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REPORT

MEXICO'S FARM LABOR MARKET

DECEMBER 2024

JORNALEROS EN LA AGRICULTURA DE EXPORTACIÓN

TPT EVALUACIÓN Y PROYECTOS

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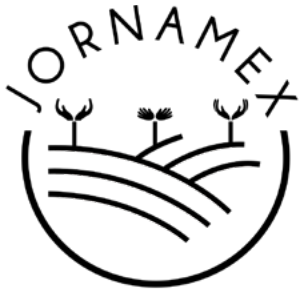

Farmworkers in Mexico’s Export Agriculture

Report 4
Mexico's Farm Labor Market
December 2024

First edition 2025

Cover Design: Sarahí Lay Trigo
Cover and Back Cover Photo: Sarahí Lay Trigo
Editorial Design and Layout: Sarahí Lay Trigo

Jornaleros en la Agrigultura Mexicana de Exportación
Farmworkers in Mexico's Export Agriculture
Guadalajara, Mexico
www.jornamex.com
TPT Evaluación y Proyectos
Guadalajara, Mexico
www.tpt.com.mx

ISBN Report Series: 978-607-69978-2-6
ISBN Report 4: pending

Report 4

Mexico's Farm Labor Market

December 2024

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This report provides an analysis of the situation for agricultural workers for the twelve months ending in December 2024, considering official labor activity data, such as the number of workers registered with the Instituto Mexicano del Seguro Social (IMSS) [Mexican Social Security Institute] and their wages, as well as quarterly employment, occupation and income statistics from the Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía (INEGI) [National Institute of Statistics and Geography], Mexico's official statistical agency.

The Report Series has been made possible by a generous grant from the Walmart Foundation.

We are grateful for comments from Diego Escobar González, Elisa Alejandra Martínez Rubio, José Daniel Rodríguez Morales, and Sarahí Lay Trigo.

2025

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Introduction

In this fourth edition of the labor market report, the conditions of this employment sector up to December 2024 are addressed, as well as variations in IMSS-affiliated jobs[1] in the main exporting municipalities of the country. The executive summary, in addition to summarizing these findings, includes an original study dedicated to the teenager population working in agriculture in Mexico. It has been repeatedly stated that more young people are needed to work in agriculture. This analysis shows that, although the teenage population in rural localities with less than 2,500 inhabitants has decreased, it has increased in slightly larger localities (with less than 15,000 inhabitants). The number of waged agricultural workers in these age groups has increased since 2015. However, it has increased in states characterized by greater informality in employment, which are not the main exporters. In the main exporting states, it has decreased.

Executive summary

The section monitoring labor conditions in agriculture reaffirms what was expressed in the previous report: there is a decrease in the total agricultural workforce affiliated with IMSS (Mexican Social Security Institute), which extends until December 2024, although a small recovery in this type of formal employment is observed in the last month. Wages, which in the previous edition reported a significant increase, still maintain their positive trend, although in December 2024 this trend is more modest than in June 2024.

The waged agricultural workforce continues to grow. The National Survey of Occupation and Employment (ENOE) reports 2.4 million waged agricultural workers in formal and informal jobs. Only formal jobs in agriculture pay wages above the general minimum wage. All others are below, and the number of states and jobs paying below the minimum has been increasing as the minimum wage increases.

1 The data on insured workers with IMSS comes from the institution's open data portal (available at http://datos.imss.gob.mx/dataset). To analyze only agricultural worker data, records are filtered using the sector_2 variable. This variable breaks down the data into 64 sectors, with the "Agriculture" sector being selected. To analyze the number of workers affiliated with IMSS, data from the ta variable (Insured Workers/Jobs) is selected. To analyze the daily contribution base salary, this is calculated using the formula sum(masa_sal_ta)/sum(ta_sal) for all workers in the sector. http://datos.imss.gob.mx/sites/default/files/preguntas_frecuentes_datos_abiertos_asegurados_.pdf

Special Study: Adolescent Wage Earners in Agriculture in Mexico

Agustín Escobar Latapí
Daniel Rodríguez Morales
Elisa A. Martínez Rubio

In peasant economies, the work of children and teens in the field is part of the family dynamics for household subsistence. However, the development of agricultural work skills combined with the lack of job and educational opportunities has pushed them into jobs typical of commercial and agro-industrial agriculture. The inclusion of children and minors in agriculture has generated concern among organizations, governments, and scholars due to the dangers they are exposed to in Mexican fields. Among the main problems are conditions that put health, safety, and physical development at risk, as they may perform strenuous tasks during long working hours, often under precarious conditions.

Since 2015, the minimum age for work in the agricultural sector was raised to 18 years of age.[2] Since then, significant efforts have been made from various sectors to promote and demand the eradication of child labor in agriculture. These include demands from international buyers to ensure production is free of child labor, as well as initiatives driven by civil associations and non-governmental organizations. Additionally, the Mexican government has implemented measures such as the Distinction of Agricultural Company Free of Child Labor (DEALTI). As a result of these efforts, the participation of minors has decreased in certain sectors of agriculture, mainly in export-oriented production.

In response to the demand to employ young workers under safe conditions that emerged from companies, unions, and families themselves, Congress approved a reform that would make it possible to legally employ adolescents aged 15 to 17 in formal agricultural jobs that exclude dangerous ones. However, this 2022 reform has not been applied in agriculture.

Despite a notable decrease, minors continue to play a significant role in the agricultural workforce. According to an analysis by the National Council for the Evaluation of Social Development Policy (CONEVAL) of the National Household Income and Expenditure Survey (ENIGH), in 2022 the age group of the Economically Active Population (EAP) with the highest

2 This occurs because in that year, Mexico ratified Convention 138 of the International Labour Organization (ILO), which establishes that the minimum age for work is 15 years and 18 years for hazardous activities. In the same year, the Federal Labor Law was reformed, classifying all agricultural activities without distinction as hazardous (Martínez-Rubio, Lopez-López & Lay-Trigo, 2022).

participation as agricultural workers was men aged 15 to 19 years, with a total of 311,800 people out of 2.9 million agricultural workers (CONEVAL, 2024). This group corresponds to 11% of the total workers in the agricultural sector in any position (waged and unwaged).

How has the rural population of these ages evolved? In other words, what is the potential availability of the workforce of these ages in rural areas? A comparison of the 2000 and 2020 censuses shows that, in the age range of 10 to 14 and 15 to 19 years, in localities with less than 2,500 inhabitants, there were 5,851,816[3] people in 2000, while in 2020 the Population and Housing Census counted 5,187,756.[4] A study by Escobar Latapí in 2019 showed that several cohorts of rural children, adolescents, and young people had drastically decreased in size between 1995 and 2005. The 2020 data confirm the downward trend.

Comparing the 2000 and 2020 censuses, it is observed that the states where the decrease is strongest are Veracruz, Michoacán, Sinaloa, Oaxaca, and Guanajuato, while those where this population grows are Chiapas, State of Mexico, Morelos, Mexico City, and Baja California. In summary, however, it can be stated that the population group from which the vast majority of workers in this age group emerges has decreased by 11%.[5]

This population decrease in communities of up to 2,500 inhabitants in the previously mentioned age ranges is not observed in the same age ranges in communities of up to 15,000 inhabitants, according to the Population and Housing Censuses of 2000 and 2020. Both in the age range of 10 to 14 years and in the 15 to 19 years range, an increase in population is observed. For example, in 2000, 1,600,818 children aged 10 to 14 years and 1,419,923 young people aged 15 to 19 years were reported. In total, 3,020,741 people were registered. This population increased to 3,442,389 by 2020, with a greater increase in the 15 to 19 age range, which is likely due to migration to cities with greater social and educational infrastructure, and a more diverse labor market.

3 The following link can be consulted: https://www.inegi.org.mx/sistemas/olap/consulta/general_ver4/MDXQueryDatos.asp?#Regreso&c=10262

4 The following link can be consulted: https://www.inegi.org.mx/sistemas/olap/consulta/general_ver4/MDXQueryDatos.asp?#Regreso&c=

5 Source: Population and Housing Census 2000 and 2020.

Table I. Number of youth in age ranges 10-14 and 15-19 years in communities of up to 2,500 and 15,000.

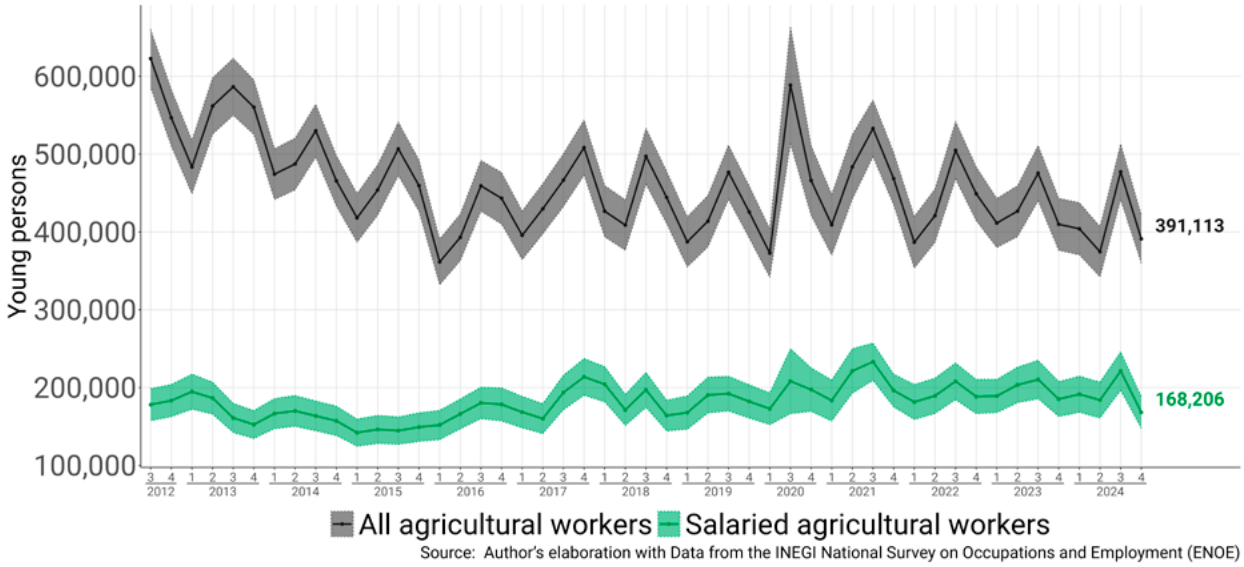
Communities of up to 2,500 inhabitants						**Communities of up to 15,000 inhabitants**					
2000			2020			2000			2020		
10 - 14	15 - 19	**Total**	10 - 14	15 - 19	**Total**	10 - 14	15 - 19	**Total**	10 - 14	15 - 19	**Total**
3,248,767	2,603,049	**5,851,816**	2,706,927	2,480,829	**5,187,756**	1,600,818	1,419,923	**3,020,741**	1,758,860	1,683,529	**3,442,389**

Source: Own elaboration, from population censuses (CPV), 2000 and 2020.

These changes are due to several factors:
1. Migration to both the United States and Mexican cities
2. Decline in fertility, a widespread phenomenon in Mexico
3. Demographic growth of formerly rural communities, many of which become localities with more than 2,500 inhabitants.

Analysis of the evolution of underage agricultural workers based on the National Survey of Occupation and Employment (ENOE) shows that, although underage agricultural workers have decreased since 2012, this is not the case for underage waged agricultural workers, who have remained stable. According to ENOE data, in the second quarter of 2024, underage waged agricultural workers represented 6.1% of total waged agricultural workers. ENOE only includes workers aged 15 and older. (See Figure I) While child and adolescent labor has decreased in large companies producing for the export market, some producers continue to hire them. This situation has generated two scenarios within the agricultural labor market: 1. Formal employers who, in compliance with the law and international agreements, have stopped hiring minors. These employers tend to offer better working conditions and greater respect for labor rights. Minors do not access these jobs, or do so in minimal numbers. 2. Informal employers who hire minors under unsafe, unstable, and precarious conditions, violating not only the law but also the rights of children and adolescents. Underage workers are concentrated in informal jobs and in states that tend to export less and offer lower wages, as will be discussed later.

Figure I. Estimation of the participation of youth under 18 years old in the sector.



Source: Own elaboration with data from INEGI's ENOE.

The persistence of informal employers that hire minors has resulted in agriculture remaining one of the main prohibited occupations in which girls, boys, and adolescents are engaged. According to the results of the 2022 National Child Labor Survey (ENTI), in Mexico, of the total population between 5 and 17 years old in employment,[6] 91.38% work in prohibited occupations, which include activities in the primary sector. Of this percentage, 33% is located in the agricultural sector. Therefore, it is observed that this sector concentrates the largest proportion of child and adolescent labor.

The same survey indicates that the states where child and adolescent labor in the primary sector is concentrated are Chiapas, Guerrero, Veracruz, Puebla, and Oaxaca.

6 Which corresponds to 8.21% of the total population aged 5 to 17 years.

Figure II. Estimation of the participation of youth under 18 years old in the sector.

Source: Own elaboration with data from ENTI (2022).

These data show that despite recent efforts to eradicate child and adolescent labor in agriculture, this phenomenon remains significant. This situation can be explained by various factors, among which the conditions of poverty and inequality experienced in the rural sector and Mexican countryside stand out. These circumstances force many families to implement survival strategies, including the incorporation of more household members into paid work (González de la Rocha, 2006).

Additionally, the lack or insufficiency of educational options limits the possibility for many children and adolescents to continue their studies. Finally, the reality of many adolescents who are parents or have other dependents and need to seek income to support their own households should also be taken into account.

In addition to the above factors that require urgent analysis and solution, one of the main reasons why this problem persists is the continued presence of informal producers who hire minors. Therefore, it is urgent to establish a formal labor market with a level playing field, where labor shortages are eradicated by improving working conditions and incorporating other population groups into this labor market under formal conditions and decent employment.
Given this scenario, it is urgent to implement actions that allow offering decent jobs in non-hazardous occupations to these adolescents.

So far, the prohibition of work for adolescents aged 15 to 17 in agriculture as wage earners has been highly differentially observed. The group of the most important exporting states employs 17.6% of the total of these adolescents. In these states, informal agricultural employment also exists, albeit to a lesser extent. It is advisable to apply labor laws to these jobs.

However, 82.4% is concentrated in states that primarily supply the national market, such as Chiapas, Veracruz, and Morelos. In these states, in addition to significant peasant agriculture, informal waged agricultural employment predominates. It would be advisable to emphasize inspections in less exporting states like those mentioned to eradicate precarious jobs, while opening formal employment opportunities for them in safe farm occupations.

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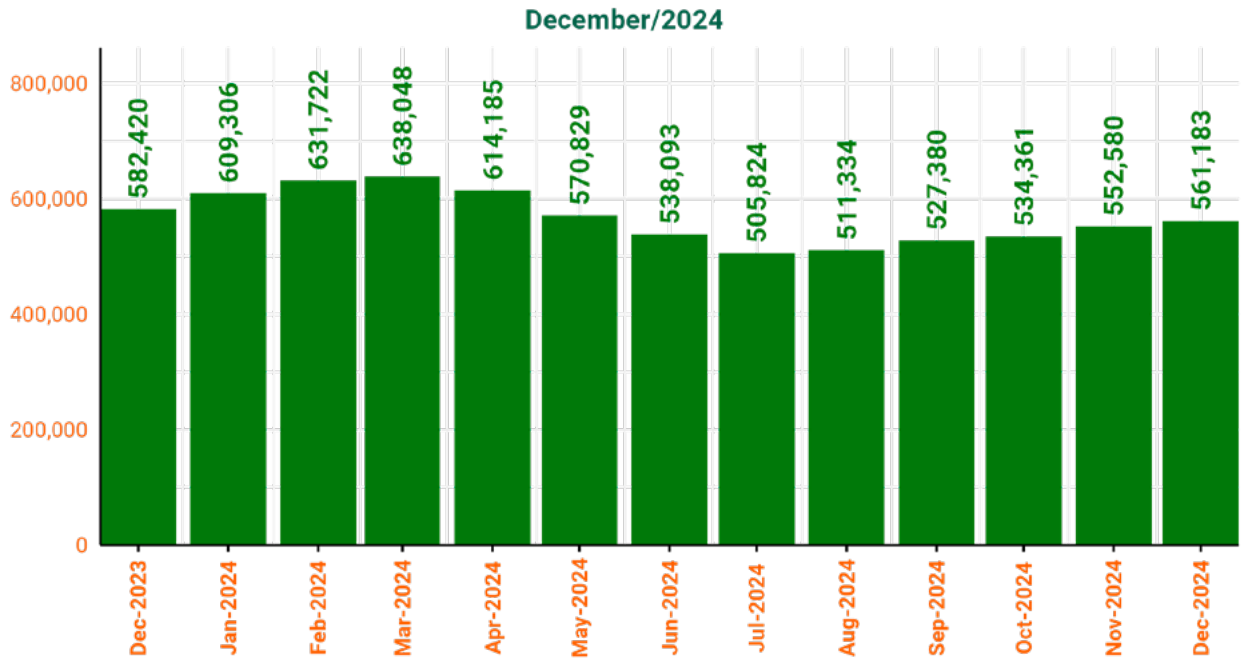
Workers Registered With Social Security (IMSS)

As of December 2024, the labor market in Mexico has a total of 22,238,379 workers affiliated with the IMSS (Mexican Social Security Institute), of which 561,183 (2.52%) are agricultural sector workers.[7] This measurement showed a change of (-) 3.65 percentage points in the number of affiliates compared to the same month of the previous year, and a change of (+)1.56 percentage points compared to the previous month. The hiring pattern in the agricultural sector is not significantly different from what is typically presented for the first six months of the year, showing a weaker recovery in hiring for the second half.

Figure 1. Evolution of total IMSS affiliates in the agricultural sector.

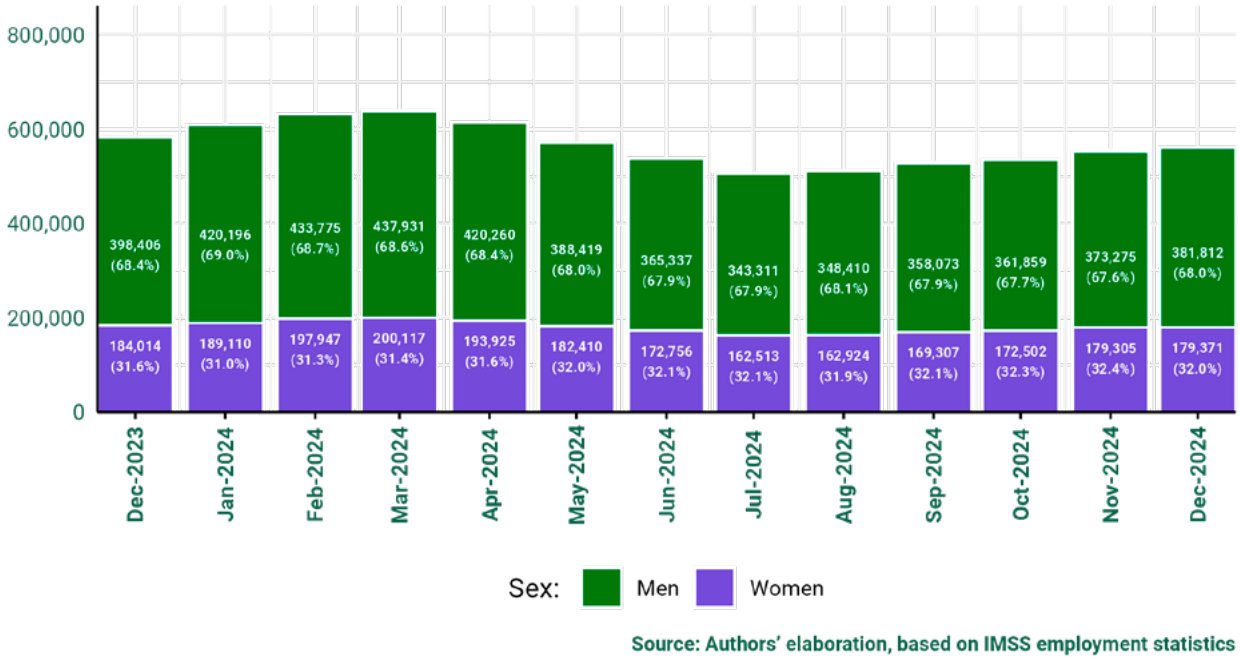


Source: Own estimates from IMSS labor statistics.

7 For IMSS (Mexican Social Security Institute), agricultural sector workers are considered to be those who are working within a company, economic unit, or employer registration within the Agriculture economic sector.

By December 2024, of the total affiliates in the sector, 68% are men and 32% are women. The number of women in the agricultural sector varies to a lesser extent than the number of men, which fluctuates throughout the agricultural cycle. For IMSS (Mexican Social Security Institute), agricultural sector workers are considered to be those who are working within a company, economic unit, or employer registration within the Agriculture economic sector.

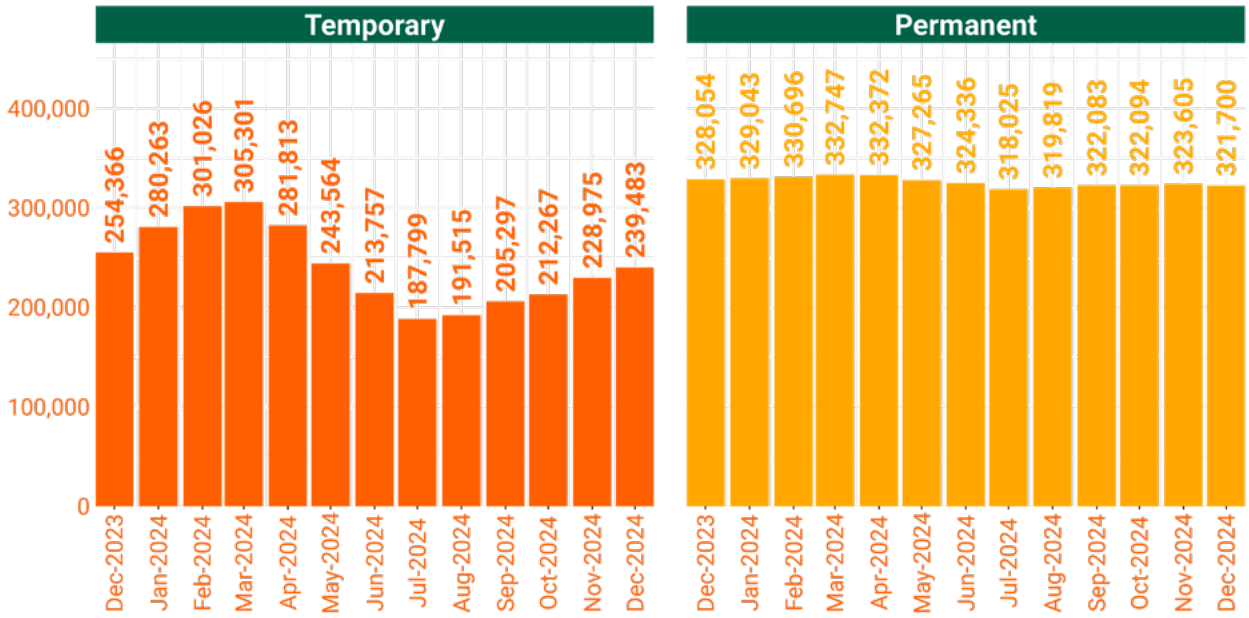
Figure 2. Agricultural sector workers registered with IMSS, December 2023 to Decemberf2024.



Source: Own estimates from IMSS labor statistics.

During the month of December 2024, the total number of temporary jobs in the agricultural sector amounted to 239,483, while permanent jobs totaled 321,700. During this month, temporary jobs represented 42.67% of the total jobs in the agricultural sector.

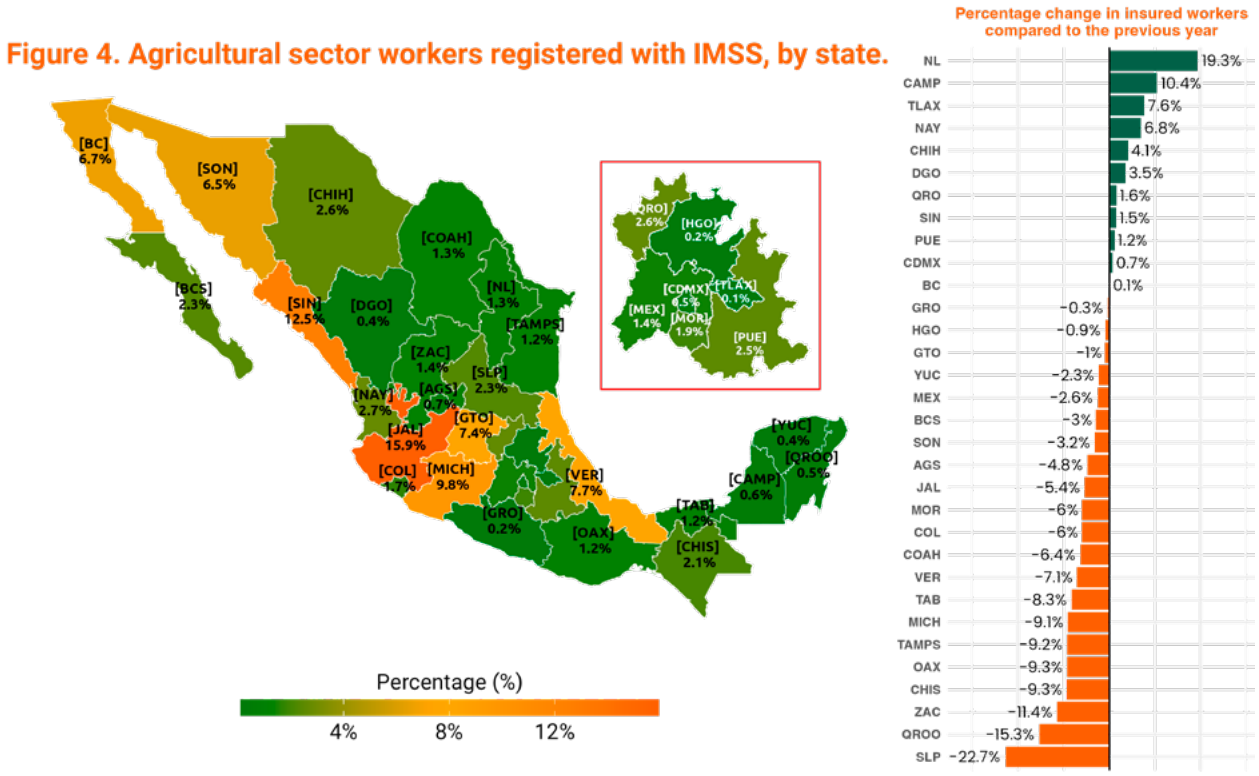
Figure 3. Temporary and permanent workers in the agricultural sector.



Source: Own estimates from IMSS labor statistics.

The states with the highest contribution to the total number of IMSS affiliates in the agricultural sector are: Jalisco (15.9%), Sinaloa (12.5%), Michoacán (9.8%), Veracruz (7.7%), Guanajuato (7.4%), Baja California (6.7%), and Sonora (6.5%). Between December of last year and December 2024, 11 states increased the number of agricultural insured workers compared to the previous year, while 21 states experienced a decrease.

Figure 4. IMSS-affiliated agricultural workers by state.

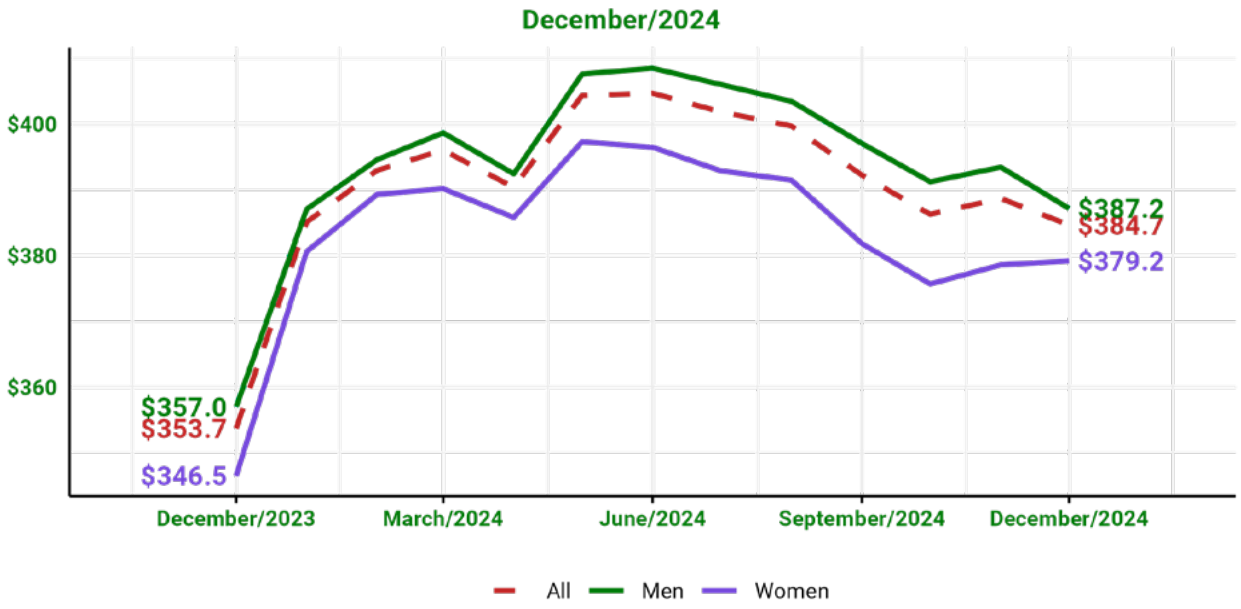


Source: Own estimates from IMSS labor statistics.

Contribution Wage and Income Data

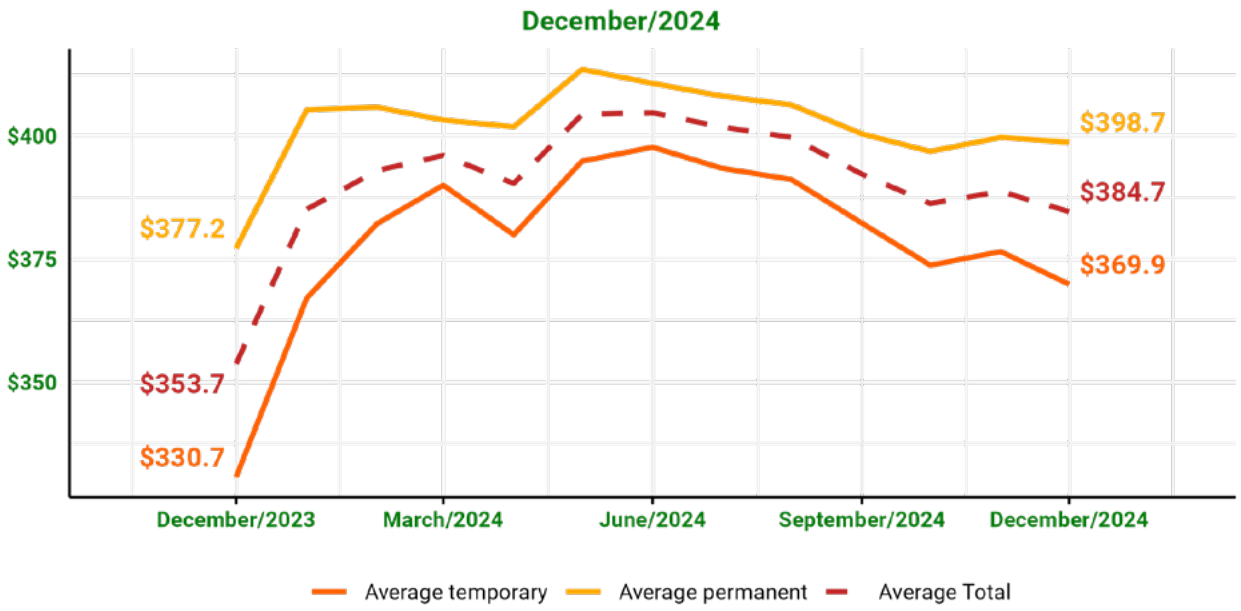
This section analyzes the contribution salary in the agricultural sector in general. The contribution wage is the one reported by employers to the IMSS (Mexican Social Security Institute). Two points need clarification: first, some employers under-report this salary to pay smaller amounts to IMSS. Second, this contribution salary is the sector average. Although most workers are day laborers, it also includes salaries of non-manual and office workers in the agricultural sector. For this reason, the contribution salary is higher than the average salary of day laborers. The first factor tends to underestimate wages actually paid, while the second overestimates them. The base contribution salary for jobs in the agricultural sector amounts to 384.7 pesos daily at the national level in December 2024. The base contribution salary for men is 387.2 pesos and for women is 379.2 pesos; for permanent employees, it is 398.7 pesos, and for temporary workers, it is 369.9 pesos.

Figure 5. Evolution of the average contribution wage in the agricultural sector over the past 12 months, by sex.



Source: Own estimates from IMSS labor statistics. Real figures. Prices as of December 2024.

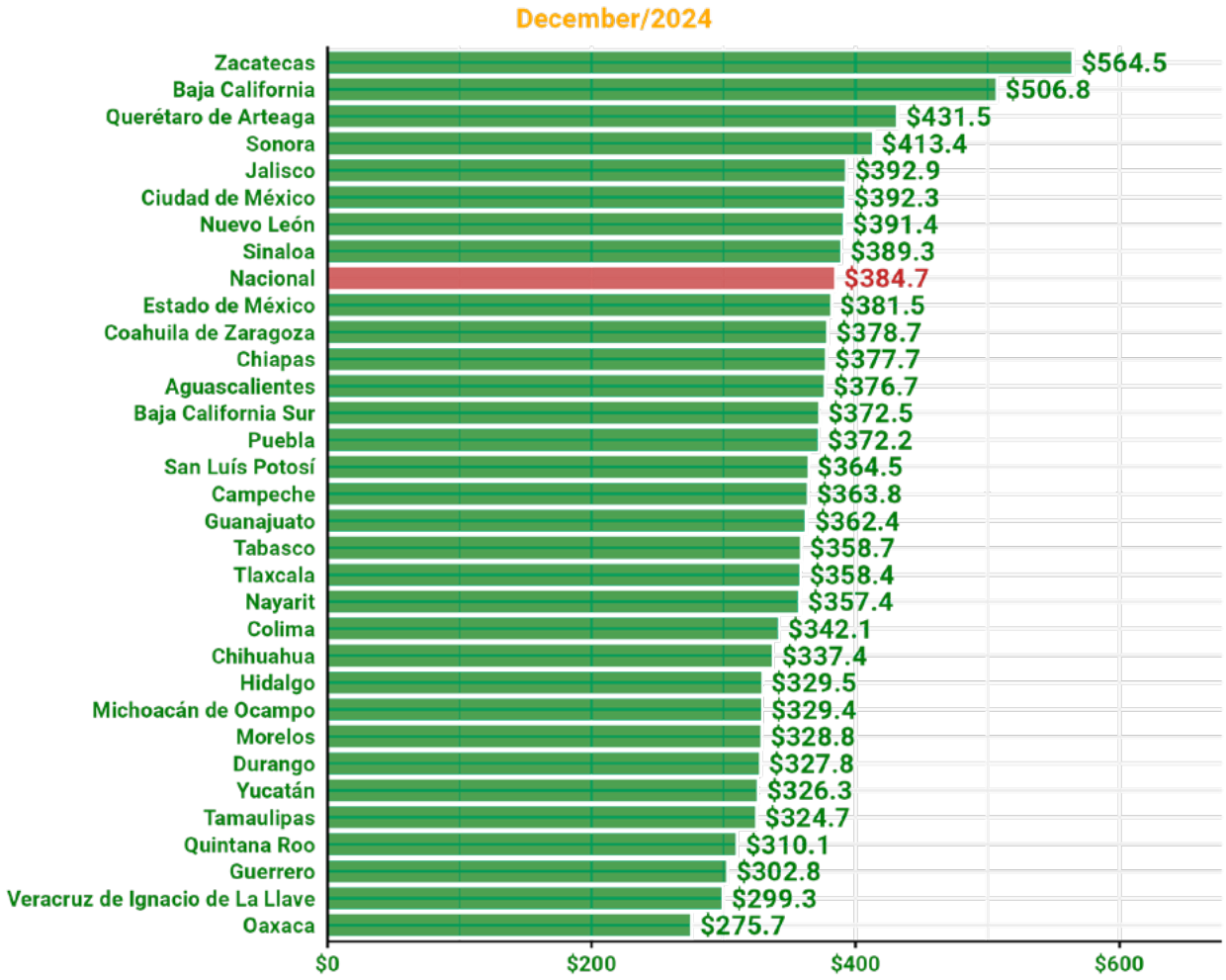
Figure 6. Evolution of the average contribution wage in the agricultural sector over the past 12 months, by type of employment.



Source: Own estimates from IMSS labor statistics. Real figures. Prices as of December 2024.

The states that had the highest base contribution salary in December 2024 were Zacatecas ($564.5), Baja California ($506.8), and Querétaro ($431.5), while the lowest were Oaxaca ($275.7), Veracruz ($299.3), and Guerrero ($302.8).

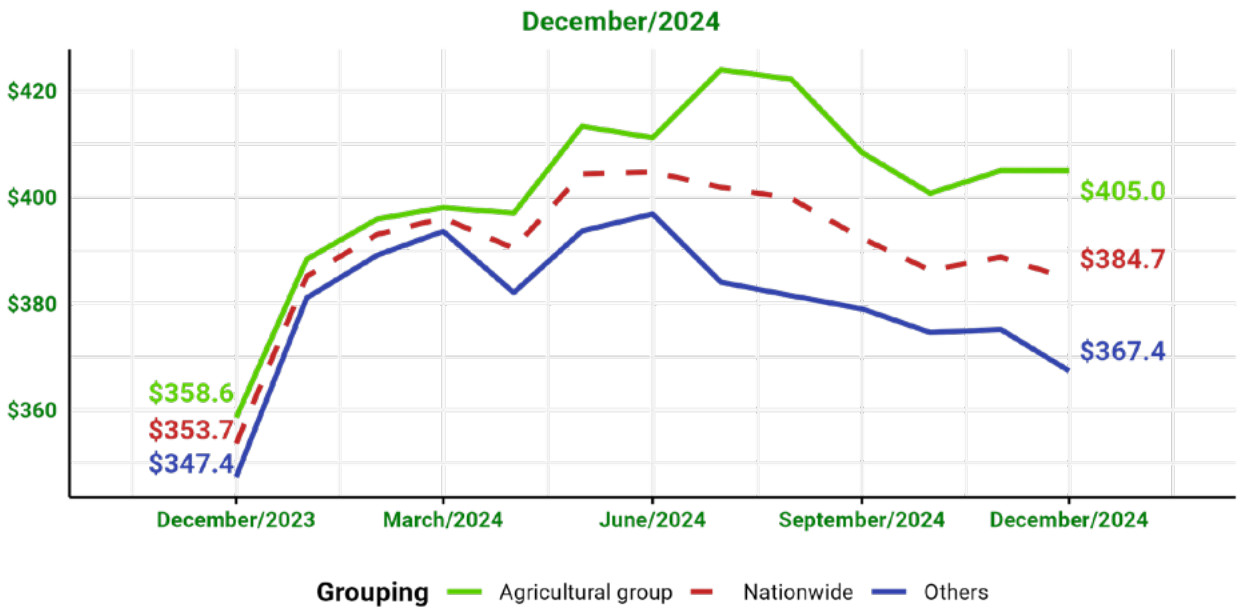
Figure 7. Daily contribution wage, IMSS-affiliated agricultural workers.



Source: Own estimates from IMSS labor statistics. Real figures. Prices as of December 2024.

In the states of the republic that are mainly aimed to the export of agricultural goods (Guanajuato, Michoacán, Jalisco, Sinaloa, and Baja California, which we will call the Agricultural Group states), the contribution wage amounts to $405.0, while in the other states it amounts to $367.4.

Figure 8. Evolution of the average contribution wage in the agricultural sector over the past 12 months, by group of states.



Source: Own estimates from IMSS labor statistics. Real figures. Prices as of December 2024.

Employment, Formality, and Income in the National Occupation and Employment Survey (ENOE)

This section uses data from ENOE to estimate wages and working conditions for all farm workers, including formal and informal workers. According to data from the National Occupation and Employment Survey (ENOE), as of the fourth quarter of 2024, there are 2,225,227 waged workers in agricultural jobs.[8]

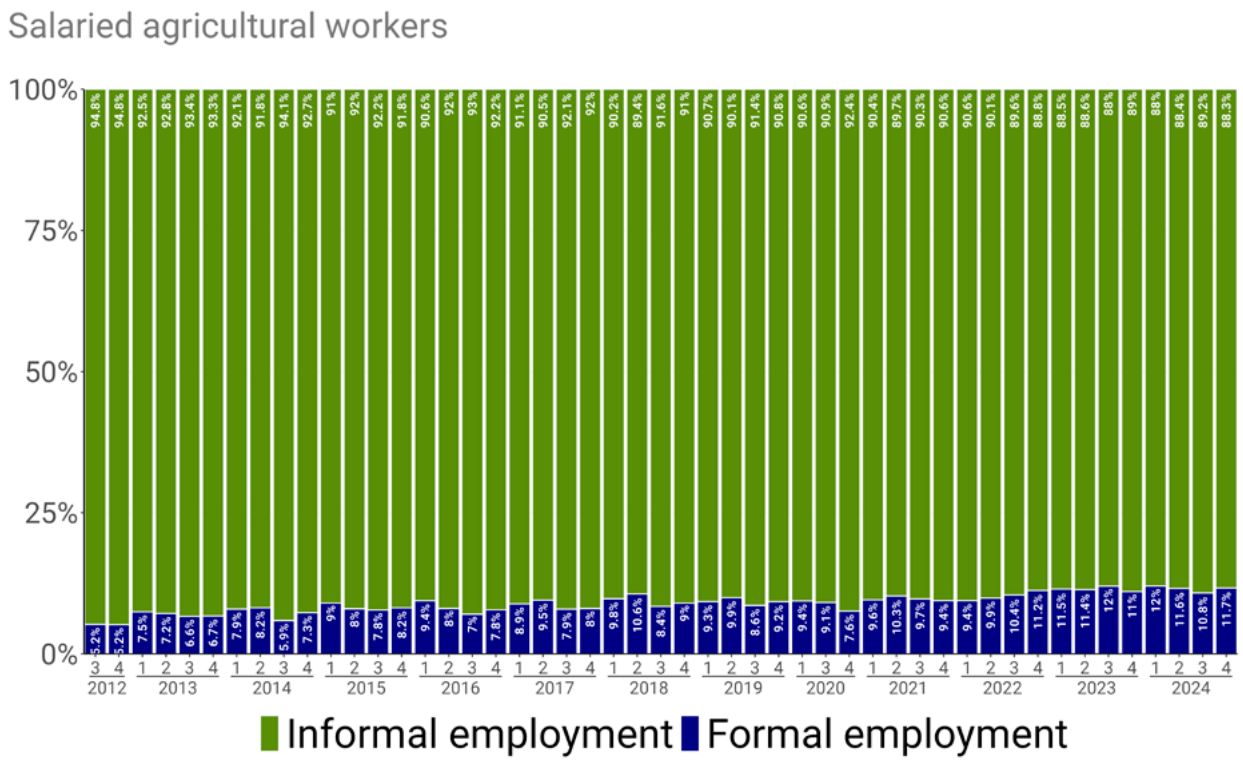
Figure 9. Total Economically Active Population of waged agricultural workers, 4Q2024.

Source: Own estimates from data from INEGI's National Occupation and Employment Survey (ENOE), 4Q2024.

8 For the purposes of this bulletin, the agricultural sector will be defined as the group of people who perform any of the following 12 activities from the National Occupational Classification System (SINCO) catalog: 6111 Corn and/or bean cultivation workers, 6112 Vegetable and greens cultivation workers, 6113 Coffee, cocoa, and tobacco cultivation workers, 6114 Fruit cultivation workers6115 Flower cultivation workers, 6116 Workers in other agricultural crops, 6117 Workers in agricultural product processing activities, 6119 Other agricultural workers, not previously classified, 6131 Workers combining agricultural and livestock activities, 6223 Nursery and greenhouse workers, 6311 Agricultural and forestry machinery operators and, 9111 Agricultural support workers.

Waged agricultural labor is predominantly male, with men representing 84.5% of workers, while women constitute 15.5%. Additionally, 88.3% of wage agricultural workers are employed in informal jobs, compared to only 11.7% in formal employment. This informality rate is higher than the 82.4% recorded in the Agriculture, Livestock, Forestry, Fishing, and Hunting sectors, even surpassing Other Services (83.4%), Construction (72.5%), and the hospitality and restaurant sector (59.9%).[9]

Figure 10. Formality and informality rates for waged agricultural workers, 4Q2024.

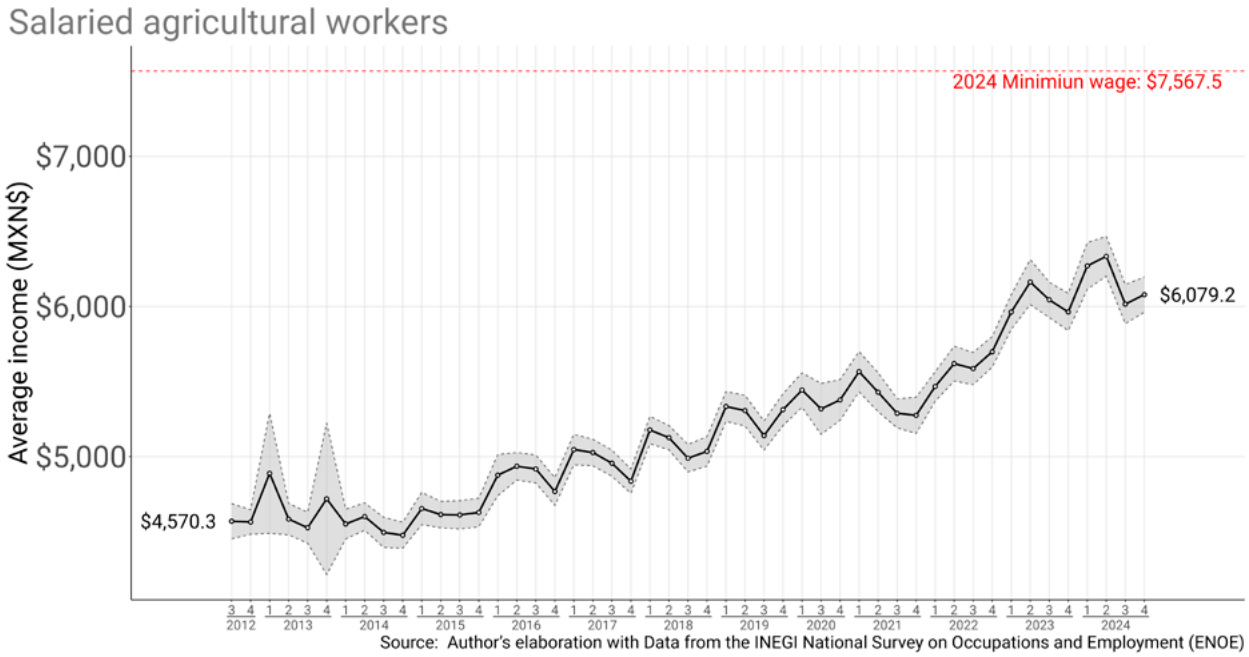


Source: Own estimates from data from INEGI's National Occupation and Employment Survey (ENOE), 4Q2024.

9 With information from IMSS and ENOE, different figures are constructed. IMSS reports the number of affiliates based on paid contributions. ENOE reports affiliation as declared by any person over 15 years old in the household. The percentage of formal waged workers in agriculture according to data reported by IMSS is 23.3% as of the second quarter of 2024.

The average monthly income of waged workers in the agricultural sector is 6,079.2 Mexican pesos, which represents a clear upward trend since 2014. It is noteworthy that this average income for the total Economically Active Employed Population (PEAO) is 1,488.3 pesos below the minimum wage in effect as of January 1, 2024.

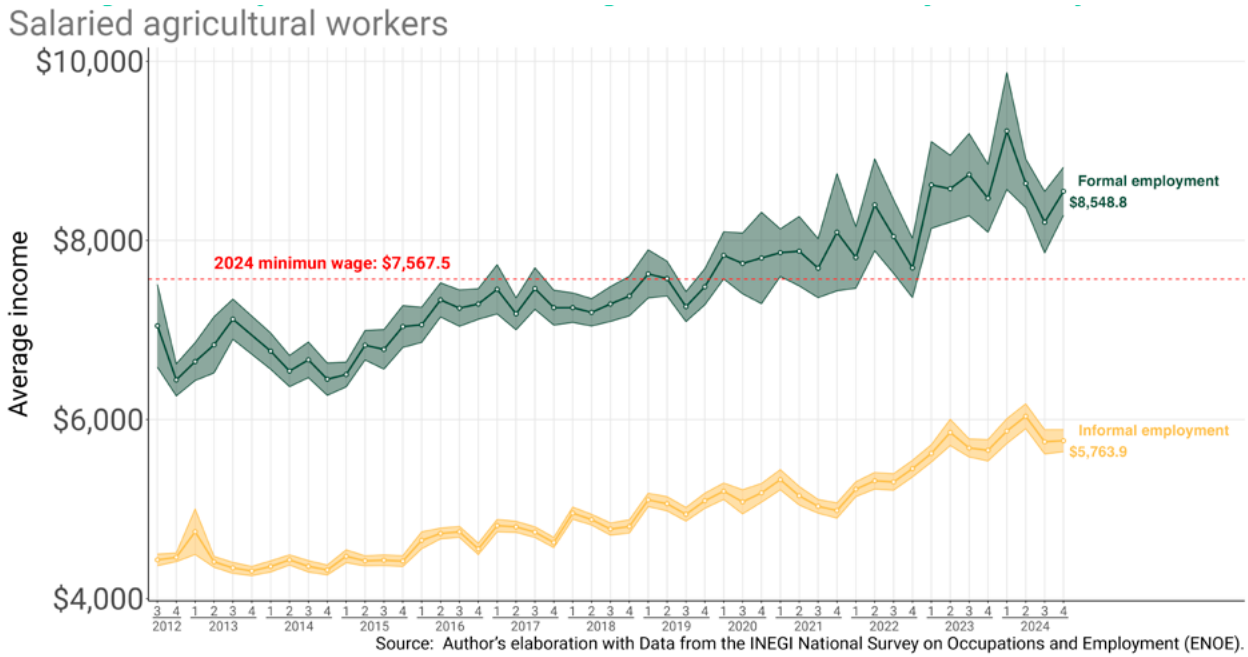
Figure 11. Average monthly income of waged agricultural workers, 4Q2024. Confidence intervals of the estimate at 95%.



Source: Own estimates from data from INEGI's National Occupation and Employment Survey (ENOE), 4Q2024.

Analyzing the data from this survey, it is observed that the average income of a formal worker[10] in the agricultural sector is 8,548.8 pesos per month (at prices of the 4th quarter of 2024), while the income of a worker in the informal sector[11] is 5,763.9 pesos per month (a difference of 2,784.9 pesos).

Figure 12. Average monthly income of waged agricultural workers according to formality, 4Q2024.



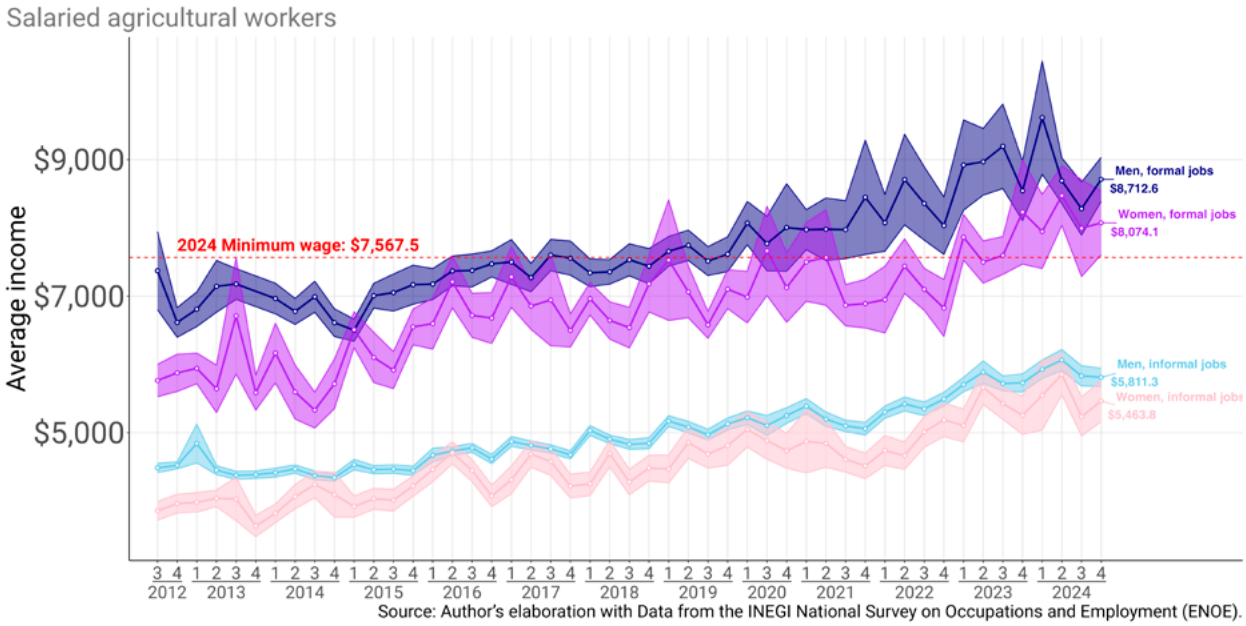
Source: Own estimates from data from INEGI's National Occupation and Employment Survey (ENOE), 4Q2024. Confidence intervals of the estimate at 95%.

10 Formal employment in Mexico is characterized by work in which the employee is officially registered by their employer, complying with all labor regulations. This implies the payment of social security contributions, access to benefits such as health insurance, maternity leave, pensions, Christmas bonuses, paid vacations, among others, and protection against unjustified dismissal. Additionally, formal employment guarantees the regulation of working hours and compensation for overtime.

11 In contrast, informal employment refers to situations where workers are not officially registered, lack formal contracts, and do not pay tax contributions. Informal workers do not have access to social security benefits or labor protections, which can result in greater economic vulnerability.

In terms of gender and formality, men in the agricultural sector with formal employment earn, on average, 8,712.6 pesos per month, while women in formal employment earn 8,074.1 pesos per month. On the other hand, men in the agricultural sector who are in informal employment earn an average of 5,811.3 pesos per month, while women in the same situation earn, on average, 5,463.8 pesos per month.[12]

Figure 13. Average monthly income of waged agricultural workers according to formality and gender, 4Q2024.

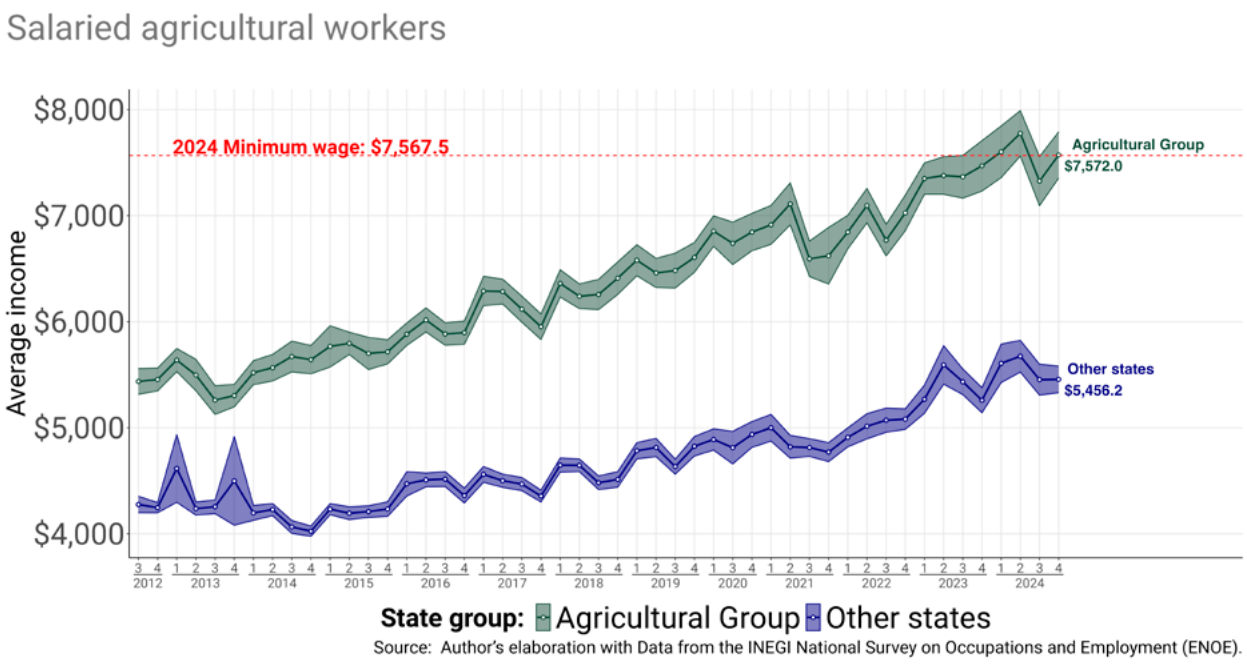


Source: Own estimates from data from INEGI's National Occupation and Employment Survey (ENOE), 4Q2024. Confidence intervals of the estimate at 95%.

12 The income difference between men and women, both in formal and informal employment situations, is not statistically significant as of the fourth quarter of 2024.

In states in the agricultural group defined in the previous section (Guanajuato, Michoacán, Jalisco, Sinaloa, and Baja California), the income for all workers in the agricultural sector is, on average, 7,572.0 pesos per month, while in the other states it is 5,456.2 pesos (a difference of 2,115.8 pesos).

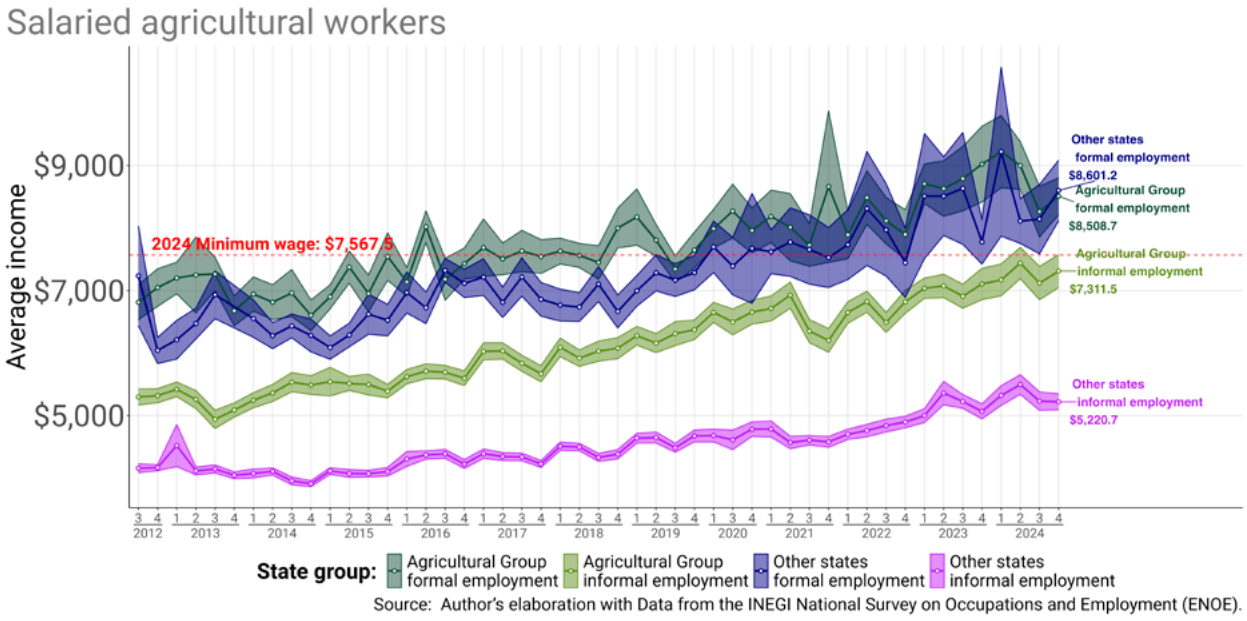
Figure 14. Average monthly income of waged agricultural workers by state group, 4Q2024.



Source: Own estimates from data from INEGI's National Occupation and Employment Survey (ENOE), 4Q2024. Confidence intervals of the estimate at 95%.

When disaggregated by formality, workers in the agricultural group who are in formal employment earn an income of 8,601.2 pesos per month, while in other states they earn an average of 8,508.7 pesos. These figures indicate that, for this period, there is no significant difference in the income of formal agricultural workers, regardless of the agricultural vocation of the state where they work. The opposite is true in the case of informal jobs, where the income of informal workers in the agricultural group amounts to 7,311.5 pesos, while in other states it is 5,220.7 pesos; a difference of 2,090.8 pesos.

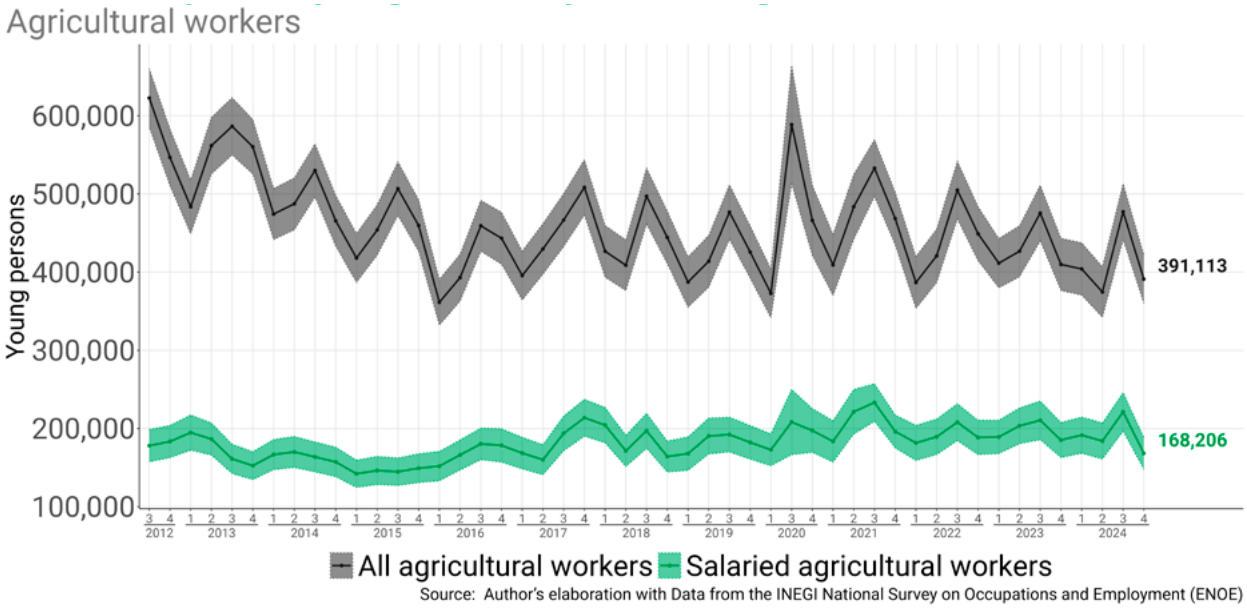
Figure 15. Average Monthly Income by Group of States and Formal versus Informal Employment, 4Q2024.



Source: Own estimates from data from INEGI's National Occupation and Employment Survey (ENOE), 4Q2024. Confidence intervals of the estimate at 95%.

Finally, the proportion of individuals under the age of 18 participating in the sector amounts to 391,113, of which 43% are waged workers. The 43% is obtained by dividing the number of waged youth workers (168,206) by the total number of young individuals engaged in agricultural work (391,113).

Figure 16. Estimated total Economically Active Population aged 15 to 17 in agricultural jobs, and estimated total waged agricultural workers in the same age group, 4Q2024.



Source: Own estimates from data from INEGI's National Occupation and Employment Survey (ENOE). The Economically Active Population aged 15 to 17 is considered.

Special Municipalities List

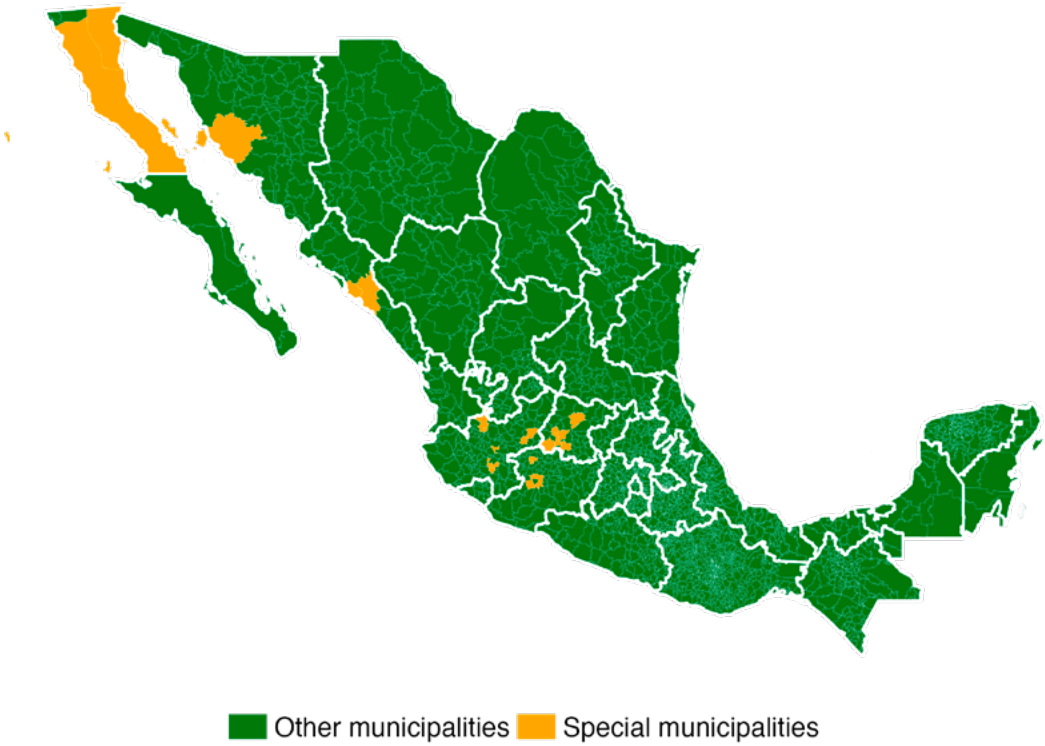
The following pages show the results of the special monitoring municipalities for workers affiliated with IMSS[13]. The special monitoring municipalities are those that traditionally export more by value, and/or employ more people. This list is made up of the following municipalities:

State	Municipality	Crops
Baja California	Ensenada	Horticultural, grapes, berries
Baja California	Mexicali	Horticultural, grapes, berries
Baja California	San Quintín*	Horticultural, berries
Guanajuato	Abasolo	Very diverse, horticultural, berries, agave, others
Guanajuato	Dolores Hidalgo Cuna de la Independencia	Very diverse, horticultural, berries, agave, others
Guanajuato	Irapuato	Very diverse, horticultural, berries, agave, others
Guanajuato	Pénjamo	Very diverse, horticultural, berries, agave, others
Guanajuato	Romita	Very diverse, horticultural, berries, agave, others
Guanajuato	Valle de Santiago	Very diverse, horticultural, berries, agave, others
Jalisco	Amacueca	Berries
Jalisco	Amatitán	Agave
Jalisco	Arandas	Agave
Jalisco	Atotonilco el Alto	Agave
Jalisco	Gómez Farías	Berries
Jalisco	Jocotepec	Berries
Jalisco	Sayula	Berries
Jalisco	Tequila	Agave
Jalisco	Zapotlán el Grande	Berries
Michoacán de Ocampo	Jacona	Berries
Michoacán de Ocampo	Tancítaro	Avocado
Michoacán de Ocampo	Uruapan	Avocado
Michoacán de Ocampo	Zamora	Berries
Sinaloa	Culiacán	Tomatoes and peppers
Sinaloa	Navolato	Tomatoes and peppers
Sonora	Hermosillo	Grapes, horticultural

* Numbers presented for San Quintín in Baja California do not correspond to actual numbers. This may be due to the very recent declaration of San Quintín as a municipality. The vast majority of formal workers in San Quintín are still registered in the neighboring municipality of Ensenada.

13 The ENOE does not provide representative information at the municipal level.

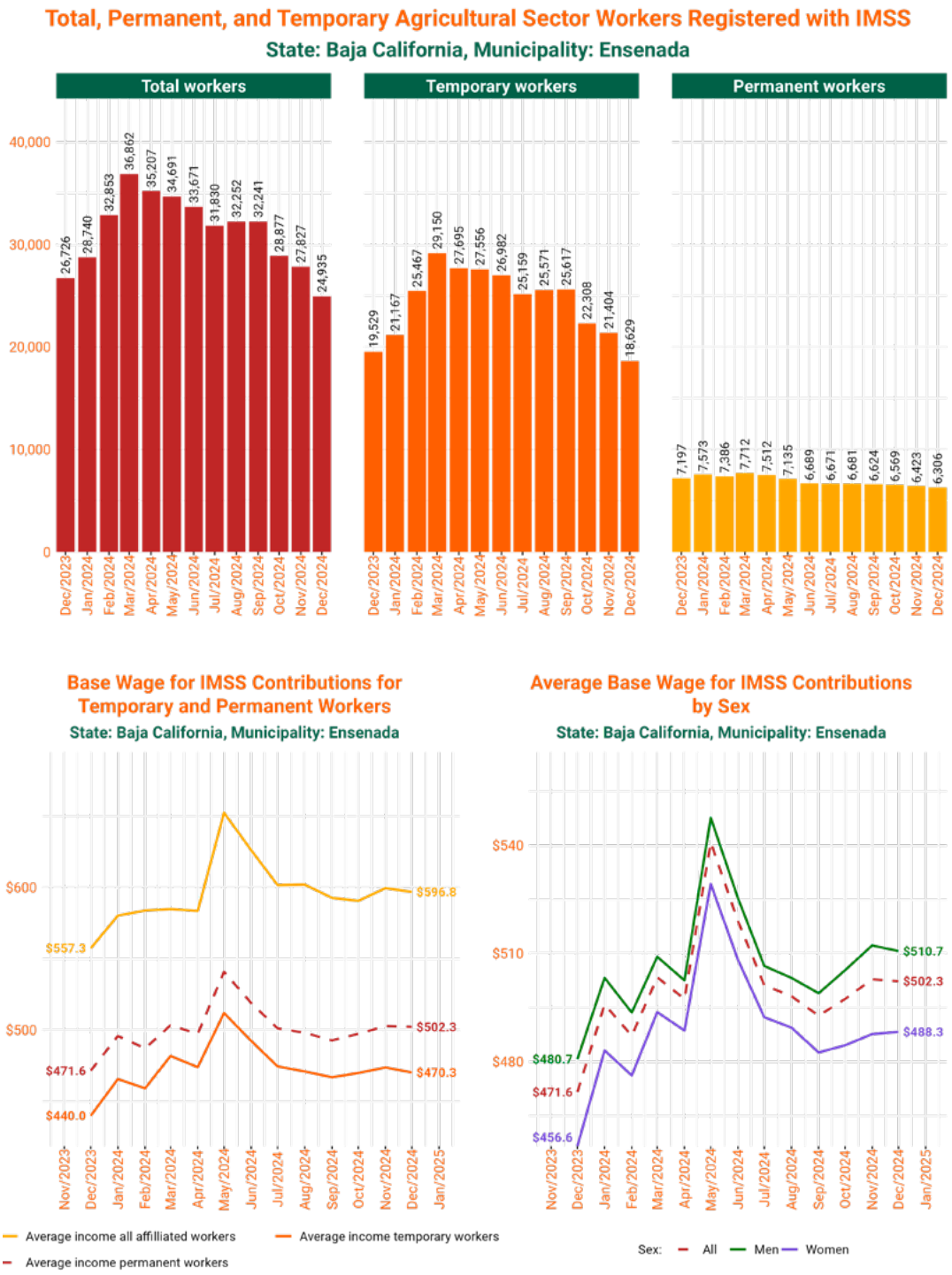
Figure 17. Map of the location of the municipalities under special monitoring.



Source: Own elaboration.

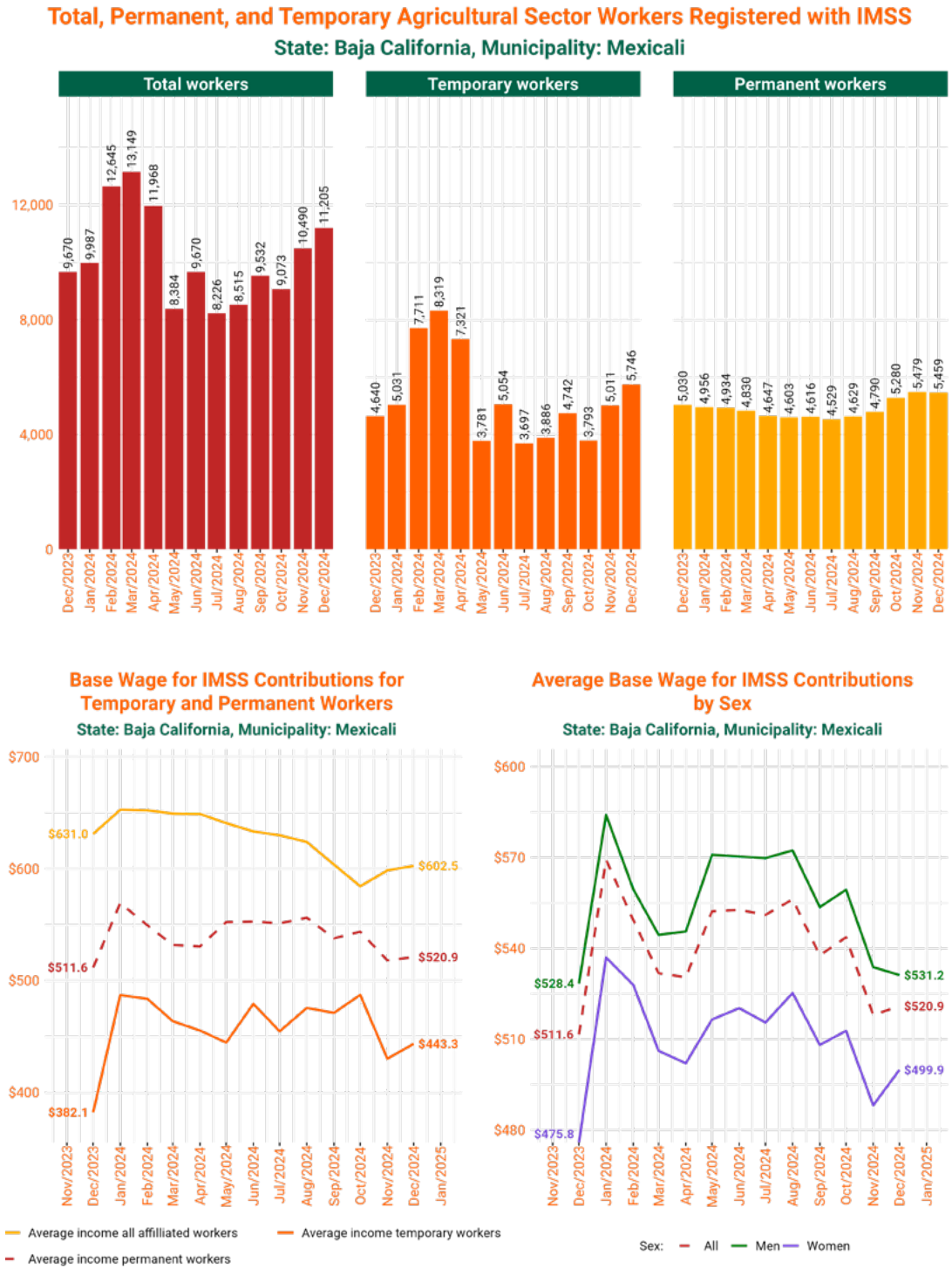
Below is the information analyzed for the aforementioned municipalities.

Figure 18. State: Baja California. Municipality: Ensenada.



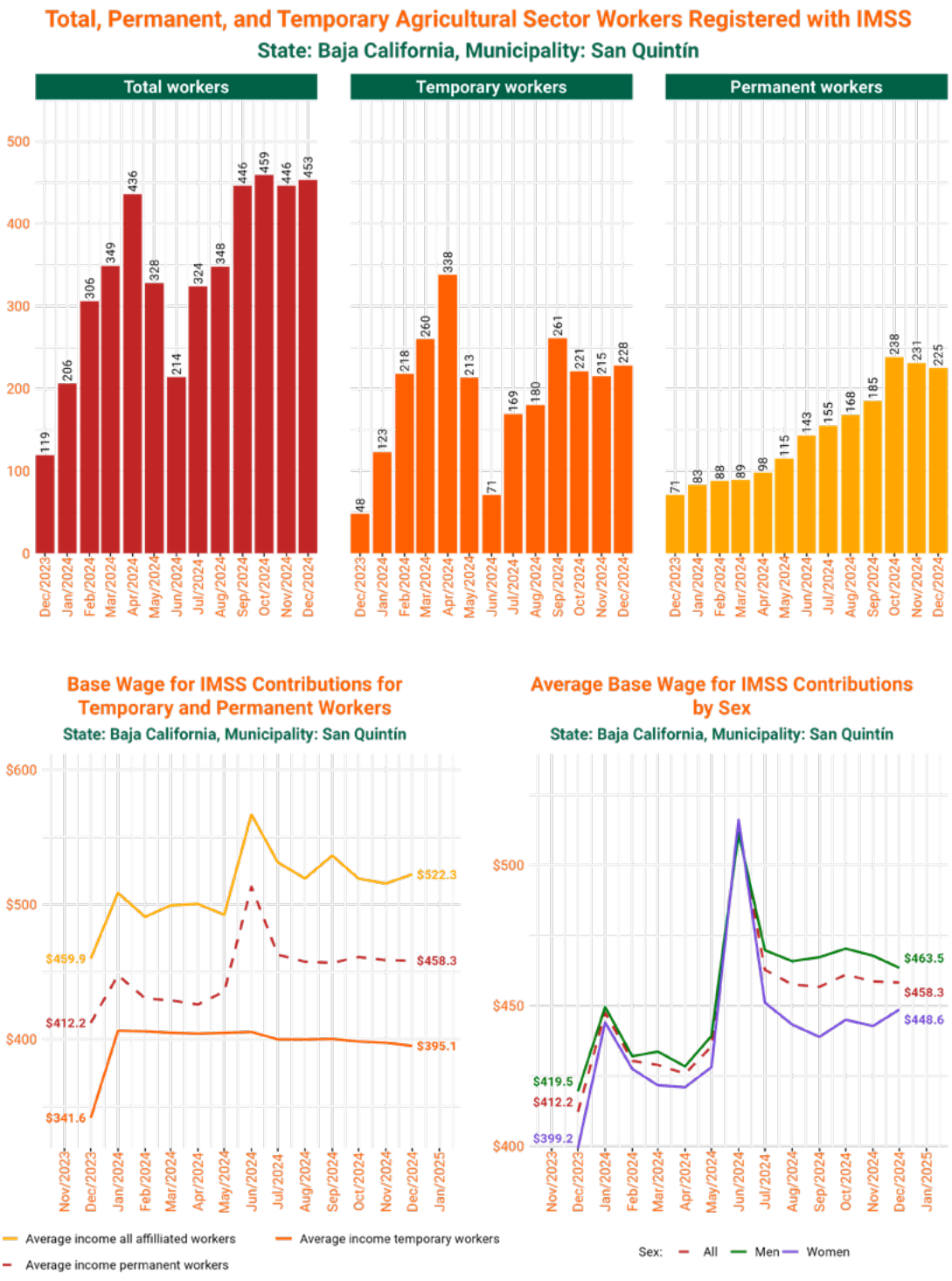
Source: Own estimates from IMSS labor statistics.

Figure 19. State: Baja California. Municipality: Mexicali.



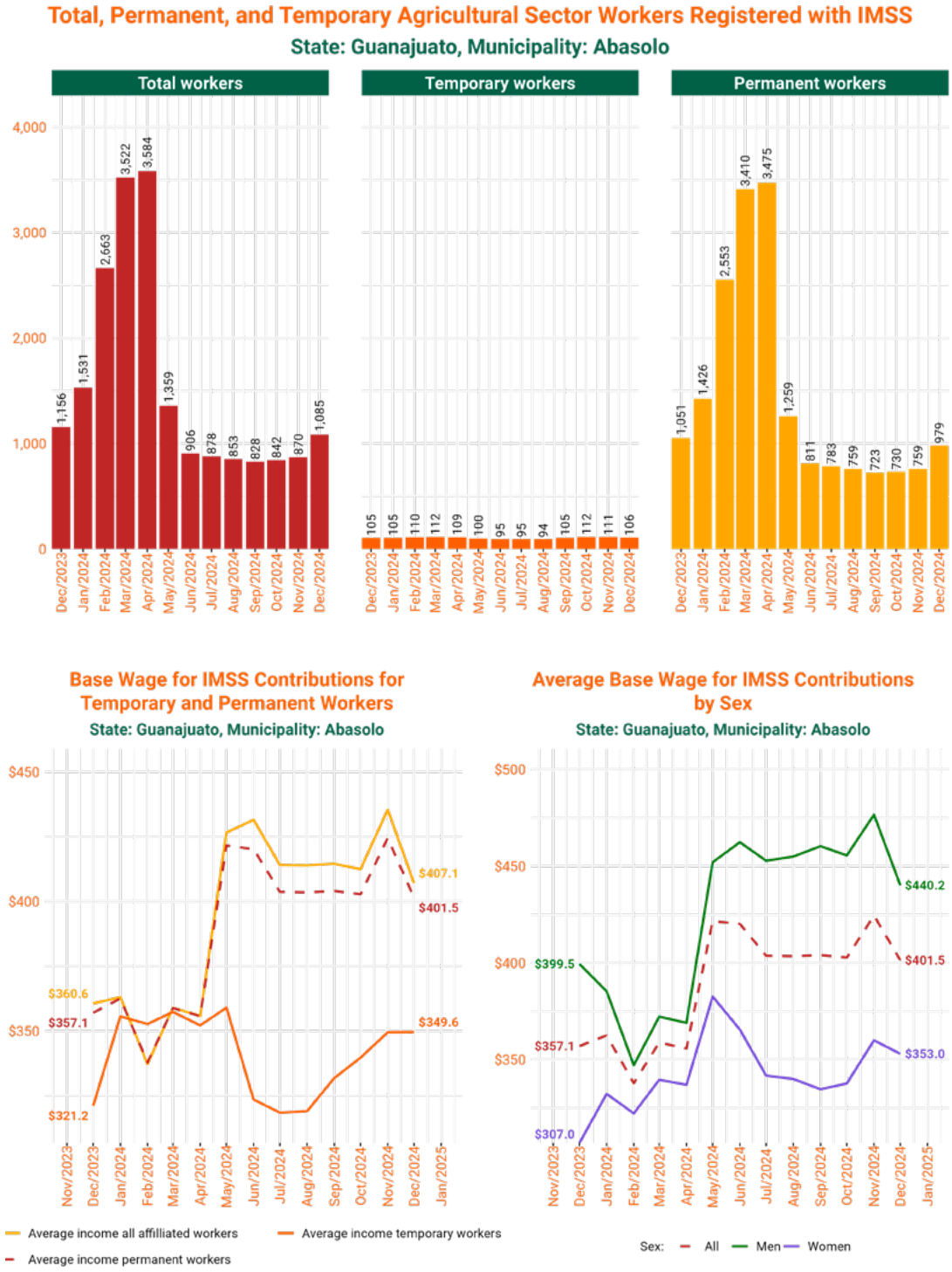
Source: Own estimates from IMSS labor statistics.

Figure 20. State: Baja California. Municipality: San Quintín.



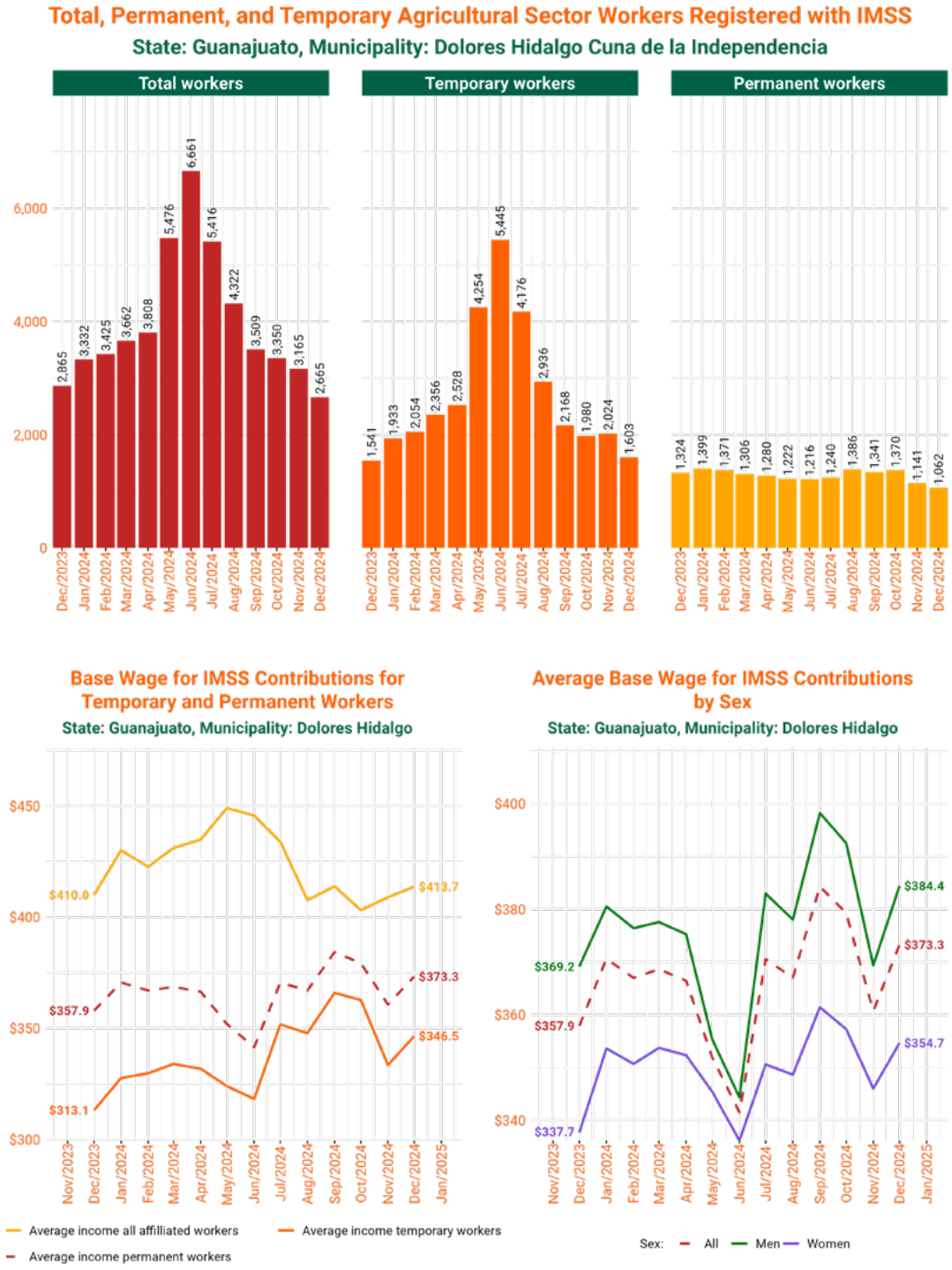
Source: Own estimates from IMSS labor statistics.

Figure 21. State: Guanajuato. Municipality: Abasolo.



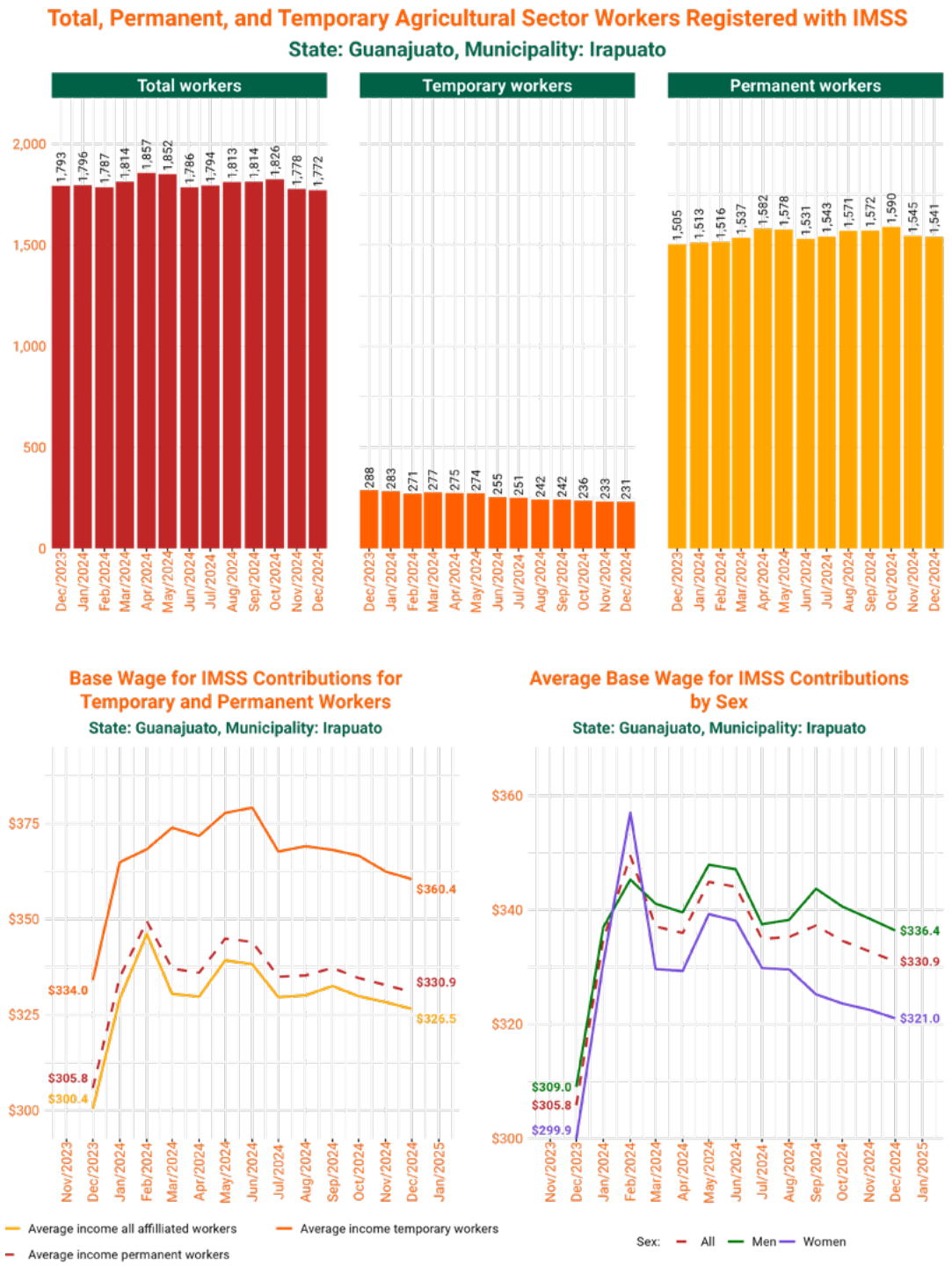
Source: Own estimates from IMSS labor statistics.

Figure 22. State: Guanajuato. Municipality: Dolores Hidalgo Cuna de la Independencia.



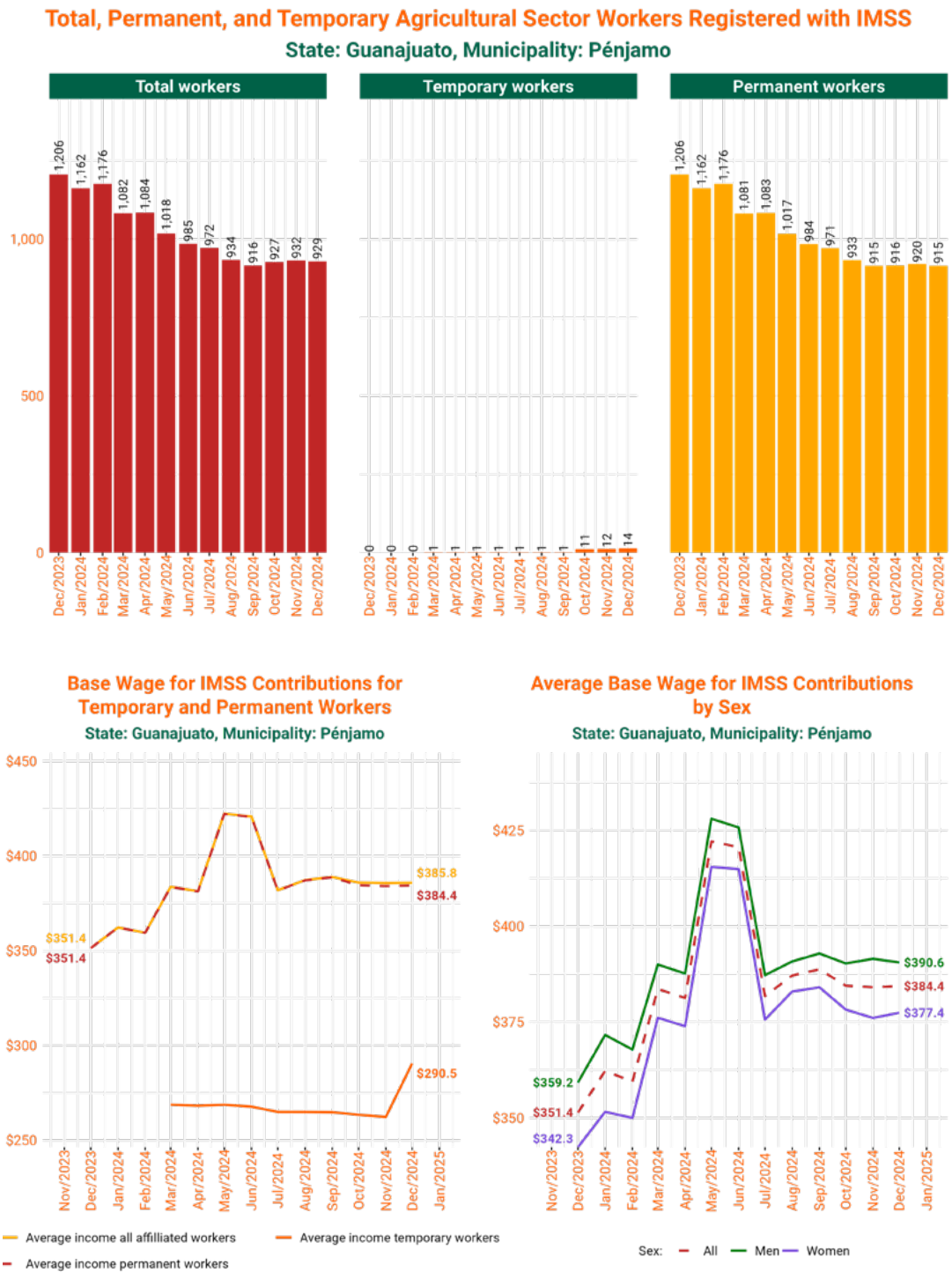
Source: Own estimates from IMSS labor statistics.

Figure 23. State: Guanajuato. Municipality: Irapuato.



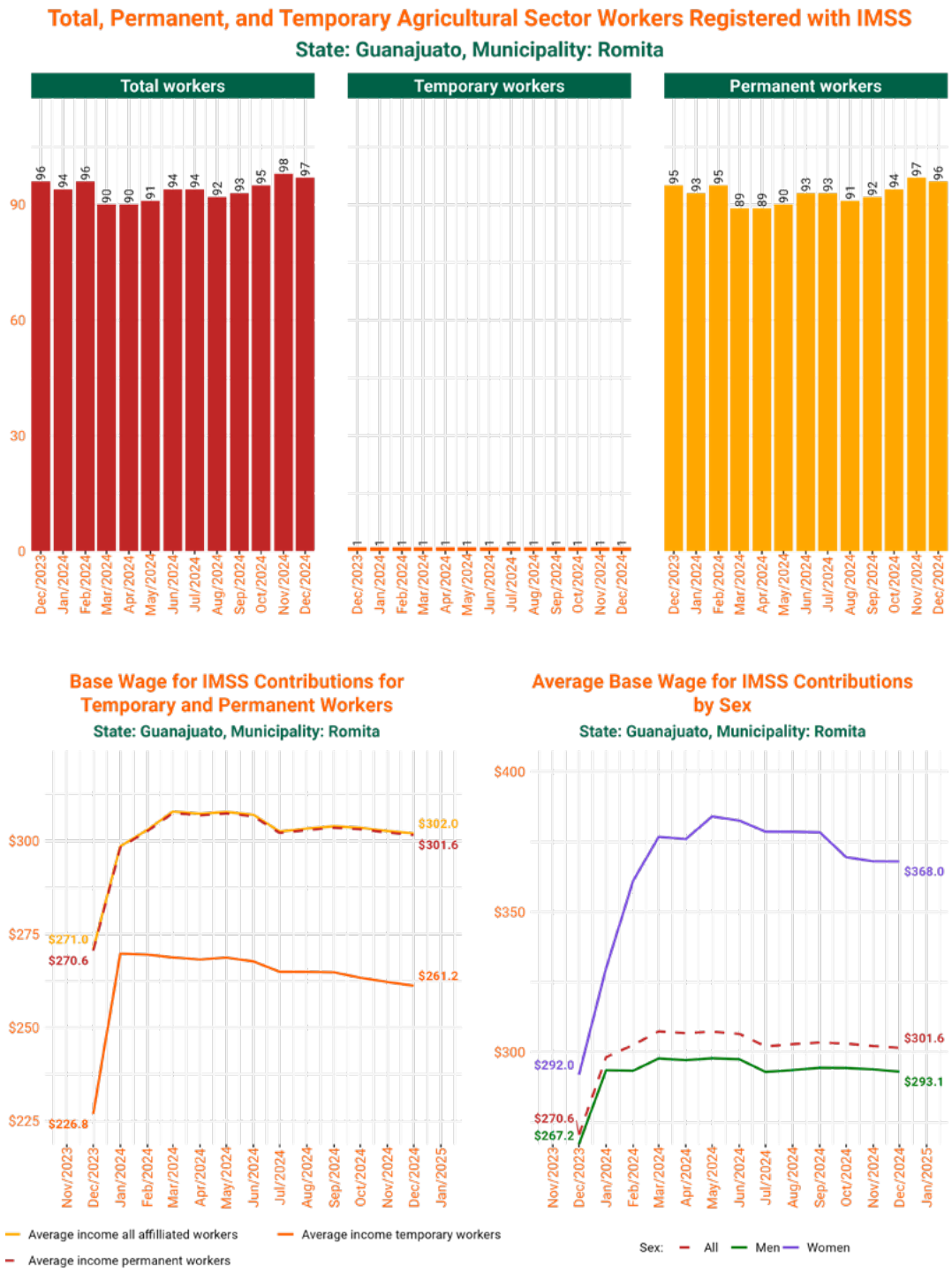
Source: Own estimates from IMSS labor statistics.

Figure 24. State: Guanajuato. Municipality: Pénjamo.



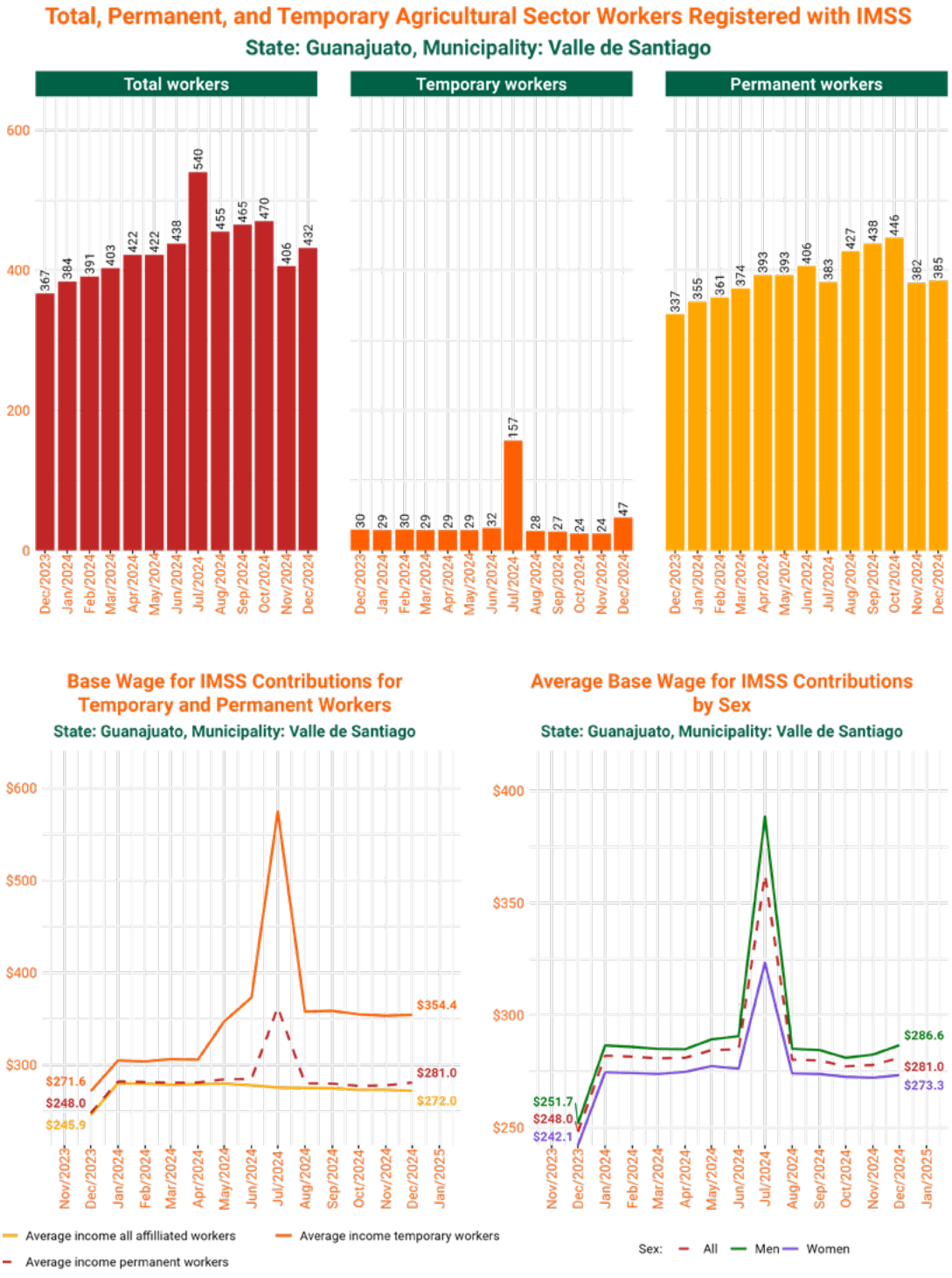
Source: Own estimates from IMSS labor statistics.

Figure 25. State: Guanajuato. Municipality: Romita.



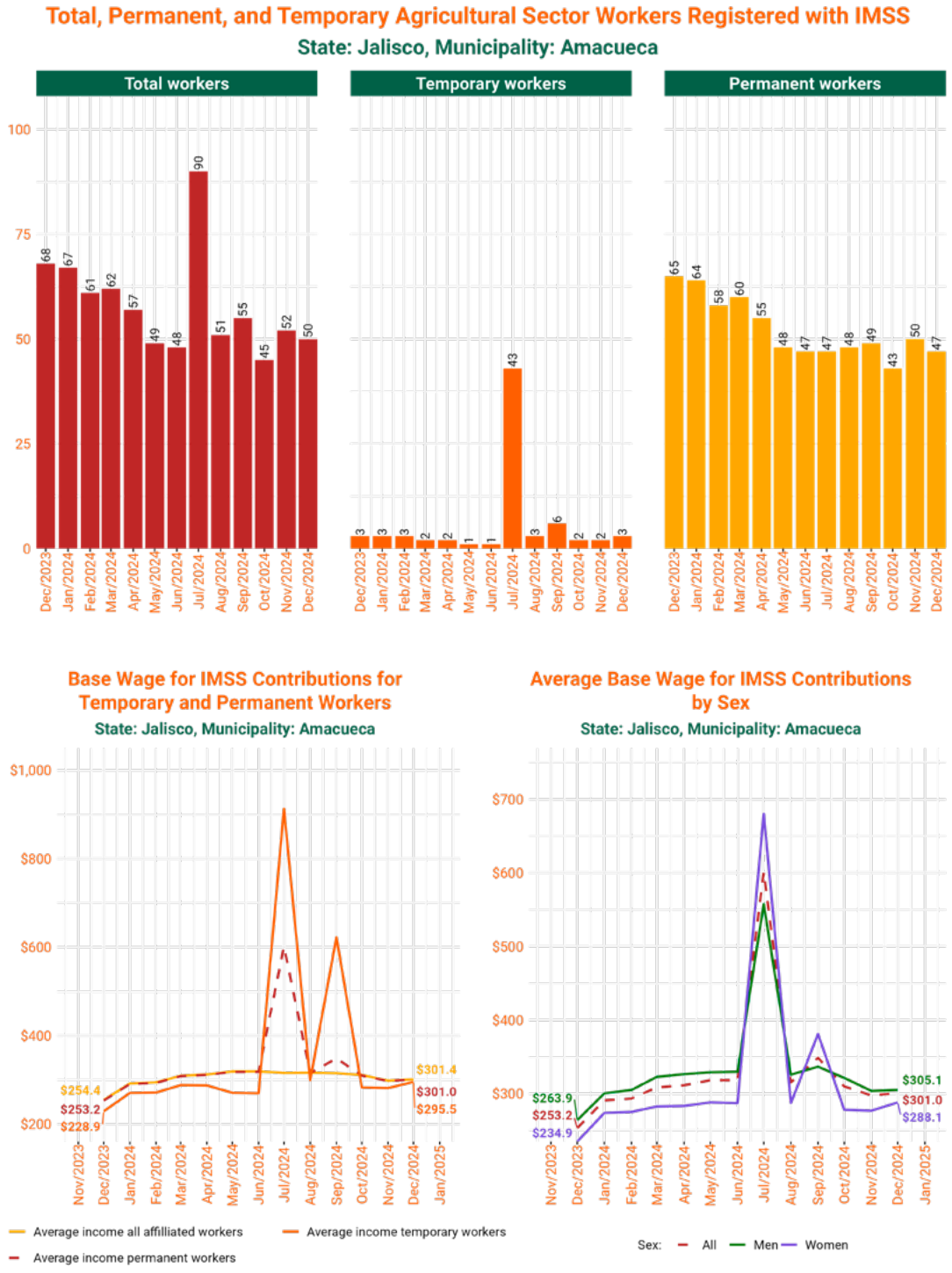
Source: Own estimates from IMSS labor statistics.

Figure 26. State: Guanajuato. Municipality: Valle de Santiago.



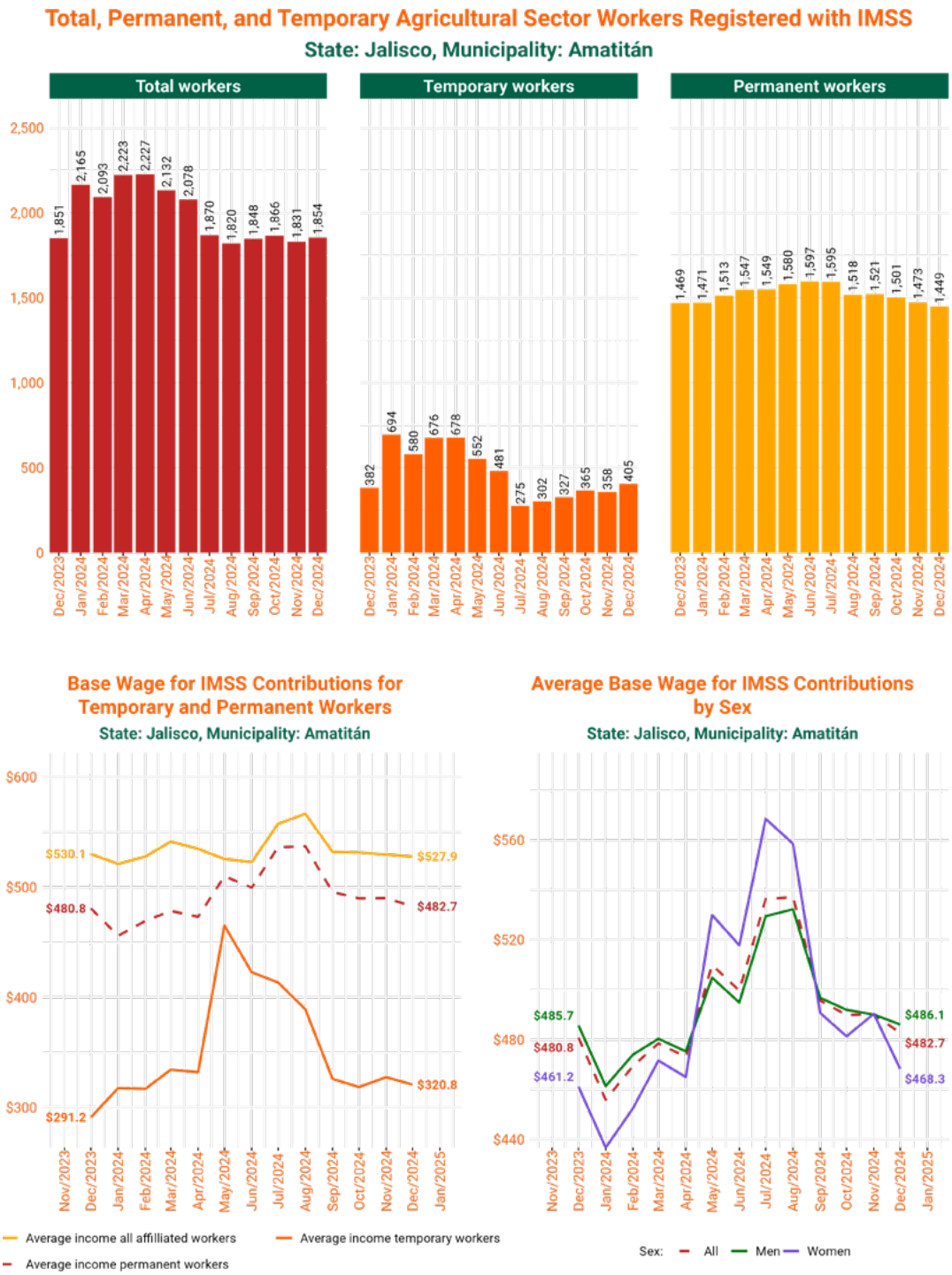
Source: Own estimates from IMSS labor statistics.

Figure 27. State: Jalisco. Municipality: Amacueca.



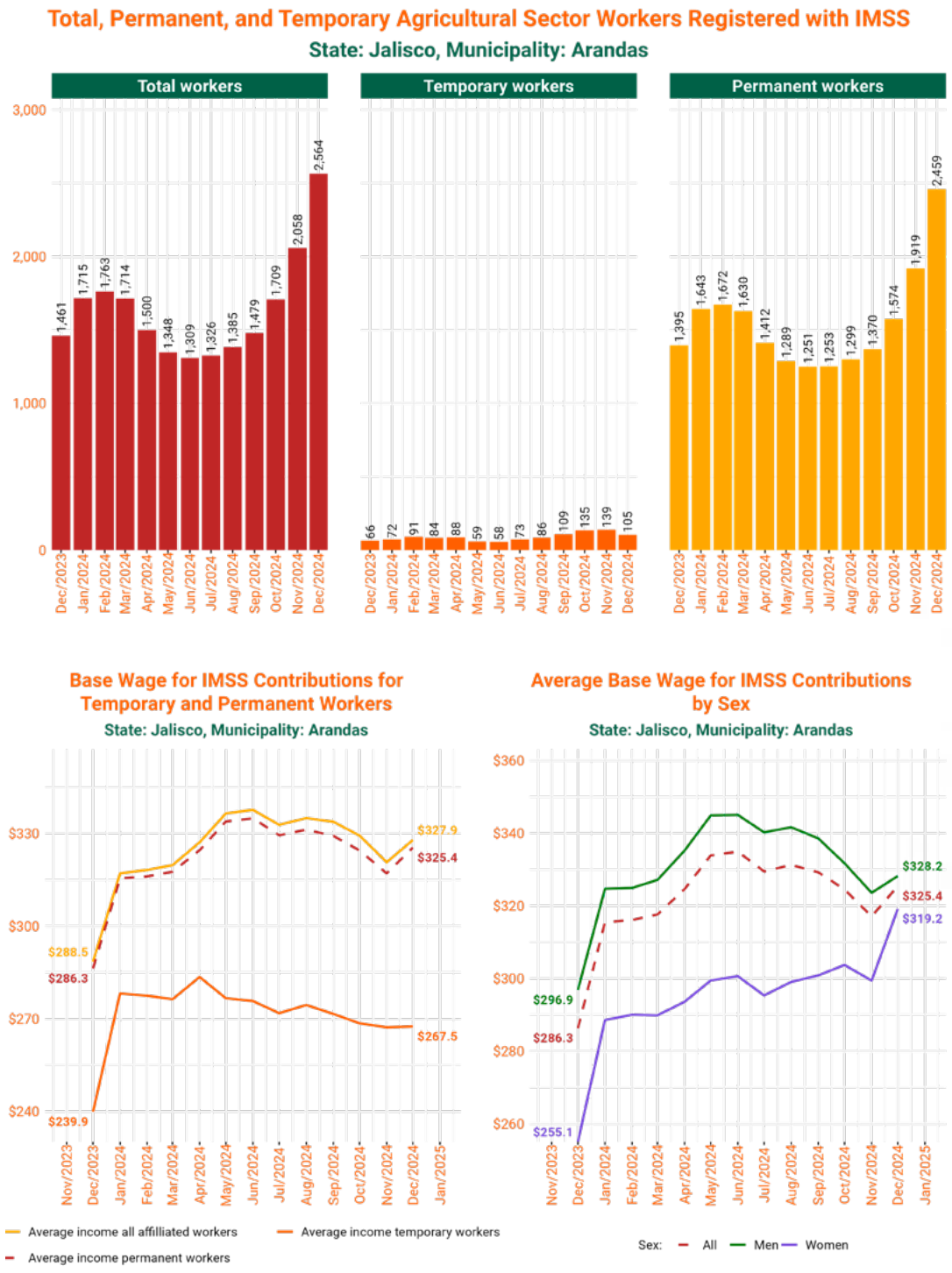
Source: Own estimates from IMSS labor statistics.

Figure 28. State: Jalisco. Municipality: Amatitán.



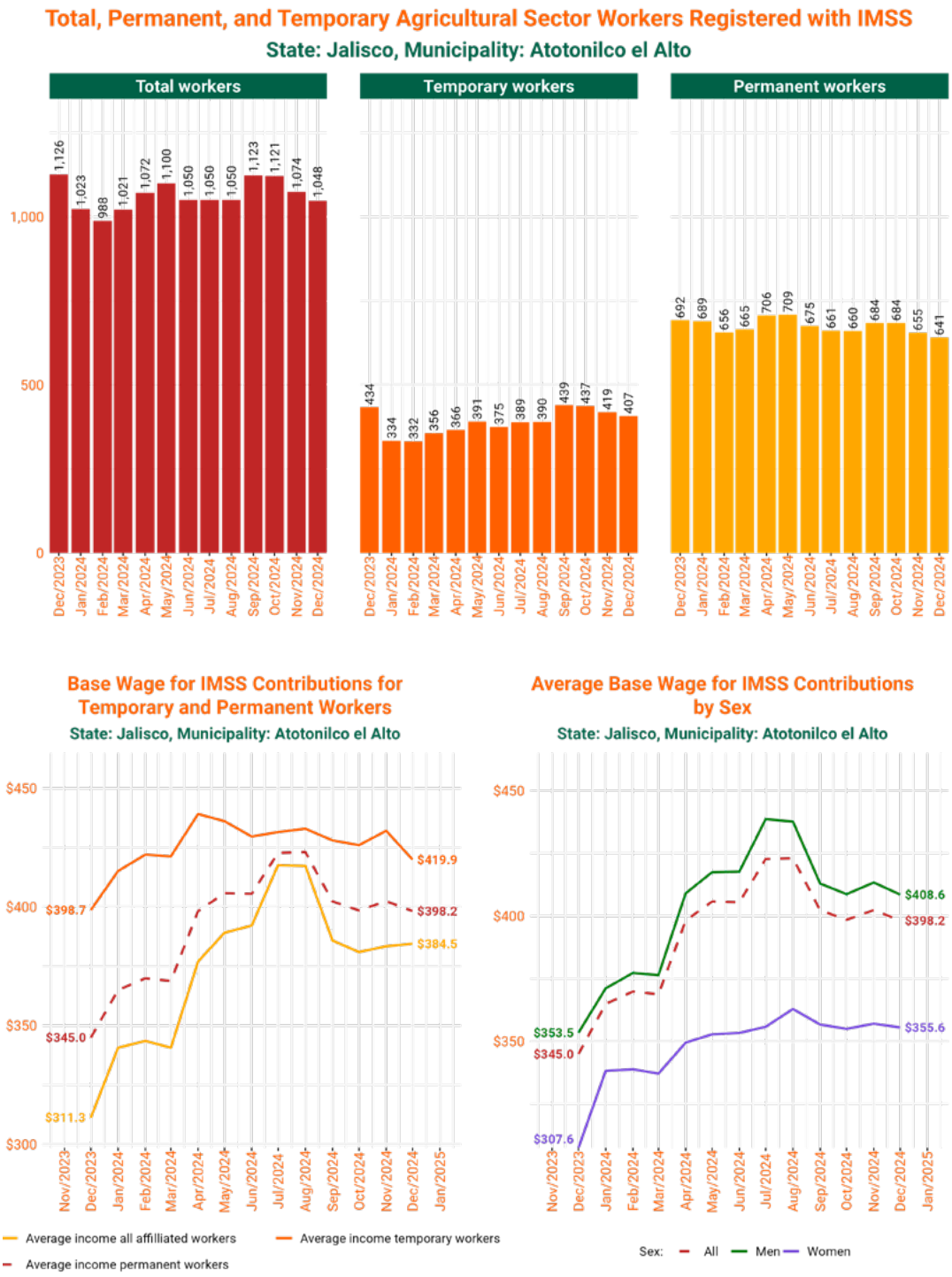
Source: Own estimates from IMSS labor statistics.

Figure 29. State: Jalisco. Municipality: Arandas.



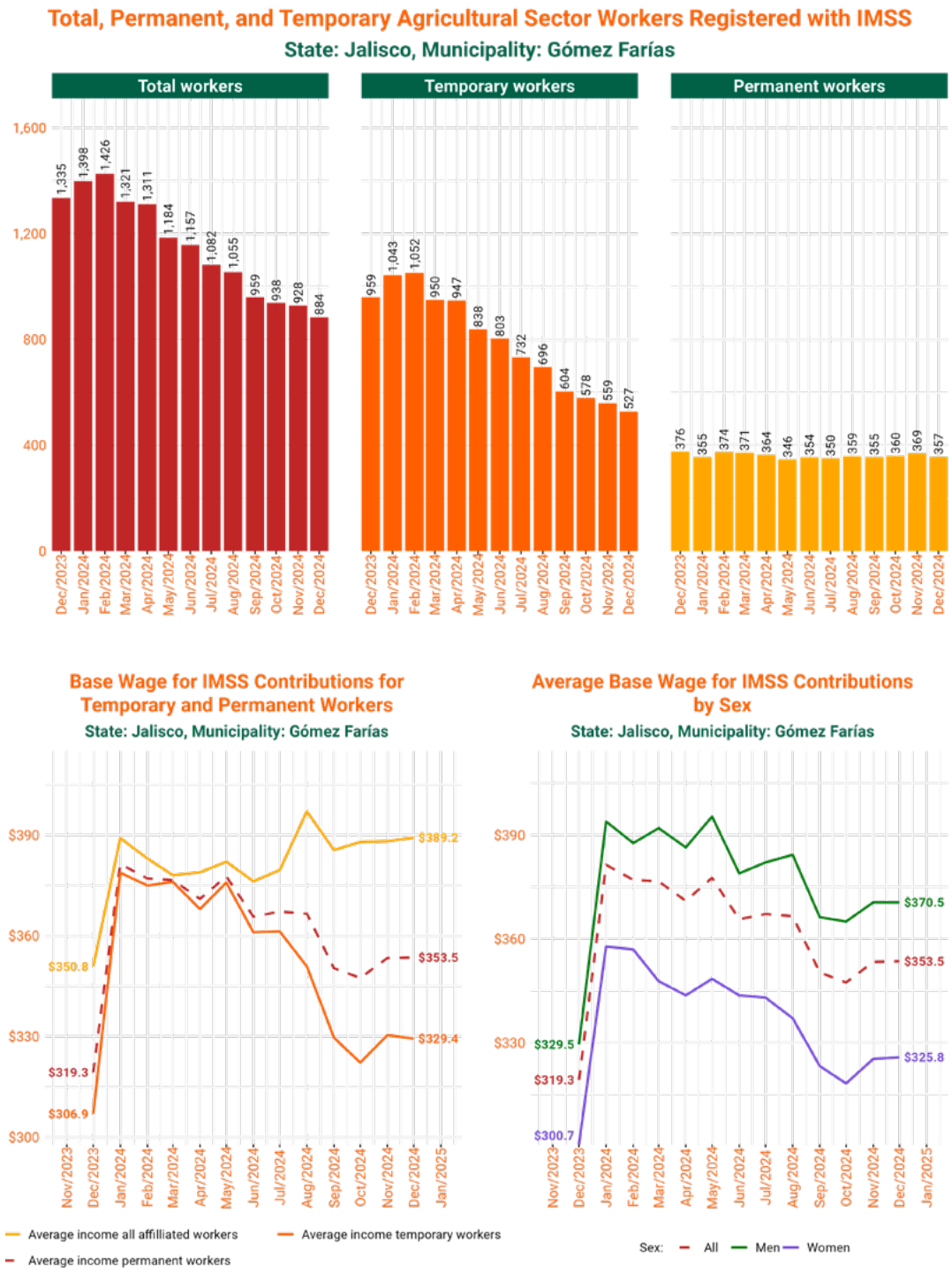
Source: Own estimates from IMSS labor statistics.

Figure 30. State: Jalisco. Municipality: Atotonilco el Alto.



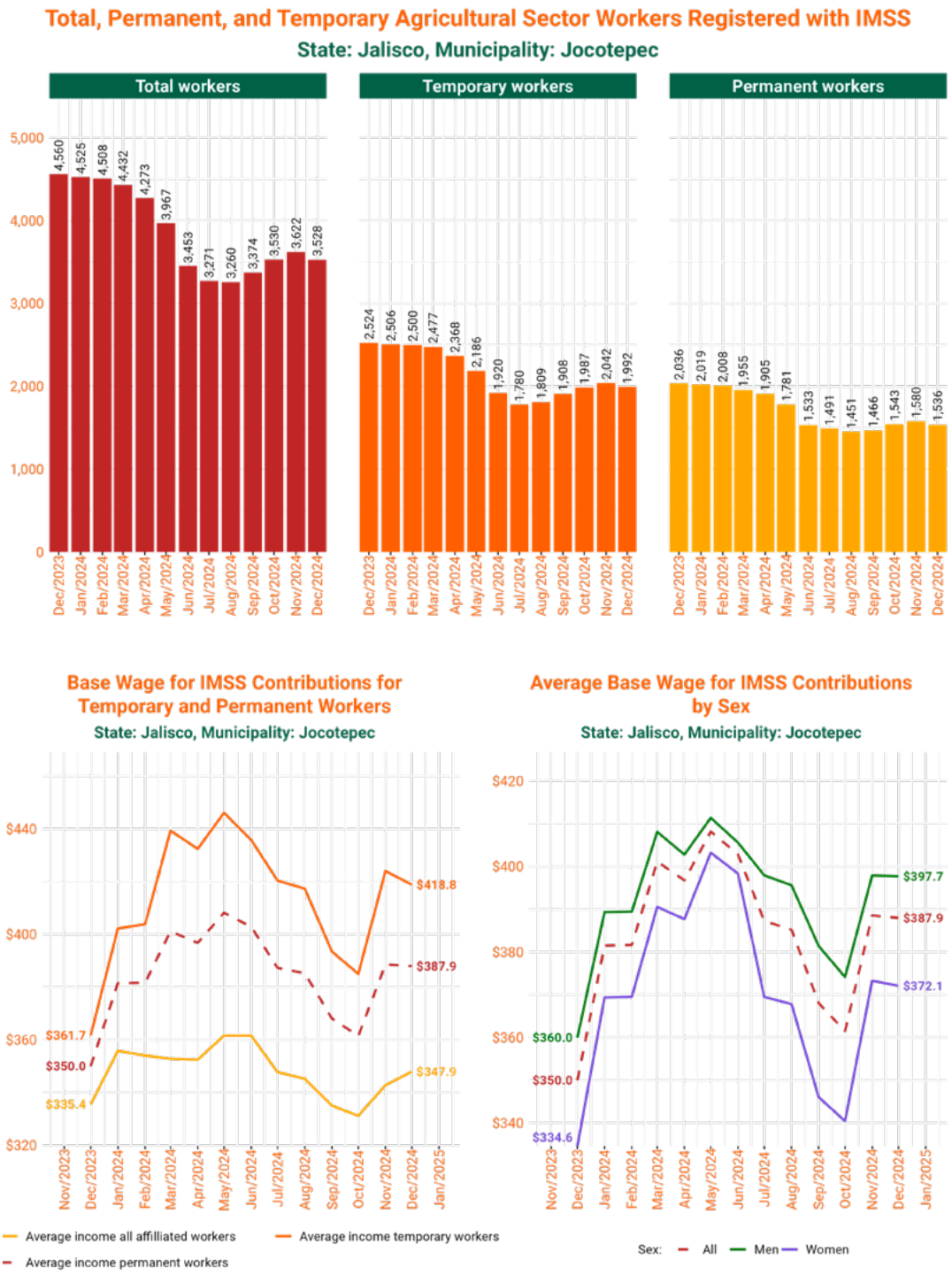
Source: Own estimates from IMSS labor statistics.

Figure 31. State: Jalisco. Municipality: Gómez Farías.



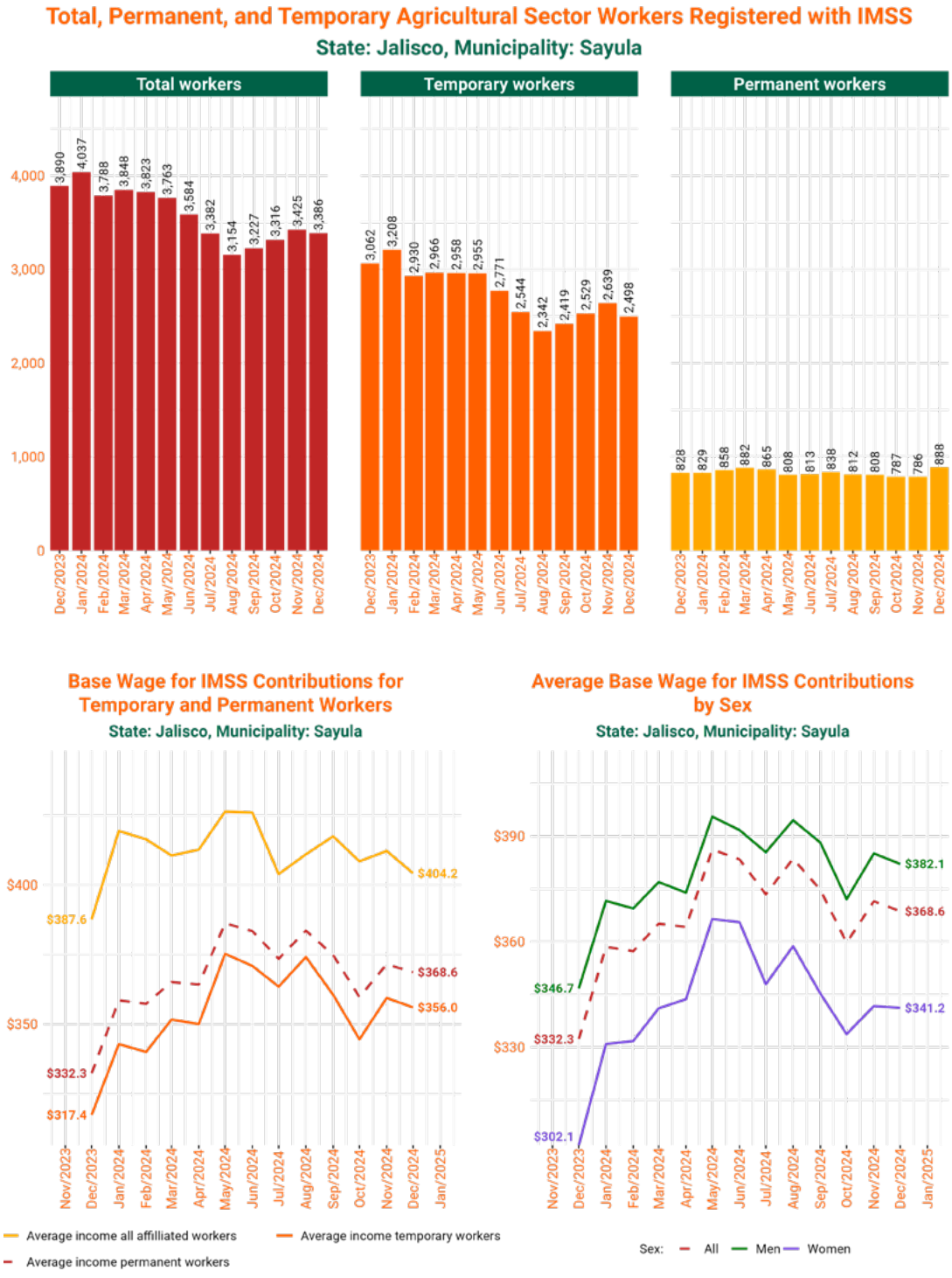
Source: Own estimates from IMSS labor statistics.

Figure 32. State: Jalisco. Municipality: Jocotepec.



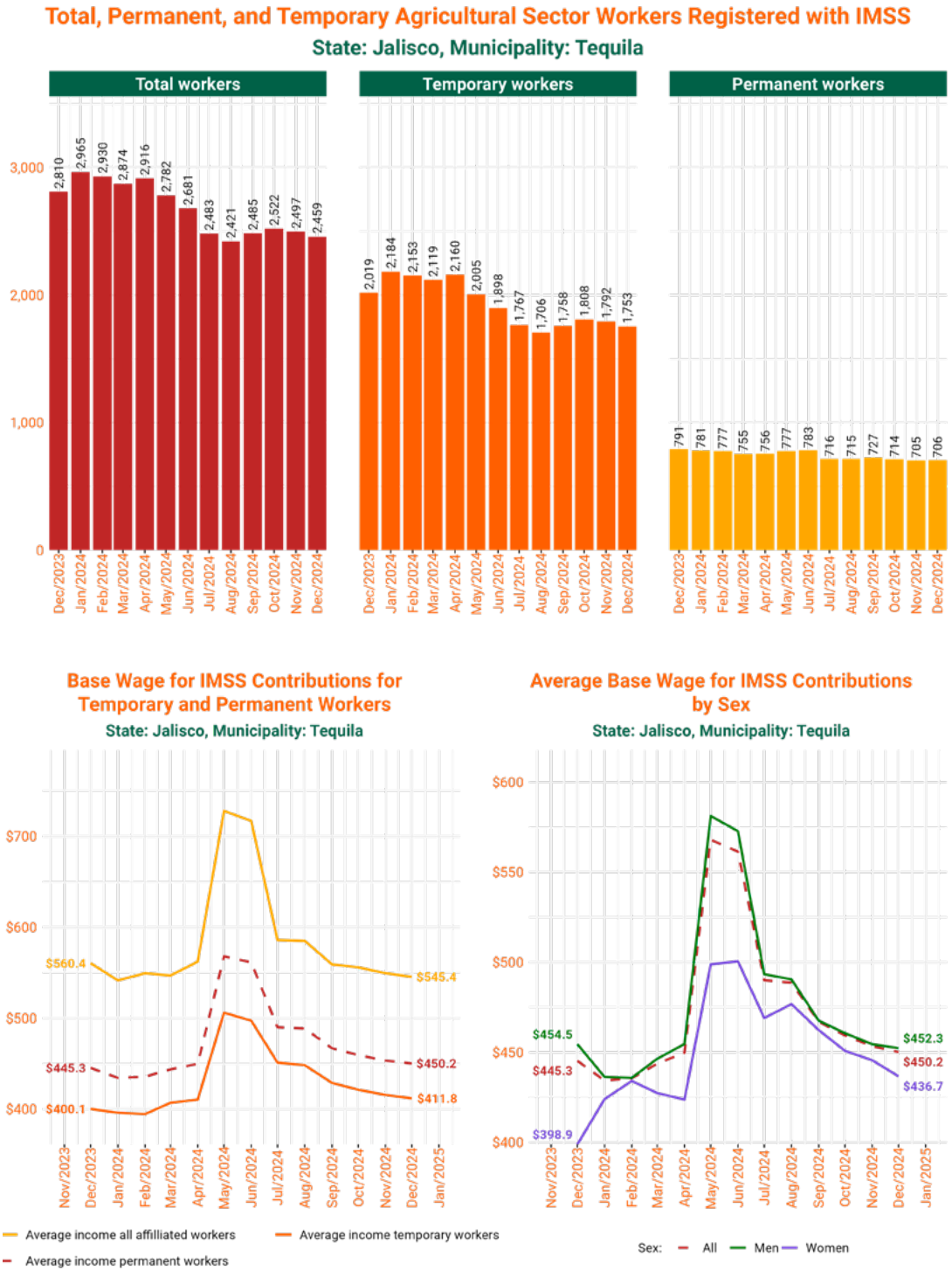
Source: Own estimates from IMSS labor statistics.

Figure 33. State: Jalisco. Municipality: Sayula.



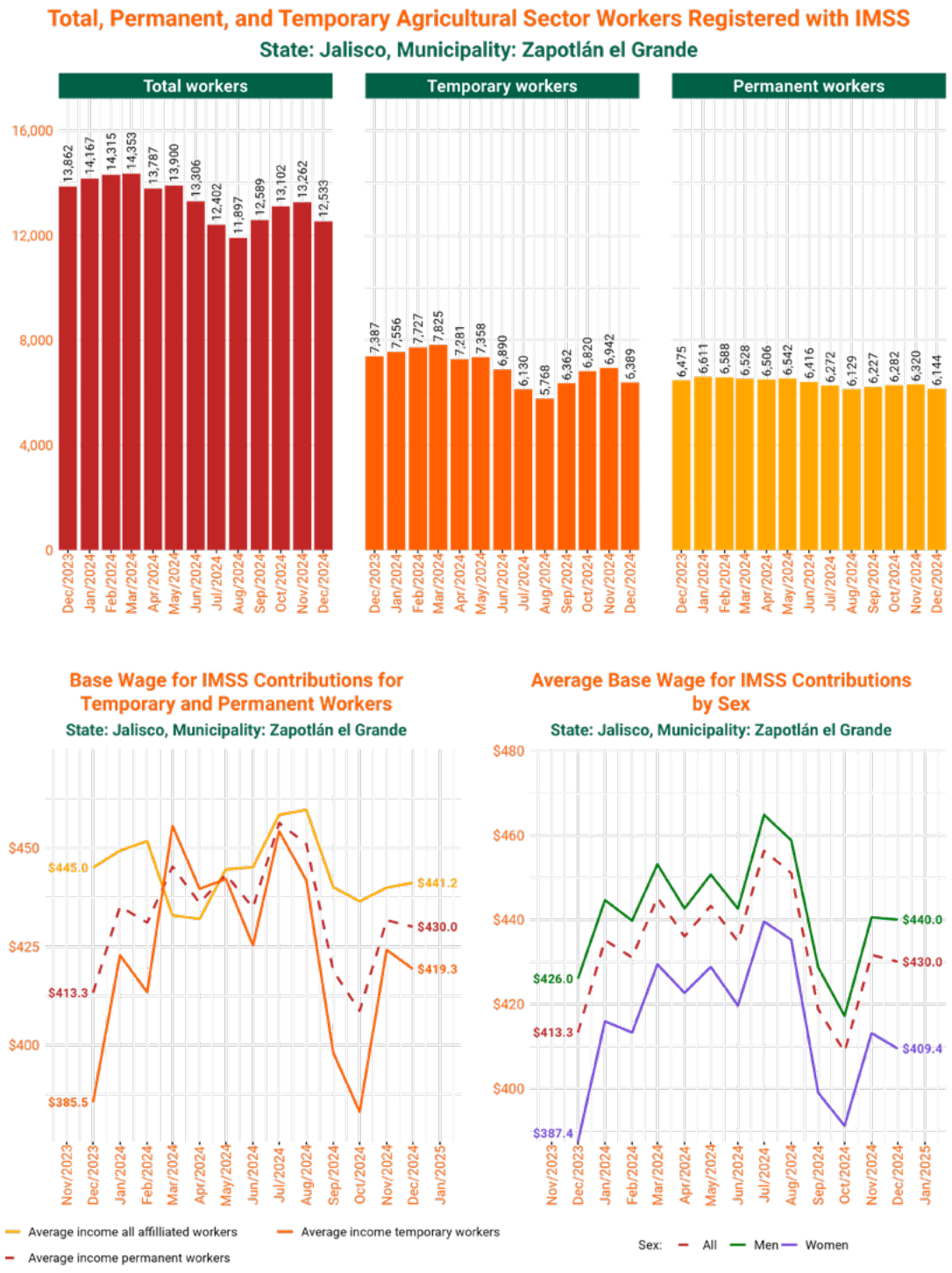
Source: Own estimates from IMSS labor statistics.

Figure 34. State: Jalisco. Municipality: Tequila.



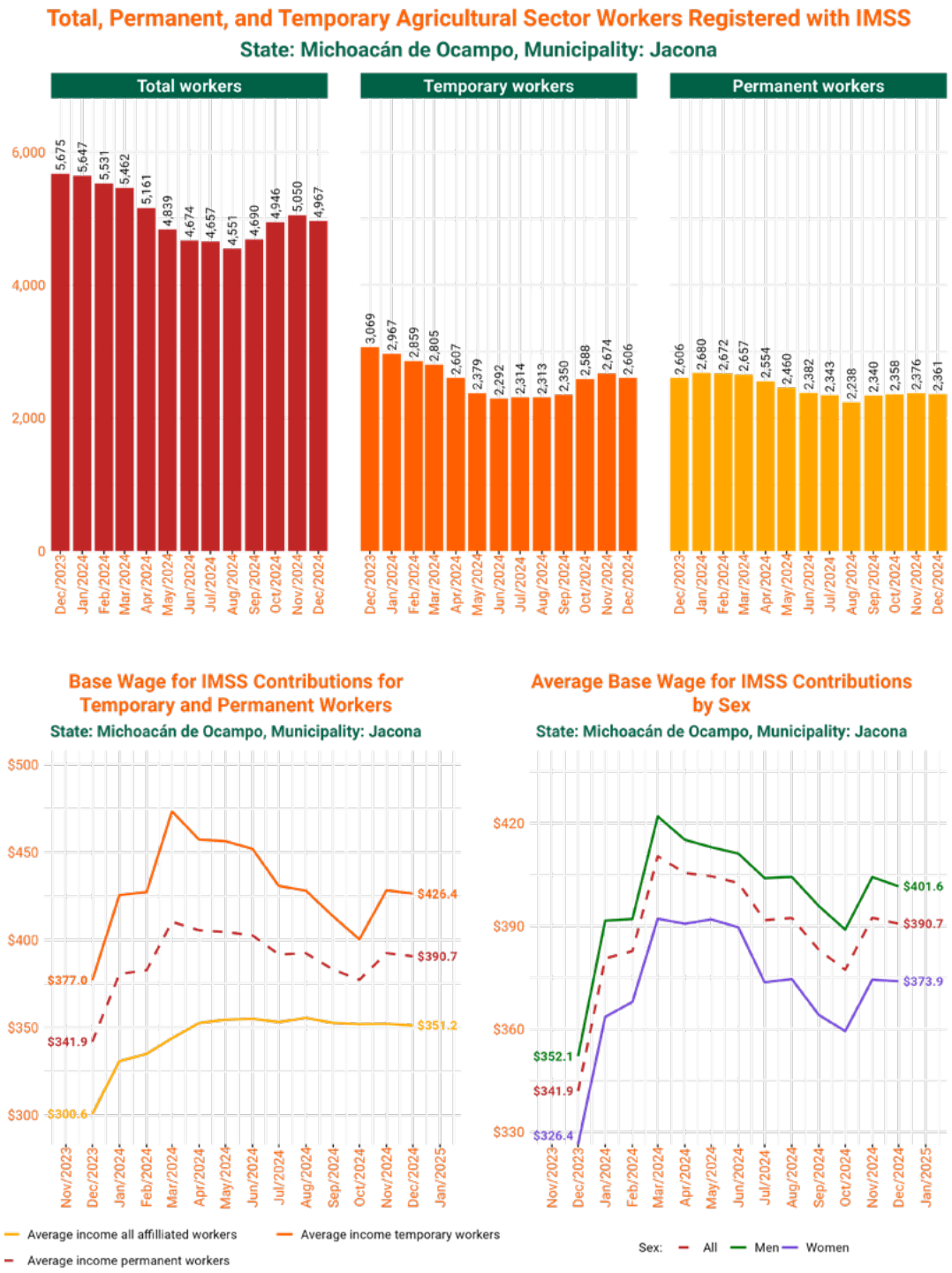
Source: Own estimates from IMSS labor statistics.

Figure 35. State: Jalisco. Municipality: Zapotlán el Grande.



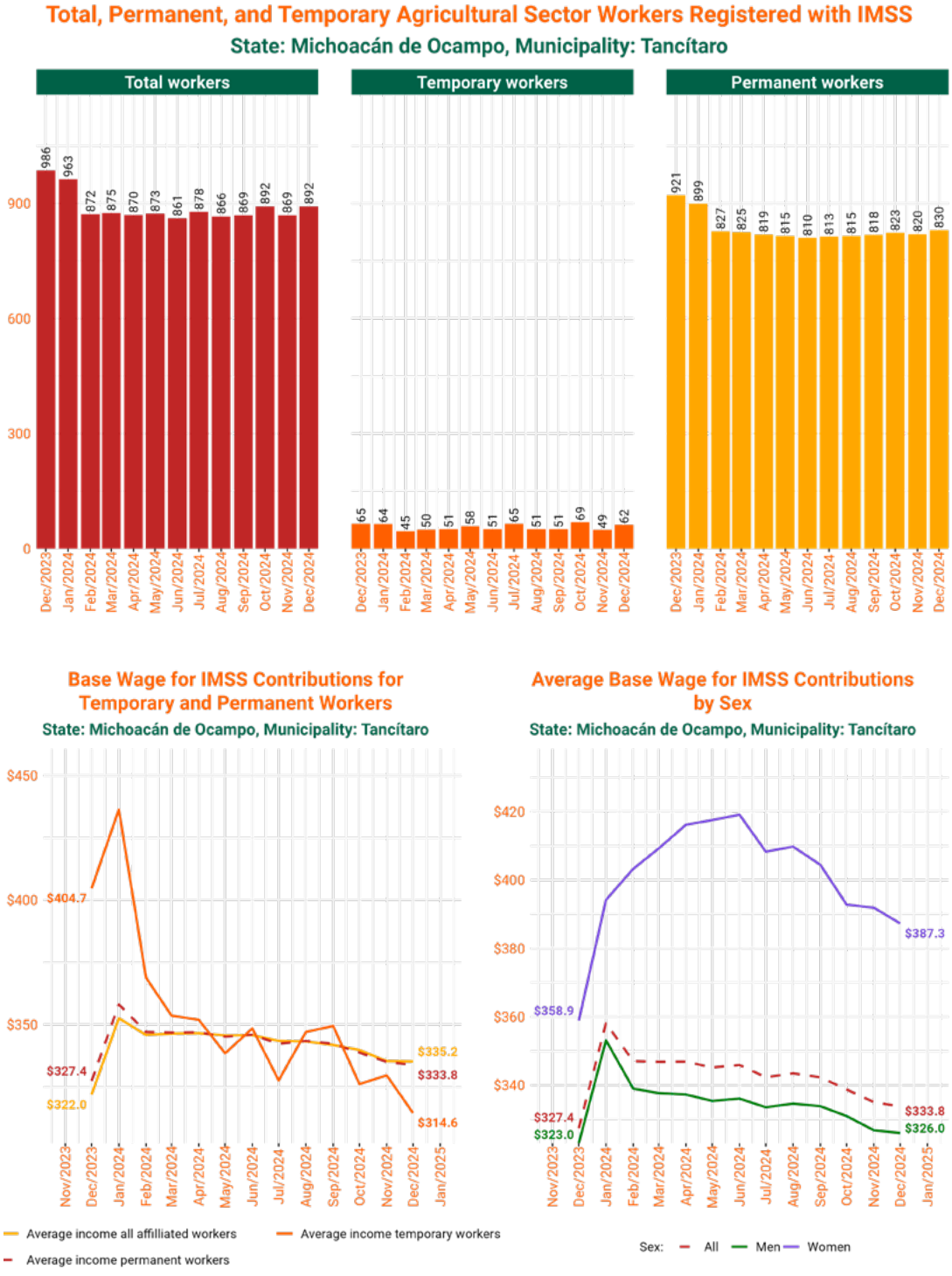
Source: Own estimates from IMSS labor statistics.

Figure 36. State: Michoacán de Ocampo. Municipality: Jacona.



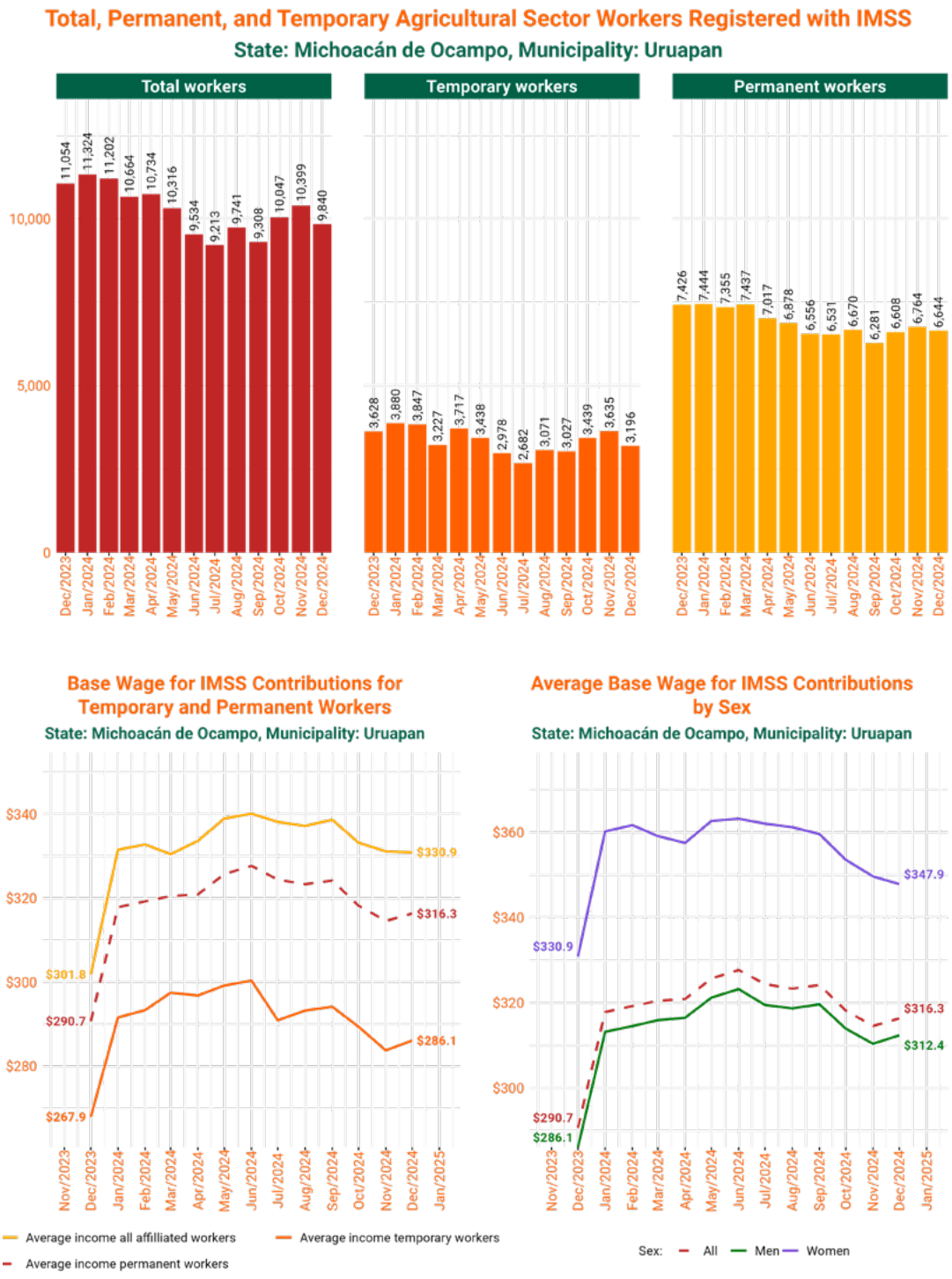
Source: Own estimates from IMSS labor statistics.

Figure 37. State: Michoacán de Ocampo. Municipality: Tancítaro.



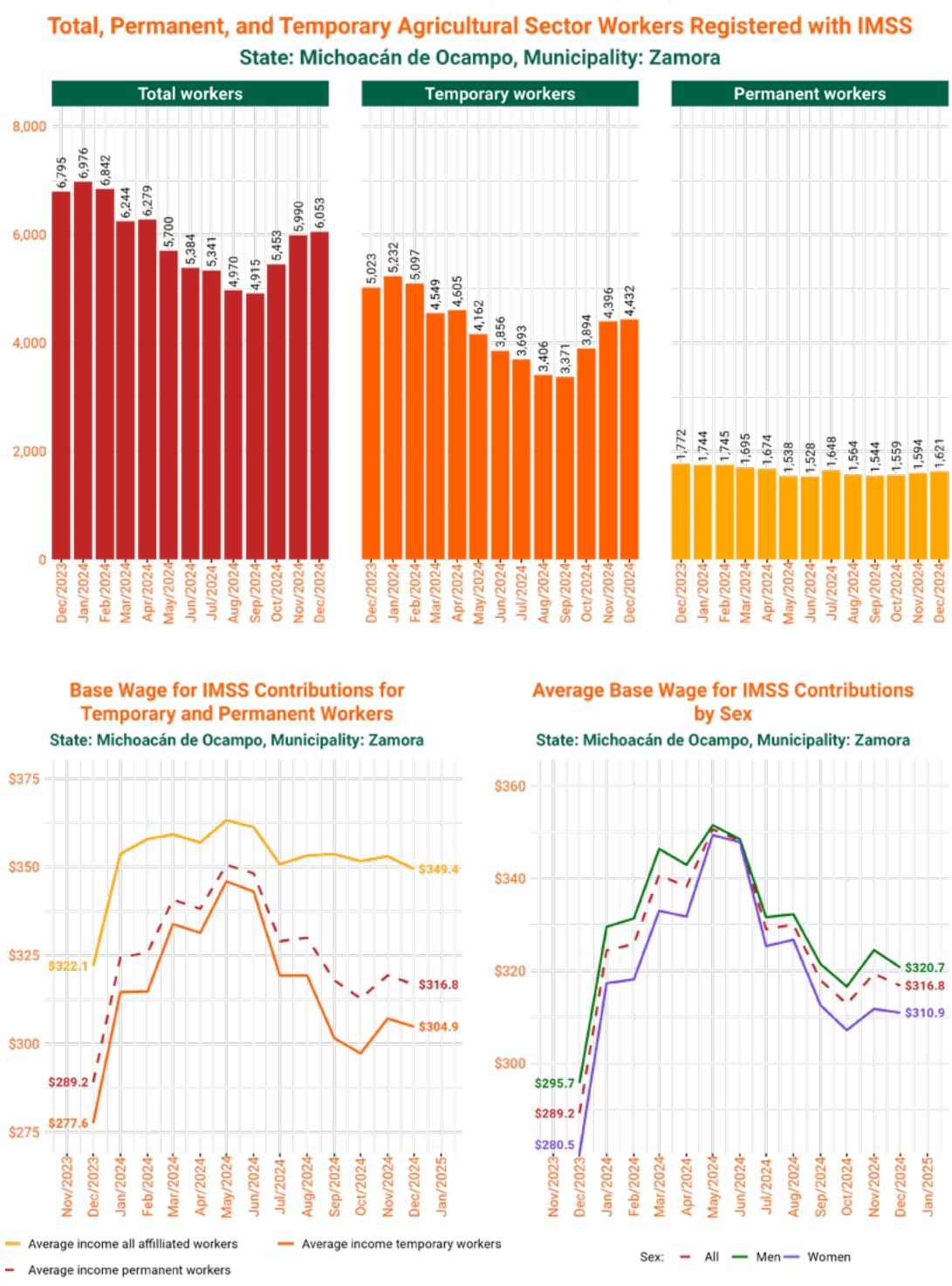
Source: Own estimates from IMSS labor statistics.

Figure 38. State: Michoacán de Ocampo. Municipality: Uruapan.



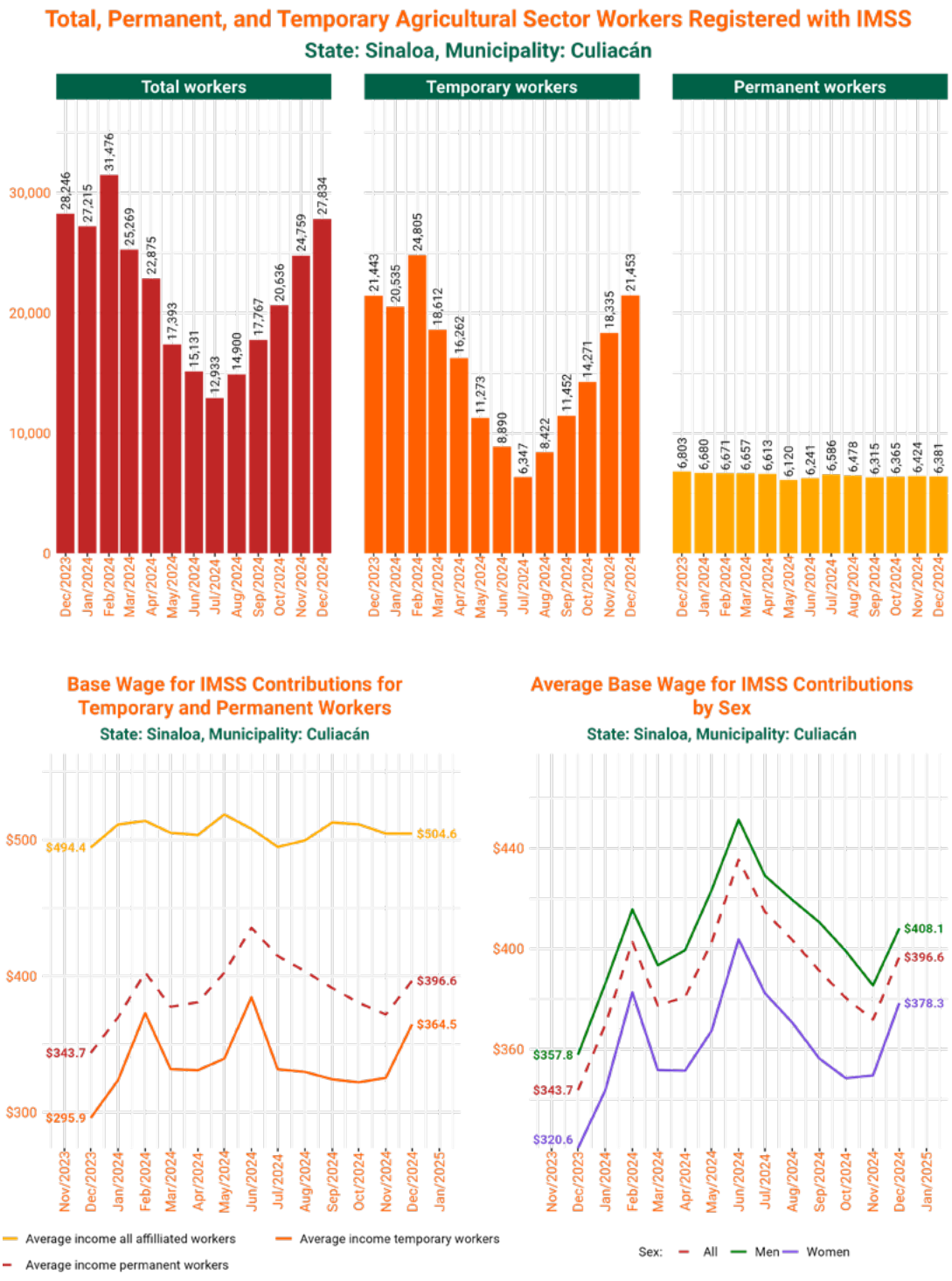
Source: Own estimates from IMSS labor statistics.

Figure 39. State: Michoacán de Ocampo. Municipality: Zamora.



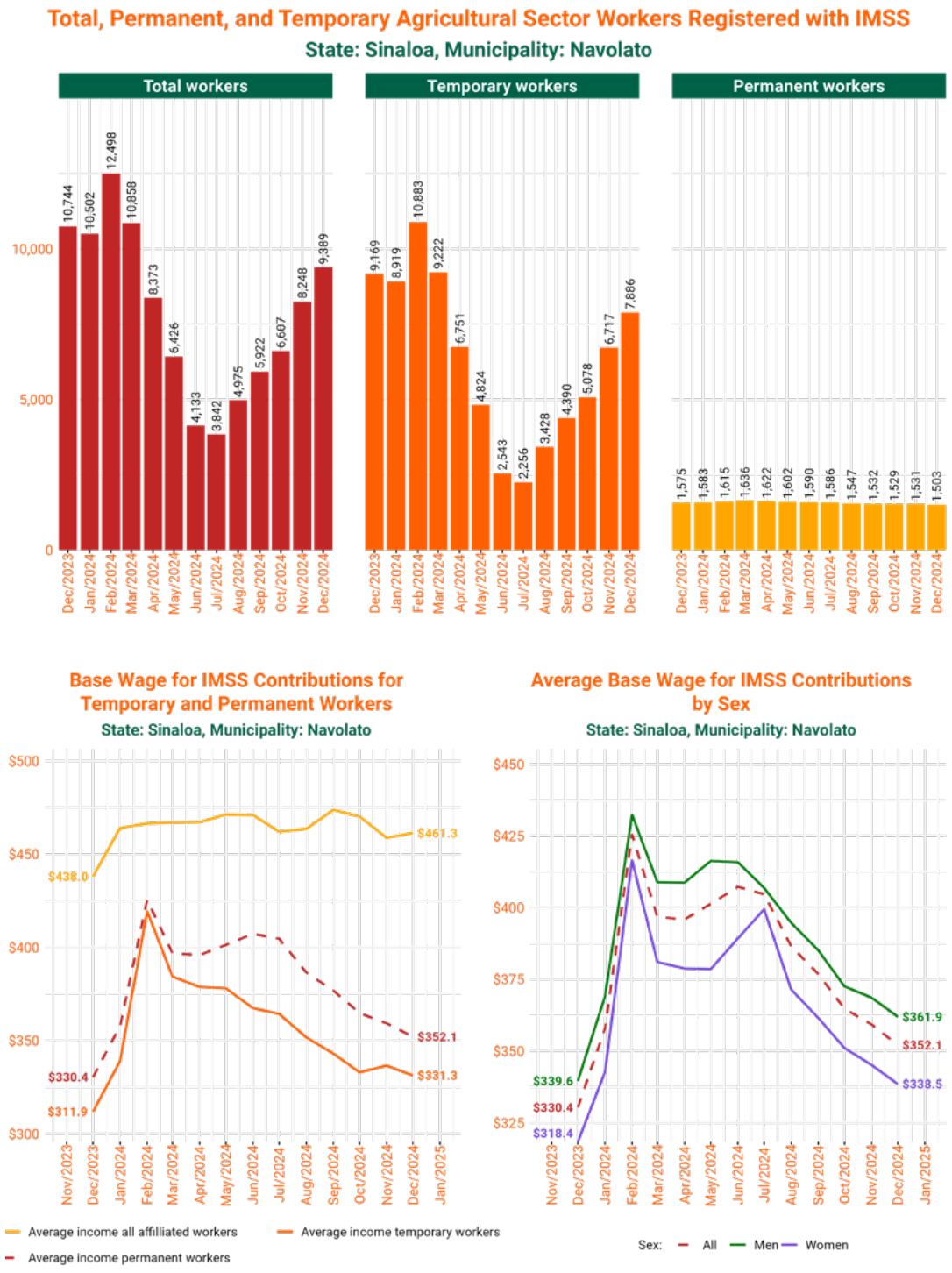
Source: Own estimates from IMSS labor statistics.

Figure 40. State: Sinaloa. Municipality: Culiacán.



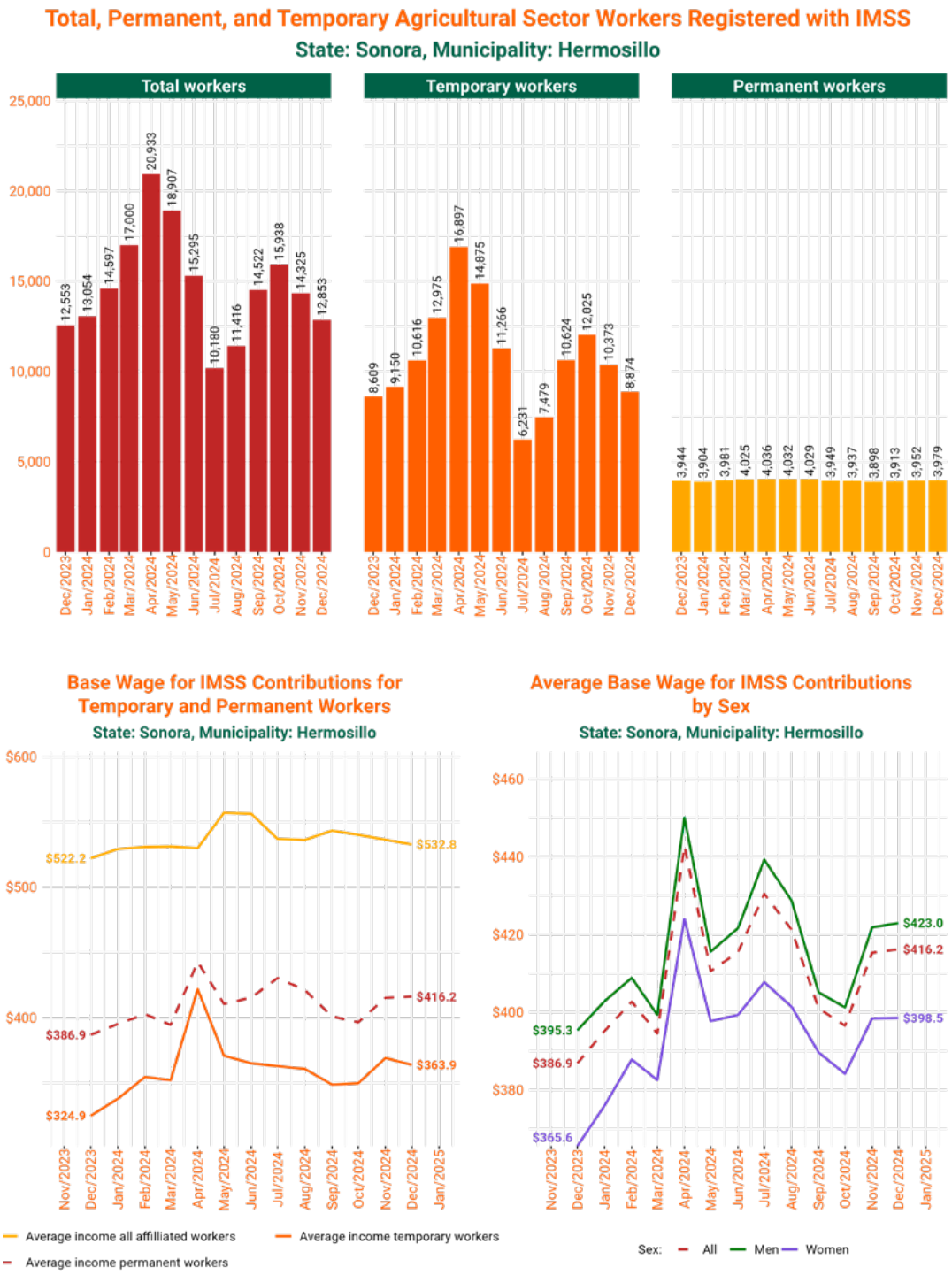
Source: Own estimates from IMSS labor statistics.

Figure 41. State: Sinaloa. Municipality: Navolato.



Source: Own estimates from IMSS labor statistics.

Figure 42. State: Sonora. Municipality: Hermosillo.



Source: Own estimates from IMSS labor statistics.

TPT
JORNAMEX
2025

First edition 2025

Report 4. Mexico's Farm Labor Market. December 2024.

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