

Memories about the conformation of the Cooperative of artisanal fisherman in the locality of El Paraíso in Armería, Colima, México.¹

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ABSTRACT: *This paper explores the collective memory of a community is a key element for the configuration of its history, and in this case it is fundamental for the reconstruction of a work memory of a company organized as cooperative related to artisanal fishing, within a context of regional modernization as has been the "Cooperative Society of Fishing Production". For the above it is proposed to present this work memory from some memories of fishermen belonging to two generations of the coast of Colima, México; Testimonies collected during the field work of the doctoral thesis denominated: Young people of sand. Identity construction of young fishermen in face of the labor, sociocultural and environmental changes of their surroundings.*

KEY WORDS: *Collective memory, artisanal fishing, labor memorial, fishing community*

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I. INTRODUCCIÓN

The collective memory of a community is a key element for reconfiguration of its history, and in this case it is fundamental for the reconstruction of a memory of a company organized as a cooperative related to fishing craft, within a context of regional modernization as has been the "Sociedad Cooperativa de Producción Pesquera el Paraíso, Armory, Colima S.C. of R. L. " In Mexico, according to what is established in Art. 2 of the General Law of Cooperatives with respect to the provisions of social interest, it is understood that cooperative society as a form of social organization composed of people based on common interests and on the principles of solidarity, self-effort and mutual help, with the purpose of satisfying individual and collective needs, through the realization of economic activities of production, distribution and consumption of goods and services.

Ben-Yami and Anderson (1987) report that: "A cooperative is any group of people who have voluntarily agreed to cooperate, that is, to gather their resources and work together towards the achievement of a common, economic and / or social objective in a joint venture and financially viable." Regarding the cooperative that dedicated to the fishing sector, René Alejandro Aguilar (2008) tells us that:

It is a society made up of members of the working class that through a concession or permit are dedicated to the extraction, cultivation, capture, development and integral use of species whose normal way of life is water, and which and contribute their personal work without pursuing profit. About, only those that meet the requirements set out in the General Law of Cooperative Societies and its regulations and registered by the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare (Aguilar, 2008: 76-77).²

Particularly, in Armería there is said Fishermen's Cooperative, the only one in the municipality, although in the entity there are other cooperatives of this type and also Unions of Fishermen, mostly related to shrimp fishing in the lagoon of Cuyutlán. For the above it is proposed to present part of the work memory of said organization, based on the analysis of the speech of thematic interviews Semi-structured activities carried out on fishermen belonging to two generations of the coast colume testimonies collected during the field work of my doctoral thesis. By collective memory from its social character and considering the space, the time and language as the general frameworks that will shape the memories of group, this concept is retaken in agreement with Maurice Halbwachs (2004), as group memory that integrates memories and "convergent sincerities", in this case artisanal fishermen.

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² Personal translation from Spanish to English

Analyzing the proposal of this author and according to its definition, Páez and Basabe recognize the social nature of memory, which would basically be in four aspects:

1) because it has a social content, since the memory is a memory with the others; 2) because it relies on social frames of reference, such as rites, ceremonies or social events; 3) because people remember memories shared and remembered together, and 4) because it is based on language and external and internal linguistic communication with other significant beings (in Brito et al. 2005, 182).³

That is, in tune with this order of ideas, for Páez and Basabe (1998) "Memory collective refers to how social groups remember, forget or reappropriate from knowledge of the social past." (in Brito et al., 2005: 180). So, leaning on "Frames" of social references, more specifically in the class and the labor, is that I recognize its collective dimension. Therefore, any memory that is narrated in the interviews of each fisherman, even if it is personal, from this position, it is considered that It is still a social memory. Work memory is thought of as a reconstruction, which is produced from of interests of the group of fishermen, but also of intergenerational experiences. In this regard Marc Bloch, recognizes the importance of the transmission of memories collective between generations, according to the group considered, as well recalls Halbwachs (2004). Collective memories of which many times they do not have the voice, as Cohen reminds us (2012). Precisely that's where the working memory comes from, from the own oral testimonies derived from experiences on a practiced work for years of life, as artisanal fishing is, where the past is revived with in shared experiences.

In this regard Lara (2013), observed the importance of reconstructing the memory of miners and the foundation of their cooperative from the history of that company, through of the narration of the subjects interviewed, that is, from the collective memory towards the working world, granting an important role to the "founding myth" of the In this sense, collective memory from its origin allows knowledge about working memory, which for this case is proposed rather from an approach of own "foundational memory". The foundational and lived memory in this sense is taken as an element important part of the collective memory, and according to the sociologist Maurice Halbwachs, integrates a subjective imprint of experienced events, goals and identifications of a particular time that influences both individual memory and the collective memory of some generation, as Muller and Bermejo rethink (2013). The memory according to Maurice Halbwachs "as border and limit" is located as a psychic faculty of people through stories that act and rely on various social frames of reference and "collective interference" (2004: 12). Based on the reference framework for artisanal fishing work and the area where it is practiced, and in accordance with the four aspects that Páez recognizes and Basabe (1998) on the collective memory of Maurice Halbwachs (2004), is that will raise in this report the working memory.⁴

II. DEVELOPMENT

Since the 80s of the twentieth century, the fishing industry of Armería has begun to settle officially at the same time that the community of El Paraíso was erected, while the neighboring town of Cuyutlán was already ancestral; these locations are the main populations of the municipality of Armería where daily practice is practiced economic activity; Nowadays, fishing both in the sea and in the bodies of water located inland is more than alive.

The fact that the municipality of Armería corresponds to about 15.3 miles of coastline, of the 157 that the state has and has the Armería river and several. Irrigation channels such as Periquillos, La Cañita or Cuyutlán, show that fishing takes an important wealth of natural resources in said region.

In addition, Armería adjoins in the southern part with the Pacific Ocean, and integrates different bodies of water such as the Laguna de Cuyutlán, the Estero Palo Verde and the area from the sea where artisanal fishing is also practiced in the open sea. I mean, it's a municipality that is located next to a territory of great industrial development, when adjoining with "the main diversified industrial port of the Mexican Pacific ..." (González, 2010: 42) that is Manzanillo that includes real estate tourism growth and industrial, such as the existence of a thermoelectric plant since the 70s and a regasification in recent years, which places the town of El Paraíso in a context of industrial transformation and latent modernization.

³ Personal translation from Spanish to English.

⁴ For the collection of the data it was necessary to record the different interviews directed to the fishermen. This information of all the oral records was made from semi-structured interviews and field work through a field diary, during different moments between the months of August 2010 and June 2011 in the localities of El Paraíso, the town of Cuyutlán and the city of Armería.

Despite its still incipient tourist, industrial and urban development, the territory where El Paraíso is located is considered relevant to its population, and in accordance with what Gilberto Giménez (1996) proposes in relation to its importance "is always treated of a valued space is both instrumentally (under the economic aspect, ecological and geopolitical), culturally (under the symbolic-expressive angle)" (1996: 10). This influences the identification with the place where they live and where fishermen work because it works as a space that provides the means to his personal, social and community life development.

In this way, the settlement of the coastal strip where El Paraíso is located It has little more than three decades. The settlers of the coast soon saw themselves in the need to find a place to live and work.

But there were no groups, there were no groups, every one, you lived in your house, you I liked fishing because you liked sports, but you did not know how to patch up a tarraya,⁵ much less do a tarraya beginning, or tarraya termination either (Fisherman, Cuyutlán, 73 years old).

Many of them are people from the interior of the state, such as the town of Armería and surrounding towns such as Cuyutlán, as well as the municipalities of Tecomán, Manzanillo, among others that repopulated this part of the Colima territory. But they also came from other neighboring states such as Michoacán and Jalisco. They began to work in different activities, and little by little they learned the trade of those who were already fishermen, but also of relatives who exercised this activity.

[Who taught you how to fish?] A "compadre" of mine, that when I fell here, this, they spoke to me to take a child to baptize, and we became friends with That man, he was a fisherman, so to fish, not a fisherman in a cooperative, but to fish to eat, then he invited me to fish and from there I liked it I did the fishing, because then I went out to eat, and I started fishing, I did tarraya, I already taught myself to do tarrayas, and there to fish, they invited me, we We went, and so until he died, he was very old, older, Guillermo was called, from Armería. (Fisherman, Cuyutlán, 77 years old).

The first to start fishing worked in other activities, let's see for example the following testimony:

I used to be a driver and machine operator, right here, when I stopped being machinist I devoted myself fully, I was already admitted to the cooperative, but I used it as with a right as a sport, nothing else means when working or Sundays, like that, and that, but when I left the sport of machines or work of the machines I went right into the fishing and already there I am, I'm going to adjust as 30 years, would enter a little less to start the cooperative, would enter as five years, that the cooperative was already there. (Fisherman, Armería, 73 years old).

Several fishermen today combine this work with agriculture, the harvest of salt, the cut of lemon and coconut, among other tasks. Others also started very young, and went through different positions to learn from the trade and also to be able to join that organization, which represents for many of them a pride:

I fished from the age of 17 years old I was a "cabero", of dragging gulls, taking capes, swim, enter and throw the 500-meter nets, and take out the cabos to swim, pa'fuera, to remove the trasmallos, I was a cat for seven years, at 17 years I started working with a man from Manzanillo who was called (...) I was young and he was like the age I have today, with him we worked as servants of employees, then we started working and we the cooperative, they started first, and then I joined the cooperative, I was a luchist or I was fighter of the cooperative, but when it was declared that it was already cooperative, I I was working as a judge, but when I came back they gave me my position because had (Fisherman, Armería, 73 years old).

Another case is that of one of the fishermen of the first generation and the oldest group:

I came from 19 to work at the salt works and I did not go back there, I lasted 6 years nothing more, I got angry and I left. Well, me from when I fell Armería, to Cuyutlán then, since then I work, I worked in fishing, there was a lady who was called, they said the Moreliana, was from Morelia city, she had hair and dragging, that throws them from the shore among many people pull one of a shore and others from another, they take it out, in that time there was that kind of fishing, today no longer, almost no longer use trasmallos ... (Fisherman, Cuyutlán, 77 years old).

The political sense also implies feeling part of the cooperative and being a member, hierarchical category that implies an official appointment, but not only that but also be "Luchista"(Fighter):

[What does Luchista mean?] That I was paying my dues, I never stopped to participate with my obligations, when I returned I was taken into account As a member, I just need to be included in the list of partners, but now I am, from that date I am in the list of partners (Fisherman, Armería, 73 years).

⁵ Fishing gear called "atarraya" which consists of a network of circular (conical) shape, which is operated by a single person, either from a boat or from land; Its size and weight varies according to the skill and need of the fisherman

Although not all fishermen attending the cooperative meetings count with some type of permit (there are legal permits for the capture of certain species). In addition, in the years when the cooperative starts, when it begins to formalized and regularized in an institutional way the official fisherman and the conformation of cooperatives in the area:

Yes, I learned it by myself, I did not have a study to tell me, because when I entered the cooperative then used to be sent to one of the trainings for know if you were a fisherman or you were not, because in the time that the cooperative started They said you are a fisherman, you want to be a fisherman! Yes sir! Well ok, but you were going to trainings to Manzanillo, that's where they sent us, you, you, you and you, a ball of bastards, when they threw us the fist of all broken networks useful for (noise) they told us, gentlemen, here are these networks to mend them! You did not grab no scissors, no needles, no thread, no nets except because you said what are we going to do! We do not know, that's how they went away, they said, gentlemen, the one that I could not, Look, this is where they came in, they can go out here, because they have to go to each and then come to sign up and come to their trainings! we were three, but those three, were three consecutive days, so-and-so, everyone grabbed, after a while the inspectors arrived, They saw, what's your name? So-and-so! you? So-and-so! And where are the the rest? Well they left, they are not fishermen ... (Fisherman, Armería city, 73 years old).

In addition, until now it can be said that there are three generations in El Paraíso, the town with the greatest fishing tradition in the sea, next to the fishermen of Cuyutlán that inhabit and border the lagoon. For the Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock, Rural Development, Fisheries and Food, Delegation in the State, (SAGARPA), referred in 2010 that in the state there was a population dedicated to the fishing activity of 2 847 fishermen registered in the National Fisheries Registry, of which 971 are from the social sector, which includes the Cooperative Society 6 studied Most of the partners of the Cooperativa de El Paraíso have official permission corresponding to the municipality of Armería and much fishing in the Cuyutlán lagoon, specifically within the area belonging to the IV vessel where their territory is located, an activity on which they depend dozens of families.

Riparian fishing also known as artisanal fishing, which is carried out mainly in the lagoons of the area and coastline, has been a present activity for the coastal communities of the municipality of Armería, Colima most likely from the first settlers who came to inhabit this area. Nowadays this activity provides food to dozens of families and forms part of the local economy of the municipality. Productive practice of the local economy that grants employment and serves as maintenance for its inhabitants. Between the extraction of species in this region are: crustaceans, molluscs, elasmobranchs (sharks and rays), turtles, bony fish, and marine mammals, which are part of the natural wealth of this geographical area. According to the fieldwork about the El Paraíso cooperative and testimonies of the informants, 20 vessels are congregated in vessel IV of the Cuyutlán lagoon and 10 fishermen own boats that enter the open sea next to the companions of day; others are dedicated exclusively to fishing shrimp in the Cuyutlán lagoon, although several of the fishermen also capture flake and crab.

Your temporary experience as fishermen until the time of the investigation It was between two and 52 years old; Most of the interviewees reported working during all year. In addition, almost half of the fishermen interviewed reported having a full time main activity: "ramadero", employee, baker, cook and waiter, "trailer", mechanic and receptionist; and occasional activities like masonry, lemon and coconut cutters, to mention a few. Many times the shrimp catch and scale fishing, especially for lagoon fishermen of Cuyutlán, was an extra activity for which they received an important income.

Regarding the conformation of the three generations of fishermen and the relation to the categories and characteristics considered for the research work and information analysis strategies, age was taken into account to be able to classify the three generations of fishermen. In the case of young fishermen This group was formed according to the parameters of the Mexican Institute of Youth (IMJ); young people are the population sector that is located within the ages between 12 and 29 years of age. Adult fishermen were considered in accordance with parameters between the intermediate age contemplated by the mexican institute of youth (IMJUVE) and the INAPAM, that is to say, from 30 to 59 years of age. In the case of older adults, established the group according to the age parameter of the National Institute of Older Adults (INAPAM) by its initials in Spanish, 60 years and older. Three stripes were then placed generations for the development of the analysis, that is, the workers were located by age groups, but not only for the age aspect, but also for their experiences of life and labor conscience.

In this regard, fishermen of the first generation participated in the configuration of the cooperative, and have a related group conscience and arising from the continuation of the social and labor integration model; while the fishermen who are between 30 and 59 years old (second generation), are those who have experienced similar historical and political experiences; have been able to establish the birth of a critical and political conscience as continuators of the Cooperative since they were young. The third generation is not taken into account in this presentation, since they do not remember the beginning of this labor organization, but they are

the ones that now live great changes not only political but also ecological and socio-labor different from those that their predecessors lived.⁶

Among the artisanal fishermen that exist today, most of them belonging to the second and third generation at the beginning, they did not work as cooperatives, but as "solidarity groups", as one of the initiators of the cooperative:

When it started we were 75 partners, when it started we were not cooperative, We were solidarity groups, groups of four, but when it started they were acquired five boats, soon joined another group was acquired another, were six, and there between the same groups we started to form the cooperative ... (Fisherman, Armería, 53 years old).

In this regard, Horton and Chester (1998) describe the concept of group as "any number of people who share together the awareness of membership and interaction " (1998: 196). Working groups on the other hand "are small groups that form to carry out a task or a group of tasks "(1998: 207). While the concession is It refers to:

the power granted by the Ministry of Fisheries to natural or legal persons for the exploitation and commercial fishing of the resources of the aquatic flora and fauna in waters of national jurisdiction, for a period determined according to the results that provide technical, economic and social studies that present the applicant, of the nature of the activities to be carried out, of the amount of the investments necessary for this and its economic recovery (Aguilar, 2008: 76).⁷

Nowadays only some permit holders and concessionaires make up this cooperative due to its ups and downs, to the difficulties to receive income; then they decide retire, some already by age or by their own interests, some have already passed away and others new ones that just enter TO WORK.

In the IV glass, only the cooperative of the four vase the Paraíso y Armería swims more, and there are two permit holders nothing more. Permit holders have permits to 20 vessels in the glass 4 legalized, but there are also people who do not have what to see, they are just going to explode that everything is 50% without permission and with boats, they are not on foot, like these smaller ones (Fisherman, El Paraíso, 52 years).

Some memories about the start of the cooperative

This cooperative arises at the beginning of the decade of the 80s when it was formed formally, as one of the initiators recalls. Another fisherman also brings to mind that this has its record since 81, began in 80, but constituted in the year 81. Don Lucas is its President, who says that in the cooperative they have registered more than 70 members, but regularly congregates around 60 and of them between 15 and 20 are young.

Right now we are more or less apart from when we started, when we started like 76 and we're walking around ... In 80, 82 we were more of 70. Now when the supports came like that the government wanted to create new sources of work, and asked us to accept about 25 or 30 more partners and we were already over 40 and many, and since they began to give us support We said, no! And they said increase their number of partners so there's more sources of employment, because you see that the government is what you are looking for ... (Fisherman, El Paraíso, 52 years old).

Although previous years had tried to form a cooperative in the community neighbor of Cuyutlán, however, several fishers of the first generation remember that this attempt did not work, in addition they began to receive support Government in the field:

At one time the government gave the cooperative a boat to take us training courses, because they were going to finance a fishing boat to the cooperative, two years we brought the boat, it is the UNICAP XIII, there is in the Dock still, this we took the courses two years and the other boat that according to us they were going to finance in a, I do not remember what cyclone was that in Mazatlan hit very strong and that boat sprayed it to the shore, and it did not have a good end, it broke down, it stuck in some rocks and I do not know what happened, and no longer, total that there was nothing, that's over that they were going to finance us, but we did alleviate with the product for two years, we work the ship brand new, so the sea is very productive, for me it has been very productive, we have worked and earned good money (Fisherman, Cuyutlán, 77 years old).

Currently, it is a particular labor organization that works with rights and duties, and their ages fluctuate between 18 and 77 years of age, although there are minors present at meetings that are 10 years old and

⁶ In order to colled the data, it was necessary to record the different interviews with the fishermen. Said information from all the oral records was made from semi-estructured interviews and field work through a field diary. During different moments between the months of August 2020 an June 2011 in the place of El Paraíso, the town from Cuyutlán and the city of Armería.

⁷ Personal translation from Spanish to English.

accompanying their parents fishermen, forming a specific social group, like the following fisherman when he was still young.

And you were the initiators? Yes, I was secretary, commission and conciliation and arbitration, vigilant. In the 81 it was formally formed, already with the registry and it's already pa '30 years [interviewed in 2011]. And because we still feel strong ... (Fisherman, Armería, 53 years old).

The labor memory survives then in the fishermen who belong to this group of work, which has been oriented to the realization of a set of tasks and goals individuals; Although its members tend to be beyond the simple interest in fulfillment of work, that is, there are "compadrazgos", relations neighborhood and friends. This occurs culturally within an important process of labor socialization conformed even from experiences and requests collective.

We are the cooperative that is most solid, we have been fine, but permission no, there are no permits for shrimp, shark, jackal that we do not have, but no they want to give them now (Fisherman, El Paraíso, 52 years old).

In addition, situations that have been modified through time are revived through memories they keep regarding changes in their income and fish production:

What has changed in the environment regarding the lagoon? Well, look at that pollution does have a lot to do in the lagoon, look more before me I remember when I entered the cooperative I was already 18 or 19 years old as a fisherman, before almost most of us worked there, we already had production, how I want to tell you, the ratio of the fish was much larger than the size from one season to another, the fish grew, let's say, grabbed without exaggerating mojarra up to one and a half kilo silver plated, yes silver, if we grab "mojarra" of 4 per kilo would say that it is a mojarrón, the mere truth got worse very much ... (Fisherman, Cuyutlán, 52 years old).

They have also collaborated in the acquisition of spaces for collective use and support mutual, in order to support the member members for certain needs:

I here to my colleagues in the cooperative, to the leaders I told them, this We have a space, they are about 60 meters where the boats from here dock we from the cooperative, that piece we already bought for us, for that So, for the boats to dock there, we do not want there ramadas, we do not want anything to be left for space for the boats, I told them in a meeting that we had, gentlemen I would like you to hear what I'm going to tell you, I want for my old age to give me a bit three or four meters or 5 squares to put something to sell, to keep me, meI feel that four or five more years I will not be able to, and I want to keep myself of something else for my old age ... (Fisherman, Cuyutlán, 77 years old).

In these terms, we can talk about a culture of the fishermen of Armería and that distinguishes them from other groups of fishermen in the region; but if we talk about your collective memory from its social character according to Páez and Basabe, also we can talk about four aspects of its constitution, first of all, we have to:

1.- **It has a social content, since the memory is a memory with the others**, which is enriched by links with peers, but also through of intergenerational relationships and among the family, compadres, friends and nearby community members, in this way they are given voluntarily; This compadrazgo often leads to participation in various institutions social, as the Church, sports and in this case work. For example, him Sport is also an element of union and important socialization:

Not because in most free time most of almost all fishermen play football, there are two or three categories, we old people play Wednesdays, 50 years old, but we play (Fisherman, El Paraíso, 52 years old).

2) **It is based on social frames of reference**, such as rites, ceremonies or social events; because fishermen tell shared memories and remembered together: in this respect this cooperative periodically performs their own business meetings, religious events and festivities, such as anniversaries of the cooperative and family festivities.

3) **Artisanal fishermen have shared and remembered memories together**, in this case we talked about the members of this group of work have shared cultural elements, knowledge of work and the natural environment; a real and imagined shared history and a tradition cultural. In addition to common valuations:

Well I have noticed, or I rather inclined for this grab this profession, because I used to cut coconut before, but you're getting old, and that, then I saw that some elderly people, and there they were fishing just as I was right now, alone, you do not go around denying anyone, you go the day you want, or the what time is needed As I say, it's a more independent one, in your work, it's a very independent job. (Fisherman, Armería, 62 years old).

4) **It is based on language** and "external and internal linguistic communication with other significant beings" (in Brito et al., 2005, 182). In this case it is a common, diverse and enriched language that is part of the culture communication, ideology and beliefs of fishermen.

On the other hand, to enter the fishermen's cooperative it is necessary to have the of legal age and it is observed that young people, in addition to having experience, they require a sponsorship for their income, either by the father or a family member close (son, nephew, brothers and grandchildren), so that the permit is transferred, or in its case a new one is processed, as long as the agreed fees are met, although, as one licensee says: "the permit is not negotiable".

It's what we were saying that you have to put pure youth already. They were saying that only children and grandchildren legally ... All the time, on the bases we have done so, only children, nephews, brothers or grandchildren can be given the right, is not negotiable. There are many people who want to participate, want enter the bosom of the cooperative, but in the first place are the children, the grandchildren, the brothers, the nephews, and if a partner does not have the person to enter it, then one enters. The young man here in the community is interested in fishing. The majority is the one that goes here. They start with one they start working with one, and now one is instructing them and then one of them grabs them, another one grabs them because They already know how to fish, they will not teach them anymore. The official thing is at 18 to start to fish (Fisherman, Armería, 53 years old).

Hence, the young fishermen of the municipality begin to have a sense of belonging to the group, although there are few children under 29 years of age, at least who officially have permission.

To be a member, to be a member ... To acquire a permit, because you do not have a permission because the cooperative is restricted with permits, and permits that the cooperative has we bring them working the old ones the cooperative...

Therefore, it is considered that each community has its own rules. In spite of that this same informant and one of the youngest recognizes that:

Already more generation is entering ... (Fisherman, El Paraíso, 23 years).

III. CONCLUSIONS

This reflective exercise served to rescue the testimonies lived from the own living **phenomenology in different times of the creation and belonging to the cooperative**. Although I am not a historian, sociologists must recognize the importance of history and memory as an element of interdisciplinary analysis. Thus, the collective memory leads us to assess and consider work memory from topics common, since the memory as we see, is also transmitted between generations and not only among contemporaries. In addition, the four recognized elements of the social character of memory according to Páez and Basabe (1998), they helped to form part of this radiography of the labor memory of this fishing community, based on some testimonies.

Finally, I agree with Maurice Halbwachs that memory survives from collective memories, and through labor reference frames and sociocultural, that nourish their culture and tradition from their work memory and historical, which is shared.

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