

## **El turismo de reuniones en comunidades indígenas como estrategia de reproducción familiar en Cuetzalan, Puebla**

*Congress tourism in indigenous communities as a family reproduction  
strategia in Cuetzalan, Puebla*

*Conhecer o turismo em comunidades indígenas como estratégia de  
reprodução familiar em Cuetzalan, Puebla*

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### **Resumen**

En este artículo se ofrece un debate sobre cómo el agente comunitario (individual o grupal) es protagonista del desarrollo turístico desde su lógica de reproducción familiar, establecida cultural, social e históricamente. Para ello, se ha realizado un estudio de caso, específicamente a una familia de origen indígena, cuya historia de vida los condujo a tomar la decisión de dedicarse al turismo de reuniones. El análisis de esta información se hizo mediante la propuesta del ciclo reproductivo de las unidades domésticas campesinas como estructurantes y estructuradas. En las conclusiones se ofrece una nueva propuesta para definir y clasificar el turismo de reuniones a partir de la experiencia familiar en

contextos interculturales.

**Palabras clave:** reproducción familiar, turismo de eventos, turismo de reuniones, turismo sustentable, unidad doméstica campesina.

### **Abstract**

The article has for objective to debate about the communal agent as main character of the tourist development when basing it in the logic of family reproduction cultural, social and historically established. Therefore, what they consider pertinent adapting to their needs and context retake of tourism. Based in a case study of a indigenos family, whose history of life, the decision to dedicate oneself to congress tourism, the analysis of the reproductive cycle of the domestic peasant units became intervening like structuring and structured. In this article, we came to an end with a new proposal for the definition and classification of the tourism of meetings as from the family experience in intercultural contexts.

**Keywords:** family reproduction, tourism of events, tourism of meetings, sustainable tourism, domestic peasant unit.

### **Resumo**

Este artigo oferece um debate sobre como o agente comunitário (individual ou grupal) é protagonista do desenvolvimento turístico a partir de sua lógica de reprodução familiar, estabelecida cultural, social e historicamente. Para isso, foi realizado um estudo de caso, especificamente de uma família de origem indígena, cuja história de vida os levou a tomar a decisão de se dedicar ao turismo de turismo. A análise dessas informações foi feita por meio da proposta do ciclo reprodutivo das unidades domésticas camponesas como estruturante e estruturada. As conclusões oferecem uma nova proposta para definir e classificar o turismo de reuniões com base na experiência da família em contextos interculturais.

**Palavras-chave:** reprodução familiar, turismo de eventos, turismo de encontro, turismo sustentável, unidade doméstica camponesa.

## Introduction

In rural areas, the development of alternative tourism companies has not been established as the main source of economic income because this branch is complemented by other types of agronomic, artisan, commercial or salaried activities (Ortiz, 2009); This means that the plurality of income of rural families can be considered as a way of life to survive in the face of market forces.

Since the end of the last century, Cuetzalan del Progreso (Puebla) has stood out for its tourism activity, which was introduced by external agents with the support of the municipal authorities. As a result, peasant and indigenous families have been forced to participate, directly or indirectly, as guides for tourists or sellers of products (eg, coffee, honey and waist loom textiles), which has served to promote ecotourism centers.

However, the tourism market is demanding and changing, hence the peasants and indigenous people have not assumed it as their main economic activity, despite having managed to overcome the dynamics of supply and demand to adapt to the requirements of that market. market. In the case of textiles, for example, families have opted not only to change the iconography and the indigenous design of their products to adjust them to the demand of tourists, but they have also decided to turn their company around. This is demonstrated by the family chosen as the object of study in this article, which is constituted by a marriage of rural teachers of peasant and indigenous origin, who opened the restaurant Quetzalin, in which they currently offer the services to carry out a tourism of meetings as a strategy for the conservation of culinary and spatial heritage.

## Context of the study

The Quetzalin restaurant is located in Cuetzalan del Progreso (Puebla), a municipality located in the Northeast Sierra of Puebla (Mexico). It borders to the north with the municipality of Jonotla, to the south with Tlatlauquitepec, to the east with Ayotoxco, to the west with Zoquiapan, to the northwest with Tenampulco and to the

southeast with Zacapoaxtla and Nauzontla. Its territory is located at an average altitude of 1000 meters above sea level, and is under the influence of windward winds from the Gulf of Mexico, which generates a humid semi-warm climate, with rains throughout the year that promote development of mesophilic mountain forests where arborescent ferns stand out as witnesses of a prehistoric age.

As for the orography of the municipality, one can mention a large number of caves, waterfalls, pools of water, rock formations and springs, although the most outstanding in terms of heritage is the prehispanic heritage of the place, where Nahuatl populations are mixed with the legacy of the Totonac people, which originally gave shape to the cultural landscape of the Northeast Sierra Poblana (National Commission for the Knowledge and Use of Biodiversity [Conabio], nd).

Among the main heritage elements of Cuetzalan include the Nahuatl language, traditional clothing made in waist loom, basketry, clay pottery, cobblestone streets, civil and religious colonial architecture, myths and legends, propitiatory rites associated with the mother earth and agricultural cycles, the traditional medicine, the gastronomy, the supervisory celebrations and the great variety of dances, within which the one of Los Voladores and Quetzales is distinguished (Masferrer, 2004; Navarrete, 2008).

Likewise, the municipal capital of Cuetzalan - of the same name - is distinguished by its typical buildings built with stone, its buildings and religious monuments of the sixteenth century and its streets covered with limestone. The availability of a remarkable cultural heritage and natural, diverse and concentrated in a contiguous space was the sustenance to obtain the appointment of Magical Town in 2002, which has served to promote its positioning in the tourist markets.

The tourist history of Cuetzalan can be divided into four major periods: before the seventies, rest tourism predominated; during the eighties, film tourism was parallel with rest; In the nineties, cultural and leisure tourism emerged, while nowadays adventure tourism is maintained, where hiking, water activities and visits to caves are the main interest of tourists.

According to data from the Directorate of Municipal Tourism, this town has registered 47 hotels and 32 restaurants, which are not usually visited during the course of the work week, but in holiday periods (such as Easter, holidays and the patronal feast ) or on weekends. In these periods some providers of tourist services, specifically local guides who do not have certifications, to gain clientele engage in unfair business practices, which consist of reducing their rates between 20% and 50% compared to certified guides.

In the tourist offer stand out the proposals of cooperatives managed by Nahuas collectives, such as Tosepan Kali and Taselotzin, that provide the service of lodging, restaurant, banquets, spa (with temazcal baths and traditional medicine) and social events. Also, a large number of local operators that promote tour packages with guide service to carry out alternative tourism activities stand out. Among the establishment of tourist services, the restaurant Quetzalin is distinguished by its trajectory of 25 consecutive years, in which it has been able to adapt to the changes determined by the demand.

In the midst of this scenario, other companies such as Tosepan and Taselotzin opened their doors at the end of the 1990s through the establishment of cooperatives. Tosepan Kali is a subsidiary of the Tosepan Titataniske organization, which is why the tourism company is backed by an indigenous movement that originated in the 1970s against intermediarism and caciquismo (Hernández-Loeza, 2011; Sosa, Gutiérrez and Carrillo, 2014). In other words, the business structure in the area is diverse, as local initiatives that make up collective businesses and small family initiatives are intermingled, as in the case of the Quetzalin restaurant, which has diversified the offer of its services towards meeting tourism.

The tourism of meetings is considered a slope of the business tourism, and has arisen like an economic strategy developed by the tourist companies to obtain income in low seasons (non-vacation). However, most of the few studies that focus on this issue not only support their inquiry into an economic vision, but also present a definition of ambiguous concepts, which prevents them from being used as categories of qualitative analysis for case studies. Consequently, an investigation like the one presented in this article is relevant to clarify these terms and to carry out a study with a different approach

to the economist, that is, centered on the subject or social actor as agent of its own development process.

In this sense, when through empirical data it is detected that indigenous communities (not urban or with a business logic) are conducting a tourism of meetings and a tourism of events, it is pertinent to raise questions like this: what motivates the owners of family businesses located in indigenous communities to expand their services: the need to survive in a competitive tourist market or to use meeting tourism as a strategy of family reproduction?

Therefore, the main objective of this article is to analyze, through an ethnographic study, how meetings tourism, from the perspective of community agents in an intercultural context, is governed by the logic of family, rather than business, reproduction.

### **Method: logics of reproduction within the tourism market**

As explained in Cuetzalan's tourism development history, the existence of the framework of the service sector allows to distinguish cooperatives and family businesses from the community actors of indigenous and peasant origin. Now, of the latter, the Quetzalin restaurant has been chosen because of its subsistence trajectory, for just over 25 years, in such a competitive market. Ethnographic work for the recording of empirical data was based on participant observation and semi-structured interviews and open dialogues. The Quetzalin restaurant is a family business whose permanence has obeyed to the tourist demands and whose determination has been oriented fundamentally by the decisions of the reproductive cycle of the family that gave rise to it.

In the conventional tourism market, the logic of reproduction of the lodging and food services is marked not only by the recovery of the investment, but also by obtaining a profit that allows to compensate the costly investment that underlies the construction, design, maintenance and qualified hand care in hotels and restaurants (Boullón, 1999).

In the tourist cities and in the preferred destinations, the hotel and restaurant investment is distinguished on any other element of the tourist staff because it is the most

required by the tourist, although its maximum occupancy is only achieved during the holiday season. Therefore, and to avoid an alarming economic decline, hoteliers and restaurateurs have begun to offer other companies and public and private organizations their spaces for recreational activities, work, etc. (Barreto, 1996).

According to the bidders, this new way of doing administrative work guarantees better results for companies that hire their services because they can dedicate themselves to solve problems or to develop new projects in a harmonious environment without the daily distractors of the work environment.

However, although it might seem unlikely that this type of offer could be made in a destination such as Cuetzalan (because this town does not have adequate infrastructure for this), for more than a decade at the Quetzalin restaurant such initiatives have been. It has been successfully developed, so it would be necessary to question whether the conventional definitions of meeting tourism are insufficient, since this seems not to follow a business logic, but a family one. In other words, a series of questions would have to be asked: why appoint it as a tourism of meetings instead of tourism of events? What would be the tacit difference between one and the other, and how they relate to business tourism and, mainly, , with a tourism carried out in the rural area under the family logic? Also, should tourism meetings and events necessarily be carried out within the framework of major events, such as the Olympic Games, the World Cup, etc.? Finally, how can the concept of meeting tourism be used to address a reality such as that of the Quetzalin restaurant or some other family business with similar characteristics?

### **Quetzalin Restaurant: the family study case**

The Quetzalin restaurant is located on a street on the banks of the municipal seat, that is, far from the center and any area with tourist influx both in high and low season, so that it seems unjustifiable that this establishment has remained in force. 25 years.

However, to try to explain this phenomenon, we must analyze the actions carried out by the family group that founded it, which is made up of the parents (currently retired rural teachers, whose ages range between 74 and 76 years old) and three children (two men and a woman) already married. The oldest of them (aged 48), together with his wife

and two children (male and female), live with the marriage of the teachers. This son, unlike his brothers, could not study a degree due to health problems (diabetes from a very early age). His wife has been a housewife and is distinguished by its good seasoning; she is a couple of years younger than her husband, and her children are teenagers between 14 and 17 years old (both study).

The parents of the teachers were peasants and their indigenous grandparents. Although they had the opportunity to be normal teachers and to live a good part of their youth and maturity in urban areas (Mexico City and Puebla), they always longed to return to their village, where the teacher had inherited a plot from his father.

This heritage was underemployed or leased until 25 years ago, when the teachers retired and decided to build their house and a restaurant to return to Cuetzalan. Quetzalin began to provide its services as seafood and was distinguished by its dishes based on acamaya (river prawn), the only crustacean in the region. At that time, their main customers were local diners.

However, in 1999 the acamayás became extinct from the territory surrounding Cuetzalan, forcing the owners to establish a new supply chain with intermediaries from the Federal District to offer products from the sea on the menu. However, local consumers reacted unfavorably because the new gastronomic proposal was not part of their cultural patterns. This caused sales to decrease considerably. Faced with the loss of the market, the owners decided to continue with recipes such as trout and mojarra a la talla, chiltepin and butter, and added other foods typical of the region, such as chilpo or mole de olla, very representative of the culture Culinary Puebla

During this new period, the older son of the professor gradually took over the business because his health prevented him from working elsewhere. In fact, over time, his wife also became involved in the business as a cook specializing in dishes from the region, so that although the plots were no longer cultivated to become the business of a mature family, the land patrimony was not sold because it represented the inheritance of the eldest son.



The current state of the domestic unit of retired teachers manifests itself in the middle of the process of substitution, where the inheritance of the retirees' children not only constitutes a physical space occupied by the restaurant, but also a cultural legacy (for its symbolic value, more than economic) as the foundation of the business that lies in the reproduction of family logic, as will be seen below.

In fact, the aspiration of the retired teachers was never to have a big business to compete with the outstanding restaurants of the Cuetzalan center, because in reality, in their own words, the objective was always to have additional income and an activity that would satisfy their needs. gastronomic affinities. In other words, the intention was never to think of a company with employees, job descriptions, organizational chart, business philosophy, etc., since the proposal was simple: create a family business that differed from others in Cuetzalan, including cooperatives of indigenous people, both men and women.

Indeed, as Cuetzalan positioned itself in the tourist markets, some local businesses (mainly two cooperatives that emerged through the action of the social and political movement of the indigenous peasants of Cuetzalan against the caciquismo) began to offer services for meetings; however, according to the restaurant owner Quetzalin, customers served by these companies complained about the cost and quality of the service. This situation motivated the professors to venture into this field, and in this restaurant the following organizations have been attended to for the last eight years:

1. Children of Mexico: It is an institution composed of representatives of twenty communities of the Northeast Sierra, whose headquarters are located in Yohualichan (town of Cuetzalan). This room is equipped with a projector, screen, chairs and tables, where they hold monthly work meetings attended by promoters and managers (between 12 and 15 people). These meetings last approximately eight days. Likewise, these spaces are used to give three-day courses aimed at the beneficiary children of the organization (between 35 and 60 participants). The regularity of these courses varies according to the demand, so that you can specify two per month, one each quarter or one every six months. The most outstanding meeting of this organization happens when the promoters, the children and their sponsors meet annually for a living together (between 120 and 150 people).

2. Health Group of the Cuetzalan, Ayotoxco and Teziutlan region, with jurisdiction in Zacapoaxtla: This meeting tourism is to attend monthly to doctors and nurses of the region, who deliver and present their activity reports. Generally, between 20 and 29 doctors are attended, and between 25 and 26 nurses. Due to the quality-price ratio, the main managers of the jurisdiction (approximately five people) usually hold their work meetings three to four days a week, from 8 in the morning until 6 in the afternoon.
3. Telesecundaria school zone: The directors and supervisors (between 15 and 20 people) meet to make their technical advice on the last Friday of each month.
4. Additionally, they offer the banquet service for social and family events (weddings, celebration of fifteen years, baptisms, among others).

As mentioned before, the Quetzalin restaurant has a meeting room (projector, blackboard, etc.), a large kitchen, bathrooms for men and women, as well as an own space with bamboo and wood finishes, with chairs and tables. cedar, and with a panoramic view for diners, who are offered the service of coffee break and two-course meal, as well as beans, tortilla and salsa, because the people who come from the communities.

Occasionally, to serve customers, restaurant owners hire one or two people, although family labor often sustains the workload. Indeed, the wife of the teacher's son is helped by his mother and an aunt, while the children and the husband act as waiters. In the events where they serve two hundred or more diners, they involve the grandchildren of the maternal grandmother (that is, the wife of the child of the marriage of retired teachers), which supposes a significant decrease in expenses for hiring personnel.

### **The business logic in front of the family logic**

For a business of any nature to be profitable it must conform to the logic of capitalism defined by the basic law of the market, that is, supply and demand. In this sense, Cuetzalan's case is instructive: its product is placed on the market and it finds consumers, who have turned this town into a preferred destination in relation to other communities or mountain municipalities. This has led to the saturation of some sites, such as waterfalls, canyons, caves and the historic center.

However, most lodging companies, food and tourism operators are managed by mestizos not native to the place or by the children of those who in the past were chiefs (businessmen). Opposite these are cooperatives and family businesses.

However, some anthropological and sociological studies elaborated in Mexico during the 1970s indicate that in rural areas the laws of the market are not determinants for production (of consumer goods) and reproduction (of sociocultural goods) (Chayanov, 1974, cited by Madera, 2000). In this sense, there are very radical positions, such as that of conceiving the peasant family as productive units independent of the capitalist market.

However, from the 1980s to the present, this theoretical position has been overcome, since it has been demonstrated how peasants or families in rural areas are articulated in a local, regional, national and global economy. That is, the production and reproduction of this sector is manifested dynamically due to the constant interaction -in time and space- of internal microstructural and external macrostructural factors (Madera, 2000). In relation to inmates, they are the size, composition (age and gender of its members), the life cycle of the family and, mainly, cultural patterns, which are fundamental in making decisions about what and how produce.

In effect, if the indigenous peasants chose based solely on the needs of the capitalist market, they would have stopped producing corn, squash, chili, beans, vegetables and backyard animals long ago, since they would have abandoned their plots to join the labor market as a force productive. But contrary to this, not only have they maintained their traditional economic activities as survival strategies, but have also chosen to allocate part of their land for cash crops such as coffee, pepper, sugar cane, citrus, among others. In other words, and according to their conceptions, Mother Earth provides them with food to eat every day and provides them with monetary income to acquire the products of the capitalist market (not produced by the peasants).

For this reason, this article assumes the position of seeing the domestic group as a structuring and structured social unit, since from this perspective the indigenous and peasant culture are visualized as the socially inherited forms for the resolution of determined problems of human life ( D'Andrade, 1995, cited by Robichaux, 2007). This allows us to understand the decisions regarding post-marital residence and the transfer of

goods in the corresponding phases of the development cycle of the domestic group. These forms of the family cycle are defined as expansion, dispersion or fission, and replacement or substitution (Robichaux, 2007).

The expansion consists in the growth of members of the family due to the birth and development of the children, who will become the workforce for the productive activities. In this stage the plot is fundamental to produce the basic consumer goods, and the domestic unit will generate most of the properties that will be inherited to the sons and daughters, for example, the conservation of the plot, the housing, the means of family transport, savings, among others (Robichaux, 2007).

On the other hand, during the dispersion or fission, the children leave the unit to form their own families or to study or work, while in the replacement or substitution stage they return married to the home to live again in the inherited properties to replace the previous generation. During this phase, they decide if they will continue with the agronomic activities or if they will give a turn to family production, since some may be professionals or have engaged in productive activities of other economic sectors inside or outside the community (Robichaux, 2007) .

Now, as for the family that created the Quetzalin restaurant, it can be clearly stated how this has gone through the different phases outlined by Robichaux (2007): the expansion (when the teachers got married and had their children), the dispersion or fission (when they went to live in Puebla and, later, to Mexico City), and replacement or replacement (when they returned to build their house and restaurant).

Also, it is worth noting that the teacher's parents were peasants who, thanks to agricultural activity, were able to provide their children with the conditions to study teaching. However, after several decades of teaching service in Puebla and Mexico City, they returned with the expectation of opening a family business, instead of cultivating the lands inherited from their parents. The symbolic or cultural meaning, therefore, permeates the determination of the destiny of the patrimonial inheritance.

## **Results: tourism meetings and events in indigenous communities**

As explained in the previous section, the logic of reproduction of the service provided in the Quetzalin follows a family logic, and not a business logic. For this reason, the business has not only changed from a specialized restaurant (seafood restaurant) to a regional restaurant, but has even taken into account the offer of services for meeting tourism.

Next, it is analyzed if the tourism of meetings and the tourism of events are categories of analysis that could provide frames of reference for the phenomenon studied in this article. For this, it is taken for granted that the Quetzalin restaurant family offers a meeting tourism, which has become a strategy for family reproduction and for the realization of events, so that both terms need to be examined.

The word event is derived from the Latin events-us ('occurrence', 'event'), from which the word eventual arises, whose connotation is used to designate the temporality of the event (that is, a short-lived event), which can be of any type (eg, rain, migration of birds, etc.). Instead, reunion comes from the Greek word *ágora* (meaning 'grouping in public squares to deliberate political issues'), or from the Indo-European root *ger* ('accumulation'). Another accepted connotation can be explained from the combination of the suffix *re-* and the noun *union* (from the verb *unite*), hence it can also be conceived as 'return to accumulation', not of anything, but of human beings. In other words, because of its etymological roots, the difference between both concepts is based on the sense given to each one (Mateos, 1991).

The event is a temporary event made by natural phenomena, animals and human beings; while the meeting is produced by a group of people exclusively for deliberation, which suggests a consensus, that is, to unify or reconfigure constantly those who attended a certain act.

Now, it is necessary to note that this tacit difference raised in etymological terms is lost when used in tourism theory, as can be seen in the following concepts offered by Maure. (2007):

Event: Generic term that designates any type of professional meeting of a scientific, technical, cultural, sports, educational, political, social, economic, commercial, religious, promotional or other kind that facilitates the exchange of ideas, knowledge and / or experiences among the participants.

Tourism of events: It includes congresses, conventions, fairs, exhibitions, incentive trips, festivals. It is a form of business tourism, which essentially mobilizes opinion leaders in different branches of knowledge, science, technology, finance or commerce.

Tourism meetings: It is one that generates a set of economic activities as a result of organizing meetings of a destination to choose and whose motives revolve around professional issues.

Meeting tourism: Economic activities associated with the realization of congresses, conventions, incentive trips and other similar meetings (conferences, meetings, symposia, forums, seminars, courses ...) convened for professional and / or associative reasons.

These definitions, as can be seen, generate multiple confusions, since there is no conclusive distinction between meeting tourism and event tourism, despite their etymological differences. Therefore, to highlight the contrast between event and meeting, from the tourist point of view, it is necessary to contextualize both concepts within the framework of tourism services.

Indeed, by offering a life experience, the tourist service is characterized by being intangible and heterogeneous; it is produced, distributed and consumed simultaneously, so it can be an activity (take the dish to the diner and leave it on the table) or a process (from the purchase of the ingredients to prepare the dish, as well as its preparation, until take it to the table); its main value originates in the interactions between buyer and seller (precisely because it offers a life experience); your customers participate in the production (because the life experience is shared), it is not kept in stock and does not transfer ownership (Gadotti dos Anjos y Taisa Stock, 2009).

From the above it follows that an event and a meeting can be considered tourist nature if its offer includes food and beverages (restaurants, restaurants, inexpensive kitchens, specialized food stands, chains of coffee shops or fast food, banquets, among others) , lodging (hotels, motels, hostels, cabins, among others), travel agencies and domestic operators, as well as tourist guides or interpreters. Therefore, a tourism of meetings and a tourism of events, to be cataloged as such, must offer this type of services, since they mobilize the tourist staff; otherwise, they can only be conceived as events and meetings. Specifically, the difference between event and meeting tourism is summarized in Table 1:

**Tabla 1.** Caracterización del turismo de eventos y de reuniones

<b>Turismo</b>	<b>Objetivos</b>	<b>Temporalidad</b>	<b>Servicio</b>
<b>Eventos</b>	Acontecimientos cívicos, religiosos, sociales o culturales (bodas, bautizos, celebración patriótica, entrega de premios)	Dos días, una noche	Alimentación y hospedaje
<b>Reuniones</b>	Congresos, seminarios, festivales culturales internacionales, convenciones, ferias, viajes de incentivos, gestas deportivas, programas de capacitación. Puede contener eventos.	De tres días a un mes	Agencia de viajes, operadoras domésticas, alimentación y hospedaje

Fuente: Elaboración propia

According to the previous table, event tourism refers to the mobilization of the tourist staff to celebrate a short event, which is attended by members of a family or people whose recreational preferences are similar. On the other hand, the tourism of meetings is related to the mobilization of the tourist staff to gather specialists who focus on discussing, for longer periods, issues related to a profession. These meetings, in addition, can contain several events, as it happens with the congresses where workshops of four hours of duration and cultural events are offered, among others.

Established this distinction, you can consider the relationship of the two previous concepts with business tourism, which arises not only to offer a meeting place for people who work in a company that lacks that kind of space and resources (salons broad, food and beverage services, projectors, screens, etc.), but mainly to hold meetings to assess the productivity of organizations in neutral environments, which may result in more objective results.

Business tourism, therefore, can be considered as a segment whose motivation for temporary displacement is based on the resolution of labor issues that are attended, mainly, collectively. This serves as an argument to include it in business tourism, since the temporary displacement of an individual for work reasons has historically been prior to meetings for work purposes (Barreto, 1996).

These details serve to point out that the Quetzalin restaurant does not fit the tourism of meetings or events (at least not from the traditional perspective), since they underlie a strategy of hotel and restaurant companies to obtain profits in low seasons. This means that the tourism of meetings and the tourism of events in the restaurant Quetzalin must be considered from the logic of family reproduction.

### **Discussion: the tourism of meetings and events in Quetzalin under the logic of family reproduction**

According to the distinction made between meetings, events and business tourism, it can be affirmed that the first is the generic segment from which the others emerge. The difference between these, however, lies in the objective of each to finalize the meeting, as well as in the time of duration, although in them the condition is the employment of the tourist staff to be able to carry it out, that is, the lodging and food service.

However, despite the fact that the service provided by the owners of the Quetzalin restaurant does not correspond to a business logic, it does comply with the objectives and duration of the event and meeting tourism. In the first case, the banquets of social and civic events can be located, while in the second, congresses such as those made by the



association Niños de México or others, such as those made by the School Zone Supervision, can be pointed out.

In this sense, it is worth highlighting the economic and socio-cultural behavior in Quetzalín, whose tourist infrastructure does not allow mass tourism of large scale meetings, such as that offered by hotel chains or independent large hoteliers. This means that the tourism of meetings has become, for this family business, a strategy of permanence and survival within a market highly competitive by the service providers located in the center of the municipal capital, where only two of the cooperatives have burst in the tourism of meetings and events, although without great results. For this reason, it is evident that the logic of family reproduction of peasant or indigenous origin has allowed to face the drastic changes of the capitalist market not only in the cultivation of agricultural products, but also in the tourist sector.

The incursion in the tourism of meetings as a strategy of permanence in the market was a circumstantial decision for the Quetzalín, which was impelled by the negative comments of the clients attended in other businesses. Since then, this restaurant has remained in the market for 25 years offering hospitality and segmenting its services, so that its higher income is generated by meetings. Therefore, and viewed from the logic of family reproduction, meeting tourism has the attribute of developing community and regional social networks, as the people who meet in the Quetzalín are inhabitants of the region with cultural affinities. In other words, its main clients are indigenous professionals or rural professionals. In other words, when a family is in its fusion stage when it changes its place of residence, it never breaks with the social relations established since its birth with its co-nationals if it is still indigenous or peasant culturally.

This happens because the families in fusion coming from the rural area keep their relationships alive as they must return usually to celebrate the outstanding events of the community, such as the festivities, weddings, baptisms and the like. Because of this, the link between rural families, despite its merger, allowed the retired teacher to maintain their friendships, which planted the possibility of attending their meetings and events.

The tourism of meetings and events carried out in the manner of Quetzalin (that is, not being massive) does not affect the collective daily life in terms of the negative factors mentioned by Martos (2013), that is, musealization, trivialization of the cultural heritage, tourist monoculture or specialization of the city, congestion and concentration of tourists and gentrification. On the contrary: it reinforces the bonds of daily and community life, preserves the culinary culture and its own protocols of care while preserving the main individual and community patrimony: the land, although it is no longer cultivated. This is because it is governed by the logic of family reproduction, which is immersed in the form of capitalist reproduction that makes up a symbiosis, although the first is decisive for the second.

## Conclusions

In these pages we have tried to emphasize that community agents are not passive towards the tourism market, that is, tourism demand is not the determining factor in deciding on their own development. Therefore, we ascribe ourselves to the position according to which indigenous and peasant heirs and holders of natural and cultural assets exercise power over them for the supply of tourism service according to their logic of reproduction and production, whose basic unit of analysis is the family. In this regard, Salazar (2006) proposes:

Power is the ability of those to control the resources required for the development of tourism - labor, capital, culture and natural resources - and to ensure personal rewards for hosting tourism in their community. Therefore, power influences the willingness of local people and their ability to exchange (p. 108).

In the case of the family that founded the Quetzalin restaurant, despite having lived through its fusion stage outside of Cuetzalan, its members have preserved the ways of ordering ancestrally inherited family life, as well as their community social relations. This vision has allowed them to treasure the established social networks with their daily diners, since there is an identification with them that is anchored in cultural aspects that

are manifested in the treatment, prices and menus.

Social networks have served to take advantage of an area of opportunity not capitalized by other local entrepreneurs located in the center of Cuetzalan, who are more inserted in the tourist market and in the demand becomings. Therefore, before the imminent closure of the old seafood restaurant, the owners chose to expand the menu to meet the needs of the local population, and not so much the tourist, because they knew that the latter represented a seasonal market. In fact, they then decided to change to tourism for meetings guided by the same reason: the reproduction of community social networks, expressed and extrapolated inside and outside the family.

This type of meeting tourism in indigenous communities mobilizes the tourist staff -as in any other context for its realization- by attending groups of specialists in a specific topic. In this sense, Quetzalin has distinguished himself from other businesses because he has maintained the hierarchy and traditional roles, where the boss is the father -and under his leadership are the children and the mother- and where the parents take the decision to turn the business.

On the other hand, it is highlighted that the investment in labor has been reduced to its minimum expression, since it works mainly with solidarity work - and at the same time binding - based on family ties. Also, we have tried to satisfy the needs of the client with local menus whose production costs are low. In fact, they only invest significant amounts in the service infrastructure (large rooms, tables, chairs, kitchen, projector, screen, among others).

Finally, their scarce dependence on the global tourism market has allowed them to survive the drastic changes in this, since they have flexed their offer by using their individual patrimonial assets as collectives in a process of adaptation, synergy and negotiation between two different logics of reproduction. In a few words, the familiar serves the collective through its social and community networks.

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