

# La adecuación del marco normativo a la sustentabilidad de las comunidades indígenas con ecoturismo en México

Adequacy of the normative framework in the sustainability of indigenous communities in México

A adaptação do quadro regulatório à sustentabilidade das comunidades indígenas com ecoturismo no México

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#### Resumen

Ricea

El problema analizado en esta investigación tiene que ver con el turismo que se emprende en comunidades indígenas. El llamado ecoturismo se caracteriza por acciones implementadas para recibir visitantes y prestar servicios en el marco de leyes a nivel nacional e internacional. Sin embargo, los habitantes se enfrentan al reto de conservar el ambiente y la cultura que los distingue. Debido a la falta de investigaciones que muestren la forma en que los habitantes originarios adecuan sus actividades tradicionales para el desarrollo de ecoturismo, se realizó un estudio de los elementos contenidos en la ley y los propuestos por Velázquez-Sánchez et al. (2016), en seis comunidades indígenas de México. El objetivo de este proyecto fue analizar las acciones que realizan para conservar su forma tradicional de organización y la base de su cultura originaria ante la presencia del ecoturismo y del marco normativo para la libre determinación y la sustentabilidad. Para revisar la cosmovisión de los habitantes, se entrevistó a profundidad a los informantes clave y se realizó análisis cualitativo del contenido para identificar las categorías. Con las categorías identificadas se diseñó y aplicó un cuestionario para colectar los datos que fueron analizados cuantitativamente para observar los factores de las variables. Los resultados mostraron las acciones que realizan las comunidades indígenas para adecuar al marco normativo moderno a los principios de organización tradicional y para la conservación de tradiciones y cuidado del ambiente. Además, permitieron reconocer que la adecuación es la estrategia para permanecer con una dinámica comunitaria. Los indicadores probados en este estudio contribuyen a explicar la permanencia de la cultura y la conservación del ambiente como resultado de las estrategias de las comunidades indígenas y se propone como característica distintiva del ecoturismo realmente sustentable.

Palabras clave: Economía, ecoturismo, desarrollo sustentable, marco normativo, sustentabilidad.

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# Abstract

The problem analyzed in this investigation has to do with the tourism that is undertaken in indigenous communities. The so-called ecotourism is characterized by actions implemented to receive visitors and provide services within the framework of national and international laws. However, the inhabitants face the challenge of conserving the environment and the culture that distinguish them. Due to the lack of studies showing the way in which the original inhabitants adapt their traditional activities for the development of ecotourism, a study of the elements contained in the law and those proposed by Velázquez-Sánchez et al (2016), was carried out in six indigenous communities of Mexico. The objective of the research was to analyze the actions they carry out to preserve their traditional form of organization and the basis of their original culture in the presence of ecotourism and the normative framework for self-determination and sustainability. In order to review the worldview of the inhabitants, the key informants were interviewed in depth and a qualitative analysis of the content was carried out to identify the categories. With the identified categories, a questionnaire was designed and applied to collect the data that was analyzed quantitatively to observe the factors of the variables. The results showed the actions carried out by indigenous communities to adapt the modern normative framework to the guidelines of traditional organization and to preserve traditions and care for the environment. In addition, the adequacy is the strategy of the communities to remain with a community dynamic. The indicators tested in this study contribute to explain the permanence of the culture and the conservation of the environment as a result of the strategies of the indigenous communities and it is proposed as a distinctive feature of the truly sustainable ecotourism.

**JEL:** L83, O13, F18, A13

**Keywords:** Economy, ecotourism, sustainable development, regulatory framework, sustainability.

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### Resumo

Ricea

O problema analisado nesta investigação tem a ver com o turismo que é realizado nas comunidades indígenas. O chamado ecoturismo é caracterizado por ações implementadas para receber visitantes e prestar serviços no âmbito das leis nacionais e internacionais. No entanto, os habitantes enfrentam o desafio de conservar o meio ambiente e a cultura que os distingue. Devido à falta de pesquisa que mostra a forma como os habitantes originais adaptam suas atividades tradicionais para o desenvolvimento do ecoturismo, um estudo dos elementos contidos na lei e os propostos por Velázquez-Sánchez et al. (2016), em seis comunidades indígenas do México. O objetivo deste projeto foi analisar as ações que eles tomaram para preservar sua forma tradicional de organização e a base de sua cultura original na presença do ecoturismo e do quadro regulatório para a autodeterminação e sustentabilidade. A fim de rever a visão de mundo dos habitantes, os informantes chave foram entrevistados em profundidade e a análise de conteúdo qualitativo foi realizada para identificar as categorias. Com as categorias identificadas, um questionário foi projetado e aplicado para coletar os dados que foram analisados quantitativamente para observar os fatores das variáveis. Os resultados mostraram as ações realizadas pelas comunidades indígenas para adaptar o quadro normativo moderno aos princípios da organização tradicional e preservar tradições e cuidados com o meio ambiente. Além disso, eles permitiram reconhecer que a adequação é a estratégia para permanecer com uma dinâmica da comunidade. Os indicadores testados neste estudo contribuem para explicar a permanência da cultura e a conservação do meio ambiente como resultado das estratégias das comunidades indígenas e é proposto como característica distintiva do ecoturismo verdadeiramente sustentável.

**Palavras-chave:** economia, ecoturismo, desenvolvimento sustentável, quadro normativo, sustentabilidade.

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# Introduction

Ricea

A large number of indigenous communities face cultural impact and impact in their natural environment caused by tourism interventions, as seen in Lake Zirahuén in Michoacán (Michoacán, 2016) or as observed in San Cristóbal de las Casas in Chiapas, where tourism It has transformed the communitarian worldview and has caused radical changes in the activities of the inhabitants of the area. In this study we observed the adaptation strategies that have been successfully carried out by indigenous communities to adapt the presence of ecotourism to the official regulatory framework of the government structure and to the traditional activities that define their communitarian worldview, in the context of commonality , defined as a construct that defines community sustainability as a unique element to determine sustainable tourism in Mexican indigenous communities.

There is local legislation embodied in the Political Constitution of the United Mexican States in article 2, section B, sections I and IV (Mexico, 2016), in particular in the respective states of Campeche, Chiapas and Oaxaca, and internationally in the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (Declaration of the United Nations, 2017), on sustainable development, protection of the environment and the traditional form of organization. However, the normative framework does not contemplate the adaptation process carried out by the communities to integrate the aspects of said framework into their traditional form of organization. Both the adequacy of the regulatory framework and the actions undertaken to implement ecotourism in their communities are the subject of study to understand the approach of the modern to the community worldview. Adequacy is the element that allows us to understand the strategy of resistance that indigenous communities undertake to preserve their originality manifested in their traditional organization, based on their uses and customs (Guerrero, 2015). The practice of language, clothing and the way of eating and native medicine with a worldview of respect for the land as an implicit element in culture (Blackstock, 2008), are elements that must be integrated to offer tourism services with distinctive elements and that allow the approach to the real definition of indigenous ecotourism: sustainable tourism.



To talk about ecotourism in indigenous communities is to talk about development and community. The perspective of communality that Martinez mentions is that: "communality and development are two concepts in permanent contradiction, which is lived in linear terms" (2003, page 382). However, we observe the strategy of adapting the communities to remain as such, despite the changes that originate economic development, in this case through ecotourism and the regulatory framework. The approach of Martínez Luna in his text "Communality and Development" (2003), allows analyzing adequacy as the starting point to observe the incorporation of modern elements to traditional activities for the permanence of the original. In this context, it was proposed to analyze the adaptation actions in the forms of organization and traditional government before ecotourism and the legal instruments of the right to sustainable development.

According to data reported by the Ministry of Tourism, through the Comprehensive Analysis of Tourism DATATUR April 2017: "The Bank of Mexico reported that the arrival of international travelers for the first quarter of 2017 was 24.4 million, this is 392 thousand travelers more than they did in the same period last year, which represented an annual growth of 2.3%, which is equivalent to 7 thousand 605 million dollars, representing an increase of 1.6% over the same period of 2016 "(SECTUR, 2017, page 5). The results show that tourism represents for Mexico one of the main activities generating employment and foreign exchange.

Studies in indigenous communities have allowed observing the effects of ecotourism on culture and the environment (Velázquez-Sánchez, Gómez-Velázquez, Bohorquez Canseco, Solana Vásquez, and Pérez Delgadillo, (2015, page 74). adaptation actions in the presence of modern elements in indigenous communities (Velázquez-Sánchez, et al., 2017 page 64) However, there is no evidence to understand the actions carried out by indigenous communities to adapt the activities to provide ecotourism services and to comply with the established by the official regulatory framework, within the structure of a traditional organization, based on the community worldview, due to the lack of information the following research question arose: What are the adaptation actions that Do indigenous communities carry out ecotourism services and integrate the official regulatory framework? To analyze the adequacy to community sustainability of indigenous communities before the regulatory framework and ecotourism.



Based on the premises shown by Velázquez-Sánchez, et al., Regarding the "adaptation made by indigenous communities to elements outside their communality" (2017 page 79), the following hypothesis was formulated: indigenous communities adapt to its traditional organization and to its cosmovisión the activities of ecotourism and of the official normative frame. Therefore, this study provides information on the importance of identifying the implications of the normative framework in indigenous communities with ecotourism, and how they make adjustments from the modern to the original, representing this attraction for the visitor. The results are important for ecotourism developers and scholars of the regulatory framework in terms of sustainable development. This research explains the adequacy of the indigenous communities before the State regulations and the implementation of ecotourism.

# Literature review

The indigenous communities have particular forms of organization, which can be reflected from the notion of communality according to Floriberto Díaz (Robles Hernández and Cardoso Jiménez, 2009). The perspective of communality that Martinez mentions is that: "development and community are seen as two concepts with the impossibility of coincidence" (2003 page 382). However, it describes as a strategy the adequacy of the communities to remain as such, in spite of the changes that originate the actions that the State implements for economic development, among them the establishment of ecotourism and the sustainable development contemplated by the state regulatory framework. The approach of Jaime Martínez Luna in his text "Communality and Development" (2003) allows to analyze adequacy as the starting point to observe the incorporation of modern elements to traditional activities, including the regulatory framework.

There are countless international laws and secondary laws in each state that ensure sustainable development. Tourism, ecotourism, indigenous communities, etc., despite being regulated, are not fully applied, which becomes an act that violates human rights. Indigenous communities are not considered for the elaboration of government programs, and the regulatory framework does not have citizen participation mechanisms. Officially there are no policies that allow adaptation, however, communities, from their traditional organization, generate adaptations as resistance mechanisms to remain and preserve their natural environment, their worldview and culture.



For the implementation of sustainable tourism in indigenous communities it is necessary to consider as a priority the conservation of the natural environment and culture. The tourism model introduced in the indigenous communities is classified as ecotourism. "Ecotourism was born in a critical environment towards traditional tourism (mass tourism)". (Krippendorf, 1989, page 117), who is a pioneer of this notion, indicates that mass tourism destroys the environment and the economy of those communities where it is established, therefore, ecotourism is presented as a new option to link the tourist with a natural environment, from a perspective that promotes the observation of the environment, but also incorporates an ethical assessment accompanied by a proposal of sustainable development in the communities, for which the community should be considered as a tool (Guerrero, 2010 pág. 117).

Regarding Ecotourism, Palomino and Lopez point out that "ecotourism promotes new forms of social organization based on cooperation and human solidarity that provides an option for sustainable development to communities that previously had few alternatives to carry out any other productive activity" (2007 p.10). Therefore, ecotourism practiced in indigenous communities should be distinguished by the conservation of culture as a priority and with an environmental character, as mentioned by Niño Gutiérrez and Saldaña Almazán (2014, page 25).

The literature consulted for this research reviewed the contributions made by Belsky (2004 page 16), who demonstrates the importance of qualitative analysis as a basis for the study of communities with ecotourism through in-depth interviews and participatory observation. The article by Laverack and Thangphet (2007 page 172) shows the importance of measuring the contrasts and the progress that the establishment of ecotourism causes in the communities and how, through strategic planning, the inhabitants can achieve the local management of ecotourism with the importance of the cultural context. As can be seen, the establishment of community-based projects can promote local development or, as Kiss (2004, p 233) mentions, allows the participation of the inhabitants to carry out conservation activities. In this regard, Stronza and Gordillo (2008 p 448) concluded that ecotourism can be an incentive for conservation when economic benefits are observed, but in turn it causes positive and negative changes that are often reflected in conflicts, which affect local actions for the conservation.



The empirical background reflects the different perspectives of study. Despite the recommendation of Laverack and Thangphet (2007) to include multidisciplinary elements and observe the contrasts, there are no studies that analyze the adaptations that the communities undertake before the activities that originate the application of the normative framework and the establishment of ecotourism. In particular, this research identified and analyzed the legal instruments related to ecotourism activities as an adaptation of modern elements to the traditional actions and activities of the indigenous communities studied. The premises of the previous study by Velázquez-Sánchez, et al. (2016), conclude that there are indicators of adequacy that allowed hypothesizing that the elements of the State's regulatory framework are part of the adaptation of modern elements to traditional actions of indigenous communities in the face of the onslaught of development raised as ecotourism.

# **Materials and methods**

In this research, the actions of adaptation of the elements of the normative framework in the activities for the provision of ecotourism services in six indigenous communities of Mexico, of the roll of the Commission for the Development of the Indigenous Peoples (CDI, 2016) were analyzed. In depth interviews were conducted with six inhabitants recognized as key by the members of the communities and a qualitative analysis of the content was made, based on phenomenology in agreement with Belsky (2004). The interview was based on the general elements of the normative framework proposed in the Mexican Constitution, in the Political Constitutions of the states of Oaxaca, Chiapas and Campeche, as well as in international treaties, identifying the adaptations made by indigenous communities so as not to alter the organization traditional and observe the commonality indicators mentioned by Martínez (2003) and defined for this study as community sustainability, according to Velázquez-Sánchez, et al. (2015). The interviews were conducted during the months of December 2016, February and March 2017. The interviews were recorded and characterized by not having a specific time for their duration. By means of a content analysis of the data from the in-depth interviews, the general categories of Community Sustainability and Normative Framework were identified, which appear in Table 1.



Tabla 1: Categorías del marco normativo y sustentabilidad comunitaria en el ecoturismo de comunidades indígenas de México.

	CATEGORÍAS	INDICADORES
	GENERALES	
Sustentabilidad	Organización	Cargos
Comunitaria	Tradicional	Autoridad
		Asamblea comunitaria
		Decisión comunitaria
	Comunalidad	Tequio
		Participaciones
		Festividades
	Cosmovisión	Comunitario
		Pertenencia
		Relación hombre-tierra
Marco Normativo	Organización	Elección de autoridades
		Libre determinación
		Relación con el estado
		Gestión
	Derechos Humanos	Libre determinación
		Respeto
		Equidad
		Trato justo
	Sustentabilidad	Conservación
		Tradición
		Costumbres

Fuente: Elaboración propia con base en las categorías resultado del análisis cualitativo

With the general categories of community sustainability and the regulatory framework, a questionnaire with twenty items was structured. It was applied only to 16 participants due to the disposition of the authorities. The interviewees are inhabitants of the six indigenous communities with ecotourism of the roll of the CDI (2016). The states in which it was found most willing to participate in the survey were Campeche and Oaxaca. The main obstacles to



obtaining the information were the conflicts between the communities, the conditions of the road infrastructure and the climate of insecurity that prevails in the indigenous areas where the ecotourism centers are located, particularly in Chiapas due to the way in which they are marketed. the information, so the sample is limited and attached to the conditions of the interviewees. The three states of the Mexican Republic selected for their representativeness in number of ecotourism centers of indigenous communities were: Campeche, Chiapas, and Oaxaca. The design of the sample is presented in table 2.

ESTADO	DESTINOS DE ECOTURISMO	CUESTIONARIOS APLICADOS
Campeche	2	6
Chiapas	2	4
Oaxaca	2	6
Total	6	16

**Tabla 2**: Resumen de la muestra de habitantes de las comunidades con ecoturismo en México.

Fuente: Elaboración propia.

n table 2, the data of ecotourism destinations included in the study can be observed, by state and by the number of interviewees and questionnaires applied. It should be mentioned that, due to the situation of insecurity and difficult access to some of the communities, it was difficult to find the willingness of the inhabitants and visitors to respond to the questionnaires, for which the sample was named at convenience.

# Data analysis

The qualitative analysis was carried out through the identification of the determining elements of each category in the content of the interviews and an analysis of the discourse. The identification of grammatical groups was made, with the support of the atlas t program. The elements that made up the qualitative analysis categories were integrated into a database and used to design a questionnaire.



The quantitative analysis was made with data from the survey conducted on 16 inhabitants of each of the six Mexican indigenous communities with ecotourism. We proceeded to the weighting, coding and integration of a database in the SPSS program ver. 20. Factor analysis, mean analysis and standard deviation were performed.

# **Results and Discussion**

Qualitative analysis resulted in the categories: Traditional Organization, Communality and Worldview for the variable Community Sustainability, and Organization, Rights and Conservation for Government Laws. It was noted that the informants recognized the laws of the government as a normative framework.

Table 3 presents quantitative data of factor analysis. As can be seen, for the variable derived from the Normative Framework = Government Laws, the results showed the grouping into the Organization, Rights and Conservation factors with ten indicators. The elements proposed by the official regulations for the treatment of indigenous communities (Declaration of the United Nations, 2017) are adequate to the traditional form of organization. With regard to Community Sustainability, the categories that define it are Traditional Organization, Communality and Worldview, with ten indicators, unlike those identified by Velázquez and Gómez (2017). It was observed that communities face the presence of external regulations through the adaptation of their ancestral structure to provide ecotourism services.



**Tabla 3**: Indicadores de marco normativo (leyes de gobierno) y de sustentabilidad

 comunitaria como adecuación en el ecoturismo de comunidades indígenas de México.

Variables	Categorías	Categorías Indicadores		Desviación
				estándar
Sustentabilidad	Organización	Cargos	4.62	0.723
comunitaria	tradicional	Autoridad	4.50	0.821
		Asamblea comunitaria	4.15	0.478
		Decisión comunitaria	3.60	0.378
	Comunalidad	Tequio	4.59	0.329
		Fiestas	3.25	0.832
		Servicio comunitario	3.11	0.751
	Cosmovisión	Bien común	4.15	0.459
		Comunalidad	3.60	0.379
		Relación hombre-	4.13	0.365
		tierra		
Leyes del gobierno	Organización	Elección de	4.94	0.723
		autoridades	4.25	0.478
		Relación con el Estado	3.60	0.378
		Gestión		
	Derechos	Libre determinación	4.50	0.459
		Respeto	4.15	0.379
		Equidad	3.60	0.365
		Trato justo	4.13	0.463
	Conservación	Conservación	4.59	0.329
		Tradición	3.25	0.832
		Costumbres	3.11	0.751

Fuente. Elaboración propia



Table 3 shows the results of the analysis of the two variables with their respective categories and indicators, with means and standard deviation, observed in the adaptation of modern elements of the official legislation to the actions and traditional activities incorporated into ecotourism. The categories and indicators that define them are observed and at the same time they allow an approach to a construct of the normative framework-government laws in terms of adaptation to the traditional organization of indigenous communities with ecotourism.

As can be seen in the category Traditional Organization of the Community Sustainability variable there are indicators in which the adequacy of the modern to the traditional is appreciated. The election of authorities, the relation with the state and the management are adapted to the structure established by the uses and customs as mentioned by Guerrero (2015) and Martínez (2003). It is also observed in the indicators of Conservation, Tradition and Customs with the figures of Tequio, Festivals and Community Service of Communality. And in Free determination, Respect, Equity and Fair Treatment of Rights with Common Good, Communality and Man-Earth Relationship of Worldview.

The government Law Organization category describes the traditional strategy to elect its authorities, to determine their agreements and to base the negotiations before state or national authorities in terms of an adequate relationship of respect. In Traditional Organization, Charges, Authority, Community Assembly and Community Decision, the strategy for the harmonization between the laws of government and the traditional organization for the presence of ecotourism is noticed.

In the categories of Rights and Conservation, they also expressed indicators related to traditional organization. It is emphasized that the normative framework is an implicit theme in community actions, but not as a matter of common conversation among the inhabitants, but rather as topics dealt with in the assemblies or extraordinary meetings convened by the authorities, a situation reported by Martínez (2003) and Guerrero (2015) as resistance strategies.



**Tabla 4**: Indicadores de adecuación del marco normativo (leyes de gobierno) y desustentabilidad comunitaria observadas en el ecoturismo de comunidades indígenas de

Variables	Categorías	Indicadores	Adecuación
Sustentabilidad	Organización	Asamblea comunitaria	Determina la actividad
Comunitaria	tradicional	Decisión comunitaria	Nombramiento de comisiones
		Cargos	Comisión de turismo
		Autoridad	Vigilancia de la comisión
	Comunalidad	Tequio	Trabajo comunitario
		Fiestas	Organización a los visitantes
		Servicio comunitario	Atención de los servicios
	Cosmovisión	Bien común	Hacer por los demás con
			beneficio para todos
		Comunalidad	Territorio, pertenencia y trabajo
			para los demás
		Relación hombre-tierra	Cuidado, respeto, convivencia
			con el ambiente natural
Leyes del	Organización	Elección de autoridades	Sistemas normativos internos
gobierno		Libre determinación	Derecho a decidir su forma de
			gobierno, desarrollo social y
			cultural
		Relación con el Estado	Respeto mutuo de acuerdo con los
		Gestión	programas sociales
	Derechos	Libre determinación	Administración de justicia
		Respeto	A las autoridades y normas
		Equidad	Igualdad para todos
		Trato justo	Apego a sus tradiciones
	Conservación	Conservación	De la comunidad y el medio
		Tradición	Como eje de las actividades del
			turismo
		Costumbres	Como elemento para recibir al
			visitante

Fuente: Elaboración propia



In table 4, the results show that the adaptation actions of the traditional organization of the indigenous communities with ecotourism allow to attend the activities that the service requires, but with a resistance to change, as mentioned by Martínez (2003). The strategy to stay is the adequacy and in ecotourism activities it can be observed that without losing the essence of the traditional organization and worldview, the inhabitants adapt the intervention of ecotourism development to their traditional forms.

The adaptation that the indigenous communities make to resist the impact of development is a way of staying, but also represents a differentiation in the provision of the service. As Laverack and Thangphet mention, it is about the importance of contemplating contrasts (2007 p.172). Adaptation can become an alternative to preserve the culture and its everyday expressions. The conservation of the natural environment can be attended to if the permanence of culture is taken into account for the advantage of ecotourism in indigenous communities, with respect to traditional tourism or other tourism alternatives as mentioned by Stronza and Gordillo (2008), without losing sight of the positive and negative changes.

# **Conclusions and limitations**

The results allowed to fulfill the objective of the investigation and to prove that the indigenous communities with ecotourism carry out adaptation strategies to integrate the elements of the governmental normative framework to the structure of their traditional organization. The normative framework is defined as government laws with categories of organization, rights and conservation. It is through themselves that they identify the laws of government.

It was proved that the elements of the normative framework are part of the adaptation of modern elements to traditional actions and activities in indigenous communities with ecotourism. The normative framework is present in the actions undertaken by the communities to join the indigenous ecotourism network in the country. Adequacy strategies are confirmed, so that the results contribute to explain the distance between the normative framework from the perspective of development and community cosmovision.

They highlighted the indicators that define the traditional organization because the inclusion of the charge "tourism commission" to the traditional ones is observed. In the community decision, the appointment of those responsible for tourism is established. The commission of tourism



includes the inclusion of community work, and organization for visitors and parties, in addition to the land-man relationship as measures of surveillance and conservation of the natural environment. Adequacy can be defined as a reaction of indigenous communities that conserve the worldview based on communality.

It contributes to the theoretical body with indicators to analyze community sustainability, with a review of the worldview and with government law indicators to explain the official regulations in the structure of the traditional organization. It was proved that the involvement of the inhabitants in ecotourism is a hallmark for the offer of sustainable tourism.

It is important that decision-making in terms of implementing ecotourism and any form of alternative tourism in indigenous communities is based on knowledge and respect for traditional culture. Sustainable tourism is a concept that should be considered as indispensable in the law "free determination", which will achieve the end of this, the recreation and enjoyment of natural areas and admiration of traditional customs. The results can contribute to what is expressed in relation to the world view of indigenous communities and the perspective of cultural heritage in tourism.

Among the limitations that can be observed in this study is temporality, due to the accelerated rate of change observed in the communities as part of globalization. Also because the actions and strategies implemented may vary over time. In relation to space, only worked in communities located in three of the states with indigenous ecotourism and found similarities, but it may be that when reviewing the results in other locations are differences. The size of the sample, due to the context and the type of study, can be a limitation due to the particularity of each of the contexts. New research can be proposed to verify the results, or be carried out in other communities, include other categories and perform statistical analyzes to establish indices that allow evaluating indigenous ecotourism and its impacts.



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