

Obstáculos para el posicionamiento laboral de la población en rezago educativo.

*Obstacles for labor positioning of the population in educational backwardness.
A study in the food industry.*

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Resumen

Este artículo expone los resultados de un estudio sobre los obstáculos que enfrentan los trabajadores en condición de rezago educativo para el logro de su posicionamiento laboral en empresas de la industria alimentaria de Sinaloa, México. Bajo el supuesto de que, el rezago educativo prefigura un destino laboral precario y limita las capacidades productivas se realizó un estudio mixto, de carácter transversal, durante el primer trimestre del 2014. Los resultados constatan los efectos que cobra dicha variable en la incorporación y el posicionamiento en el mercado de trabajo. Muestra también que ese impacto es diferencial según el género: los hombres en condición de rezago educativo tienen una trayectoria laboral más exitosa que sus pares mujeres en esa misma condición. Esto es, ellos tienen mayores posibilidades de posicionarse laboralmente, ocupar puestos de mayor jerarquía, mejores salarios y reconocimiento laboral.

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Palabras clave: educación y trabajo, mercado laboral, posicionamiento laboral, rezago educativo y desigualdad.

Abstract

This paper presents the results of a study on the obstacles faced by workers in educational backwardness condition for achieving their work positioning companies in the food industry of Sinaloa, Mexico. Considering that the educational gap prefigures a poor employment prospects and limited productive capacities a combined and transversal study was conducted during the first quarter of 2014. The results confirm the effects of this variable in the incorporation and positioning in the labor market. Also it shows a differential impact by gender: men in educational gap condition have a successful professional career than women in the same condition. That is, men are more likely to position the workforce, better positions, higher salaries and work recognition.

Key words: education and employment, labor market, labor positioning, educational backwardness and inequality.

Fecha Recepción: Mayo 2015

Fecha Aceptación: Diciembre 2015

Introduction

It is considered that education is key to increasing productivity factor countries because knowledge a direct component of the production processes of goods and services turned. Therefore, in contemporary societies the educational gap is no longer only an ethical problem of social justice, to become an economic problem given their impact on the growth of the wealth of countries and regions.

The educational gap is defined as the condition of backwardness of persons 15 years of age or older who have not completed basic education, which in the case of Mexico comprises up high, and whose components are illiteracy or primary or unfinished secondary . It is a

problem-social, cultural, political, and economic which highlights the inability of a company to provide a minimum of educational opportunities to the entire population multifactorial origin.

In this regard, Rivero (1999) questions that identify the educational gap as the explanatory factor of unemployment. It holds as erroneous that nation states indicate that unemployment mainly affects workers with educational backwardness, arguing that insufficient qualification level prevents them from accessing jobs as these require people with increasingly diversified knowledge. This assumption can justify also the lack of job positioning this segment of workers.

According to data from the National Survey of Economic Occupation of the second quarter of 2015 (ENOE), 25.6% of the population employed in the manufacturing sector is in a state of Sinaloa educational backwardness, only 41.2% he completed high school. In the case of workers, the educational gap is expressed as follows: 9.8% have not completed primary studies and 13.8% of them completed primary. However, it notes that the percentage of women with completed secondary education, 42.9, is higher than their male counterparts, 40%.

The starting assumption that guided the study establishes that the educational level is important for employment and occupationally position but is not determinative variable because also influence the age, gender and social roles, among others.

Educational attainment and adult education

To meet the educational requirements of the Mexican population, including attention to illiteracy and educational backwardness, the Mexican state education policies formulated, given the power under Article 3 of the Constitution of the United Mexican States. Despite this constitutional instrument and multilateral agreements on the subject, adult education policies are embedded in difficulty which determined its low impact in addressing the problem of educational backwardness.

In this regard, Rivero (1993) argues that is difficult to understand how they relate to the objectives of educational policies and economic objectives of a country, as the state defines changes in education systems, while sets the pace the economic interests of the market, making it difficult to reconcile these with the real learning needs of the population.

In addition, as a result of rapid and vertiginous political, economic and social observed changes, educational programs become obsolete. Gelpi (1990) reports that both in content and in political and social goals, educational policies are available to the productive structures and

that these exert great influence on the whole education system, especially because jobs suffer rapid changes - disappearance of some and developing others, also referring to the learning of new technologies recognizes that these have disrupted education and work organization.

A historical problems of illiteracy and educational backwardness technological illiteracy, which need to be addressed given the increasing incorporation of new technologies into the workplace adds; which requires people possess skills to use these, so working conditions and inserting the same affect, technological illiteracy primarily affects the population at educational backwardness (Andrade, 2004).

In Mexico adult education is a compensatory public policy strategy that attempts to correct the problems of educational backwardness. Among the major challenges to government policies in this area are recycling knowledge and emphasis on job training of workers, as it is considered that the risk of adult education is displaced by training programs for work runs , to which arises the need for educational policies that go beyond the economic dimension: "(...) where other educational aspirations are recognized: second chance education, personal development projects, civic education, community education, general education and education popular, learning a language "(Belanger and Federigui, 2004, p.35).

Notion of work positioning

The term work positioning refers to the incumbency of certain hierarchy in the different work areas, the recognition of the capabilities and performance of other workers and bosses, and consequently to higher perceptions. This is to excel, and for that workers develop a set of strategies.

This concept comes from marketing, refers to the location and attributes that mental perception a customer has of a product. Functional (solve problems or provide benefits), the symbolic (on the image, ego, and membership or social meaning) and experience (sensory or cognitive stimulation) (Ries and Troad: In this field three types of positioning are identified 1981, cited by Karolina JANISZEWSKA and Andresa Insch, 2012). At work the difference between position and positioning not only involves placing the spot or level where the subject is located, but also recognized that other subjects make that location.

In the workplace people are recognized and therefore establish the interrelationships allow them to build their identity and take a position in this context. In this regard, Enriquez and Renteria (2006) suggest the need to analyze the ways people are positioned in front of the work, which has become an increasingly competitive space where many can offer the same merchandise: their workforce. They also claim that we are facing changes in working

practices and models, from the development of technologies which modify psychosocial conceptions of people taking them to design strategies to position and stay in the labor market.

The processes in the work context are so fast and unstable that require actors to adopt strategies to join, stay and excel (Bauman, 2005, Enriquez and Rentería, 2007). Therefore, work positioning implies a reflection or degree of awareness of the importance of education and schooling, the demands of the labor market, as well as skills and attitudes that enable mobility and stability in the jobs, ie current and potential resources.

Therefore, achieving labor positioning means individuals capable of internalizing, manipulate and transform information to enhance their interventions and impact in the workplace, as well as taking into account the characteristics of the social context, which will allow you to become visible.

Relationship between education and work positioning

When analyzing education in contemporary societies, Laval (2004) argues that education is allocated three essential functions: training of skilled labor, cultural transformation and formation of responsible citizens. However, he warns that educational projects in most countries dominated the first of these functions and while each individual responsible for your self training.

The school is no longer the only source of knowledge and must henceforth teach to learn, so that the child can sort and select the confused, incomplete and misleading information commercialized mass culture. This first school is merely the prelude to a permanent education, daily training sessions accompanied by numerous newspaper recycling -each three to five years, according to sectors- to the producer update their knowledge and adapt to a technology renewal. School and university must ensure new technologies in teaching imperative to adapt to modernity (Laval, 2004, p.42).

From the theory of human capital, qualification is a certain type of individual capital that people can accumulate forming. Therefore, "this theory legitimate wage differentials based on qualifications and titles school (...) under its appearance a deeply liberal technocratic thinking" (Vatin, 2004, p.199).

Thus, the problem of correspondence between training and employment tends to disguise the real social conditions of training practices and consequently attributed to such adaptation possibilities of access, positioning and retaining employment, making necessary a misconception about the education:

This pervasive sense of continuing training reinforces the idea of a "mismatch" of labor due to the inadequacies of the educational system that businesses would suffer. This should be taken with much reserve. It is true that in the short term, companies may suffer insufficient qualification or misfit of labor against rapid changes in their production processes, but in the longer term companies are largely responsible for the characteristics of the hand They work greatly contributed to produce (Vatin, 2004, p. 201).

It is clear that education plays an important role in the working position, but not the only one. For example, gender has an impact on all aspects of the lives of people, including labor. In this regard, Morales (2006) notes that the population distribution by gender, age group or family relationships, are variables that determine the possibilities of women and men to accumulate human and cultural capital, to participate in the workforce and also in their working position.

Factors impeding the work positioning

Occupational category positioning is built from various dimensions, so are many factors that influence both positively and negatively. Low schooling is a factor that does not favor the labor positioning of the population in this situation.

From the theories of economics of education and sociology of inequality, the principles of human capital, meritocracy and credentialist current recover, to indicate that the labor market gives a value to the school to justify the low level of positioning reaching the population in educational backwardness. For Moreno (1998), employers value the trajectory of workers in the education system, because this reproduces market requirements and qualifications (credentials) allowing them to choose the most productive workers. Therefore, education acts as a filter for the selection of the ablest and location in the best positions.

Age is another important factor in achieving labor positioning, because human capital as physical deteriorates over time and becomes obsolete. In this regard, Carnoy (2006) suggests that the older the accumulated human capital loses value in the market as well as the speed with which knowledge is outdated fly.

Moreover, according to the Theory of Market Segmentation labor positioning is hampered by various social, economic and cultural factors that set the same market, "the occupational structure in developed countries is characterized by its division into segments qualitatively different, persistent and stable, with little mobility between them, and each corresponds to social, sexual and economic divisions that already pre-exist in society "(Fisher, 1994, p.169).

Also, from that theory it argues that human capital is not valued equally among different groups of people, such is the case for men and women, "since these earn less, just as happens for the characteristics of race, religion and age "(Carnoy, 2006, p. 93). This implies that the gender status is an obstacle for women to position themselves occupationally, which is reflected in low wages and little presence in senior positions.

Cristina Borderias, Cristina Carrasco y Carmen Alemany (1994) explain that prevails circular reasoning, which argues that women specialize in domestic work for low wages and yet it is argued that the low wage level for women is the result of devote more time to homemaking and parenting children. This is a factor that contributes significantly to weak job positioning women, based on household responsibilities arising from the socially assigned gender roles.

In this regard, Taberner (2008) holds the necessary distribution of household responsibilities and the co-education of the children, because "without such cooperation to a single spouse worker may lack time and energy to amply fulfill the socializing and educational family function" (p .138).

methodological study process

The results presented are part of a broader investigation that developed in the first quarter of 2014 on the population in six companies in the food sector industry Culiacan, Sinaloa. He worked under a mixed approach, as a qualitative quantitative / cross-sectional study.

Of the total population it was stratified, proportional, ie the same composition of the strata of the population by area of work, education and gender reproduced, and was calculated using the formula for finite populations or known according to the strata indicated. The sample was composed of 64 workers, 22 women and 42 men in situations of educational backwardness, of which 16 women and 30 men participated, since employees who had resigned or for reasons of time could not participate in the study were discarded.

In the second phase of the study deepened in the analysis of data retrieved during the initial phase through semi-structured interviews, he spoke with some participants of the previous phase to recover their views on issues such as: the usefulness of adult education joining the labor market and the obstacles faced by men and women for work positioning. The latter is the focus of analysis in this article.

He interviewed three different types of informants: human resource managers; positioned workers and workers positioned at this stage 23 workers participated in situations of

production enterprises. six semi-structured interviews with human resources managers of the first six companies and workers with the subgroup of men and 9 women -14, of which only 13 (11 men and 2 women) were carried out were identified by their bosses or supervisors and employees who have achieved work positioning and for whom the interview tried to present their experiences and obstacles in achieving such recognition, including its passage through adult education. For the remaining 10 participants (3 men and 7 women), the interview allowed to recover their opinion on the reasons why they have not achieved such recognition.

The educational gap and other barriers to employment positioning

From the analysis of the situation of educational backwardness of the population employed in the food industry the following obstacles (social, economic and cultural) that limit the achievement of their working position were identified: the same situation of educational backwardness, age and late labor incorporation of women, the role of caregiver and responsible parenting, gender inequality in the hierarchical position and income level, trajectory and domestic work experience, and low participation in education programs for adults and job training.

Status of educational backwardness

Industrial plants participating in the study companies are formed mostly by men, with 72.2%. Another feature is the low educational level of workers in this sector, 41.5% is in a situation of educational backwardness, not completed basic education. With respect to the latter subgroup the following was found:

Table I. educational modality and gender of employees in a situation of educational backwardness of the participating companies.

Género	Modalidad educativa		Sin estudios	Total
	Regular escolarizada	INEA ³ -ISEA ⁴		
Masculino	18	9	3	30
Femenino	13	3	0	16
Total	31	12	3	46

Source: prepared based on information from the questionnaire applied to the sample.

Two thirds (67.4%) of the participating population coursed some grades of basic education in regular mode schooled in both public and private institutions. Another 26.1% studied in adult education programs at the National Institute for Adult Education or the Sinaloa Institute for Adult Education; some informants pointed out that this was more than twenty years; only 6.5% (three men) recognized that not studied any degree of schooling, although two of them can read, write and count.

The educational gap impacts the labor conditions of the workers, who recognize that their poor school career hinders their development in various areas, in this case work, and that does not have the basic knowledge of language, writing and basic math. In addition, since employers assign a value to schooling, it limits employment opportunities and promotion to this group of people. In this regard, in the interview with a human resources manager of a company that he said:

For recruitment in education operational posts requested and this outweighs experience, plus documents that prove is required as we are made to audit the quality of procurement processes. Even for the promotion of new posts, if the person does not have the document certifying their educational level is not promoted (RH1).

In another company, separating the areas of production and sales, so:

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In the case of sales, where we have the bulk of employees in stores and demonstrators are just women. Yes minimally required to have basic education, as they are dealing with customers and perform billing, sales reports, securities management, and so on. But production is not as essential (Head of Human Resources 3).

However, it is recognized that although recruitment is taken into account schooling this is not a determining requirement, since their interest is in mainstreaming unskilled labor and therefore cheap.

"In the case of operational positions, if we hire staff in educational backwardness we value the experience and recommendations. In fact, in the case of women who cover the night shift many of them have primary or secondary finished. That is the kind of employee who accepts this turn "(RH2).

Also responsible for hiring recognize:

The school gives you a role but does not develop the experience or achievement of a good performance or a good attitude (RH6). In very specific cases it requires strength, people accustomed to hard work, and therefore do not deal with a document certifying their studies, or operational and routine work either studies or experience are necessary (RH4).

Companies that have structured a vision of development and a modern work culture, recognize the school as a criterion for recruitment because they meet requirements for certification of its processes; while there are industrial companies that perform rudimentary production processes or household who value the skills acquired from the career paths and, therefore, do not require a certain level of schooling, while cheaper wages of the population in a situation of educational backwardness.

Age and incorporation of women working late

Limitations for a job position, age may be a factor, given the unequal distribution of opportunities in the workplace or educational world, affecting the population due to the deterioration of their physical and cognitive or their gender capacities. That is, women who join belatedly labor market and do not have work experience find it difficult to positions of senior and therefore higher incomes, because the time spent on household chores is not valued by companies.

Some women said they decided to enter to work until their children were older or no longer have the responsibility of caring for their parents, and even identified issues of domestic violence:

"Until I got tired of the abuse and dependence had toward my husband, I realized I could work" (E 1).

This happened when they felt they had already fulfilled their role as mother and wife. This implies that their career paths are scarce regarding the experience and the acquisition of skills for the job, since 89.9% of workers in these industries have less than ten years old in companies under study.

Table II. Age ranges and gender of employees in a situation of educational backwardness of the participating companies.

Rangos de edad	Género	
	Femenino	Masculino
18 a 24 años	1	4
25 a 34 años	1	9
35 a 44 años	5	7
45 a 54 años	7	3
55 a 60 años	2	7
Total	16	30

Source: prepared based on information from the questionnaire applied to the sample.

Just over half, 56.3% of women are in the age range of 45-60 years, this data indicates that the woman is incorporated to work until after they raised the children, cared for the parents, and even It became independent from their partner. By contrast, only a third of men is at that age, most (53.3%) is in a range of 25 to 44 years.

Workers who are older adults believe that being no longer has any case incorporated into adult education programs or job training. One of the men says:

"At my age I no longer enter letters, and why ?, although I know that if I lose this job would not find one for my studies and age" (E21).

That is, the combination of higher age ranges and educational backwardness situation, provide to the companies a circumstance depreciation of human capital,⁵ hindering the possibility of position, since for older workers have lower expectations implies development.

Caregiver role and responsible parenting

In the case of women, age social roles imposed (mother, wife or daughter) as a constraint to join the labor positioning. One interviewee refers:

"What time could study ?, I have three children to take care and my husband; me I program to work, I get up before 5 and I go to bed after 12 pm "(E20).

A high percentage of men, 93.3% said they have children, this group 75% are married and 14.3% live in free union. Meanwhile, 87.5% of the participating women have children, only 21.4% are married and 35.7% live in free union; while the remaining 42.9% is a single mother, widowed or separated, ie, is head of the family, without a partner and children. Therefore, the salary of these women is the main household income, and also say they accept work in industries that can work the night shift and so do the housework in the day.

In addition to the care of children, 30.4% of the study population is responsible for an elderly person; half of women with this responsibility are unmarried. One woman commented:

"I have two children and I remarried, he has three children, one disabled, I care, so do not give me the night shift and I can not do overtime. The good news is that my husband works in an office and earns more or less well "(E14).

The responsibility of caring for family members and household did not prevent the incorporation of these women into the work, but hinders their working position; since their domestic responsibilities limit their personal and professional development, in addition to the deteriorating quality of life and your family to subsist on meager income.

Paradoxically, it is the man who acquires greater autonomy to labor incorporation of women. In this regard, Vatin (2004) referring to the double day, says the man now shares responsibility for household spending with women and having more free time to fill it in public life; while women working is more capable in economic terms, this ability does not translate into net autonomy. Women have less time available because it takes care of the maintenance and domestic and family care.

⁵ Se pueden diferenciar dos fuentes de depreciación del capital humano: por una parte, el propio paso de tiempo afecta a las habilidades físicas y mentales de los individuos "depreciación interna" y por la otra, factores de cambio externos en las condiciones del mercado, entre los que destaca el cambio tecnológico, provocan que los conocimientos adquiridos por los individuos resulten obsoletos "depreciación externa" (Neuman y Weiss, 1995).

Career and domestic work experience

Companies in the industrial sector valued work experience equally or more than schooling because certain career paths ensure the development of certain technical skills. In companies that are studied, workers in positions of workers previously toiled as bricklaying assistants, porters, drivers, employees of industries or businesses and security companies, and as farm workers; while the best positioned workers occupationally were employed as maintenance assistants, welders, carpenters, small business owners, employees of farmland, and in some cases were migrants.

In the case of women, the careers related to domestic activities is valued as it ensures submission, acceptance of routine tasks and low wages. Most of the female population study participant previously worked as balers farmland, used in food industries and shops, cooks, waitresses and mayors. Hence, few women are positioned occupationally.

For some women work in an industry meant an advance to match their situation to that of men as they left the unpaid domestic sphere to enter the public arena, where they get an income for their work. One interviewee commented:

I always suffered from domestic violence and alcoholism of my husband, for these problems I left other jobs, and so far I have been able to highlight because I have no dependent children me and my husband lost his authority to desobligarse the house. Here at work I run extra shifts and were recognizing me until they made me head (E1).

However, they have not thought about that occupy the lower paid and less operational positions even in the industrial sector.

On the other hand, there are educational backwardness workers whose performance has allowed them to climb occupationally, but still think that because they have no documentary evidence of higher educational levels do not remain at a good level positioning,

"Even though the union says I can be promoted, it has not touched me because I lack a high school diploma" (E23). "I believe that if I study high school could be chief of staff, I have come up but if a certification maybe would drop stall for lack of documents" (E3).

A relevant fact is that, in the case of these companies, promotions generally mean better pay or recognition, but the change from one position to another some responsibility, where they can work overtime to improve their income. The aforementioned positions are: workers in the production process, machine operators and even responsible for shifts.

Not so with the women at educational gap, since they have few options for career advancement because most jobs in these companies are masculinized. This is not achieved positions of operator or heavy machinery transport, nor have access to technical departments such as maintenance. In this regard, one of the workers said:

"I've had the opportunity to go to five plants in different states, and even though this is the oldest is far behind technologically. With regard to women, there operators, forklift operators are... Of course, the machines are more advanced "(E3).

This would indicate that the minor or major modernization of production processes of a company is directly associated with the inclusion or not of women to the production area and not by the productive capacities of these.

Also, a worker commented on his experience in other food industry, where he excelled to occupy a position of machine operator:

"It did not interest me become chief, in that company women earn less than men and work the same. I know that in the place where between working since I can ascend because I try to make things right; I like to learn, but in this work for women no good jobs at good wages "(E2).

Scarce promote job training and education programs for adults

The job training and promoting adult education is scarce in the companies mentioned. Therefore, no opportunities are promoted for the employed population achieve a work positioning. However, human resource managers interviewed agree that participation in adult education program ISEA, in any of its strategies, provides workers: motivation, maturity and security to perform their work.

On the other hand, those responsible for the human resources departments of companies that are characterized by rustic or domestic production processes, recognize that adult education has not been a priority, and even said that ignore existing programs.

The job training is usually certifications for positions that require operating machinery or automotive, industrial safety and accident prevention. Such certification processes are carried out at the premises of the companies themselves. Another type of training is the art such as mechanical or electricity, provided by institutions such as the Training Centres for Industrial Work (CECATI), the Institute of Job Training Sinaloa (ICATSIN) and the National College of Technical and Vocational Education (CONALEP), which is used by companies to improve the skills of their workers. This type of training is more valued by the company that the same basic education. However, most employees states that it has not received any training, and

even women say not identify what kind of technical training could receive, given their status as women.

The reasons given by informants and not to participate in a program of adult education or job training are different by gender. In the case of women family issues, home or stereotypes are indicated:

"I did not go to school because before my sick parents cared for, and now large rotating shifts in this work will not let me" (E17).

Rangel (1995) reports that school and the labor market conducive to the social development of women, allowing him recognized as social subject matter that does not provide domestic work or the role of biological reproduction.

However, the doubleheader developing women working -in the productive sector and leads them to dismiss reproductivo- issues such as education; They expressed about:

"I would like to study high school, but besides work, care for children and the husband, can not and also the business of the house" (E20); "I would but I did not decide in time, besides working now I care for grandchildren" (E14); "Yes I want to study, but I'm sorry, I just do not enter the letters" (E15).

Among men the reasons are different, usually referred to the lack of time as well as being home providers perform other paid activities.

"I am a welder and I know that to give me the opportunity I need the document, but not go to school for lack of time. I do work out here on my own, because pure salary is not enough" (E22). "Even if I wanted to study technological high schools this work does not allow it, because I'm different shifts Less study mechanical engineering, imagine what it costs!" (E7). "At the ranch had only primary, I came to the city and no longer followed by work schedules" (E21).

Therefore, the mere existence of educational programs and job training does not translate into qualification of labor, or in positioning and career development, regardless of gender. Socioeconomic inequalities, ethnic origin and gender will not be waged equally by the population while access and equity in education and labor systems is not guaranteed.

Conclusión

The results demonstrated that the educational gap has effects on the integration and positioning in the labor market. However, for the allocation of positions and salaries, the education level is evaluated differentially by gender or socioeconomic and cultural backgrounds of people.

One of the assumptions of the human capital that is true, according to the study, is concerning the value that employers give the experience, accumulated learning, skills and attitudes of people, even those in situations of educational backwardness, since the human capital acquired by workers lowers investment costs for the training and education of workers. This assessment is not equally true with respect to age and gender of the population.

About the incorporation of women into the labor market, these companies can be characterized as a late addition. This can be explained by the demands associated with socially assigned roles, ie, the parenting, which keeps busy women usually between 20 and 40 years; in addition to household chores, which remain as a female obligation throughout life.

This is related to another important feature of the study population, which is marital status. Seven out of ten men are married and share responsibilities with their partner, while only half of women are in that condition. This data allows us to identify the need to analyze the female-headed households and the occupation of women in situations of educational backwardness, as well as having to fulfill their traditional tasks are also suppliers.

In this type of industrial companies it is clear that the labor positioning of men the situation of educational backwardness is not determinative. Such positioning responds to its physical strength and skills to masculinized tasks. The value the market assigns to these masculine characteristics, allows them to successfully transit through their working lives and greater opportunities positioning, better wages and more senior positions and recognition.

Progress in the labor positioning of the population employed in the companies studied, means that workers can understand their context and identify and take strategies that transform their working conditions and social disadvantage.

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