

Historical Background of Fishing and Cooperative Fisheries in Mexico (1917-2018): legal and institutional aspect

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ABSTRACT:

Fishing is an activity that dates back 90 thousand years, in Mexico it has been an important economic activity for the development of society. The aim of this study was to show the historical background of fishing and fishing cooperatives in Mexico from 1917 to 2018, with emphasis on the institutions and laws of the fisheries sector. Attempts to regulate fishing activity in Mexico date back to the nineteenth century, with President Benito Juárez who promoted the Fisheries Law in 1872. During the post-revolutionary periods (1917-1940) and industrial development (1941-1981), Mexican fisheries legislation retained a social predominance. This is all the fishing laws from 1932 to 1986 preserved the exclusive right to capture and cultivate species reserved (shrimp, abalone, octopus, etc.) to the fishing cooperatives in our country. However, during the neoliberal period (1982-2018) with the reform of the 1989 Fishing Law, exclusivity in the cultivation of reserved species was eliminated, conserving them only for capture. During the neoliberal economic regime, the cooperative fishing sector was abandoned, and private initiative benefited. Finally, subsistence and semi-commercial fishing should be revalued as a national strategy to generate direct and indirect jobs in marginalized areas, contributing to the production of protein with high nutritional value and reducing poverty.

KEYWORDS: *Fishing in Mexico; Cooperative Fisheries; Laws; Rules*

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I. INTRODUCTION

Fishing is an activity that dates back 90 thousand years¹; in Mexico it has been an important economic activity for the development of society. There is evidence since pre-Hispanic times, shrimp fishing was practiced in the northwest of the Mexican Republic, specifically in “National Marshes”, located south of Sinaloa and north of Nayarit^{2,3,4,5,6}. Attempts to regulate fishing activity in Mexico date back to the nineteenth century, with President Benito Juárez who promoted the Fisheries Law in 1872, which regulated the participation of foreign vessels in fishing. Foreign vessels paid one peso (Mexican) per ton of fish to the government to obtain a six-month permit to settle on the Mexican coast to handle their product^{7,8,9}. During the 20th century, with the post-revolutionary governments, fishing experienced a boost in its regulation. President Francisco I. Madero (1911-1913) promoted the use of the Mexican seas in order to generate food for the people⁷.

II. POST-REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD (1917-1940)

With a nationalist economic model, the Political Constitution of the United Mexican States 1917 was promulgated, which in its article 28 incorporated the Cooperative Societies for the first time as a form of organization of workers for the social and economic development of the country^{10,11,12}. Article 27 was fundamental for the development of fishing, since it incorporated the assets of the nation over which it exercised direct control, the waters of the territorial seas, rivers, streams, lagoons, estuaries, beaches, channels and banks. For its part, Article 32 favored Mexicans in the maritime and fishing sector by stating that captains and skippers of merchant ships, as well as a third of their crew must be Mexican by birth¹³. During the post-revolutionary era, the Mexican State promoted the creation of Cooperative Fisheries Production Societies in the country, to create decent employment sources, generate nutritious food and through international trade, the generation of foreign exchange, thus achieving progress and well-being for the nation^{14,15}. On May 13, 1922 being the President of the Republic Alvaro Obregon, was published in the Official Journal of the Federation open invitation to interested parties to acquire concession for the exploitation of the shrimp fishery, the system shut or Tapos^{a,b} in states of Sinaloa and Nayarit, in accordance with the following bases: The concession was for three successive seasons

(from August 1 to December 31 of each year) in the intervals the closures will be open, keeping only the stakes or piles in the estuary, without the grids that constitute the sleeves of the fishery. The concession did not give the right to exploit fish outside of the shrimp fishing season, in addition, the installation of new closures that would harm those already built was not allowed. At the end of the concession, closures, sundecks, stoves, huts, and any other installation in the fishery remained under the control and property of the Nation, without the concessionaire having the right to any compensation. In addition, all the works and facilities of the fishery, whatever the time in which they were erected, were delivered to the Government in good condition, for which the concessionaire had to make the necessary repairs in a timely manner, without being able to request compensation¹². In Mexico, crustaceans constitute one of the most important resources within fisheries worldwide, particularly the shrimp fishery has had economic relevance from the 1920s to the present because it is the livelihood of thousands of families in Mexico and because of the high economic value in international markets.

In 1923 the Department of Hunting and Fishing became the Directorate of Fisheries which was included within the Ministry of Agriculture and Development. During this year the Sea Fisheries and Pluvial regulation was issued. This regulation gave preference in the use of fishery resources to riverine populations for their use, and to supply local markets and national consumption⁷. During the period of Plutarco Elías Calles's government (1924-1928), the first Fishing Law of 1925 was created to regulate and promote the development of this activity, with a policy of use and conservation of the marine resource. Biological inspection offices were established in the country. This Law empowered the Ministry of Agriculture and Development to determine the exploitation zones for the exclusive use of the inhabitants of riverside populations^{12,16}. The social character of this fishing regulation is demonstrated in 1928 when in some regions of Sinaloa and Nayarit they were declared as zones of exclusive use for their inhabitants⁸.

In 1927 the First General Law of Cooperative Societies was created, which, unlike the commercial code of 1889, provided a legal and adequate environment for this type of organizations, which is why there was the emergence of many cooperative societies of various types throughout the country¹¹. During this time, the fishermen of Escuinapa, Sinaloa organized themselves to form the First Cooperative Society for Fishing Production at the National Level of Inland Waters, which they called the Cooperative Society "Pescadores Unidos de Escuinapa Filiberto C. Villarreal" S.C.I. For this they had the support of Don José Simental Osuna. This cooperative was created by presidential decree on August 2, 1928. This cooperative was created by presidential decree on August 2, 1928. It was granted concession to catch shrimp and fish in general, in the waters comprising between river Las Cañas and Baluarte in Escuinapa, Sinaloa¹⁵. However, this social group did not comply with its obligations stipulated in the concession contract, so it was renamed the Cooperative Society "Pescadores Unidos de Escuinapa General Lázaro Cárdenas" SCL, which was subject to the same rights and obligations as the previous one¹⁷.

With President Emilio Portes Gil (1928 to 1930) the scientific planning of the national territory began, perfecting the hydrographic charts. During the Pascual Ortiz Rubio period (1930-1932) the Fisheries Law of 1932 emerged, this Law is important for fishermen because it establishes that people who are directly engaged in fishing are organized into groups in order to improve their conditions social and economic, and that will be supported by the State⁹. During the period of President Abelardo L. Rodríguez (1932-1934)^c the second Cooperative Societies Law of 1933 was created, with this law the stage of greatest growth of cooperativism in Mexico begins. This extends until the Cardenismo from 1934 to 1940¹⁸. Various organizations are also created, including the Ministry of the National Economy; the Department of Cooperative Development; the Secretary of Education; the National Directorate of Cooperativism; the School of Cooperativism, this to spread the cooperative philosophy.

During the government of General Lázaro Cárdenas del Río (1934-1940), cooperative societies received an unprecedented boost in the history of the country in order to contribute to the development of the nation. As a candidate on May 1, 1934, in one of his speeches to the workers, he stated: "Indispensable is the union of all workers to satisfy their desire, adopting an economic system capable of providing all the sufficient means to those who live within it, so that they can feed, dress, shelter and enjoy the necessary comforts"¹⁴.

^aThey are arts that are crossed in the area of the lagoon where the juvenile shrimp heads towards the sea during the migrations of their life cycle, forcing them to enter what is called "sleeve", built with pieces of palm, which leaves pass the water and retain the animals that go to the "pens", places where the shrimp are attracted by the light of a spotlight, since generally the fishing is done at night. It is removed by means of a "spoon net" or "solabre". Obtained from: http://bibliotecadigital.ilce.edu.mx/sites/ciencia/volumen2/ciencia3/087/htm/sec_7.htm

^bFor Simental (2003) Fishing with the use of "Tapos" in Escuinapa is a rudimentary form of extensive aquaculture, which essentially consists of capturing the arrival of shrimp larvae and other species that migrate into the lagoon system such as part of their biological cycle, where when these organisms reach a certain development and size, they are prevented from returning to the sea by covering their exits with caps and "earmuffs", to catch shrimp in the period indicated by the fishing authorities.

^cGeneral Abelardo L. Rodríguez in 1920 established his fish packing plant in Ensenada and in 1930 he bought from the federal government the tuna packing plant located in Isla Cedros, property that was seized from the Japanese Businessman M. Kondo who had installed it in 1928. The Former Baja California governor and future president of Mexico, rebuilt it and created the company Pesquera de Bahía de Tortugas, SA (Crespo-Guerrero and Jiménez -Pelcastre, 2017).

These words of candidate Cárdenas delineate the route to comply with the economic development of the country, to achieve the well-being of the working class, to live better and with dignity, and thus achieve the progress of the nation. In this six-year term, the First Six-Year Plan was born (the first normative planning instrument in Mexico), under the thesis that the government's plan "was for the State to assume and maintain a policy regulating the economic activities of national life, converting the State in an active agent of economic management and organization in the country"⁸.

In Cardenismo, the General Law of Cooperative Societies of 1938 was promulgated. During this period, 937 cooperatives were founded, bringing together 131,739 members. At the beginning of 1941 in Mexico there were a total of 1,527 cooperative societies, of which 986 for production and 541 for consumption¹⁴. Cifuentes-Lemus¹⁹ described as extraordinary the way in which General Lázaro Cárdenas del Río promoted the development of the fishing sector through the cooperative. "With President Lázaro Cárdenas there was the conviction that the fishing was carried out by a group of organized Mexicans, exploiting a Mexican resource, so that the Mexicans would have a profit, for the benefit of the Mexicans"¹⁹. The Cardenista government encouraged the creation of cooperatives in rural areas and in the city to strengthen the state apparatus and turn it into a promoter of economic and social development¹¹.

III. INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT (1941-1981)

In Mexico, the government Manuel Ávila Camacho of (1941 to 1946) continued under the nationalist economic model. At this time, infrastructure of the country was built that allows the take-off and stabilizing development of fisheries in Mexico^{18,19}. Also, institutions such as the Banco Nacional de Fomento Cooperativo (1941) were created. In the period of President Miguel Alemán Valdez (1947-1952) he was given support to the fisheries sector. In this period, the construction of roads and electrification were promoted, which facilitated the transport of seafood to the cities. During this government, shrimp fishing was supported, for which various dredging works were carried out in coastal lagoons. Increasing the catch from 54,759 tons in 1946, to 77,000 in 1950²⁰. An important contribution to the development of the fishing sector in this six-year term was the creation of the Fishing Law of 1947 and its 31st article. Which refers to the fact that the catches of shrimp, abalone, lobster, pismo clam, smooth, oyster, octopus, snook and totoaba are exclusively for fishing cooperative societies. Por lo que las cooperativas fueron beneficiadas en cuanto al derecho pesquero. The Secretariat of the Navy was empowered to take care that cooperative societies acquire ownership of boats, fishing equipment, conservation and industrial transformation plants that they need for the development of their corporate purpose. The 1950 Fisheries Law ratified the reserve of marine species in favor of cooperatives¹². The General Directorate of Fisheries and Related Industries is created to plan fishing in the country and the Secretariat of Hydraulic Resources is created²⁰.

During the administration of Adolfo Ruiz Cortines (1952-1958), the construction of communication and electrification routes in the national territory continued. Various programs were implemented to promote the development of the fishing sector, such as: the proclamation of the "March to the Sea" to populate the Mexican coasts, and "Maritime Progress", to increase the national fleet and provide infrastructure to fishing ports²⁰. The government encouraged the consumption of animal protein among the population, which is why it promoted livestock, poultry and pork industry. This through the import of balanced food and fishmeal. The cost of imported fishmeal from Chile increased, consequently, the Mexican State supported the creation of factories for the production of fishmeal, and stopped buying it from Chile.

Adolfo López Mateos (1958-1964) supported and promoted the tuna, sardine and anchovy fisheries in Sonora and Sinaloa. The shrimp fishery in the Pacific and the Gulf of Mexico. The National Institute for Biological-Fisheries Research is created, which later became the National Fisheries Institute. The Alvarado pilot fishing port in Veracruz was created. In the 1960s, merchants of fishery products became "permit holders", took control of the sale and purchase of fishery products and managed to dominate the trade in the two markets of La Viga in Mexico City. Since then, the so-called "permit holders" have imposed quotas and sales prices on coastal fishermen in Mexico. Gustavo Díaz Ordaz (1964-1970) continued to support the growth of the high seas shrimp fisheries on the Pacific coast and in the Gulf of Mexico, as well as the tuna, sardine and anchovy fisheries in the northern states.

During the six-year term of Luis Echeverría Álvarez (1970-1976) the Undersecretariat of Fisheries was created. Priority was given to promoting the shrimp fishery by obtaining foreign exchange via export; for which he doubled the high-altitude fleet and tripled the artisanal fleet. For the first time in Mexico, artisanal or riverine fishermen were benefited with credits for the development of their activity, due to the importance of food and the generation of jobs for the well-being of all Mexicans. During this time, shrimp fishing on the high seas was carried out between fishermen from cooperatives (owners of the concession to capture shrimp and other species)

and “shipowners” (owners of boats). A participation agreement was drawn up in which the “shipowners” put the boats, they were entitled to 40% and the cooperatives put their work and their concession to catch shrimp corresponded to them 60% of the total production per season^{19,22}. With Luis EcheverríaÁlvarez, the Fisheries Law of 1972 was created. This law gives rise to the new cooperative production societies “fisheries ejidales” that is, farmers and / or ejidatarios who lived near a lake, river and / or any body of water suitable for the development of fishing activity, it could be grouped in a cooperative to benefit from fishing. With the emergence of the “new ejidal fishing cooperative societies”, former president EcheverríaÁlvarez continues “in debt” with the so-called “traditional” fishing cooperatives (that is, all those fishing cooperatives established until 1971), having created a social conflict among the inhabitants of all fishing communities located along more than 11,500 kilometers of the Mexican coastline^{14,23}. Former employee of the Sociedad Cooperativa de Pescadores Unidos de Escuinapa General Lázaro Cárdenas, (2018). A significant contribution of President Luis EcheverríaÁlvarez was the decree adding art. 27th Constitutional, which established the Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ). This comprises a maritime zone of 200 nautical miles (370.40 kilometers) located outside the patrimonial sea and covers an estimated area of more than 3.5 million square kilometers of national sovereignty for the exploitation of natural resources. The purpose of the decree was to curb fishing looting by foreign vessels, a problem posed by fishermen on the island of Holbox, in Quintana Roo. Lic. Luis Echeverría promoted the creation of Technical Fishing Secondary Schools and CETMAR Preparatory Schools (Centers for Technological Studies of the Sea) throughout the Republic, to train and train young people in the fishing and aquaculture field²⁴. In 1974 the shipowners put their shrimp “scrap” boats up for sale. Because the federal government did not allow them to enter the shrimp harvest in the same way as the cooperative members. In 1975 the federal government bought “Ocean Garden Inc.” bankrupt North American company, which was in charge of the commercialization of shrimp and lobster; Furthermore, it had a catalog of clients willing to continue buying the products^{20,25} and in 1976 Mexico had 24,500 vessels, of these 21,000 were smaller vessels (load limit of up to 10 tons and / or 10.5 meters in length). The rest of the 3,500 vessels were medium draft²⁰. During this six-year term, through the Secretariat of Hydraulic Resources, various dredging, desilting and intercommunication channels were carried out in coastal lagoons and estuaries, with the aim of increasing the production of shrimp and other marine species.

At the end of the government of Luis EcheverríaÁlvarez, in 1976 in the Palmar de Cuautla community, in the municipality of Santiago Ixcuintla, Nayarit, a 40-meter-wide, 2-meter-deep canal was built, 4 kilometers long to connect the lagoon. Agua Brava with the Pacific Ocean in order to “potentiate” the area in shrimp production²⁶. However, this action was considered an ecocide by several experts in the field, because the natural ebb and flow of the tides was altered. In addition, with the passage of Hurricane “Rosa” in 1994 and other factors of the hydrology of the place, the situation worsened, the width of the channel increased to three kilometers, with more than 20 meters of depth. The town has lost more than a thousand meters of land and more than 500 hectares of crops and mangroves have been affected. With the disappearance of the town of Palmar de Cuautla, the inhabitants were relocated in small houses built by government authorities (Com. Pers. Partner of the Cooperative Production and Marketing of Fishery Products of the Sea of Teacapán, 2018). At the end of the six-year term, more than 1, 862 cooperatives were counted in the country; of which 862 were for consumption and 1,000 for production. In 1976, according to data from Rojas¹⁴, there were 495 fishing cooperatives with 28,761 founding members; The national fishing population registered a total of 70, 419 people dedicated to fishing, of which 42, 260 were cooperative members and the rest 28, 159 were permit holders. According to Valdés et al.²⁷ during the Echeverría administration, fishing cooperatives had an unprecedented boost and reached its golden age.

During the six-year term of José López Portillo (1976-1982) the country's foreign debt grew, the Mexican economy depended on the inflow of foreign currency from the sale of oil. Regarding the fishing sector, all the cooperative members were severely affected because the sale of the shrimp fleet from the “shipowners” to the cooperative members was carried out. This action turned the cooperative members into eternal debtors of the banks. Mainly from the National Fishing and Port Bank. The financial crisis was present in the cooperatives due to the debt with the banks for 4 thousand 225 million pesos contracted by the forced transfer of 672 “junk” boats of the 700 negotiated by the federal authorities²⁸. The result for the Fishing Cooperative Societies was catastrophic, the debt for the transfer of the shrimp fleet was unpayable, and they did not have direct benefit from their fishing catches. Además, hubo recortes en el presupuesto de la Federación, prácticas corruptas de algunos de sus compañeros miembros de mesas directivas²⁰, lo que debilitó e inició el desmantelamiento de la mayoría de las cooperativas pesqueras en México.

IV. NEOLIBERAL REGIME (1982-2018)

In 1982 the nationalist economic model was abandoned to enter the neoliberal economic regime, established as a hegemonic system of world domination. It proposes market freedom as the best tool to solve problems of distribution and optimal use of natural resources with capital from private initiative^{29,30, 31}. With the

implementation of the neoliberal regime, the Mexican State handed over regulatory control of the national economy to the capitalist company. Neoliberal theorists reject social property, arguing that displace private investment, public spending absorbs and generates corrupt practices²⁹. This led to the withdrawal of the State from fishing affairs in the country, which led to the abandonment of fishing cooperatives, generating a stagnation of the cooperative sector and the proliferation of free fishermen³².

With President Miguel de la Madrid (1982-1988), our country has positioned itself among the top 15 countries producing seafood in the world. The fishing sector occupied the second position of entry of foreign currency to the country for the export of shrimp, abalone and lobster²⁰. In this period, the 1986 Federal Law for the Promotion of Fishing was created. In this Law, importance is given to aquaculture as a means of production of species in their natural environment, and the culture of reserved species is also exclusive to cooperative fishing societies¹². During the period of President Carlos Salinas de Gortari (1988-1994), there was a direct impact on cooperative fishing societies. Due to the reforms of December 30, 1989 published in the Official Gazette of the Federation, which eliminated the exclusivity that the fishing cooperatives had on the culture of reserved species (shrimp, lobster, pismo clam, abalone, oyster, totoaba), preserving exclusivity only to species of catches. Among the reasons for the change in the exclusivity of species, the growth of aquaculture and the need to place the country in a competitive and efficient situation in the aquaculture sector was recognized. Therefore, individuals and legal entities of Mexican nationality could participate in the culture of species reserved for cooperatives. In addition, it was requested to free the ejidos and fishing communities from the obligation to organize themselves into cooperatives to engage in aquaculture activity^{12,20,25}. This action caused conflicts between the fishing grounds and the aquaculture farms, which shared common bays and estuaries, because the fishing sites, in addition to being the places of work, are also the homes of the fishing families, because fishing sites have been workplaces and homes for fishermen's families. Aquaculture caused in some places immoderate logging of mangroves to install shrimp farms. At that time, shrimp postlarvae were captured from their natural environment to be used in shrimp farms³¹. In 1992, the new Fishing Law eliminated the exclusivity that cooperatives had in the capture of species reserved in the 1986 Fishing Law and those that preceded it⁹. In this new fisheries management system where any physical or moral person who has capacity to engage in fishing can devote to it, respecting the acquired rights of current licensees and permit holders was proposed. In this way, it seeks to promote responsibility and competitiveness in the exploitation of resources both in aquaculture and in capture. President Salinas de Gortari sought to "make fishing more efficient" and to re-capitalize it with private investment^{18,32}. This led to deprive cooperative fishermen of the exclusive right (for 50 years) to catch shrimp, abalone, totoaba, oyster, lobster and octopus^{32,33,34}. With this, the fishermen were not considered for the neoliberal economic policy²⁰. Another regulation in fishing was on December 31, 1993 when the official standard for the use of shrimp species in waters under Mexican jurisdiction was published in the Official Gazette of the Federation, NOM-002-PESC-1993, applied on 01 January 1994.

According to Ponce (2006), the standard reduced the fishing area of coastal fishermen up to five fathoms deep and to a distance of 5 nautical miles (9.25 km), both from the coastline. This removed them from the right to fish in a strip of sea, where quality species are found for export. The implicit argument in the NOM-002-PESC-1993 is political, sought to ensure economic returns to private enterprise (owners of shrimping vessels) in shrimp catch. For this reason, Mexican army personnel aboard speedboats during the shrimp harvest persecuted coastal fishermen for fishing in a prohibited area. In Sinaloa, the coastal fishermen were treated like criminals, their fishing gear and boats were confiscated, and they were imprisoned. At this time, it was common to see in the mouths of the lagoons and estuaries a ship of the Mexican navy guarding the fishing area prohibited to the coastal fishermen. Due to this action, there were demonstrations by coastal fishermen²⁵.

During the period of President Ernesto Zedillo Ponce de León (1994-2000), the Ministry of Fisheries became the Ministry of the Environment, Natural Resources and Fisheries (SEMARNAP) in order to address the serious environmental problems suffered in the country. President Vicente Fox Quesada (2000-2006) created the new Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock, Rural Development, Fisheries and Food (SAGARPA) to replace SEMARNAP. On June 5, 2001, the National Commission for Fisheries and Aquaculture was created to attend to everything concerning the fishing and aquaculture sector³⁷. Mexico participated in the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro in 2002, the Pilot Plan for Shrimp Management was implemented in Sinaloa, under the responsibility of CONAPESCA²⁵. CONAPESCA granted subsidies for marine fuel³⁸. During this six-year term, the certification of fisheries began, promoted by NGOs (Non-Governmental Organizations) and international organizations³⁷. The conservation movement is gaining strength, mainly in northwestern Mexico, which is still in force in the case of the Vaquita Marina (*Phocoena sinus*).

This achieved the consolidation of both Mexican and international NGOs. During the term of President Vicente Fox Quesada, the parastatal company "Ocean Garden" was sold, dedicated to the export of shrimp, crab, lobster and other fishery products, owned by the Mexican State. "Ocean Garden" was sold in December 2005 to the companies: Granjas Aqua Tech, Grupo Industrial Pesquero Mexicano and Acuicola Boca, the latter owned by the family of Governor Eduardo Bours for 15.1 million dollars³⁹.

During the term of President Felipe Calderón Hinojosa (2006-2012), in a context of “sustainability”, the General Law on Sustainable Fisheries and Aquaculture was created in 2007 (LGPAS), replacing the previous Federal Fisheries Law. In this period, the program called "Voluntary Retirement" began to reduce fishing effort in both coastal and industrial fishing. Fisheries policy suggested by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD)⁴⁰. However, to date, the only beneficiaries of the implementation of the “Voluntary Retreat” program have been the owners of shrimp boats⁴¹.

During Enrique Peña Nieto's six-year term (2012-2018), there was an increase in energy, which led the national fishing sector to see its profit margins reduced⁴². The international organization OCEANA identified that during this six-year term CONAPESCA granted fishing permits in an excessive way. This without updating the National Fisheries Charter (CNP). In addition, it was found that there was a scientific information gap to know the status of the fisheries in the country⁴³.

V. CONCLUSION

During the post-revolutionary periods (1917-1940) and industrial development (1941-1981), Mexican fisheries legislation retained a social predominance. This is all the fishing laws from 1932 to 1986 preserved the exclusive right to capture and cultivate species reserved (shrimp, abalone, octopus, etc.) to the fishing cooperatives in our country. However, during the neoliberal period (1982-2018) with the reform of the 1989 Fishing Law, exclusivity in the cultivation of reserved species was eliminated, conserving them only for capture. But in the 1992 Fisheries Law, the last benefit that the exclusive fishing cooperatives kept in the capture of reserved species is eliminated, to approve the participation of the private initiative in the capture and cultivation of those species. In 1994, with the new General Law of Cooperative Societies, cooperatives of the family business type began to proliferate due to the fact that the number of members required for their constitution was reduced to five. This resulted in unfair competition for access to government support and funding. During the neoliberal economic regime, the cooperative fishing sector was abandoned, and private initiative benefited. Finally, subsistence and semi-commercial fishing should be revalued as a national strategy to generate direct and indirect jobs in marginalized areas, contributing to the production of protein with high nutritional value and reducing poverty. Therefore, selective actions should be implemented by the State to fill the most important gaps and failures in the Fisheries factor markets in Mexico and Latin America.

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