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**PROTECTED NATURAL AREAS IN MEXICO: PRESERVATION OR DISPOSSESSION OF THE
BIOCULTURAL HERITAGE?**

¹Agustín Ávila Romero, ²Leon Enrique Ávila Romero and ³Miriam Aidé Valladares Martínez

¹Universidad Intercultural de Chiapas, México

²Universidad Intercultural de Chiapas, México

³Universidad Autónoma del estado de México, México

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ABSTRACT

Protected Natural Areas (PNA) have represented internationally from more than 100 years ago, a strategy to preserve geographic spaces with an important biological richness, however these reservoirs have not incorporated in its design to the human element, such as an integral part in preservation activities, have dismissed the local knowledge systems, to implement a planning given by the global system.

Key words:

ANP, Conversion of production,
Biocultural Heritage,
Public Policy,
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INTRODUCTION

The topic of the preservation of the natural environment in its relation with the human being, has been discussed not only to the interior of the nations, but in the last 50 years, it has been taken to the table in international meetings between countries, arising from them multiple agreements that combine efforts to reduce the intensive global warming. Nowadays, these agreements are clear in the direction that there have the public politics of the nations, where it fits to the topic of the sustentabilidad the national interests and is marked in the speech of the agendas, the effort to reduce the emission of pollutant gases and loss of biodiversity, also; representative geographical spaces are reserved in the generation of environmental services, one speaks about an efficient handling of the natural resources, in order to guarantee; a development sustentable. The this document, it centers exactly on the analysis of the implementation of a model to preserve the natural ambiances of Mexico: "Protected Natural Areas" (from now on ANP), in this one, it thinks about how to be shown up;

the extract of its formulation and the central interests of its origin, in order to discuss of critical form not only the targets that there takes explicitly the speech that protects it, but also the implications that it has, like a form of intervention in the rural communities. For it, there appear initially the historical precedents of the model, which permeates later like a Mexican public politics, where from there is tackled the extract of its creation and evolution, the organism involved and the targets that caused it, going so far as to extend this way the vision, of how it is that it operates and there works in Mexico the National System of Protected Natural Areas (from now on SINANP).

With base in it, there are discussed later the forms in which this politics is arranged, and those who are the in charge organisms, the alternatives that take to preserve the natural environments and the implications of these to the rural communities. Finally, the analysis lowers in the particular case of two populations, who are Wild part of the area of influence of the Reservation of the Biosphere Blue, (from now on REBIME) located in the municipality of Márques of Comillas, Chiapas, Mexico.

***Corresponding autor: Agustín Ávila Romero**
Unidad Académica Multidisciplinaria Las Margaritas, Universidad Intercultural de Chiapas, México

Natural Protected Areas: Overview of implementation in Mexico

In Mexico the PNA as mentioned by Yanez, (2007:7) "began in 1876 with the reserve national "Desierto de los Leones". For this purpose, the promulgation of the Declaration of Yellowstone National Park in the United States of North America [...] was taken as example "However it is up to 1917 which by presidential decree, Desierto de los Leones is created under the figure of National Park (CONANP, 2013)."By the end of the 19th century when it is created the reserve, the issue of global warming, and concern for the environment was not in fact priority, however at various times in the history of mankind, refers to the interest which have been civilizations to preserve natural ecosystems and based on that, historically reserves model have its antecedent. In Mexico, the history of geographical spaces reserved for biological conservation, part of the first National Park, in 1917, to external interests and budget ups and downs, its crossing by the governmental agenda, has not had a constant, since during some stages of the country, it is left out of political interest. In the mid-1960s it abandons this policy of nature conservation, establishing a national programme of clearing and they are expensive projects to modify ecosystem [...] becomes a late 1970s and during the 1980s, to strengthen the assessment of the nature and occur conditions to increase the wealth of natural protected areas. Emphasizing the participation of regional groups and a greater number of research institutions as well as State and regional non-governmental organizations. (Villalobos, 2000:26).

This realignment of interest in natural preservation, emerges in the international context, since during the 1970s, it becomes evident for almost all Nations, ecosystems have been greatly impaired and natural resources begin to run out. International agencies are beginning to admit that the existing schemes of industrial growth, to continue at the same levels of expansion, collapse the supply of resources in the short time, speaks about global warming caused by the greenhouse effect and begin discussions to generate the development alternatives. One of these discussions took place in the framework of the United Nations Conference on "The environment human", which took place on 16 June 1972, and gave as a result "The Stockholm Declaration" on it were established by the countries members, a number of recommendations which had as objective; generate common principles, which offered the peoples of the world inspiration and guidance to preserve and improve the human, based on the relationship man - nature (UN, 2002).

Later in 1987 was prepared by various Nations for the UN; the Brundtland report, this was conducted by a Commission headed by Dr. Gro Harlem Brundtland, and was raised in the first; the term "Sustainable development". Then in 1992, the World Commission on environment and development of the UN sponsored Conference Earth Summit, held in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. (SECTUR, 2009). During this time it is that it binds more strongly to the international conception, the model of ANP, after originate in the 1970s the figure of biosphere reserve, same arising from the program; "Man and Biosphere" of the United Nations education science and culture" (UNESCO), this concept is to preserve nature without excluding human activities, which promotes their

implementation, after not issue expropriation of territories such as the national parks, thus legitimizing the actions of the Government in favour of sustainable development. The first reserves that have been created under this concept were: La Michilla and Mapimi in Durango and Montes Azules Chiapas. 2014 (CONABIO) Currently in Mexico, there are 176 ANP, of which 41 have been categorised as biosphere reserves (CONANP, 2013). Despite the fact that there was a period of abandonment in conservation, such as Villalobos (2000) refers it Mexico has increased significantly its ANP; the year of his first decree to 1932 were 23, and from 1932 to 1984, 73. (Vázquez and Valenzuela, 2009, cited by Gonzalez et al., 2014:10). However the real period of detonation of the model, emerged in the 1990s, coincidentally or not; After the creation of the SINANP, this organization was founded in 1983 (Yáñez, 2007:20) and after this year, 103 ANP are enacted, the period includes just 30 years old, while the 66 years before the SINANP, were only enacted 73 reserves. (CONANP, 2013). However, the total of ANP, only 61 are incorporated in the SINANP, with the category of biosphere reserves; the existing 41 34 are registered, it is important to note for later analysis that 38 of these were created after the founding of the SINANP. (CONANP, 2013) In addition to the birth of the SINANP and the numerous NPA created after the 1980s, the Government progress in this area continued formalizing.

In December 1994, the Secretariat of environment, natural resources and fisheries, organism, which in 2000 became the Secretariat of environment and natural resources (SEMARNAT, 2014) is created "in that same year also emerged the national natural protected areas Commission (in later CONANP), and the National Commission for the knowledge and use of biodiversity (in later CONABIO) and shortly afterwards the bottom Mexican for the conservation of nature (FMCN)", (CONANP, 2011) "(González et. ael., 2014:9)." Finally with the creation of the "regulation of the law General of the balance ecological and the protection to the environment in matter of protected natural Areas" the Government also assumes a legal nature, its position in accordance with the international discourse, establishing a regulatory, that the PNA represent an option to follow in the field of environmental conservation.

The bio-cultural heritage and sustainable development of the World Bank: conflicting logics

Today this model of conservation, based on Mexico one-way to coincide with existing environmental rationality in the global economy "sustainable development". The PNA permeate from the international interests, by adjusting the nationals to give continuity to the neoliberalism, predominant model, which governs the global economy and has been implemented in Mexico officially since 1982. Neoliberalism is led under the capitalist order, which has the essence of capital accumulation, Rosa Luxemburgo, explains:

"capitalism is a purely economic order, [...]" a process that moves within the boundaries of the exchange of goods and where ownership becomes appropriation of property of others and the change of goods exploitation." (Luxembourg, 1978: 351). Since the outbreak in Mexico neo-liberalism has changed the organizational structure of the Mexican State and the

direction of public policy, "(...). It dropped from 1,155 to 216 public companies, while collective labour contracts are dismantling and introduced technological innovations in strategic industries (telephony, petroleum, electricity, steel and automotive industry)." (Roux, 2012:5) the objective was to give a new meaning to economic, totally unlike the welfare model. Today, capitalism has found new ways to upgrade and expand their means of reproduction, reconfiguring geographical spaces through the appreciation of nature, and for that purpose has implemented mechanism developing countries to intervene in rural areas in order to reclaim the natural elements in favour of the capital, even in schemes of domination. This assertion is widely explained by David Harvey (2004) in which called "The geography of the accumulation of capital", and part of an analysis of the geopolitical to unravel it. Harvey States that the reconfiguration of the space, is in reality, the reconfiguration of the capital, through valorise nature and implement mechanisms for expanded reproduction, exploring new forms of dispossession. For capitalism; the area is seen as a chance to "geographical expansion" and "reorganization space" to reproduce, the role played by the territory is vital to their subsistence.

The PNA, are essentially a natural territory whose creation, has made clear, is due to the global logic, therefore under the consideration that the global economy is based on capitalist interests, it is important to have elements of analysis determining critically, if this model represents a path to expand processes of accumulation of the capitalist order through geographic expansion and spatial reorganization. Alberto Betancourt (2011) documented in his work that the World Bank Group (WBG) who has been boost "System national natural protected Areas" project (The World Bank, 2002, quoted by Betancourt, 2011) which was formed in three stages, through which, the Bank influenced a long list of activities, including: design and implementation of the SINANPCONANP creating, the implementation of numerous ANP, drawing up a list of management programs, a remarkable extension of national territory surface fall under this category and a continuous intensive monitoring of the same. Then based on the work of Betancourt, we can start the analysis of the implicit objectives has the model of ANP as a policy of great impact in Mexico. The World Bank (in later BM) it is one of the agencies with greater influence in global economic policy, together with the International Monetary Fund and other global institutions, have directed the predominant neoliberal model. According to the pattern of environmental conservation ANP Betancourt promoted by the World Bank:

[...]It is to reach a modelo-de-desarrollo-economico-de-bajo-impacto-ambiental, i.e. a paradigm generated and subordinate to an "economic rationality", which is mainly materialized through the financing of projects of community development, eco-tourism, infrastructure, scientific training and payment for environmental services (Betancourt, 2011:16). The Bank imposed the obligation that the tasks of scientific research, related to SINAP question were carried out by non-governmental organizations (in later NGO) transnational and national, so under the current scheme oriented to neoliberalism, these involved today in the redesign of the

productive activities of local communities. "Indigenous peoples and peasants who live inside and in the areas of influence of the ANP, do not participate in the management of conservation policies." (Betancourt, 2011:27). The State decided in its legal framework, to award the role of management and operation, organizations, non-governmental (NGOs) and academic institutions or research. And we can be found in article 37 of the rules of procedure of the LEGEEPA (2014) in the field of ANP, where it dictates that they must be provided with financing or support from State and municipal government organizations, non-governmental or academic institutions or research, through the use of economic instruments. The NGOs have been mainly those who run the management and operation of the projects formulated around the PNA, from a scheme even hegemonic, now that an important source of financing they provide for the subsistence of these spaces, they have made in their hands to biological diversity, but as Eckart Boege; "the human is also a component of this diversity since the concept involves genes, species, populations, communities, ecosystems and vital environmental services" (Boège, 2008:39).

It is then when rural populations are established where these reservoirs, are vulnerable to the predatory mechanisms of capital and under the paradigm of conservation take a process of dispossession biocultural, since the rationale of sustainable development, is essential in the instrumentation of the PNA allowing you to rearrange the space and maintain control over the extraction and use of resources. The capital appropriates stolen and originates: "a model created by the *recolonizadores* and its agencies non-combat transnational - NGOs to regain peoples not yet integrated, generating an ideological perspective and non-realistic" (Dachary and Arnaiz, 2009, cited in Perez et. Al., 2011: 232). Rhina Roux, (2008) represents a reference current of as capital as a form of domination, has revealed in the violence, dispossession and destruction of the natural community, in a historical constant, concluding that globalization is the update of the secular violence of capitalist modernity, since it incorporates capital territories, nature, work and knowledge, under theft and predation methods described from the beginning by Marx; talks about an accumulation by dispossession, today, refined by scientific innovations technological.

Agustin Avila (2013) meanwhile deepened the theme of dispossession, valuing the importance of the traditional knowledge of indigenous peoples; It exposes the way in which these are being displaced by expansions of domain and enrichment through the destruction and looting of nature, his work sustains the loss of historical memory, after depriving villagers of their usual ways of life, and territorial spaces that allow them to play them. Mine Navarro (2013) takes up in his work, the validity of the primitive accumulation of Marx that is restructured in the theory of David Harvey "Accumulation by dispossession" seeking to understand in addition, indigenous struggles and peasants that have sprung up in Mexico as social antagonism to the processes of capitalist plundering, seeking to strengthen a Community policy. In the line of these works, is the analysis of the NPA policy, which is suggested as a strategy subject to capitalist interests, a mechanism to reconfigure the space, aimed at controlling, extract, exploit and commercialise the natural common goods,

through the dispossession, leaving as a result; the weakening of autonomy and dependence given by the conversion of the territory. As a space that has been used to reproduce traditional practices, giving an identity to the populations which inhabit it and interact with it is conceived, is that through the use of the territory is given a sense and meaning to life forms in rural areas. What is congruent with the affirmation of Coraggio: The territory is a notion of everyday use, refers to the place where the things happen where it captures the real directly, territory appeals to the complexity and richness of the real, in the territory are incorporated as components, the concepts of community and society, becoming thus a category where natural and social processes are interpenetrating (Coraggio 2011: 277-282). In this way, we can understand that territory is a basic element to play the traditional ways of life, where all compendia of knowledge which are the indigenous and peasant communities, these have been included by Berkes at are generated:

"traditional ecological knowledge" and is understood as: "a cumulative body of knowledge, practice and belief [...] culturally transmitted through generations, about the relationship of living beings (including humans) and with their environment" (Berkes 1993, quoted by Gómez-Baggeth, 2009:57). More recently Eckart Boege (2008) introduces this concept in a more thorough analysis, giving a greater number of elements allowing to understand the dimension of territoriality of indigenous peoples or peasants, in other words; It explains the interconnectedness of peoples with natural components of geographical spaces that live, or which make use. Boege talks about the "biocultural heritage" explaining that it includes activities that take place around productive practices organized under a repertoire of traditional knowledge, relating the interpretation of nature with that work; It is composed of biotic resources, operated in different gradients of intensity, by the differentiated management and use of natural resources according to cultural patterns, domesticated with its respective resources developed and/or locally adapted genetic biodiversity.

These "traditional knowledge evolve through a combination of cumulative ecological knowledge and a learning process that resets the detected errors and crisis situations" (Berkes, 2000, cited by Gomez-Baggeth, 2009:58). But how it could continue the process of evolution of traditional knowledge to the ANP model?, when the capitalist logic that sustains it, is antagonistic to the traditional logic and therefore seeks to reconfigure, making it useful in its conception. "The project recognizes that 80% of the surface of the ANP corresponds to ejidos and communities [...] indigenous, "(Betancourt 2011:41). Politics, breaks into the natural territories, indigenous and campesino, posing, reconvert the local productive activities, facilitated through zoning, establishing specific guidelines for use in spaces, which contrasts in the majority of cases the logic of local life longer than:

Restructuring and reorganization from the top of the productive activities of the indigenous and peasant communities; It coapta or destroy their knowledge systems, it coapta when it subordinates them to a commercial logic and destroy when it impedes the reproduction of community dynamics that preserve and recreate knowledge (Betancourt

2011:18). We talk about you spell, in that it would be limited traditional practices in a significant geographical expansion, where after converting the productive activities, traditional knowledge, not could play more talking about that rural life forms would end imminently extinct in the PNA and its area of influence. People lose the ability to manage its resources, following the implementation of a policy that is structured, managed and operates out of the local logic, a policy that inhibits the reproduction of ecological knowledge in autonomy. And to strip them of their biocultural heritage not only would be endangering its cultural subsistence but also their economic livelihood, even and food guarantee in the whole country. Indigenous people have a basic reference on primary production, historically have been beekeepers, farmers, farmers etc. But we know people are farmers of origin and as documented what Armando Bartra (2007) who notes some agricultural features as part of the essence of the peasantry, coining who even before the global context looking excessively to absorb them for the purposes of capital, these characteristics have allowed them conserve and reproduce its traditional approach, through the rural economy which contains elements of identity ethnicity and community among others.

Bartra (2007) shows us that farmers as commercial producers not pursue obtaining utilities and can therefore operate and reproduce with prices less than that would require a capitalist drive on the same land. The rural practice in the majority of cases an agriculture of subsistence or Exchange to a much lower income level. With the productive reconversion would be depriving the farmer of not only of the traditional forms of interact with the territory or the nature, but that we would be stripping it of its traditional knowledge, limiting their ability to reproduce and make them evolve, this action; It would imminently disappear them, you would end up with the essence of indigenous and peasant, "it will become farmers or fishermen, tourists and waiters at hotels guides" (Betancourt: 41) since "is offered to farmers, who are denied when it comes to agricultural activities, technical assistance and credit. (Monterroso and Zizumbo, 2009, cited in Perez *et al.*, 2011:240). At this point in the document we can then discuss, if the PNA are able to generate sustainable development that holds political discourse or simply represent a new less violent form of dispossession of the bio-cultural heritage.

ANP between the paradigm of conservation and accumulation by dispossession in Mexico

Will it be functional in terms of equity and justice for Mexicans, to follow a paradigm of international conservation? Is it really consistent with reality, what is assumed in the legal framework of the PNA? Because the General ecological balance Act establishes firmly that one of the objectives of the ANP is:

"Safeguard the genetic diversity of wild spaces of which depends on the evolutionary continuity. "Generate, rescue and disseminate knowledge, practices and technologies, traditional or new enabling the preservation and sustainable use of biodiversity [...]" (LEGEEPA, 2014:32-33). In the same line of protecting and preserving, but most emphasized in cultural diversity, Mexico; in 1992 in Rio de Janeiro, the Convention

on biological diversity firm, this as well as Agenda 21 in its chapter 26 and the subsequent conferences of the parties encourage States to recognize and empower indigenous peoples and local communities as strategic stocks for the conservation of biological diversity and agrobiodiversity around the world, (Boege, 2009) by adopting in addition three objectives to be applied strictly in all geographical areas: regional conservation of biological diversity, sustainable use of its components and the fair and equitable sharing of the utilization of genetic resources (Boège, 2008). But in the preservation line, Mexico had already assumed the NPA policy, unlinked in any part of its formulation cultural elements, knowing before hand that reserves be established in rural areas of indigenous nature and peasant, but this has much logic when we remember that Mexico was not assumed as a multicultural country for this time. It's really up to 1994 that the recognition of indigenous peoples is constitutionally based. Incredibly the legal framework of high rank in this country, not assumed the existence of peoples that gave origin, even in speech. This allows understanding why were also ignored in the management structure of the model ANP, which although there changed in the speech, has not changed to date. But now we understand, the contempt that has been given to the knowledge or traditional knowledge, when the productive reconversion ends up leaving, agricultural activities and traditional uses of nature, in order to implement a policy completely alien to the local environment.

The capital today expropriated hundreds of millions of the possibility of exercising their ability to work profitably. Wild commercialism deepening exploitation and expulsion; It devalues the wage and small production on their own. [...] it debases the relationships between us and us with nature. (Bartra, 2008:26-27). Not looking for with this analysis, minimize the State's efforts to preserve natural environments, but that goes more to tone to identify terms that are routed efforts, in order to support a more critical stance of the viability of the policy, in terms of Justice and equity, because while it is safeguarding the genetic diversity of wild spaces in the PNA and in order to keep them intact is limited use traditional and local knowledge are sacrificed. Who it benefits from then the policy that leaves a biocultural dispossession as a result? Who appropriates the revalued? The ANP are a means to preserve the spaces that have been revalued by the capital, initially, these allow the reconfiguration of territories, after expanding geographically the order, revaluing nature as a living space for their subsistence, introducing a new logic of use and exploitation, in which the capitalist single benefits by giving it a new use for stolen.

Around the PNA, rotate multiple transnational corporations, fighting among themselves by sharpening the looting of countries, possessors of great natural riches. This unpublished technical ability unleashes fever control reserves of living beings off-site or on-site as new raw material, specific of a new branch of production. [...] Thus was born the negotiation of international financial loans to poor nations, in Exchange for the granting of millions of hectares dedicated to forest plantations or natural conservation areas. Negotiation which obliges the peripheral countries to open the doors of their regions of biodiversity to "conservation" transnational non-governmental organizations, universities in rich countries,

transnational corporations and departments of the first world, that manage the conservation and biodiversity prospecting in their lush tropical regions (Barreda, 2001:22). The signing of an agreement between the Institute of biotechnology of the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM), whereby U.S. biotechnology company would acquire samples collected by scientists of the UNAM for developing and patenting new products, in return the company would pay to the UNAM and Diversa Corporation went public in March 1999 Alejandro Nadal royalties on the sale of products from the collected materials. Andrés Barreda (2001) highlights, other three bioprospecting contracts: the first signed between the Organization of doctors indigenous traditional of the Altos de Chiapas (Omietch), El Colegio de la Frontera Sur, the University of Georgia and the Molecular Nature Limited Company, for the collection of thousands of varieties of medicinal plants that seeks to exploit commercially. One more between Sandoz and the Union of Zapotec forest communities and Chinantecas (UZACHI) of the Sierra Juarez of Oaxaca, and drew thousands of samples of microscopic fungi of the Sierra Norte of Oaxaca, to investigate whether the secondary metabolites of the same drugs could obtain for the cure of diseases such as cancer or AIDS.

And the last last contract, it was between transnational corporations, American Cyanamid and American Home Products with the University of Arizona and the Botanical Garden of the Institute of biology and the Faculty of chemistry of the UNAM dedicated to collect cacti, xerophyte and other plants of all the Mexican deserts. The term of these contracts is currently unknown, however these have not been the only means for reappropriating stripped in the ANP biocultural heritage. The municipal development of Marqués de Comillas 2011-2012 plan endorses that the indiscriminate expansion of commercial monospecific plantations of Persian lime, was promoted in the past 6 years, under the logic of the so-called productive reconversion, rubber and, above all, African palm plantation which, towards the 2006 had an area of 340 hectares, which increased to 984 between 2007 and 2008, while 26 producers, was increased to 86 in the same period. In the case of the cultivation of palm oil in the southeast of the country, it has an extension of temporary planting of more than 34 thousand hectares, of which obtained 344 thousand tons of oil on average per year, resulting in an annual growth of 9.1% in the period from 2006 to 2010.

During this period, cultivation reached an average of pesos per ton, in the first year was quoted at 640. The average monetary income was 378 million pesos for the year, where the State of Chiapas, the largest producer of the crop with four of every five tonnes nationwide, was 67.2% (227 million pesos) (spread, statistics of the agri-food Sector and fisheries, 2011). In Chiapas since 2006 has been promoted as public policy the planting of agro-fuels, these African palm plantations has resulted in a new model of possession of land, labor and money that endangers the biological stability of the Montes Azules reserve (Ávila, 2012). These plantations arise in the logic of sustainable development, expand indiscriminately inside and outside the reserve, even under the arguments of reforestation of the jungle, without considering the impacts to the local, as a species introduced to ecosystem biodiversity. The same municipal plan identifies two exclusive hotels for

elite tourism, one opposite the mouth of Chajul ejido (within the territory of the Montes Azules reserve) built through the rehabilitation of what 20 years outside station biological of the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM) and other built in the mouth of Tzendales River, also within the territory of the reserve, from land of the ejido Zamora Pico de Oro. Before the decrees of ANP delimits itself a geographical space, and after it is generated a zoning, which according to the LEGEEPA regulation established permissive activities in each of the established areas, taking into consideration the category assigned to the area. Thus space is reorganized, without possibility to give continuity to the traditional knowledge, it breaks completely on the development of local capacities, as with the reconfiguration appears the productive reconversion that breaking into the local logic, and in the use of the territory, not only it desposesiona biocultural heritage to the indigenous and peasant communities, but that it transfers it, for the purpose of expansion of capital and it is there where arises what Harvey calls "geographical expansion of capital".

Ejididos: Galacia and Playón of Gloria as a zone of influence of the ANP Montes Azules, implementation of two projects of productive reconversión

In order to be able to visualize the productive reconversion that favors politics ANP and the participation of NGOs in this process, taken as examples two productive projects generated in the municipality Marques of Comillas, Chiapas, Mexico, these are: the Center "Canto de la Selva" ecotourism in the ejido Galacia and the extensive UMA of butterflies, "The House of the Morpho" at Playón de la Gloria. This municipality is located on the Southeast end of the physiographic region of the State of Chiapas, known generically as the Lacandon Jungle, one of two regions of the country and of Mesoamerica which possess the greatest biological diversity. (Municipal Marqués de Comillas 2011-2012 development plan). Bordered to the West (in adjacent with the reserve of Montes Azules biosphere, demarcated by the Lacantún River) and Northwest by the municipality of Ocosingo, to the Northeast and East with Benemérito de las Américas and the South with a portion of Guatemala and the rest with benemérito of the Americas.

The 2011-2012 municipal development plan sets out the main productive activity of the population is agriculture. In the municipality is cultivated corn, beans, squash, and green chile, although as you have pointed out you the crops of oil palm and rubber will increase significantly. Predominantly property type is the ejido, within which are made of Playón La Gloria and Galacia (See Table 1).

and the Integral of the biosphere reserve Montes Azules area. CONANP, (2013), States that: the biosphere reserves are representative areas of one or more ecosystems not altered by human action or which require to be preserved and restored, in which species representative of national biodiversity, including considered endemic, threatened or endangered species. The REBIMA is enacted to mainly protect the Lacandon Jungle of Chiapas, and in the year 2000 is presented the management plan, where they were established guidelines and actions to be followed for its conservation, taking as a basis the zoning of the area (INE, 2000). The ejidos Playón de la Gloria and Galatia is located in the boundaries of the zone designated for preservation or use restrindo for the REBIMA, which according to the management plan: "permitted activities include research and monitoring, education, protection and ecotourism [...] It allows the productive activities enabling the preservation of the area, especially those related to low-impact tourism and recreation" (INE 2000:69). These zoning guidelines have not only been for the reserved area, but they have exceeded the limits with the municipality of Marqués de Comillas generating changes in the schemes of utilization of natural resources, within the surrounding ejidos, implementing alternative to the traditional productive activities projects.

Song of the forest and the House of the Morpho: Productive reconversion projects implemented by NGOs

In 2007 the non-profit Mexican nature in its role as consultant presented a report to the National Institute of ecology, entitled "Reforestation and ecological restoration in seven towns of the Lacantún River margins" which include Galatia and Playón de la Gloria in this document, outlining recommendations the need to restructure the productive activities in order to maintain environmental conservation spaces. It recommends specific actions:

- Payment for environmental services and compensation to preserve areas with original ecosystems without protection.
- Restructure the production extended to agroecological, agroforestry systems, forest plantations and Silvopastoral.
- Promote ecotourism activities
- Develop green markets

In order to better understand the schemes in which develops the productive reconversion in Galatia and Playón de la Gloria, was an approach to these areas through field work; where applied participant observation and semi-structured interviews in order to obtain data on the productive projects implemented.

Table 1

Agricultural Core	Total Area	Parceled Area	Surface with human settlements	Total of ejidatarios
Playón de la Gloria	1,706.836985	1,384.403934	32.619678	62
Galacia	2,627.776478	1,403.664315	36.980848	53

Source: Calculations based on data accessed in the Padron and Agricultural History of Cores (PHINA), of the National Agrarian Registry (RAN).

The municipality is listed as a zone of influence of the Montes Azules biosphere reserve, (hereinafter REBIMA) so in all the adjacent to this area, there has been constant transformations since its Declaration on 12 January 1978, as forest protection

In the ejido Galatia to late 2012 was put into operation Center ecotourism "Canto de la Selva", according to the information provided by the Mr Abel Flores Marroquin: "Members are the ones who have decided to conserve the forest and why they

gave us the ecotourism centre" this was the response of Mr Abel when asked where, or how it is that came up the idea of establishing this project. Given your response, we understood, that the idea came from external agents, but not only that but that the ecotourism centre was perceived as a kind of incentive or gift by having preserved some hectares that according to said, were formerly used for agriculture or livestock. 30 project partners are attached to the program payment for environmental services of the Commission national forest, where are given a specific amount of money per year, for each of the acres where maintained the original vegetation cover (CONAFOR, 2011). Chant of the jungle then arises according to Mr Abel to generate economic development alternatives to settlers who leave income from productive use of their land by taking the option of keeping them. The project comes from Natura ecosystems Mexicans, the U.S. Agency for international development (USAID) Fund Banamex, Pemex and other NGOs that comment not remember, these NGOs were those who carried out the technical and financial contributions and the training was conducted by SECTUR. Organizations went to the ejidatarios in the tertiary sector, I will teach them as they had to meet clients and services that should be offered, were instructed to create guides, maids, cooks, boatmen, and waiters.

However the project still does not generate income for the Ejido members, if it has led to what a loss in autonomy to operate their own means of production; "just serves to pay the salaries of employees [...] When we have a problem of money, for example, last year that the river grew and flooded the Center and took the pier, who supports us is teacher Julia Carabias, it is who gets us resources to be able to continue working." This was the response of Ms. Andrea Marroquín; Treasurer of the ecotourism centre. "The House of the Morpho" in the ejido of Playón de la Gloria is another project also to tourism, where 22 ejidatarios operate an extensive UMA of butterflies, which benefit from offering tours within the spaces of conservation and taking advantage of the species for the development of crafts. The House of the Morpho starts operations in 2009, although its history goes back to late 90's, when the Boca Chajul ejido are invited to participate in a project that consisted of the collection of butterflies for sale, subsequently joined the ejidos Playón de la Gloria and the Piru, the institution with which the ejidatarios established agreements to allocate its hectares to the project, it was natural spaces and sustainable development BC.

According to documents Emilia Cordero and Diego Olavarría during the 11 years that hard the project is added to this institutions such as Ford and its dealers, Mexican Fund for nature conservation, United Nations programme for development, Conservation International, National Commission for the knowledge and use of biodiversity and the McArthur Foundation. Project achievement to keep 3,000 acres but was developed in natural simple commercial exploitation schemes collection was carried out under a commercial stock is presumed that they were not maintained appropriate parameters to restrict catches of species in danger of extinction, also failed to generate significant revenue to the inhabitants, and conversely the project represent a business with high levels of inequality in terms of the gain, resource management genre significant benefits, but the distribution of

came from the involved NGOs (Lamb and Olavarría, 2009). Subsequently, the collection of butterflies was abandoned by the ejidos of Chajul and the Piru and was only in charge of some ejidatarios of Gloria Playón where is formally established the environmental management unit, (in later UMA) training villagers to their operation and devoting the space to the establishment. Mr Caralampio; Administrator in charge of the project, says that training, everyone involved, from collectors, to the artisans through the collectors, the ejidatarios were instructed to occupy different posts that would be generated in the UMA. "Have not been many gains" said Mr Caralampio "three years ago we received 110 per hectare which we preserve and increase step year, got 480, there we are going slowly, but since November of last year that was flooded, I entered a pest that we have not been able to remove" Don Caralampio and other involved people, expressed to Natura Mexican space where the UMA would be installed had flooded in some occasions, the last about 9 years ago, nevertheless considered that that data did not represent a risk. The plague left the flood not has failed to eradicate, since pest management was not considered training and Natura Mexican notice, that it had submitted, still not has been honored.

While the settlers settled in these towns do not have an ancestral heritage systems use and management of the Lacandon Jungle, many of them have developed a clear empirical knowledge about the usefulness of plants and animals, based on the correlation they have had with jungle since their arrival in 1974. An example of this is Mr Rafael Lombera who work to Chajul station with associations such as Conservation International, international nature and the UNAM among others, in its role as a field technician. This ejidatario as many other nearby nuclei have been actors starring in the research work done by academic bodies and NGOs alike, their participation has been indispensable to identify the nesting sites of species, the micro-regions where are located, reproduction periods and elements of subsistence of many animal species and vegetables, as well as the relationship that they have with some components of the climate, or natural process of permanence of biodiversity. They are even key informants of the behaviors that feature animals and the usefulness of a wide range of plants that are found in the reserve.

While it is true that science allows to have access to this type of knowledge, experience and contact method cause and effect, they are factors that can not be discriminated against at the time of generating learning, and all of them are in force between the majority of the residents who live in this area of influence of the REMIBA. That argument relies on people like Mr Rafael Lombera who still holds negotiations with the UNAM to conduct research into REMIBA, or the Mr Noe Vazquez Cruz (Ejido de Chajul) who is technical field service Natura Mexican or don Chilo, as it was called a denizen of Playón de la Gloria, who during the field work, we are guiding through the reserve, a student's mastery of the UNAM, who was unable to locate if same seedlings and tents of bats who supported his research work. Will be true then what is proposed in the management plan of the REMIBA where it is stated that: "most of the inhabitants do not have resources or expertise to carry out alternative crops or to benefit from a sustained tropical animals and plants use." (INE, 2000:46) or

is simply justification to keep them out of negotiations that lie inside of the REBIMA, since the observed reality is largely from this statement. To all that we can also add that these people already had expertise in agricultural, as a cultural heritage from earlier practice of arrival...

Conclusion

Today we know about direct source that two and 4 years of operation "Canto de la Selva" and "Playón de la Gloria", respectively, the projects have failed to produce significant gains, lack of knowledge in the management of these has generated dependence on NGOs, limiting his ability in the operation and solving problems that arise. Projects are not able to manage the local because unknown operation, which limits the capacity of response to unforeseen situations, have not been functional in economic terms that planning does not provide financial or market studies, not analysed or evaluated its feasibility, feasibility or profitability, that is totally unknown markets where venture. The *ejidatarios* have no knowledge where carry out promotion, or what agencies to link up, do not create relationships with networks to strengthen marketing, included in term operational deficiencies are evident. Before it is routed to define the nature of the productive reconversion, which hold the PNA encourages a dispossession of the bio-cultural heritage. The ANP are a way of re-appropriating the value of nature as a commodity, under the logic of capital, implemented mechanism to reproduce the capitalist system and at the same time the dispossession to the populations of their heritage, biocultural through reconfiguration of the geographical space.

The spaces that should be reservoirs for conservation, bring with them the dispossession of knowledge or traditional knowledge, through the productive reconversion, because this ends up left in neglect, agricultural activities and traditional knowledge systems, developed by the constant interrelation of local populations with its natural surroundings. There is a reconfiguration of space and with her is put at a disadvantage to indigenous peoples and peasants, a reconfiguration that limits the continuity of their knowledge and their ways of reproducing its identity, which does not recognize them in being, but that as the spaces reconfigures them, stealing their own logic of production and subsistence. We are talking about then that the policy of ANP highlighting its global formulation, its expansionist character and homogenizer court represents another mechanism to expend capital, prompted by external interests that obey the logic of accumulation. Public policies represent a form of spatial reorganization and allowed geographically expand capital, this time in a explicit productive reconversion to continue the process of accumulation.

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