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Articles

Border and no-border labor markets in Mexico, 2000-2010

Mercados de trabajo en regiones fronterizas y no fronterizas de México, 2000-2010

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Abstract

The article aims to describe the interrelation of labor markets, the productive structure and regional development models. Based on the theories of Sociology of work and development, we propose a macro-structural methodology, cutting descriptive, based on the comparison of the behavior of local labor markets, during the period 2000-2010. The case studies were the states of Baja California and Puebla, representative of two models of regional development: a border and non-border one. As main result, it was identified in both contexts a process of precariousness of the labor market, but responded to particular dynamics and affecting different populations. Although, in this work is accomplished to meet more fully the effects of the economic crisis and industrial relocation in the territory, the study could be expanded to show the limitations of other models of development.

Keywords: labor market, industrial relocation, productive structure, regional development.

Resumen

El objetivo del artículo es describir la interrelación entre los mercados de trabajo, la estructura productiva y los modelos de desarrollo regional. Partiendo de las teorías de la sociología del trabajo y el desarrollo, planteamos una metodología macro-estructural, de corte descriptivo, basado en la comparación del comportamiento de mercados de trabajo locales, durante el periodo 2000-2010. Los casos de estudio fueron los estados de Baja California y Puebla, representativos de dos modelos de desarrollo regional: fronterizo y no fronterizo. Como principal resultado se identificó que en ambos contextos se presenta un proceso de pre-

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rización del mercado de trabajo, pero que responde a dinámicas particulares y afecta a poblaciones diferentes. Si bien, en este trabajo se logra conocer con mayor profundidad los efectos de la crisis económica y la relocalización industrial en el territorio, el estudio se podría ampliar para mostrar las limitaciones de otros modelos de desarrollo.

Palabras clave: mercado de trabajo, relocalización industrial, estructura productiva, desarrollo regional.

Introduction

The aim of this article is to show the interrelation between the productive structure, the labor market, and the regional development models in Mexico. For this purpose, a comparison between a border and a non-border region is proposed, considering that different forms of insertion in the globalization processes are present. The first of these regions is represented by the state of Baja California and the second by the state of Puebla, to the north and central Mexico, respectively. Using this methodological resource, the role of territory in the configuration, dynamic, and characteristics of the labor markets will be detailed.

The economic and social development of the country presents huge regional differences resulting from the different historical processes, and the central role that the metropolitan area of Mexico City had in the industrialization of the country during the early and mid-20th century. Additionally, we can confirm the differentiated impacts in the territory caused by the change from a development model based on import substitution to one open towards the exterior, in which economic globalization has played a first order role, generating additional processes linked to the relocation of companies worldwide. In this new and persistent economic development model, the northern border has been the vanguard in opening towards the exterior and the integration with the United States and Canada, through the signing of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), and the importance of the productive activity of the so-called *maquiladoras*.

In the last decade, this border region has gone through strong changes associated with the 2001 and 2008 economic crises and to processes inherent to the maquila industry, which entered into a period of stagnation that generated unemployment rates unprecedented in these contexts. Therewith, there are also changes in the occupational structure, with informal and self-employed activities growing in importance. In the last decade, the maquila industry has stopped being an attraction factor for the migrant population, thus there was a decrease in the social component of demographic growth, at least in cities such as Ciudad Juárez and Tijuana.

On the other hand, since the early 1980s, maquila companies—particularly of the textile sector—relocated to other non-border regions. Particularly in the state of Puebla, an intensive process for the production of clothing for export began, in addition to the fact that the automotive industry (longest-running in the region) underwent restructuring to prioritize production for the international market. There have also been recessive tendencies in this region, which have significantly decreased the presence of clothing companies in the Valley of Tehuacán, while the flexibilization of work in other sectors has negatively impacted employment levels in recent years, promoting migrations either to the interior of the country or to the United States.

Throughout this article, the impacts of industrial relocation in both regions and of the economic crisis of this century on the labor markets are highlighted through the analysis of the changes in the productive structure, the local labor market, and the occupational structure. One of the characteristics that has defined Mexican labor markets in recent years is the decrease in the quality of the jobs, so that it is deemed necessary to introduce the analysis of job heterogeneity and precariousness as main structural traits of Mexican labor markets in order to understand regional differences (Mora, 2005; Pacheco, 2004; Rojas & Salas, 2011).

Job heterogeneity relates to the productive structure and diversity of forms of subsumption of the workforce in capitalism and has been a characteristic of the so-called emerging economies, as is the case of Mexico; while the precariousness of salaried work relates to the changes in the economies due to the productive restructuring and the dissemination of productive flexibility, which have generated a deterioration in the quality of the jobs.

The study being presented is of a macrostructural nature and comprises the 2000-2010 period. The systematized indicators used to describe the profiles of the local labor markets and the productive structures are built using secondary data sources, such as the 2000 and 2010 population and housing censuses, the 2010 National Survey on Occupation and Employment (Enoe for its acronym in Spanish), and other statistical sources generated by the National Institute of Statistics and Geography (Inegi for its acronym in Spanish), the National Council for the Evaluation of Social Development Policy (Coneval for its acronym in Spanish), and the National Population Council (Conapo for its acronym in Spanish).

The text has been divided into three sections: the first details the theoretical elements that guide this research, based on political economy and sociology of work; the second describes the changes in the productive activity of Baja California and Puebla, and the population processes that have characterized these territories in recent decades; the third section presents an analysis on the dynamic and composition of the labor markets, their structure, and occupational segregation by gender and immigration status. Finally, in the conclusions, the differences in the productive and occupational structure of both regions are identified, as well as their relationships with work precariousness and the different affectations for both men and women, and for the migrant population, arguing that the job heterogeneity of both regions responds to the industrialization processes of different historical moments, with precarious traditional occupational permanency and, with the emergence of a different type of precarious work, particularly in the border region.

Theoretical Elements for the Analysis of the Labor Market

This research has political economy, demography and sociology of work¹ as disciplinary references, and in particular, recovers the approaches of the Latin American school

¹ This study, with sociodemographic roots, aims to reconstruct and analyze the labor market, productive structure, and regional development models; therefore, demonstrating causal relationships between these dimensions falls outside our scope. The starting point or working hypothesis, is that regional differences are expressed in specific labor market profiles.

of development. These theories have explained the structural characteristics of developing countries, considering their geopolitical position, i.e., that the capitalist system has presented itself in a colonization and post-independence context.

Sociology of work, for its part, has advanced in the knowledge of the specificities of the labor markets in these economies, proposing concepts such as informality, atypical work, precarious work, and occupational segregation. Both disciplinary approaches provide basic elements to understand the interrelation between the productive structure, the labor market, and the development model.

According to a development scholar (Prebisch, 1963), the main characteristic of the economies of undeveloped countries is structural heterogeneity, that is, the existence of branches or activities whose mean productivity is very similar to that of the great industrial centers, while in parallel, another set of activities has a low productivity, implying forms of subemployment. Other authors, such as Furtado (1967), have maintained that structural heterogeneity and the persistence of backward forms of production are a specific trait of the so-called sub-development², which tends to reproduce and perpetuate itself. Conversely, a tendency towards the homogenization of the productive structure and an increasing salaried work force can be observed in developed economies, although this tendency has been questioned in recent decades, since the crisis of the state of wellbeing and the sudden change towards neoliberalism, which have spread risk and work precariousness around the world, as indicated by Beck (2006).

For Di Filippo and Jadue (1976), structural heterogeneity refers to the coexistence of productive forms, social relations, and modes of domination characteristic of different phases and modes of development. In particular, this heterogeneity of the productive structure explains the permanence of non-salaried work, even in the age of the import-substitution development model.³

More recently, by analyzing the effects of globalization on employment in Mexico, Guillén (2005) indicates that structural heterogeneity has expanded and made the relationships between the modern and backward sectors more complex. This author also indicates that the developed model based on openness towards the exterior has allowed the insertion of economies—of countries such as Mexico—into globalization from a peripheral position, participating in the global production chains in processes that demand a cheap workforce. For their part, Mora (2010) finds that in this new development model, productive heterogeneity has deepened in such a manner that there is a social differentiation at work and work precariousness reaches new sectors of workers.

The debate on work precariousness begins in Europe in the early 1970s, while in Mexico this notion gained importance in recent decades. This apparent lack of interest in the topic was precisely due to the persistence of structural and job heterogeneity in the country and to the association of non-salaried work with the aforementioned notions, that is, with underemployment, marginality, and informality (Pacheco, 2004).

² Although it is a process that occurs with special intensity in less developed countries, the dynamic of capitalism worldwide is based on the development of increasingly heterogeneous modes of capture and subsumption of work (Mezzadra, 2012).

³ According to Mallorquín (2017) and Osorio (2003), the concept of structural heterogeneity and the idea of its persistence in the productive matrices of developing countries due to the historical conditions in which capitalism operates in these countries, is still valid in the Latin American neostructuralist thinking of recent decades.

The problem of the notions of atypical work and precarious work is that not all atypical work is precarious, and neither is all precarious work atypical, although both concepts refer to work that deviates from a standard. The distinction between both lies in that precariousness alludes to a quality standard, while atypical work refers to a job related to subsumption forms of the workforce tied to the Taylorist production stage and a modernity that promised progress through social integration by means of salaried work, that is, when job flexibility and the services economy were still in their infancy.

From our point of view, it would be convenient to recover the notion of atypical work to refer to that which is “not subordinated to a single boss, or integrated to a single company, without a contract for an indeterminate amount of time, without full-time, unprotected, risky but not necessarily precarious; as well as that in which the client is directly implicated in the production” (De la Garza, 2011, p. 64). The importance, dynamic, and character of atypical work can be differentiated according to the economic branch in question and the territory in which a particular development model unfolds, so that it can be associated with proletarianization processes and to subsistence economies, especially in rural locations, with tertiarization processes of the productive process, or with the tertiarization of the economy (due to the greater weight of the services sector).

Meanwhile, when referring to job quality we consider it essential to take the decent work proposal of the International Labour Organization (Organización Internacional del Trabajo [OIT]) as reference, which implies considering work as a social right and, therefore, as part of the citizenry:

Decent work summarizes the aspirations of people during their work life. It means having the opportunity to obtain a productive job that generates a fair income, security at the place of work and social protection for their families, better personal development perspectives and social integration, freedom for individuals to express their opinions, to organize and participate in the decisions that affect their lives, and equal treatment and opportunities for everyone, both men and women (OIT, 2017, paragraph 1).

In this research, an analysis of the official job quality indicators is carried out in order to show the differences by region and the role of the territory in the configuration of the different precarious work processes, understood as the loss of the qualities of decent work that are directed to both the proletarianization of the workforce and the decrease of worth and flexibilization of the work relationship.

On the other hand, the evidence of occupational segregation has allowed demonstrating the importance of discrimination to explain the preponderance of certain populations in lower quality jobs. First of all, alluding to the inequality that exists between feminine and masculine jobs, with women being the ones taking the lower quality jobs, it has been demonstrated that—and especially in the labor markets of the northern border of Mexico—immigration status, meaning, whether one is an immigrant or not, implies differences regarding the native population deriving into occupation segregation (Acosta, Reyes & Solís, 2015; García, 1989).⁴

⁴ The indigenous population is also vulnerable and occupies most precarious works, mainly in Puebla but also in Baja California. Although in this context, this population has the double status of being indigenous and migrants, particularly in the Valley of San Quintín (Velasco, Coubés & Zolniski, 2015).

An uneven structure of occupation opportunities by gender, migratory status or ethnic origin, or any other system of social differentiation generates vertical segregation when lower hierarchical levels are occupied, and horizontal segregation when “separate” occupations are configured for each group (feminine, masculine) (García, 1989). In the remainder of the paper we will account for horizontal segregation.

Regional Contexts: Economy and Workforce

This section is comprised of two parts: Globalization and development models, which goes in-depth on the regional differences; and the Populating process, which presents these differences in the population growth dynamic of both states are expressed.

Globalization and Regional Development Models

The comparison of the labor markets of Puebla and Baja California⁵ makes sense if we consider that both territories have been affected by the globalization process that has been underway for several decades, but with different expressions. If we take as a guiding principle the industrialization process that presents itself in Mexico with the relocation of foreign companies and the trade openness of the economy of the country, it is possible to situate each of the two regions in different points of the trajectory taken by this process. Baja California, being a border state, is part of what María Eugenia De la O (2006) called the maquila historical border, since it was in the states bordering the United States where, in the mid-1970s, the installation of the first maquila companies took place. Meanwhile, the state of Puebla is part of the third emerging axis of the maquila, manifesting in the 1990s when hundreds of factories were established for exports of Mexican, American, and Korean origin, in the Sierra Mixteca, Sierra Norte, and the Valley of Tehuacán. The textile and clothing industry was the productive branch that reached cities and rural areas of the state of Puebla. In Tehuacán, factories were mainly set up to produce jeans for export, with brands such as Navarra, Tommy Hilfiger, Polo Ralph Laurent, Dockers, Guess, among others (De la O, 2006). On the other hand, the automotive industry, which has been long-standing in the state of Puebla due to the presence of Volkswagen, which has been present since 1964, has since the 1990s gone through a productive restructuration process in response to the demands of economic openness and the competition in the world market. In recent years, the automotive industry has strengthened in this region due to the arrival of new assembly plants, as is the case of Audi.

As part of the historical maquila region, the state of Baja California has been one of the geographical areas with greater dynamism by the maquila industry, whose main characteristic has been heterogeneity (regarding sector of activity, company size, and production organization). Although the companies that predominate in said entity are of American origin, since the 1990s those of Asian origin (such as Sony,

⁵ Although the selected states of the Mexican republic are not regions in themselves, they can be considered representative of the border and non-border regions. It is a criterion of functionality, given that by being territories defined in administrative terms we can access the statistics generated by the government.

Sanyo, and Sharp) have gained a considerable presence. At the same time, a certain productive specialization took place due to the predominance of television assembly companies.

Thus, the comparison of the labor markets of these entities makes sense showing the different moments in which their economies have been impacted by the industrial relocation of foreign companies in Mexico, with this being one of the most important economic processes of globalization. Now, this industrialization goes hand in hand with the regional development models, which differentiate the northeast region of Mexico from the central region, to which the state of Puebla belongs.

In the middle of the last century, the productive activity in Baja California concentrated in the agro-industrial production of the Valley of Mexicali, with the production of cotton standing out, while Tijuana—the city with the greatest number of inhabitants in the state—had a commercial and tourist vocation. Since then, the local economy of the urban centers of Baja California have found themselves strongly linked to the border dynamic concerning the flow of people and merchandise, for which it has historically become a cross-border region, where jobs in San Diego county, even including the city of Los Ángeles, are part of the employment options for thousands of people who cross the border daily to work. On the other hand, in the 1990s the Valley of San Quintín, to the south of the state, begins to develop as an area of agro-industrial activity for export.

Meanwhile the state of Puebla, being part of central Mexico, is linked to the industrialization dynamics of the import substitution period, and the textile industry was one of the most important developed in said territory. Besides, agricultural activity has played an important role, since a significant portion of the population live in rural locations and is comprised mainly by indigenous communities: *Mixtec*, *Nahuas*, *Mazatec*, *Popolac*, *Totonac*, and *Otomi*. Similarly, the automotive industry, with the Volkswagen plant, has represented a particularly important pole of growth, especially for the capital city of the state.

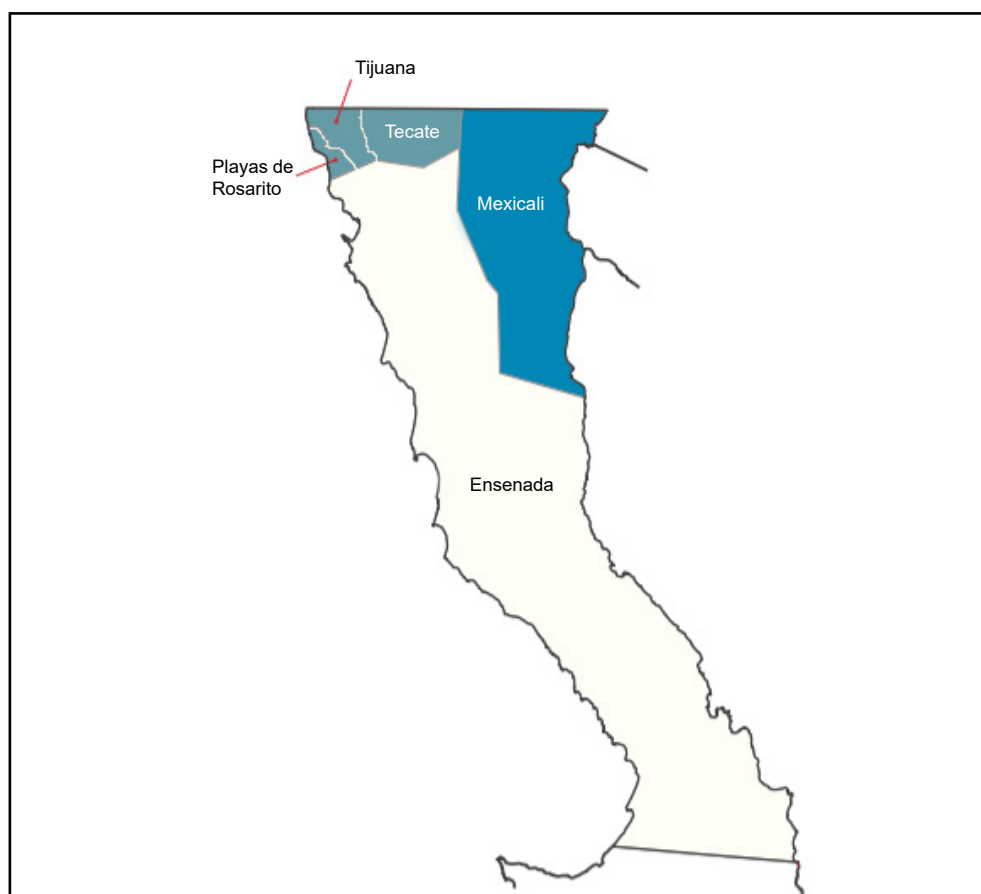
As for participation in the national economic activity, both entities have had a similar participation of around 3% in the last decade on the Gross Domestic Product (GDP). In the last five years, Puebla has slightly increased its participation and Baja California had a downward trend, so that the growth rate of the GDP for both entities, in 2014, was lower than the observed average at the national level (Inegi, n.d.)

Observing the GDP by sector of activity, we can say that the activity of the primary sector is more important in Puebla: between 2003 and 2014, its participation in the state GDP remained at around 5%, slightly above of what occurs at the national level, which is of 3%. On the other hand, Baja California maintains this participation at 3%. Whereas a low tendency can be observed in the secondary sector: for Baja California (from 2003 to 2014) there is a drop from 38% to 36%; while in Puebla, the drop is from 36% to 33%. In the relative importance of the industrial activity, these drops could be due to the economic crisis and its contractive effect on the activities of the export industry in both regions (Inegi, n.d.).

Highlighting the behavior of the tertiary sector throughout this period, there is a two percent increase for both economies, representing a little more than two thirds of the state GDP. In brief, there are economic structures with certain similarities regarding the weight of the productive sectors, although it is observed that agricultural activity is more important in Puebla and the secondary sector in Baja California.

Figures 1 and 2 show the territorial division of the states into municipalities, with Puebla not only having the greater expanse but also a more pronounced sub-regional diversity. The economic structure of Puebla is more heterogeneous and has greater dispersion in the territory, which is divided into 217 municipalities and seven economic regions. In contrast, Baja California is divided into five municipalities. Additionally, the degree of urbanization⁶ in 2010 was of 72% in Puebla and of 92% in Baja California, that is, the economic activities have a more urban nature in the latter (calculations done by the authors based on Inegi, 2010).

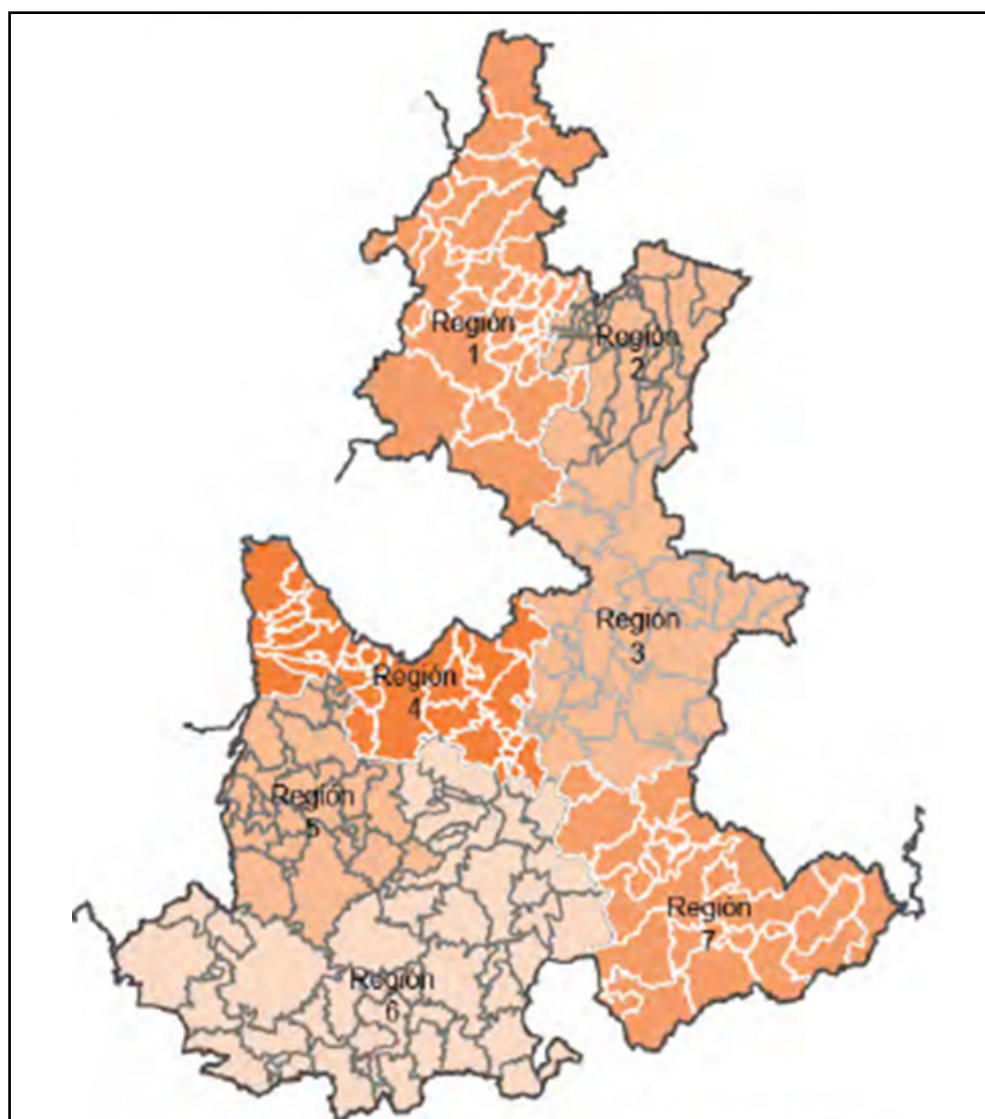
Figure 1: Municipalities of Baja California



Source: Inegi (2014a).

⁶ The degree of urbanization is the number of inhabitants in locations of more than 2 500 inhabitants divided by the total population times a hundred.

Figure 2: Municipalities of Puebla



Source: Inegi (2014b).

In order to better present the context in which this comparison is done, it is also necessary to measure the impact that the 2001 and 2008 economic crises had at the national and regional levels. The 2001 crisis particularly affected the productive activity of the maquila companies, in which both the strengthening of China as a place for industrial relocation and as a supplier for the American market were combined, as well as the changes in some NAFTA agreements, which modified the advantages Mexico had for the operation of foreign companies. Subsequently, in 2008, the United States economy contracted due to the effect of financial maladjustments, which due to its magnitude and dependence on the Mexican economy, caused a contraction of the annual GDP growth of 5.95% based on 2003 prices (Aguirre, 2016).

According to Ruiz and Ordaz (2011), the Mexican economy has not generated the sufficient number of jobs (between one and 1.2 million per year) required by the annual increase of the economically active population (EAP), thus it has a significant job deficit. The abovementioned is reflected in the unemployment rates, which amount between 3% and 5% of the EAP in recent years. The authors also note the convergence of formal and informal employment, given the growing number of low-quality jobs that lack social benefits and more informal jobs. That is, we are facing a generalized landscape of work precariousness, as also indicated by Mora and De Oliveira (2010).

Population Process

In 2010, Puebla had almost double the population of Baja California, with 5 779 829 and 3 155 070 inhabitants, respectively. The distribution of the population by age shows that Puebla has a slightly greater percentage of people under the age of fifteen (31% vs. 29%), with young people (between 15 and 29 years) representing 27% in both states, and adults representing 43% in Baja California and 41% in Puebla⁷ (Inegi, 2010).

One of the characteristics that distinguishes these two regions as border and non-border, relates to the population processes. This is due to the fact that border regions to the north of Mexico have been populated by the arrival of people from other states of the country, whereas the population of Puebla, as a non-border region, is mainly comprised of people born in the state (90%), as can be observed in Table 1. In contrast, people born in the state of Baja California represent only half the population of the state.

Table 1: Percentage distribution of the population aged five-years and over by immigration status, Baja California and Puebla, 2000 and 2010

Immigration status	Baja California		Puebla	
	2000 %	2010 %	2000 %	2010 %
Locals	47.8	50.9	90.0	89.5
Non-recent immigrants	38.9	41.2	6.5	6.9
Recent immigrants	12.8	7.5	3.3	3.4

Source: Own elaboration with data from the Inegi (2010).

Changes in this social growth dynamic have been observed in the last decade, which can be confirmed if we observe recent migration behavior, that is, those people

⁷ The difference is due to the unspecified.

who moved to the state in the five years prior to the census. Table 1 shows that this percentage of the population decreased from 12.8% to 7.5% in Baja California, while it remained at around 3% in the case of Puebla. This is a significant change in the population process of Baja California since, being part of the effects of the 2001 and 2008 crises, as well as the closing of the border, it stopped being a pole of attraction for migrants and reduced its role as a transit point for people going to the United States, with the consequent decrease of the social growth of the population: the net migration rate went from 13.2% in the 1995-2000 period to 1.6% in the following 2005-2010 period (Cruz, Silva & Navarro, 2015; p. 181). In the case of Puebla, the net migration rates⁸ have been low and do not present significant changes in this period; it was negative (-0.8%) in 1995-2000, then positive (0.2%) in 2000-2005, and then negative again (-0.2%) in 2005-2010, meaning it has been a moderate population-expelling state (Cruz *et al.*, 2015, p. 181).

In recent decades, we have observed other processes also linked to the contraction of economic growth and to the immigration policy of the United States, representing the significant (willful or forced, i.e., deported) return of Mexicans from said country.

Description of the Labor Markets

This section was divided into four parts, each of which describes different dimensions that allow identifying the regional differences in the profiles of the labor markets and in their changes during the decade of 2000-2010. The four parts are: Dynamic and composition, Structure of the labor markets, Earned income, and Occupational segregation by immigration status and gender.

Dynamic and Composition

During the last decade of this century, the employment growth dynamic has been low as consequence of the 2001 and 2008 economic crises. There have been unprecedented unemployment rates in Baja California (for the last quarter of the year the rates were of 6.69% in 2009, 6.79% in 2011, 5.1% in 2013, and 3.74% in 2015). It had for a long time been considered a place of opportunity due to its low unemployment rates, which remained below 2.5% (Inegi, 2011a) before 2007. To a large extent, the loss of jobs was due to the contraction in the job demand of the export maquila companies.

In contrast, the unemployment levels in Puebla were less dramatic than those in Baja California, although they peaked in 2011 and have lowered significantly in recent years with values of 3.6% in 2009, 4.8% in 2011, 3.76% in 2013 and 3.03% in 2015 (Inegi, 2011b; 2016a), showing its lower dependence on the exterior.

The composition of the labor markets according to immigration status (locals, non-recent immigrants, and recent immigrants) corresponds to the characteristics described in the above section. Thus, the employed population of both states is distributed in the indicated categories as follows: 88% of locals in Puebla remained in

⁸ The net migration rate is the difference between immigrants and emigrants, divided by the total population.

2000 and 2010; in Baja California this increased slightly from 40% to 42%. The most relevant data in Table 2 is the decrease in the percentage of recent immigrants of the employed population, which went from 15% in 2000 to 8% in 2010.

Table 2: Percentage distribution of the employed population by immigration status, 2000 and 2010

State	2000 (%)			2010 (%)		
	Locals	Immigrants		Locals	Immigrants	
		Non-recent	Recent		Non-recent	Recent
Baja California	40	45	15	42	50	8
Puebla	88	8	4	88	8	4

Source: Own elaboration with data from the Inegi (2010).

The incorporation of women to paid work from 2001 to 2010 has been more intensive in Baja California, which reflects in a greater ratio of women as part of the employed population, widening the percentage difference between both states to 5% in 2010, when women represented 37% of the employed population in Baja California and 32% in Puebla (Table 3).

Table 3: Percentage distribution of the employed population by gender, 2000 and 2010

State	2000				2010			
	Men		Women		Men		Women	
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
Baja California	604 498	67	301 871	33	830 224	63	489 794	37
Puebla	1 162 685	70	502 836	30	1 425 363	68	672 732	32

Source: Own elaboration based on data from the Inegi (2010).

Structure of the Labor Markets

The description of the structure of the labor markets refers to the distribution of jobs according to the form of absorption of the workforce, that is, to the salaried levels of the employed population. A structural heterogeneity that is expressed differently in the border and non-border regions remains in Mexico, resulting also in a heterogeneous employment structure. In the border regions to the north of Mexico, a greater salaried workforce is observed with the consequent formalization of the work relations and greater access to social benefits. On the other hand, in the central regions of the

country, as is the case of Puebla, the formalization of the work relations is less extended, and productive forms that could be denominated as atypical persist, in which a greater presence of the indigenous population in rural localities are observed.

Table 4 shows the distribution of the employed EAP for the first half-year of 2016 according to the following categories: independent workers (employers and self-employed), subordinate workers (subordinate and remunerated workers, salaried workers, and non-salaried workers), and unpaid workers (unpaid family members and unpaid non-family members). In parallel, the employed population is classified by gender and state.

Table 4: Percentage distribution of the employed population according to the position in their occupation and gender, first quarter of 2016

Position in Occupation	Men		Women	
	Baja California	Puebla	Baja California	Puebla
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
Independent workers	22	32	18	25
Subordinate workers	77	63	79	62
Unpaid workers	1	6	3	13
Total	100	100	100	100

Source: Own elaboration based on data from the Enoe (Inegi, 2016a).

The distribution expresses the indicated differences concerning the persistence of independent work (employers and self-employed) in the state of Puebla, for both men and women, even though the most notable difference is in the percentage of non-salaried men. Another indicator of lower salaried work and the persistence of traditional forms of production is the relative importance of unpaid work in Puebla, particularly among women (13%); this fact relates to the importance of agricultural activities and the tradition of women working as unpaid family members. This situation is reflected in the proportion of women employed in the primary sector in Puebla, which reaches 9%, while it is only 5% in Baja California (Inegi, 2016a).

The differences in the proportion of subordinate workers confirm that salaried and paid work is more widespread in Baja California, the proportion of which is 10% above that of Puebla, and it is more evident among women. This distribution indicates a greater advance in the incorporation of women to salaried work in Baja California and of greater balance in the participation of men and women in the labor markets. The percentage of employed women in the secondary sector in Baja California for the first quarter of 2016 is of 27%; 16% in the case of Puebla. However, it should be noted that the participation of women in remunerated work does not necessarily signify lower inequality between men and women. Another indicator of the presence of women in possibly non-salaried or precarious work is participation in the tertiary sector (commerce and services), which increases to 74% in Puebla and to 66% in Baja California (Table 5).

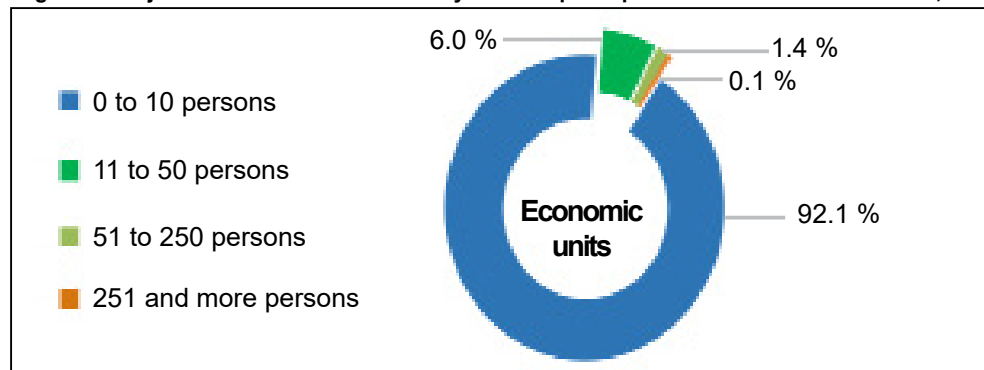
Table 5: Distribution of the employed population by sector of activity and gender, first quarter of 2016

Sector of activity	Men		Women	
	Baja California	Puebla	Baja California	Puebla
	%	%	%	%
Primary	7	30	5	9
Secondary	35	27	27	16
Tertiary	52	42	66	74
Not specified	6	0	2	0
Total	100	100	100	100

Source: Own elaboration based on data from the Enoe (Inegi, 2016a).

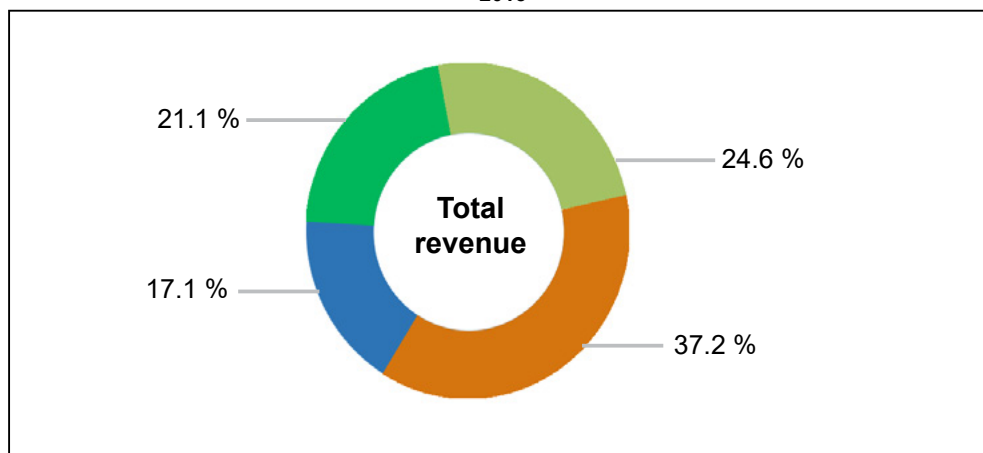
Among men, the most notable difference is the percentage employed in the primary sector, this being 30% in Puebla against 7% in Baja California. In the secondary sector, 27% of men are employed in this sector in Puebla and 35% in Baja California. In the tertiary sector (commerce and services) the percentages are 42% and 52% for Puebla and Baja California, respectively (Table 5).

In order to show the differences in the occupational structure, Figures 3a, 3b, 4a, and 4b are particularly useful as they show the economic units of each state classified according to their size (micro, small, medium, and large) and their participation in the generation of state income. The difference between states lies in the fact that the percentage of micro economic units (employing 0 to 10 people) is slightly lower for Baja California when compared to Puebla (92.1% vs. 97%, see Figure 3a and Figure 4a), with a contribution to the state GDP of 17.1% and 13.5% for Baja California and Puebla, respectively. The main productive activities of the micro units for both states are retail grocery and foodstuff and the preparation of food and drink, while raking third we have auto repairs in Baja California and bakeries and tortilla shops in Puebla (Inegi, 2014a; 2014b).

Figure 3a: Baja California. Economic units by size and participation in the total state revenue, 2013

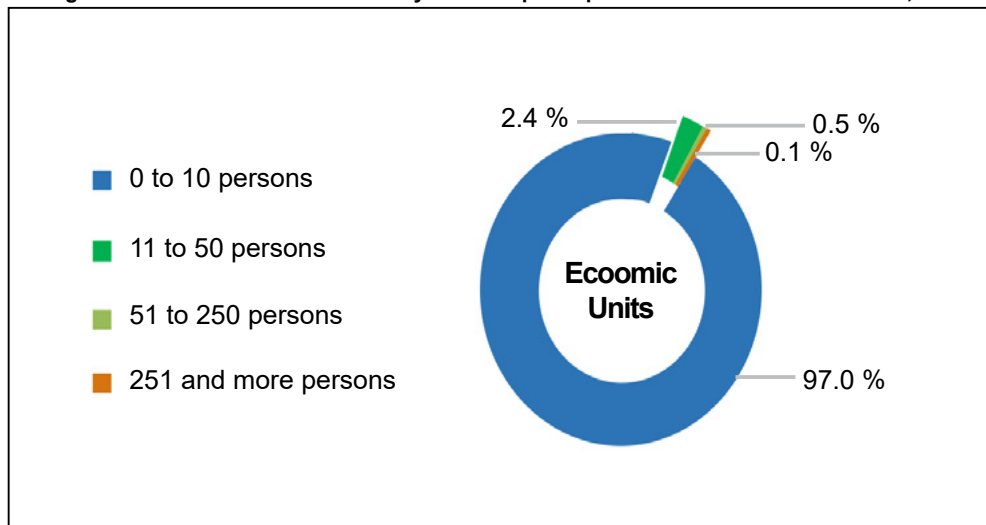
Source: Inegi (2014a).

Figure 3b: Baja California. Economic units by size and participation in the total state revenue, 2013

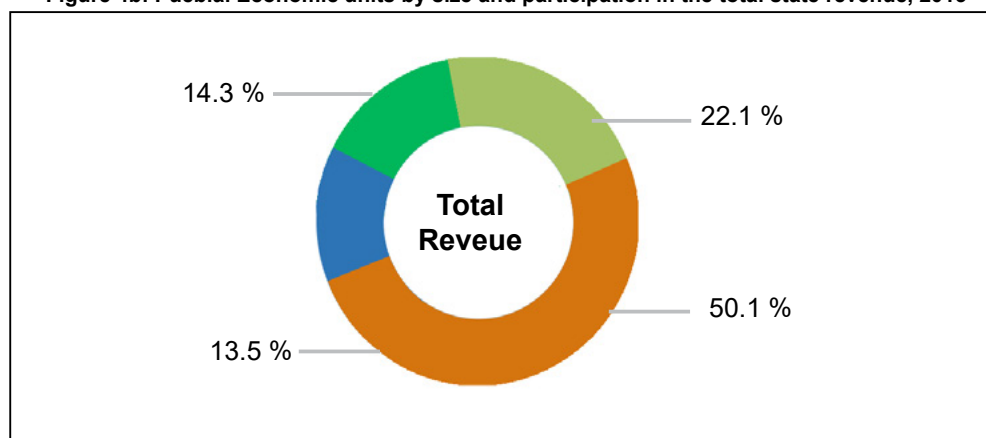


Source: Inegi (2014a).

Figure 4a: Puebla. Economic units by size and participation in the total state revenue, 2013



Source: Inegi (2014b).

Figure 4b: Puebla. Economic units by size and participation in the total state revenue, 2013

Source: Inegi (2014b).

Small (11 to 50 people) and medium-sized (51 to 250 people) economic units represent a greater proportion in Baja California (7.4% against 2.9% in Puebla, see Figures 3a and 4a), and also contribute more to the state GDP (45.7% against 36.4%, see Figures 3b and 4b). Whereas large (more than 250 people employed) economic units only represent 0.1% in both economies but generate 37.2% and 50.1% of the state GDP for Baja California and Puebla, respectively, with car and truck manufacturing being the main economic activities in both state economies. To a lesser extent, the manufacture of non-electronic dental and ophthalmic equipment, the beverage industry, and the manufacture of audio and video equipment and electronic components stands out in Baja California, while in Puebla this is the case for the manufacture of automobile parts, wireless telecommunications, the production of petroleum and gas, chocolates, sweets, fruit preservation, and vegetables (Inegi, 2014a; 2014b).

These data indicate that there is a polarization of the production structure in Puebla, due to the importance of microunits and the participation of large companies in the state GDP. While in Baja California, small and medium economic units have a significant participation in the productive structure. Concerning economic vocation, the automotive sector in both territories is predominant, although the presence of other sectors is also notable in Baja California, such as the manufacture of electronic and medical products.

Other indicators that give account of a more heterogeneous labor market in Puebla and with lower-quality jobs are shown in Table 6. The partial employment, unemployment, and subemployment rates (understood as the need to work more hours, translating into the search for a complementary job or a new job with longer working hours) have a higher incidence in Puebla than in Baja California. The rate of critical employment conditions refers to the percentage of the employed population who are working less than 35 hours per week for labor market reasons, in addition to those who work more than 35 hours per week with monthly incomes below the minimum wage, and those who work more than 48 hours per week earning up to two minimum wages. This is the employed population who works in precarious conditions and its growth confirms the drop in the quality of the jobs. This indicator is almost

three times higher in Puebla, but the increase of this rate in the last 10 years in Baja California has been very fast, going from 2.1% to 7.7% (Levar, 2011).

Table 6: Indicators of employment by state during the first quarter of 2016

State	Partial employment and unemployment ^{2/} %	General pressure ^{2/} %	Salaried work ^{3/} %	Subemployment ^{3/} %	Critical employment conditions ^{3/} %	Work informality ^{3/} %	Employment in the informal sector ^{3/} %
National	10.2	7.9	64.5	7.9	14.0	57.4	27.1
Baja California	6.5	4.7	72.4	2.7	7.7	41.4	19.9
Puebla	10.0	6.7	56.6	6.1	20.7	73.3	31.8

1/ Calculated rate with respect to the working-age population.

2/ Calculated rates with respect to the economically active population.

3/ Calculated rates with respect to the employed population.

Source: Based on Inegi (2016b).

The employment rate in the informal sector refers to the population employed in an economic unit that operates from household resources without constituting itself as a company, so that the activity does not have an identifiable and independent situation from that household. This rate increases to 31.8% and 19.9% in Puebla and Baja California, respectively, with the former being above the national level (27.1%) and the latter being below this average.

By considering a broad measure of informal employment, that is, the informal employment rate⁹, it is possible to observe a larger breach between the data corresponding to Puebla and Baja California, with respective values of 73.3% and 41.4% of the employed population.

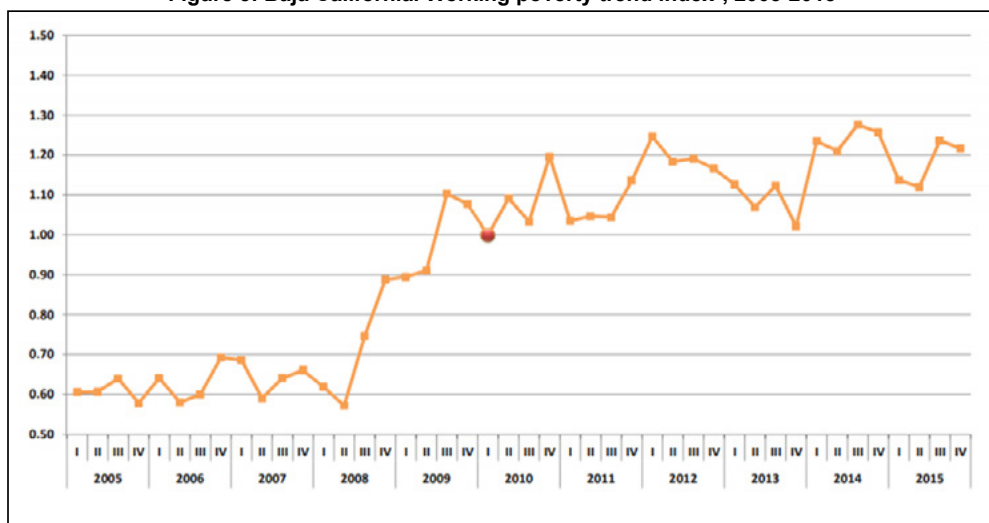
Working Income

The working poverty trend index (ITLP for its acronym in Spanish) is an indicator developed by Coneval that serves to show how much access there is to a fair income through the working salaries. This index has two components—the salaries and the prices of the basic food basket—and it is a measure of the purchasing power of wages that shows the trend of the percentage of people who cannot acquire the food basket with the working income. Therefore, if the ITLP increases, it means that the percentage of people who cannot buy a food basket with their working income is also greater.

⁹ The informal employment rate “adds to the definition of informal work the following categories: unprotected work in the agriculture and livestock activity, remunerated household domestic service, as well as subordinate workers who, although they work for formal economic units, do so under modalities that elude registration in social security” (Inegi, 2016b, p. 9).

Figures 5 and Figure 6 show that from 2005 to 2015 the state of Baja California had a significant drop in the purchasing power of wages, by more than doubling the ITLP, from 0.65 to almost 1.6 in ten years. Meanwhile, the behavior of the ITLP for Puebla is more stable in this period, but also gives account of a deterioration in the working incomes, the ITLP fluctuating between 0.85 and 1.1 in the same period

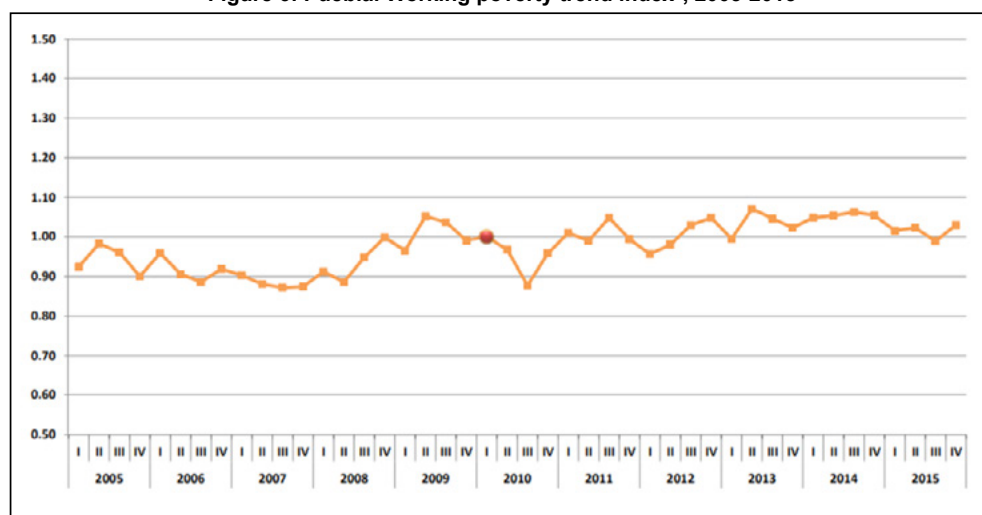
Figure 5: Baja California. Working poverty trend index*, 2005-2015



Source: Coneval, 2016.

*Based on the first quarter of 2010.

Figure 6: Puebla. Working poverty trend index*, 2005-2015



Source: Coneval, 2016.

*Based on the first quarter of 2010.

These data shows that the precarious work process by the salary component is more notable in Baja California than in Puebla, due to the impact of the 2001 and 2008 economic crises and the greater dependence of the local economy with respect to the changes in the international context.

Occupational Segregation by Immigration Status and Gender

In order to analyze the segregation of the population by their immigration status and gender, the 10 main occupations of the economically active population in 2010 have been identified. Based on this information, it is observed that in terms of occupations, the non-recent and recent immigrant population present significant differences with regard to the local population in Baja California. The occupations of watchmen and guards in establishments and domestic workers stand out as part of the main job occupations of the immigrant population, as well as the occupation of construction support workers in the case of recent immigrants. The occupation of assemblers of electric and electronic parts are among the 10 main job occupations of both locals and immigrants, which indicates the importance of employment in this sector of activity in the state, which can also be interpreted from the occupation of storekeeper in establishments (Table 7).

In contrast, in Puebla, occupational segregation by immigration status does not appear as evident, since there are various occupations classified as main occupations for the three categories of the population. However, the occupational category of street vendors of miscellaneous items (excluding food sales) seems to concentrate in the immigrant population. In the case of recent immigrants, they often are employed as watchmen and guards in establishments or in the production of bread, tortilla, pastries, and other cereal and flour products. For this state, it stands out that of the 10 most important job occupations for the local population, three are associated with the agricultural sector and the main one is that of workers in the cultivation of maize and/or beans (Table 8). Although the difference between the indigenous and non-indigenous population has not been considered, it is very likely that a segregation by ethnicity would be expressed in job occupations. Similarly, there are various main occupations that are independent from the immigration status, that is, those that belong to the tertiary sector (in particular to commerce) and that of operators of sewing, embroidery, and cutting machines for the manufacture of textile and clothing products. These jobs are offered by maquila companies for export, particularly in the Valley of Tehuacán.

Table 9 summarizes the 10 main occupations in Baja California by gender, where it can be observed that the occupations of assemblers of electronics, domestic workers, cashiers, box office workers and debt collectors, secretaries, street vendors, industrial machine operators, or sweepers are dominated by women, while men tend to concentrate in occupations such as construction workers, masonry and the like, watchmen and guards in establishments, mechanics in the maintenance and repair of motor vehicles, as drivers and other occupations related to the industry.

Table 7: Baja California. 10 main job occupations of the EAP by immigration status, 2010

Locals	Non-recent immigrants	Recent immigrants
Sales employees, shop assistants, and clerks.	Shopkeepers.	Support workers in agricultural activities.
Shopkeepers.	Sales employees, shop assistants, and clerks.	Construction workers, masonry, and the like.
Construction workers, masonry, and the like.	Construction workers, masonry, and the like.	Assemblers of electric and electronic parts.
Mechanics in the maintenance and repair of motor vehicles.	Support workers in agricultural activities.	Sales employees, shop assistants, and clerks.
Drivers of trucks, vans, and cars.	Watchmen and guards in establishments.	Watchmen in establishments.
Secretaries.	Domestic workers.	Domestic workers.
Sweepers and cleaners (except in hotels and restaurants).	Supervisors of industrial machinery operators.	Cashiers, box office workers, and debt collectors.
Cashiers, box office workers, and debt collectors.	Mechanics in the maintenance and repair of motor vehicles.	Construction support workers
Assemblers of electric and electronic parts.	Street vendors of miscellaneous items (excluding food sales).	Drivers of buses, trucks, vans, taxis, and passenger cars.

Source: Own elaboration with data from the census sample of the Inegi (2010).

Table 8: Puebla. 10 main job occupations of the EAP by immigration status, 2010

Locals	Non-recent immigrants	Recent immigrants
Workers in the cultivation of maize and/or beans.	Shopkeepers.	Shopkeepers.
Shopkeepers.	Sales employees, shop assistants, and clerks.	Sales employees, shop assistants, and clerks.
Sales employees, shop assistants, and clerks.	Construction workers, masonry, and the like.	Watchmen and guards in establishments.
Construction workers, masonry, and the like.	Other specialists not previously classified.	Construction workers, masonry, and the like.
Other works in agricultural activities not previously classified.	Domestic workers.	Workers in the production of bread, tortilla, pastries, and other cereal and flour products.
Domestic workers.	Operators of sewing, embroidery, and cutting machines for the manufacture of textile and clothing products.	Street vendors of miscellaneous items (except food sales).
Operators of sewing, embroidery, and cutting machines for the manufacture of textile and clothing products.	Sweepers and cleaners (except in hotels and restaurants).	Domestic workers.
Construction support workers.	Street vendors of miscellaneous items (except food sales).	Agents and sales representatives and consignees.
Drivers of buses, trucks, vans, taxis, and passenger vehicles.	Drivers of buses, trucks, vans, taxis, and passenger vehicles.	Operators of sewing, embroidery, and cutting machines for the manufacture of textile and clothing products.
Support workers in agricultural activities.	Elementary school teachers.	Drivers of buses, trucks, vans, taxis, and passenger vehicles.

Source: Own elaboration with data from the census sample of the Inegi (2010).

Table 9: Baja California. 10 main job occupations of the EAP by gender, 2010

Men	Women
Construction workers, masonry, and the like.	Shopkeepers.
Support workers in agricultural activities.	Sales employees, shop assistants, and clerks.
Sales employees, shop assistants, and clerks.	Domestic workers.
Shopkeepers.	Assemblers of electrical and electronic parts.
Mechanics in the maintenance and repair of motor vehicles.	Cashiers, box office workers, and debt collectors.
Watchmen and guards in establishments.	Secretaries.
Drivers of trucks, vans, and cargo cars.	Street vendors of miscellaneous items (except food sales).
Drivers of buses, trucks, vans, taxis, and passenger vehicles.	Other operators of industrial machinery, assemblers, and transport drivers.
Manages and workers in warehouse control.	Support workers in agricultural activities.
Supervisors of industrial machinery operators.	Sweepers and cleaners (except in hotels and restaurants).

Source: Own elaboration with data from the census sample of the Inegi (2010).

In Puebla, the main occupations for women are domestic work, operators of sewing, embroidery, and cutting machines for the manufacture of textile and clothing products, secretaries, workers in the production of bread, tortilla, pastries, and other cereal and flour products, tailors and dressmakers, seamstresses and clothing makers, and street vendors of miscellaneous items (except food sales). Whereas men are employed in activities related to agricultural activity, as well as construction workers, masonry, and the like, and drivers. The occupations classified among the 10 main occupations for both genders are commerce and workers in the cultivation of maize and/or corn. Unlike Baja California, these occupations are linked to less salaried productive activities and are typical of rural localities (Table 10).

Table 10: Puebla. 10 main job occupations of the EAP by gender, 2010

Men	Women
Workers in the cultivation of maize and/or beans.	Shopkeepers.
Construction workers, masonry, and the like.	Domestic workers.
Other workers in agricultural activities not previously classified.	Sales employees, shop assistants, and clerks.
Shopkeepers.	Operators of sewing, embroidery, and cutting machines for the manufacture of textile and clothing products.
Sales employees, shop assistants, and clerks.	Secretaries.
Drivers of buses, trucks, vans, taxis, and passenger vehicles.	Other specialists not previously classified.
Construction support workers.	Workers in the production of bread, tortilla, pastries, and other cereal and flour products.
Drivers of trucks, vans, and cargo cars.	Tailors and dressmakers, seamstresses and clothing makers.
Support workers in agricultural activities.	Street vendors of miscellaneous items (except food sales).
Workers in the cultivation of vegetables.	Workers in the cultivation of maize and/or beans.

Source: Own elaboration with data from the census sample of the Inegi (2010).

Table 11 shows some of the findings regarding the greater formalization of employment in Baja California, which translates to a greater access to health institutions, for both men and women, since the levels of access for both genders fluctuate around 50%. In the case of Puebla, the situation is quite different, both men and women have little access to health institutions and only around 20% of the employed population have this social protection.

Table 11: Percentage distribution of the employed population according to conditions of access to health institutions, first quarter of 2016

	Men	%	Women	%
Baja California				
Total	942 502	100	589 205	100
With access to health institutions	480 842	51	314 748	53
Without access to health institutions	411 542	44	259 812	44
Not specified	50 118	5	14 645	2
Puebla				
Total	1 603 248	100	965 796	100
With access to health institutions	332 392	21	189 071	20
Without access to health institutions	1 269 471	79	776 004	80
Not specified	1 385	0	721	0

Source: Elaborated with data from the Enoe (Inegi, 2016a).

Conclusions

The comparison of the regional Mexican labor markets has been useful to show the great differences at the interior of the national territory with regard to structural heterogeneity and the differentiated impacts of economic globalization, as well as of work precariousness. The regions defined here as border and non-border are appropriate for this analysis given that the developed models were comprised from different periods of the national project and economic development. The border regions are representative of the economic openness stage, neoliberalism, and globalization. On the other hand, the development model of the non-border region, that is, the central part of the country, is configured in the import substitution model stage and, subsequently, participates in the industrial relocation process and in economic openness.

Recent context for the analysis of the labor markets is characterized by the impacts of the 2001 and 2008 economic crises. On the other hand, the geographical location of these regions translates into differentiated population processes. Characterized by a high rate of immigration, a significant proportion of the labor market of the border region is comprised by immigrants. It is in this territory where the incorporation of

women to remunerated work is at higher levels. For its part, the non-border region, represented by Puebla, has a more polarized productive structure, a greater presence of indigenous population, and a greater weight of the productive activities of the rural localities.

Regarding the dynamic of the labor markets, it is possible to say that the jobs offered have been insufficient in both regions, but the impact has been greater in Baja California. It is here that the deterioration in the quality of employment has accelerated in recent years, a consequence of a drop in the attraction of the immigrant population and an increase in the rate of critical employment conditions and the work poverty trend index. Thus, work precariousness is present in both labor markets, but at different degrees and with different expressions. In the case of Puebla, it is expressed by the little access to health institutions by both men and women, while the main problem in Baja California is the intense fall of the purchasing power of wages.

The economic structure of both territories is similar with regard to the relative importance of the primary, secondary, and tertiary sectors. This distribution allows identifying the growing tertiarization that exists in both economies. However, in Puebla, there is greater activity in the agricultural sector, unlike in Baja California, where the secondary sector is more important. The aforementioned is correlated with the predominance of the micro and large economic units in the case of Puebla, and of small and medium economic units in the case of Baja California.

Regarding the occupational structure, it can be observed that it persists by the weight of independent work (which includes mainly self-employment), reproducing structural heterogeneity, although with a greater extension of salaried work in Baja California. While in Puebla, independent work is occupied by a third part of the employed population in the case of men, and a fourth part of women, who continue having a significant percentage of occupations as unpaid family members. In Puebla, the labor market is characterized by the greater presence of atypical work but is linked to the persistence of subsistence economies.

The differences in the main occupations according to immigration status and gender, allows rendering account of the segregation processes of the immigrant population in the case of Baja California, as well as confirming the importance of the agricultural sector in Puebla and of the occupations in the electronic industry in Baja California, with women being predominantly employed in the assembly of electronics. On the other hand, among the main occupations for women in Puebla are: operators of sewing, embroidery, and cutting machines for the manufacture of textile and clothing products. These occupations predominantly fulfilled by women in both regions are linked to jobs created by the global industrial relocation that occurred in both territories, but that—in Puebla—presents itself in rural areas.

The differences in the labor markets of these regions express the contrasts of the regional development models. The north-south division acquires particular relevance and expresses differentiated temporalities in the process of salarization and the presence of capitalist forms of production, as well as specific problems and impacts of globalization and of the cycles of the world economic activity.

Based on the above results, it can also be confirmed that work precariousness has different dynamics and scope according to the regional contexts. In such a way, it is possible to distinguish between one type of precariousness associated with the persistence of traditional forms of work or subsistence economy of the type of the Taylorist-Fordist factory period—mainly in Puebla—and another related to the

industrial relocation, work flexibility, and the greater importance of the services economy, which are typical of the current knowledge society.

Atypical work is part of both economies but follows different logics that also have differentiated weights in Puebla and in Baja California. A broadened concept of precariousness (unrestricted to salaried work) seems more appropriate to capture the complexity of the dynamics of deterioration of the quality of work and of the existing breach with the ideal market concerning the concept of decent work.

Returning to the starting point of this article, it can be said that it is necessary to study not only regional but also local labor markets, at the level of cities and municipalities, in order to capture the specific ways in which global processes and the impacts of the crises of the first decade of the 21st century are expressed. It can also be noted that border regions have specific characteristics associated with their integration into the process of globalization and that currently they show signs of stagnation and deterioration in the quality of employment, which were not imagined at other times in the process of economic openness.

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