

Brechas de género y condiciones laborales de las mujeres indígenas en Quintana Roo, México

Gender gaps and labor conditions of indigenous women in Quintana Roo, Mexico

María de Jesús Ávila-Sánchez¹
José Alfredo Jáuregui-Díaz²

Información	Resumen
Artículo de Investigación Recibido: 15 junio 2023 Aceptado: 4 octubre 2023 En línea: 1 diciembre 2023	El objetivo del presente trabajo es analizar cómo el mercado laboral es uno de los ámbitos de mayor interés para evidenciar las desigualdades de género ya que tiene su raíz en la organización del trabajo, tanto remunerado como no remunerado. El empleo como recurso social proporciona a hombres y mujeres acceso a otros recursos y bienes sociales. Sin embargo, en el caso de las mujeres indígenas que residen en Quintana Roo, enfrentan muchas desventajas acumuladas en términos de etnia y clase social. A través de los microdatos del Censo de Población y Vivienda 2020. Los resultados dan cuenta de las desigualdades entre mujeres y hombres indígenas migrantes en el mercado laboral estatal y sus manifestaciones recientes de dominación en el trabajo, en un marco de profundas diferencias sociales, económicas, étnicas, sociales y culturales.
Palabras clave Brecha de género, Trabajo, Indígenas.	Abstract The aim of this paper is to analyze how the labor market is one of the areas of greatest interest for highlighting gender inequalities, since it is rooted in the organization of work, both paid and unpaid. Employment as a social resource provides men and women with access to other resources and social goods. However, in the case of indigenous women residing in Quintana Roo, they face many accumulated disadvantages in terms of ethnicity and social class. Through microdata from the 2020 Population and Housing Census. The results account for the inequalities between migrant indigenous women and men in the state labor market and their recent manifestations of domination at work, within a framework of profound social, economic, ethnic, social and cultural differences.

Introduction

The labor market is one of the most important areas for highlighting gender inequality since gender is deeply rooted in the organization of paid and unpaid work. Employment is a social resource that gives men and women greater access to other resources and social goods and is itself a place of insertion and integration into the social fabric.

In the history of humanity, the value of women's work has been a common problem, since the status of women varies from one society to another depending on the political and economic composition. In this regard, Blay (Blay, 1994) argues that each place has its own cultural, economic, and political way of implementing this subordination. Therefore, work is seen as an important factor in women's empowerment.

¹ Doctora en Ciencias Sociales, Universidad Autónoma de Nuevo León, Monterrey – México, Email: maria.avilasnz@uanl.edu.mx, ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8693-4634>
² Doctor en Demografía, Universidad Autónoma de Nuevo León, Monterrey – México, Email: alfredo.jaurequidz@uanl.edu.mx, ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2518-8818>

Indigenous women living in Quintana Roo face many accumulated disadvantages in terms of ethnicity and social class, as well as gender inequality in the workplace. This article estimates inequality in labor participation and labor conditions among indigenous immigrant women and men in Quintana Roo, to understand how gender domination in the labor market is manifested in the context of profound social, economic, ethnic and cultural differences.

To achieve this, microdata collected by the National Institute of Geography and Informatics (INEGI) from the 2020 Population and Housing Census was used as a source on information. This article is divided into five parts, the first part discusses perspectives that attempt to explain gender inequality in the workplace; the second part examines research on the migration process of indigenous people in Quintana Roo; the third part describes the method used in the study. The fourth part examines the gap in economic participation between indigenous women and men. The fifth and final part is the conclusion, which analyzes the results and suggests future lines of research.

Gender perspectives at work

The study of gender and work emerged in the 1960s and 1970s as women's employment rates increased and women's movements began to address gender inequality in the home and in the workplace. Previous research has focused on how the attitudes and behaviors of men and women differ at work. Over time, research focused more on social relationships in the workplace.

Recent trends in gender equality and labor consider gender mainstreaming in work structures and organizations. In this view, gender is not just an attribute that people bring to work, but is embedded in the workplace, so that discrimination and inequality continue to be of interest to those studying gender equality and labor relations.

There are various theories to explain gender inequality in the workplace, such as Marxist theory, feminist theory, dualist theory, poststructuralist theory and human capital theory, which are described below:

Marxists challenged traditional notions of surplus value creation by showing how capitalists could exploit gender inequality for greater economic gain (Lockwood, 1986). The Marxist view of gender inequality in the workplace sees women as "reserve labor" (Bruegel, 1979).

According to Marxists, the conflict between labor and capital is one of the main causes of labor inequality (Wright, 2008). Rather than identifying class struggle as the sole cause of gender inequality, these theorists suggest that one of the strategies of workers is to use cheap labor to counteract workers resistance, which tends to perpetuate gender inequality (Floya, 1980). Marxist theory does not consider women as a class but treat gender inequality because of class struggle (Bruegel, 1979).

This analysis has been challenged by some feminist scholars who advocate a holistic approach to gender equality in the socio-political and economic spheres, both in the workplace and in the home (Lips, 1993). For this reason, radical feminists have criticized Marxist theory for "ignoring" gender.

Radical feminists argue that all forms of oppression stem from patriarchy (Walby, 1990) and see the concept of patriarchy as the basis of oppression in the workplace. Patriarchy refers to institutions and structures that give power to men over women (Walby, 1990). They point out that housework is women's primary work and men benefit from it. They argue that this gender division of labor underlies patriarchal social relations that give men an advantage over

women in employment. Radical feminists argue that patriarchy imposes a lower social and economic status on women.

Dual systems theorists believe that Marxism and patriarchy alone cannot explain women's place in the labor force and propose to combine these two mutually exclusive theoretical perspectives into a single theory. It attempts to explain the dual role of the capitalist system and patriarchy in creating and maintaining gender inequality in the labor force (Hearn, 1987).

The concept of patriarchy is questioned to explain the disadvantage of women in the labor force. In this regard, Colgan and Ledwith (Colgan & Ledwith, 1996) criticize biological notions that imply that not only men can implement patriarchy. Today, gender inequality is more complex. Moreover, patriarchy cannot count on other sources of oppression such as race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, and religion.

The idea of capitalist patriarchy can be considered a breakthrough in the study of gender inequality in employment. Hartmann (Hartmann, 1981) explained this as the intersection of two systems, capitalism, and patriarchy, from which the dominant groups benefit.

Eisenstein (Eisenstein, 1979) and Hartmann (Hartmann, 1981) argue that both capitalism and patriarchy are interrelated and interdependent systems pursuing the same interests. The dual systems approach has improved understanding of gender inequality in the workplace, but its work has been criticized by poststructuralists who argue that structural theory ignores the different experiences of women and men at work.

Poststructuralist theory sees social discourse and representation as a source of gender inequality. It focuses on the representation of men and women in the labor force. They argue that women and men can be included or excluded from employment and other social contexts depending on who controls the dominant discourse of social representation.

Foucault (Foucault, 1979) suggested that gender roles and identities are nothing more than social representations determined by dominant discourses that vary from one culture to another and from one community to another. According to this approach, the theory of structural is an oversimplification of women's experiences in employment, suggesting that gender subjectivity is a better lens for understanding the complex and changing nature of the gender relations in employment.

Poststructuralist theorists criticize the structural analysis of gender inequality because it tends to ignore the different experiences of women and men in the labor force while imposing gender stereotypes (Witz & Savage, 1992). From an individual perspective, a poststructuralist analysis of inequality in the workplace is useful, but it still has some general problems. It ignores the persistence and recurrence of workplace inequality and discrimination experienced by most working women (Witz & Savage, 1992), which may be exacerbated among poor and indigenous women.

Human capital theory in neoclassical economic studies suggests that education, training, and skills of workers determine the rewards they receive from work. They argue that organizations make hiring decisions based on the market value of everyone's human capital (Walby, 1990). Human capital theorists interpret women's status in paid work as low human capital, arguing that women have fewer skills and qualifications than men and less experience in the labor market (Mincer, 1962). According to this view, human capital decreases when workers leave the labor market for a period, resulting in lower wages when they return after maternity leave.

In this sense, Walby (Walby, 1990) argues that the concepts of patriarchy and power relations do not exist in the analysis of human capital theory. In addition, women, who are equal to men in terms of human capital, still do not have the same level of income as men. International comparisons by the International Labor Organization (ILO) show that “women with similar qualifications, at least in the same occupation, earn less and are less mobile than men” (International Labour Organization, 2020).

We need an integrative approach to help us understand the differences in the labor market between indigenous migrant women and indigenous migrant men. In this paper, we use the contributions of the different theoretical perspectives examined, we rely on the concept of intersectionality.

Intersectionality is a theoretical concept and methodological approach that has achieved an increasingly important position in the work of feminist scholars over the last two decades (Yuval-Davis, 2006). At the level of theory, intersectionality has transformed how gender is discussed (Shields, 2008), as it suggests that, along with gender, there are other socially constructed categories of identity that contribute to social inequality and, therefore, gender should not be taken as the only category through which to study social inequality.

Despite the contributions of the theoretical approaches described above, no one argues that ethnicity could be a fact that increases inequality between men and women in the labor market. Therefore, the objective of this paper is to estimate inequality in labor participation and labor conditions among indigenous migrant women and men in Quintana Roo, to shed light on how gender dominance manifests itself in the labor market marked by profound socioeconomic, ethnic and cultural differences

Migration studies in Quintana Roo

The research on the migration process of indigenous people in Quintana Roo addresses the following topics: population behavior, reconstruction of lifestyles, ethnic discrimination, and labor insertion.

Regarding the demographic behavior of indigenous migrants within the city, Cea (Cea, 2004) uses data from the twelfth population and housing census to examine the specificities of the migration phenomenon of the indigenous peoples of the Yucatan peninsula at the national level. Among its findings, it pointed out that in Quintana Roo, nearly a third (29.8%) of all immigrants aged 5 years and older were indigenous, while half of the indigenous population settled in that entity (58.2%) were immigrants. It received 77, 476 indigenous immigrants, of which 91.4% were from Yucatan (70, 825), and with the 2,579 from Campeche, which brings the proportion of indigenous peninsular migration to Quintana Roo to 94.7%, or almost 4.8 out of every five indigenous immigrants in Quintana Roo come from the Yucatan Peninsula itself.

Aguirre, Quezada and Jáuregui (Aguirre, Quezada, & Jáuregui, 2021) using the 2020 population and housing census, note that Quintana Roo is characterized by a larger indigenous population, as it has the tenth largest indigenous population in the country. In 2015, indigenous people made up 71.2% of Quintana Roo’s immigrants. Most of these came from adjacent entities, mainly Yucatan and Chiapas, which stimulated indigenous migratory flows in southeastern Mexico. In terms of ethnic composition, in 2020 the proportion of Mayan language speakers was 32.5%; tsotsil 11.8%; ch’ol 10.3%; nahuatl 8.3%; zoque 4.1% and zapoteco 2.5%. There is an increase in the number of indigenous immigrant women due to cultural changes in society and labor markets.

With respect to the reconstruction of their lifestyles, Rosales (Rosales, 2008) discusses cultural elements maintained by Mayan peninsular immigrants in Cancun, she notes that “Mayans and other indigenous people, being the poorest of the poor, must pay a high price for

access to the supposed benefits of so-called globalization, centered on the idea of “being someone” at the cost, many times, of their own being (long working hours, traveling long distances to get to work, days off that do not coincide with those of family and friends)” (Rosales, 2008). In addition, she finds that certain referents around ethnicity are changing among adult and young women; while adult Mayan women continue to speak in their mother tongue and wear the *hipil*, young people prefer to wear other clothes, and study English because it means they can get better jobs in the tourism industry, this does not mean that young women do not feel Mayan, but that they are experiencing other ways of being Mayan.

Arteaga (2019) explores how immigrant women in Cancun create sociability based on gender, social and economic conditions.

Regarding the labor market that immigrant women enter, it was found that:

One of the problems that women mention about jobs in the tourism sector is the lack of flexibility in schedules and that, in addition, the days off are usually during the week, not on weekends, since this is when there are more activities and more occupancy in hotels, restaurants, discos and bars. This fact does not allow them to carry out all their daily activities such as doing paperwork, paying services, going to the bank, or going for a walk, relaxing, and having fun with their families, since their days off do not always coincide (Aguirre, Quezada, & Jáuregui, 2021).

On ethnic discrimination, Briseño (Briceño, 2015) in his master’s thesis studies discrimination as conceived from the indigenous migrant population in Felipe Carrillo Puerto, finding that the non-indigenous population considers that the indigenous population “possess different economic conditions” and associates them with the idea that they are people who have an inferior social status, either because of their economic condition or for having “backward customs and ideas”. Although this idea is constructed based on the perceptible reality of the precarious situation and extreme marginalization of the indigenous population, as well as the result of long periods of submission and control as cheap labor, or in conditions of slavery in the coffee haciendas of Chiapas and the coffee plantations (*henequeneras*) of Yucatan, these ideas are internalized in a prejudiced manner, since the indigenous population is conceived as if it were a natural conditions of theirs.

In labor matters, Navarro and Barbosa (Navarro, Barbosa, & Ruiz, 2021) identify how the women who work as guides in the *Huay-Max* groups have become more involved in their homes, but at the same time their daily activities have become more complex, as they take on two to five roles: cooking, cleaning, artisan, guide and administration (member of the project management), a great disadvantage compared to men, who play only up to three roles: guide, artisan and administration, excluding household chores. Horbath (Horbath, 2020) analyzes the perception of indigenous labor rights in Cancun, Playa del Carmen and Chetumal. The results show that the indigenous people perceive the situations in their communities of origin as more difficult than in their cities: “The residents studied had poor working conditions, were abused by their superiors, received less than the minimum wage and worked in misery, labor exploitation, humiliation, and unsafe conditions. However, they claim that immigration has given them more.

Fernández, Figueroa, Medida, Pacheco (Fernández, Figueroa, Medina, & Pacheco, 2020) analyze the impact of tourism on the migratory history of Rivera Mayan workers. Tourism in Quintana Roo has been involved in the commercial exploitation of unskilled labor that takes advantage of the mobility of disadvantaged groups (mainly indigenous), on the one hand, cultural values and common spaces are used as tourist offerings through the places of reception, such as the staged culture, on the other hand, Yucatecan indigenous people were

forced to discard their original dress to adapt and integrate into the transnational commercial market.

Materials And Methods

This is a descriptive study with a cross-sectional temporal cut based on a quantitative approach, whose source of information was the 2020 Population and Housing Census prepared by the National Institute of Statistics and Geography (INEGI), the observation units were the permanent residents of the national territory, as well as individual and collective dwellings. The 2020 census is *de jure*, it was conducted in the place where people usually live.

Specifically, an extended questionnaire was used that included questions on the conditions of speaking indigenous languages and the self-ascription of indigenous groups, which was applied to a probabilistic sample of approximately 4 million households throughout the country, with statistical representation for each of the country's entities.

To identify the indigenous population of the total number of residents, we used the question on the condition of speaking an indigenous language and self-ascription to indigenous groups, which are applied only to persons over 3 years of age (INEGI, 2020). According to this criterion, the total number of indigenous people in Quintana Roo is estimated at 612, 505 (Figure 1).

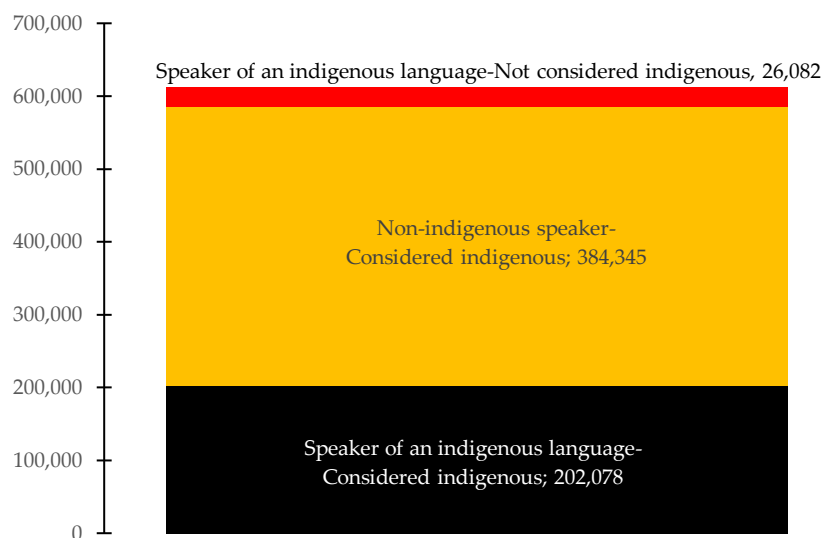


Figure 1

Composition of the indigenous population residing in Quintana Roo, 2020. Source: Own elaboration and calculations based on microdata from the extended questionnaire of the XIV General Population and Housing Census 2020, INEGI.

Of the total population estimated as indigenous, 62.7% said they considered themselves indigenous, 33.0% spoke an indigenous language and considered themselves indigenous, and 4.3% spoke an indigenous language. This allows for the identification of a segment of the population that considers itself to belong to an ethnic group, even if it no longer speaks an indigenous language.

For a better estimation of indigenous populations, it is proposed to overcome the individualistic approach by one that uses indigenous households as the unit of analysis, like that proposed by the Comisión Nacional para el Desarrollo de los Pueblos Indígenas (CDI, 2015). It assumes that indigenous households are units that share a single residence, part or all their income, and certain types of goods and services are consumed collectively.

Once the persons who speak indigenous languages or identify themselves as indigenous are selected, they are added to the household residents with whom they are related to form the indigenous households. In the case of persons who speak an indigenous language but are not related to the other residents of the household, they are added to the estimate individually. According to this method, the number of indigenous people in Quintana Roo amounts to 890,862 in 2020.

These data suggest that the ethnic and cultural appropriation of indigenous people living in the state goes beyond the linguistic criterion, which manifests itself as a form of self-identification that relies on symbolic references to justify ethnicity. As a shared past, “customs”, kinship and belonging to a community, the indigenous people reproduced their meaning, giving way to new identities that transform traditional cultures through interaction and everyday life (Barabas, 2008). In this regard, Rosales (Rosales, 2008) mentions that the fact that young Mayan people living in Quintana Roo do not speak their native language or use the hipil does not mean that they do not feel Mayan.

To know the migratory status of the indigenous persons who are identities in the households, the question on place of birth was used, with this criterion it was estimated that 410, 231 are immigrants, that is, they were born in a state other than Quintana Roo, a figure that represents 46.0 % of the total indigenous population residing in the state. Regarding their age distribution (Figure 2), they are concentrated in the productive and reproductive ages, which range from 20 to 59 years old.

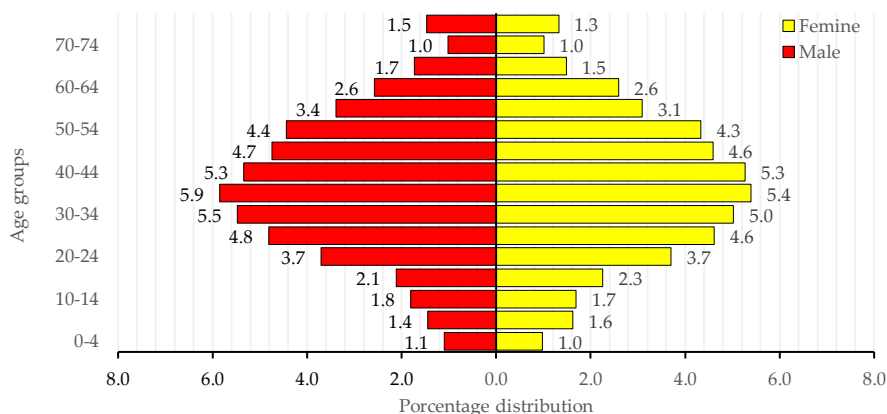


Figure 2

Structure of the indigenous migrant population residing in Quintana Roo, 2020. Source: Own elaboration and calculations based on microdata from the extended questionnaire of the XIV General Population and Housing Census 2020, INEGI.

To approach the labor condition, we used questions about work and its conditions, the data were processed to select indigenous migrant aged 12 years and older living in Quintana Roo who work or worked the week prior to the application of the census, as well as their working conditions. This allowed us to quantify the differences between men and women in the labor market in the indigenous migrant populations living in the state and their working conditions.

Results Y Discution

Access to work for indigenous migrant women continues to be much lower than that of men if we review the gap between their respective participation rates (Figure 3). The economic activity rate of indigenous migrant women is slightly more than half that of men (45.9 compared to 84.9).

With respect to the latter figure, this may be due to an underestimation of the economic participation of indigenous women, particularly because the activities carried out within community and family organizations are not considered economic activities. In addition, census sources do not consider them in obtaining economic information.

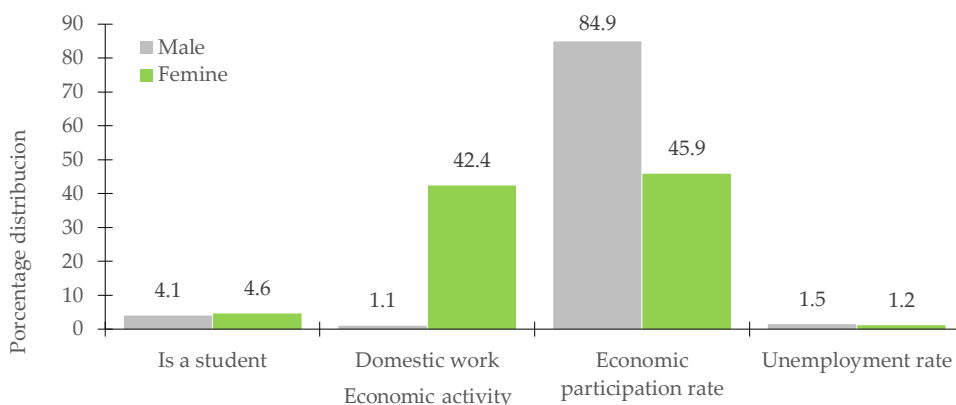


Figure 3

Economic participation rate for indigenous male and female migrants residing in Quintana Roo, 2020. Source: Own elaboration and calculations based on microdata from the ex-extended questionnaire of the XIV General Population and Housing Census 2020, INEGI.

Another way to appreciate the differences between indigenous migrant men and women is by observing the gap in the levels of economic participation by age group (Figure 4). The pattern of participation by age of indigenous migrant women shows a greater permanence in economic activities during the reproductive life span, with the highest levels of participation between 20 and 49 years of age, reaching its peak in the five-year age group 45 to 49 years.

When comparing the pattern of economic participation of indigenous migrant women and men, we can see the distance in the level of labor insertion in each age bracket, which shows the degree of relative inequality in access to work, i.e., indigenous migrant women have insufficient access to the labor market in Quintana Roo (Figure 4).

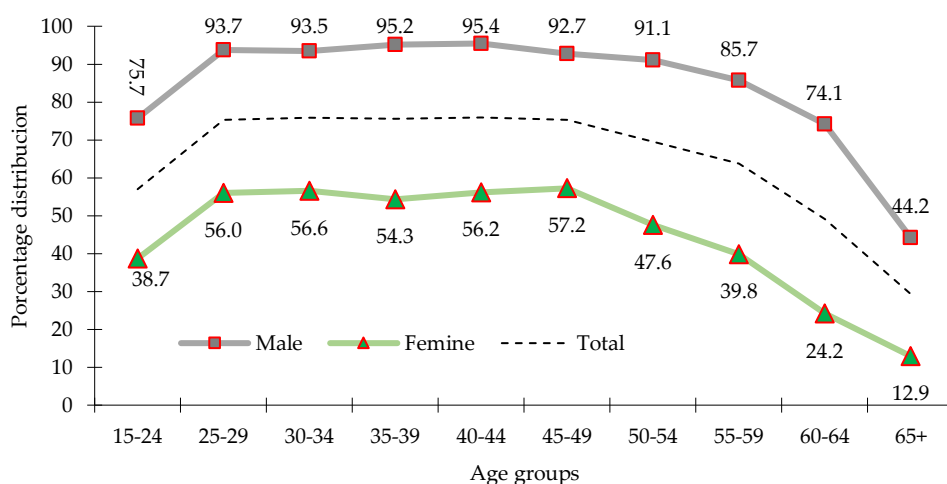


Figure 4

Total economic participation rate, indigenous male and female migrants residing in Quintana Roo, 2020. Source: Own elaboration and calculations based on microdata from the ex-extended questionnaire of the XIV General Population and Housing Census 2020, INEGI.

Economic participation according to some social and demographic categories

It is known that economic participation is a sensitive indicator of various sociodemographic characteristics, since there are correlations between women’s work and the

field of sociobiological reproduction (García & Oliveira, 1994), family situation and life stage (Szasz, 1994). Among these characteristics, educational attainment generally has a direct and positive effect on the probability of women's economic activity, with the highest participation rates corresponding to the most educated women, as shown in figure 5. The relationship between education and economic participation is a unique characteristic of the labor force of indigenous migrant women, as male economic activity is high regardless of education.

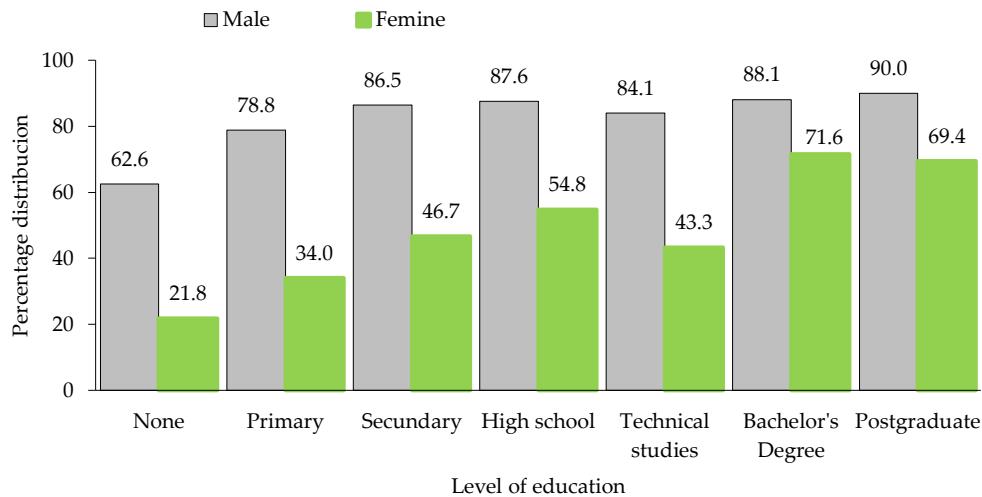


Figure 5

Economic participation rate of indigenous migrant men and women in Quintana Roo according to level of education, 2020. Source: Own elaboration and calculations based on microdata from the extended questionnaire of the XIV General Population and Housing Census 2020, INEGI.

Marital status is related to economic participation because it is considered an indicator of the moments in the life cycle that women go through. Indigenous migrant women show the same trends found in other studies using the relationship between marital status and economic participation, the figure 6 shows that married or cohabiting indigenous migrant women have a lower rate of activity in comparison to separated indigenous migrant women and divorced women (García & Oliveira, 1994).

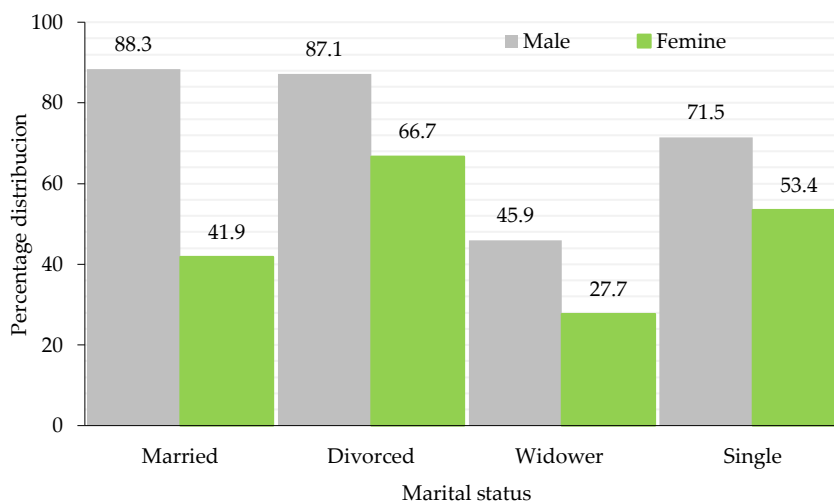


Figure 6

Economic participation rate of indigenous male and female migrants residing in Quintana Roo according to marital status, 2020. Source: Own elaboration and calculations based on microdata from the extended questionnaire of the XIV General Population and Housing Census 2020, INEGI.

It is noteworthy that single indigenous migrant women have lower participation compared to women who are not in a couple (separated or divorced). At the same time, widowed migrant indigenous women have the lowest levels of economic participation, possibly because there are other young people in the family who can replace women in economic activity.

Within the set of indicators that affect economic activity, the number of children is one of the most important, and most of the evidence recorded in Latin America shows an inverse relationship between fertility and economic participation, although this relationship must be nuanced considering the age of the mother, the children, the order of birth and the context of economic crisis or prosperity (García & Oliveira, 1994). In this sense, figure 7 shows a decrease in the number of children, i.e., 1, 2 or 3 children contributed to a higher-than-average economic participation of indigenous migrant women.

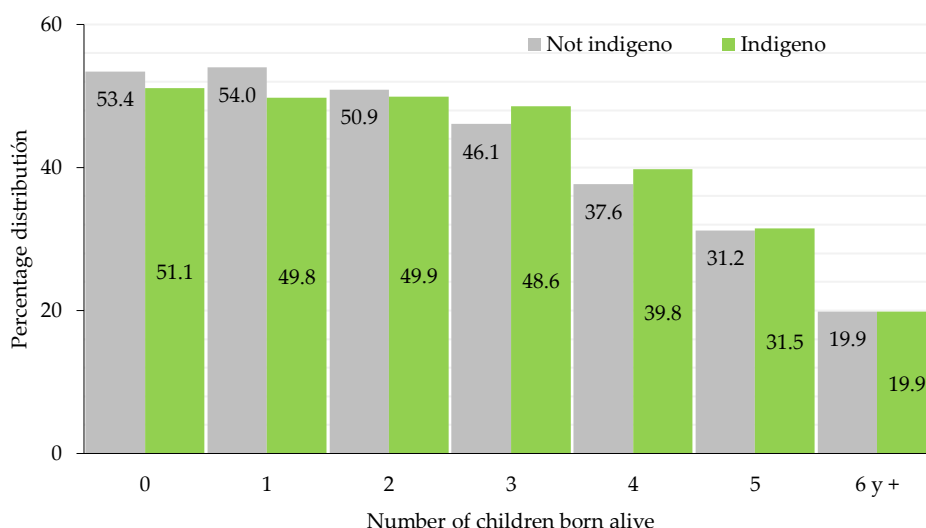


Figure 7

Economic participation rate for indigenous migrant women residing in Quintana Roo according to number of children born alive, 2020. Source: Own elaboration and calculations based on microdata from the extended questionnaire of the XIV General Population and Housing Census 2020, INEGI.

The position in the household shows that indigenous migrant women heads of household have the highest participation in the labor market (Figure 8), which may re-reflect the higher level of economic pressure that these women face, while the indigenous migrant women with the lowest participation rate are the wives, followed by other family members.

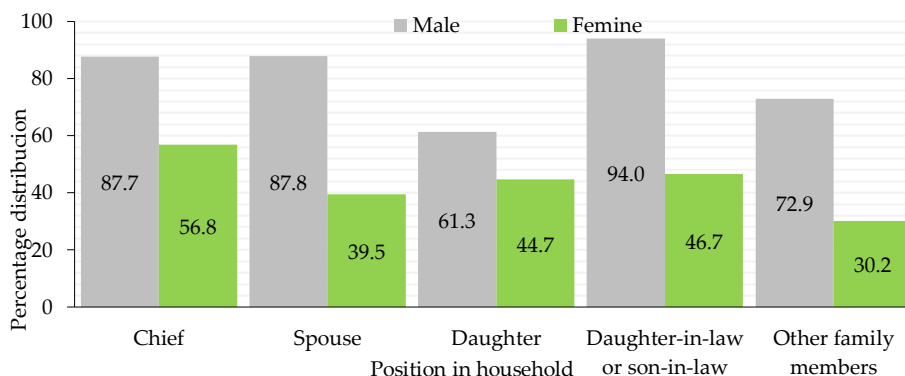


Figure 8

Economic participation rate for indigenous migrant women and men residing in Quintana Roo according to position in household, 2020. Source: Own elaboration and calculations based on microdata from the extended questionnaire of the XIV General Population and Housing Census 2020, INEGI.

The data show that indigenous migrant women who are separated or divorced, heads of household and with children are the groups with the greatest economic activity, that is, indigenous women enter and remain in the labor market because of the heavy economic and care burdens they bear. As Navarro and Barbosa (2021) point out, due to the hierarchization of gender roles, for women to be integrated into the labor market must work double or triple shifts due to the inequality of domestic responsibilities that generate differences in the use of time, which conditions the participation of women in the labor market.

With respect to the main occupation and occupational segregation, as Oliveira, Ariza and Eternod (Oliveira, Ariza, & Eternod, 2001), document, women have been overrepresented in certain sectors of economic activity (textiles, palm products, cane, and wicker) since the turn of the century, while others have become more feminized over time, such as the manufacturing industry, while the proportion of women in personal services has decreased. The dynamics of occupations are such that the presence of men and women has changed in economic activities that have historically been feminized or masculinized, but gender inequality persists. As shown in table 1 indigenous male migrants are employed as craft workers, construction and other trades, personal and security services, elementary workers, professionals, technicians – industrial machinery operators, assemblers, chauffeurs and transport drives; while women are less diverse, working mainly as basic and auxiliary workers, merchants and saleswomen, personal service workers, professional and technical workers, auxiliary workers in administrative activities and domestic workers.

Table 1

Distribution of the employed indigenous migrant population residing in Quintana Roo

Occupations	Male	Femine	Feminization index *100
Officers, directors and bosses	2.5	2.2	45.0
Professionals and technicians	13.8	12.8	46.9
Auxiliary workers in administrative activities	4.7	11.8	127.4
Tradesmen, employees and sales agents	8.7	19.4	112.8
Workers in personal and surveillance services	16.6	16.7	50.9
Personal care workers	0.0	1.8	4191.1
Workers in agricultural, livestock, forestry, hunting and fishing activities	11.3	1.3	6.0
Craft workers, in construction and other trades	16.0	6.3	20.0
Bricklayers and other construction workers	7.0	0.0	0.1
Industrial machinery operators, assemblers, drivers and transport drivers	9.5	0.8	4.0
Workers in elementary and support activities	17.1	28.7	85.0
Domestic workers	0.3	8.2	1514.2
Street food vendors	2.5	2.8	57.6

Source: Own elaboration and calculations based on microdata from the extended questionnaire of the XIV General Population and Housing Census 2020, INEGI.

The occupation of assistants in administrative activities accounts for 18.7% of employed indigenous migrant women. This percentage is higher for indigenous migrant women than for men. This dimension is mainly related to the higher proportion of indigenous migrant women who are clerks, secretaries, cashiers, receptionists, and related occupations. Another category that marked a significant difference between indigenous men and women was that of merchants, workers in elementary activities and domestic workers, in which there are more women. The feminization index, considering the composition of men and women, the profession is feminized if the proportion of women in the sector exceeds the number of women in the group of employed women, presented in table 1 shows that there are essentially three occupation groups dominate by indigenous migrant women.

In order of rank, they are domestic workers, office workers, shopkeepers, and elementary and support activities (while research has been conducted on domestic service, the participation of indigenous migrant women in administrative or professional and technical activities has not been examined). As well as the level of agency of indigenous migrant women who work as civil servants, managers, or heads. In contrast, indigenous migrant women are underrepresented among machine operators, artisans, and agricultural workers. This suggests that the economic structure of Quintana Roo is segmented by gender, with both indigenous migrant women and men concentrated in gen-der-dominated economic activities. There is a need to change the distribution of occupations to achieve equal access for indigenous migrant women and men in all occupations.

Contrary to what would be expected based on the trends recorded at the national level, the distribution of indigenous migrant women and men in terms of job position was similar (Figure 9). Two situations stand out:

- First, a large proportion of indigenous migrant women and men work mainly as employees, which is related to the importance of the service and commerce sector in Quintana Roo, which is one of the main factors attracting migrants to the state (Fernández, Figueroa, Medina, & Pacheco, 2020).

- The second is the low proportion of indigenous migrant women who work as temporary workers, where most indigenous women in Mexico are concentrated (INEGI, 2020).

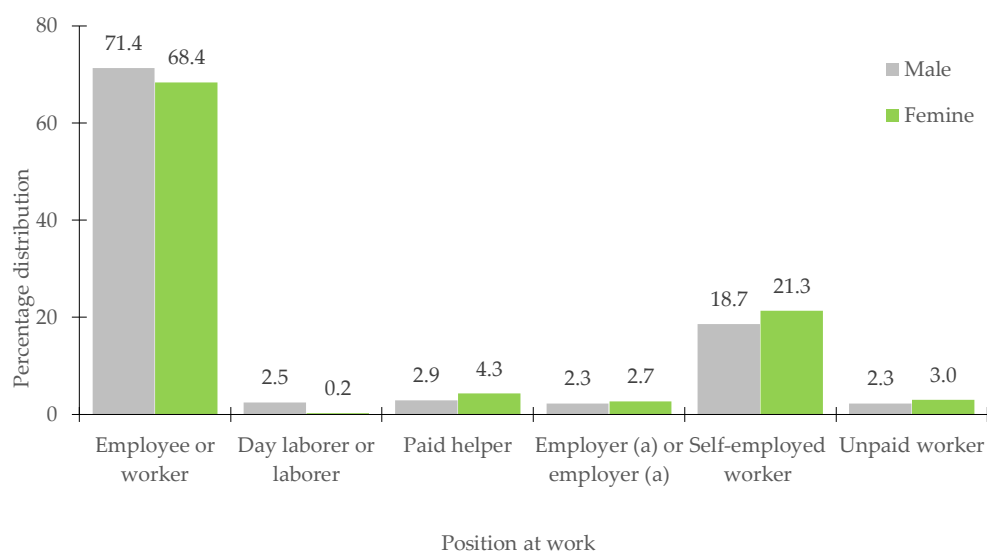


Figure 9

Distribution of the employed indigenous migrant population residing in Quintana Roo by sex and job position, 2020. Source: Own elaboration and calculations based on microdata from the extended questionnaire of the XIV General Population and Housing Census 2020, INEGI.

No gender differences were observed in the quality of employment between indigenous migrant women and men, both have limited access to employment-related social protection (maternity benefits and access to health services, as well as receiving an adequate pension in old age, stand out), 43.7% of indigenous migrant women and 44.2% of indigenous migrant men do not have legal rights to paid maternity leave or disability, and 37.3% of women and men do not have access to health care (figure 10) due to lack of knowledge of human rights, informality, discriminatory practices, and social exclusion that exists in the labor market in Quintana Roo (Horbath, 2020).

Indigenous migrant women and men have a low level of social security coverage due to their ethnic condition. This could be the result of discriminatory practices based on prejudices towards indigenous people, according to Briseño (Briceño, 2015), the native populations consider indigenous people to have an inferior social status, either because of their economic condition or because they have “backward customs and ideas”. Ethnic inequality is more important than gender inequality, as indigenous migrant women and men have a gap of only 2.1 percentage points in bonuses and paid vacations.

Inflexible schedules and the incompatibility of days off with family activities, noted by Arteaga (2019), mainly in the tourism industry further contributes to the precariousness of employment.

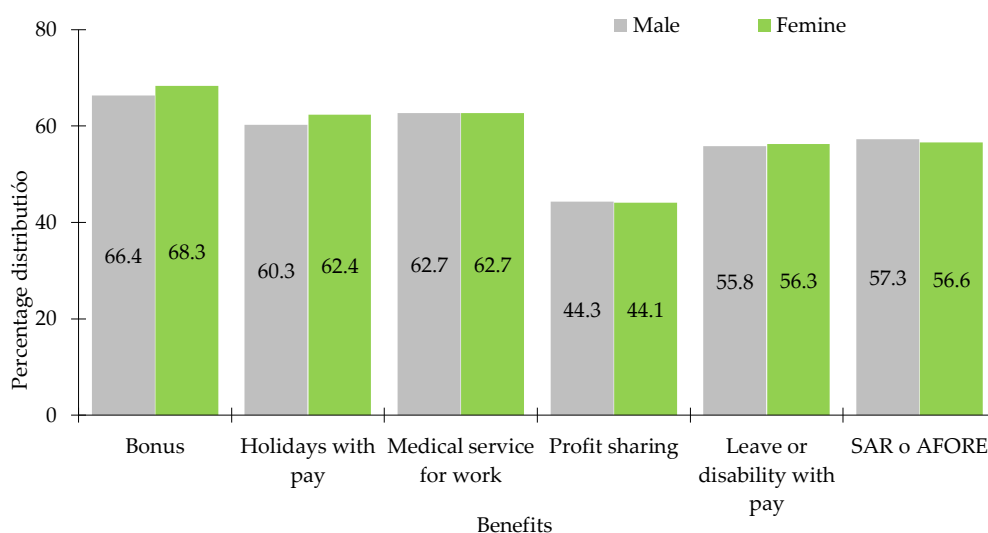


Figure 10

Distribution of the employed indigenous migrant population residing in Quintana Roo according to sex and benefits at work, 2020. Source: Own elaboration and calculations based on microdata from the extended questionnaire of the XIV General Population and Housing Census 2020, INEGI.

The impact of gender inequality on labor participation rates and the feminization of some occupations is strongly reflected in the persistent wage gap or inequality between indigenous migrant women and men living in Quintana Roo. It is estimated that indigenous migrant women earn an average monthly labor income 27.3% lower than that of indigenous migrant men. These differences increase with age (Figure 11).

The wage gap between women and men remains significantly high between the ages of 15-54, when indigenous migrant women live their reproductive years and have the greatest burden of childcare. Older indigenous migrant women earn only 57.5% of what men in the same age group earn, although the largest gap is observed in the 60-64 age group. In this context, age exacerbates women’s vulnerability.

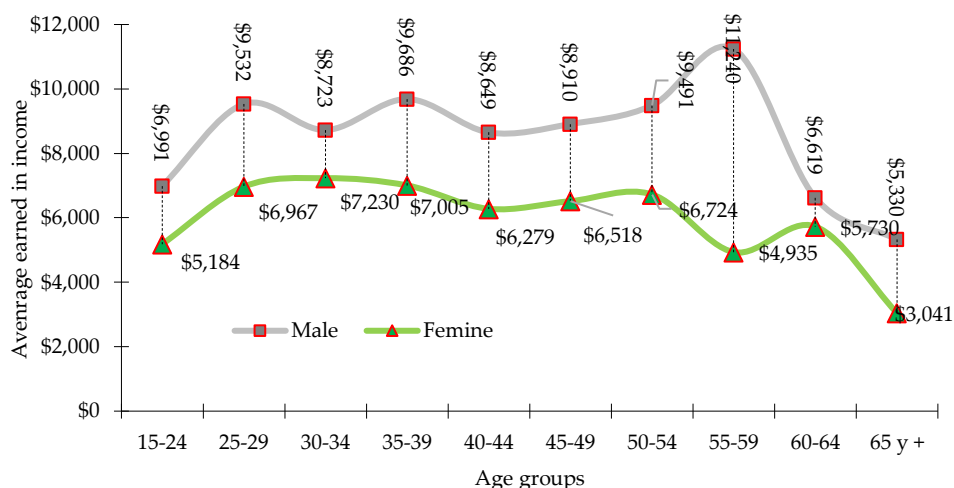


Figure 11

Average salary of the employed indigenous migrant population residing in Quintana Roo by sex and age group, 2020. Source: Own elaboration and calculations based on microdata from the extended questionnaire of the XIV General Population and Housing Census 2020, INEGI.

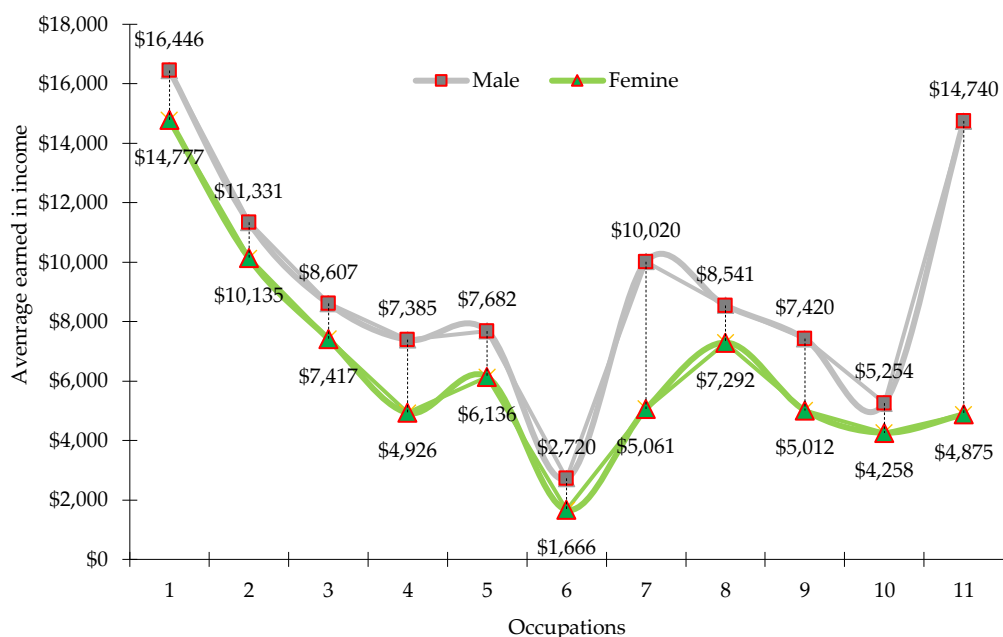


Figure 12

Average salary of the employed indigenous migrant population residing in Quintana Roo by sex and occupation, 2020. 1. Officials, directs and managers; 2. Professionals and technicians; 3. Auxiliary workers in administrative activities; 4. Merchants, clerks, and sales agents; 5. Workers in personal and custodial services; 5.1 Workers in the care of persons; 6. Workers in agricultural, livestock, forestry, hunting and fishing activities; 7. Craft, construction and other trades workers; 8. Operators of industrial machinery, assemblers, chauffeurs and transport drivers; 9. Workers in elementary and support activities; 10. Domestic workers; 11. Street food vendors. Source: Own elaboration and calculations based on microdata from the ex-tended questionnaire of the XIV General Population and Housing Census 2020, INEGI.

Even considering occupations (as shown in the previous figure, they are overrepresented in some occupations), indigenous women still face a persistent gender gap. The analysis by occupation shows that the wage gap is greatest in the occupations group of street vendors, followed by artisan activities; in these two occupational groups, indigenous

women earn only 33% and 51% of what men earn in the same occupations (Figure 12). It highlights that even in occupation with higher education and qualification requirements, such as civil servants, manager and chiefs, indigenous migrant women earn only 90.0% of what men receive. A different appreciation of this inequality wage can be observed when reviewing the wage gap between indigenous migrant women and men according to job position (Figure 13), the result is that indigenous migrant women on average receive lower wages regardless of the position they occupy. The wage gap is more accentuated in certain positions, such as self-employed, employees and employers, although it is also more accentuated in paid assistants.

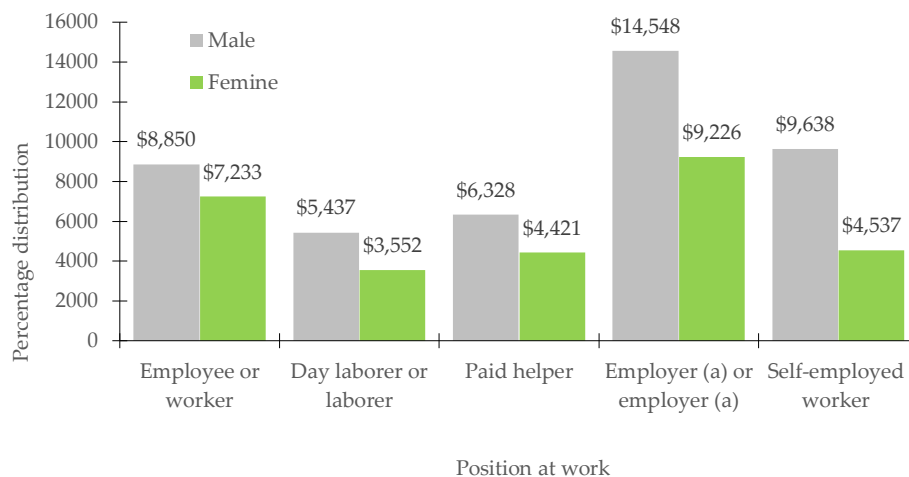


Figure 13

Average salary of the employed indigenous migrant population residing in Quintana Roo according to sex and position in employment, 2020. Source: Own elaboration and calculations based on microdata from the extended questionnaire of the XIV General Population and Housing Census 2020, INEGI.

Conclusions

This work aims to estimate gender differences in the labor market among indigenous migrants living in Quintana Roo and the conditions under which women enter the labor market. The results confirm that indigenous migrant women residing in the entity are much less likely to work than men, their rate of economic activity is slightly more than half that of men.

In terms of labor benefits, there is no gender difference since indigenous migrant men and women have low coverage of social benefits, because of the precarious conditions in which they enter the labor market due to their ethnicity. In addition to lack of awareness of labor rights, informality, discriminatory practices, and social exclusion, about four out of ten indigenous migrant women and men have no legal rights to paid maternity leave or disability, and no access to health care.

Indigenous migrants live in a context of discrimination; nonindigenous people tend to consider them to have lower social status, either because of their economic condition or because of their ancestral knowledge. Although indigenous migrant women have slightly higher social protection coverage than men, which generates inequalities, the absolute difference is only 2.1 percentage points. Ethnicity is a factor that could have a greater impact on job quality than gender inequality.

Gender wage differences persist between indigenous migrant women and men. Regardless of occupation, indigenous migrant women have a lower average monthly in-come

per job than their counterparts. The wage gap is more pronounced in certain occupations, such as self-employed workers, employers, and employees but also in paid helpers.

The data presented in this study allow us to visualize some of the gender inequalities that affect indigenous migrant women living in Quintana Roo in the labor market and can serve as an input for decision makers in the public sector in the development and implementation of policies aimed at improving their working conditions.

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