today and was allowed to enter into first a regional and later a national project of modernity. After describing how settlers constructed Cuetzalan and tied in with a regional market system, the chronicler depicts how, with the beginning of the Mexican revolution.
in 1910, the settlers established connections to the central government and shifting Mexican presidents, and how due to this Cuetzalan became a key point on the oil route from Veracruz to Mexico City.

It is this plot of a hitherto ungoverned, derelict, and isolated territory – a natural order of which the invisible indigene is inherently part – that implicitly constitutes the privileged right of the industrious mestizo settlers to these lands. In short, mestizos brought progress to the area by introducing social order per se, leaving the Nahuat toponym as the only gesture of continuity between the pre-place and the place. Tellingly, the narrative about progress and the production of a new modern mestizo Cuetzalan different and disconnected from past indigenous Cuetzalan was subsequently inscribed into the official name of the municipality by adding the Spanish modifying clause del progreso to the Nahuat toponym.109 The narrative makes no mention of the conflicts that followed due to the mestizo invasion of indigenous lands. This silence stands in contrast to historical documents and contemporary indigenous accounts of local history, which emphasize interethnic conflict, dispossession of fertile land and forced incorporation into coffee cultivation (Thomson 1991; Valderrama & Suárez 1993; CEPEC 1994; Knab 1995:147-184; Lupo 1998:365; Coronado 2000:93-95; Castillo 2007:36, 49-50). But then again, the central point here is not the accuracy of settler history.110 The point is rather the persistence of settler history in which the mestizo emerges as homo economicus through implicit antithetical comparison with the ostensibly passive and natural pre-societal Nahua.

Keeping in mind the generic anti-conquest narrative, one may see how the narrative of the introduction of the coffee fair reifies a plot organized around the notion of progress and the industrious settler protagonist. The mestizos have crafted an order they found to be lacking and created a void in demand of their intervention; they produce an economic and rational dimension to what ostensibly was a purely religious celebration. The narrative arranges a restricted sense of continuity by portraying the original indigenous (and Catholic) fiesta as purely religious, around which mestizos have invented a modern economic dimension. The narrative of how the mestizo invented the coffee fair thus procures (re)new(ing) testimony to the idea that mestizos brought progress to the region by inventing social order through their skillful introduction of commerce and

109 Moreover, San Francisco was removed from the toponym, distinguishing Cuetzalan furthermore from nearby indigenous towns that retain the names of their patron saints as part of the toponym, once again speaking to the mestizo (economy)/indigenous (religion) characters.

110 Documents from 1807 show that indigenous Cuetzalan was at that time involved in specialized agriculture, commerce, and production of unrefined whole cane sugar, and purchased maize from mestizo subsistence farmers from Xocoyolo (Thomson 1991:212).
industry. However, as is well documented in early colonial sources, Aztec seasonal fiestas were far from purely religious events. Often seen as religious celebrations structured by agricultural cycles and dedicated to worshipping specific patron gods, fiestas of the imperial capital Tenochtitlan also included overt symbolic manifestation of political power through ritual display of imperial superiority (Brown 1988). This observation applies more generally to Aztec society, as politics and religion were never separate domains, but intricately linked and interdependent ideologies (Carrasco 1995:2). Moreover, Aztec fiestas were closely geared to the market system. Not only did community fiestas and market days coincide so that surrounding communities would attend fiestas as well as their accompanying markets, but many fiesta activities took place in the open space of the market place just next to temple precincts. Likewise, markets had their own temple shrines and representative deities. Therefore, markets were not mere economic institutions and fiestas were not mere politico-religious events (Hutson 2000:135-137; Hodge 2001; Villegas 2010:98; Smith 2012:111-114). This combination of market fair and fiesta was a widespread practice in pre-Hispanic central Mexico, which continued in the colonial era and is found in Nahua communities today. This is not to say that Cuetzalan's fiesta has a pre-Hispanic origin, but to point out that there are historical reasons why it would be highly unexpected to find a fiesta in central Mexico without links to the market economy. Fiestas are social events that bring together people from different communities and such social gatherings generally involve a market fair.

Historian of religions Ian Reader has similarly pointed to the intricate links between pilgrimages and the market, arguing that the success of pilgrimage destinations rests on strong links to the market for which religious authorities and institutions are invested in commercializing pilgrimages (2013). Nevertheless, most academic literature on pilgrimages tend to demarcate the sacred from the profane, regarding the market as a parasitic entity that is nurtured by, rather than nurturing, the pilgrimage destination. This tendency to split sacred religious structures from profane commercial and economic structures is both widespread and long-lasting, even as proponents view the relation between religious and commercial activity as a modern condition (Reader 2013:11-24).

In sum, a mestizo view of self and indigenous society is reflected in popular accounts on the town fiesta. By representing the indigenous fiesta as a purely religious fiesta, it is discursively segregated from the accompanying fair and its ties to the market economy are discursively severed. The segregation provides the basis of discursively superimposing the mestizo coffee fair on the religious indigenous fiesta, a strategy of representation that also reflects and reinforces mestizo accounts of local history. Similar to what Patrick Wolfe argues in the case of settler society in
Australia (1999:178-179), the settlers' discursive and practical disruption of the preceding economic system and its "disembedding" from the political, religious, and social system in a struggle over land has placed mestizos and indigenous people in two discrete, independent, and non-conflicting spaces; an economic one and a religious one. An intense Othering, then, is at the heart of "repressive authenticity." It is repressive because it blurs the shared economic and political interest in land by authenticating an indigenous subject that poses a marginal threat to settler society economics and politics (Wolfe 1999:180).

**Anchoring identities in the huipil ceremony: Autoethnography in the contact zone?**

The chapter now turns to analyze the event which has come to be known as the *huipil* ceremony, which is the constituting event of the *huipil* fair. Just as Coronado (2000:132-133) noted in 1997 that coffee played no obviously central role in the coffee fair, there is nothing outside of the *huipil* ceremony that suggests a central role of the *huipil* blouse in the *huipil* fair. In the market, stands include *huipil* blouses in their assortment, just as they include coffee beans, handicrafts, and souvenirs, but such stands are always there on market days.

Since its inception in 1963, the *huipil* ceremony has changed, and the number of participants has increased. In its first year, there was apparently only one participant, a mestiza from Cuetzalan, and in 1965 and 1967 a mestiza from Xocoyolo was crowned. To begin with, then, the incorporation of indigenous participants into the ceremony demanded a decisive effort from mestizos in Cuetzalan. The organizers since came to make use of the municipal political structures and it has become customary for each of the eight auxiliary councils to contribute a candidate for the ceremony. Once recruitment of participants turns into a recurring political assignment of the auxiliary councils, distinguishing voluntary from obligatory participation in any strict sense becomes difficult. This participatory ambivalence surfaced in my interview with Aureliano, an official in the municipal administration and organizer of the *huipil* ceremony in 2014, as he described the recruitment process, first stating that "a participant is requested" from the auxiliary councils by the municipal authorities, instantly adding "or those, who want to," which would indicate that the decision rests with each auxiliary council. It would, however, be fair to say that auxiliary councils are expected to deliver a candidate each.111 This may be illustrated by the equivalent expectation that auxiliary councils are to bring the dancing troupes that are introduced

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111 In a regional news broadcast from the fiesta in 2011 (www.youtube.com/watch?v=od_NyS9BKA), the then municipal president lamented Xocoyolo's unusual decision not to participate in the ceremony, and Xocoyolo has not been absent since.
near the end of the *huipil* ceremony and which subsequently take over the atrium to perform a variety of ritual dances. The organizer told me that the fiesta in 2013 was the worst in his lifetime due to a meager number of attending dancing troupes and that many dances were lacking, stressing that normally all auxiliary councils participate, except for San Miguel Tzinacapan:

* Aureliano: And now, curiously, the discrimination is coming from them toward us. They discriminate us.

* Casper: By not coming to the fiesta?

* Aureliano: Of course, there is a discrimination there too. And I don't complain, because, well, these are things. They are grounded in something. But, well, this is what is happening.

This rhetorical strategy resembles what anthropologist Charles Hale calls "reverse racism" (2002:515, 2006:116-117). Mestizos feel "that they have repudiated racism of generations past and adopted a new ethic of equality," but when indigenous people "respond in ways which appear to be ungrateful [or] suspicious," "magnanimous discourse of equality and tolerance then fades quickly to bitter anxieties and doubts: they'll never change; now they have turned racist toward us!" (2002:515). This theme is returned to later, but for now it may serve as a backdrop of indigenous participation in the fiesta. The point is that while indigenous presence in the fiesta is warmly appreciated, encouraged, and celebrated, indigenous absence is indignantly and resentfully problematized. Participating in Cuetzalan's fiesta and performing their identity is not just the cultural right of local Nahuas, but also their moral duty (cf. Scher 2014:92-96), and thus the cultural recognition of indigeneity that figures centrally in the *huipil* ceremony creates both a highly visible appreciation of participating indigenous representatives and a tacit, repressing obligation to participate.

The auxiliary councils appear to have been included in organizing the *huipil* ceremony since as early as the 1970s, and the ceremony has since been expanded by including participants from three additional towns. On stage, the participants are to present the culture and history of their communities through three-minute speeches in Nahuat and Spanish, wearing traditional indigenous female vestments (Fig. 8.3-8.4). A jury, consisting of Nahua mayors of the auxiliary councils, also dressed in their traditional vestments, the reigning *huipil* queen and "outstanding" citizens recognized for their knowledge of local culture, are in charge of electing the winner. Nowadays, the event is broadly perceived as an indigenous, and indigenously organized, ceremony and popular descriptions of the event almost invariably describe the jury as comprised solely of Nahua authorities. This conception is illustrated in an interview with Manolo, a frequent jury member and director of the cultural center, a Nahua from San Andrés Tzicuilan:
Casper: Are they all mayors, or?
Manolo: Mhm [affirmative].
Casper: So, the judges are the mayors?
Manolo: They are the mayors. There [in the huipil ceremony] the municipal presidency does not intervene in anything. They are just there as special guests to watch the event. But of course, they also sponsor what is necessary to make it all happen.

As this excerpt shows, the jury in the huipil ceremony is perceived to consist only of Nahua political authorities and this idea substantiates the view that the municipal authorities are mere sponsors of an event organized by indigenous actors. The perception that Nahua authorities compose the jury in its entirety is not coincidental, but indicative of a tendency that sustains the widespread idea that the huipil ceremony is an indigenous event; it reflects the way attention is guided toward that which is framed, rather than the framing. Likewise, incorporating Nahua authorities such as Manolo into the organizational committee in charge of planning the event sustains the idea that the Nahua communities "themselves" are principals of the event and its contents. Yet, to plan such a commemorative event means primarily to put oneself at the service of the returning frame template that is passed down the line from year to year, and to fulfill the expectations the audience can rightly entertain given that the event is a recurring one. This frame governmentality both regulates Nahua authorities unseeingly and procures visible Nahua principals for the ceremony. A view of the event as springing purely from indigenous interests is produced together with the pervasive idea that indigenous interests are primarily culturally motivated. This is illustrated in a regional television interview with a state delegate of the National Commission for the Development of Indigenous Peoples (CDI) after the huipil ceremony in 2011:

Delegate, CDI: But in this case we are sharing our Pueblan traditions, and in particular this traditional huipil fair together with the municipal president and with all the inhabitants of Cuetzalan as well as with all the tourists of national and international character that I am seeing here. So, for me, it was a pride to crown the queen, Roberta López López, who was – truly – very moved, because on account of her speech she is much helped, right? Above all, in what she conversed about; to speak of their traditions, of their typical dishes from around here, of the places, of the cascades, of all the cultural richness they have; it helped her gain the crown. For her it is a pride! I was conversing with the young girls who were also accompanying her. So, it is part of co-existing and enjoying with our indigenes what is for them so important, as is their culture. We know that economic development is important […] but even more important, I would say, is to preserve these traditions so that they shall not be lost. [emphasis added].[^112]

[^112]: [www.youtube.com/watch?v=od_NySt9BKA](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=od_NySt9BKA).
Several issues are at play in the interview, but here may be noted the differing degrees of attachment to the ceremony that the CDI representative ascribes to different groups of participants. The huipil fair is taken to represent both "our Pueblan traditions" and "what is for them," that is, "our indigenes," "so important, as is their culture." The huipil fair thus becomes an emblematic expression of both "our Pueblan traditions" and "authentic indigenous culture." However, mestizo majority society is in a position of mastery in the sense that they possess "our Pueblan traditions" and "our indigenes," while the indigenous people are their culture as expressed through the ceremony. The remark that the winning queen "was – truly – very moved," and the linking of it to the candidate's speech on Nahua "cultural richness," works to stress the candidate's emotional involvement in the ceremony, which authenticates such culturalized expression of indigenous identity as the sum total of indigenous life. This, again, illustrates how mestizo identity is understood to encompass the totality, while indigenous identity is restricted to cultural narcissism (Rogers 1998). Such strategies of representation depoliticize the indigenous subject and help maintain the discursive and temporal divide between mestizo homo economicus and the indigenous homo religiosus.

In the following sections, the chapter shows how the huipil ceremony is framed in space and time to construct the impression that the event is an indigenous tradition.

**Spatializing the fiesta and the huipil ceremony**

The huipil ceremony takes place on the bottom level of the three-tier divide of public space in central Cuetzalan; in the atrium in front of the church (Fig. 8.5-8.6). The 893-square meters of the middle tier constitute by far the largest plane space within the center, but since most of it is covered by the public park, the atrium is the largest readily available space and therefore the most apt spot for a space-consuming event. Nevertheless, since 2002, a large outdoor concert stage has been mounted on top of the park during the fiesta, creating ample space for events such as concerts and the coffee queen pageant. The continued placement of the huipil ceremony in the atrium, rather than on the stage atop the park, highlights the classificatory significance of the spatial boundaries to the types of events they encase and mediate. In Mexico, the atrium is characteristically a quadrangular forecourt that works as an exterior extension of the church nave (McAndrew 1965:202-203, 219; Edgerton 2001:46-47). This architectural outline for churches and convents became the preferred one among friars beginning in the early colonial decades of 1520-1530, partly because the open space could accommodate large-scale baptism, conversion, and other types of religious activities, and partly because friars consciously attempted to incorporate local pre-
Hispanic conceptions of sacred space into the ground plan of Catholic structures. Thus, in pre-Hispanic Mexico, square precincts worked as sacred spaces for public ritual activities such as dances and processions, and friars encouraged the continuance of such ritual activities in the atriums, redirecting the rituals to suit with Catholic symbolism (McAndrew 1965:204-ff.; Edgerton 2001:52-64). From its inception, this exterior ritual space has not merely been an outcome of the contact zone (Pratt 2008:7-8), but constitutes a particular kind of contact zone in itself, a prime meeting point between Catholic and indigenous religious practices. As an inherent feature of most Mexican churches, the atrium has been architecturally inscribed into the Mexican townscape as a place known to host public indigenous rituals and the atrium is therefore a place to expect indigenous (ritual) performance to take place.

In Cuetzalan (as in surrounding indigenous towns), the voladores pole in the center of the atrium latently encodes the space as a significantly indigenous sacred setting and it facilitates ritual activation of the space as such. Placing the huipil ceremony in the atrium therefore entails an employment of the symbolic synergies that flow from a permanent, architecturally established sacred space. The atrium is unquestionably a part of the church space and the organizers require permission from the local clergy to use the space for the event. By embedding the ceremony in a sacred setting that ordinarily circumscribes the types of public activity that may take place there to that of religious ritual, the organizers employ a pre-coded public expectation of what constitutes an atrium activity. The spatial location of the event therefore creates a transformational spillover effect that is enhanced by the strategic incorporation of ritual activities into the event and by the ritual dances that subsequently unfold in the atrium. In this sense, the atrium works as a permanent sacred setting that a priori transforms the character of public events performed there to that of sacred ritual. In contrast, the stage atop the park is visibly ephemeral and situated in front of the municipal town hall, the political center. This way of spatializing an "indigenous" part of the fiesta into a "sacred" atrium and a "mestizo" part onto a "secular" stage engages recursively with settler versions of local history and the fiesta. The differentiated settings communicate to the audience and participants a taxonomy that codifies and instructs their perception of and appropriate response to the activities of the fiesta; indigenous activity is classified as sacred ceremony and mestizo activity is classified as secular entertainment. The spatial conventions therefore become laminations that encode and mediate indigenous and mestizo activities differently. As obvious as it is for citizens of Cuetzalan that secular activities such as the concerts or the coffee queen pageant cannot take place in the atrium, it is equally obvious that the huipil ceremony cannot take place on the concert stage,
since that would direct attention to the event as "staged." The authenticity of the event, then, rests to a large degree on spatial conventions, that is, the indigenous event and its participants must be placed in their "natural habitat."

To enhance the sense of sacredness attached to the space, the northern half of the atrium was covered with pine needles (ocoxale) that marked out the ritual space. Within the ritual space, a small stage five by 10 meters had been crafted for the ceremony – as is usually done – this year with an additional tarpaulin roofing (Fig. 8.4). Apart from the pine needles that covered the floor and staircases, the stage was decorated to match the decoration surrounding the entrance to the church, both making use of red and green heliconia (chamaqui) flower leaves and circular ornaments made from (tehuizot) palm leaves, which are used in fiestas. Adding to the ritualized setting, indigenous protagonists were concentrated in the inner sanctum. An indigenously dressed huapango folk band was located on one side of the stage, while the huipil queen participants were flanking the other side of the stage. The Nahua part of the jury and the reigning huipil queen were located in a distinguished position in front of the stage.

Temporal enclosures: Building up an information state

In the publicly disseminated program, the huipil ceremony was scheduled to begin at 10 a.m. In the municipal logistics plan, however, scheduled events were set to begin two hours in advance with the huapango band playing regional music to create an atmosphere ("estar ambientando"). Forty-five minutes before 10, the fiesta was well underway. Locals and tourists were walking around in the market, vacant spots in and around the atrium were becoming few, the huipil queen candidates and the Nahua jury arrived jointly and a group of girls and boys in traditional indigenous clothes were performing the xochipitzauat folk dance to the tones of the atmosphere creating band.

The two-hour transposition of the scheduled versus the publicly disseminated starting point facilitates the concealment of the external boundary of the social occasion. That is, organizers ensure that when people arrive to the town center, they witness only the organized social activity – a fiesta already flowing – and not the opening and organizing of social activity – a band arriving to adjust the sound system, testing microphones, and preparing to play. This retrospective indeterminacy of the fiesta's time span – the concealment of the external bracket – insulates the larger social affair from ongoing everyday activity of the environing world and it points to the managerial imperative of having people experiencing the calibrated milieu rather than the ongoing calibrating efforts of management. This way, the blurring and concealment of management becomes a central managerial concern. Together, the need to conceal the external boundary of the fiesta and
the organizational logistics involved in arranging the *huipil* ceremony determine the possible order of events during the fiesta. Because the *huipil* ceremony occupies the atrium – the central locus for dancing – the *huipil* ceremony has to take place before the dances, since otherwise the organizing of the *huipil* ceremony cannot be concealed. Hence, because the dances cannot predate the *huipil* ceremony – the atrium is not available – a spontaneous commencement of the fiesta is not possible. This produces the managerial task of subtly commencing the fiesta to maintain a sense of spontaneity; after all, it is supposed to be a town fiesta, not a politically organized event. This managerial effort, then, also points to the undesirability of launching the *huipil* ceremony at the inception of the continuum of events; it needs to be safely embedded within the larger social affair of the fiesta. Its dependency on the fiesta signals a significant vulnerability within the *huipil* ceremony, namely that it gains its naturalness from a set of preceding calibrations of social reality; the ceremony needs to be accurately laminated in front of the audience and participants. Such calibration is an organizational task that may be inspected through the management of the temporal brackets that enclose and structure the ceremony itself.

The temporal spaces within and around the *huipil* ceremony were administered by two masters of ceremonies (emcees) appointed by the municipal administration – one mestizo and one Nahua – who were speaking to the audience in Spanish and Nahuat respectively via a microphone and loudspeaker system. The distribution of their tasks, defined by their use of distinct languages of communication, readily signals a complementarity of roles, which is also signaled in the structured alternation between the speakers. Rarely, the mestizo emcee spoke without being followed by the Nahua emcee. Nevertheless, beneath this structured complementarity, the division by language also marks a hierarchical division of roles. The prescribed distribution of tasks grants the mestizo emcee the exclusive privilege of mediating the event to the visiting mestizo audience and it prevents the Nahua emcee from communicating directly with that part of the audience. In practice, this simple patterning of roles during the event means that the mestizo emcee holds supreme authority in matters of verbal representation. Awareness of the preassigned asymmetry of role integral capacities shows itself in the production format of utterances of the mestizo emcee. Similar to what Coronado (2000:139-141) shows in her analysis of mestizo speeches during the event in 1997, the mestizo emcee constructs a supra-ethnic, municipal, speech position. Such "totalizing municipal identity" (Rogers 1998) creates a speech position that has the advantage of effacing mestizo political involvement in the organization of the event, including his own role. With the integral monopoly on mediating the event to the external audience, the mestizo emcee implicitly claims to
represent people within the municipality at large, rather than the municipal administration in Cuetzalan. From the supra-ethnic position, he assumes the double-faced role of proxy cultural insider. He is proxy in the sense that he does not pretend to be an indigenous insider, only to appear in their image, possessing the knowledge and having been granted the authority of mediating the cultural content of an internal indigenous event in front of an audience that he constructs as external either by addressing them directly as "visitors," or indirectly through the types of information emitted to frame the event. Within this production format, the mestizo emcee claims merely to be animating, not producing, the ceremony, as his words are attributed to an indigenous source. The participation of the Nahua emcee becomes an embedded source that indirectly substantiates the mestizo mediation of the event as internal and authentically indigenous for the external audience. The participation of the Nahua-speaking emcee testifies to the necessity of installing a mestizo proxy cultural insider, who will make the indigenous ceremony graspable to the external audience. As the event was about to start, the mestizo emcee increasingly calibrated the séance and setting as indigenous:

**Mestizo emcee:** Cuetzalan, Cuetzalan is our municipality. [...] It has a population that exceeds 90% in regard to the indigenous people. A population of more than 90% indigenous and the rest of the population [is] mestizo. One sole, one sole auxiliary council to the south of the municipality, the highlands, Xocoyolo, is composed of mestizos.

The repetitive technique marks part of the information as spectacular for the visitor and as common in the municipality, and the ensuing comments by the Nahua-speaking emcee work recursively as a strengthening testimony to the preceding portraiture of the municipality as indigenous. Through such pronouncements of "factual" information that addresses the environing world rather than the ceremony itself, the audience is gradually prepared to witness an indigenous event and receive indigenous accounts from indigenous subjects. Significantly, then, articulating the municipality as indigenous works to activate and enforce an authentic indigenous space that could otherwise be disturbed by the central presence of mestizos. The emcee's attention to this potential threat to the experience of the event may be seen in the emphasis on Xocoyolo as the "sole auxiliary council" with purely mestizo inhabitants. Pointing out this irregularity and articulating from the outset mestizo presence as marginal within the municipality, the mestizo emcee ascribes an insignificant role to mestizo presence in the social affair and ceremony, even as the event is hosted in and significantly organized by the mestizo municipal capital. He thereby instructs and assists tourists in eliding mestizo presence from their experience of the event and, by not pointing out that Cuetzalan
is a mestizo town, he implies that it is indigenous. In this respect, he emphasized Cuetzalan as one of the first Magical Villages in Mexico and a municipal gathering point that attracts national and international attention. As chapter five showed, emphasizing Cuetzalan as one of the first Magical Villages in Mexico and the first in Puebla works to naturalize its nomination and to insulate it from more recently nominated towns that are portrayed as contaminating and devaluing the category. When the emcee stressed that "there are at least 80 Magical Villages in Puebla, but Cuetzalan still holds first place," he thus elevated Cuetzalan to be a prototype of the Magical Village, a particularly magical Magical Village. Within this context, the ensuing huipil ceremony and ritual dances become the epitomes of what makes Cuetzalan a Magical Village.

Immediately prior to the huipil ceremony, the emcee proceeded to explain the origin, purpose, and structure of the event. The question of origin in particular makes the communicative task a delicate one, because it highlights two inherent fragilities that may provoke the audience to call into question the authenticity of the event. Not only is the origin of the huipil ceremony traceable to 1963, but its inventor was a contemporary leading mestizo politician and former municipal president. This order of origin needs to be convincingly counterbalanced by measures that signal indigenous autonomy in the content and structure of the ceremony and reduce mestizo involvement to a liminal role of initiator and annual host. That is, sources that transgress the origin of the event must be relied upon to establish its authenticity; indigenous agents must be drawn in as principals of the event. Such accounts of the origin of the huipil fair have been fluctuating for decades, as seen in the works of Merlo (1979:42), Coronado (2000:135-137) and Greathouse-Amador (2000:154). All versions are structured by two discrete agents: the safeguarding mestizo benefactor and the safeguarded indigene beneficiary. This structuring of roles came across when Manolo, the director of the cultural center, stated that municipal authorities are present as special guests in an event they altruistically sponsor without exercising any political influence on it.

According to one version, indigenous communities had come to feel that the secular activities of the coffee fair were overriding the traditional indigenous fiesta, due to which their participation in the fiesta was diminishing. Realizing this, mestizo society introduced the huipil fair to create an event that would appeal to indigenous communities and stimulate their participation. By installing this new indigenous event, mestizo authorities succeeded in showing indigenous communities that they were taken into account and that their participation in the fiesta was important to Cuetzalan. As indigenous communities engaged in the event, indigenous participation increased, and so the traditional indigenous fiesta, including its "purity," was safeguarded. Another version holds that the
*huipil fair* was instituted to safeguard indigenous vestments, which were changing and falling out of use due to acculturation processes. In this account, indigenous material culture is reappraised and recognized, giving indigenous communities a sense of belonging and cultural pride that helps them maintain and preserve their material culture. More broadly, the *huipil* fair is seen to safeguard indigenous culture, customs, and traditions. In recent accounts, the cycle is complete, as the *huipil* ceremony itself has become a central indigenous custom within the indigenous fiesta and has therefore also become an object of preservation. Nevertheless, all versions emphasize the *huipil* fair as a safeguarding measure that preserves the authenticity of indigenous culture, whether it be the fiesta, the vestments, or customs and traditions.

Given that the *huipil* ceremony has a point of origin in the figure of the mestizo benefactor, mediating the event as autonomously and authentically indigenous consists in dislocating the mestizo principal by integrating indigenous principals into the structure of the event and making visible the indigenous organizational apparatus involved in the event. To this end, the emcee explained that the indigenous jury was composed of political authorities from the auxiliary councils, and that the auxiliary councils (and three additional communities) had decided on a candidate each for the event. Here, the spatial and temporal brackets of the event are extended beyond the setting and the ceremony itself, thus initiating the event indeterminately in advance in the communities. The authorities, wearing their festive suits, were placed in the front row in a preeminent position within the ritual space covered with pine needles and, anonymously behind them and outside the demarcated area, were the "outstanding" citizen part of the jury in ordinary clothes. Likewise, the emcee avoided directly correlating the two groups, giving the impression that the back row was rather a group of distinguished spectators. Similarly, after the presentations, the indigenous authorities and the reigning *huipil* queen assembled in a circle in front of the stage to show that they were discussing their verdict (Fig. 8.7). Only afterwards, when the first dancing troupes were at the center of attention, did the reigning *huipil* queen pass by to collect the votes of the other part of the jury. As the voting had closed, the main Nahua authority went onstage with the reigning *huipil* queen to declare the winner by throwing into the air ribbons of a color that corresponded to the ribbons on the winner's miniature baton of authority. Later, during the crowning, only the Nahua part of the jury was present in the scene. This centrality offered to the Nahua jury helps move attention away from their being outnumbered by the less visible jury.

Invested into the *huipil* fair is a sense of authenticity understood to transgress the origin of the ceremony. The origin of the ceremony may be recognized as recent, but the culture, traditions, and
vestments presented through the event are pushed into time immemorial. The imperative of memorizing the event as an initiative that came from Cuetzalan, stresses that the *huipil* fair was born into and still forms part of a difficult political climate in that it serves as a reminder of and attests to mestizo's affection and compassion for the indigenous communities and genuine mestizo concern over indigenous marginalization and well-being. The *huipil* ceremony reactivates a story of how mestizos acted altruistically in favor of the indigenous communities.

**Repressive authenticity naturalized: From constriction to description to experience**

The narrative of the origin of the *huipil* ceremony contains two contradictory views on the indigenous population. On the one hand, the ceremony celebrates indigenous participants for their "natural" authenticity – Nahuas know about their culture and follow their traditional lifeways and customs – and, on the other hand, the ceremony is a vital strategy that secures the preservation of their "natural" authenticity. The ceremony thereby portrays indigenous culture as at once central and liminal, vivid and endangered. The contradictions arise between the descriptive, prescriptive, and proscriptive aspirations of the ceremony and must be managed by the mestizo emcee. Overall, the organization of the *huipil* ceremony takes shape by moving from prescription and proscription to description and performance. A month or two in advance, the municipal government sends a letter of convocation to the auxiliary councils announcing the *huipil* ceremony and the criteria of inscription and participation (Fig. 8.8). The criteria are pre- and proscriptive constrictions that delineate the desired participants through inalienable characteristics, cultural and gendered competence, and public performance. For the mestizo emcee, the pre- and proscriptive instructions become resources for his description, which configures public expectation and experience of the ceremony. The criteria guiding the selection process stipulate what the candidates need to be or need to do and, in the ceremony, these pre- and proscriptive requirements are reframed as indications of characteristic indigenous behavior and cultural traits. Where the criteria state that the participants need to wear "100% authentic" and "traditional" cotton vestments made on a waist loom, and cannot wear makeup, stockings, nor footwear, the emcee stated that the participants appear before the audience in their "traditional" and "authentic" vestments. Likewise, his remark that "all participants know how to work the waist loom" derives from the criterion that they have to know how to work it, and the description of participants' features as "autochthonous" comes from a criterion that requests such. Translating constrictions into descriptions, the mestizo emcee informed the audience that the participants need to speak Nahuat and have the capacity to practice their "traditional culture," spontaneously evoking their ability to cook handmade tortillas. This, he
stressed, also meant that the audience should not mistake the *huipil* ceremony for a beauty pageant, since the purpose of the *huipil* ceremony was about being "the most traditional woman." To that end, each woman, thus, had been selected as representative of their community and would come onto the stage to relate "the characteristics of their place of origin," first in Nahuat and then in Spanish. This is a critical moment of translation given that the criterion that guides the oral performance instructs the candidate to "confine herself to speak exclusively of the cultural and historical aspects of one's community." It follows, then, that the instruction of producing cultural and historical accounts of the communities has become a naturalized indigenous genre in the description of the emcee, which in turn may be experientially and performatively confirmed through the ceremony. In this context, the emcee appears to be authenticating the indigenous participants rather than regulating them, even as he conjures a particular type of indigenous subject through ethnographic description and prescription. While the descriptions delineate the participants as naturally authentic indigenes, the pre- and proscriptions speak to the safeguarding function of the ceremony that seek to keep them (naturally) authentic. What in the selection process are requirements for participation are portrayed as natural traits in the context of the ceremony, and therefore notions of what the participants are and what they should be cannot be easily distinguished. The implication is that if participants do not produce a performance that corresponds with the pre- and descriptive domain of the ceremony, they run the risk of publicly compromising their own and community authenticity and of being discredited as cultural witnesses.

So far, the chapter has considered ways in which the *huipil* fair was enclosed spatially and temporally, that is, two prime ways in which the event was framed in front of participants and audience. To further explore the framing of the event, attention is now turned to instances in the speeches of the candidates. These moments, when candidates assume the stage and become the center of undivided attention, constitute some of the most vulnerable moments of the ceremony, not just for the presenting candidates, who become objects of scrutiny in front of the crowd, but also for the organizers. Pointing in particular to disruptive moments in which attention is moved from the enclosed event to the organizing frame of the event, the chapter analyzes both the implications of an accidental frame break and a more deliberate frame-breaking activism that seeks to destabilize and call into question the social occasion and its organizers.

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113 As anthropologist Robert Lavenda (1996) notes, participants in and organizers of community queen contests in towns of the American Midwest characteristically insist that such contests are not beauty pageants.
The cultural Nahua and the traditional woman: Discovering two inviolable characters

The chapter has already pointed to a range of rules that circumscribe participant appearance and performance. The instructions requiring the candidate to speak with elegance, grace, and pride, and exclusively about the characteristics, culture, and history of their community, frames more than what is immediately apparent. This point may be illustrated by a benign, but significant frame break by a 17-year-old participant from San Andrés Tzicuilan. The candidate was noticeably nervous in front of the crowd, occasionally wriggling from side to side, struggling to keep her composure, stretching some syllables while searching for words. However, it was not until she delivered the following remark that her speech disintegrated and she became decidedly uncomposed:

Candidate, San Andrés Tzicuilan: I am studying in the school of Digital Diploma, which is located in the community of Cuautamazaco. I intend to continue studying so as to be able to help my community. My favorite pastimes are to dance, laugh, and have a good time without forgetting my mother tongue.

On the surface, there is nothing obviously subversive about this remark. Yet, upon delivering it, members of audience briefly scanned each other's faces for a reaction to the utterance, and serious nervousness took hold of the candidate as she froze for five full seconds before proceeding with a description of her community, now increasingly stumbling on words and restarting phrases. This instance is noticeable, considering that a few moments earlier she had delivered the same remark in Nahuat without throwing the event into the same state of disorganization. In the following, the chapter suggests that with her remark the candidate struck the constricting frames of the event, causing an irreparable frame break that disrupted the event momentarily and made her fall out of character permanently.

The remark concluded the routine introduction to all speeches in which the candidate acknowledges the presence of the audience and declares her name, age, community, and educational institution. In doing so, candidates may be seen merely to provide "factual, biographical information" about themselves. Nevertheless, the presentation of a brief, standardized biography is a role requirement that performs the important task of amalgamating the character projected on stage with a biographical entity. Notably, due to the structure of the event, the biographical person is already anchored in a particular, distinct cultural community when the candidates start transmitting the standardized personal identity. This role-required conflation of person with

Note that she said bailar (to dance), which tends to imply secular dancing in contrast to danzar, which is applied to ritual dancing. Note also that the preposition "without" may be understood either to introduce "mother tongue" as a fourth pastime or as a linguistic mode of conduct during pastimes.
community and character is aired by the emcees, who enclose each presentation with introductions and conclusions that mention the candidates by name, age, and community. The person-community-character conflation is also visually displayed by the traditional indigenous vestments candidates have to wear, and it is verbally evoked by having candidates speak first in Nahuat and then in Spanish, making the Nahuat speeches into performative preludes that support the Spanish introduction in which they declare their community of origin. The introductions (by candidates and emcees) therefore serve as liminal transition phases during which the singular animator overcomes individuality to emerge as insider and prime exponent of a particular cultural group. This change of gears can be read from the different production formats underlying the introductions and the presentations; only in the standard introduction may the candidates assume principality. After the introduction, the animation of a collective, community identity is requested. The candidates performed this shift by switching from singular self-referential forms to collective self-referential forms such as "we," "us," and "our," or by placing the community toponym or "my community/town" in the subject position. When candidates made use of first person singular pronouns, they did so mostly in ways that created a mere animating capacity by initiating phrases with "I present to you" or "I want to tell you" and the like.

After the candidate from San Andrés Tzicuilan had mentioned her school, the standard introduction had come to an end, terminating with it the legitimate space for animating a personal biographical identity, as it had been successfully linked to a community character. Stretching the initial production format beyond the standard form, the candidate slipped into unwarranted animation of self-as-protagonist with personal emotions, intentions, and pastime preferences. By transgressing the role rights that structure the performances, she disrupted the event. Instead of expounding the cultural community identity within which her personal identity and character had been embedded, she loosened her personal attachment to the collective character that the occasion was requesting her to conjure. The final part of the above quote ("without forgetting my mother tongue") is telling, because it hints at the candidate's anticipation of a likely, troubled response to the first part of the phrase. That part of the phrase may therefore be viewed as a safety measure to protect the candidate by reassuring the audience that while said "pastimes" may seem to be all too familiar to them, conversation in Nahuat is an integral part of these everyday activities. Such anticipation points to the deep source of trouble; the phrase collides with the view of authentic indigenous culture that is integral to the ritual frame. The candidate signals in-group, community membership ("my mother tongue"), while rejecting reductive and inflexibly essentialist views of
indigenous people as culturally managed and bound by ancient tradition, and she signals that indigenous women are not just domestic and pious "carriers of tradition" and "bearers of collectives" (cf. Yuval-Davis 1997:26, 61). By characterizing herself as one who likes to "dance, laugh, and have a good time," the candidate presents herself as little different from young mestiza women. Adding to the frame break, the very mention of "favorite pastimes" may be seen to create an undesired approximation between the coffee queen and *huipil* queen, as the coffee queen candidates are supposed to speak about their pastime activities to give an impression of their individual character. Thus, the mention of pastime activity collapses a distinction between the identities to be conjured in the coffee and the *huipil* queen pageants, and counters the emcee's instructions to the audience that they were not about to witness a beauty pageant; the *huipil* ceremony was about coming across as the most traditional woman. The comment about pastimes therefore betrays the visually animated character doubly; the particular pastimes are incongruent with the activities a traditional indigenous woman is expected to engage in, and the very mentioning of pastimes highlight individual characteristics in a character that is supposed to be collective.

The in-group safety measure of the nuancing maneuver, then, was an attempt to direct the potential harms of the phrase toward the frame of the event instead of the candidate. The safety measure, however, did not fend off anticipated trouble for the candidate. In a public ceremony calibrated as a celebration of indigenous customs and traditions, emphasizing the traditional indigenous *woman*, there would appear to be little receptivity of attempts to reconfigure the constituting views on culture and gender. Nevertheless, the lasting problematic implications for the 17-year-old candidate's presentation arose from her violation of the production format. By animating a self-as-protagonist ("My favorite pastimes"), she created an illegitimate disjunction between person and community-character. Bringing in herself as the direct source of the nuancing attempt, the utterance may easily be isolated to apply solely to her, making the phrase vulnerable to refutation as a cultural description. Her phrase may be read as the claim to be more, other than, and different from the cultural group she undertakes to represent, instead of an attempt of nuancing the idea of cultural belonging that structures the arrangement. This became doubly problematic, because the person-character disjunction cast into doubt, not only whether she can rightly claim to be part of the cultural group she undertakes to represent, that is, whether she really is a "cultural insider," but also whether there is an "inside" at all. This violation of her role rights deeply affected her role capacity as a cultural witness, thus pointing to the importance of complete coherence between person-character-community to create a successful cultural description. It may thus be
argued that within the production format of the ceremony, candidates primarily function as embedded sources to validate dominant mestizo conceptions of indigenous people and women as, above all, cultural and traditional beings. Requesting a loosening of their personal identity from the cultural character of which they are prime exponents and embedded sources is a request that is disciplined by the very structure of the event, as their authenticity and credibility as indigenous, cultural insiders and witnesses are compromised.

When the candidate distanced herself from the collective character, she was seen to distance herself from the community, and the audience response was immediate bewilderment and mild suspicion. The audience response, then, became a public disciplining that made the candidate acutely aware of the limitations of what she can claim to be, that is, the degree to which she is not there as an individual or as her "own" person, but as a figure of a culturalized collective.

**The winner**

When the 18-year old participant from Zacatipan finished her speech in Spanish, she received ovations from the audience for an enthusiastic and well-performed speech. Although she was only the third of eleven contestants, an old man behind me exclaimed: "This one will bring it home." Departing from the difficulties that faced the candidate from San Andrés Tzicuilan, it can be observed that what distinguished this performance from those of the other contestants was the candidate's ability to be in character at the very moment she launched the speech:

**Candidate, Zacatipan:** Welcome all my friends, let us embrace each other while we are here in the utmost precious land of the huipil where neither flowers nor songs can end. [...] Good morning all national and foreign visitors as well as all of my Cuetzaltec siblings, who are visiting us today in this grand national coffee and huipil fiesta of 2014. My name is [...].

Part of her success can be found in the first phrase, which modifies the Spanish version of a well-known piece of Classical Nahuatl poetry. The phrase contains a stylistic device called *diphrasism* (*difrasismo*) in which a couplet consisting of two separate items create a single metaphor (Garibay 1961:115-116). Although diphrasist metaphors are commonly applied by speakers of many Mesoamerican languages, they are closely associated with Classical Nahuatl due to the influential

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115 The phrase derives from the *Cantares Mexicanos* manuscript (Bierhorst 1985:160-169, fol. 9v-12r), which contains Classical Nahuatl songs collected in central Mexico from the 1550s to the 1580s (Bierhorst 1985:7-9), but the phrase is so widely known as "ancient" Classical Nahuatl poetry that this origin is rarely mentioned. During the fiesta in 1997, a representative from SECTUR used the same bit in a public speech to evoke the beauty of Cuetzalan and, as Coronado notes (2000:128), the same verse opens the book *The Magic Sierra* (Merlo 1995:11), which describes towns in the Northern Sierra of Puebla.
Mexican scholar Ángel María Garibay, who labelled and documented this feature in Classical Nahuatl literature and promoted it as a distinctive stylistic trait of that language (1953:67). In the first phrase, the couplet consists of "flowers" and "songs," which in juxtaposition mean "poetry." This particular diphrasism is widely known in Mexico, and the use of such a stylistic device in a public performance may be seen to recursively strengthen the performance. The diphrasism is not only a Nahua term for poetry, it also stylistically performs it, and therefore the active use of such poetic construction in a public speech substantiates the claim that Nahua poetic traditions will not disappear, as the candidate signals cultural speakership competence to insiders and outsiders. This may easily be translated into the wider claim that the cultural traditions of the Nahuas will not disappear, which is essentially what she illustrates to the audience by "naturally" making use of such cultural resources in her performance. The candidate evokes a sensation of cultural preservation and continuity by adding to the phrase that the setting is the "land of the huipil." Designating Cuetzalan as the land of the huipil effectively links her performance to the cultural conceptions that underlie the ceremony, as the ceremony elevates the huipil to signify the continuity of traditions. This way, the candidate commences with a recognizably ethnocized manner of speaking that situates her comfortably within well-known conceptions of Nahua cultural traditions. Setting off her presentation this way, she minimizes the significance of her individual presence, emerging from the outset as "bearer of the collective" (Yuval-Davis 1997:26).

**Organized disorganization: Democracy as indigenous custom**

Having argued that a successful performance in the huipil pageant is dependent on the cultural conceptions that frame the event, and that the candidates are brought in as community specimens and embedded sources of authentic indigenous culture, the chapter now considers what the thesis terms frame-breaking activism, deliberate, strategic attempts from below to disrupt an event organized from above. As the analysis of the presentation by the candidate from San Andrés Tzicuilan shows, even benign frame breaks have the potential of destabilizing the enclosed event and the performance of the enclosed participant. A concern of frame-breaking activism is therefore to challenge the event without inflicting harm on the activist. Frame-breaking activism therefore needs to be organized along the structures of the event – exposing, applying, and reversing them. Two instances follow from the huipil pageant, before highlighting the wider existence and implications of this practice during the fiesta. Consider first the introduction by which the 16-year-old candidate from Xiloxochico launched her presentation:
Candidate, Xiloxochico: Ladies and gentlemen, young ladies and young gentlemen, [male] masters and [female] masters, and above all, you, qualifying jury. To all of you I say: "good morning." Today, 4 October, we find ourselves united in our municipality Cuetzalan. We come to greet our patron saint, San Francisco de Asis.

Here, the candidate acknowledges the presence of the audience through a triple address, before unfolding a vertical relationship that places the Nahua political authorities of the jury in a pre-eminent position vis-à-vis the crowd at large. She thus conveys that her speech is directed at the Nahua authorities, a stance that was reinforced throughout her speech, as she repeated the address "Gentlemen of the qualifying jury," whenever she introduced a new topic. Positioning the Nahua jury as the main recipient of her speech fits well with the framing of the event as, essentially, an internal, indigenous ceremony. Within this participation framework, the audience, although ratified participants, are positioned as a type of bystanders; they are mere witnesses to a speech directed at another recipient. This participation framework immerses the speech in an aura of authenticity and truthfulness, because it is constructed as an internal dialogue that has no direct relation to the presence of others than the Nahua jury. However, this carefully constructed participation framework is also what enables the candidate to convey dissidence while innocently fending off suspicions of bad faith. The candidate from Xiloxochico was one of few during the ceremony, who avoided formally addressing the municipal president and the visiting state governor. Instead, she implicitly addressed the municipal and state authorities as part of the general audience, repeatedly marking them as less significant than the Nahua authorities, thereby delineating the hierarchy she is responsive to. This hierarchy is stressed in the opening remark, which embeds her participation in the common claim that "We come to greet our patron saint," which elaborates on who are not being "greeted," that is, municipal and state political authorities. Yet, since the selective greeting of the patron saint fits well with the overall frame of an indigenous homo religiosus, whose participation is religiously motivated, the absent greeting of the mestizo authorities cannot be straightforwardly categorized as disobedient.

In the final section of her speech, after having described the vestments, fiestas, customs, and traditions of Xiloxochico and recounted the history of the waist loom and weaving, the candidate addressed the general audience again along with the Nahua jury:

Candidate, Xiloxochico: Gentlemen of the qualifying jury, and all who are listening to my phrases, my speech, I invite you to visit my community. There you will be able to see a church of modern construction as well as the presidency. And to finish, I want to tell you that to confront poverty – we can confront it with sustainable development. And with much pride I can say that we, the people of Xiloxochico, are
similar to the additional seven auxiliary councils and that when we elect our governor we do so in a democratic manner, and we do not engage in proselytism. Custom of our ancestors, custom of my community [audience cheer and applause]. We, the people of Xiloxochico, will always welcome you with open arms. Thank you very much [audience applause].

After having safely emerged as a knowledgeable, inside representative of indigenous culture in Xiloxochico and as a traditional, domestic woman who knows how to weave, the candidate exited from the culture talk and engaged explicitly in political matters that break with the organizing instructions to speak exclusively about the culture and history of her community. By offering her opinion on how poverty can be dealt with, the candidate points out that poverty exists in the municipality and that it is a pressing issue within her community that people there are actively engaged in, have an opinion about, and are anxious to resolve. By publicly pitching the idea of sustainable development as a means for poverty alleviation, she furthermore points out that the political promise of sustainable development – which is often associated with indigenous lifeways (Muehlmann 2007) – is yet to be seen in the area. The double appearance of "confront" together with an increased speaking rate may indicate that the candidate is aware that she is moving into controversial terrain. Having crafted an indigenous speech position through participation within the framework of the event, the candidate then expands her position to include all indigenous communities in the municipality by stating "with much pride […] that we, the people of Xiloxochico, are similar to the additional seven auxiliary councils." Through implicit opposition to mestizo politics, the brief political statement becomes a critique of politicians in the municipal capital, who, as she insinuates, proselytize and elect their political leaders in non-democratic ways. The participant situates the ensuing couplet phrase ambivalently between the political statement and the closing remark that welcomes visitors to Xiloxochico, and after that sequence it cannot be known with certainty, whether she refers to democratic politics or hospitality as an indigenous "custom." Nonetheless, because she had previously applied a similar couplet structure ("Pride of my community, pride of my municipality") to terminate her uncontroversial account on weaving, she guided (part of) the audience into interpreting her to be claiming democratic politics as an indigenous custom that sets them apart from the dominant political system. She thereby

116 The speaking rate increased from approximately 3.9 syllables per second to approximately 6.2 in the above section, before slowing down at the first italicized item.
117 The mass kidnapping by police (later confirmed to have led to the mass killing) of students during a protest in Iguala in neighboring state Guerrero had happened just eight days earlier, and the comment reflects the crisis of legitimacy that national government confronted in the wake of a scandalous and tragic abuse of power by authorities. Against the
mobilized part of the audience to loudly demonstrate their appreciation of such bold claims, thus authenticating and legitimizing the notion of democracy as a communal, indigenous custom. Simultaneously, the candidate flipped the political speech by benignly reframing the sequence as another instance of "culture talk" that elaborates on indigenous customs. Finally, she removed herself further from the claim by adding a phrase that could just as well be interpreted as a claimed custom. What prevailed after the speech, then, was not a claim on the part of the candidate as much as a claim on the part of a group within the audience, which effectively performed the interpretive work that chained together democratic politics and indigeneity.

While the critique remains ambivalent and not concretized toward specific agents or processes, it is worth noting, again, that the audience response occurred during the Spanish version of the speech, which points to the mestizos as implied recipients. Moreover, by placing these claims at the end of her speech, the candidate constructs a safety measure, forcing the audience into condoning that part of the speech through their compulsive, concluding applause.

**Characterized by struggle**

When the representative of San Miguel Tzinacapan entered the stage as the penultimate contestant, she delivered an explosive performance. In contrast to the other participants, she gave most of the speech in an indignant tone and did not remain on the same spot throughout the speech, but moved about on the scene while talking, whipping the miniature baton of authority rhythmically to stress her points:

Candidate, San Miguel Tzinacapan: Good morning to all females and males present, favorable qualifying jury: My name is [...] I am 14 years old and I study in the distance education high school Tetsijtsilin [audience applause and cheer], and on this day I come to represent the auxiliary council of San Miguel Tzinacapan. For hundreds of years, Tzinacapan has been characterized by being a town of struggle that does not permit injustices, [and] does not let our language, our traditions, such as the dances, stewardships, and communal ranks, die. Our community is characterized by being a people proudly macehual.

Loud audience response is not uncommon in Latin American queen pageants (cf. McAllister 1996:115-116), but in this huipil pageant the audience generally restricted itself to a concluding applause after each speech. During the first phrase, however, as the candidate announced her school, she received an enthusiastic cheer from part of the audience. The timing of the cheer implies
that it was not a spontaneous audience response, but rather a statement of support from a group of friends or family, who immediately sanctified, on behalf of the audience in its totality, the indignant tone of voice that separated this speech from the rest of the speeches. During the same bit in the preceding Nahuat version of the speech, the candidate spoke more softly, and no cheer of support followed it. Since the indignant tone and supportive cheer were attached to the Spanish version, it follows that both messages were directed toward the mestizo part of the audience in opposition to which the candidate from Tzinacapan stands out. As argued in the case of the candidate from San Andrés Tzicuilan, the audience may silently sanction what is thought to be inappropriate performances, and therefore some measure of control over audience response is crucial to frame-breaking activism. The early positive reaction to the confrontational attitude of the San Miguel Tzinacapan candidate from parts of the crowd therefore has, in itself, a performative effect that promotes a reading of the performance as appropriate and just.

From a local perspective, the cheer following the announcement of the school Tetsijtsilin also reflects the significance of this institution in San Miguel. The school is part of a larger social action and cultural revitalization program run by a civil association called PRADE that was initiated in 1973 by two university professors from Puebla City (Almeida & Sanchez 1989; Almeida 2012; Beaucage 2012). The school has achieved national and international recognition for its intercultural and locally grounded approach to teaching in an indigenous community and the director frequently articulates the school as a movement of resistance toward established cultural and educational paradigms (Morales 2012; Carrizosa 2013c). The zeal of resisting hegemonic ideology plays a central part in the school's history and self-perception, and the cheer that accompanied the candidate upon mentioning the school expresses the vitality of this tradition of resistance. Conflict is part of local interethnic history, and resistance vis-à-vis mestizo Cuetzalan plays a central role in San Miguel Tzinacapan community identity (Coronado 2000:182). The themes of conflict and resistance were expressed by the candidate by pointing to a several-hundred-years-long "struggle" and stressing that her town "does not permit injustices." This "struggle" refers both to general processes of colonization and to local conflicts over land with incoming settlers, whose descendants control the political life in the municipality and inhabit the municipal capital and regional commercial hub, where the huipil ceremony takes place.

Yet it may be seen that the opening phrase, while subverting the peaceful and celebratory recognition arrangement, simultaneously manages to comply with the request to present the cultural "characteristics" and history of her town. In this case, she performs and portrays the "struggle"
against "injustices" as a prime cultural characteristic that defines her community. Their continued struggle against dominant society is what keeps the cultural traditions and Nahuat alive in town and thus the precondition for the statement that people in San Miguel are "characterized by being [...] proudly macehual." Doing so, she immediately calls the frame of the event into question by rejecting that her cultural identity is uncontroversial in contemporary Mexico. She thus refuses to contribute to the guiding sentiment that the huipil ceremony is an act of recognition that marks the conclusion of ethnic conflict, social inequality, and discrimination of indigenous citizens.

As seen in the case of the handicraft vendors in chapter seven, the candidate also highlighted San Miguel Tzinacapan as the superiorly authentic regional indigenous town, where cultural traditions are practiced most vividly:

I can tell you that Tzinacapan is the locality that counts on the greatest variety of autochthonous dances. We can mention the santiagos, migueles, negritos, voladores, quetzales, toreadores, españoles, vegueros, and many other dances. Personally, I have participated in the dance of the voladores; a pre-Hispanic dance most definitely. I know that I have much left to learn, but today with little experience I venture to invite the youngsters of my age that we continue walking with the pride and dignity that characterizes us macehualme [audience applause and cheer]. On this day, I feel very proud of coming to represent the auxiliary council of Tzinacapan. I do not feel ashamed to say that I am macehual, that I can speak the Nahuat language that our ancestors gave us. I feel very proud to speak it!

In this part of the speech, the candidate not only drew visitors' attention to Tzinacapan as a place to experience all the traditional dances that exist in the area, she also implicitly contrasted Tzinacapan with Cuetzalan, reminding local authorities that to put together the desired fiesta for incoming tourists, they rely on importing dancing troupes from surrounding communities, Tzinacapan in particular, as she demonstrates by cataloguing the numerous dances practiced there. By stressing that she is engaged in learning the voladores dance and that she is not "ashamed" to be "macehual" and to "speak the Nahuat language" and will "not let our language, our traditions, such as the dances [...] die," she makes visible her role as a "carrier of tradition" and thereby sets an example that may inspire other "youngsters" to embrace their cultural and ethnic identity.

The fiesta in translocal politics

There are limits to what can be achieved through frame-breaking activism in the huipil ceremony. San Miguel Tzinacapan's candidate resisted the form by contesting the peaceful and appreciative atmosphere surrounding the ceremony. Yet, by articulating a position of opposition to Cuetzalan as a place, where cultural traditions have disappeared, she emerges as exactly the kind of Other figure
envisioned by the huipil ceremony; a young, Nahua woman, who before the audience vivifies indigenous women as "carriers of tradition" whose prime concern in the world is to practice their culture. The production format of the ceremony ensures this by requesting the candidates to produce localized and inward-gazing cultural descriptions focused on their communities. The ceremony thus reinvests indigeneity with a purely culture-related content and localized position that produces an image of indigenous communities as detached from and little interested in the world that surrounds them. Indignant display of "defensive identity" (Castells 2010:64-70) does not undermine the ceremony, even though it emerges in opposition to urban mestizos, because the defensive reaction only strengthens the basic assumption that guides the ceremony; that indigenous citizens are principally cultural beings. All candidates are thus caught in a frame trap, since they can participate only as embedded sources to authentic indigeneity as configured by majority society, and their appearances are evaluated according to their ability to conjure such authenticity.

The candidates are also caught within the confines of the frame in another sense. As observed, the ceremony employs municipal political structures by requesting a candidate from each auxiliary council. Candidates have thus been pre-selected for the ceremony by auxiliary councils and are not primarily responsible for representing themselves, but are taken to represent "their" community. Supplying the ceremony with apt candidates is a political task for the auxiliary councils and the repercussions of unacceptable performances thus exceed individual candidates. This selection mechanism works as a safety-measure that encourages sincere engagement in the ceremony and discourages absence and lackadaisical or clear-cut sabotaging performances, since political consequences could follow for the auxiliary council in question. Hence, within the production format of the ceremony, principality of individual performances is in the end projected onto the authorities of the auxiliary councils who have screened participants. Indeed, for this very reason, several of the candidates' animated speeches were authored exactly by the auxiliary councils they represented. Producing a proper indigenous, cultural performance is thus a thoroughly political task, and the speeches animated by the candidates from Xiloxochico and San Miguel Tzinacapan point to the strained relations between authorities in those auxiliary councils and in Cuetzalan.

Gabriela Coronado notes the historically strained relation between mestizos of Cuetzalan and the surrounding indigenous communities, particularly the ongoing feud between Cuetzalan and San Miguel, and asks how Cuetzalan's fiesta, which depends on indigenous participation, is tied together in spite of these ongoing tensions (Coronado 2000, 2007). Coronado's main analytical point is that an answer can be found only by inserting the fiesta into a wider social and political context.
According to Coronado, collaboration by indigenous groups to make Cuetzalan's fiesta successful could be understood as passive compliance, if one were inattentive to the aims and purposes with which indigenous groups participate in the fiesta, and Coronado points to how indigenous groups actively assist in creating a scenery of harmonious interethnic co-existence and authentic indigenous spectacle, pleasant to the tourist eye. This helping hand in constructing for the mestizos a culturally vivid spectacle in a peaceful climate is a strategic maneuver on the part of indigenous groups to smooth out interethnic interaction, which may ease subsequent negotiations with mestizo authorities. Coronado thus brings to view a reciprocal exchange stressing the interdependence of mestizo and indigenous groups, since mestizos are in need of indigenous participation to sustain local tourism, and indigenous groups depend on local mestizo political authorities who decide how to redistribute municipal resources. A further relation of reciprocity is embedded therein because in political negotiations with state and federal agencies Cuetzalan also requires the strategic and symbolic participation of "poor" indigenous groups to access and secure external funding for the municipality. In turn, economically and socially marginalized indigenous groups are reliant on mestizo authorities to acquire funds on their behalf through federal social programs. With such political interdependence, Coronado argues, there is a strong incentive for the various indigenous communities to collaborate in Cuetzalan's fiesta (2000:14, 135-146, 2007:45-49). Nonetheless, it must be added that this reciprocal relation is highly asymmetrical given that indigenous communities are obliged to volunteer for the mestizo business elite in Cuetzalan's fiesta and help maintain Cuetzalan's position as a regional tourist attraction in order to obtain political goodwill that may secure them basic social necessities in the surrounding municipal area. To that end, Coronado launches an additional argument to explain the cooperation of indigenous communities in a fiesta that by and large benefits the municipal capital (2007:47); essentially, the two groups construct and celebrate two different fiestas with different aims in view. While the mestizos mainly view the fiesta as an important economic event, the fiesta is for the indigenous communities above all an important religious event (2000:14, 127-132, 192-194, 212). Coronado thus segregates the fiesta into a sacred and secular aspect, aligning each aspect with each group.

Although Coronado's two lines of argument intend to chart two ways in which indigenous groups are pursuing their own means, rather than responding passively to mestizo domination, they end up producing a split indigenous subject that on the one hand collaborates strategically in the fiesta in the context of a wider economic and political interaction with mestizo authorities and, on the other hand, is inclined to participate in the fiesta to practice its cultural and religious traditions.
Coronado thus charts a social order that not only disconnects cultural and religious practice from economic, political, and social structures, but even hierarchizes and opposes them. This order minimizes the significance indigenous citizens attach to the economic and political structures Coronado finds integrated in the fiesta. Almost miraculously, then, indigenous and mestizo interests are fulfilled alike in the fiesta despite its integrated economic and political asymmetry, not just because indigenous groups strategically behave as "good Indians," but also because of their predisposed inclination piously to regard the fiesta above all as a religious event, which makes their participation in mestizo accumulation of wealth an indirect one (Coronado 2000:14). In this sense, Coronado's analysis indirectly elaborates on and adds to the settler version of local history and the related identity configurations that make the mestizo *homo economicus* and the Nahua *homo religiosus*.

Yet, there are indications that surrounding Nahua communities have become increasingly dissatisfied with these asymmetries since the time of Coronado's fieldwork. In the case of San Miguel, the relation has been strained for a long time. Coronado (2000:192-194) already noted in 1997 how the date of the procession from San Miguel Tzinacapan to Cuetzalan, in which San Miguel travels to salute San Francisco, had been altered from 4 October, the height of Cuetzalan's fiesta, to take place on 5 October, when most tourists have left town. Since then, the number of participating dancing troupes from San Miguel and other communities has been decreasing and, in 2013, the fiesta reached a state of crisis. The municipal administration arranged a celebration of the 50-year anniversary of the *huipil* ceremony, inviting past *huipil* queens to a commemorative ceremony that honored the queens of the past. Yet, very few dancing troupes arrived and, according to Aureliano, the organizer of the *huipil* ceremony in 2014, only two dancing troupes arrived from San Miguel. Subsequently, in 2015, the auxiliary council refused to send a participant for the *huipil* ceremony, accusing municipal authorities of having rigged the election of the queen.

According to Aureliano, the conflict dates to the early 1970s when the PRADE project was launched in San Miguel and began to spread the idea that:

Aureliano: […] The people of Cuetzalan are taking advantage of the indigenous people; they are robbing them. And they begin to give the indigenous people the idea that we, from [Cuetzalan], are bad, that we have treated them badly, that we are enemies, and they begin to say to them, "Well, why would you dance in Cuetzalan if they take advantage of you? They are just calling you so that you dance in front of the governor or in front of the [municipal] president. You will no longer dance for San Francisco, now you are dancing for them." And so, with that idea in their heads, they began to stop coming. […] And now, in these events, we can muster up the presence of all the auxiliary councils, except for San Miguel. […]
When [the archangel] San Miguel comes to visit San Francisco, then a group of quetzales and a group of negritos arrive accompanying the saint. They pass by where the fiesta is, they turn around, they find an entrance [to the church], they enter the temple, they do their salutation ritual – or whatever they want – dance, they withdraw, exit, and leave.

Casper: That is, instead of dancing in Cuetzalan's fiesta, they are dancing in San Miguel's procession?

Aureliano: In the procession, inside the temple, and when they withdraw, but they do not pass by to dance in the town setting.

Interethnic relations have been marked by conflict and tension, not since the 1970s, but since the 1850s, when incoming settlers began to displace Nahuas from Cuetzalan and rearranged the economic and political system to their advantage. Before the 1970s, the conflict revolved around land issues and an unfair local trading system (Bartra et al. 2004:11-ff.), particularly in the coffee trade, and this conflict has been reactualized since the 1970s by adding a surging identity-political dimension. The PRADE cultural revitalization project and the influx of social scientists to San Miguel Tzinacapan coincide with a post-indigenist call in Mexico for recognizing indigenous cultural traditions and an incipient tourism to Cuetzalan configured and promoted around the indigenous experience (cf. Arizpe 1972; Kandt 1972; Romero 1976/77; Valdiosera 1976/77; Merlo 1979). Since then, a tourist sector has been emerging in Cuetzalan, as tourists have gone there to experience an indigenous fiesta, an indigenous market, and an indigenous town.

In the 1850s, when the settlers began to arrive in substantial numbers, Cuetzalan was already the most important town in the area after Zacapoaxtla (Thomson 1991:214). In 1895, the settlers took hold of the municipal presidency and the prominent position Cuetzalan already enjoyed in the regional market system. As the coffee trade grew, so did the difference in wealth between people in central Cuetzalan, where coffee was processed and marketed, and the surrounding towns that supplied land and labor for cultivation, and Cuetzalan's status as commercial center was further consolidated. These earlier historical processes matter today because they paved the way for how tourism has come to pan out. Early tourism was attracted to Cuetzalan due to its small-town life and Sunday market in the plaza with incoming Nahua buyers and vendors. Tourists were also attracted by the fiesta, which gathered large numbers of dancing troupes and spectators from the surrounding area, and by the huipil ceremony, which showcased Nahua women in traditional clothing. All these attractions that mestizo Cuetzalan was able to present to the visitor stemmed from having overtaken the town's already existing regionally superior position. The fiesta in Cuetzalan is the regional fiesta, because Cuetzalan is the regional commercial and political center.
The tragic ironies of a growing tourism to Cuetzalan nurtured by the growing interest in local Nahua culture were (and are) felt most intensely by people in nearby San Miguel Tzinacapan, where social scientists went to revitalize cultural traditions and learn about their culture and language (Lupo 1998), and from where they could observe incoming tourists going to Cuetzalan to experience indigenous dances and the regional market. Being confirmed in their authenticity by visiting researchers, yet witnessing how the economy from tourism has been following the usual pattern, flowing into central, mestizo Cuetzalan, it is not hard to understand why people in San Miguel over time have become frustrated and attempt to rearrange their position within this asymmetrical labor system. In the early days of tourism, Cuetzalan's position in this translocal network could potentially be countered, shifted, or attenuated by not contributing dance troupes to the fiesta and strengthening one's own fiesta. Or, by collaborating more reluctantly, the key resource to the fiesta could be made scarce and provide indigenous communities with leverage in additional political negotiations with the municipal capital.

Yet, today, Cuetzalan is part of the Magical Villages Program, which unambiguously favors the municipal capital by directing focus and funding to the town center and, hence, Cuetzalan's status as the regional center of tourism – and as indigenous town – has congealed. With this consolidation of regional tourism, getting a piece of the tourism economy from outside of Cuetzalan is near impossible without massive funds. In 1978, there were three official lodgings in town, and 20 years later in 1998 the number of lodgings had increased to 13 (Greathouse-Amador 2000:158-160). In 2012, 38 official lodgings were registered in and within walking distance of Cuetzalan, and 12 in the surrounding area (BUAP 2013:30-35). Of the latter, at least nine are ecotourism or luxury cabins and resorts located on large plots and, of the total 50 lodgings, a handful or less appear not to be owned by mestizos. Indicatively, three of these are owned by cooperatives rather than being family-run businesses as are most mestizo-owned hotels.

To suggest, as Aureliano did in the interview, that people from Tzinacapan are discriminating against people in Cuetzalan by not contributing to their fiesta may seem absurd, but it is to be taken quite seriously nonetheless. Tourism is replacing coffee as the prime commercial arena in Cuetzalan and everyone is trying to get into the tourism business. Therefore, the fiesta will only gain in importance just as other events will be created in which indigenous dances need to be displayed. The centralized tourism economy may then increasingly come to depend on the goodwill of auxiliary councils, but auxiliary councils may also see a need for working to redirect tourism from

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118 "Potentially," of course, because such a political decision may lead to political consequences in other areas.
Cuetzalan and to events in their own towns. To do so may involve gradually debilitating Cuetzalan's fiesta and creating more vivid fiestas in the surrounding communities.

The key resource fought over presently in local tourism is thus indigenous identity and intangible culture. Acquiring indigenous material culture through which to project an indigenous identity and around which to construct attractions is not difficult for tourism agents in Cuetzalan. Intangible resources are much more difficult to control and can be done so only indirectly. Local and internal political struggles therefore currently revolve around intangible culture. Since staying away completely from Cuetzalan's fiesta may lead to political sanctions, other ways of debilitating the fiesta are sought. Ambiguous, frame-breaking performances – rupturing the peaceful atmosphere constructed for the huipil ceremony, producing unsolicited political speech, pointing out that Cuetzalan is a mestizo town, participating with a small number of dancing troupes, or making a spectacular but brief public appearance before disappearing into the church – express a struggle over the translocal order the Magical Villages Program has reinstated by consolidating Cuetzalan as the regional indigenous town. As Cuetzalan is taking on an indigenous identity in front of an external audience, the Magical Villages Program may prompt Nahua citizens to delve further into an identity politics that distinguishes the indigeneity of Cuetzalan from the "authentic" indigeneity of the surrounding communities.

The fiesta and the huipil ceremony contribute to enforce a translocal order that is disadvantageous to the surrounding communities, who are forced to participate in cultural terms in a political event that celebrates post-discriminatory mestizo Mexico through public recognition of cultural identity. The ceremony thus gives life to the widespread idea that cultural recognition of indigeneity itself has terminated ethnic discrimination, even as the ceremony is based on a discriminatory Othering that hampers indigenous economic and political participation. As has been shown, the production format of the huipil ceremony renews this idea by engaging indigenous agents in autoethnographic self-culturalization and self-localization before a recognizing mestizo audience; indigenous agents are drawn in as embedded sources to legitimate a majoritarian culturalization and localization of indigeneity, which denies indigenous citizens economic and political subjectivity in contemporary Mexico.
Fig. 8.1-8.2: Participants in the huipil ceremony (Source: Casper Jacobsen, October 2014).

Fig. 8.3: Participant in the huipil ceremony performing speech (Source: Casper Jacobsen, October 2014).
Fig. 8.4: Participant in the *huipil* ceremony performing speech (Source: Casper Jacobsen, October 2014).

Fig. 8.5: An overview of the three-tier central Cuetzalan (Source: Una Canger, March 2014).
Fig. 8.6: Overview of the atrium during the coronation of the *huipil* queen (Source: Casper Jacobsen, October 2014).

Fig. 8.7: Nahua jury and reigning *huipil* queen gathered in a circle to settle on the winner, while *voladores* dance in front of the crowd (Source: Casper Jacobsen, October 2014).
Fig. 8.8: Letter of convocation for the huipil ceremony in 2013, stipulating grounds of participation (Source: Municipal government, Cuetzalan).
SUB-CONCLUSION OF PART THREE

The first of the two analytical parts showed how the Magical Villages Program has developed and how it has embedded the translocal frame governmentality of multicultourism into the social life and setting in Cuetzalan. In continuation, the second analytical part proceeded with a focus on how Nahua handicraft vendors from neighboring San Miguel Tzinacapan maneuver the ambivalence of experiencing an increasing interest in Nahua culture, which nonetheless is processed through a multicultourism that primarily rewards mestizo elites in Cuetzalan. Moreover, Cuetzalan's annual fiesta was analyzed to show how indigenous communities are incorporated into a political and social structure that maintains Cuetzalan's translocal eminence as indigenous town and showcases indigenous citizens as cultural objects.

Given that the Magical Villages Program is subsidizing the inner-town mestizo elite by channeling funds into the town center, constructing Cuetzalan as the Magical Village and indigenous town, and designing political platforms through which the elite undertakes to represent the total community, chapter seven tuned in to the strategies employed by incoming Nahua handicraft vendors from nearby San Miguel Tzinacapan, another group trying to make a living out of multicultourism. As shown through analysis of early field notes and interviews, vending handicrafts is a day-to-day subsistence activity that helps facilitate a long-term strategy based on forging lasting relationships to tourists and newcomers. The aim appears to be to construct and maintain a social security network that fends off the perennial harms of socio-economic marginalization, and this long-term strategy reflects the intuition that they will not be able to live directly off tourism in the near future. Through face-to-face encounters, the vendors seek to dislocate Cuetzalan's status as indigenous center, asserting San Miguel Tzinacapan as an authentic indigenous town, an identity construction that is paramount for establishing relations to incoming tourists and newcomers. The vendors show a particular interest in creating educational coparenthood relationships, which tie their children to urban, middle-class residents, who take on the task of sponsoring schooling and, as part of their co-parenting, transmitting middle-class ideals centered on education. An identity transaction thus takes place according to which tourists and newcomers create or "restore" lineage roots to pre-Hispanic, indigenous Mexico, while Nahua vendors create ties to urban, middle-class mestizos around whom the Mexican labor market and state institutional apparatus are configured. In this sense, the most apparent way for the Nahua vendors to exit the culturalizing and asymmetrical multicultourism into which they have been
inscribed appears, paradoxically, to be to underpin it performatively and try to turn it to their advantage through personalized relations.

The struggle to define and deploy indigenous identity, which is integral to multicultourism, stands out clearly during Cuetzalan's annual fiesta, which is one of the highlights of the tourist season. Chapter eight focused on the community queen pageant, called the huipil ceremony, in which eleven communities are requested by municipal authorities to contribute a candidate each. The chapter showed how the ceremony is framed by municipal authorities to mediate the impression that the event is an autonomously indigenous one. Within this production format and participation framework, young Nahua women are expected to conjure up collective community identities through autoethnographic accounts organized around the notion of internal community culture. By engaging in self-culturalization, the huipil candidates thus become embedded sources to a purified mestizo majority view of indigeneity as oriented to localized culture. From this perspective, the cultural recognition of indigeneity offered by the public huipil ceremony works to demonstrate mestizo concern over the well-being of indigenous citizens and the ceremony is taken to effectively certify the end of ethnic discrimination and inequality. This way, the ceremony celebrates post-discriminatory Mexico, all the while requesting indigenous subjects to publicly protrude as cultural objects, a demand, which in itself is realizable only on the basis of an asymmetrical political and social structure subordinating indigenous communities. Young Nahua women are thereby instrumented in a discriminatory ceremony to assist in entertaining the discriminatory notion that they are no longer discriminated against. In the context of a larger political interaction, displaying indigenous cultural identity during the fiesta is not just a cultural right, as the huipil ceremony implies, but has become a moral duty and a repressing obligation. So, indigenous communities are structured into supporting their subordinate political subject position vis-à-vis mestizo Cuetzalan. Toward an internal audience, mestizos renew the settler-based identity as homo economicus by reifying Cuetzalan's status as the regional commercial hub, while toward an external audience renewing Cuetzalan's role as Magical Village and the regional indigenous town.

The analysis has highlighted ways in which some indigenous communities are trying to work against mestizo hegemony and indigenous culturalization as expressed through the fiesta, yet it has also demonstrated that there are limits to what can be achieved through performative strategies within the context of multicultourism. One option is to break the frame of the event by spicing up speeches in the huipil ceremony with political messages or hints of ongoing ethnic discrimination. Another option is to utilize the hypervisibility produced by the event to expose Cuetzalan as a
mestizo town and render their own town as authentically indigenous. Within the larger social occasion, yet another option is for auxiliary councils to contribute only minimally or reluctantly to the commercial aims of the fiesta, for instance by dispatching few dancing troupes or timing their arrival after the climax of the fiesta, or to attenuate the sought-for tourist spectacle by dislocating dancing troupes from the central setting of the atrium.

With indigeneity having emerged as the key resource to an envisioned municipal industry and with indigenous communities looking for ways to connect to multicultourism and disconnect Cuetzalan from it, indigenous identity and intangible cultural heritage are increasingly becoming resources in local power struggles. Within an already charged identity-political scene, chapter eight has shown how multicultourism reactivates intergroup divisions and resentment by giving new life to identity and power configurations that are tied to a troublesome shared history.

From these observations, the next move of each group may be surmised. Indigenous authorities will probably look to create local or regional events that circumvent Cuetzalan, while mestizo authorities will likely attempt to centralize tourism. Moreover, mestizos will possibly seek to convert their indirect control over intangible indigenous culture into a direct one. As the ensuing discussion will point out, these inklings are becoming all too real.
DISCUSSION: REGENERATING MESTIZO NATION

Agonizing ironies

Two-thirds into the PhD project, after the final round of fieldwork, I lost a sense of why I had found the topic of this thesis to be so pressing. In Cuetzalan and surrounding parts of the Sierra de Puebla, indigenous activists and organizations were (and are) struggling to keep out transnational mining companies and hydroelectric plants and appeared to be less concerned about how a national tourism program was representing the past, the Nahua, and their combination. A few months before the follow-up fieldwork, the key Nahua activist Antonio Cruz had been assassinated by gunshots in front of his house near Santiago Yancuitlalpan, illustrating with chilling precision one of the reasons why activists have labeled their struggle against extractivist projects as one against projects of death.

It is beyond debate, then, that indigenous citizens in Mexico are dealing with threats greater than the issues with which this thesis is concerned. If anything, the research project was finding that indigenous communities were largely absent from the whole business of Magical Villages. As these ironies were dawning on me, the significance of the research project appeared to be deflating quickly. I soon came to wonder how someone pretending to be involved in indigenous issues would exactly justify having spent so much time on what appeared to be almost exclusively a mestizo project, while neglecting to engage with themes of actual concern to Nahua citizens in Puebla. Having geared the research project to the Magical Villages Program and Cuetzalan, I had been deceived by the frame of multiculturnourism that encapsulates both and suddenly the project seemed to be completely at odds with what I had set out to do.

Now that the research project and thesis have come to an end, I have another take on this issue. Getting there nonetheless required discarding the frames through which the Magical Villages Program has been asserting itself into the national public realm in contemporary Mexico and to posit alternative frames that provide another view on the activities encompassed by the program. In Latin America, the concept of multiculturalism is deeply tied to an origin myth of achievement according to which transnational and national indigenous movements rallied against governments in the struggle for cultural rights and social equality. Thus, the modification of the Mexican Constitution in 1992 is taken to signal a radical break with colonial legacy and former unjust policies, and this notion of a new world order is symbolically reified each time multicultural policies are launched. Insisting on the term multiculturnourism, as this thesis does, marks an attempt to dismiss the frame governmentality that operates through the concept of multiculturalism, which in
Mexico has the inevitable connotation of mestizo concession versus indigenous achievement. Multiculturalist policies are generally thought of as advancements, whether great or small, in indigenous democratic participation and rights issues, and they are taken to mark a pre-/post-1992 divide. This notion now needs to be discarded. As the thesis has shown, the tacit connective between multiculturalist policy and indigenous rights issues has left academics and indigenous citizens with their guards down in a situation in which the multiculturalist framework has been utilized for carrying forth with policies that are not particularly sympathetic to indigenous causes.

During a research seminar at the beginning of the PhD project, I was fortunate to meet with an indigenous Mexican activist who has been active in the UN Working Group on Indigenous Issues. During lunch, I optimistically pitched my project to her, starting with a few critical remarks about the Magical Villages Program and the use of intangible indigenous heritage as an economic resource. Still stuck in the starting blocks, she interrupted the pitch with a stern look and posed the rhetorical shutdown question, "Why is it, indigenous people are not allowed to have their own economy?" Hopefully, this thesis has managed both to deflect that critical remark and demonstrated precisely why that question is such a crucial one.

One of the reasons why the program has gained a respectable renown in Mexico and wider Latin America is that when inspected from a distance, or through 36-hour stays in a Magical Village such as Cuetzalan, all that protrudes is the mediating frame that casts the program as an emancipatory cultural recognition of marginalized rural, often indigenous, citizens. Thus, through the multicultourism espoused by the Magical Villages Program, urban middle-class mestizos are seen to contribute to indigenous emancipation and their travel is configured as a commitment to post-1992 Mexico. Citizens of the urban middle-class thus simultaneously embrace and reconnect with "their" indigenous past and engage in a translocal identity project that effectively charts ethnic discrimination as a phenomenon of the past, thus constituting themselves as citizens of a post-discriminatory Mexico. To this end, the Magical Villages Program becomes in part a state-sponsored "neo-Indianism" (cf. Galinier & Molinié 2013) in which the recognition of indigenous citizens consists of mestizos embracing indigenous culture as part of their own identities. Within this current, mestizo identity demonstrates its astonishing flexibility and ability to encompass the totality (cf. Rogers 1998). So, while earlier indigenist policies sought to blur the lines between mestizo and indigenous groups through planned acculturation set to erase indigenous culture, the new project of mestizaje is blurring the lines between the two groups through strategic and symbolic indigenization of majority mestizo citizens. In this sense, the identity-based political arena of
negotiation that opened for indigenous minorities in Mexico beginning in 1992 is being closed by the parallel surge in neo-Indian identity politics. Mestizo approximation of indigenous identity within an identity-political context thus amounts to a project of elimination, given that mestizo indigenization will tend to occur through an opportunistic selectivity geared to a metropolitan nationalism. It is therefore a paradox that the multicultourism of the Magical Villages Program is "fueled" by founding ideas about multiculturalism, "funded" by a growing popular empathy toward indigenous identity, and conceived as an ostensibly benevolent cultural recognition, while nonetheless pushing indigenous citizens out of their post-1992 political arena and upholding their role as vicarious democratic citizens.

The encroachment on indigenous cultural identity following its increasing configuration as a national economic and political resource demonstrates Patrick Wolfe's crucial point about settler colonialism, "Invasion is a structure, not an event" (1999:2-ff.). In this ongoing project, the overall concern is to discursively situate colonizer and colonized in discontinuous spaces that camouflage intergroup conflicts of interest of an economic and political kind. As Wolfe points out, a shared economic interest in land is at the base of the colonizers' tendency to construct indigenous subjects as situated "in an apparently self-sufficient ritual space" that does not interfere with the settler-colonial project (1999:178-180). The invasive settler-colonial project is renewed in Cuetzalan through a multicultourism that configures indigenous identity as the new economic (and political) resource in the context of a fading local coffee industry. Whereas formerly indigenous lands were being split by incoming settlers, notions of indigeneity itself are now being segmented and split between colonizer and colonized. As chapter eight showed, majority society constructs a sense of indigeneity that is purified of economic and political motives, rendering unproblematic a division of labor in which indigenous subjects are granted the right to publicly display their culture and harvest cultural recognition in the municipal capital, while mestizo elites arrange a local industry around the public culturalization of indigeneity that inserts their businesses in a recognition economy. As was shown, such divisions are carved into social structures such as that of the fiesta, which bases itself on the popular account that mestizos and indigenes engage in two different events, an economic mestizo fair and a cultural and religious indigenous fiesta. In this sense, indigenous subjects are recognized for "preserving" a pious and traditional way of life that is celebrated precisely for (ostensibly) not operating according to a wider economic and political context. Indigenous agents thus face a "repressive authenticity" (Wolfe 1999:163-214) that grants them a societal role as cultural objects that obstructs their social participation as economic and political subjects. In the
context of an increasingly individualized competition, marketization, and mobility, urban middle-class mestizos celebrate indigenous citizens for preserving subsistence living and not succumbing to modernization. Thus, purified indigeneity becomes a means of salvation for urban middle-class citizens who perform a symbolic "return" to values that are seen as standing outside of economic and political relations. In this process, indigenous groups are not just configured as vicarious participants in democratic society, but also become vicarious participants to indigenous identity construction.

Preserving traditions: Indigenous dispossession in Cuetzalan

Differences and similarities can be noted in struggles over tangible resources such as land and intangible resources such as indigenous cultural heritage and identity. Although settler colonialism revolves around access to and control of land and the struggle over such tangible resources may take on an ethnic dimension when outsiders make incursions into territories occupied by other ethnic groups, the struggle over land is not necessarily deemed to pan out across ethnic divides. This can be seen in the current political campaign against extractivist projects in the Sierra, which is leading to joint indigenous and mestizo cooperation to protect their common resources against external agents. The common threat posed by incoming mining companies and hydroelectric plants thus unifies mestizo and indigenous groups in a joint political mission.

In contrast, privatized competition over intangible indigenous cultural heritage and identity is likely to lead to dissension. Ethnicity is configured relative to other ethnicities. Therefore, ethnic identity and boundary marking are necessarily an interethnic affair (Eriksen 2002:11-ff), and the shared cultural history between Nahuas and mestizos complicates a clear division as to whom belongs the right to claim which cultural tradition as their heritage. As in Cuetzalan's fiesta and the huipil ceremony, one cultural tradition laminates another, just as local history writing is laminated with the grand nationalized Aztec narrative.

Within such shared history, symbolic mestizo appropriation of indigenous material culture is a straightforward matter that basically involves selection, acquisition, and strategic display of indigenous cultural objects. This interlacing of identities is an ongoing process that takes place on many levels in Cuetzalan. The ethnographic museum at the cultural center, which displays indigenous material culture, is an emblematic example, but many hotels and restaurants also display

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119 As historian Guy Thomson notes, agrarian conflict in nineteenth century Cuetzalan was not just configured across ethnic divides. The conflict also led to factionalism and plenty of violence among the incoming land-grabbing settlers (1991:247-248).
a cuezali headdress and other signifiers of indigenous identity (cf. Coronado 2000:132). Now, as part of being a Magical Village, indigenous cultural objects are increasingly being included not just as atmosphere-creating decorations in hotels and restaurants, but as the key attractions around which experience economies are created. In 2015, a privately owned huipil museum opened, displaying and selling these garments. Moreover, as part of the Magical Villages Program, a voladores museum is planned. In such cases, indigenous cultural objects are not just adding to the tourist experience, but constitute the tourist experience, thereby potentially producing extra and direct revenue as an independently consumable product. Such formats are different from, say, the voladores pole in the town center, which helps attract tourists, but does not directly create revenue. Businesses are fixed to the voladores pole in a more indirect sense, for instance, through promotional work emphasizing the popular ritual or by setting up a café that provides a good view of the voladores as they swing down.

While intangible skills are involved in constructing the material objects on display, mestizos acquire the material results of the intangible skills in such transactions. A labor division thus emerges in which indigenous Nahua craft the products pro bono or at a low price, and mestizos of Cuetzalan refine and commercialize these products at a better price, just as was the case with the local coffee industry, before the emergence of the large regional cooperative Tosepan Titataniske in 1977 (Bartra et al. 2004:19-23). Since intangible cultural expressions involve skills acquired through embodied experience and learning, mestizos find themselves unable to exercise a similar direct control over the performance of intangible indigenous culture and identity. This is seen in the analysis of the fiesta (chapter 8). Mestizo authorities and business owners – two distinct terms for the same group of citizens – rely on embodied intangible skills such as dancing and language competencies and therefore depend on indigenous agents and auxiliary councils to provide live demonstrations of these admired skills. Within this order, indigenous communities have indirectly used the sought-for cultural resources as a lever in additional political negotiations with municipal authorities. Thus, they use cultural competencies as resources in a wider political negotiation that helps them acquire basic necessities such as health clinics, adequate class rooms, paved streets, or sewage disposal.

Nonetheless, as privatized competition over indigenous cultural heritage is intensified, indigenous communities are seeking ways to avoid providing or limiting this resource. As in the case of San Miguel, Nahua authorities elsewhere are beginning to wonder why exactly they should actively assist the mestizo elite in Cuetzalan in their attempts to gain on tourism through indigenous
performance and solidify Cuetzalan as the regional center. This is partly why the consciousness-raising campaign (chapter 5) surged to convince people that tourism, in the form it currently has, is of benefit to the community, that is, the municipality as a whole, because money ostensibly trickles to all people from hotels and restaurants. As the teacher said, people need "to look around a bit and accept that [Cuetzalan] is a Magical Village and accept the development that this entails." This statement virtually means to accept the social order and labor division that has persisted since the late nineteenth century when settlers took possession of central Cuetzalan and made the area "progress." As reflected in the production format and participation framework of the fiesta, mestizo authorities have for some decades been engaged in inserting intangible indigenous culture into a labor system that rewards business owners based in the municipal capital. Nonetheless, while direct control over land through the use of economic or political force is possible, direct control over intangible skills cannot easily be achieved. So far, mestizo elites have managed to achieve an indirect control by inserting indigenous performance into a wider asymmetrical political and social structure that makes a biopolitical governmentality feasible.

Yet, as intangible indigenous culture is turning into an economic resource within a growing local tourism industry concentrated in Cuetzalan, indigenous communities are increasingly turning bitter at seeing the mestizo elite profiting from it. Mestizos in Cuetzalan see this reflected in a dwindling commitment to their fiesta and feel they are being "discriminated" against by Nahua communities that cannot let "past" injustices stay in the past. Feeling, as they do, that some Nahua communities are trying to put an end to "their" cultural heritage by limiting their contribution to Cuetzalan's fiesta, embittered mestizo authorities will not tolerate being "discriminated" against for long. Indigenous performance is a mestizo cultural right, and with the multicultourism of the Magical Villages Program as a principal, the first steps toward direct mestizo control over indigenous intangible skills are currently being taken.

In an interview with Enrique, a former official within the municipal government administration, he lamented the dwindling participation of San Miguel Tzinacapan and other communities within Cuetzalan's fiesta. As he explained, the fiesta was beginning to fade away, while the fiestas in the surrounding towns continued more or less unrestrictedly. Once, up to 20 or 30 dancing troupes would participate in Cuetzalan's fiesta, but in 2012 there had been only around six. Enrique stressed the problem to be a political one, since dancing troupes stay away if they are not getting along with the municipal president in office. Now, Enrique was seeing how San Miguel was becoming the town in the region with a fiesta that hosted the superior number of dancing troupes. As Enrique
acknowledged, people in San Miguel have been organizing themselves well for decades, and the dances thrive there. Unfortunately, Enrique explained, the people of San Miguel are "so politicized" that they want to keep their dances to themselves:

**Enrique:** [People from Cuetzalan] criticize that [dancing troupes from the communities] don't come. But unfortunately, no one from Cuetzalan takes the initiative to say, "Alright, well, if the dancers from the communities *don't* come, we need to set up our own dance." Nobody does it, because they don't really feel the dance. They are embarrassed. Or, we are too embarrassed to dance like *them*. They do it out of devotion. They do it because they *feel* it, because it is their culture. Not us, and we now have a [certain] mode of thinking and we are criticizing that they no longer come and we want to put pressure on them for them to show up, but none of us dares to say, "Alright, let's arrange a dance ourselves."

[…]
The moment will come when – if people want to have dances in the fair – the municipal government will have to set up a school of traditions and through the schools create dancing troupes. […] So that in the fair all the schools that received funds and were supported in terms of costumes are called upon. Well, if they no longer want to come here from the communities, at least you [visitors] and the people will see [the dances] in order to know our roots and what our culture is about. Because if not, I tell you, the day will come when the fair is going to consist of peanut stalls and clothing stalls. But dances?

It is quite the paradox that the moment in which a shift in the power balance between the mestizo elite in Cuetzalan and neighboring San Miguel Tzinacapan may be glimpsed in the horizon is also the very moment in which the Magical Villages Program, which ostensibly works in favor of the marginalized, begins to subsidize the tourism industry in mestizo Cuetzalan and to help consolidate it as the regional commercial center by consecrating it as the regional indigenous town. But that is not all. Enrique's idea that a school of tradition needs to be installed to preserve the traditional dances so they may be enjoyed in the fiesta did not come out of thin air. At the time, Cuetzalan was exactly preparing to apply for program funding, 15,000,000 MXN, for a school set to teach the traditional dances in the cultural center in Cuetzalan (SECTUR 2014b). Since then, a *volador* course has begun to be offered at a preschool and primary school in Cuetzalan (May 2014; Téllez 2015).

A paradoxical take on indigeneity emerges from Enrique's account. Adult mestizos in Cuetzalan are not prepared to engage in dancing activities associated with indigenous culture: Indigenous people perform the dances "out of devotion. They do it because they *feel* it, because it is their culture," although if they are too "politicized" they will stay away. Nonetheless, Enrique still maintains that the dances reflect the mestizo "roots and what our culture is about." Losing the dances within the fiesta means to lose Cuetzalan's traditional fiesta, which must be preserved at all
costs. With the emergence of these schools of tradition, mestizo authorities now initiate the process of embodying the intangible skills of the surrounding Nahua communities in coming generations of mestizos so as not to see their fiesta turning into a fair consisting purely of "peanut stalls." Cuetzalan's fiesta and the *huipil* fair are two of the intangible expressions of local heritage that justify the town's status as a Magical Village. If the fiesta and the *huipil* fair are not preserved, this would not alone jeopardize Cuetzalan's participation within the Magical Villages Program, since the fiesta and the *huipil* fair are also key reasons for Cuetzalan's inscription on Mexico's tentative list of UNESCO World Heritage. The Magical Villages Program is thus showing people that they are quite within their rights to preserve their fiesta by any means necessary. Because Cuetzalan's fiesta has traditionally included indigenous dances, indigenous dances are now inscribed into mestizo heritage. As indigenous communities gradually reject dancing in Cuetzalan's fiesta, the mestizos vigorously take on the task of preserving local culture.

Although the traditional schools are not likely to discriminate as to who can sign up, their placement in central Cuetzalan, where the necessity of such schools appears to be most urgent, tells a story of its own. One biopolitical governmentality appears to be substituting another. Whereas nowadays, mestizos are putting "pressure" on indigenous communities to perform their identity in the fiesta through dances and the *huipil* ceremony, Enrique is envisioning a more direct access to the sought-for resource by making mestizo children adopt, embody, feel and perform strategic elements of Nahua culture from pre-school age and onwards. Through these means, Enrique and others hope that, within 15 years, Cuetzalan will see the number of dancing troupes in their fiesta increase in a way not unlike what has been done in San Miguel Tzinacapan through revitalization programs.

What mestizo authorities in Cuetzalan are gradually discovering through participation in the Magical Villages Program is that indigenous communities are in fact entirely dispensable from multicultourism and Cuetzalan needs no longer depend on them to provide the needed spectacle in their fiesta and other important events. Cuetzalan is therefore able to reengage with the settler-colonial project of indigenous annihilation through subordination and regain total control of political negotiations by dispossessing the Nahua of their newfound identity-based resource and overtaking their spot in the national identity-political arena. Worst of all, when inspected through the lens of the unitary community and without a sensibility to local politics, this mestizo strategy of dispossession will appear as an altruistic and caring gesture toward the indigenous population; the indigenous population is articulated as the principal of what is effectively their disempowerment by
mestizo elites, subsidized by the Magical Villages Program and supported by the pervasive cultural recognition that inheres in multicultourism. Moreover, when the news of these traditional schools spreads, it may itself become a story of cultural recognition to attract urban middle-class mestizo tourists to Cuetzalan. Whether or not Nahuas outside the municipal capital are or will come to be engaged in the traditional schools is thus not the point. The point is that the schools facilitate strategic mestizo appropriation of Nahua culture, which in turn solidifies the asymmetrical municipal power grid inherited from a troubled interethnic history. What is therefore arguably preserved is a political structure introduced with the arrival of settlers during the latter half of the nineteenth century and the tradition of dispossessing indigenous communities of whatever resources they may possess. Just as the settlers arrived and "fell in love with the region," their descendants have now fallen in love with indigenous heritage.
CONCLUSION

This thesis embarked on a mission to show how in the wake of the post-1992 multicultural turn in Mexico, which opened an unprecedented arena of political negotiation for indigenous citizens, what has taken place by and large is a reconstitution of the political field through a strategy of redirection that this thesis terms multicultourism. Anchored in two empirical vantage points – the federal government tourism program Magical Villages and Cuetzalan (Puebla), a Magical Village and mestizo municipal capital in a majority Nahua municipality – the thesis was organized around three research questions tied to different analytical scales (p. 28).

Departing from the introductory discussion in chapter one, the first research question set out to examine how the Magical Villages Program, through deployment of the emancipatory frame of multiculturalism, solidifies divisions, hierarchies, and asymmetries between mestizo majority society and indigenous minorities by subtly espousing another vision, which the thesis terms multicultourism. The thesis has engaged with this basic research question throughout all five analytical chapters, which were divided into two parts. The first analytical part comprises chapters four to six, which showed how the generic Magical Villages Program has developed from its inception in 2001 to the time of fieldwork in 2013 and 2014, and how the program conducts and organizes political and social life in Cuetzalan by means of a translocal frame governmentality that introduces institutional frames into the social field and urban setting.

Chapter four provided a diachronic view of the Magical Villages Program through analysis of government and program documents, press releases, and newspaper articles. This was done to highlight how the program and its social technologies are taking shape gradually as participant towns are integrated into an infinite political platform that subordinates individual towns by making them dependent on an obligatory policy package that is mediated as being stable, yet changes according to ongoing political priorities. The program, and participation within it, must be understood as processes through which SECTUR accumulates power by crafting a translocal identity network and distributing key frames for local action in participant towns.

The second research question therefore directed focus onto the ways in which program frames are operationalized in Cuetzalan by diverse groupings and institutions, and which identity and power configurations arise and clash through the introduction of such frames. In this respect, chapter five tuned in on a so-called Magical Villages meeting in Cuetzalan to demonstrate how some of the program frames come into force there, and how they are put to use as resources in attempts to organize the social field. Chapter four showed that the Magical Villages Program
emphasizes participatory democratic values, but channels local participation into an institutionalized platform that is conceived to be "pro" of the program and thus preconceived as a helping hand in distributing program frames and implementing program policy. The program operates through the guiding frame of the unitary community, while prompting privatized participation in tourism. In Cuetzalan, as chapter five showed, the idea of the unitary community has been embraced in particular by the largely inner-town-based mestizo elite whose businesses are most likely to benefit from a tourism program that assists in concentrating the tourism industry in the center of the Magical Village. The analysis of the meeting showed how the municipal government, business owners, and a local branch of a large university joined forces to construct a consciousness-raising campaign to convince people in the municipality of the social order that the program stipulates.

Local tourism professionals, whether municipal authorities, teachers and students of tourism, or tourism business owners are thus instrumented to work in pro of the program, and they employ their professional expertise to discourage alternative positions as they come to identify their privatized interests as community interests. By constituting the unitary community as the principal of their classed and privatized interests, the campaign organizers take on the mission of convincing locals to accept a social order in which business owners in the town center harvest income from tourists and let it trickle down for the benefit of the whole community. The Magical Villages Program thereby empowers already privileged local elites by helping to obstruct alternative and conflicting visions of other citizens in the outskirts of the town and in the surrounding area.

Chapter six turned to show how the Magical Villages Program has been inserting its institutional frames into the physical environment in Cuetzalan to create a narrative setting based on a recognition framework organized around conceptualizations of indigeneity underpinned by a distinct temporality and translocality that place Cuetzalan at the center of a nationalized Aztec past. The narrative setting was further explored through analysis of a tourism magazine and an interview with a newcomer from Mexico City, which showed that contemporary Nahuas are framed as figurative ancestors to visiting mestizos. Taken together, the framing of the physical environment and the contemporary Nahuas construct a productive narrative setting in which travel to Cuetzalan is constructed as a journey to the origin of the Mexican nation, that is, a sacred place that enables urban middle-class mestizos to "reconnect" with "their lost past." An elaborate multicultourism is thus inscribed into the urban setting, creating the ground for complex metropolitan, mestizo self-narratives within which local Nahuas become live signifiers of a mestizo-centric national
storytelling. Within this context, mestizo tourists strengthen their sense of belonging by conquering and colonizing contemporary Nahua lives as mestizo heritage. Additionally, since multicultourism operates within a cultural recognition framework, such majoritarian identity constructions are immersed in an aura of emancipation. Majority citizens are thus drawn into the bilateral project of offering a nationalized recognition of indigenous culture and, through the orchestrated celebration of indigeneity, projecting indigenous discrimination into the past. Thus, the celebration of indigeneity is simultaneously a celebration of ostensibly post-discriminatory Mexico, where indigenous culture is loudly appreciated and proudly displayed in public.

Having shown how the Magical Villages Program has developed and how it has embedded the translocal frame governmentality of multicultourism into the social life and setting in Cuetzalan, the third research question was introduced in chapters seven and eight, which comprise the second analytical part, to tune into the ways in which Nahuas from the surrounding area operate within and are structured into the multicultourism of the Magical Villages Program, and how they relate to Cuetzalan, tourists, and the Magical Villages Program.

Chapter seven turned the focus to a group of Nahua handicraft vendors from neighboring San Miguel Tzinacapan who not just offer their handicrafts to newcomers and tourists in Cuetzalan, but also work a long-term strategy of expanding their social security network by creating relationships with visitors. In this respect, attention was pointed to how the vendors maneuver the ambivalence of experiencing a multicultourism that is nurtured by a symbolic centering of Nahua culture, yet is geared to reward mestizo elite businesses in central Cuetzalan. The chapter began with an autoethnographic exploration of early field notes to illuminate strategies through which handicraft vendors seek to establish lasting relationships with visitors. As was shown throughout the chapter, the vendors and visitors engage in key identity transactions tied to the frame of multicultourism, and the inclusion of an autoethnographic perspective worked to demonstrate how the fieldwork itself departed from within that framework. Through face-to-face encounters, the vendors seek to dislocate Cuetzalan's status as regional indigenous town by asserting San Miguel Tzinacapan as a place of superior authentic Nahua indigeneity. That identity construction is paramount for the Nahua vendors in their attempts to establish relationships with incoming visitors.

While the ensuing relationships may differ in their degree of commitment, the ideal for the vendors is to establish a lasting co-parenthood relationship, that is, a formalized relationship in which urban middle-class visitors accept part of the parental responsibility of a child from San Miguel Tzinacapan. A so-called educational co-parenthood relationship between a newcomer from
Europe and a Nahua woman from San Miguel Tzinacapan was analyzed through interviews with both parties. In particular, vendors look to create these educational co-parenthood relationships, which tie their children to urban middle-class citizens, who take on the task of sponsoring the schooling and transmitting their "esoteric" middle-class knowledge and values to form the sponsored child in their image. While for the tourists and newcomers the relationship becomes a means for creating or "restoring" lineage roots to pre-Hispanic, indigenous Mexico, the relationship simultaneously becomes a means through which the Nahua vendors create ties to urban, middle-class mestizos around whom the labor market and the state institutional apparatus are configured.

The Nahua vendors thus appear to be engaged in fending off the perennial harms of socio-economic marginalization through a long-term strategy that seeks to provide them with a basic social security network and lift their children out of poverty, and which appears to accommodate the view that tourism will not be a viable livelihood for them. Paradoxically, the most apparent way for the Nahua vendors to exit the culturalizing and asymmetrical multicultourism to which they are fixed, appears to be to underpin it performatively and employ it through personalized relations that may link them and their children to other translocal resources.

The final analytical chapter analyzed Cuetzalan's annual fiesta, highlighting the ways in which it ties into larger political and social structures and regenerates identity and power configurations that are tied to a troublesome shared interethnic history. The fiesta is one of the highlights of the tourism season and, as was shown, its attraction value is tied to the public performance of indigeneity. By affording specific attention to the *huipil* ceremony, a community pageant constructed around young Nahua women from the surrounding communities and framed as a cultural recognition of indigenous traditional life, the chapter pointed out how indigeneity is processed through an intense culturalization that has the effect of conjuring up indigenous subjects as cultural objects. While the event is framed from above by municipal authorities, it is mediated and perceived as an autonomous indigenous ceremony emerging from below. The ceremony achieves this effect by integrating Nahua women in a production format and participation framework that requests them to engage in an inward-looking self-culturalization that produces localized community cultures and identities. Within a larger political interaction, displaying indigenous cultural identity during the fiesta is not just a cultural right, as the *huipil* ceremony implies, but has become a moral duty and a repressing obligation. Through the ceremony, the *huipil* candidates become embedded sources to a purified mestizo majority view of indigeneity and assist in entertaining the idea that indigenous citizens inhabit separate, localized spaces that do not tie in
with wider translocal politics. The ceremony thus brings testimony to the widespread idea that economic and political circumstances are of secondary importance to indigenous citizens. Contrast identities are simultaneously constructed for local elite mestizos who emerge as apt economic and political agents through their ability to put together an important economic and political event.

Departing from these identity constructions, the cultural recognition of indigeneity offered by the public huipil ceremony works to demonstrate mestizo concern over the well-being of indigenous citizens, and the public celebration of indigeneity is taken to certify the end of ethnic discrimination and inequality. The ceremony thus becomes a celebration of post-discriminatory Mexico, while, nonetheless, facilitating further discrimination by engaging indigenous subjects in their public constitution as cultural objects, an objective that is itself realizable only because the huipil ceremony bases itself on an asymmetrical political and social structure that subordinates indigenous communities. Young Nahua women thereby become instruments in a ceremony that assists in entertaining the discriminatory notion that they are no longer discriminated against, and they assist in strengthening Cuetzalan's position as the regional indigenous town and center of tourism. The decreasing participation of dancing troupes from the surrounding Nahua communities is a response to this ongoing struggle. Nonetheless, as glimpsed in the discussion, soon it will no longer matter to Cuetzalan whether or not indigenous communities participate in the fiesta, since Cuetzalan has discovered – through its participation in the Magical Villages Program – that indigenous subjects are entirely dispensable from multicultotourism. Through the notion of the unitary community, Cuetzalan is beginning to install measures for preserving indigenous intangible culture in the municipal capital while the learning of intangible skills is being introduced into the school curriculum. When inspected without paying attention to local politics, such actions of cultural preservation are indisputably benevolent; indigenous culture is being recognized and preserved for the future, and authorities in Cuetzalan demonstrate their commitment to the program by planning far ahead and securing the ongoing vitality of the fiesta and elements of local culture that will continue to produce tourism. Yet, when inspected from within the local political field it is clear that these measures are launched to dispossess indigenous communities of their exclusive access to the intangible skills that have emerged as economic resources to the tourist industry.

**Implications and further research**

Through its intense focus on central Cuetzalan, the Magical Villages Program has regenerated and thus helped consolidate a process that began when incoming settlers took over Cuetzalan in the final half of the nineteenth century. Whereas in the 1970s to 1990s most tourism to the municipality
found its way to Cuetzalan for historical reasons, beginning in the past decade, tourists have been
directed into the town via the translocal frame governmentality espoused by the Magical Villages
Program. Thus, the program has designated Cuetzalan as a Magical Village, integrated conventions
of cultural recognition into the central town setting, and marked the town as the most important
indigenous location in the region, thereby enforcing its position as the regionally most important
tourist location. This process commenced in the wake of the new identity-political arena that
emerged for indigenous citizens in Mexico after 1992 and in the related context of an incipient
reshuffling of the power balance between the municipal capital Cuetzalan and, most notably,
neighboring San Miguel Tzinacapan. A weakened coffee economy and the dwindling mestizo
control over the regional coffee trade coincided with an increasing tourism sparked by an interest in
indigenous culture and a shrinking indigenous fiesta in the municipal capital, while the fiesta in San
Miguel Tzinacapan was thriving. In other words, the moment that translocal political structures
could have been reworked, the Magical Villages Program helped Cuetzalan reinstate itself as the
main regional seat of the future by inserting the town into a wider translocal network.

It may thus be seen that the Magical Villages Program subsidizes and enforces historically
produced structural socio-economic inequalities between mestizo Cuetzalan and the surrounding
indigenous towns in the municipality. Moreover, by providing a translocal political platform for the
mestizo elites in Cuetzalan through which they can cultivate their privatized interests in the name of
the total community, the program backs their strategic positions. The program thus contributes to a
polarization between the different social groups by favoring the privatized interests of an already
locally privileged group, thus placing itself at the center of existing divides and conflicts.

Ironically, popular support for this process has been attracted by promoting the program as an
opportunity for the marginalized. A politically orchestrated celebration of post-discriminatory
Mexico thus becomes the doorway to the ongoing discrimination of indigenous minorities, as rural
and urban mestizos engage in a translocal identity construction through which the two parties
indigenize each other and insert the mestizo into the newly opened political space, pushing
indigenous minorities further into the margins by once again making them superfluous to the
ongoing national project. In this sense, multicultourism regenerates the national project of mestizaje
by immersing the national identity project in a well-timed, benevolent cultural recognition of
indigeneity that leaves asymmetrical political and socio-economic structures intact. Multicultourism
thus serves to refute an ongoing systematic cultural, political, and socio-economic marginalization
of indigenous communities; a refutation performed through a cultural recognition that precisely
facilitates ongoing ethnic discrimination. The Magical Villages Program thus absorbs and consumes enormous amounts of human activity and energy deriving from a sympathetic stance toward indigenous minorities, but converts the energy into a resource that hampers indigenous minority causes. Moreover, the national process of *mestizaje* is regenerated as it regains its totalizing capacity through symbolic appropriation and consumption of indigeneity, which raises questions as to the future place of indigenous groups in Mexico.

A key question that is left unanswered by the thesis is the degree to which similar processes are unfolding in other Magical Villages. From the list of Magical Villages, it is clear that far from all are indigenous towns or located in areas with indigenous citizens. A recurring pattern, nonetheless, is that the towns are predominantly municipal capitals and, as is the case with Cuetzalan, municipal capitals typically have a higher living standard than the towns of the surrounding area and they are most frequently mestizo towns.¹²⁰ When, as noted, the Magical Villages Program concentrates its efforts and funds on these towns and, indeed, on the central part of these towns, a pattern may be noted in that the program tends to subsidize local elites, rather than marginalized citizens.

Since Mexico has long functioned as a regional compass for government policies toward indigenous groups (chapter 1), there are historical grounds for suspecting that the issues observed in this thesis have ramifications that transgress the Mexican national setting. Thus, if multiculturalism to a significant degree has been turned into multicultourism in Mexico, it may be assumed that similar transformations are, or will be, taking place in other Latin American countries. An obvious sign of such a tendency worth noting here is that SECTUR has signed agreements with other Latin American governments about sharing the expertise and knowhow of the program. In 2012, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, El Salvador, and Peru were thus looking to implement similar tourism development programs (Rosa 2012). Already, in 2010, Colombia launched the Heritage Villages of Colombia network, which, on the face of it, appears to be sharing core features with Mexico's Magical Villages Program. In 2014, the Ministry of Tourism in Chile published a methodological guideline for cultural tourism explicitly based on Mexico's Magical Villages Program (SERNATUR 2014:10). In 2015, in collaboration with the Inter-American Development Bank, SECTUR hosted a five-day seminar on the Magical Villages Program for government representatives from Bolivia, Guatemala, Ecuador, Paraguay, and Uruguay. A seminar, which, incidentally, brought representatives on a visit to Cuetzalan, among other locations, so the representatives could observe

¹²⁰ Of the first 85 towns that were included in the program, only six are not municipal capitals.
the benefits this program has brought to the Magical Villages (Bigurra 2015). Whether similar processes are unfolding in other parts of Latin America is also a potential line for further research.
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248


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268
APPENDIX 1: SPANISH ORIGINAL TEXTS AND TRANSCRIPTIONS OF TRANSLATED BLOCK QUOTES

Chapter 4

P. 76:
Es importante destacar que no podemos retrasar ni un día más la importante tarea de tender los puentes que permitan a las mexicanas y mexicanos mirarse como una sola nación, reconstituir los lazos comunitarios y familiares que por diversas razones se han ido minando en los últimos años y, en esta labor, el turismo es también un aliado poderoso (SECTUR 2001:7).

P. 77:
La visión actual del turismo sitúa a esta actividad en la encrucijada de los grandes desafíos a los que se enfrenta la humanidad […]: el combate a la pobreza y la conservación del medio ambiente natural y el patrimonio cultural. El turismo es capaz de contribuir en la lucha contra la marginación y la pobreza […] a través de la generación de riqueza […] y al utilizar de manera racional los recursos naturales y culturales, es un aliado eficaz en la protección de este patrimonio (SECTUR 2001:68).

P. 80:
Otro requisito indispensable, es que exista y se conjunte la voluntad de la sociedad y de los tres niveles de gobierno para hacerlos destinos exitosos; es el sentido de compromiso expresado por sus autoridades y su comunidad, lo que determina su incorporación a este programa (SECTUR 2005b).

P. 80:
Pueblos Mágicos está concebido también como una marca y para poder sumarse a ésta, ha sido necesario desarrollar y cumplir con una serie de estándares que garanticen las expectativas de nuestros visitantes, quienes seguramente buscarán una experiencia diferente, con sabor a México (SECTUR 2005b).

P. 82:
El Programa Pueblos Mágicos basa su estrategia en la participación comunitaria, su inclusión y permanencia, sus avances y logros serán resultado del nivel de trabajo que la propia comunidad realice (SECTUR 2006a:1).

P. 83:
Es indispensable que aquella localidad candidata reciba previo a la integración de su expediente, una capacitación inducción de lo que es el Programa Pueblos Mágicos y su alcance, con la finalidad de no distorsionar los objetivos del mismo (SECTUR 2006a:6).

P. 85:
La localidad candidata debe basar su argumentación en el rescate o preservación de su patrimonio cultural tangible e intangible. Destacando aquellas expresiones que significan de manera especial como atractivo o motivo de visita a la localidad (SECTUR 2006a:5).
El Programa Pueblos Mágicos contribuye a revalorar a un conjunto de poblaciones del país que siempre han estado en el imaginario colectivo de la nación en su conjunto y que representan alternativas frescas y diferentes para los visitantes nacionales y extranjeros. Más que un rescate, es un reconocimiento a quienes habitan esos hermosos lugares de la geografía mexicana y han sabido guardar para todos, la riqueza cultural e histórica que encierran.

Un Pueblo Mágico es el reflejo de nuestro México, de lo que nos ha hecho, de lo que somos, y debemos sentirnos orgullosos. Es su gente, un pueblo que a través del tiempo y ante la modernidad, ha sabido conservar, valorar y defender, su herencia histórica cultural, y la manifiesta en diversas expresiones a través de su patrimonio tangible e intangible (SECTUR 2005c:9).

Efectivamente los Pueblos Mágicos de México han estado ahí por mucho tiempo, esperando el reconocimiento de sus valores y riqueza histórica cultural. Su autenticidad, su mexicanidad, su encanto ancestral, sus colores y olores, sus pobladores, sus singularidades en conjunto requieren hoy de su revaloración, de elevarlos a un estadío de distinción, como ícono del turismo de México (SECTUR 2005c:9).

La gran riqueza cultural e histórica de México tiene – y ha tenido desde siempre – un gran secreto. Al lado de sus grandes construcciones, de sus ciudades milenarias convertidas en ícono de la fuerza de su pasado; junto a las grandes urbes modernas que se multiplican por toda su geografía y concentran una gran parte de la riqueza y el empuje productivo, se encuentran delicados triunfos de la tradición y del encanto ancestral: los Pueblos Mágicos, pequeños poblados o pequeñas ciudades que atesoran aévidamente la otra riqueza […] la de la tradición […]

Todas estas acciones se realizarán con el único y claro propósito de cuidar la marca de Pueblo Mágico y evitar que se demerite, así como la de garantizar que en estas comunidades se ofrezcan servicios de calidad (SECTUR 2009a).

En el remoto caso de que las autoridades competentes no regularicen las observaciones señaladas por el comité mencionado, se procederá a la revocación de su nombramiento como Pueblo Mágico (SECTUR 2009a).

P. 93:
[También quisiera comentarles el particular caso del Pueblo Mágico de San Miguel de Allende, Guanajuato, cuya administración municipal, en coordinación con la Secretaría de Turismo de ese estado y la Federal, han decidido retirarlo del Programa de Pueblos Mágicos, y] no porque no haya cumplido con los criterios, al contrario, los ha superado, sino porque su declaratoria como Ciudad Patrimonio de la Humanidad de la Unesco los ha llevado a escalar un status diferente al de Pueblo Mágico, sin olvidar que dicha declaratoria se debe en gran parte a su exitosa participación en este programa federal (SECTUR 2009a).

P. 94:
Es momento de enfocar esfuerzos y recursos para darle a cada Pueblo Mágico una personalidad propia y claramente identificable, lo cual se logrará solo si desarrollamos nuevos productos turísticos que aporten valor agregado tanto para los comercializadores como para visitantes mexicanos y del exterior (SECTUR 2010).

P. 95:
[Es importante el equilibrio] de mantener un grupo selecto de pueblos mágicos en el país, eso es fundamental para que siga siendo exitoso, pero también sería injusto para muchos lugares mágicos que tenemos todavía en el país que no se consideraran, entre ellos yo quiero lanzar mi espada por Angangueo también (Espinosa 2010).

CHAPTER 5:

Pp. 102-103:
Profesora: Nos dimos cuenta de que hace falta más … [Tenemos que] integrarnos más como ciudadanía en esto del "involucramiento con la sociedad" sobre Pueblos Mágicos. […] Y nos dimos cuenta que la gente se interesaba en ello; en sentirse como Pueblo Mágico, pero no tiene mucha información. O sea, es como que lo ve, como que nada más es la autoridad la que use el concepto, y la ciudadanía no se toma en cuenta. Ahora, en la siguiente materia que se llama seminario de investigación, se pone en la marcha este proyecto que es el programa de concientización sobre el concepto Pueblo Mágico […]. Ellos [los estudiantes] ya hicieron un estudio acerca de que cosa es lo que necesita la gente. Saben mucho de los lineamientos [del programa], y como se ha desarrollado el concepto Pueblo Mágico acá. Ya hicieron una entrevista en la televisión, donde dieron a conocer que a partir de este momento arrancaba el proyecto de concientización. Les fue muy bien y de hecho la televisora les dio muchas oportunidades de darle seguimiento al programa. Estuvieron en la radio. […] Entonces, como que soy su maestra, como que soy del Comité del Pueblo Mágico, y aprovechando ¿no? que están interesados en lo mismo… Y ahorita les van a pasar algo que ellos están haciendo.

P. 107:
Alumna 1: Entonces, lo que queremos es ahorrar bien, sobre todo, este mensaje, porque tenemos unos [mensajes] pero tal vez no sirven muy bien ¿no? Y es por eso que queremos reuniones también con los
prestadores de servicios – con personalidades – para que [la campaña] se pueda tener una idea clara y que la gente lo acepte de alguna manera. […] Porque sería la final de cuenta, que le va a aceptar.

P. 108:

MC: Inyectándolos de cariño, inyectándolos de positivismo [sic], eso es muy importante. Que sean muy positivos en todo esto, que no sean positivos los que se vayan al hospital. Entonces, inyectando a la gente, eso es muy importante. ¡A toda la gente!

P. 110:

Alumna 3: Concientizar es más que nada hacer entender a la gente sobre un problema actual ¿no? En este caso, nosotros escogimos lo de "orgullosos de ser el primero." Pero, también lo que nosotros buscamos es que la gente sepa y esté consciente de que la actividad turística no solo es para los hoteleros o restauranteros sino que todo este influye para que haya más economía de toda la localidad, como mencionábamos hace rato. Cuando llegan más turistas, pues, todos nos beneficiamos de cierta manera. Porque los comerciantes venden más, no solamente los restauranteros.

Pp. 112-113:

Alumno: La investigación inicial fue enfocada al sector no turístico, porque consideramos que es más fácil, digamos, convencer a las personas que ya están integradas al sector turístico. Al fin saben, bueno, "los beneficios que tenemos es esto," ya que, digamos, que ven de forma directa los beneficios que tienen. Pero, las personas que no están integradas, digamos, directamente, al sector [turístico], se ven como más eeh…

Hotelera: ¡Relegadas!

Alumno: ¡Ajaaa! O sea, dicen: "Y a mí que me beneficie" ¿no? Y a parte por la falta de información que se tienen. "No soy prestador de servicio; a mí no me interesa donde quedan las cascadas, a mí no me interesa cuando se construyó la iglesia." […] Ya contamos con bastante información que es la que nos da la base para poder, este, realizar ya como tal en esta segunda fase la campaña que es concientizar precisamente sobre los beneficios que tiene este Pueblo Mágico.

Pp. 114:

Hombre de Puebla: ¿[Intentan] generar una sinergia, nada más, o una difusión de la información, sino es ya una sinergia entre la gente, autoridad y – al final que se pretenden?

Hotelera: [Intentamos] que todos estemos conscientes de que tenemos que cuidar la imagen sobre todo …

Hombre de Puebla: [Interrumpiendo] ¿Acciones concretas que de alguna manera posibiliten el continuar con lo del Pueblo Mágico?

Alumna 1: [Intentamos] lograr que Cuetzalan es una sociedad turística o una cultura turística, que no la hay en Cuetzalan ¿no? Y bueno, el base de la investigación es que mucha … la gente si sabe ¿no?, de Pueblos Mágicos, pero ella dice, no la toman en cuenta para participar en esto. O sea, "no tomaron, por decirle, en cuenta mi opinión," "hay reuniones que solo invitan al sector turístico, pero a nosotros no nos involucran," y ellos están muy conscientes de que el sector turístico sí lo beneficia. "Sí estamos
conscientes, porque seguimos vendiendo productos en las tienditas, en las farmacias” ¿no? […] Y todos, este, bueno, coincidieron en que sí le beneficia porque llega más turistas, pues, te compran la botella de agua, te compran el cepillo [etc.]. Entonces, todos tienen claro que si es un beneficio para ellos el que lleguen turistas y que esto se sigue conservando. A ellos, bueno, les interesa que se toman en cuenta y que muchas veces dañan la imagen urbana por ignorancia. Muchas veces hacemos las cosas y no sabemos el daño que causamos y con eso lo hacemos. Pero como se vuelve más consciente, o tiene la información, dices “¡ah no!”

Pp. 116-117:

Hotelera: Yo he escuchado el hecho de que dicen que Cuetzalan ya era turístico cuando le dieron el título de Pueblo Mágico.
MC: Sí.
Hotelera: Entonces que no …
Hombre de Puebla: ¡No ven el cambio!
Hotelera: Aja, así; o sea, que no les beneficie nada que sea Pueblo Mágico, porque ya era turístico cuando se volviera [Pueblo Mágico].
MC: Sí… pero… [tratando de interrumpir]
Hotelera: … [inaudible] riegan por muchas partes esas ideas.

Pp. 117-118:

Alumno: Ah ya, perdón. Me preguntaban que tanto se sentían orgullosos los pobladores ¿no? Aquí existe, digamos, un resentimiento de que Cuetzalan no fue quien, este, digamos, pidió el título de Pueblo Mágico. O sea, a Cuetzalan le dieron el título de Pueblo Mágico. Y a nosotros lo que queremos rescatar es que Cuetzalan con o sin el título, Cuetzalan es mágico. O sea, lo es desde siempre ¿no? Entonces, no existe este orgullo por parte de los pobladores, precisamente, no se cuida la imagen [urbana].

Pp. 118-119:

Profesora: Y básicamente es eso ¿no? Volver un poco los ojos a aceptar que es un Pueblo Mágico y a aceptar ese desarrollo que esto conchaba.
MC: [Interrumpiendo] Y hacerles, hacerles notar eso, eso lo de que no solicitamos, o no se solicitó aquí el título de Pueblo Mágico, pero si se les dio y es por la mágia que tiene Cuetzalan. Pero que hoy en día es algo muy importante que se tiene que conservar. ¿Que no te puede “valer a que si me lo quitan?” ¿Pues que “no lo quiten? ¡Total a mí que no!” Al contrario, que es un título que debemos de conservar y de que debemos de estar orgullosos. Y además algo muy importante es que la gente se sienta tan orgullosa de los que nacieron a vivir acá y luego los que vivimos de estar en este hermoso Pueblo Mágico que no tiene, no tiene pareja, a la verdad. No tiene par. Eso es algo muy importante, que se sienta la gente orgullosa de vivir donde tenga que vivir, o donde está viviendo, que es Cuetzalan.
Chapter 6:

P. 130:

Se deriva del nahuatl QUETZALLI, ["cosa brillante"], ["hermosa"] y ["límpida"]; TOTOTL, ["pájaro"] y la dicción final LAN expresa ["junto"], ["cerca"] ó ["entre"]; en consecuencia, QUETZAL-LAN quiere decir "entre los pájaros hermosos" ó ["junto a las aves preciosas llamadas quetzal"

QUETZALLAN. = Quetzal-Lan. Un manjo de plumas rojas con puntas azules dan el fonético, quetzalli, sobre la terminación tlan o lan, expresada por dos dientes "lugar en que abundan los quetzales" o ["cerca de ellos"]["

P. 132:

El pueblo de Cuetzalan tiene sus orígenes cuando el imperio tenochca se expande; hacia el año de 1475 el emperador Axayácatl convierte la región de la Sierra Norte en tributaria de la Gran Tenochtitlan, ubicando a Quetzalan, como centro de recolección de plumas de quetzal. La historia de este municipio está basada en la relación geográfica de Jonotla y Tetela, tal y como lo demuestran los primeros asentamientos totonacas establecidos en la zona, originados por la fundación en el año 381 y 481 d.C. de los pueblos de Tuzamapan y Ecatlán y en cuya consolidación nacen El Tajín, Yohualichan y Xiutetelco. Más tarde, en 1552 es sometida por los españoles y catequizada por los franciscanos y para el año de 1555, es considerada como San Francisco Quetzalan por su importante actividad económico-social.

P. 135:

"Lo que veo ahí" –dijo señalando una de las fotografías de la intervención– "lo veo con tristeza, por ese cambio hablamos nosotros, los que tenemos la historia en las manos. […] Ahora, sobre el muerto las coronas, que se reconstruya lo que se pueda hacer. Imaginen mi tristeza: ahí donde cada ocho días nos reuníamos para el paseo dominical y protegernos del sol no queda nada," dijo el anciano con los ojos llorosos (Carrizosa 2013b).

P. 137:

Nos anima el dar a conocer, a través de este espacio, a México y al mundo, la riqueza pluricultural, pluriétnico y natural que le ha dado identidad a nuestro bello rincón serrano, Cuetzalan del Progreso. Aquí encontrarás una variedad de información que te llevará a conocer diversos aspectos que representan el fuerte latir de nuestra vida cotidiana; un mosaico multicolor que tiene como componente central a la tradición; una tradición que trae al presente, creencias, prácticas y sentimientos colectivos construidos en el pasado; y recreados en el presente. Sus danzas, sus fiestas patronales, su gastronomía, sus artesanías, su abundante flora y fauna silvestres, su arquitectura, pero sobre todo; su importante número de población indígena que en el Municipio habita, representan en su conjunto un importante legado en donde se funden lo prehispánico con lo hispánico y lo indígena con lo mestizo en un importante intercambio de usos y costumbres que han ido fortaleciendo día con día nuestro sentido de pertenencia (Cortés 2012:3).
Basta caminar por los senderos y caminos reales o entrar en las casas del territorio cuetzalteco para encontrarse con niños y niñas, mujeres y hombres vistiendo con orgullo sus atuendos y hablando en la lengua náhuatl o masehualkopa, como se le conoce en la región, realizando sus labores cotidianas impregnadas de cultura e identidad y resistiendo a los cambios que los procesos de modernización les tratan de imponer (Cortés 2012:30).

Cuetzalan un municipio lleno de cultura; con sus hermosas mujeres portando su vestuario tan blanco como su espíritu y esos bordados tan coloridos como la naturaleza que les rodea. […] Las comunidades de Cuetzalan, son las que aún conservan su esencia indígena casi al 100%. Todos van en pie a sus trabajos, cultivan sus vegetales sin fertilizantes, preparan el nixtamal para hacer tortillas a mano, acarrean el agua en pozos por medio de canaletas, confeccionan su vestimenta, entre muchas otras cosas que el mestizo ha olvidado e intercambiado por la inmediatez de las cosas (Cortés 2012:18).

Cuetzalan Pueblo Mágico, alejado de la vida urbana, que lleva día a día, el valor de hacer amistad, de recibir quienes lo visitan y conocer la vida de personas que viven en un contexto social totalmente diferente, con sus comunidades indígenas tan vivas, como parte de la identidad nacional mexicana, es el reflejo de nuestros antepasados y de la cultura mágica que encierra este hermoso rincón de la Sierra Norte de Puebla (Cortés 2012:19).

Ernesto: De allí tenía que venir al Tlalocan. Cuetzalan es el antiguo Tlalocan que es el paraíso o el infierno del agua. Y está descrito desde hace 3.000 años en Teotihuacan. Entonces, cuando llegaron en la actualidad esta peregrinación mexica, nahua, llegó aquí – llegó más o menos por 1470-y-algo – en el dominio mexica se iba expandiendo. Pues mandaron a toda una gente que habitar estas tierras, pero la conquista – de poder dominar a este territorio – había sido un pensamiento que de los teotihuacanos habían adquirido. O sea vivir en la Tlalocan. Pues, cuando llegaron los mexicas que actualmente son los que habitan aquí, ellos pretendían y llegaron al paraíso terrenal al que le dicen Tlalticpac. Y el Tlalocan es todo un mundo subterráneo de las grutas y el agua. Actualmente en cualquier comunidad, todo el mundo sabe que es Tlalocan, y que son Tlalocan Nana y Tlalocan Tata, que son los dos dioses que están gobernando ese paraíso. Y unas de las causas por las que he terminado en Cuetzalan es eso ¿no? Porque es un mítico paraíso del agua, y de la abundancia. Y está descrito en el Códice Florentino, en el Códice Borgia, en un montón de pedazos de la historia del Mexico pre-hispanico. Por aquí pasó Ce Acatl Topiltzin, porque tenía que pasar por la tierra sagrada de Tlalticpac Tlalocan antes de llegar a El Tajín. Dejó mucha huella Quetzalcoatl aquí, porque el primer nombre histórico que tiene este lugar en un mapa es Quetzalcoatl. Como Amatlán de Quetzalcóatl […] El primer nombre en un mapa del 1600 dice Quetzalcoatl. Y está triangulado Tlatlauqui[tepec] y Xonotla [Jonotla], entonces no hay falla. No hay falla.
P. 145:

**Ernesto:** Entonces la búsqueda del hallazgo cultural que se tiende en Cuetzalan, es – yo creo – la más importante del nivel nacional, porque México el propio nombre del propio país está *en nahuatl*, y quiere decir lugar del centro del universo. A lo que voy es que si se están buscando donde están los representantes originales más puros de todo México, de esos *mexicas* de *Mexico*, que es aquí. Entonces llegué aquí por todas esas circunstancias de que no solamente se funde aquí el mito con la historia, sino que todavía la cultura vive, camina, habla, actúa y todo conforma a esa antigua tradición. Así [Cuetzalan] es de los reductos culturales – bioculturales – más importantes que hay.

Chapter 7:

P. 168:

**Lucas:** Entonces, [Suyapa] me comentó exactamente lo que significaba en la cultura *macehual* esto, exactamente en San Miguel. Me dijo que esto era algo, pues, *serio*. Que me harían una invitación formal, que llegarían un día a casa, que me darían una propuesta, las dos, madre e hija. Y ya dejarían en mis manos a pensararlo y a decidir.

P. 170:

**Lucas:** Significa que tú tienes un parentesco, a través de este ritual, un grado de parentesco con la familia. Y con los demás. Con la familia tanto biológica como ritual. [...] Entonces, como que formas este vínculo, ya te haces parte de esta familia o de esta comunidad en un grado ¿no?

Pp. 171:

**Lucas:** Entonces empecé a entender lo que significaba el ser padrino. [...] Un banquete con tantos músicos y eso, todo esto es difícil para esta gente. Es un esfuerzo muy grande. Eso también te da muestra de una importancia muy grande, porque son gente que no tienen para malgastar, ni para derrochar, y te dan entender también el grado de importancia ¿no? hacer todo esto. A nivel, por decir también, social, todos los invitados, todos que van allí a este lugar, todos que se forman parte de estos eventos. Entonces, yo dije, “Uy, esto es algo serio.” [...] Con lo que me decía Suyapa y lo que fui viendo a través de esto, creo que [en ese momento] empiece a entender lo que conlleva y que significa exactamente el padrínazgo de educación en la comunidad *macehual*.

P. 171:

**Lucas:** Arturo, este que intentó integrarse a fondo a la gente de San Miguel, él me reconoció que la forma al final efectiva de hacerlo realmente fue a través de unos de los niveles de integración ya fuerte, fue a través de los padrínazgos. Eso fue lo que a él le hizo ver que ya formaba parte de la comunidad de San Miguel. [...] Y yo lo he notado por ejemplo en las demás mujeres de San Miguel que vienen a vender que también [hay] un cierto cambio de actitud, ya no me van a clasificar como un turista [...] , saben que yo soy padrino de Yolani, que yo tengo ese vínculo con María. Entonces ellas saben que tengo un vínculo con la comunidad.
**Pp. 175:**

**María:** Y ahorita [Pablo] dice que lo vio en Puebla, estaba trabajando, y le dijo que el como padrino – para que salga adelante, adelante, para que tenga economía, para que tenga dinero – que lo va a dar un cuarto y allí que ponga su pizzería, para que venda pizzas. Pero no quiere. [Pablo] lo quiere apoyar, para que, dice, "seas algo en la vida," dice, "para que salgas adelante." Porque nuestra casa es de madera. […] Le dice, "para que no estés viviendo como estás […], arreglas tu casa […]] y vas a salir adelante." Pero no quiere tampoco, también. Entonces perdió la oportunidad que [Pablo] lo iba a apoyar también.

**Pp. 176:**

**María:** Pues, [Lucas y Olivia] esperan que la niña pueda en la escuela y que yo le ayude a la niña también a trabajar duro para que la niña también aprenda y darle consejos a la niña para que salga bien de la escuela. Por ejemplo que sea algo en la vida, una [profesión de Olivia] o [profesión de Lucas], algo, que no nada.

**Pp. 177:**

**Lucas:** Ya hizo comentarios María hace poco, "Bueno, ahora cuando pasen unos años ya estaba la escuela. Ya se pondrá a vender ¿no?" […] Pero le decía, mira no piense así porque su niña es bien lista, y nosotros en realidad somos encargados de su educación, y nosotros queremos que estudie todo lo que ella sea capaz y quiera. Y entonces ella como pensó "¡Uy!" No contestó, pero le venimos a decir que estamos dispuestos a intentar a ayudarla, que estudie tanto como quiera la niña. Eso incluya al mínimo secundaria y es posible que siga más allá. […] Cuando la madre insinuó que en pocos años ella ya dejaría, dije: "Disculpe, pero soy el padrino y quiero que ella estudie tanto. Es una niña muy lista. Puede hacer muchas cosas y podemos encargarnos de que haga más, estudie más años. […] Que aprenda bien a través de ustedes todo lo que es la cultura macehual, pero también puede aprender la cultura mundial, aprender igual como está aprendiendo español puede aprender, no sé, inglés. Puede estudiar afuera, puede estudiar en Mexico o en otro país y la niña tendrá muchas más opciones." Y la madre simplemente, no contestó, le pareció correcto que nosotros le damos una opinión en ese respeto.

**Pp. 178:**

**María:** Pues, así nosotros hacemos amistades con los turistas. ¡Pero no todos! Porque unas compañeras […] no les gusta. No todos somos iguales de nosotros. No todas somos iguales. No todas somos iguales. Otra gente desconfía de una persona que viene de fuera. Y yo le digo, "No. No es malo el tipo [turista de D.F.]. Se va a dormir en la casa" le digo. "En un colchón," le digo, "en el piso, pero en un colchón." Allí durmió. Al otro día mejor ya se vino, porque escuchó la conversación que estaba diciendo la otra señora – como que se sintió mal – pero [dijo] "No te preocupes, no te pasa nada." "Es que señora," dice, "muchas gracias que tienes un corazón bueno, porque yo soy," dice, "de la ciudad. Para un pueblo," dice, "soy un desconocido." "Si, pero para ellos, pero para mí no." […] Como yo le digo, otras personas no tienen confianza de un turista que viene, como que le da miedo. La persona piensa que el viene a hacer daño para nosotros. Y dicen, "Y tú porque," dicen, "no te dan miedo?" "¿Porque le voy a tener miedo?" Y las personas vienen a visitar porque es un Pueblo Mágico Cuetzalan, y nosotros vendemos artesanías. Tenemos que platicar. ¡Porque si no!
Chapter 8:

P. 183:

Aureliano: Bueno, [los Franciscanos] se establecen, y establecen como fecha principal para festejar al patrón el 4 de octubre que coincide con las fiestas que celebraban antes nuestros antepasados el 4 de octubre dedicadas a Xochiquetzal. Coinciden. Y bueno, aquí esas fiestas se han llevado a cabo siempre desde aquella fecha hasta nuestros días; es la fiesta patronal. […] Entonces, imagínese que aquí en Cuetzalan se juntan todas esas danzas y todas tienen la misma línea de pensamiento: agradar a Dios. Antes de la llegada de los españoles: agradar a Quetzalcoatl, a Tlaloc, a todos los que usted me quiera nombrar. Después de la llegada de los españoles es agradar a Jesucristo, agradar a la virgen, agradar al patrón que en este caso es San Francisco ¿verdad? Agradar a Cristo, a la virgen, a San Francisco. Pero sigue siendo la misma línea: es religiosa.

P. 185:

Archivista: Era un pueblo con nada planificado, con casas aisladas, con vida de indígenas principalmente, en donde se hablaba de sobrevivencia en el aspecto económico pues, maíz, frijol. Con la entrada de los españoles o de la gente mestiza surge otro Cuetzalan, desde el plano urbano, desde el plano económico, porque ellos traen consigo otros productos que habrían de crecer económicamente a la región […] Con la llegada de los mestizos con eso llega lo del café y esto empieza generar otra forma de vida (Coronado 2000:87).

Pp. 186-187:

Hernando: Estas personas que llegaron a Cuetzalan llegaron con una visión diferente. […] Y sobre todo se enamoraron de la región, se enamoraron de esta zona. Y la amaron como la aman y la amaron los oriundos de este lugar. En este lugar había gente indígena. Al llegar los mestizos, pues, estos empezaron a integrar con la clase indígena. Se fueron fusionando de tal forma que pudieron realizar muchas cosas. […] Para comunicarse con otros pueblos era muy difícil. ¡Cuetzalan estaba incomunicado! […] Eran veredas, veredas fangosas, dada la cantidad de lluvia que se precipita en este lugar […] Esto hacía que los caminos siempre estuvieron fangosos, siempre estuvieron de difícil acceso. Aunado a eso había pocos animales para poder transportar las cargas. […] [Los clérigos] omitían llegar a Cuetzalan y decían porque Cuetzalan tenía el peor de los caminos. Y desconocían muchas cosas de las que sucedían acá. Eso mantenía al pueblo aislado. Pero con la llegada de esas gentes, se empiezan a abrir otros horizontes. Se empieza a abrir, por ejemplo, la fabricación de la panela. También fabricaban alambiques para producir aguardiente. […] Lo llevaban hasta Poza Rica, Tuxpan, y a Zacapoaxtla, y a otros pueblos como Mazatepec para que hicieron el comercio. […] Y ellos de regreso traían productos. […] Y también empezaban a implementar tiendas – panaderías, herrerías. Ya habían animales, había que tener otro oficio que era del herrero. […] Pero sí, el aguardiente fue uno de los detonantes que tuvieron los mestizos que llegaban – no todos – para hacer dinero. […] Bueno eso es otra forma, sí, se realizaba el comercio. […] Eso fue a 1880s y antes.
Aureliano: Y ahora, curiosamente, la discriminación se da de ellos para nosotros. Ellos nos discriminen.

Casper: ¿En no venir a la fiesta?

Aureliano: Claro, hay una discriminación también allí. Y no me quejo, porque, bueno, son cosas, están sentados en algo. Pero, bueno, así está sucediendo.

Casper: ¿En no venir a la fiesta?

Manolo: Mhm [afirmativo].

Casper: ¿Entonces, los jueces son los alcaldes?


Delegada, CDI (Puebla): Pero en este caso estamos compartiendo con el presidente municipal y con todos los pobladores de Cuetzalan, además, pues, también con todos los turistas que estoy viendo aquí de carácter nacional e internacional, nuestras tradiciones poblanas y en particular esa tradicional feria del huipil. Entonces, para mí, fue un orgullo coronar a la reina, a Roberta López López, que estaba – la verdad – ella muy conmovida porque por su discurso le ayudó mucho ¿no? Sobre todo en lo que ella platicó, hablar de sus tradiciones, de su comida típica de aquí, de los lugares, de las cascadas, de toda la riqueza que tienen cultural; a ella le ayudó a coronarse. ¡Para ella pues es un orgullo! Estuve platicando allí con las doncellas que también le estuvieron acompañando. Entonces es parte de convivir y disfrutar con nuestros indígenas lo que es para ellos tan importante como su cultura. Sabemos que es importante lo que es el desarrollo económico […], pero mucho más importante yo diría es preservar esas tradiciones que no se pierdan.123

Maestro de ceremonias: Cuetzalan, Cuetzalan es nuestro municipio. […] Tiene una población que supera el 90% refiriéndonos a la gente indígena. Una población de más del 90% indígena y el resto población mestiza. Una sola, una sola junta auxiliar en el sur de nuestro municipio, la parte alta, Xocoyolo, está conformada por gente mestiza.

Candidata, San Andrés Tzicuilan: Estoy estudiando en la escuela del Bachillerato Digital que se encuentra ubicada en la comunidad de Cuautamazaco. Tengo la intención de seguir estudiando para así poder ayudar a mi comunidad. Mis pasatiempos favoritos son bailar, reír y disfrutar sin olvidar mi lengua materna.

123 www.youtube.com/watch?v=od_NySt9BKA.
P. 206:

**Candidata, Zacatipan:** Bienvenidos todos mis amigos, abracemosnos aquí, cuando estamos en la tierra tan preciosa del huipil, donde no pueden acabar ni las flores, ni los cantos […] Buenos días visitantes nacionales y extranjeros así como todos mis hermanos cuetzaltecos que hoy nos visitan en ésta gran fiesta nacional del café y del huipil 2014. Mi nombre es […].

P. 208:

**Candidata, Xiloxochico:** Señoras y señores, jóvenes y señoritas, maestros y maestras, y sobre todo ustedes, jurado calificador; a todos les doy los "buenos días." Hoy, 4 de octubre, nos encontramos aquí unidos en nuestro municipio Cuetzalan. Venimos a saludar a nuestro Santo Patrón, San Francisco de Asís.

Pp. 208-209:

**Candidata, Xiloxochico:** Señores jurados calificadores, y todos los que están escuchando mis frases, mi plática, los invito a visitar a mi comunidad. Allí podrán ver una iglesia de construcción moderna al igual de la presidencia. Y para terminar quiero decirles que para enfrentar la pobreza – podemos enfrentarla con el desarrollo sustentable. Y con mucho orgullo puedo decir que nosotros, los de Xiloxochico, somos similares a las otras siete juntas auxiliares y que cuando escogimos a nuestro gobernante lo hacemos de manera democrática y no hacemos proselitismo. Costumbre de nuestros antepasados, costumbre de mi comunidad [aplauso y gritos de ánimo]. Nosotros los de Xiloxochico siempre tendremos los brazos abiertos para ustedes. Muchas gracias [aplauso].

P. 210:

**Candidata, San Miguel Tzinacapan:** Buenos días a todas y todos los presentes, favorable jurado calificador. Mi nombre es […], tengo 14 años de edad y estudio en la escuela telesecundaria de Tetsijtsilin [aplauso y gritos de ánimo] y este día vengo a representar a la junta auxiliar de San Miguel Tzinacapan. Desde hace cientos de años, Tzinacapan se caracteriza por ser un pueblo de lucha que no permita las injusticias. No nos zafaría nuestra lengua, nuestras tradiciones como las danzas, mayordomías y los grados comunitarios. Nuestra comunidad nos caracteriza por ser un pueblo orgullosamente macehual.

P. 212:

**Candidata, San Miguel Tzinacapan:** Puedo decirles que Tzinacapan es la localidad que cuenta con una mayor variedad de danzas autóctonas. Podemos mencionar a los santiagos, migues, negritos, voladores, quetzales, toreadores, españoles, vegas y muchas otras danzas más. Personalmente he participado en la danza de los voladores, una danza prehispánica por cierto. Sé que me falta mucho para aprender, pero hoy con poca experiencia me atrevo a invitar a los jóvenes de edad a que sigamos caminando con el orgullo y la dignidad que nos caracteriza los macehualme [aplauso y gritos de ánimo]. Este día me siento muy orgullosa por venir representando a la junta auxiliar de Tzinacapan, no siento vergüenza decir que soy macehual, que puedo hablar la lengua nahuat que nos dejaron nuestros ancestros. ¡Yo me siento muy orgullosa por hablarlo!
P. 215-216:

**Aureliano:** Los de Cuetzalan se están aprovechando de la gente indígena, les están robando, y les empiezan a meter la idea a la gente indígena que nosotros de aquí pues que somos malos, los hemos tratado mal, somos enemigos, y les empieza a decir "¿Bueno, para que vas a danzar en Cuetzalan si se aprovechan de tí? No más te están llamando para que bailes en frente del gobernador y frente al presidente [municipal]. Ya no vas a bailar para San Francisco, ya bailas para ellos." Y entonces con ese idea en la cabeza empezaron a dejar de venir. [...] Y ahora en esos eventos podemos tener presencia de todas la juntas auxiliares menos de San Miguel. [...] Cuando llega a visitar San Miguel [arcángel] a San Francisco es que llegan acompañando al santito un grupo de *quetzales* y un grupo de *negritos*. Pasan por donde está la fiesta, dan vuelta, buscan una entrada, se meten, entran al templo, hacen su ritual de saludo y lo que se quiera, bailan, se retiran, salen y se van.

**Casper:** ¿O sea que en vez de bailar así en la fiesta de Cuetzalan, están bailando en la procesión de San Miguel?

**Aureliano:** En la procesión, adentro del templo, y cuando se retiran, pero no pasan a bailar al escenario del pueblo.

**Discussion**

P. 232:

**Enrique:** [La gente de Cuetzalan] critican que [los danzantes de las comunidades] no vienen. Pero desgraciadamente nadie de aquí de Cuetzalan toma la iniciativa de decir: "Bueno, pues, si no vienen los danzantes de las comunidades hay que poner nosotros nuestra propia danza." Nadie lo toma porque realmente no sienten la danza. Les da pena. O nos da pena bailar como ellos. Ellos lo hacen por devoción. Lo hacen porque lo sienten, porque es su cultura. Nosotros no, y ya tenemos nosotros [cierto] tipo de pensamiento y estamos criticando que ya no vienen y queriendo presionar para que vengan, pero no nos atrevemos a decir: "Bueno, vamos a poner una danza nosotros." [...] Va a llegar el momento en que – si se quieren tener danzas en la feria – el gobierno municipal va a tener que poner una escuela de tradiciones y a través de las escuelas poner grupos de danza. [...] Para que en la feria todas las escuelas que recibieron recursos y que se les apoyaron los trajes se llama, pues, si no quieren venir ya de las comunidades, por lo menos ustedes, y que la gente los vea, para que conozca cuales son nuestras raíces y de que se trata nuestra cultura. Porque si no, le digo va a llegar el día en que la feria va a ser puestos de cacahuates y puestos de ropa. ¿Pero danzas?
APPENDIX 2: LIST OF FORMAL INTERVIEWS AND ONE RECORDED MEETING

**Benito**, shop and restaurant owner. In his early fifties.
Interviewed 22-01-2013. Duration 42 min.
Interviewed 31-01-2013. Duration 49 min.

**Virgilio**, shop owner. In his eighties.
Interviewed 22-01-2013, not recorded. Duration approx. 40 min.
Interviewed 12-02-2013, not recorded. Duration approx. 40 min.

**Tomasa**, market saleswoman. In her early sixties.
Interviewed 28-01-2013, not recorded. Duration approx. 40 min.

**Monica and Victoria**, daughters to owner of family-owned hotel. In their thirties.$^{124}$
Interviewed 29-01-2013. Duration 87 min.

**Lucinda**, private teacher. In her forties.
Interviewed 02-02-2013. Duration 70 min.

**Manolo**, Director of Cultural Center. In his late sixties.
Interviewed 05-02-2013. Duration 70 min.

**Hernando**, teacher and municipal chronicler [**Benito** co-present]. In his early seventies.
Interviewed 05-02-2013. Duration 87 min.

**Cecilio**, Municipal chronicler. In his early eighties.
Interviewed 08-02-2013. Duration 26 min.

**Petrona**, unemployed teacher. In her fifties.
Interviewed 10-02-2013. Duration 30 min.

**Edgardo**, shop owner. In his sixties.
Interviewed 11-02-2013. Duration 49 min.

**Enrique**, shop and restaurant owner and former official. In his late fifties.
Interviewed 13-02-2013. Duration 61 min.

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$^{124}$ Victoria spontaneously joined in at the end of the interview.
Magical Villages meeting.
Present parties: MC, Municipal Director of Tourism, O, shop owner and member of Municipal council of Tourism, Hotel owner, hotel owner and member of Municipal Council of Tourism, Teacher, teacher at local branch of university and president of Magical Villages Committee, Female student 1, student and owner of large hotel, Female student 2, student, Female student 3, student, Female student 4, student, Male student, student, Man from Puebla and Woman from Puebla, tourism professionals working on an online platform for cultural tourism and ecotourism. Recorded 13-02-2013. Duration 102 min.

MC, Municipal Director of Tourism. In her fifties.
Interviewed 14-02-2013. Duration 59 min.

Gael, student of tourism and volador, and Lino, student of tourism [Lucas co-present]. In their early twenties.
Interviewed 15-02-2013. Duration 40 min.

Humberto, folk musician. In his seventies.
Interviewed 17-02-2013, not recorded. Duration approx. 40 min.

Ernesto, activist [Lucas co-present]. In his early thirties.
Interviewed 18-02-2013. Duration 98 min.

Leandro, volador [Gael co-present]. In his fifties.
Interviewed 19-02-2013. Duration 76 min.

Lucas, in his forties.
Interviewed 23-09-2014. Duration 81 min.

Maria, street vendor [six-year-old daughter Yolani co-present]. In her forties.
Interviewed 26-09-2014. Duration 39 min.

Víctor, member of Municipal Council of Tourism and director of eco-tourism resort, and Graciela, owner of eco-tourism resort. In their fifties.
Interviewed 27-09-2014. Duration 103 min.

Aureliano, shop and restaurant owner, official in the municipal administration and organizer of Huipil Ceremony 2014. In his early sixties.
Interviewed 27-09-2014. Duration 56 min.
APPENDIX 3: PUBLIC PROJECTS IN CUETZALAN RELATED TO THE MAGICAL VILLAGES PROGRAM

First stage of improvement of the urban image

Cost: 7,500,000 MXN.
Work accomplished:

- Flower market.
- Gastronomic plaza.
- Painting of facades in seven streets.
- Painting of town hall, kiosk and clock tower.
- Installation of new curbstones.
- Installation of new sidewalks with a rock surface.
- Removal of concrete surface in the atrium of the Los Jarritos church outside the center, replaced with rock surface.
- Overhead cables moved underground in twenty streets.

Source:

Second stage of improvement of the urban image

Cost: 7,500,000 MXN.
Work accomplished:

- Rehabilitation of sidewalks.
- Rehabilitation of streets.
- Overhead cables moved underground.

Source:
Third stage of improvement of the urban image

Cost: 5,500,000 MXN.

Work accomplished:

- Rehabilitation of facades.
- Painting of walls.
- Installation of ironworks, doors and windows in buildings of sixteen streets.
- Rehabilitation of sidewalks and curbstones.
- Installation of and "Louis XIII-style" lanterns.
- Rehabilitation of the cultural center and flower market.
- Removal of 150 lamp-posts and 180 telephone poles.
- Overhead cables moved underground.
- Installation of six transformers.

Source:

Fourth stage of improvement of the urban image

Cost: 3,541,179 MXN.

Work accomplished:

- Restoration of the atrium, park, and plaza (Celestino Garza).
- Installation of tourist signage.
- Improvement of the urban image by the entry to Cuetzalan.
- Maintenance work at the flower market.

Source:
Fifth stage of improvement of the urban image

Cost: 5,760,000 MXN.
Work accomplished: Unspecified.

Source:

Sixth stage of improvement of the urban image"

Cost: 3,691,835 MXN.
Work accomplished: Unspecified.

Source:

Seventh stage of improvement of the urban image

Finished: 2013.
Cost: 24,425,193 MXN.
Work accomplished:

- New hydraulic concrete surface on highway.
- Drains.
- Installation of light in the plaza.
- Restoration of the kiosk.
- New rock surface in the park and plaza.
- Painting of facades.
- Restoration of fountains.
- Access ramps for the physically disabled.
- New stamped concrete surface on sidewalks and curbstones.

Sources:

http://www.periodicodigital.mx/2013/07/17/encabeza-gobernador-inauguracion-de-mejoras-de-imagen-urbana-de-cuetzalan/

**Eighth stage of improvement of the urban image**
Cost: 12,000,000 MXN.
Work accomplished:
- Reconstruction of highway with hydraulic concrete surface.

Source:
http://sintesis.mx/articulos/68709/gestionan-imagen-urbana-en-cuetzalan/puebla

**Ninth stage of improvement of the urban image**
Cost: 15,000,000 MXN.
Planned for: 2015
Work accomplished:
- Restoration of streets.
- Restoration of facades on historic buildings.
- Construction of convention center.
Total public funds spent through the first seven project stages

Federal government funds: 12,630,305 MXN.
State government funds: 25,006,910 MXN.
Municipal government funds: 20,280,992 MXN.
Total funds: 57,918,207 MXN.

Source:

APPENDIX 4: REPORTS OF TOWNS BEING IN "DANGER" OF EXPULSION FROM MAGICAL VILLAGES PROGRAM

This appendix presents a selection of the existing online articles that report Magical Villages to be in "danger" of expulsion from the Magical Villages Program. The search was done via Google's web search engine and was divided into three rounds that combined the search term Pueblo mágico (Magical Village) with peligro (danger), riesgo (risk), and perder (lose) in turn. Articles of the first search page of each individual search are included. Date of search and retrieval: 10 May, 2016.

Pueblo mágico + peligro

http://www.jornada.unam.mx/ultimas/2015/09/26/en-riesgo-de-perder-nombramiento-mas-de-10-de-pueblos-magicos-fematur-9843.html

http://www.milenio.com/region/Designacion-Cuetzalan-peligro-perderse_0_236376986.html


Ramírez, Brisa Arlette. 2008. "En peligro de perder nominación de Pueblo Mágico" in:
http://www.elsiglodedurango.com.mx/noticia/189432.en-peligro-de-perder-nominacion-de-pueblo-magico.html

Redacción Notix. 2015. "En peligro la denominación de Pueblo Mágico en Jiquilpan" in:
http://www.notix.mx/jiquilpan/en-peligro-la-denominacion-de-pueblo-magico-en-jiquilpan/
**Pueblo mágico + riesgo**

https://cbtelevision.com.mx/8-municipios-de-michoacan-en-riesgo-de-perder-el-titulo-de-pueblo-magico/


http://www.jornada.unam.mx/ultimas/2015/09/26/en-riesgo-de-perder-nombramiento-mas-de-10-de-pueblos-magicos-fematur-9843.html

http://www.vanguardia.com.mx/articulo/guerrero-esta-en-riesgo-de-continuar-como-pueblo-magico


http://www.elsoldenayarit.mx/cultura/42152-sayulita-no-esta-en-riesgo-de-perder-su-denominacion-de-pueblo-magico-omar-camarena

http://centinela.mx/noticia/malinalco-sin-riesgo-de-perder-nombramiento-de-pueblo-magico/
**Pueblo mágico + perder**


APPENDIX 5: CONSCIOUSNESS-RAISING CAMPAIGNS ABOUT THE IMPORTANCE OF MAGICAL VILLAGES

This appendix provides a selection of sources that report on consciousness-raising campaigns in other Magical Villages similar to the one that was launched in Cuetzalan (chapter 5) to inform locals about the importance of being a Magical Village. Reports have been found for: Bernal (Querétaro), Cuatro Ciénegas (Coahuila), El Rosario (Sinaloa), Huamantla (Tlaxcala), Mazamitla (Jalisco), Pahuatlán (Puebla), Papanlta (Veracruz), Pátzcuaro (Michoacán), Tacámbaro (Michoacán), Tecate (Baja California), Tepoztlán (Morelos), Tlatlauquitepec (Puebla), Zacatlán (Puebla). Date of retrieval: 31 May, 2015.

Sources:


http://stmedia.net/noticias/turismo/presentan-avances-en-materia-de-turismo-para-tecate#.VmbsDF4jIXg

https://rostroshoy.wordpress.com/2013/10/13/la-direccion-de-turismo-esta-brindando-cursos-de-capacitacion-a-prestadores-de-servicios-del-pueblo-magico/
SUMMARY

In the course of the 1990s, an unprecedented arena of political negotiation emerged for indigenous minorities (and majorities) within many Latin American countries as national constitutions were reformed to accommodate notions of multiculturalism and political multiculturalist initiatives multiplied. To take the temperature of this political space, this thesis examines one expression of the surge of political multiculturalism; the tourism program Magical Villages (Pueblos Mágicos) launched in 2001 by Mexico's federal government. Through a focus on the participant town and mestizo municipal capital Cuetzalan (Puebla) and surrounding indigenous Nahua communities and through analysis of government and program documents, press releases, newspaper articles, institutional interaction, public space and ritual, tourism magazine texts, field notes, and interviews, the analysis tunes into the identity and power configurations that are produced by and in relation to the program. Combining recent readings on the Foucauldian concept of governmentality and sociologist Erving Goffman's ideas on conceptual frames, the thesis shows how the Magical Villages program conducts and organizes political and social life in Cuetzalan by means of a translocal frame governmentality that introduces institutional conventions into the social field and urban setting. The thesis thereby highlights contradictive and counterintuitive views of political multiculturalism in contemporary Mexico (2001 to 2014). While the Magical Villages Program is embedded in an emancipating desire to reduce social inequality through community empowerment strategies, the program contributes – as a majority-defined activity and social technology – to maintain and enforce existing divisions, hierarchies, and asymmetrical power relations between majority society and indigenous minorities. Accordingly, the thesis shows that in the wake of the multiculturalist surge in Mexico, what has taken place by and large is a reconstitution of the political field, rather than a political and societal reorganization. One significant mode of redirection is what the thesis terms multicultourism; a strategy of government looking to steer the new space of negotiation by offering a multicultural national self-image that triggers new modes of national belonging and participation without confronting structural asymmetries. As a result, multicultourism emerges as a state-sponsored scramble for indigenous heritage that does not evidently place indigenous citizens in the empowered and profitable end of socio-economic relations.