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Economic Development and Nostalgic Tourism in Southern Mexico

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Abstract

Migration has a major economic impact in developing countries. The population residing abroad sends remittances to their countries of origin that are used primarily for home maintenance.¹ Mexican migrants, as migrants from other countries, also make regular visits to their home communities, becoming nostalgic tourists. This homecoming creates a cash injection from other parts of Mexico and other countries that invigorates the economy of the communities of origin of migrants.

The community of San Juan Bautista Coixtlahuaca, located in the Mixteca region of Oaxaca is part of the Ruta Dominica (Dominican Route) integrated by communities with ex-convents of the Dominican order. It is worth mentioning that Ruta Dominica is a program of the Ministry of Tourism to promote cultural tourism. For this reason, Coixtlahuaca has tourism potential to attract foreign, national, and nostalgic tourism. Specifically, the nostalgic tourists visit their home community during patronage festivals and holidays. Every time these migrants visit their communities of origin, their travel expenses and spending translate to a source of income for the local economies. Statistics from the Ministry of Tourism of the state of Oaxaca are scarce and data is only available for the four most important tourist destinations (City of Oaxaca, Puerto Escon-

¹ Canales Carón Alejandro I, "Remesas y desarrollo en América Latina: Una relación en busca de teoría," *Migración y Desarrollo* 1, no. 11 (2008): 5–30; Juan Ramiro de la Rosa Mendoza, Lila Romero Amayo, and Alma Araceli Pérez Savín, "El alcance económico de las remesas en México: consumo de las familias receptoras," *El Cotidiano* 21, no. 140 (2006): 76–88; Jean Papail, "Migraciones internacionales y familias en áreas urbanas del centro occidente de México," *Papeles de Población* 9, no. 36 (2003): 109–31.

dido, Santa Catarina Juquila, and Santa Cruz Huatulco). Additionally, data on nostalgic tourism does not encompass rural and urban communities. The present study provides information on the economic impact of the nostalgic migrants including the influx, stay, causes and reasons for migrants to visit their place of origin as well as the service demands of these nostalgic tourists that could be used to welcome domestic and foreign tourists.

Nostalgic Tourism

Andrade-Eekhoff argues that "between the economic activities that generate and drive migration we include telecommunications, trade, nostalgic tourism, transnational legal services, and construction."² Specifically, trade and nostalgic tourism are activities aimed at the population who leave their home community in search of better living conditions.³ "The immense desire to try cheese, meat, chicken, tamales, traditional drinks, pastries from the homeland is considered a big market and a first step for exports to the entire Latino community in the north."⁴ Then, migrants from their communities of current residence become consumers of products from their communities of origin.

Similarly, migrants that visit their home community become local consumers, this activity is known as "nostalgic tourism" or "nostalgia tourism."⁵ The behavior of migrants is very similar to that of a tourist, but they return for reasons other than to know the place for the first time. The migrants visit their community of origin for family reunions or specific occasions for the purpose of celebrating special events: Christmas, New Year, Easter, Day of the Dead, Mother's Day, weddings, quinceañeras, and so on.

The nostalgia tourism comprises the visit of migrants to their home communities; these migrants visit the community for short periods of time, becoming circular.⁶ Circular migrants are also nostalgic migrants because they are responsible for a significant economic benefit to their communities during the different festivities, such as Easter and during the months of December and January.⁷

² Katharine E. Andrade-Eekhoff and Canadian Foundation for the Americas, "Ante retos locales, acciones globales: La migración laboral y los nuevos retos para la formulación de políticas en un mundo transnacional," FOCAL Policy Paper (Ottawa, Canada: FOCAL, 2004), http://www.focal.ca/pdf/migration_Andrade-Eekhoff_labour%20migration%20emerging%20challenges%20policymaking%20transnational%20world_October%202004_FPP-04-7_s.pdf.

³ Manuel Orozco, "Trasnacionalismo y desarrollo: Tendencias y oportunidades en América Latina," *Foreign Affairs en Español* 5, no. 3 (2005): 17–25.

⁴ Katharine E. Andrade-Eekhoff and Canadian Foundation for the Americas, "Ante retos locales, acciones globales: La migración laboral y los nuevos retos para la formulación de políticas en un mundo transnacional," FOCAL Policy Paper (Ottawa, Canada: FOCAL, 2004), http://www.focal.ca/pdf/migration_Andrade-Eekhoff_labour%20migration%20emerging%20challenges%20policymaking%20transnational%20world_October%202004_FPP-04-7_s.pdf.

⁵ Kathleen Newland and Carylanna Taylor, "Heritage tourism and nostalgia trade: A diaspora niche in the development landscape" (Migration Policy Institute, Washington D.C., September 2010), <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/research/heritage-tourism-and-nostalgia-trade-diaspora-niche-development-landscape>.

⁶ Rafael G. Reyes Morales et al., "Impacto del turismo nostálgico y las remesas familiares en el desarrollo de comunidad rural oaxaqueña," *Migración y Desarrollo*, no. 12 (2009): 69–88.

⁷ Ibid.

The nostalgia of migrants represents a bond that ties them to their communities of origin and their periodic visits nourish traditions and social practices. Nostalgic tourism is present in greater or lesser degrees in all communities with migration. The components of nostalgia tourism include the direct and indirect impacts of tourism expenditure on local economic and social activities, "such as the supply-demand relationship for tourism services."⁸

Authors agree with the idea that migrants return to their home community in order to reaffirm their identity.⁹ It should be emphasized that the visit of migrants to their home communities not only reaffirms their identity but also generates a significant source of income for their communities. For example, El Salvador and the Dominican Republic are countries with a high number of nationals living abroad. Over fifty percent of tourists to the Dominican Republic are nationals living abroad, mainly in the United States.¹⁰

According to Orozco, currently a significant percentage of migrants visit their countries of origin as tourists; however, the governments of these countries have not developed clear public policies to serve this population.¹¹ This lack of public policy results in a lost opportunity to retain nationals for longer periods of time and offer them better services during their stay.¹²

Most studies on migration have focused on the impact of remittances on communities of origin, flows of migrants, and remittances contributions to these communities, but nostalgia tourism has not been specifically identified as an important component of this migration phenomenon. Nostalgia tourism has economic potential that has not been adequately developed. Among the economic activities that can be created to increase the economic benefit arising from nostalgic tourism are: create and/or improve lodging services, food services, handicrafts and souvenirs, tours, and information for migrants and some family members who may have not been to the community before. The children of migrants, their spouses, and their companions may require guided visits to representative sites of local culture and identity and some of these people may be willing to buy local products as well. New activities and services not only produce revenue for small business owners, but nostalgic tourists also consume local and regional inputs that directly benefit the communities of origin of migrants.

⁸ Andrade-Eekhoff and Canadian Foundation for the Americas, "Ante retos locales, acciones globales: La migración laboral y los nuevos retos para la formulación de políticas en un mundo transnacional"; Reyes Morales et al., "Impacto del turismo nostálgico y las remesas familiares en el desarrollo de comunidad rural oaxaqueña."

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Orozco, "Trasnacionalismo y desarrollo: Tendencias y oportunidades en América Latina"; Manuel Orozco, "Tasting Identity: Trends in Migrant Demands for Home Country Good" (Washington, DC, USA: United States Agency for International Development, 2008), http://archive.thedialogue.org/PublicationFiles/DNA%20Paper%20Series%20-%20Tasting%20Identity_11-18-08-Summary_FINAL.pdf.

¹¹ Manuel Orozco, "Impacto de la emigración en la región del Caribe y de América Central," FOCAL Policy Paper (Ottawa, Canada: FOCAL: Canadian Foundation for the Americas, 2003), http://www.revistainterforum.com/espanol/pdfes/migration_sp.pdf.

¹² Rafael G. Reyes Morales et al., "Impacto del turismo nostálgico y las remesas familiares en el desarrollo de comunidad rural oaxaqueña," *Migración y Desarrollo*, no. 12 (2009): 69–88.

The Phenomenon of Migration and Potential Tourism Development in San Juan Bautista Coixtlahuaca

The community of San Juan Bautista Coixtlahuaca head of the municipality of the same name is our community of study and it is located in the northeastern part of the state of Oaxaca at a height of 2,100 meters above sea level. For its altitude it is considered part of the Mixteca Alta region, which encompasses the districts of Nochixtlán, Teposcolula, Tlaxiaco and Coixtlahuaca.¹³ In San Juan Bautista Coixtlahuaca, as it happens with the rest of the Mixteca region of Oaxaca, the livelihood of the majority of the population is based on a precarious economy whose base is agriculture, temporary cornfields¹⁴, "livestock the manufacture of palm" (backpacks, tenates, hats), the construction of housing of migrant families and in a predominantly traditional commercial sector.¹⁵ A large part of the diet of the inhabitants of the municipality includes corn, beans, and wheat. It should be stressed that the majority of agricultural production that is done is for home consumption.

These features highlight the fact that the economy of San Juan Coixtlahuaca is of subsistence and that for this reason, the town has a precarious economy. Thus, the population of this town does not have access to a high quality of life. Under these conditions, some Mixtecs have been forced to leave their communities in search of better opportunities. Migration has been a constant in economic and social life of the Mixteca region. In the eighties, the Mixtecs represented one of the largest ethnic groups of workers who traveled to northeastern Mexico as well as California, Oregon, and Washington in the United States.¹⁶

In the case of San Juan Bautista Coixtlahuaca, this was a thriving community during the colonial period as the largest market in the region up until the second decade of the last century. After the United States and Mexico implemented the Bracero Program in 1942, the population began to emigrate to the United States. Simultaneously, internal migration was promoted with the construction of the Pan-American Highway, which joined the state capital with the center of the country. However, the construction of this road also became a factor against the market of this community because it allowed the communities in its area of influence to organize and establish their own markets. Therefore, the origins of internal and international migration in San Juan Bautista Coixtlahuaca date back to the 1940s.

The Bracero Program that started in 1942, and lasted for more than two decades, allowed mainly hiring peasants to work in the United States.¹⁷ During the first decade of this program, the first

¹³ Abisai García-Mendoza, Pedro Tenorio Lezama, and Jerónimo Reyes Santiago, "El endemismo en la flora fanerogámica de la Mixteca Alta, Oaxaca-Puebla, México," *Acta Botánica Mexicana*, no. 27 (1994): 53–73.

¹⁴ The original text uses the word "monoculture" which is incorrect and should read "small-scale farming" which means a pre-Hispanic farming system that consists in the association growth of corn, beans and squash.

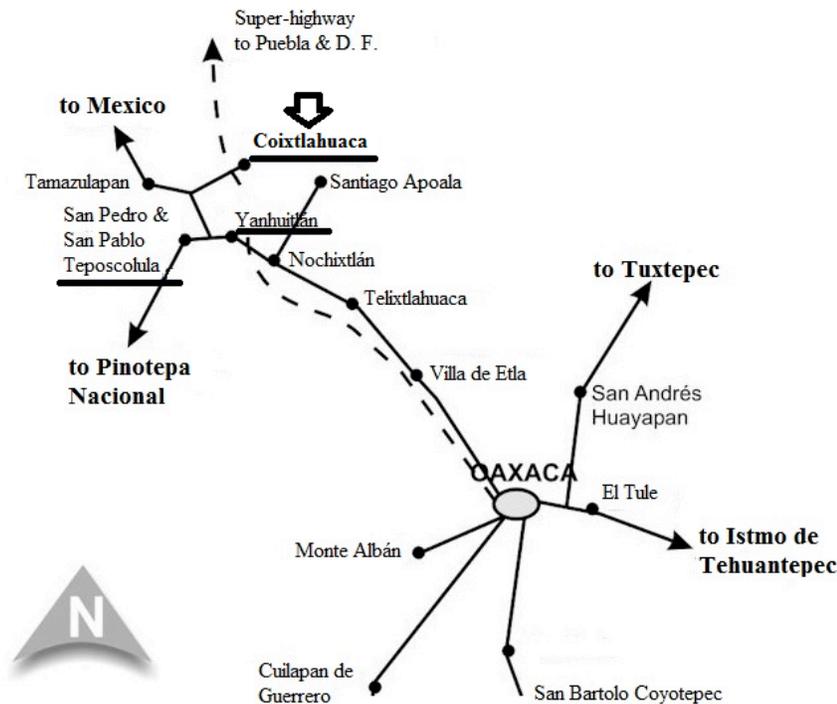
¹⁵ Rafael G. Reyes Morales et al., "Impacto del turismo nostálgico y las remesas familiares en el desarrollo de comunidad rural oaxaqueña," *Migración y Desarrollo*, no. 12 (2009): 69–88.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Jorge Durand, "El programa bracero (1942-1964). Un balance crítico.," *Migración y Desarrollo* 1, no. 9 (2007): 27–43; Zenteno Quintero and René Martín, "Pobreza, marginación y migración mexicana a Estados Unidos," in *Panorama Actual de las migraciones en América Latina* (Zapopan, Jalisco: Universidad de Guadalajara, 2006); Liliana Rivera Sánchez, "Entre contextos locales y ciudades globales: La configuración de circuitos migratorios Puebla-Nueva York," in *Entre contextos locales y ciudades globales. La configuración de circuitos migratorios Puebla-Nueva York* (Puebla, Mexico: Universidad Iberoamericana Puebla, 2011).

modern highway that joined the country from north to south and crossed the Mixteca region, inducing internal migration and facilitating international migration, was also constructed. The migration to other states of Mexico intensified from 1940-1950, a period in which the construction of roads began in the country. The construction of the Pan-American Highway elevated the peasants to wage workers and they moved their places of residence as the highway progressed. It also facilitated the migration of Mixtecs to the state of Mexico, Distrito Federal, state of Puebla, and to the City of Oaxaca.

The Pan-American Highway was used to emigrate and the paid wages in construction financed the trip of many Mixtecs to cities and states where they believed would have more job opportunities. Thus a dynamic internal migration process was established and later in the 1990s, with the creation of the super-highway Cuacnopalan-Oaxaca, communication with other communities was further improved which intensified competition from other markets such as those in Asuncion Nochixtlán, the city of Oaxaca, and the city of Tehuacán in the state of Puebla. The market of San Juan Bautista Coixtlahuaca could not compete with these strong markets and practically disappeared. The market crash was reflected in a growing exodus of the population. Today traders have failed to organize to develop the competitive and comparative advantages of the community of study in the region associated with its easy access by the super-highway Cuacnopalan-Oaxaca and its location on the Dominican Route. In this context, this paper aims to focus on the advantages of nostalgia tourism in San Juan Bautista Coixtlahuaca (Map 1).



Map 1: Dominican Route, Mixteca Region.¹⁸

¹⁸ Claudia Arellano, "Oaxaca y la ruta dominica" (TeleFórmula, June 15, 2014), <http://claudiaarellanob.com/seccion/turis/>.

San Juan Bautista Coixtlahuaca has one of the most important temples of the Dominican Route, a jewel of colonial architecture with gothic elements. For this reason, the government of the State of Oaxaca, by then Governor Ulises Ruiz (2004-2010), with the creation of the roads connecting the community, launched plans for tourism development—triggering economic development in communities that belong to the so-called "Dominican Route." This plan involved the communities of Santo Domingo Yanhuitlán, San Pedro, San Pablo Teposcolula, and, our community of study, San Juan Bautista Coixtlahuaca—all communities with ex-convents of the Dominican order. To give more touristic relevance to these communities, state, and municipal governments have built tourist centers in those towns, which have restaurants, health care services, nursing, Internet service, and playgrounds; plus, an ethno-botanical garden and a field for a Mixteca ball game, with an investment of over 17 million pesos for each touristic attraction.¹⁹

The tourist center built in San Juan Bautista Coixtlahuaca has been completed and functions could start at almost any time. However, the state government, to date, has not agreed with the local government of the community to find the best way to operate the facility. This is a problem in the case of San Juan Bautista Coixtlahuaca because no strategies have been planned or implemented to attract visitors to the community for more than a few hours. This is because there is no offer of tourism services, therefore, there is not a local vision of how to promote tourism. Understanding the tourism potential of the community, this study analyzes strategies that enhance tourism resources through the creation of services for tourists and nostalgic migrants.

Methodology

On different occasions, the authors visited the Mayor of San Juan Bautista Coixtlahuaca to ask for permission to interview key people in the community. Once the authorizations were given, we conducted thirty interviews with people from San Juan Bautista Coixtlahuaca, but not residing in the community. The interviews were conducted during festivals and holiday seasons in 2007. Among those celebrations we had: "Fiesta del Señor del Calvario" (The Lord of Calvary) in the month of May, Celebration of San Juan Bautista in June, during holiday seasons (July and August) and during the holidays in December. Interviewees are over eighteen years old and the most common interview locations were Catholic churches, markets, and basketball courts.

Nostalgic Tourism in San Juan Bautista Coixtlahuaca

Visitor's Place of Residence

About thirty percent of visitors came from the state of Mexico, fifteen percent from Mexico City, and seven percent from the neighboring state of Puebla. In total, visitors from central Mexico constituted fifty-two percent of aggregate inflow. Visitors from other parts of the State of Oaxaca totaled twenty-eight percent. This coincides with the fact that the states of Oaxaca, Puebla, Mexico, and the Federal District (Mexico City) are the places where the majority of the population

¹⁹ Martínez Martínez, "Paradores turísticos son elefantes blancos," (*Noticiasnet*, 2011), <http://old.nvnoticias.com/40404-paradores-tur%C3%ADsticos-son-elefantes-blancos>.

from the community of study resides. Migrants living in the United States account for 8.2 per cent and their current residences, at the time of the interview, were located in the states of California and Texas. (Table 1).

Visitors		Visitor Residence		Frequency
Type	%	City	State	
National	91.8	Oaxaca City	Oaxaca	14
		Nezahualcóyotl City	Edo. Mexico	9
		Distrito Federal	DF	6
		Toluca	Edo. Mexico	4
		Tehuacán	Puebla	4
		Orizaba	Veracruz	3
		Martínez de la Torre	Veracruz	2
		Nogales	Veracruz	3
		Querétaro	Querétaro	2
		Telixtlahuaca	Oaxaca	3
		Huajuapam	Oaxaca	2
		Tejupan	Oaxaca	2
		Nochixtlán	Oaxaca	2
		Dallas	Texas	1
International/ United States	8.2	Houston	Texas	2
		San Jose	California	1
		Los Angeles	California	1
Total				61²⁰

Table 1: Origin of Nostalgic Tourists to San Juan Bautista Coixtlahuaca, Oaxaca, 2007. Source: Own calculations based on data from the interview

Therefore, we can appreciate that there is a high proportion of migrants in the community who attend religious celebrations and visit during holiday periods. This enables the "local-global connection" with the community of origin to the various points of the migratory circuit, either inside the Mexican Republic or migrants living in the United States.²¹

²⁰ The number is larger than the sample because it includes the interviewees and their companions.

²¹ Liliana Rivera Sánchez, "Pertenencias, identidades y espacios: Construyendo una comunidad mexicana en Nueva York. El caso de asociación Tepeyac," in *El hecho religioso y la ayuda social. Estudios sobre su historia, epistemología y práctica* (Bogotá, Colombia: Humanizar corporación colombiana de investigaciones humanísticas, 2001); Liliana Rivera Sánchez, "Transformaciones comunitarias y remesas socioculturales de los migrantes Mixtecos Poblanos," *Red Internacional de Migración y Desarrollo* 1, no. 2 (2004): 62–81.

Influx of Visitors

Nostalgic tourists are migrants who "temporarily return to their home community to participate in social, family, and cultural activities taking place throughout the year."²² In the case of San Juan Bautista Coixtlahuaca, tourists come mostly from villages and cities located within the national territory (91.2 percent), while the presence of international visitors is smaller but no less important (8.2 percent). The influx of nostalgia tourists is higher in certain seasons of the year and especially during holiday periods and religious holidays. Nostalgic migrants are the majority of the visitors that the community receives during the holidays and vacation periods; these tourists come with family or friends from other communities. Traders from outside the community, also attend the festivities, but represent a barely visible population in relation to the influx of people visiting the community during festivities and holidays. (Figure 1).

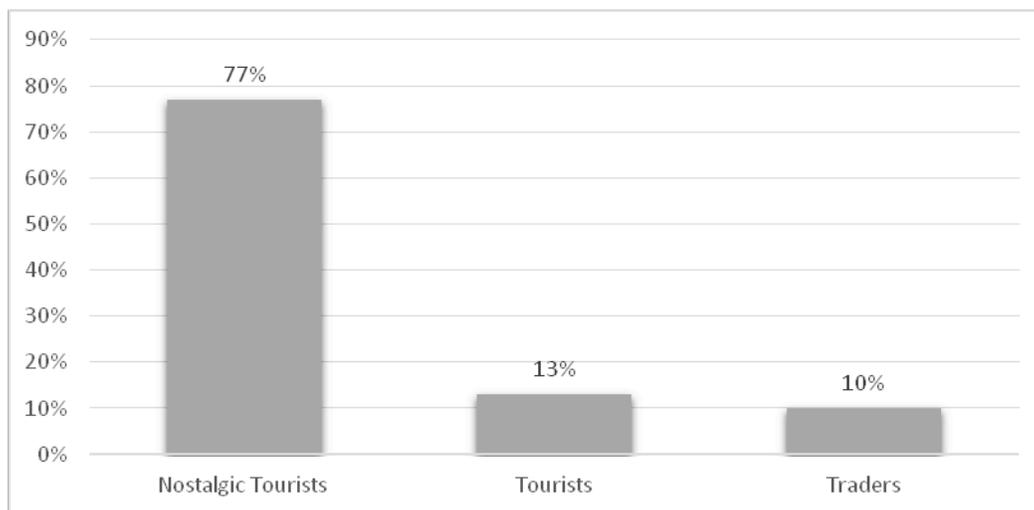


Figure 1: Influx of Visitors to San Juan Bautista Coixtlahuaca, Oaxaca, 2007.

Source: Own calculations based on data from the interview

The visit of nostalgic tourists coincides mainly with religious festivals of the community, and the holiday periods of Easter and December. The most important religious holidays are: May 19, when people celebrate the religious festival of "El Señor del Calvario" (The Lord of Calvary) and June 24, for the religious celebration of "San Juan Bautista" (Figure 2). Annually, hundreds of nostalgic tourists, visitors, and pilgrims mainly residing in the states of Mexico, Veracruz, Puebla, Oaxaca, and Mexico City travel to this community during both celebrations. In these celebrations a rodeo, a midnight rodeo, and a dance with nationally recognized artists are organized. The festival expands to the surrounding towns, whose residents come to San Juan Bautista Coixtlahuaca with the music band of the community to endorse their fraternity and offer monetary donations and in-kind donations to the municipal authorities and to the Catholic Church. In these celebrations crowded basketball tournaments are held to reaffirm the bond between the people of the District of Coixtlahuaca and the surrounding towns. Historically the pre-Hispanic sport of the Mixtec ball was also played in Coixtlahuaca.

²² Rafael G. Reyes Morales et al., "Impacto del turismo nostálgico y las remesas familiares en el desarrollo de comunidad rural oaxaqueña," *Migración y Desarrollo*, no. 12 (2009): 69–88.

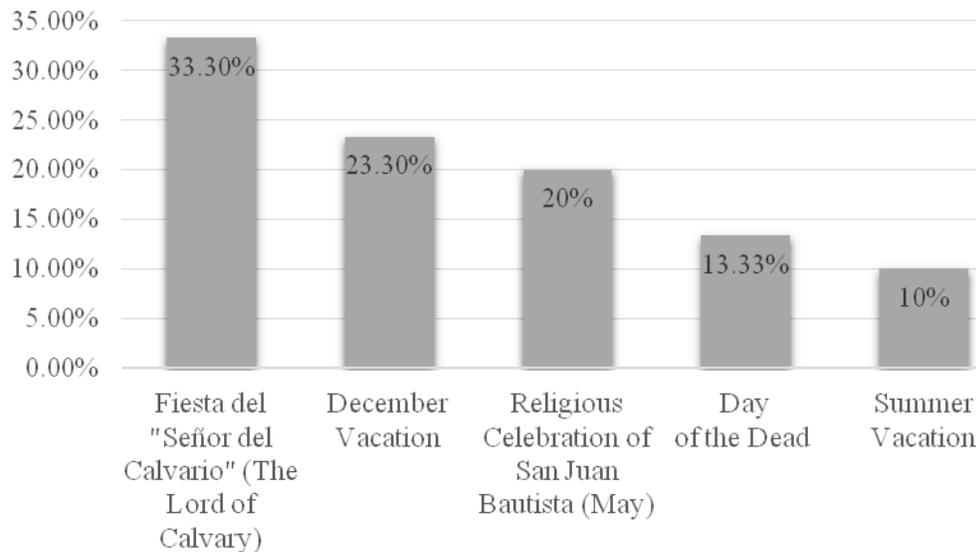


Figure 2: Reasons for Visiting San Juan Bautista Coixtlahuaca, Oaxaca, 2007
Source: Authors' calculations based on data from the interview.

Average Stay of Nostalgic Tourists

The average annual visitors' stay in San Juan Bautista Coixtlahuaca is six days. The reader should be aware that annual stay refers in most cases to a single visit or in some cases the sum of different visits is included. The average stay has a standard deviation of 7.6 days, indicating high variability.

Tourism Expenditure

Table 2 also shows great variability in economic spending of visitors to San Juan Bautista Coixtlahuaca and the annual average of 2,445 pesos with a standard deviation of 2,735 pesos. In this case as above, the average annual expenditure refers in most cases to a spending that takes place during a single visit.

No. People	Expense Minimum	Expense Maximum	Average	Standard Deviation
30	200	12,000	2,445	2,735

Table 2: Tourist Expenditure of San Juan Bautista Coixtlahuaca's Visitors, 2007. Source: Own calculations based on data from the interview

Demand for Services by Visitors

As shown in the graph below, hosting visitors is not a problem for the community because most of them have family in town who will provide accommodations. The accommodation is provided by the family in most cases (seventy percent), while seventeen percent of nostalgia tourists from this study stay with friends during their stay. The remaining thirteen percent of nostalgic tourists who live in villages near San Juan Bautista Coixtlahuaca travel back to their home without having to spend the night. Interestingly, only seven percent of nostalgia tourists stay with direct rela-

tives (spouse and children), because in many cases the nuclear family lives outside of San Juan Bautista Coixtlahuaca (Figure 3).

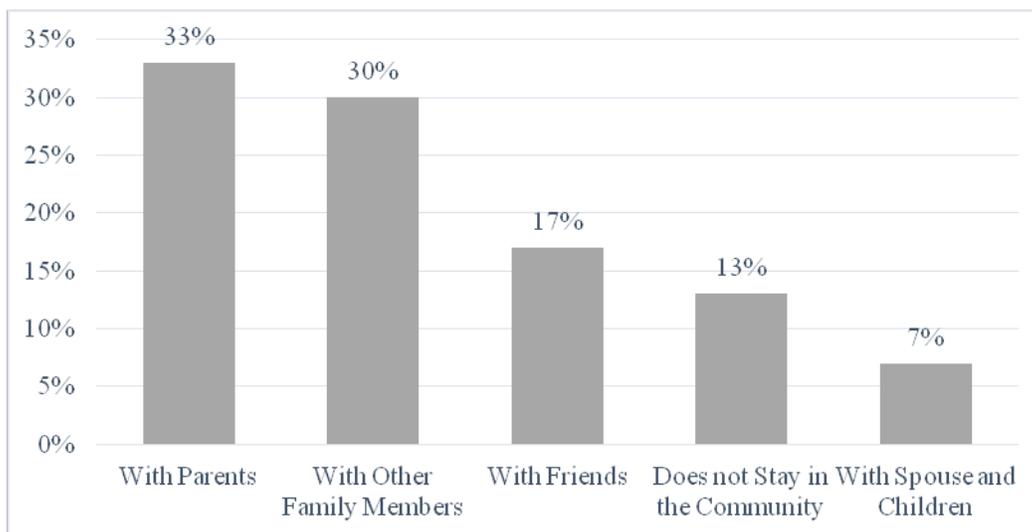


Figure 3: Accommodation Used by Nostalgic Tourists in San Juan Bautista Coixtlahuaca, Oaxaca, 2007. Source: Own calculations based on data from the interview

The interview results during holidays and vacation periods show that visiting family and attending festivities are the main reasons nostalgic tourists visit the community. It is observed that fewer people go to the community to interact with the local government, do business, or visit their dead at the cemetery. The religious festivities are the main attractions of San Juan Bautista Coixtlahuaca. Therefore, the basic reasons for attending the festivities include spending time with the family and teaching their children and grandchildren ancestral traditions. Because of these facts, the tourism package elements for Coixtlahuaca are: 1) attend the celebrations of the community (mainly Señor del Calvario and San Juan Bautista), 2) visit family, 3) do paperwork at the municipal offices, and 4) visit the cemetery of the community (Table 3).

Reason for Visiting	Frequency	%
Visiting Family	15	50
Attending a Religious Festival	9	30
Do paperwork at the Municipal Offices	2	10
Business	2	10
Visiting the Cemetery	2	10
Total	30	100

Table 3: Main Reasons for Visiting San Juan Bautista Coixtlahuaca, Oaxaca, 2007. Source: Own calculations based on data from the interview

Demand for tourism services

When asked about the tourist services that are needed in the community to better serve visitors, nostalgic tourists responded in hierarchical order: 1) public restrooms, 2) restaurants, 3) crafts, 4) tourist information offices, 5) hotel, 6) tourist guides, 7) souvenirs, and 8) Internet. (Figure 4).

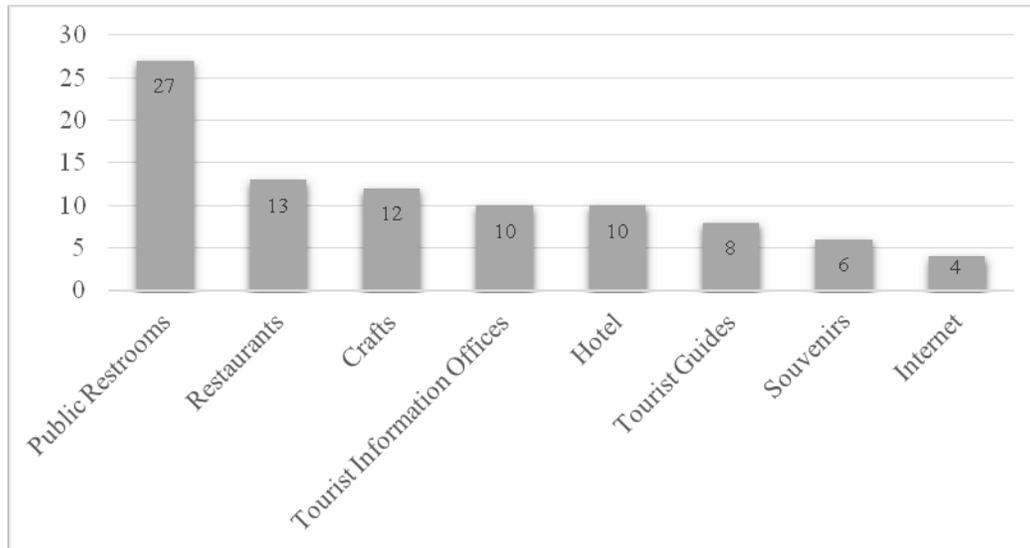


Figure 4: Request for Travel Services in San Juan Bautista Coixtlahuaca, Oax., 2007. Source: Own calculations based on interview data.

Services of higher demand from nostalgic tourists are both public and private. In this sense, it is considered that offering public restrooms, hotels, restaurants, selling handicrafts and souvenirs, and providing tourist information offices would bring an increase in the stay of tourists in the community. At the same time, the economic flow would be higher and this improve the living conditions of people in the community who may be directly and indirectly involved with the tourism industry. The increased supply of tourist services would increase the number of visitors to the community. In the same way, these services would draw more attention from local travel agencies to organize and increase both national and foreign travel to the community.

Conclusions and Guidelines for a Development Proposal

Data for this research was collected in 2007. It reflects the present-day realities of the poverty experienced by the people living in the Mixteca of the state of Oaxaca. This research finds emigration to be detrimental to this community because it causes family disintegration. This negative impact becomes more pronounced when considering international migration, due to the high costs and physical risks of those that choose to leave.

San Juan Bautista Coixtlahuaca is a community with tourism potential where the nostalgic and cultural tourism can become an opportunity for economic development. In recent years the demand for visitors who wish to have contact with the culture of rural communities has increased. This is also due to the Dominic Route marketing campaigns from the government of the State of Oaxaca and the Secretary of Tourism in the state. For this reason, this manuscript concludes with proposals for expanding the tourist services for both domestic and foreign

visitors. It intendeds to enhance domestic and foreign visitor stays in the community and, consequently, extend the period of the stay of these visitors in the community. This would increase spending on tourism products and services. Thus, the population of the community could earn more income directly through tourism business and the jobs they offer. The expected impact is a significant improvement in the quality of life of the community.

With relation to nostalgia tourism, tourists in San Juan Bautista Coixtlahuaca are mainly people born in the community who emigrated with the hope of improving their living conditions. These migrants return temporarily to visit relatives, rest and spend time with the community mainly during festivals and holiday periods. According to Hirai, they visit the community "motivated by the need to maintain family, community, and cultural ties, as they experience a sense of loss of home and of their past, and it is precisely this visit that keeps them close to their past."²³ This community identity of migrants is expressed through the maintenance of strong ties with their community of origin. This community identity is also learned in the family and it is transmitted to immigrants' children and grandchildren in their communities of destination.

Currently the community still lacks the opportunity to provide services such as public restrooms, restaurants, crafts, and tourism information offices that can retain nostalgic tourists for more time and at the same time attract national and international tourism. As of May 2016, San Juan Bautista Coixtlahuaca has an unexplored archaeological site, a Dominican church of the sixteenth century, a tourist center which has been under construction for five years, a sanctuary of petrified marine fossils, and other natural beauty. Additionally, this community sits on the super-highway Coacnopalan-Oaxaca, allowing quick access from the main cities of central, eastern, and southern Mexico. These attributes provide this community with great potential as a prime tourist destination to attract tourists who will inject money into the local economy.

The benefits of nostalgia tourism have a direct impact on local economic development. The economic profit of nostalgia tourism benefits mainly local economic activities and in particular it benefits the trade and services that increase during seasons of greater influx of nostalgic and domestic tourists. This potential tourism—that strengthens seasonally—could be a tool to significantly reduce migration from the community, since the increased economic activity created by the seasonal tourism can create conditions to sustain endogenous development by leveraging community advantages such as the superhighway Coacnopalan-Oaxaca.

Municipal authorities should develop a plan of community-oriented tourism development to retain the nostalgic and conventional tourists for longer periods of time, which would increase the tourism expenditure. The first strategic plan should be greater promotion of the temple, the tourist center, and other attractions; effectively taking advantage of the budget that the state government of Oaxaca dedicates to cultural tourism. However, the local government should not lose control over its own initiatives. The local government must achieve greater security and benefit to the community. Another strategic element that is needed is the creation of a site museum where archaeological remains of the towns of the Mixteca and marine fossils can be displayed by telling the geological history of the surrounding communities. This museum should

²³ Ibid.; Shinji Hirai, "Nostalgias en un mundo transnacional. Hacia la reconstrucción del terruño, culturas e identidades entre California y Jalostotitlán, Jalisco." (Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, 2007), <http://www.eskimo.com/~oak/jalos/sh/Ponencia.htm>.

be promoted alongside the opening of restaurants who offer the rich cuisine of the Mixteca region for both tourists and those traveling by highway to the city of Oaxaca and beyond.

Regional tourism should be extended to visitors as well. This might include guided tours to tourist attractions, such as the visits to the Dam of Rio Blanco, the caves of La Ciénega, and visits to the fossil marine fauna. Thus, it is intended to provide a recreational experience through observation and appreciation of life, fossilized nature, and local culture. Regional tourism seeks to expand the tourism expenditure beyond conventional peak nostalgic tourist periods and to attract a larger number of national and international visitors in order to spread the benefits of tourism expenditure among the population of San Juan Bautista Coixtlahuaca. Finally, it hopes to attract the interest and resources of academics who study the development of rural communities with a high incidence of internal and international migration as well as scarce natural resources. This first stage of strategic planning aims to develop tourism as an industry as well as showcase the value of nostalgic tourism as a major local development strategy for the local government and community. A second stage of strategic planning will be to focus tourism development in the markets of nostalgia tourism where international migrants are concentrated. These international tourists represent the potential to export representative local products at a small-scale, benefiting migrants' communities of origin.

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