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2 **Beyond food security: challenges in food safety
3 policies based on international certifications along a
4 heterogeneous food chain. Its effects in Mexican's
5 health and poverty**

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13

14 **Abstract:** Taking four of the United Nations Development Goals as reference, this overview
15 describes the need to see from a systemic perspective, the food certifications programs along the
16 food chain in Mexico as today food certifications are voluntary. Using secondary data, the main
17 objectives were: a) there is a fall short in food safety policies and those federal agencies responsible
18 for food safety, to guarantee safe food along the whole domestic food chain, especially in that for
19 low income players; b) the amount of the Mexican Federal Budget Expenses devoted to safety food
20 issues is really low, considering the health, well-being, and food security consequences; and c) due
21 the structural heterogeneity of the Mexican food market, there is a lack of coordination in food
22 regulations along all agents of the food supply chain, bringing to alternate informal markets that
23 put at risk peoples' health, increasing poverty and inequalities. According to this exercise, only 0.7-
24 8.7% of producers, 12.5% of supermarkets as well as 42.8% of restaurants would have some type of
25 certifications. Public policies must attend this issue in order to improve food safety and security for
26 the whole population, reducing inequalities, poverty and ensuring them a healthy live.

27 **Keywords:** domestic markets; small producers; retailers; informal restaurants; low-income
28 population; minister of health; well-being.

29

30 **1. Introduction**

31 1.1. Food security definition. In accordance with the United Nations Food Agriculture Organization
32 (FAO) [1] "food security exists when all people, at all times, have physical, social and economic
33 access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food which meets their dietary needs and food preferences
34 for an active and healthy life". This definition highlights safety food as an important component to
35 reach food security, along with economic, physical and social accessibility to all people, always. In
36 medium income countries like Mexico with 53.4 million people in poverty and 24.6 million in food
37 insecurity, is becoming hard to achieve to the whole population [2].

38 1.2 Food safety and food quality along the agri-food chain (Motivation). Food safety is nearly as
39 important as food security for without safe food the poorest population will continue to suffer
40 negative impacts on their health, loss of personal income, absences from school and inability to work
41 due to illness. Unsafe food creates a vicious cycle of disease and malnutrition; impede
42 socioeconomic development by straining healthcare systems, harming national economies, tourism
43 and trade. Many communicable and non-communicable diseases are caused by contaminated food
44 and water; food security can be jeopardized by pests, plant, animal health diseases or contamination

45 in any part of the food chain [3, 4]. The WHO and the Pan American Health Organization (PAHO)
46 have estimated that unsafe food causes one tenth of worldwide illnesses, leading to death of about
47 420,000 adults and 125,000 children annually [3, 5, 6]. WHO has found that foodborne illnesses and
48 deaths particularly affect low and medium income countries; the access to safe food and water by
49 their poorest citizens remains a great challenge. In Mexico a country with 112.3 million people [7],
50 there were reported 10.9 million cases of diarrhea in Mexican children under five, and the death of
51 944 children under the age of 14 caused by intestinal infections, which is considered to be the fifth
52 leading cause of death in that age group [8, 9]. Amoebas, salmonellosis and intestinal infectious
53 diseases caused 3,536 deaths in 2013, and are considered the 20th main cause of morbidity in the
54 Mexican population. From 1998 to 2013 deaths by digestive diseases increased 63.1% while the
55 population increased only 15.2% in the same period [10]. For example, the State of Chiapas, with 5.2
56 million people (considered one of the poorest and with more indigenous population), the same
57 authors calculated that people experienced 25.9 years of life lost due digestive diseases, higher than
58 24.4 years of life lost due cancer and 21.8 years lost due diabetes. In contrast, in Mexico City, the
59 capital of the country and the biggest urban area with 8.9 million people, equivalent information was
60 of 21, 18.3, and 18 years of life lost, for each illness, respectively [7]. It should be a government
61 priority to ensure consumer's health through proper legislation and enforcement of rules, especially
62 in the poorest, rural and indigenous areas, that prevent food from chemical, physical and biological
63 contamination, considering their impact in the economic, environmental and social consequences, so
64 food safety is a prerequisite for food security, and are inextricably linked [4, 11, 12].

65 1.3 Food certifications as a mean to guarantee food safety. Food certifications provide the basis for
66 food control, supervision and control along the food chain. The exposure to risk is becoming higher
67 due fast transport, national and global trade, which increases the risk to transfer contaminants.
68 Public concerns and efforts regards food safety have always been a public health issue, derived of
69 food intake and food outbreaks. Perhaps the international food commerce had leaded us to increase
70 our awareness, as food is the second most traded group of products globally [4]. One of the basic
71 principles to reach for safety food is the adoption of good agricultural practices which are "the basic
72 environmental and operational conditions necessary for the production of safe, wholesome fruits
73 and vegetables" [13]. In Mexico food safety standards are not new to some producers; indeed, there
74 has been gradual progress in embracing certification since the 1960s, mainly in response to demands
75 from foreign food export activities; these efforts were enhanced derived from the North American
76 Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) signed in 1992. To date Mexican certification programs have been
77 updated and comply with most international standards; nevertheless, food safety standards are not
78 required across all domestic food chain markets, especially are scarce or nonexistent in those attending
79 low income consumers. Some authors emphasize the need of re-focus certification in health, and the
80 adoption of food safety standards for domestic consumers, no matter their income or social level [14,
81 15].

82 The main problem is that the national /regional and local food supply chain is fragmented and scarce
83 of food regulations, inspectors, so it takes to unsafety food to be sold at the domestic market and for
84 most vulnerable population. Due this, there is a lack of accurate information, and transparency of
85 the most common food illness, that hinder calculate the food illness costs (direct and indirect)
86 associated with food illness, productivity. This situation set back the design and adoption of a public
87 policy to solve and prevent this issue.

88 The purpose of this research was to demonstrate that: a) there is a fall short in food safety policies
89 (such as food certifications), and those federal agencies engaged in and responsible for food safety
90 and quality, to guarantee safe food along the whole domestic food chain, especially in that for low
91 income consumers; b) the amount of the Mexican Federal Budget Expenses devoted to safety food
92 issues is really low, considering the health, well-being, and food security consequences; c) due the
93 structural heterogeneity of the Mexican food market, there exist a lack of coordination in food
94 regulations (transparency, laws, rules, and bureaucracy) along all agents of the food supply chain,

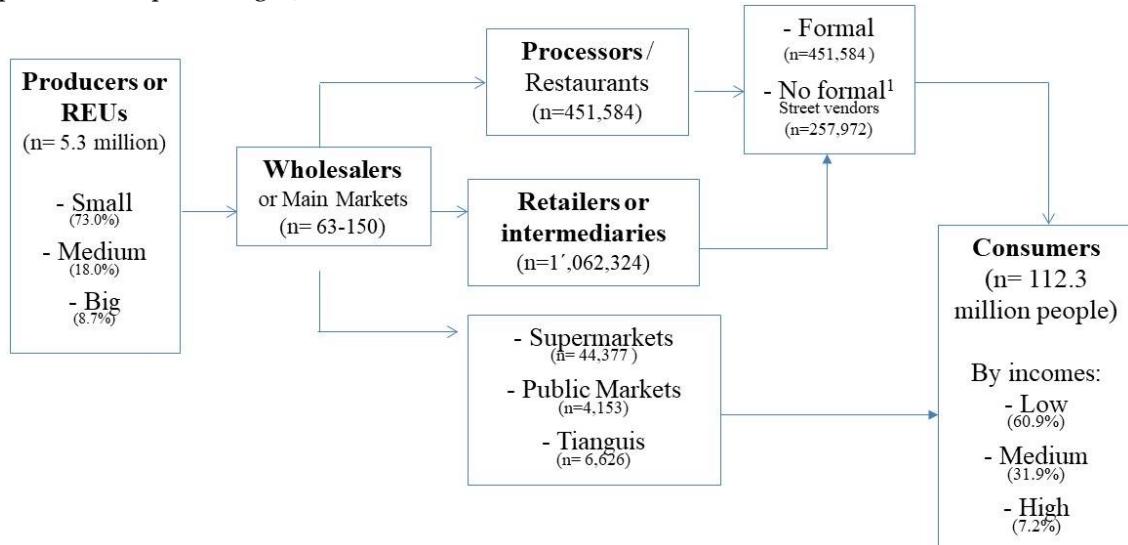
95 bringing to alternate informal markets that put at risk peoples' health, increasing poverty and
96 inequalities.

97 Limitations. As an exploratory research, we present a broader perspective of the fresh food chain in
98 harvested vegetables; we do not include: Genetic Modified controls, biosafety, exported, imported
99 food; pest controls, nor fisheries sanitation data. The lack of official data bases and/or contradictions
100 between them, lead us to estimate most of the information. Inspections or certification for water,
101 imported food, government, nor institutional restaurants (hospital, military, universities,
102 governmental and enterprises' food vendors) are not subject of this study.

103 2. Materials and Methods

104 This research is an exploratory study [16], based in secondary information gathered from
105 national and international official databases. To analyze the food chain dynamic, its importance for
106 synchronization as well as its implications in food policy, we designed a basic supply chain network
107 including some of its different players [17] (Figure 1). For each one of the players, we took
108 information regard the total number of establishments when available, and then we subtract those
109 reported having any certification.

110 Figure 1. Different players in the basic supply chain network in Mexico, used in this research
111 (frequencies and percentages).



112

113 ¹ Estimated.

114 Producers or Rural Economic Units (REUs). In Mexico there are 5.3 million REUs classified into six
115 categories; for this research we merged them into three: Low= E1 Subsistence family farms and E2
116 Subsistence family farms with some access to the market (73.0%); Medium= E3 Transition and E4
117 Weak profits (18.0%); Big= E5 Young entrepreneurs and E6 Dynamic entrepreneurs (8.7%) [18, 19].

118 Wholesalers. According to official databases in the main wholesale center webpage [20, 21, 22], there
119 exists nearly 63-150 registered in the country.

120 Intermediaries. Before been bought by restaurants, supermarkets, public markets and Tianguis, the
121 produce moves through roughly 1'062,324 of food retailers and brokers officially registered, [20, 21,
122 22].

123 Processors or restaurants. Approximately 451,584 food restaurants are officially reported. As there
124 are no official data bases regard informal food vendors or street vendors, we estimated that could

125 exist around 257,972 no formal or street vendors, considering an informality rate of 57.2% in the food
126 sector [23, 24].

127 Retailers

128 - Supermarkets. Recent reports mentioned the existence of about 44,377 supermarkets and chain
129 stores in the whole country [23].

130 - Public markets. Regards the public markets', we found information available that showed 329
131 only for the capital of the country, Mexico City [25]; considering that number, we calculated that if
132 one market attends 27,052 people, there would be approximately 4, 153 in the whole country.

133 - Tianguis. The same situation happened trying to reach out data regard the number of Tianguis
134 or mobile markets, their number was available only for Mexico City (1,343); so we calculated that if
135 one market attends 6,626 people, there would be nearly 16,954 in all the country [23, 25].

136 - Consumers. For practical purposes, we merged the ten groups ("deciles" in Spanish), reported in
137 the official site of INEGI [26] into three categories according their socioeconomic level: I-V= low
138 (60.9%); VI- VII= medium (31.9%); and IX- X= high (7.2%).

139

140 3. Results

141 3.1 Food security and food safety efforts and achievements in Mexico

142 Hunger and poverty have been a main concern as Mexico have 47.5% (53.4 million) of the whole
143 population in poverty (36.6% of them are in moderate poverty and 9.5% in extreme poverty); it has
144 been calculated that 40.9% of people from the lowest social level has scarceness on food access [19,
145 27, 28]. The majority of food vulnerability is now concentrated in rural areas (36.5%) compared to
146 22.9% in urban zones [27, 28]. The Mexican Government implemented different aid programs since
147 the 1940s to increase food security- such as COMPLAMAR, SAM, PIF, CONASUPO, PRONASOL,
148 PROGRESA, PESA- FAO, OPORTUNIDADES, National Program Mexico Against Hunger- and
149 most recently (2013-2018) the "National Crusade Against Hunger" (CNH) [19, 28, 29, 30]. There were
150 involved various institutions (Minister of Agriculture - SAGARPA, Minister of Rural Affairs, SDR,
151 Rural & Sustainable Development Law- LDRS) trough programs for supporting the income lost "by
152 means of cash transfers, aid in kind, supply networks and social pensions" [31]. Nevertheless, they
153 experienced administrative horizontal and vertical coordination challenges (scarce communication,
154 data bases, duplicity of target population), between interinstitutional authorities (Ministers and
155 Governmental hierarchies), losing not only financial resources, but time, reducing its effectiveness
156 [2, 19, 30, 32].

157 3.2. Food safety and food certifications at the production level.

158 To attend food safety from the farm, there have been designed several certification administered by
159 the Federal Government through the Minister of Agriculture, Cattle, Fisheries, Rural Development
160 and Feeding Affairs (SAGARPA), as well as the Minister of Economy (SE). Derived from them, the
161 Subsectors in charge of safety issues at national and in state level are: National Service for Sanitation,
162 Innocuous and Agri-food Quality (SENASICA). In each State there exist local sanitation services
163 [(for example in Puebla, one of the 32 States, there exist the Commission for Vegetable Health
164 (CESAVEP)]. The Minister of Health (SS) evaluates and gives permission in agro-chemicals and food
165 products.

166 To date, SENASICA has been in charge of all pests' studies, control and damages, international
167 agreements, among others. It also issues the following official certifications: a) Certification of Food
168 Safety Systems (SRRC) to reach the Food Safety Modernization Act FSMA [33]; b) Good Husbandry
169 Practices (GPP); c) Best Use and Handling of Agrochemicals (BUMA); d) Federal Inspection Type
170 (TIF) to those meat producers and processors; and Mexico Supreme Quality (MCS) certification. The
171 Official Mexican Norms (NOM) of Ag sector depends also on SAGARPA, the Minister of Economy,
172 and the Federal and Competitiveness Sub-Secretary, which also helps in MCS certification process
173 [34, 35].

174 In order to further discuss how they help to the domestic food safety in all the different players
175 along the supply chain network, we briefly describe some selected federal certifications.

176 Mexico Calidad Suprema (MCS). In a Federal Effort, coordinated by SAGARPA, MCS was registered
177 as a brand in 1999, mainly to increase agricultural exports [36]. MCS gives support in the
178 accreditation process (based on International Accreditation Forum (IAF) [37] to help: a) training
179 and supervision of Certification Organisms (third party audits) through EMA (Mexican
180 Accreditation Entity; b) technical assistance; c) certification support and consulting for diagnosis of
181 their stages in Good Agricultural Practices (GAP), Risk and Contaminant Reduced System (SRRC)
182 and infrastructure or finance requirements, action plan, implement, pre-test, and certification issues;
183 and d) national and international promotion/advertising. MCS financed 50% of the costs of the
184 certification for those food producers/growers and processors registered in the program.

185 Mexico's G.A.P. program. Mexico's GAP program was developed from MCS in 2004 to strengthen
186 exports, mainly to Europe. This national GAP program has been harmonized with Global G.A.P and
187 it is devoted to food safety in vegetables and fruits, environmental concerns and safety in workers
188 during the production and processing of food [36].

189 Organic Production. In 2010 SAGARPA published the Organic Product Law, and by 2013
190 established the National Council for Organic Production [38].

191 3.3 Food certifications at the retailer's level. To get access at groceries stores mainly supermarkets,
192 there are some private certifications that middlemen and retailers must attend, such as PRIMUS
193 GFS, BRC, IFC, SQF-1, FSC 22000, IFS [39].

194 3.4. Food certifications in processors (restaurants).

195 "Distintivo H". This certification officially started in 2004 under Mexican Standard

196 NMX-F-605-NORMEX-2004 Foods, in order to support the tourism sector including restaurants and
197 hotels [40].

198 Official Mexican Norm NOM-251-SSA1- 2009. All small restaurants that have been

199 officially registered (for taxes and legal purposes), must attend the and the permission is given only
200 once during their whole commercial operations; for example, a restaurant can operate during 20
201 years with the same permission, even if they change their size, or sale additional or different
202 products [41].

203 4. Discussion

204 4.1. Food security and safety contrasts. In terms of food security, there exist a paradox: on one hand
205 Mexico was the 12th food producer worldwide and third in Latin America. Its agricultural sector
206 (food, cattle and fisheries) experienced a surplus of 3,175 million USD and agri-food exports
207 summarized 105,604 million USD [42, 43]. Mexico has made great strides in building an

208 internationally competitive agricultural industry: it had been in the top 15 global producers of lemon
 209 juice; avocado; agave; lemons and limes; frozen, preserved and vinegar vegetables. In the other
 210 hand, Mexico has been the largest agri-food importer in this region [27]; it still depends heavily on
 211 food imports as nearly 40% of all basic foods are challenging its food security [44].

212 4.2. Regarding food safety, similar situation happens: Mexico is one of the fifth countries worldwide to
 213 meet all export food certifications (along with New Zealand, Switzerland, United States and
 214 Portugal), such achievement has made it possible to export 18 products (nine vegetables and nine
 215 animal), to 160 countries [42]. Nevertheless, food standards are not mandatory across all domestic
 216 markets, so not all the players along the food chain attend them; these achievements are done mainly
 217 by most big producers, who are certified, as it is a requirement to continue in the export activities.
 218 Part of these contrasts could be explained due to the heterogeneity of the production sector.

219 4.3. The Mexican Agriculture Productive Sector, its structural heterogeneity to achieve food safety.
 220 The heterogeneity at the farm level (REUs) can be understood at the light of Mexican history and
 221 economic model, which lead to the actual structure in the 5.3 Rural Economic Units (REUs) due
 222 differences in the access to markets, hectares (ha) they owned, their value of assets, access to credit,
 223 and annual cash income (Table 1) [18, 19].

224 Table 1. Classifying farms (Rural Economic Units REUs) by access to market, size, access to credit
 225 and cash income in Mexico (2013- 2014).

Farm type	Contact with market ^a / Destiny of their production	Number of REUs	% REUs	Hectare owned	Value assets (thousand USD)	Access to credit per REUs (%)	Estimated cash income (annual USD)
E1	None/ self-consumption	1.19	22.4	3.5	0.23	No access	< 869.1
Subsistence family farms							
E2	Limited/ self-consumption and national market	2.69	50.6	8.8	2.35	2.7	869.1
Subsistence family farms with access to markets							
E3 Transition	Occasional/ national market	0.44	8.3	32.3	8.23	7.8	3,989.9
E4 Weak profit	95% ^a / national market	0.52	9.9	37.5	14.11	13.1	7,771.4
E5 Young	100% ^a	0.44	8.4	141.4	44.11	44.5	28,773.7

entrepreneur /national market

s

E6 Dynamic 100% ^a / national 0.017 0.3 297.6 285.11 50.5 > 28,773.7

entrepreneur & international

s market

Total	5.32	100	521.1	364.95
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226 Source: calculated from the Official Journal of the Federal Government of Mexico[18, 19]. These are
227 official data and do not summarize 100%. Exchange rate: \$1 USD= \$19.0 Mexican pesos.

228 For Category E1 (subsistence producers/ family farmers) and Category E2 (subsistence with minimal
229 local market interaction), despite they comprise the largest sector (73.0% of all REUs); their
230 productivity inputs are among the lowest, access to credit is scarce, ha owned are small (3.5- 8.8 ha,
231 respectively), and their assets values are low. This condition affects their food availability and safety.

232 Categories E3-E4 account for 18.2% of REUs. They sell in domestic markets, but productivity of their
233 inputs is low and access to credit is still minimal. Even though they have more ha under cultivation,
234 their asset values are still low, thus making investment in infrastructure (refrigeration, warehouses,
235 transport, and processing technology) unaffordable. These producers typically have to sell
236 immediately upon harvest and usually at lowest prices. As domestic and local markets are long and
237 not well connected, their crop losses range 15- 35%, hitting their incomes.

238 Category E5 account for 8.4% of the total REUs. They have access to more sophisticated domestic
239 markets, usually in urban areas, 44.5% of them have access to credit and thus infrastructure
240 investment opportunities. They utilize the most productive land in the country. They are located in
241 the West, Northwest, and central region, one of the most productive areas in the country.

242 In the same region, are Category E6 export producers, which account (0.3%) of all REUs. They have
243 extensive know-how, technology and infrastructure, can produce foods demanded by international
244 markets and can add value to the raw foods produced. Half of these producers have access to credit,
245 have high value assets and thus can afford to comply with food safety standards.

246 4.4 Certifications in producers

247 Reliable information regarding the progress in certification by size of producer, number of retailers,
248 and small restaurants is limited. Nonetheless, we can make some assumptions with the information
249 available (Table 2). We found in 2018 there were 36,988 REUs who have achieved any certification in
250 fresh veggies harvested; if there are 5.32 million REU's, seems like approximately 0.7% of all
251 producers had any type of certification. Another way of seeing this is assuming that most certifications
252 would be in E5- E6 producers (0.457 million REU's) -as they can afford them-; if so nearly 8.9% REUs
253 would be certified. Therefore, it is likely that over 91.1% of REUs would not have any certification,
254 affecting the fresh food sold domestically as well as the respective wholesales, processors,
255 intermediaries and retailers practices [42, 45, 46].

256

257 Table 2. Main food safety programs in Mexico and Puebla State (2014- 2018), as part of the Sanitary and
258 Innocuous Agrifood, Cattle and Fisheries Program.

Nationwide				Puebla ^{1,2}			
Certification obtained	Number REUs/ producers ^a	ha (by type REUs)	Number of States benefited (n=31)	Number REUs	Number of Products	ha (by type of REUs)	
Veggies	10,350 ³	0.1-972.0	8	296			
	BUMA	1,325 ³	0.1-972.0	16	6	1	1-8
	Packaging (enterprises)	573 ³	-	31	41	30	0.7-250
	Field	1,750 ³	0.1-2,445.0	31	90		
	Harvest (Avocado)	57 ³		3			
	Organic	22,933		23			
	National						
	Distinctive ⁴						
Cattle &	TIF ⁴	443 slaughter					
Fisheries		houses					
Services	"H"	4,000					
(Hotels & Restaurants)	Distinctive ⁵	restaurants					

259 1 SENASICA [45].

260 2 CESAVEP [62].

261 3 SENASICA [46].

262 4 SAGARPA [42].

263 5 SAGARPA- SEDESOL-INSP- FAO [81].

264

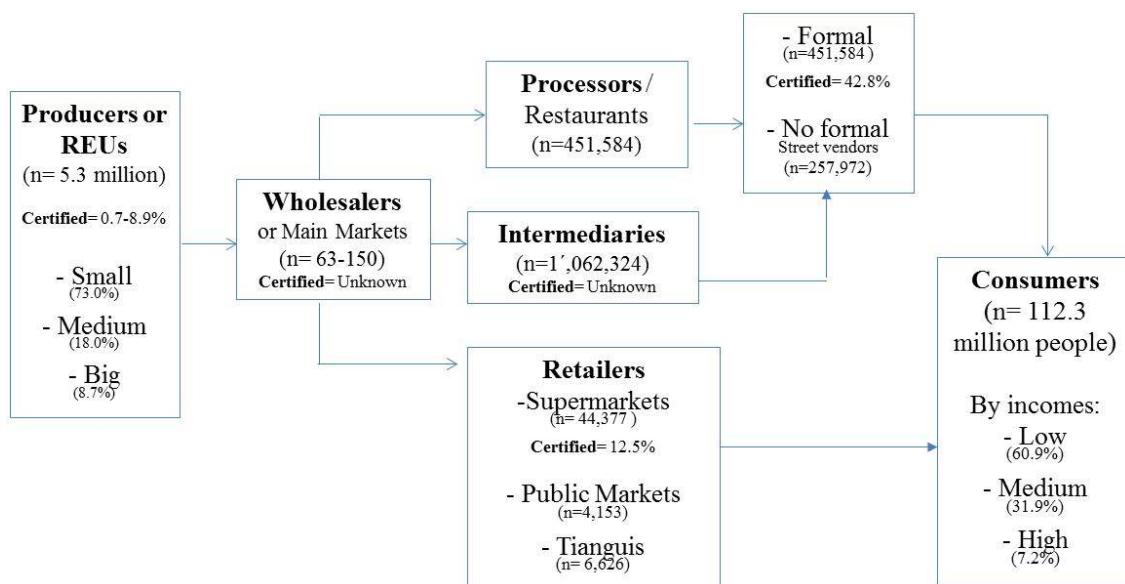
265 a Official data sometimes reported producers as synonymous of REUs. Numbers are taken the way
266 they appear in such reports. Unfortunately is not possible to homologate such information. A REUs
267 could have more than one producer, or products.

268

269 In accordance with that, this situation creates a co- existence of two types of food chain networks
 270 considering only the fresh harvest vegetables: one certified for export purposes or high income
 271 consumers, and other one uncertified for domestic markets and low-medium income consumers
 272 (Figure 2). According to this exercise, we would have only from 0.7- 8.7% of producers, 12.5% of
 273 supermarkets as well as 42.8% of restaurants with some type of certifications. Unfortunately, the rest
 274 of the players along the chain would not have any food safety protocols.

275 Figure 2. The supply chain network considering those players with and without food certifications
 276 calculated in this research.

277



278

279

280 Regard organic food, the National Council for Organic Production reported 13 certified national
 281 organizations (third party audits) and increased their coverage from 600 producers in 2013- 2014, to
 282 5,000 producers in 2014- 2015, and 22,933 in 2017. The number of certified hectares (ha) increased by
 283 512 in 2013-2014, to 142,931 ha, as well as 107 fresh veggies, and 157 processed products certified as
 284 organic ones [42, 45]. Nevertheless, organic food is mainly exported or for high income consumers;
 285 its impact in the food players are reduced to those wholesalers, retailers and processor who can
 286 afford the certification costs.

287 Complimentary activities came from MCS, who financed around 530 REUs, which is approximately
 288 0.1% of all those [36]. Meanwhile, efforts have been increasing regards SENASICA who in 2018
 289 attended 36,988 REUs, as well as 443 slaughter houses [42, 46], and in Puebla CESAVEP gave
 290 equivalent efforts to 433 REUs [45].

291 Despite those efforts, CONEVAL, the National Evaluation Council of the Social Development Policy,
 292 who is in charge to evaluate the performance of federal programs), reported that even when health
 293 and food safety information is published, it was often inaccurate and lacking of quantitative
 294 measurements. The food safety concerns are mainly in pest eradication and controlling plant
 295 pathogens [47], and do not consider supervision along the food domestic chain, the retailers (public

296 markets, low- profile supermarkets, street markets); nor the places of purchase (street tacos, fresh
297 food vendors, small restaurants).

298 4.4.1. Economic barriers for certification. As we saw, most food cultivated by small and medium
299 producers (Categories E1- E4) sold in the domestic market, lacks Good Agricultural Practices,
300 because these practices often require new capabilities (managerial, technical, infrastructure), and are
301 costly. Then only a small part of the food chain players (Maybe Categories E5- E6, 8.7%), could
302 afford these certifications.

303 Costs to become certificate can be prohibitive to a small entrepreneur, producer, or middleman [48,
304 49]. Avendaño and Varela [14]; Avendaño et al. [50] found that the certification process increased the
305 total costs by 2 to 10% for big fresh vegetable exporters in Northwestern Mexico. These authors
306 estimated that producers faced a total of \$15,000 USD in production costs during the six to twelve
307 months needed to undergo the full certification process. Recent information from third party audit
308 consultants said that the cost to get Primus GFS (the one needed to have access to supermarkets)
309 rounded \$3,306 USD (they need two previous audits, \$900 USD each one, plus \$450 USD another one
310 or two harvest supervisions, another for packaging, \$1,500 USD, plus \$456 of taxes and additional
311 expenses for auditors' travel expenses [51, 52]. Under these constraints, convincing small producers
312 to spend their meager resources on food safety certification is highly challenging. If their estimated
313 cash income is of (869.1- 3,989.9 USD), for E4 it would be the half of their actual cash income.
314 Additionally, in the early stages, certification requires investment in infrastructure and technology.
315 Profits decreased and some producers became disappointed which may have led them to drop
316 certification process and are experiencing barriers of entrance to medium and high-income domestic
317 markets [14, 53].

318 For example, to access to MCS's support, producers and packagers previously have to be organized,
319 have adopted a food safety program as well as GAP and SRRC; additionally, producers had to pay
320 the other 50% of the cost [36]. Even if MCS pays 50% of costs upfront, producers cannot cover the
321 remaining 50%.

322 - Educational and cultural barriers. As Mexican standards and the certification process are mainly
323 used by E5/E6 growers, the process is still complex and worded in a technical vocabulary. These
324 standards have been designed by the private sector following international markets rules, and some
325 of the information is in English. Their content is difficult to read for Categories E1- E3 and some E4
326 producers, who have a limited or no education and thus have a limited grasp of the English
327 language, unless the certification agencies adapt the documents to their educational level by
328 eliminating technical language as some Latin American countries have done [54, 55, 56, 57]. The way
329 certifications are now administered at national and international level, are exclusive for some REUs,
330 creating a discriminatory and excluding food policy, for all those agents in the supply chain with
331 fewer resources [58]. The average of small producers does not understand what food certifications'
332 are nor its benefits: a recent exploratory research applied to 265 participants in the broccoli value
333 chain in Puebla (nine small producers, 14 public markets and supermarkets, 15 small restaurants,
334 and 227 medium income consumers), found out that 88.9%, 91.1%, 68.3%, and 73.1% respectively,
335 were not aware of any of these certifications [59].

336 4.4.3. Organizational structure skills needed to attend certifications. Organizational skills are not
337 easy to build in the short run, so the lack of these capabilities delays producers' access to many of
338 these certifications. For instance, to be certified in MCS, producers and packagers had to be already
339 organized and have already adopted a food safety program, production and good manufacture
340 practices [36]. Another problem is related to sharing official information about other enterprises or
341 REUs that have public or private certifications, its benefits (such as the impact on their productivity,
342 income and employment derived of adopting them) which makes it more difficult to engage more of
343 them to get certificated [48, 49].

344 4.4.4. Food abundance and food scarcity live together in the case of Puebla's State. The whole
345 country is full of contrasts between abundance and scarceness. To illustrate this, we have the State of
346 Puebla where approximately 40% of the nation's vegetables are produced there. Within this State,
347 the aggregate agriculture sector's share of the State economy was the second largest (3.6%) just
348 behind real estate (3.7%), and larger than the aggregate agriculture sector at the national level (3.1%)
349 [60]. The value of Puebla's food production ranks sixth of Mexico's 32 States [18, 61]. Yet at the same
350 time in 2014, Puebla State's total poverty was of 3.9 million (64.5%) and is considered the 4th State
351 with the poorest people, and the 5th with people in extreme poverty. Almost a million of them,
352 experience extreme poverty (16.2%), more than half of its population is food insecure, poorly
353 educated, has limited resources and limited income [18, 61]. In the case of Puebla's State the
354 CESAVEP's budget (a supporting department of SAGARPA and the Rural Development Minister
355 (SDR) for Sanitation activities], was only of 0.057 million USD in 2017 [62, 63, 64, 65]. Data showed
356 that CESAVEP had only provided services to 35 of the 217 municipalities (16.1%) in 2017 [62]. In
357 general, the total number of REUs certified is really low challenging food safety efforts in the State,
358 considering that many vegetables from Puebla are distributed all over the country.

359 4.5 Wholesalers, intermediaries, and retailers (public and street markets): its importance in food
360 safety distribution. From the farm to the table there is a long and complex road [31, 66]. In general,
361 not all food safety issues rely on the production level. In countries like Mexico, there are typically
362 middleman-intermediaries and monopolistic structures in commodity markets that small and
363 medium sized (E2-E4) fresh food producers must contend with [15, 54, 67]. In the supply chain, E2-
364 E4 producers are the most vulnerable because they have pressure to sell their perishable
365 commodities immediately after harvest, as most of these products have not been certified as well.
366 They are often sold to wholesalers and middleman at low prices that do not require food
367 certifications. Middlemen then sell pooled stocks to public markets, Tianguis, low income
368 supermarkets and informal restaurants, which hardly follow safety neither protocols nor
369 supervised.

370 4.6 Regards the number of retailers certified, we considered the total of 44,377 reported and took
371 those who belong to the Mexican Chamber of Supermarkets, and convenience stores due to the fact
372 that is mandatory to have the Primus GFS to access to those supermarkets registered [68, 39];
373 considering that, we will have only 5,567 (12.5%) certified supermarkets. Typically, certified
374 supermarkets attend mostly high income, sometimes medium income people, which are 39% of the
375 Mexican population in urban areas; not to low income ones (61% of the population), neither rural
376 areas (20.7 million people), where there is the highest poverty and food insecurity.

377 The retailers' importance in safety food. A large proportion of foodborne diseases are caused by
378 food improperly prepared in food establishments including markets, supermarkets, street markets
379 and restaurants [3, 31, 66]. Therefore, as food can be contaminated at any point along the supply
380 chain, food safety issues must be addressed throughout the entire chain. The Mexican Consumers
381 Federal Attendance (PROFECO) [69] reported that 77.6% of vegetables are still bought in public
382 markets in Mexico City (whose population reaches 20 million people), mainly by medium (81.3%)
383 and low- income people (77.8%), compared with high income ones (69.2%). This puts more
384 vulnerable consumer's health at risk. Some examples of fresh foods that are purchased by
385 consumers in the lower economic strata [70], have shown that the poorest quality and least desirable
386 varieties of fresh food are most prevalent in places where low income people typically buy food
387 (public markets, street vendors or "tianguis" and cheaper supermarkets).

388 4.7. Food processors, the lack of supervision in formal and informal restaurants. Official databases
389 reported 451,854 formal restaurants and, due informality rates, approximately would be 257,972
390 restaurants lacking of any sanitary nor legal permission. [23, 24]. It is very common that 86.7% of
391 Mexican restaurants were not food certified even when some of them showed the permission for
392 working (for legal or taxes purposes), without not physical proof of the food safety, or food hygiene

393 certifications, nor governmental inspections [70]. This possibly indicates a basic disconnect between
394 food safety, the Minister of Health and Governmental regulations, increasing the food risks.

395 The Minister of Health declared in its web page that street restaurants or street food vendors are not
396 supervised by that institution. For this purpose, there is the Federal Commission to Protect against
397 Sanitary Risks (COFEPRIS), and it attend inspections only under three situations: a) if someone is
398 going to get permission to open or sell food; b) they supervise food vendors, but only when a person
399 makes a complain; c) or they supervise randomly [71]. COFEPRIS did 137,356 supervision visits to
400 slaughterhouses, food factories, as well as food additives, food services, non- alcoholic and alcoholic
401 beverages, purified water, ice, milk and dairy products, fisheries, meat and so on [72]. If we
402 considered only the amount of formal and informal restaurants, food retailers, public markets,
403 tianguis, supermarkets (1'032,397), the supervision's scope would be minimal. But that report does
404 not indicate in which places, municipalities, or States they did the supervision, reminding that there
405 are more places that need a direct supervision than others according their geographical,
406 socioeconomic condition. Additionally, less than 10% of the people who get sick in these places
407 make a complain [59].

408

409 4.8. The consumer's incomes, needs, lifestyles, and awareness on food safety.

410

411 4.8.1 Income inequalities and its relation with food safety and food security. Some studies
412 recognize that most of the problem of food insecurity is income concentration, and the lost in the
413 purchasing power, not only food supply [29, 30, 73]. In Mexico, most of the country's income is
414 concentrated among the few. In 2010, 70.0% of Mexicans shared only 38.0% of the total wealth,
415 meanwhile the upper 10% owned 33.8% of that wealth [26]. Derived of these, each type of consumer
416 spends their budget for food in a different way. Mexico as a medium income country, possess an
417 income elasticity coefficient for food of 0.646 and marginal spent in vegetables 0.084 (while in USA it
418 was 0.346 and 0.061, respectively) [74]. Its food expenses can be understood when there is less
419 purchasing power and food becomes a necessity item, and people with less income increases their
420 expenditure in that item, according to the Economic Theory [75]. This exactly is happening in the
421 country: food remains the largest expense category (35.2%) in the budget for most Mexicans [26]. But
422 the lowest income population (about 14.4 million households, equivalent to approximately 57.6
423 million people), devotes 34.1% in food, compared with 32.4% and 33.5% in medium and high-
424 income levels, respectively [26]. These issues challenge lower income people who are most price
425 sensitive, pushing them to buy cheaper and uncertified food (fresh or processed), with little concern
426 for its safety or nutritional value.

427 4.8.2 Lifestyles, less time: the increase in out of home food/ food to go intake and its risks. In 1984
428 Mexicans did spend 10.4% of their incomes in food out of home; they almost doubled this amount to
429 21.9% in 2016. Differences arise by income level: despite the lowest income level spend only 18.3% of
430 their income in out of home food; they are 4.4 million houses (approximately 17.7 million persons)
431 which eat out, compared with 3.9 of the highest income levels that eat out of their houses. Those
432 consumers with the lowest income prefer small and cheap restaurants (44.5 %), cheap tacos (52.0%),
433 and mobile/street food small sellers (60.8%), [59]. Unfortunately, many of these types of vendors
434 process food without following any safety protocols, neither a supervision nor control from
435 authorities. Moreover, many consumers do not discriminate among pathogens and the associated
436 risk, and public health officials hardly communicate nor make recalls, publicity about specific
437 hazards, so consumers routinely underestimate small and big risks [76].

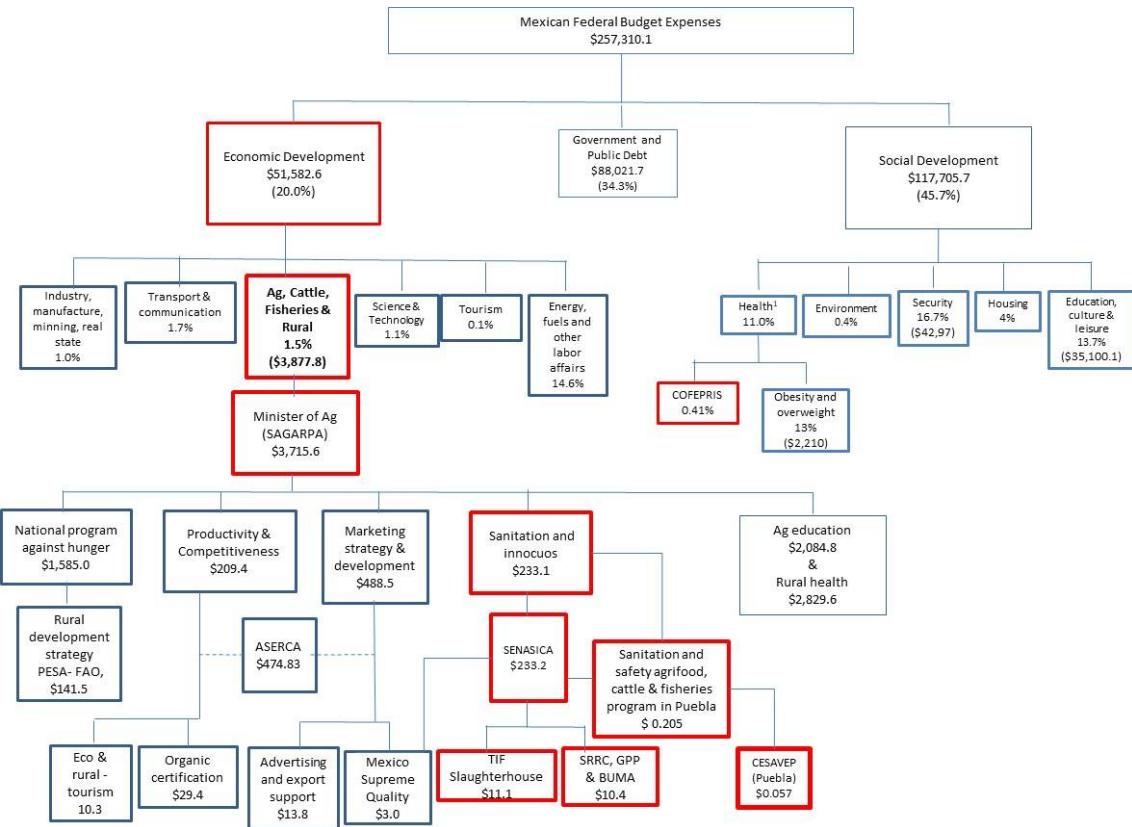
438 4.8.3 The risk of eating fresh food and the over- weight and obesity challenge. In the Organisation
439 for Economic Co-operation and Development (OCDE) report, Mexico was the first country with
440 diabetes prevalence (type I or II), as well as obesity and overweight in adults from 20- 79 years old
441 [77]. Particularly this problem affects low income people due they have immediate physical access to
442 "cheaper" uncertified processed food and/ or junk food, intense advertising in mass media, higher
443 prices of safety, nutritious fruits and veggies, and at the same time their purchasing power have
444 been affected. In this prevalence, healthy food lifestyles as the fruit and vegetables intake, are
445 strategic; in the same report, Mexico's daily fruit and vegetables eating in its population aged 15
446 years and over was of 43.1% and 57.5%, respectively, while in Australia for example was of 95.0%
447 and 99.0%, for each item. Annual expenditures for vegetables in low income Mexicans range is
448 higher (from \$400 to \$550 USD) compared with only about half that amount, \$285 for high income
449 individuals [26]. This increases the risk to get sick, and the urgency to take actions in fresh food
450 certification efforts at affordable prices.

451 The overweight and diabetes problem as well as other digestive illness (such as cancer), had
452 generated 2,210 million USD of direct costs (amount close to 13.0% of the budget for health in 2008),
453 and 1,315.8 million USD of indirect costs [78]. Some studies calculated the costs of foodborne illness
454 in the US, between \$14.1- \$77.7 billion USD yearly [79]. Future researches should estimate the
455 respective Mexican cost, as well as the social, economic and health implications.

456 4.8.4 The International tourism and food intake. Mexico is ranked 6th in tourism visitors worldwide
457 [80]. Since 2007, SAGARPA and the Federal Government established a policy to promote Mexican
458 traditional cuisine at the international level. This is a big challenge having less than 1% of all
459 restaurants in the country certified in Distintivo "H" [81]. The top countries for international visitors
460 are France (86.9 million); Spain (81.8 million), United States (75.9 million), China (60.7 million), and
461 Italy (58.3 million). Improving certifications affairs are important because people from these
462 countries are generally fairly concerned about the safety of their food.

463 4.9 Federal expenses in food safety issues and public policies regard health. In order to understand if
464 the food safety backwardness experienced in Mexico could be explained at the light of insufficient
465 federal resources, we consulted the Mexican budget deserved to those affairs [64, 65, 82]. We found
466 that in 2017, SAGARPA received \$3,715.6 million USD which was distributed in several related
467 programs (Figure 3).

468
469 Figure 3. Public expenditures attending food safety programs in Mexico 2014- 2017 (million dollars).
470

471
472

473 Acronyms: SAGARPA= Minister/ Secretary of Agriculture, Cattle, Fisheries, Rural Development, and Feeding affairs; ASERCA= Marketing and Agricultural Markets Development Services Agency; SENASICA= National Service for Sanity, Innocuous and Agri-food quality; CESAVEP= State of Puebla Commission for Vegetal Sanity; SRRC= Reduced Risks and Contaminants System. Exchange rate: \$1USD= \$19.0 Mexican pesos. Highlighted in red are those attending food certifications, or food safety issues, analyzed in this research.

477 Sources: Federal Budget for 2015, 2017 [65, 82]; SAGARPA, annual reports (2013- 2017) [35, 38, 42, 54]; CESAVEP, 2015; 2018 [62, 63]; OGF, 2014 [64].

481

482 According with those amounts devoted to each institution in the Ag sector, we observed that there is more than the double invested in Marketing Strategy & Development (\$488.5 million USD), than for Sanitation and Innocuous Affairs (\$233.1). Moreover, the amount deserved in Advertising, Export Support as well as MCS is higher (16.8 million USD) than that for Puebla's Sanitation and Safety Agrifood Cattle & Fisheries (\$0.205 Million USD), CESAVEP for Puebla's State (0.057 million USD) and SRRC, GPP & BUMA (10.4 million USD) together (considering Puebla State's importance as a supplier of 40% of the nation's veggies). The budget allocated for Organic Certification alone (29.4 million USD), was higher than the former three programs mentioned, plus the TIF slaughterhouse, which totalize only 21.7 million USD (given that organic food is not economically feasible to consume for low income consumers, nor all the domestic markets). We think "Productivity & Competitiveness", as well as "Marketing Strategy and Development" activities are important for the Nation's profits as a whole, but this imbalances in the food policy underestimates an inclusive development and equity; this budget ponder that our priorities are not attend all players who are involved in the domestic food supply chain, who operates with scarcity and giving place to informal nets. Moreover, governmental efforts have considered food safety issues to specific players in that supply chain and leading them to be attended by private (sometimes international) third party auditors, which do not meet those food chain players' budgets and needs.

499 4.10. Certification and training small and medium producers, some experiences in some Latin
500 America countries.

501 The mere claim that standards exist does not translate immediately into adoption, and not all
502 producers, retailers, processors reach success in the same way and during the same time frame. So, it
503 becomes critical to understand other factors that impact standards, mostly educational, cultural, and
504 organizational [83].

505 Pérez-Alemán [57, 83] worked on Nicaragua, El Salvador and Guatemala "building collective
506 capabilities, learning and standards diffusion", the knowledge behind the standards (what and
507 why), and the organizational components to meet them (know-how). She found out that the process
508 is not an easy issue as it includes tacit to explicit knowledge, sharing communication and confidence,
509 combining and creating new local knowledge, or mixing local knowledge with national or
510 international knowledge. Shared and spread, this becomes a collective learning process that has to
511 be planned, supervised, adjusted and coordinated on a daily basis and must be recorded so that the
512 valuable traditional knowledge can be passed on. Looking at certification from a different
513 perspective [57, 83, 84], researchers suggest to avoid "taking norms for granted" and "one size fits
514 all", or worrying about why they had not spread the way "they should" in marginalized regions.
515 The authors highlight the importance of using traditional rural and small producers' knowledge,
516 and put it in practice, beyond the mere acquisition of technology, transfer of data in a simplistic way.
517 It has to do with developing new competencies to merge old and new processes, products,
518 organizational activities, and building social capital. Systems of training through associations and
519 groups or regional, national and international network for small countries also did work.

520 In the Brazilian case, it took five years for sugarcane producers to adopt certification processes
521 successfully. Training auditors and authorities on these issues are more valuable than having
522 seminars for producers and passing out folders that contain the rules. Auditors must adopt a
523 counselor role rather than acting as a supervisor or policeman. Big exporters require a different
524 language and support than domestic small and medium producers, intermediaries, processors; they
525 expect different language because they have different interests along the chain than retailers. Third
526 party auditors, who in rural areas must be close to the producers, must act not as authorities but
527 should help producers translate what the standards and technical language mean. The third-party
528 auditors can thus become strategic partners to help them move to change, to make them feel
529 included and that they are participating in a fair game (no winner or losers). The auditors can also
530 try to build a constructive environment and emphasize the role of the cooperative as a community
531 with shared values.

532 The increasing demand (internal and external) in Peru for quality asparagus, lead them to a strong
533 cooperation between private and government sectors, in both standards, and cooperation with
534 investments and infrastructure. This increased income and employment across the supply chain
535 including in cultivation of fresh asparagus, as well as in secondary industries (frozen and canned). In
536 addition, they used second grade produce that did not meet standards for exports thus reducing
537 waste and leading to more employment for some of Peru's poorest people [82].

538 Small producers in low and medium- income countries can develop and discover their strengths and
539 overcome their weaknesses by adopting a proactive strategic response to food safety standards [83].
540 They can take advantage of their traditional knowledge by discovering new markets or can
541 participate in the creation of new markets or negotiate standards (voice and proactivity) [32, 67, 84].
542 In Argentina and the Dominican Republic found the Codex Standard to have little influence in these
543 countries, so they designed their own local, regional and Merco Sur rules, trying to avoid entrance
544 barriers to international markets, and re-structured them as a response [14, 60].

545 4.10.2. Retailers challenges. Along the agricultural food chain, certification processes need different
546 strategies, depending on the industry characteristics [56, 87]. At the retailing level, public markets
547 and Tianguis require different information and legislation than supermarkets as do those devoted to
548 low, medium and high incomes consumer.

549 4.10.3. Processors and restaurants inspections. COFEPRIS and the Minister of Health (SS) must
550 assume this responsibility and integrate efforts with other institutions as SAGARPA, as well as the
551 Minister of Economy to remodel food and health policies. It is important to put a ban and penalize
552 those vendors who sell food in the street's floor, out of the subway, offices, hospitals, schools,
553 without any sanitary practice. This, in the medium and long run, would eradicate the culture of
554 working out of the law, and at the same time could become a media to get additional taxes, to be
555 invested in federal domestic certifications (infrastructure, technologies, training, inspectors' wages,
556 among others).

557 4.10.4. Educating the consumer to inform about food safety at home. The change in the actual food
558 policies takes a while. In the short run, more resources should be invested in order to increase
559 advertising and communication in TV, radio, and websites, to give information regard basic rules
560 people can adopt to improve food safety practices at home to vulnerable people.
561 Besides, authorities must improve their administrative procedures to persuade the people to
562 complain when they get sick, as well as when those some retailers and processors are selling
563 contaminated food. Such institutional mechanisms should be efficient and give a fast response, in
564 order to reduce the spread of illness.

565 5. Conclusions

566 Policy Implications on food safety and food security on the United Nations Sustainable
567 Development Goals (UNSDG). The certification process is a multidimensional and complex issue,
568 particularly in its implementation. Though this report is not exhaustive on the topic, its reflections
569 are centered on the challenges to achieve the UNSDG [88] regard food safety and food security,
570 keeping in mind that all the population, mainly that in poverty, deserves well- being, access to
571 safety, economic, nutritious, sufficient food all times.

572 In Mexico the federal, regional, and in State food safety regulations are fragmented and complicated.
573 In order to inform rapidly and accurate to all food chain agents the status of inspections, control and
574 findings, federal, regional and local inspectors must adopt basic technologies, high levels of
575 transparency and make public those findings in order to give them attention. Hence, it would be
576 necessary to adopt a more integrated inspection system with authorities closely collaborating,
577 sharing updated information and reform the legislation and inspections of the entire food supply
578 chain, merging the activities and responsibilities of the supervision, between the Minister of Health
579 and the Minister of Agriculture [4]. These fragmentation and unbalances in the federal budgets had
580 led to all institutions involved, to react and solve the food safety problems after they occur,
581 especially in those unattended vulnerable segments of the chain, instead of preventing.

582 Ironically primary responsibility on food safety issues is not only in food producers. Food retailers,
583 and processors have more responsibility in medium where the level of informal restaurants is of
584 57.2% and there is a lack of inspections and compliance, not only due restrictions in Federal Budget,
585 but sometimes due to organization crime presence.

586 The Mexican Minister of Health as a public procurement and all government agencies are significant
587 actors in the well- being of any society, they must show leadership and play a more engaged and
588 strategic role to promote food safety throughout supply chains [31, 66, 76].

589 The claim that "food safety begins on the farm" or "from farm to fork" [13] should become a reduced
590 perspective if we do not consider the heterogeneity that prevails in the supply chain in lower and
591 medium income countries. There is a need to analyze from a systemic perspective, each player in the
592 food supply chain, its needs, resources, infrastructure, access to credit, educational and cultural
593 profiles. Progress regarding food safety policies continues centered in export issues in many countries
594 like Mexico, which have the pressure of a public debt, insecurity, poverty, and where the federal
595 budgets are distributed observing inequities, ignoring their population basic food needs and well-
596 being. In order to achieve the UNSDG, we should shift the focus to improve the food safety and food
597 security policies, which at the same time would help reduce poverty.

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