

Masculinities and Care of Natural Resources in Fishermen of Bahía Kino

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Abstract

This research intends to contribute to a discussion regarding the conditions of vulnerability, inequality and violence in which the use and exploitation that fishermen of Bahía de Kino make of the fishery resources is carried out, which does not encourage development sustainable. It is important to use the category of gender to analyze conceptions of masculinity in male fishermen, which are associated with the use of natural resources. From feminist approaches it is important to highlight the contributions of women in the understanding of inequalities and inequities. It is a qualitative study, 9 in-depth interviews were conducted with male fishermen from Bahía Kino, the selection was made with the "snowball" criterion. The conclusion points out that the vulnerable conditions of traditional fishing are understood and reinforced in mutual determination with their traditional conceptions of masculinity.

Keywords: Masculinities, Natural Resources, Sustainable Development

Introduction

In Mexico, 92% of the personnel employed in fishing and aquaculture are men (INEGI, 2009). Although reliable data are not yet available worldwide, it is claimed that men continue to dominate capture fisheries - particularly in the high seas and industrial fisheries - throughout the world. Women are often relegated to processing, local sales and support functions, including the cleaning of boats and the transport of fish to the market (Monfort, 2015).

The risks involved in fishing activity are greater when practiced in the artisanal modality, since it is carried out in boats of 10 meters in length and 1.5 meters in width, called pangas or boats. This is one of the reasons why the participation of women has been socially limited, privileging attitudes typical of hegemonic masculinity, such as courage, courage, strength, decision.

In fishing communities, work is considered inherent to men, this is due to physical imperatives, linked to biological sex that come from a historical tradition (Pérez and Canizales, 2014). This article aims to explore the presence of these attitudes and other similar, in the routines of fishermen, these attitudes in addition to being considered inherent in achieving greater productivity, are also aspects that encourage unsustainable care of fisheries resources. This lack of care could be built on what Kaufman calls the triad of male violence, which manifests itself in the exercise of

violence from men to women, from men towards themselves and from men towards other men (Kaufman, 1993). In an attempt to broaden this concept, the conceptions and behavior of fishermen contrary to the sustainable use of fishery resources could be interpreted as a form of abuse and violence also towards the environment and its resources to the detriment of their better use by of the generations to come, this type of violence adds to an expression of masculine domination. In this sense, what Paulson (2017) mentions is important, noting that, "in many circumstances, the organization and meanings of gender help (re) produce constellations of knowledge, practices and responsibilities that work to maintain the vitality of ecosystems and to enable resilience capabilities in the face of change." In others, the author continues, "the organization and meanings of gender facilitate overexploitation and degradation, thus contributing to imbalances and crises." "These two processes often coexist," he concludes.

The methodological analysis is based on qualitative information obtained through in-depth interviews with artisanal fishermen from the Bahía de Kino community, located in the central part of the Sonoran coast of the Gulf of California. The selection of participants was based on considering various types of inclusion such as: age (from 25 to 60 years), availability (of fishermen and time), free or cooperative fishermen, different hierarchies (captains or captain's assistants) and limitation of investigation time. As the central purpose of the study was not met, the principle of theoretical saturation was not met, although up to 17 interviews were carried out, of which 9 were carried out in their entirety. The interviews were conducted from July to December 2015.

In Bahía Kino, according to quantitative data from official sources, fishing catches do not pick up despite the increase in vessels, which results in meager incomes that cause poverty conditions, generating a vicious circle as unregulated fishing that implies greater deterioration is of fishing resources. The situation of artisanal fishing and the fishermen participating in it are not different at the national level, as well as in a large part of the regions where it is practiced, worldwide.

Fishery Production in Mexico, the Gulf of California and Sonora

In Mexico, the direction of the fishing activity should be a reason for attention due to the extension of its coasts and

coastlines, as well as a geographic location that favors the biological diversity in its waters, both continental and marine. In 2011, Mexico ranked 15th in the world in fishing production (FAO, 2011), which has shown erratic growth during the last decades, with some annual growths that seem to be above average but are later offset with decreases of similar magnitude. According to the INEGI figures, in the decade that elapsed from 1990 to 1999, the fishing production measured in live weight had an average of negative annual growth in 1.14%, in the 2000 to 2009 it was positive in 3.33% and in what goes from the decade that began in 2010 has been negative in 1.41%. This speaks of stagnation in the long term (INEGI, 2013).

Meanwhile, the economic importance of the sector in Mexico has decreased in recent years, since it went from representing 0.3% of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in 1997 to only 0.15% in 2013 (INEGI, 2015). The ups and downs in the national fishery product occur in an international context where the capture of species has stagnated during the last three decades (FAO, 2014). It has been pointed out that this stagnation in the global catch has been accompanied by signals that suggest a possible overexploitation of fishery resources for decades (Tveterás, 2012).

In this context of irregularity and stagnation of fishing production, it can be said that the most productive region of the country is the Pacific Ocean; specifically the Gulf of California and mainly the coastlines of Baja California Norte, Baja California Sur, Sonora and Sinaloa. In 2013, the catch in these four states represented 71.75% of the landed weight of fish product nationally, translating into 52.37% of national income (INEGI, 2014). However, it is possible to detect an unsustainable economic sign of fishing, since 69% of the landed weight was captured in the region in the 1990s and its monetary value represented 55% nationwide. That is, a greater proportion of income was generated with a lower proportion of the captured weight.

In 2013, Sonora's fishing activity represented 0.55% of the state's GDP, which shows that this economic activity has greater relative importance at the state level than at the national level, given its geographical location in the Gulf of California. In 2012, in Sonora, 49.92% of the volume of fish production in live weight was generated from the four coastal states in the Gulf of California (INEGI, 2015). In 2013, it contributed 43.78% of the national production. In terms of monetary value, in the same year it ranked second with 13.11% (INEGI, 2014). Sonora is not exempt from the fluctuations that occur in national and regional fisheries production. The most recent fall in state production represented 30% in 2010 and the catches of the entity have not managed to rebound to previous production levels (CONAPESCA, 1986-1999, SEMARNAT, 2008, INEGI, 2002-2012).

Artisanal Fishing

Artisanal fishing, also called coastal fishing, riparian fishing, fishing of short or small scale, is an economic activity whose most relevant feature is the diversity of species captured, as it is composed of a large number of fisheries, based on the use of a natural resource, constituted by one or several species (Lobato, 1996).

This type of fishing does not use boats, but smaller vessels, known as pangas, with a capacity of 10 tons and, in general, do not use capital intensively. Using a technical criterion, the riparian fisherman can be defined as an individual that captures and collects aquatic organisms from the beaches and bays, whether swimming, diving or wading, using smaller equipment.

The small-scale fisherman's team is defined by the underdeveloped countries as boats of less than 10 or 12 meters that are driven with engines that do not exceed 200 or 300 horsepower (150-225 kw). There is no strict division of labor, but several functions are concentrated in one or two people who man the boats. In Mexico, it is carried out up to the outer limit of three nautical miles, counted from the fishing line.

The Riverside Fishery Management Program (POPR) carried out by SAGARPA in 2011 reported that 78,888 registered small vessels operated in Mexican coastal fishing, which meant 96% of the country's vessels.

The study of artisanal fisheries becomes important because of the possibility that the stability and sustainability of the various fisheries are being jeopardized by their actions. This is so, because many of the marine species find the most favorable conditions in the coasts, bays, estuaries and lagoons to carry out their reproduction or growth. For this reason they take refuge in these bodies of water, and later in adulthood, return to the high seas, where the larger vessels make their capture. Artisanal fishing could be capturing organisms that are not yet mature or juvenile, endangering the reproduction and growth cycles of the species. This is despite the fact that, as described above, the vessels with which riparian fishing takes place have a much lower capture capacity than those of deep-sea fishing.

Description of the Study Area

The study area is located in the central portion of the Gulf of California, which is known as the Great Islands Region. This region, from an oceanographic point of view, is characterized by the high biological productivity of its waters, which is sustained by the almost permanent upwelling processes that occur in the waters surrounding the islands; processes that bring to the surface, bottom water that is rich in nutrients, and allow the rapid growth of phytoplankton populations that are the basis of most marine food chains. This is one of the reasons that explains the great fishing wealth of the region. Another reason is the great diversity of marine and terrestrial environments that are found in it. It includes 21 islands with different sizes and shapes, topography and distances from the coast, surrounded by both shallow and deep waters of the Gulf of California, rocky and sandy bottoms and coastal lagoons bordered by mangroves.

The most important islands are the Tiburón -the largest in Mexico- and Ángel de la Guarda (Bourillon, 1999).

The human population density in the littorals of the Great Islands Region is low and it is located in Kino Bay which is located in the longitude 111° 56' 27" , latitude 28° 49' 22" and altitude 10. It is reached traveling 107 kilometers, from the city of Hermosillo to the southwest. It is a community of migrants from different parts of the country who have been

engaged in artisanal fishing for eight decades (Doode and Delgado, 1999).

The Bahía Kino community is made up of a total of approximately 6,050 inhabitants (INEGI, 2010). About 25% of its employed population is engaged in artisanal fishing and this activity contributes approximately 46% of the income generated in the locality. The rest of the income comes from handicrafts and other salaried activities such as the construction that takes place in the tourist area, commerce and services.

Based on the information of the arrival notices of the SAGARPA fishing office, the catch had an increase of 42% in 2011 compared to the previous year, however, in 2012 it was reduced by 29%, which gives a clue Regarding the similarity in the behavior of the catches in the locality, at the level of the State of Sonora, the Gulf of California and at the national level.

These trends imply serious obstacles for the development of this type of fishing, highlighting the over-exertion, the illegal fishing, the diminution of the populations of the fishing resources and a deficient organization for its use.

Artisanal fishermen inhabit mostly small communities, which are usually far from urban centers. The quality of life in these communities keeps them at the bottom of the socio-economic pyramid. Malnutrition, poor health and short life expectancy are common in these communities. The lack of productive infrastructure and public services is a constant (SAGARPA, 2014). Therefore, both in terms of caring for natural resources managed through artisanal fishing, and in relation to the economic and social conditions of the population, there are signs that do not describe sustainable development.

Feminism and the Environment

The contributions of the so-called second wave of feminism have argued since the seventies many approaches that have paid to the empowerment of women and to greater gender equity. It is thanks to these approaches that emerge the so-called studies of masculinities and men, which now have helped to perceive that the sex-gender system not only causes pressure and discriminatory attitudes of men towards women, but also from men to other men. It follows that sexism, misogyny and homophobia are a kind of training to "naturalize" other forms of discrimination and oppression based on race or class. However, more radical feminist studies have given greater weight to the notions and attitudes by which men oppress women. Thus, in many feminist arguments, technological modernization and global capitalism have been criticized for the supposed threat that a certain approach to development represents for women and for the environment. Bifani (2003) points out how these criticisms showed the way in which women experienced special difficulties as commercial agriculture, logging and mining invaded their traditional way of life and were drawn into highly exploitative and threatening forms of Healthy production.

There are several feminist approaches, one of them being the ecofeminism of Vandana Shiva, who affirms that traditional gender roles are relevant in understanding the

care and use of the environment. The author notes that in the struggles of the Chipko movement in the Garwal Himalayas it can be seen that while men were interested in gaining access to the forest for the commercial development of the village, the women wanted to preserve the forest for their traditional subsistence needs and to prevent soil erosion (Bifani, 2003). Which, although it obeys the role that has been assigned to them socially, finally it is an attitude congruent with the preservation of natural resources.

According to d'Eaubonne, ecofeminism has as its central ideas the crisis of modernity, when the ecological cost of "progress" was apparent; a critique of the "patriarchal man" (western) as the cause of that crisis; a call for women / female / feminine / feminism to be agents of change; an apparent prioritization of the "female gender" (Bifani, 2003). More broadly, Joni Seager says that the Chipko movement now symbolizes Third World resistance to changing the direction of international development and has come to symbolize a struggle to rid itself of the asphyxiating control that Western reductionist science has over the management of resources (Bifani, 2003).

In addition, Bifani (2003) states that patriarchy is more than men per se what is seen as a problem. Women must be the bridge to a reformed and reformed social order (Bifani, 2003). In addition, Bifani argues that in the relations between women and the environment it can be seen how women are disproportionately represented in poor and vulnerable communities due to lack of access to land, for the loss of communal and family lands in benefit of private property, being traditionally responsible for family feeding through subsistence agriculture, they were forced more and more to work increasingly marginal and infertile land, equally men from their traditional roles are disproportionately represented in positions of power and influence, since they were increasingly attracted, or forced by economic circumstances, to accept salaried jobs, often at great distances, leaving women with the responsibility of the family in increasingly impoverished conditions, the look at the structure patriarchal of both traditional societies as those of the poorest systems will be another distinctive feature of the criticisms made since ecofeminism.

In agreement with what Bifani (2003) points out, it is considered that some aspects of ecofeminism can certainly be criticized for excessively idealizing women and their history, for affirming a totalizing image of a universalized woman ignoring the differences between women. According to the author, the ecofeminist affinities are very close to biological determinism, while they are unable to explain why many women are attracted to the Western patriarchal macho lifestyle. However, it is important that these real criticisms do not obscure the complexity of the arguments that ecofeminists are holding and deviate from the radical perspective that ecofeminism can offer.

Certainly since the beginning of ecofeminism has prevailed a quasi-essentialist conception (feminist spirituality or essentialist ecofeminism) of a woman-nature affinity, inspired by a radical, cultural and spiritual feminism, which tends to highlight the "natural" affinity of women with the world natural. Just as there are different feminist approaches, there are also several ecofeminist positions, one of them points towards constructionist political perspectives

(constructivist ecofeminism) and more social radical politics (such as socialist ecofeminism or Marxist ecoanarchism) (Bifani, 2003). On these last approaches of the socioconstructionist ecofeminism we will contribute next. According to Bifani (2003) in socialist or anarchist ecofeminism the idea stands out that the domination of men over women is the "prototype" of all other forms of domination, so that potentially feminism creates a community of interests global and concrete through interconnection with other dominations, following the author, she points out that their challenge extends beyond sex to social domination of all kinds because the domination of sex, race and class, and nature reinforce each other.

According to Bifani (2003) one of the first attempts to make a coherent analysis is that of Rosemary Radford Ruether, with new woman, new hearth, in which she shows the importance of not categorizing ecofeminism too early, even in its first days.

Like Marx, Ruether affirms that the task is not to change consciousness (to rewrite theologies, to recover history), since culture and consciousness are no more than ratifiers of a social system, the transformation of consciousness is at the service of a struggle to transform this entire social system into its human and ecological relationships (Bifani, 2003). Ruether calls for the fundamental reconstruction of the way in which resources are distributed within the world community (Bifani, 2003). The liberation of women and the problems of ecological destruction will only be realized in a social revolution (Bifani, 2003). What is needed is a community socialism that controls technology rather than reject it (Bifani, 2003). He sees the masculine technology of western patriarchy rooted in a self-alienated experience of the body and the world (Bifani, 2003).

In this, Ruether returns to approach a basic trend of ecofeminist thinking, that women have been subordinated through the body and nature while man seeks culture and autonomy (Bifani, 2003). Ruether considers that the subordination of women encompasses three stages: the conquest of the mother, which involved robbing women in the course of history of their economic independence; the denial of the mother through the development of patriarchal religions and philosophies that associated women with sensuality and flesh; and finally, the sublimation of the mother in an idealized image of pure femininity, the Virgin Mary (Bifani, 2003). Finally, Ruether points out that human society, projected towards a balance through diversity, will be consciously integrated into its environment (Bifani, 2003).

Carolyn Merchant, a socialist ecofeminist, says that radical ecology stems from a sense of crisis in the industrialized world that confronts the illusion that people are free to exploit nature (Bifani, 2003). However, Merchant goes on to argue the inequality and exploitation patterns of human society. Socialist ecofeminists, by definition, adopt a radical approach, focusing on the failures of humanity-humanity relations and particularly those of sex / gender both as a cause and as a consequence of failures in humanity-nature relations (Bifani, 2003).

According to Bifani (2003) social change will not come from a spiritual rebirth, from the fabric of dreams or

enchantments or from the resurgence of the "feminine" as body or spirit, but from the active political struggle against the structures and institutions of society current. Following the author, the ecofeminists of affinity (spiritual or essentialist) start from the association between women and nature, socialist ecofeminists start from inequalities (differences) and dominations with respect to men within the human society (constructivist).

Other Approaches on Gender and the Environment

Other efforts to understand in a more comprehensive and coherent way the relations between women, gender (and, therefore, masculinities) and the environment is that of Velázquez (2003). The author establishes three methodological approaches: feminist environmentalism, feminist political ecology and the current Gender, Environment and Development (GED), the latter will be developed later.

According to Agrawal (1991), feminist environmentalism emphasizes the ways in which gender and class structure people's interactions with nature and how, at the same time, it structures specific gender interests about certain resources and ecological processes and the effects of environmental change on specific groups of people, as well as the responses of the latter to that change. Feminist political ecology, according to Rocheleau (1996), considers gender as a critical variable that determines the way in which one has access to and control of natural goods. According to Velázquez (2003) "this current emphasizes the need to analyze how the gender category interacts with factors such as class, caste, race, culture and ethnicity, determining the processes of ecological change, and the efforts of women and men to sustain ecologically viable life systems, as well as the possibilities of any community to develop sustainability".

For his part, McLaughlin has identified five branches of "radical environmentalism": 1) deep ecology, 2) social ecology, 3) bioregionalism, 4) environmentalism focused on the human and 5) ecological feminism (Bifani, 2003), the latter also called environmentalist and goes in accordance with Agrawal (1991). From this classification we will describe some central ideas that allow us to better understand each approach, in its relations with the inequalities between men and women, as well as with nature.

1) Deep Ecology

According to Bifani (2003) in the relations between humanity and nature there are priority tensions as opposed to humanity-humanity relations. A radical approach to ecology should incorporate a fundamental reorganization of humanity-humanity relations as an essential aspect of the formulations of humanity-nature relations.

Deep ecology, on the other hand, would see humanity-nature relationships as the critical element (Bifani, 2003). Deep ecology seeks to completely reform the relations of humanity with the natural world. Affinity and spiritual ecofeminists tend to lean more towards deep ecology and a more elementary cosmology (Bifani, 2003).

2) *Social Ecology*

It is eminently natural for humanity to create a second nature from its evolution in the first nature. The ecological crisis we face today is largely due to a crisis of the separation of society and biology. The fact that these two natures exist and can never be dualized in "parallels", or reduced in a simplistic manner to one another, is largely the reason for the existence of social ecology, this according to its creator Murray Bookchin (Bifani, 2003).

According to Bifani (2003), the social ecology of Murray Bookchin has had a great influence on the development of ecofeminism and the green movement, particularly in the United States (and later, in some European countries). The author points out that he always saw the ecological crisis in a social context, so that the very notion of the domain of nature by man arises from the very real domination of the human by the human (Bifani, 2003). Bookchin's broad conception of the domain of the human for the human replaces the more specific Marxist concept of class exploitation, or the feminist concept of patriarchy (Bifani, 2003). The political solution is to have a radical egalitarian society, something for which Bookchin has advocated in all his works (Bifani, 2003). Like many greens who adopt an anarchist perspective, Bookchin's vision of the good society would be one on a "human scale", decentralized and non-hierarchical. It would be administered on a communal basis with face-to-face relationships and decision-making by consensus or participatory democracy (Bifani, 2003). Unlike many greens, however, Bookchin's ideal society is not a self-sufficient rural idyll, but self-governed federations of municipalities without strict limits (Bifani, 2003).

Because Bookchin sees the domination of the human by the human as the cause of ecological destruction, the solution would be in reformed human relationships, according to Bifani (2003). Following the author, the good society would be, by definition, an ecological society and would not seek to transcend natural conditions or ecological limits since people would take what they needed and nothing else. Underlying this analysis lies a conception of humanity and humanity-nature relations that is naturally harmonious in the end, a vision shared by many green thinkers according to Bifani (2003).

3) *Bioregionalism*

Bioregionalism holds that humanity must be socially and geographically organized in relation to its ecological context. The primary focus is the identification of distinctive regional ecosystems within which to establish sustainable human communities, a process that is not without fundamental conceptual and political difficulties (Bifani, 2003).

4) *Environmentalism Focused on the Human*

According to Bifani (2003), human-centered environmentalism is based on radical social change, with the resolution of the ecological crisis as a result of that process. Social ecology also prioritizes social relationships, but will consider them based on a dialectical relationship between society and nature. Outstanding in this area are approaches such as Manfred MaxNeef's approach to human scale development, Antonio Elizalde and Martin Hopenhayn

(Elizalde, 2003), Amartya Sen's capacity expansion approach and an approximate integration of both approaches can be the Development Approach. Human of UNDP.

Sustainable Development, Gender and Masculinities

Criticism of the development model has been widely pointed out by many of the approaches we have presented in this paper, this vision of development has given great importance to the economic aspect as an engine of development, and has prevailed since the fifties with the model of economic growth or drip filtration, the growth model with redistribution in the seventies, the model of satisfaction of basic needs in the mid-1970s and the neoliberal model since the 1980s (CEDPA, 1996).

However, in parallel with these models, criticisms of these economic models also began to emerge as feminism made the place of women in development increasingly visible and its implications with the values of equity, equality and social justice.

The main schools of thought regarding the development of women - Women in Development (WID) and Gender and Development (GAD) - represent the growing awareness that within sustainable development, the full and equal participation of men must be fully included and women. The WID approach (also called MED or MDA for its translation into Spanish) has been influenced by ecofeminism and is a concept that was born from the work of the economist Ester Boserup, whose fundamental book, *Women's Role in Economic Development*, argued that the contributions of women were ignored and, as a consequence, development was affected (CEDPA, 1996). The goal that was proposed was a more efficient and effective development through the integration of women within the existing development processes (CEDPA, 1996). Strategies were developed that included projects or components of women's projects, which increased women's income and productivity, and improved their ability to care for their family nucleus (CEDPA, 1996). The scope of WID does not address the original causes of discrimination that prevents the participation of women in their societies (CEDPA, 1996).

At the end of the seventies, the Women and Development (WID) perspective was developed as a reaction to the omissions of WID (CEDPA, 1996). Supporters of WID argued that women were already integrated into development processes, but in unequal terms (CEDPA, 1996). They noted that development projects increase demands on women without increasing access to resources or power and decision-making and, finally, work against the interests of women (CEDPA, 1996). The WID concept points out that class structures were more oppressive than gender and that poor and marginal women have more in common with men of their class than with women of other classes (CEDPA, 1996).

The emergence of GAD in the 1980s marked a revolution in the thinking of sustainable and equitable development (CEDPA, 1996). The rationale for carrying out women's development programs shifted from the increase in efficiency to achieve development goals towards the achievement of equity and the empowerment of women (CEDPA, 1996). The new perspective on gender was

developed by women concerned because women's problems were perceived in terms of sex, that is, their biological differences with men instead of gender terms, which in other words represents social roles and relationships of men and women and the forces that perpetuate and change these relationships (CEDPA, 1996). This group showed that women have been systematically subordinated and assigned secondary and inferior roles to men and that their needs have been considered in isolation from a broader context (CEDPA, 1996). The GAD approach insists that women are an integral part of any development strategy (CEDPA, 1996). According to CEDPA (1996) GAD includes three main concepts:

1. Women and men create and maintain societies and shape the division of labor. However, they benefit and suffer unequally. Therefore, more attention should be given to women because they have been more disadvantaged than men.
2. Women and men are socialized differently and although there is interdependence, they often function in different spheres of the community. As a result, they have different priorities and perspectives. Due to gender roles, men can constrain or expand women's options.
3. Development affects men and women differently, and women and men will have a different impact on projects. Both should be involved in the identification of problems and solutions if they are to serve the interests of the community as a whole.

Both WID and GAD can contribute to the development of women and increase gender equity. WID projects empower women to attend to their practical needs (CEDPA, 1996). GAD allows women to serve strategic interests, and women and men work together towards common goals and greater equality (CEDPA, 1996). As such, both must be considered by the development planners (CEDPA, 1996).

These development approaches are considered allies to the ecofeminist struggles in the sense that traditionally feminine elements (affection, creation, freedom) are linked to essential development objectives (to enhance fundamental human needs, generate increasing levels of self-reliance, empower social actors, deepen in the democracy), besides that there is an extension of the rights of the people, the development is not only economic growth but also quality of life of the people and are sensitive to the sexual inequality. Other views that integrate the gender perspective in a coherent manner in the environmental theme is that of Paulson (2017), who points out that "today many men strive to meet the expectations of masculinity and to demonstrate their virility through the underpaid work in commercial initiatives that are dangerous and destructive for both men and the environment such as mining and logging." From these approaches and perspectives we understand how in ecosystems, as in gender, it also interacts with other systems, including economic, religious, governmental and kinship systems (Paulson, 2017).

These decades-old work has in some way led to the end of 2015, the UN General Assembly has approved the agenda of the objectives for sustainable development 2030 (UN, 2015) among which, gender equity plays a role important

(Kaltenborn, 2015). In the year 2000, the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), had promoted gender equity, being now considered again in the 2030 agenda, because it is a human right and a fundamental piece to achieve sustainable development (UN, 2014). This despite the distrust generated by the MDGs, since they were not fully met, highlighting that the 2008 crisis was the brake for compliance with these objectives in most countries (Quitral Rojas, 2012).

That is why, as part of sustainable development, the gender perspective is included, so that men and women can show their problems, their perspectives and desires at the same time, balancing the balance and allowing the best human projects to emerge with freedom in the different orders of life regardless of gender (Jiménez, 2011). An obstacle is that men have to begin to question the socially constructed status of privileges and the patterns that continue to endorse them as the legitimate holders of power and authority, which would mean renouncing many of their privileges and breaking a long chain of benefits that, even today, feed its superiority (Salazar, 2013). These privileges and benefits result from the difference of gender, they are "obtained" when a man is born, and they conform what has been called masculinity (Bourdieu, 2000).

Feminist discussion and the theoretical construction of gender have helped to identify the asymmetry and power relations that have occurred historically. Femininity and masculinity are representations that influence the dominant behaviors that demonstrate the power of men over women (Errazti, 2010). Based on this approach, studies on sociocultural changes and their effects on men have been necessary (González and Camacaro, 2013). Men also form dominant social relationships, which would seem contradictory since respect for the hierarchy leads to subordination (Segarra and Carabí, 2000).

Masculinities in Fishermen of Bahía Kino

In fishing communities, fishing work is considered inherent to men, this is due to physical imperatives, linked to biological sex that come from a historical tradition (Pérez and Canizales, 2014). It is recognized that, in this context, the context in which a masculinity is constructed, occurs when the activities become part of the fisherman's identity, which results in a perception of the activity as his own and his masculinity (Aguirre, 2014).

In the community under study, even when fishermen know the requirements and regulations, as well as prohibitions regarding species and methods of extraction, they do not comply. They say that not respecting the rules can cause the source of their livelihood to be extinguished, but they do so justifying it because they feel they are affected in their urgency to provide for their families, by tightening the laws. Some disapprove of the implementation of the fishery ordinance, since it affects the performance of their work.

Thus, for example, in the latest updates to the Official Mexican Fishing Regulations, there is the replacement of the chinchorro (net) by fishing gear that minimizes the damage to the environment caused by fishing, such as the trap, in the case of crab catch. Carlos, considers that removing the chinchorro is unprecedented, since it has been used

throughout his life, adapting and improving the operation techniques, to obtain better results. He mistrusts the truthfulness and certainty that this provision was designed based on technical and scientific studies, adding that, in his experience, with a hammock many fewer female crabs are captured that are small and can pass through the "mesh light" (width of the links of the network), which is ensuring that the reproduction of the species is not altered. The chinchorro catches mostly large-sized males, which facilitates their work, ensures greater income and requires less investment.

"What I say to me is much better the chinchorro, but there are many studies ... I do not know in what way they do these studies, but it was only to get rid of the hammock" (Carlos)

This man, thinks that he is affected by limiting his chances of obtaining his daily sustenance and that of his family whose welfare does not matter to those who apply and monitor the norms. Something similar, thinks about the establishment of the closures (period in which it is prohibited to capture a certain species to guarantee its growth and reproduction)

"They put their ban on it, they did not care if we stopped working or if we stopped bringing, I had to see people who took them out of fishing and do I tell you what they did? They went to collect boats ... aluminum boats, beer, I play and several "(Carlos)

On the other hand, Hernán, who is single, is 22 years old and only 6 years old as a fisherman. He does not feel that the prohibition of the chinchorro affects him in his work; On the contrary, it coincides with the regulations confirming that the new trap system allows the release of protected individuals, young females, which are expected to reproduce to maintain the population. Considers that, if all made the correct use of fishing gear, there would be greater biomass of crab, while the chinchorro catches all types of fish, including females with eggs, which are the objective to be protected by fishing regulations.

"With traps, there would be more crab. Because in reality the chinchorros kill the enhuevada female and the trappers do not, they throw it away and it leaves alive "(Hernán)

The same fact, the use of chinchorro and its effect on the sustainability of the Jaiba resource, is perceived differently, depending on the role played by the subjects, in this case, with respect to the obligation imposed on them by hegemonic masculinity as a provider. As Gilmore (1994) points out, the right to be a man is gained by admitting dominant masculinity, which must be demonstrated through rites or trials, associated with honor and virility, one of which is to be an exclusive provider of household income. The absence of this social burden opens up the possibility of alternative masculinities and with that to responsible fishing behaviors, aligned to the notion of sustainable development.

Behaviors that are not respectful towards the environment also cause the catches to become increasingly scarce and thus lower income levels. This downward spiral places the majority of fishermen in Bahía Kino and their families in

poverty. Faced with this, in many occasions they assume a dilettante attitude, despite knowing options to improve their situation. However, few efforts are made. Thus, for example, calls were opened to request government support in times of closure, for which it was a requirement to belong to a cooperative and to appear on its register, in addition to presenting the voter's credential.

"They did not put me in because I do not have the credential ... of elector ... that's why they did not put me ... I had to go to Hermosillo to process it, in a day I come and go, just one day of work I lose and yes I can, but no, no, no, like ... I have not taken it out of sheer laziness "(Hernán).

Conceptions of masculinity have been institutionalized, confronting men, from young people, to the dilemma of belonging or being segregated. The feelings of attachment to these neglectful cultures become rituals of initiation, which regulate their social relations (Tejeda, 2011). This is the case of the processing of fishing permits, whose possession would allow many fishermen to stop relying on intermediaries that push prices down, since the permit is a requirement established by law to market the product. When not having it, the fishermen arrive at the beach after a day with a perishable product, without infrastructure for its conservation and, therefore, if they do not sell it immediately they lose all the effort and investment that day.

It is true that the market oligopolistic structure that prevails in Bahía Kino allows income and property to be concentrated every time. With this, economic power in the hands of a handful of economic actors also accommodates the hoarding of fishing permits. That is, there are structural conditions that prevent many fishermen from accessing these permits. However, large amounts of money are not required to acquire them. The fishermen complain that, even when they have these resources, they lack "influence" to break the networks of complicity in which public officials participate.

"There are many trapes, there are many trapes, is that if you can put papers ... but here they give you, they say many trapes and already ... as one does not have to move, sometimes ... Well, there are several friends of mine who have gone and not they have been able to get "(Salvador).

The prevalence over time of these conditions, have generated attitudes of conformism and new negligence, which are expressed in laments rather than in actions

"But what I do not understand is that anybody who comes to work there, like that (snapping their fingers), gives them the permits, why? (Leopoldo)

The experience has led Leopoldo not to try to process a fishing permit, since this situation has become naturalized among fishermen and they know with certainty that they will not be able to obtain it, so they choose to settle for the little they earn within their disadvantaged situation, and clarifies in the following way that the situation is thus established;

"No, well, it is ... it is ... we all know that this is the case, that it is so ... the good thing is that anyway ...

we all work anyway, do not we? That is, we work, right? "(Leopoldo)

Sometimes, men delegate to their wives the responsibility of trying to get fishing permits and it is through the experience of them that they know the difficulties to achieve it, opting for passivity.

"One is already calm, already, I'm old I say, I already want what ... Pa'que? Better I go and I settle with a permit holder and I'm out of fights. I am already 52 years old, because I am not old, but I say already, do the plebs, one and what? "(Salvador).

Salvador sees himself as someone who does not want to spend the rest of his life facing complicated situations and thinks that this corresponds to younger people who are beginning their career as fishermen. Sometimes, it is the older men who try to do the paperwork and it is the younger ones who appear as producers.

"So I'm not so deep into this, that's why I cannot tell you who sells them ... rather they put me in charge of the cooperative ... and my apá is the one who is dedicated to them. Taking papers and ... he knows all that and my apá got some permits with the previous boss "(Carlos).

Conforming attitudes can be interpreted as what Pierre Bourdieu (2000) calls "acceptance of the conditions of domination" before a productive structure represented by economic power, in this case the permit holders, on whom the coastal fishermen depend. The conformism is comparable with a hegemonic domination, which according to Bonino (2001) in masculinities is referring to a characteristic of male submission to figures with power, construction of identity that does not lead to rejection or criticism of authority.

The lack of fishing permit makes them depend on who, if they have it, because they carry out their work using a permit that does not belong to them and this generates an economic and power dependence, since they are forced to sell at a low price its production, remaining at the expense of the so-called permit holders, owners of the legal document who do not engage in capture, constituting themselves as a kind of renters.

Another option is to risk fishing without permission, illegally in exchange for "moches" to public officials, in addition to being prevented from marketing and also depend on the prices established by intermediaries. Illegal fishing has consequences on the sustainability of resources since it constitutes an overfishing not considered in the official calculations.

These calculations are made based on monitoring that allows to establish the maximum allowed catches that do not alter the reproduction cycles. As a result, the biomass that will be available to be fished is estimated and a limited number of fishing permits are put on sale.

Capturing without permission is an extra impact that could be undermining the conservation of the species.

Conclusions

Fishing resources show signs of vulnerability that is expressed in the stagnation or decline of the amounts captured at the global, national, regional or local levels. Opinions expressed in official documents show concern for irresponsible fishing actions that would put at risk the sustainability of these resources.

These characteristics are reproduced in Bahía Kino, even though this community is located on the coasts of a body of water as biodiverse and rich in nutrients as the Gulf of California. An oligopolistic structure, that is, concentration of property, coupled with a climate and tradition of corruption, lay the foundations for the disorganized management of marine species, which also manifests itself in the poverty levels of fishermen and their families.

Artisanal fishing is an activity in which there are high risks, due to the fragility of the boats used, which also serves as a justification for the exclusion of women in the high seas, being reserved for men.

These structural conditions in which artisanal fishing takes place, are reinforced and perpetuated by conceptions of masculinity that in the subjective and representational level prevents fishermen from taking initiatives to break the cycle of poverty and the absence of environmental sustainability. The pressure that derives from the social obligation to fulfill the role of suppliers, borders fishermen to fishing behaviors that are not responsible, justifying the non-observance of environmental regulations in a supposed simulation on the part of the researchers whose work emanates these rules. . Attitudes of negligence and conformism emanate from the need to prove to be a man and not to fall into attitudes that show weakness or any trait considered feminine, repressing feelings to reaffirm their masculine position, defining themselves as someone without fear or pain, of heroic attitude, giving little importance to the consequences.

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