

Environmental Politics and Theory

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The premise of this series is that the current environmental crisis cannot be solved by technological innovation alone and that the environmental challenges we face today are, at their root, political crises involving political values. Therefore, environmental politics and theory are of the utmost social significance. Growing public consciousness of the environmental crisis and its human and nonhuman impacts exemplified by the worldwide urgency and political activity associated with the problem and consequences of climate change make it imperative to design and achieve a sustainable and socially just society. The series collects, extends, and develops ideas from the burgeoning empirical and normative scholarship spanning many disciplines with a global perspective. It addresses the need for social change from the hegemonic consumer capitalist society in order to realize environmental sustainability and social justice.

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Darcy Tetreault · Cindy McCulligh
Carlos Lucio
Editors

Social Environmental Conflicts in Mexico

Resistance to Dispossession and Alternatives
from Below

palgrave
macmillan

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PRAISE FOR *SOCIAL ENVIRONMENTAL CONFLICTS* IN *MEXICO*

“This new book brings together a set of rigorous investigations about different conflicts in Mexico, carried out by high-level academics who analyze issues from different angles. It is a valuable contribution that will enrich theoretical discussion and serve to document the atrocities of the mega-projects that are currently being imposed. Its publication is welcome because it broaches themes that are already strategic for the future not just of Mexico but the rest of the world.”

—Victor Toledo, *Professor of Ethno-ecology, National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM), Mexico*

“This is an excellent book in comparative political ecology written by top experts on environmental justice struggles in Mexico against mining, hydropower and wind energy, periurban infrastructures and waste dumping. This is a country with strong movements of popular resistance often based on the communal institution of the *ejido*. The book moves beyond resistance to exemplify also some current sustainable alternatives from below.”

—Joan Martínez Alier, *Emeritus Professor of Economics and Economic History, the Autonomous University of Barcelona and editor of the journal Ecología Política*

“Social Environmental Conflicts in Mexico is essential reading on neoliberalization, dispossession, and extractivism in the global south. It offers serious and systematic analysis of the forces that drive environmental destruction, the social clashes that result, and the prospects for more just and sustainable alternatives. With fresh insights into the energy sector, water quality, mining, and industrial pollution, the book covers an impressive topical range. Imaginative, insightful, and meticulously researched, it taps into dimensions of indigenous identity, land tenure, the

weakness and complicity of the state, gender, religion, ecological tourism, artisanal production, and the harmful impacts of purportedly green policies and initiatives. Richly informed by multiple theoretical and methodological traditions, the authors present a diverse set of eye-opening case studies that aptly illustrate the broad spectrum of factors at play in Mexico's myriad environmental struggles."

—David Carruthers, *Professor of Political Science,
San Diego State University, USA*

"In the expanding literature on socio environmental injustice and conflicts in Latin America, attention for Mexican cases is scarce. Simultaneously, in recent writings on Mexico, other crises are often prioritized over the grave socio environmental crisis in the country. This fine volume thus clearly fills an important gap, looking into a range of top down and bottom up processes throughout the country."

—Barbara Hogenboom, *Chair of Latin American Studies and Director
of the Centre for Latin American Research and Documentation
(CEDLA), University of Amsterdam, Netherlands*

SERIES EDITOR'S PREFACE

It is my great pleasure to welcome you to the next book in this Series on *Environmental Politics and Theory*. This book on the environmental conditions and resulting crisis in Mexico and the response to it by the Mexican political system follows in the footsteps of the first book in the EPT Series on *China's Environmental Crisis*, with similar aims for that country. With these two volumes, I hope to solidify the EPT Series as a supportive niche for the nascent subfield within environmental studies of "comparative environmental political theory." To that end, I welcome future manuscripts on individual countries and/or regions of the world, their environmental challenges and political responses, or lack thereof. In this effort, the EPT Series can serve as a conduit to the latest systemic and theoretical reflections on the global environmental crisis as it is reflected in individual countries and their political systems' institutional capacity to address the existing and future environmental problems.

My heartiest congratulations to the editors for bringing together these informative and insightful chapters on Mexican environmental politics. I hope the book's readership will find the volume a valuable contribution to both understanding the Mexican environmental political structure and the environmental demands it faces as a subset of our global environmental condition, with possible lessons for the world as a whole.

Prof. Joel Kassiola
San Francisco State University
San Francisco, USA

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ACRONYMS

AICAS	Áreas de Importancia para la Conservación de las Aves en México (Area of Importance for Bird Conservation in Mexico)
AISAC	<i>Asociación de Industriales de El Salto</i> (Association of Industrialists of El Salto)
AMDEE	<i>Asociación Mexicana de Energía Eólica</i> (Mexican Wind Energy Association)
ANAA	<i>Asamblea Nacional de Afectados Ambientales</i> (National Assembly of Environmentally Affected People)
ANP	Áreas Naturales Protegidas (Natural Protected Area)
APIIDTT	<i>Asamblea de los Pueblos Indígenas del Istmo en defensa de la Tierra y el Territorio</i> (Assembly of Indigenous Peoples of the Isthmus in Defence of Land and Territory)
APPO	<i>Asamblea Popular de los Pueblos de Oaxaca</i> (Popular Assembly of the Peoples of Oaxaca)
BIP	Border Industrialization Program
BOD	Biochemical Oxygen Demand
BOT	Buy, Operate and Transfer
CAMIMEX	<i>Cámara Minera de México</i> (Mining Chamber of Mexico)
CCE	<i>Consejo Coordinador Empresarial</i> (Business Coordinating Council)
CDI	<i>Comisión Nacional para el Desarrollo de los Pueblos Indígenas</i> (National Commission for the Development of Indigenous Peoples)
CEA	<i>Comisión Estatal de Agua</i> (State Water Commission)
CEAS	<i>Comisión Estatal de Agua y Saneamiento</i> (State Water and Sanitation Commission)

CEDHJ	<i>Comisión Estatal de Derechos Humanos de Jalisco</i> (Jalisco's State Human Rights Commission)
CEMEX	<i>Cementos Mexicanos</i>
CFE	<i>Comisión Federal de Electricidad</i> (Federal Electricity Commission)
CIESAS	<i>Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social</i> (Centre for Research and Advanced Studies in Social Anthropology)
CIG	<i>Concejo Indígena de Gobierno</i> (Indigenous Council of Government)
CMN	<i>Consejo Mexicano de Negocios</i> (Mexican Business Council). Formerly known as the <i>Consejo Mexicano de Hombres de Negocios</i>
CNDH	<i>Comisión Nacional de los Derechos Humanos</i> (National Human Rights Commission)
CNH	Comisión Nacional de Hidrocarburos (National Hydrocarbons Commission)
CNI	Congreso Nacional Indígena (National Indigenous Congress)
COA	<i>Cédula de Operación Anual</i> (Annual Operations Certificate)
COD	Chemical Oxygen Demand
COECE	<i>Coordinadora de Organismos Empresariales de Comercio Exterior</i> (Coordinator for Foreign-Trade Business Associations)
COFEMER	<i>Comisión Federal de Mejora Regulatoria</i> (Federal Regulatory Improvement Commission)
COLOCA	<i>Colectivo de organizaciones ciudadanas por el agua</i> (Collective of Citizens' Organizations for Water)
COMARNAT	<i>Comité Consultivo Nacional de Normalización de Medio Ambiente y Recursos Naturales</i> (National Advisory Committee for Standardization of the Environment and Natural Resources)
COMCE	<i>Consejo Empresarial Mexicano de Comercio Exterior Inversión y Tecnología</i> (Mexican Business Council for Foreign Trade, Investment and Technology)
CONAGUA	<i>Comisión Nacional del Agua</i> (National Water Commission)
CONANP	<i>Comisión Nacional de Áreas Naturales Protegidas</i> (National Commission for Protected Areas)
CONAPO	<i>Consejo Nacional de Población</i> (National Population Council)
CONEVAL	<i>Consejo Nacional de Evaluación de la Política de Desarrollo Social</i> (National Council for the Evaluation of Social Development Policy)
COPARMEX	<i>Confederación Patronal de la República Mexicana</i> (Employers' Confederation of the Republic of Mexico)

COPRISEH	<i>Comisión para la Protección contra Riesgos Sanitarios del Estado de Hidalgo</i> (Commission for Protection against Sanitary Risks of the State of Hidalgo)
COTAS	<i>Comités Técnicos de Aguas Subterráneas</i> (Groundwater Technical Committees)
CPDs	<i>Condiciones particulares de descarga</i> (Specific discharge conditions)
CRPEUH	<i>Comité de Resistencia al Proyecto Eólico de Unión Hidalgo</i> (Wind Power Project Resistance Committee of Unión Hidalgo)
CSTAP	<i>Comité Salvemos Temacapulín, Acasico y Palmarejo</i> (Committee to Save Temacapulín, Acasico and Palmarejo)
DEMEX	Diálogos para el Futuro de la Energía México (Mexican subsidiary of the Spanish company Renovalia Energy)
DENUE	<i>Directorio Estadístico Nacional de Unidades Económicas</i> (National Statistical Directory of Economic Units)
DO	Denomination of Origin
DOF	<i>Diario Oficial de la Federación</i> (Federal Official Gazette)
ECLAC	Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean
EOR	Enhanced Oil Recovery
EZLN	<i>Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional</i> (Zapatista National Liberation Army)
FCC	<i>Fomento de Construcciones y Contratas</i>
FEMSA	<i>Fomento Económico Mexicano</i>
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HRW	Human Rights Watch
IEEG	<i>Instituto de Información Estadística y Geográfica</i> (Institute of Statistical and Geographical Information)
IMDEC	<i>Instituto Mexicano para el Desarrollo Comunitario</i> (Mexican Institute for Community Development)
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IMPI	<i>Instituto Mexicano de la Propiedad Industrial</i> (Mexican Institute for Industrial Property)
IMTA	<i>Instituto Mexicano de Tecnología del Agua</i> (Mexican Institute of Water Technology)
INE	<i>Instituto Nacional de Ecología</i> (National Ecology Institute)
INEGI	<i>Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía</i> (National Institute of Statistics and Geography)
IOR	Improved Oil Recovery
ISI	Import Substituting Industrialization
ITESM	<i>Instituto Tecnológico y de Estudios Superiores de Monterrey</i> (Monterrey Institute of Technology and Higher Education)

ITESO	<i>Instituto Tecnológico y de Estudios Superiores de Occidente</i> (Jesuit University of Guadalajara)
JIAPAZ	<i>Junta Intermunicipal de Agua Potable y Alcantarillado de Zacatecas</i> (Inter-municipal Board for Potable Water and Sanitation Systems of Zacatecas)
JIRA	<i>Junta Intermunicipal del Río Ayuquila</i> (Ayuquila River Intermunicipal Board)
LAN	<i>Ley Nacional de Aguas</i> (National Water Law)
LFD	<i>Ley Federal de Derechos</i> (Federal Duties Law)
M4	<i>Movimiento Mesoamericano contra el Modelo Extractivo Minero</i> (Meso-American Movement against the Extractive Mining Model)
MAG	Metropolitan Area of Guadalajara
MAPDER	<i>Movimiento Mexicano de Afectados por las Presas y en Defensa de los Ríos</i> (Mexican Movement of People Affected by Dams and in Defense of Rivers)
MAZG	Metropolitan Area of Zacatecas and Guadalupe
MDO	Mezcal Denomination of Origin
MEG	Metals Economics Group
MIA	<i>Manifestación de Impacto Ambiental</i> (Environmental Impact Assessment)
MORENA	<i>Movimiento de Regeneración Nacional</i> (Movement for National Regeneration)
MW	Megawatts
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
NGOs	Non-governmental organizations
NMXs	<i>Normas Mexicanas</i> (Mexican Standards)
NOMs	<i>Normas Oficiales Mexicanas</i> (Official Mexican standards)
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PAET	<i>Parque Acuático Ecológico Tlaco</i> (Tlaco Ecological Water Park)
PAN	<i>Partido de Acción Nacional</i> (National Action Party)
PEMEX	<i>Petróleos Mexicanos</i>
PIDIREGAS	<i>Proyectos de Impacto Diferido en el Registro del Gasto</i> (Projects with Deferred Impact on the Budget)
PNN	<i>Programa Nacional de Normalización</i> (National Standardization Program)
PRD	<i>Partido de la Revolución Democrática</i> (Revolutionary Democratic Party)
PRI	<i>Partido Revolucionario Institucional</i> (Institutional Revolutionary Party)
PROCAMPO	<i>Programa de Apoyos Directos al Campo</i> (Program for Direct Support for Agriculture)

PROFEPA	<i>Procuraduría Federal para la Protección del Ambiente</i> (Federal Attorney for Environmental Protection)
RASA	<i>Red de Alternativas Sustentables Agropecuarias</i> (Network of Sustainable Farming Alternatives)
REDLAR	<i>Red Latinoamericana Contra Represas</i> (Latin American Network against Dams)
REMA	<i>Red Mexicana de Afectados por la Minería</i> (Mexican Network for People Affected by Mining)
RHAs	<i>Regiones Hidrológico-Administrativas</i> (Hydrological-Administrative Regions)
RIS	<i>Manifestación de Impacto Regulatorio</i> (Regulatory Impact Statement)
RTP	<i>Regiones Terrestres Prioritarias</i> (Priority Terrestrial Region)
SAGARPA	<i>Secretaría de Agricultura, Ganadería, Desarrollo Rural, Pesca y Alimentación</i> (Ministry of Agriculture)
SARH	<i>Secretaría de Agricultura y Recursos Hidráulicos</i> (Ministry of Agriculture and Hydraulic Resources)
SCJN	<i>Suprema Corte de Justicia de la Nación</i> (Supreme Court of Justice)
SE	<i>Secretaría de Economía</i> (Ministry of Economy)
SECTUR	<i>Secretaría de Turismo</i> (Ministry of Tourism)
SEMADET	<i>Secretaría de Medio Ambiente y Desarrollo Territorial</i> (Ministry of Environment and Territorial Development)
SEMARNAP	<i>Secretaría de Medio Ambiente, Recursos Naturales y Pesca</i> (Ministry of Environment, Natural Resources and Fisheries)
SEMARNAT	<i>Secretaría de Medio Ambiente y Recursos Naturales</i> (Ministry of the Environment and Natural Resources)
SHCP	<i>Secretaría de Hacienda y Crédito Público</i> (Ministry of Finance and Public Credit)
SIAPA	<i>Sistema Intermunicipal para los Servicios de Agua Potable y Alcantarillado</i> (Inter-municipal System for Potable Water and Sanitation Services)
SNTE	<i>Sindicato Nacional de Trabajadores de la Educación</i> (National Union of Education Workers)
SRE	<i>Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores</i> (Ministry of Foreign Affairs)
SRH	<i>Secretaría de Recursos Hidráulicos</i> (Ministry of Hydraulic Resources)
STPS	<i>Secretaría de Trabajo y Previsión Social</i> (Ministry of Labour)
TDO	Tequila Denomination of Origin
TSS	Total Suspended Solids
UCCS	<i>Unión de Científicos Comprometidos con la Sociedad</i> (Union of Scientists Committed to Society)

UCIZONI	<i>Unión de Comunidades Indígenas de la Zona Norte del Istmo</i> (Union of Indigenous Communities of the Northern Region of the Isthmus)
USD	United States Dollars
WB	World Bank
WHO	World Health Organization
WWTP	Municipal Wastewater Treatment Plant

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