New perspectives on intra-regional Migration:

Measuring the Quality of Employment (QoE) of Immigrants in Chile

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Chile is one of the world's Top 5 destination countries where migration has increased the most…..

- Good example of a liberal immigration regime
- So how are these migrants integrating in the labour market?

Three Motivations for this paper

1. (As always) we apply theoretical frameworks from developed countries to developing ones, but do they hold in the Global South?

2. We have produced a QoE index for Latin America*, but how can such an index be used by policy makers in practice?
   - Identify social policy applications (e.g. targeting)
   - Identify horizontal inequalities*

3. Inform policy debates in destination countries:
   - Intra-regional migration is understudied
   - Lack of reliable data
   - We know of no similar study that examines the QoE of migrants

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- Literature review*
- Chilean context
- Methodology
  - The Alkire/Foster method for measuring the QoE*
  - Index design: indicators, cut-offs, and weights
- Findings: what type of jobs do immigrants have?
- Analysis and sensitivity of the results
- Policies
- Conclusions

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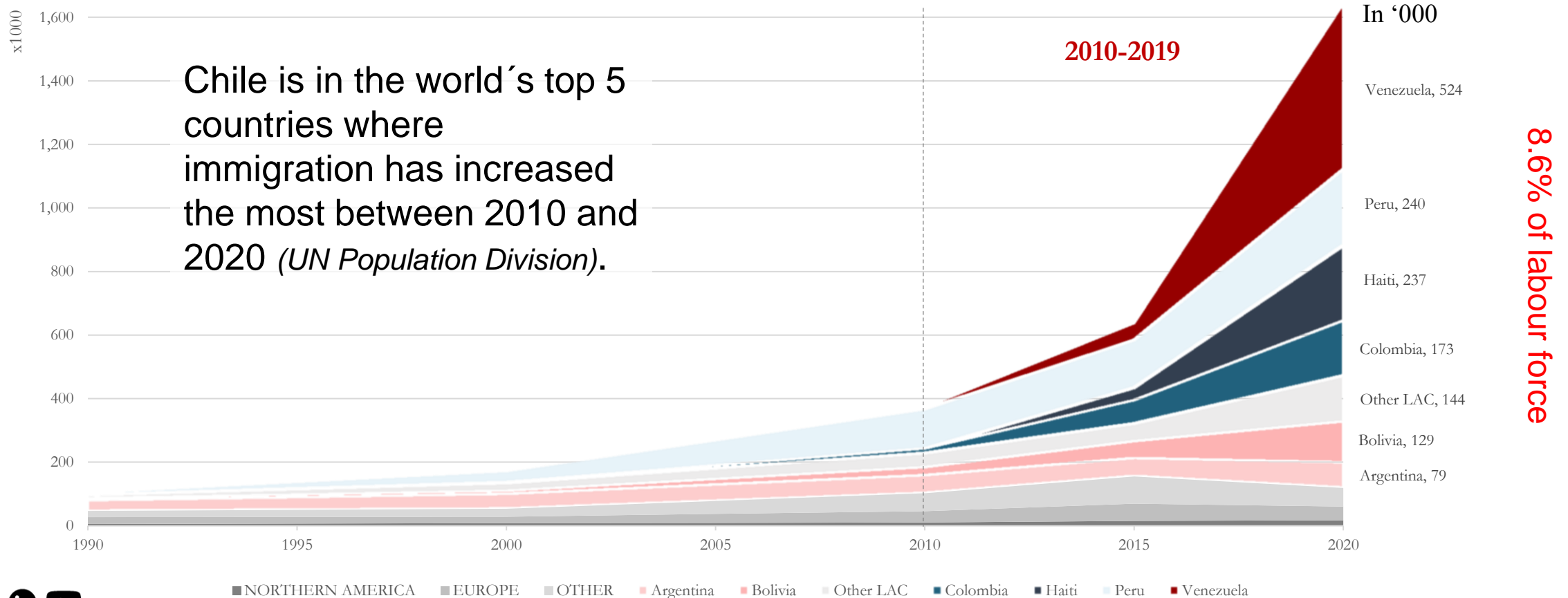@LSEinequalities
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- **Literature on migration in developed countries generally:**
    - Assumes tightly regulated immigration and developed institutional arrangements
    - Relatively tight labour markets with mostly formal employment
    - That participation in the LM and wages sum up the position of migrants
    - Although Piore looks at segmented LMs (good vs low quality jobs)
    - Examine participation in particular economic sectors
    - Migrants from different ethnic backgrounds (ethnic penalty & discrimination)
    - Possibility of looking at LM dynamics (whether migrants progress in LM)
    - Heterogeneous performance of different groups of migrants in the destination LM
- **We can examine most of these question in the case of Chile**

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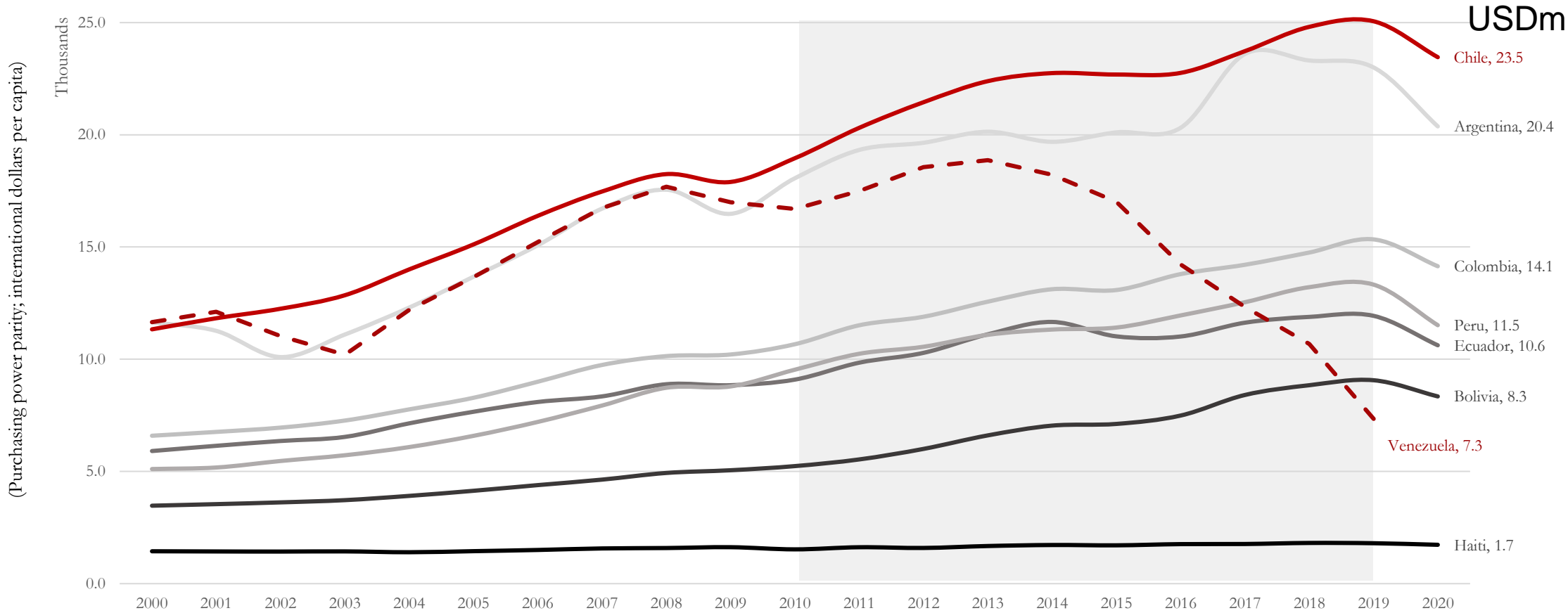
Measuring the Quality of Employment (QoE)

- **Quality of employment (QoE) is multidimensional and a key issue for public politics at the <u>global</u> level (e.g. Decent Job in SDGs, UNDP) and at the <u>national</u> level (e.g. Chile)**

- The ILO first launched the concept of Decent Work in 1999, but without a specific concept, measure or available data.

- Existing methodologies (dashboards) use too many indicators to measure job quality (Decent Work, ILO; Green and Mustafa, 2012; OECD, 2014)

- Breaking dashboard indicators down makes for an analysis that is too complex:
  - Horizontal inequalities
  - Impossible to measure joint deprivations

- Measure to be used in addition to indicators of the quantity of employment (un/employment rates)

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Chile is in the world´s top 5
countries where
immigration has increased
the most between 2010 and
2020 *(UN Population Division)*.

In '000

2010-2019

Venezuela, 524

Peru, 240

Haiti, 237

Colombia, 173

Other LAC, 144

Bolivia, 129

Argentina, 79

8.6% of labour force

x1000

Legend: ■ NORTHERN AMERICA ■ EUROPE ■ OTHER ■ Argentina ■ Bolivia ■ Other LAC ■ Colombia ■ Haiti ■ Peru ■ Venezuela

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Countries of origin
GDP per capita, current prices (IMF)

USDm

- Chile, 23.5
- Argentina, 20.4
- Colombia, 14.1
- Peru, 11.5
- Ecuador, 10.6
- Bolivia, 8.3
- Venezuela, 7.3
- Haiti, 1.7

(Purchasing power parity; international dollars per capita)

Legend: Argentina — Bolivia — Chile — Colombia — Ecuador — Haiti — Peru — Venezuela

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- Latin America generally has a more liberal tradition of immigration regimes than developed countries (e.g. dictatorships).

- Chile: 4 types of visa for applicants and family members
  - Employment based (require contract, can apply for permanent status > 2 years)
  - Student (1 year, but renewable)
  - Temporary residence (1 year, renewable 1x, them must apply for permanent status)
  - Political asylum or refugee (temporary until definite)

- Immigrants (and their families), who enter Chile unlawfully but are then granted a visa cannot be sanctioned for entering illegally.

- "Democratic responsibility" visas for Venezuelans: do not require a valid passport.

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Distribution of Migrants in the LFS

	Total Sample of Population			Observations of Workers		
	Locals	Migrants	Total	Observations	% Locals	% Migrants
2010	112,848	1,148	113,996	47,647	98.2%	1.8%
2011	109,590	1,109	110,699	46,829	98.4%	1.7%
2012	106,507	1,094	107,601	46,277	98.5%	1.5%
2013	104,751	1,304	106,055	45,829	96.7%	3.3%
2014	104,882	1,397	106,279	46,279	96.6%	3.4%
2015	102,521	1,437	103,958	45,328	95.8%	4.2%
2016	100,935	1,612	102,547	44,918	94.3%	5.7%
2017	100,303	1,917	102,220	45,465	92.4%	7.6%
2018	101,241	2,500	103,741	46,215	91.0%	9.0%
2019	93,321	2,919	96,240	42,343	89.8%	10.2%

x 2.5

x 5.6

Source: Authors' own calculations based on Encuesta Suplementaria de Ingresos (ESI) 2010-2019

Employment and Unemployment rates of Local and Migrant workers (Pooled data)

Population over 15

Inactive Population: Local 38.4%, Migrant 19.7%
Economically active population: Local 61.6%, Migrant 80.3%
Unemployment Rate: Local 6.4%, Migrant 6.3%
% females who work: Local 69.2%, Migrant 82.8%
% of workers who are Females: Local 40.8%, Migrant 44.3%

Legend: Local, Migrant
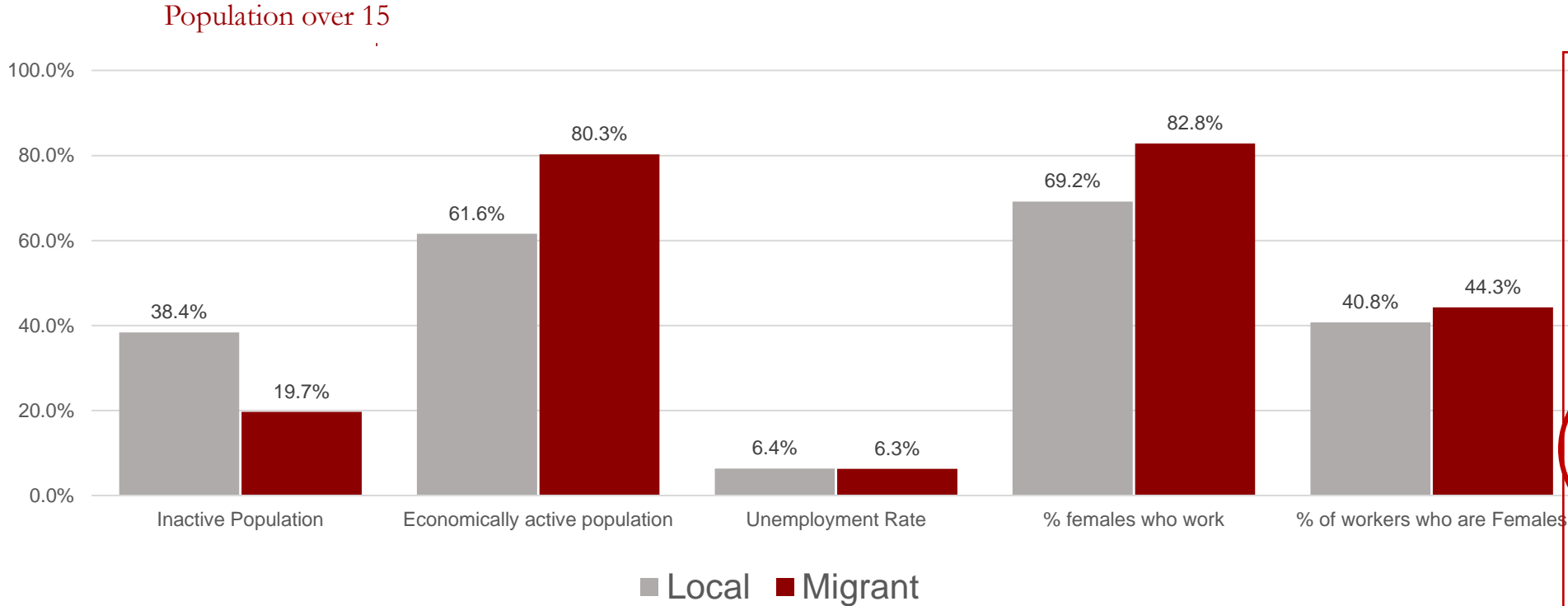
The average age of the the migrant labour force is 36 years, five years younger than the local population.

There are no significant differences in the percentage of individuals with higher education among migrants and locals: 24% vs 22%

Source: Own calculations based on Encuesta Suplementaria de Ingresos (ESI) 2010-2019

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Data limitations

- High influx of migrants means that Chilean surveys (will) now capture sufficient cases for meaningful analysis

- Data mainly on "legal" activities and households with an address

- No possibility as yet to examine:
  - LM dynamics of migrants as the phenomenon is too recent
  - Discrimination based on country of origin, "colour scale" or ethnic background
  - Difficulty breaking down migrants into smaller groups (e.g. ethnic differences, education levels, gender, age etc. by nationality) or regression analysis

- Informality versus QoE only available since 2017

- Data after 2017 more reliable

Why the Alkire/Foster Methodology?

- QoE is a multidimensional phenomenon
- Well-known and established methodology (Governments)
- Effective for policy purposes (focuses on <u>deprivation</u> and the most vulnerable)
- Relatively easy to calculate and replicate
- Press efficient
- Allows decomposability by subgroup and dimension: summarise to analyse

Dimensions, Indicators and Weights used in the QoE Index

Dimensions (weight)	Labour Income (1/3)	Employment Stability (1/3)		Employment Conditions (1/3)	
Indicator (weight)	Income (1/3)	Occupational Status (1/6)	Tenure (1/6)	Social Security (1/6)	Excessive Working Hours (1/6)
Deprivation Cut-off	Less than 6 basic food baskets (monthly calculation)	No contract, Self-employed	Less than 3 years employed in current occupation. Individuals between the ages of 18 and 24 are not considered deprived in	No contributions to the pension system	More than 45 hours per week
Population	All occupied individuals between the age of 18-65, who report a monthly salary from their main occupation	All occupied individuals between the age of 18-65, who report on their occupational and contractual status	All occupied individuals between the ages of 18-65, who report the number of years employed in their current main occupation	All occupied individuals between the ages of 18-65, who report their affiliation to a pension scheme	All occupied individuals between the ages of 18-65, who report their hours worked during the past week

- If an individual is deprived in more than one dimension (or 1/3 of the index) s/he is considered deprived.

- This cutoff was selected for normative reasons.

- When calculating the QoE Index, we computed a full range of possible cutoffs (sensitivity analysis, see below).

- In the first instance, the index calculates a Headcount Ratio (H), which counts how many workers fall below the cutoff line, ie are deprived

- Second, an Intensity of Deprivation (A) ratio is calculated to examine how deprived these individuals are, e.g. in one, two or three dimensions

- The Headcount Ratio (H) is then adjusted by this Intensity of Deprivation (A) score through multiplication H x A to form the final Quality of Employment Index score (M_0)

- Direction of the index: a higher H, A, and M_0 mean higher levels of deprivation

- For example: a worker who has no contract and pays no social insurance contributions is considered to be deprived.
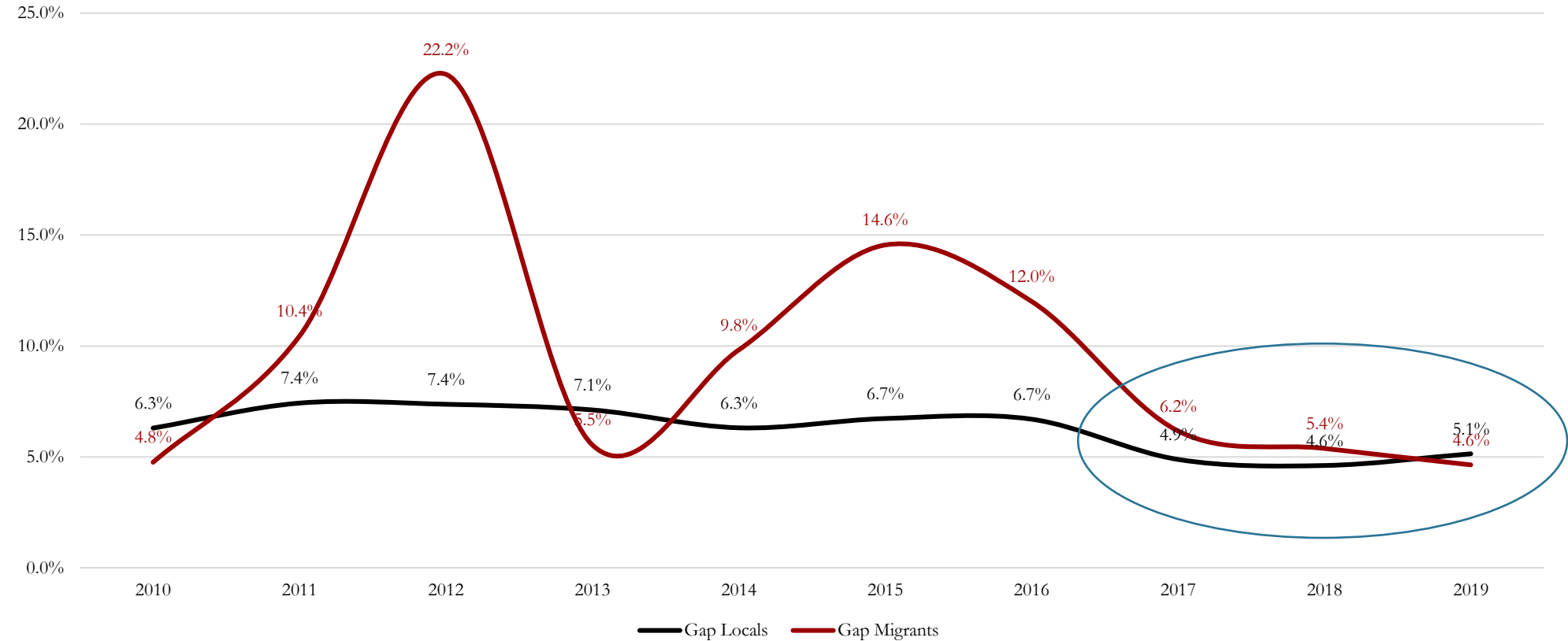
Aggregated Results: M_0, H & A

year	Headcount Ratio (H)		Average Intensity (A)		Adjusted Headcount Ratio (M_0)	
	Locals	Migrants	Locals	Migrants	Locals	Migrants
2010	59.4%	54.1%	59.0%	55.4%	0.350	0.300
2011	58.9%	61.3%	59.5%	53.7%	0.350	0.329
2012	56.0%	51.8%	58.4%	53.5%	0.327	0.277
2013	53.4%	47.0%	58.2%	53.9%	0.310	0.253
2014	55.1%	62.2%	58.2%	56.6%	0.321	0.353
2015	53.1%	49.5%	58.2%	57.1%	0.309	0.283
2016	52.9%	52.7%	58.3%	57.4%	0.308	0.303
2017	51.1%	55.0%	57.8%	54.2%	0.295	0.298
2018	52.9%	55.5%	58.2%	58.1%	0.308	0.323
2019	52.1%	56.9%	58.7%	57.9%	0.306	0.330

Aggregated Results: M0, H & A
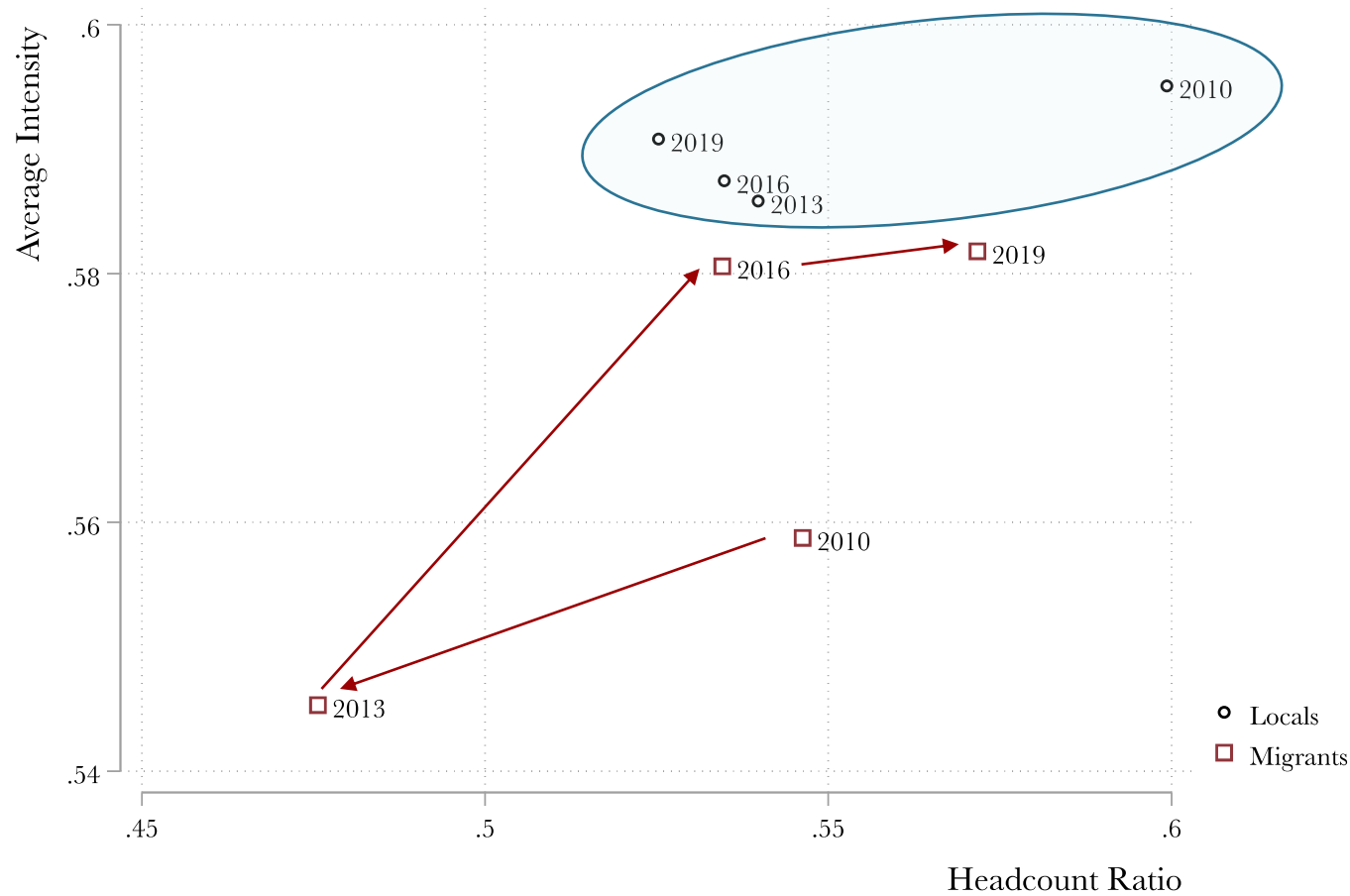
Adjusted Headcount Ratios by Gender

Aggregated Results: Contributions

	Locals					Migrants				
Dimension	Income	Job Stability		Employment Conditions		Income	Job Stability		Employment Conditions	
Expected weight	**33.30%**	**16.65%**	**16.65%**	**16.65%**	**16.65%**	**33.30%**	**16.65%**	**16.65%**	**16.65%**	**16.65%**
Indicator	Income	Social Security	Status	Tenure	Working Hours	Income	Social Security	Status	Tenure	Working Hours
2010	39.33%	17.09%	16.03%	17.48%	10.06%	30.31%	14.33%	13.61%	23.28%	18.47%
2011	40.80%	16.35%	15.24%	17.79%	9.82%	27.77%	16.84%	17.12%	23.08%	15.20%
2012	40.29%	16.70%	15.58%	17.78%	9.65%	31.81%	15.42%	13.82%	24.23%	14.72%
2013	38.88%	17.59%	16.32%	17.51%	9.69%	29.54%	18.49%	17.04%	22.52%	12.41%
2014	39.64%	17.59%	16.25%	17.26%	9.26%	34.89%	15.82%	15.33%	22.63%	11.32%
2015	39.15%	18.25%	16.83%	17.22%	8.55%	35.54%	16.55%	15.10%	22.18%	10.63%
2016	38.94%	18.42%	17.08%	17.23%	8.33%	33.29%	17.57%	15.41%	21.47%	12.26%
2017	37.42%	19.30%	17.87%	17.13%	8.28%	27.89%	17.76%	17.06%	25.03%	12.25%
2018	40.46%	18.16%	16.86%	16.65%	7.87%	36.50%	15.64%	13.91%	24.38%	9.57%
2019	40.41%	18.33%	16.85%	16.55%	7.86%	37.39%	14.19%	13.05%	24.79%	10.58%

Headcount Ratio (H) by education level

year	Less than secondary		Complete Secondary		Complete Tertiary	
	Locals	Migrants	Locals	Migrants	Locals	Migrants
2010	78.9%	69.9%	55.4%	59.0%	25.7%	31.4%
2011	79.2%	75.4%	55.9%	62.7%	24.3%	49.9%
2012	77.6%	64.9%	53.1%	61.3%	23.1%	29.6%
2013	74.8%	61.2%	50.6%	54.8%	22.6%	25.6%
2014	75.5%	76.5%	53.1%	65.5%	24.9%	40.2%
2015	74.5%	64.7%	50.9%	51.0%	24.4%	29.0%
2016	74.1%	68.4%	50.7%	55.5%	24.1%	31.0%
2017	72.2%	68.3%	49.7%	56.4%	25.2%	37.7%
2018	75.4%	70.0%	51.8%	56.1%	26.5%	44.3%
2019	74.1%	65.5%	52.4%	59.3%	25.6%	45.5%

Headcount Ratio by firm size

year	Firm size (<5)		Firm size (5-200)		Firm size (>200)	
	Locals	Migrants	Locals	Migrants	Locals	Migrants
2010	89.4%	84.4%	52.7%	52.7%	34.9%	19.2%
2011	89.8%	81.1%	52.1%	57.4%	34.8%	44.6%
2012	89.4%	84.3%	49.5%	45.6%	32.1%	15.4%
2013	87.4%	85.8%	45.0%	33.4%	29.7%	23.1%
2014	89.4%	90.4%	47.5%	56.7%	30.8%	36.0%
2015	88.8%	77.3%	43.5%	38.1%	29.2%	36.9%
2016	88.2%	78.5%	43.1%	44.2%	28.2%	36.1%
2017	88.1%	83.9%	40.1%	43.2%	26.4%	37.7%
2018	89.1%	85.0%	41.2%	48.1%	29.2%	32.2%
2019	88.4%	83.1%	40.8%	50.3%	27.7%	41.3%

Explained principally by retail sector

QoE by Country of Origin, 2018-2019

Country	H	A	M_0
Argentina	36%	55%	0.199
Bolivia	68%	63%	0.425
Colombia	54%	54%	0.294
Haiti	62%	57%	0.353
Other	53%	56%	0.297
Other America	45%	59%	0.267
Peru	57%	55%	0.315
Venezuela	55%	61%	0.337
local	53%	58%	0.307
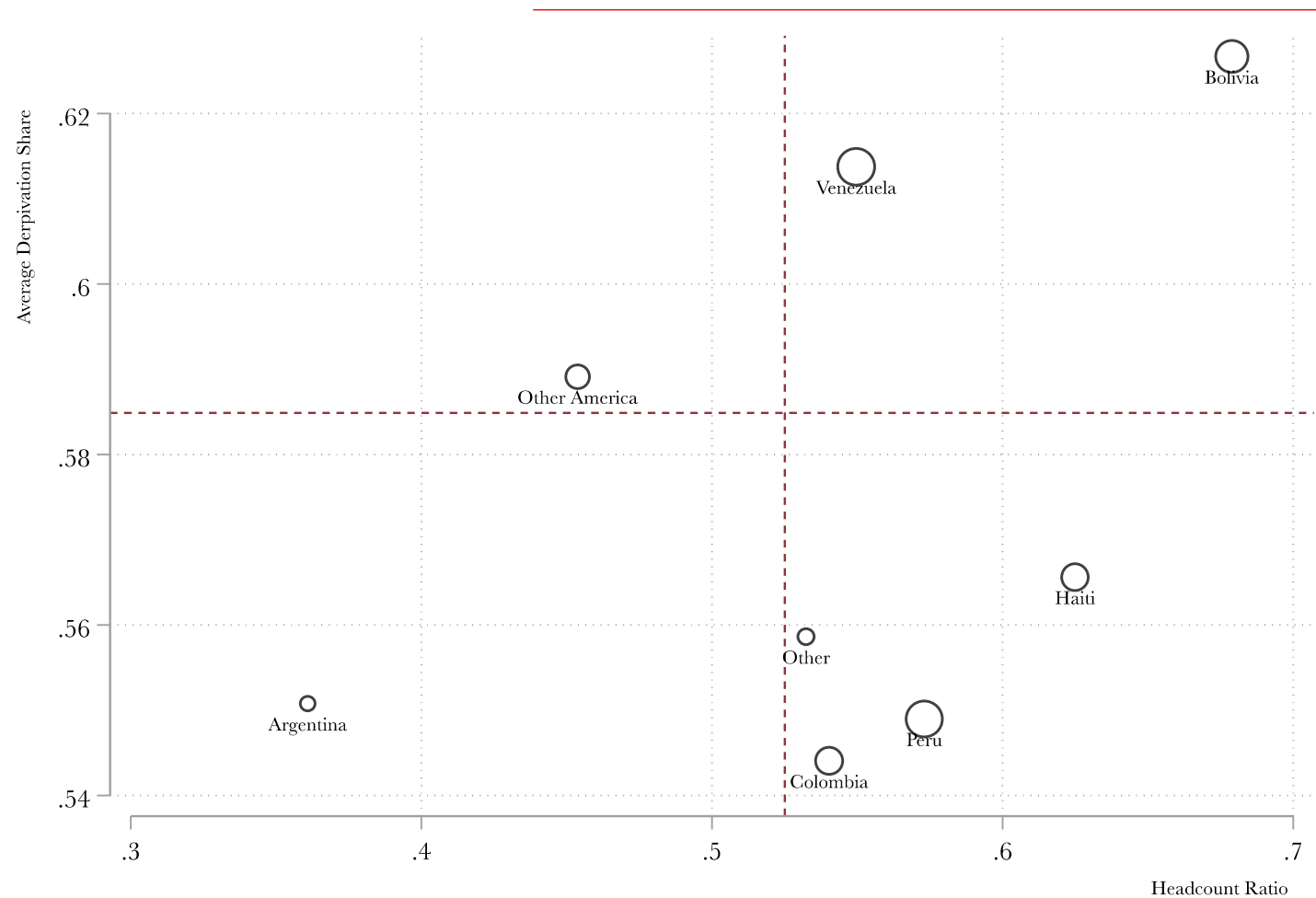
	Deprived in duration (36)	Deprived in duration (12)
Chile	45.3%	25.6%
Argentina	53.6%	23.0%
Bolivia	72.5%	38.2%
Colombia	69.8%	38.8%
Ecuador	71.8%	32.9%
Europe	59.3%	32.0%
Haiti	90.4%	48.9%
Other	43.6%	22.5%
Other America	54.6%	32.0%
Peru	67.1%	38.3%
Venezuela	93.9%	59.5%

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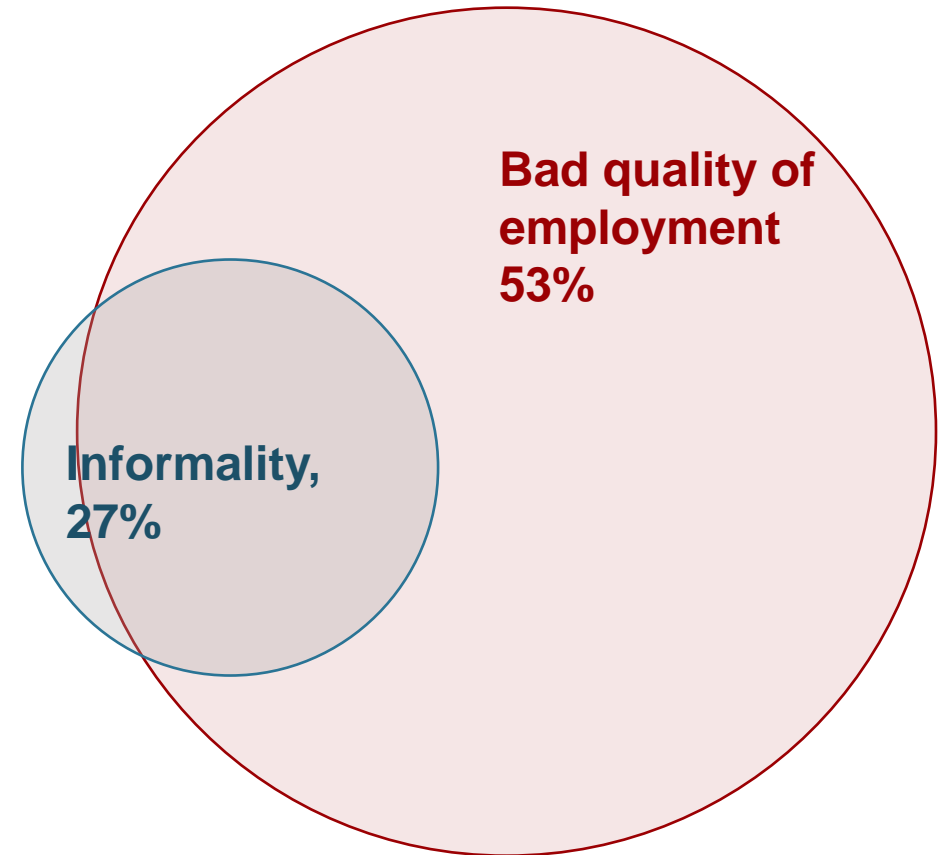|	Local	Migrant	Total
Employer	7.2%	3.9%	6.9%
Self Employee	12.1%	13.1%	12.2%
Wage Earner	80.6%	82.0%	80.7%
Domestic services	0.1%	1.0%	0.2%

The higher education of migrants is valued less. But we do not have data on experience or date of migration and cannot disaggregate by nationality.

	Local	Migrant	Total
Directors, managers and administrators	11.9%	7.6%	11.5%
Professionals, scientists and intellectuals	57.6%	27.4%	54.4%
Technicians, and mid-level professionals	14.3%	16.6%	14.6%
Administrative Staff	3.7%	4.5%	3.8%
Service and retail workers	6.3%	25.4%	8.4%
Agricultural and qualified workers	0.5%	0.4%	0.5%
Tradesmen	2.8%	6.1%	3.2%
Machine operators	1.9%	2.3%	2.0%
Elementary jobs	0.8%	9.6%	1.7%

Sensitivity Analysis

Sensitivity to income cutoff lines (2019)

Sensitivity to income cut-off lines (2019)
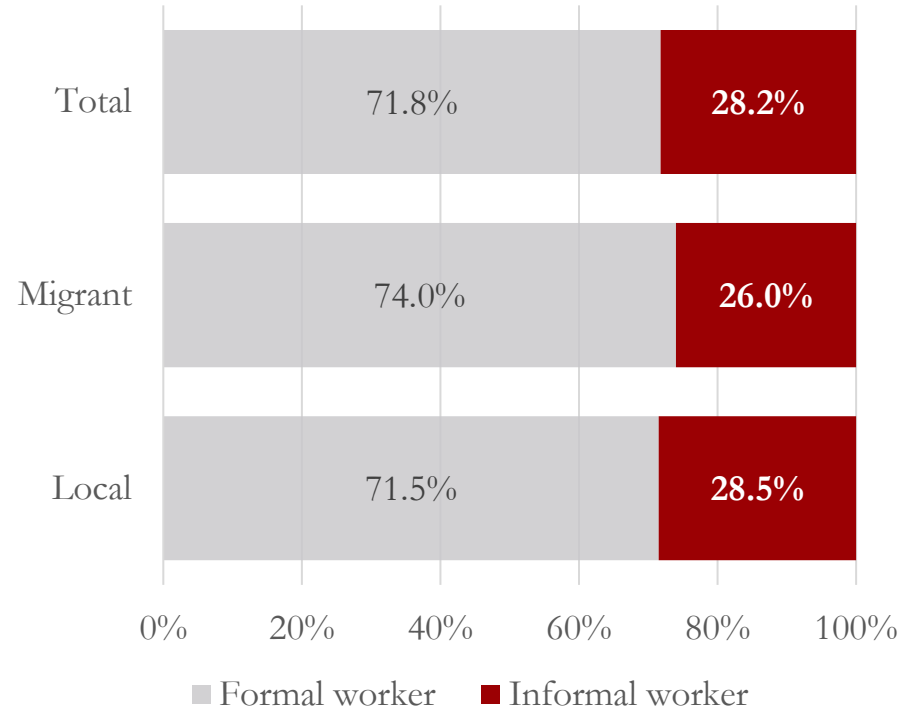
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Six food baskets
80%
60%
40%
20%
0%

Working hours
Guaranteed minimum income proposal
Contract
Relative income
Health Insurance
Minimum Wage
Pension System
Duration (3 years)
Duration (1 years)

Local
Migrant

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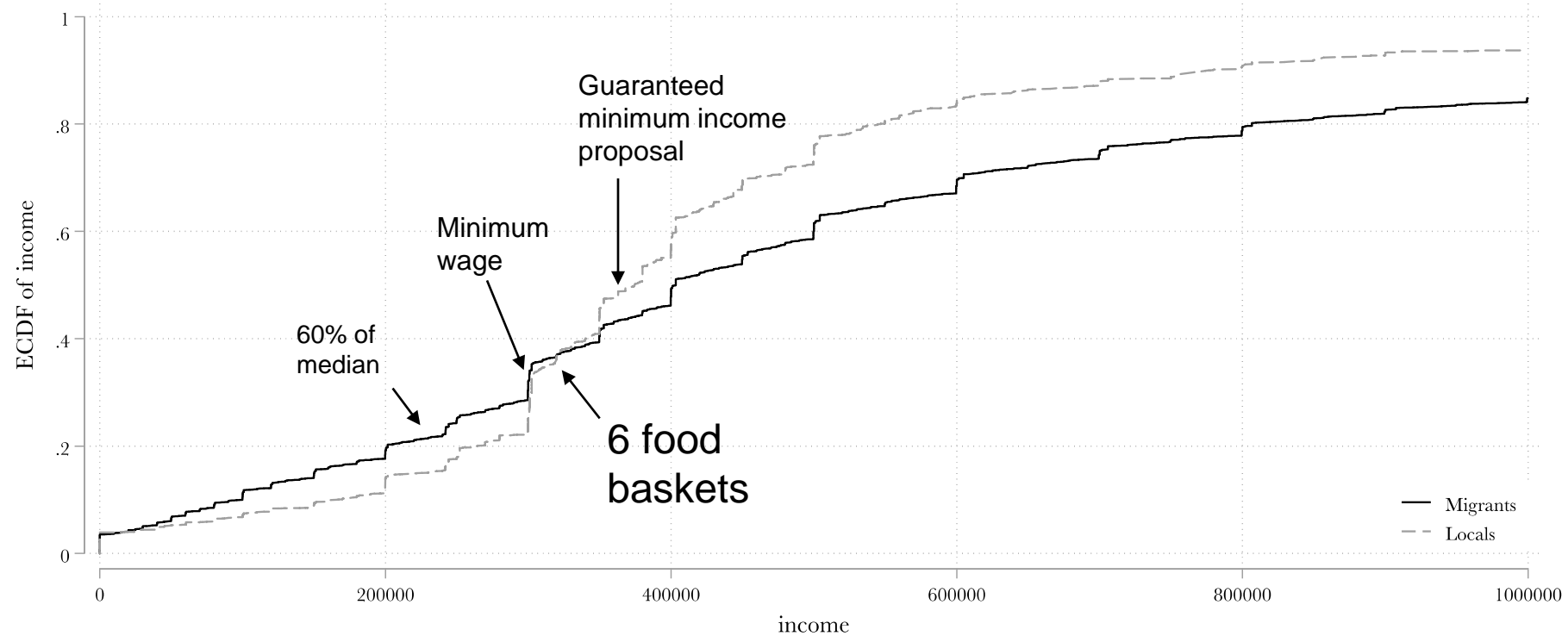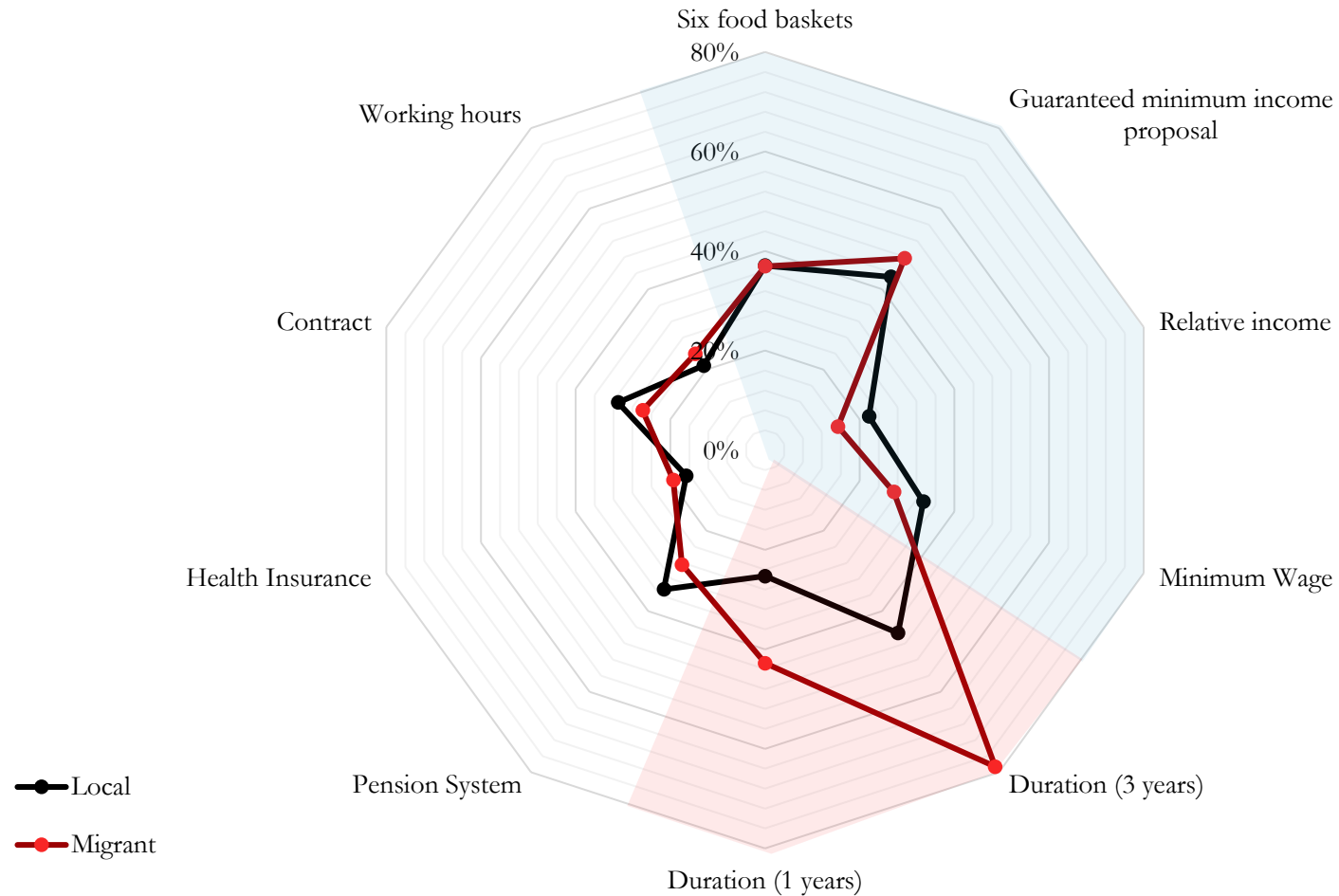
- Migrants in Chile perform better than the locals in terms of their LM participation
- But less well in terms of the overall quality of employment they achieve
- The QoE gender gap is decreasing, particularly among migrants
- Higher education levels of migrants are valued less in the Chilean LM
- Some nationalities do better than others: Argentinians and Colombians
- The QoE of migrants is highly sensitive to income levels/cutoffs
- Migrants do better than locals at the lower end of the income distribution but above CH$330,000 the income gap grows, then remains stable
- We cannot control for how long immigrants have been in Chile, longitudinal effects or second generation of migrants as immigration is too recent a phenomenon

- The purpose of a QoE Index is to **draw attention** to employment conditions not normally considered by traditional employment reports, policy makers and public debate.

  - An QoE index should be used **in addition to** traditional measures of labour market performance. Looking only at traditional indicators (e.g. income) is not enough.

  - The QoE can be measured in developing countries, and the **AF method** can be used to do so. The results presented are plausible and in line with what we know from the literature.

- Horizontal inequalities: this analysis could not be done with commonly used dashboard indicators

- Goes beyond employment rates and wages to examine the integration of migrants in the labour force: Our analysis shows that there are significant differences in the development of component indicators.

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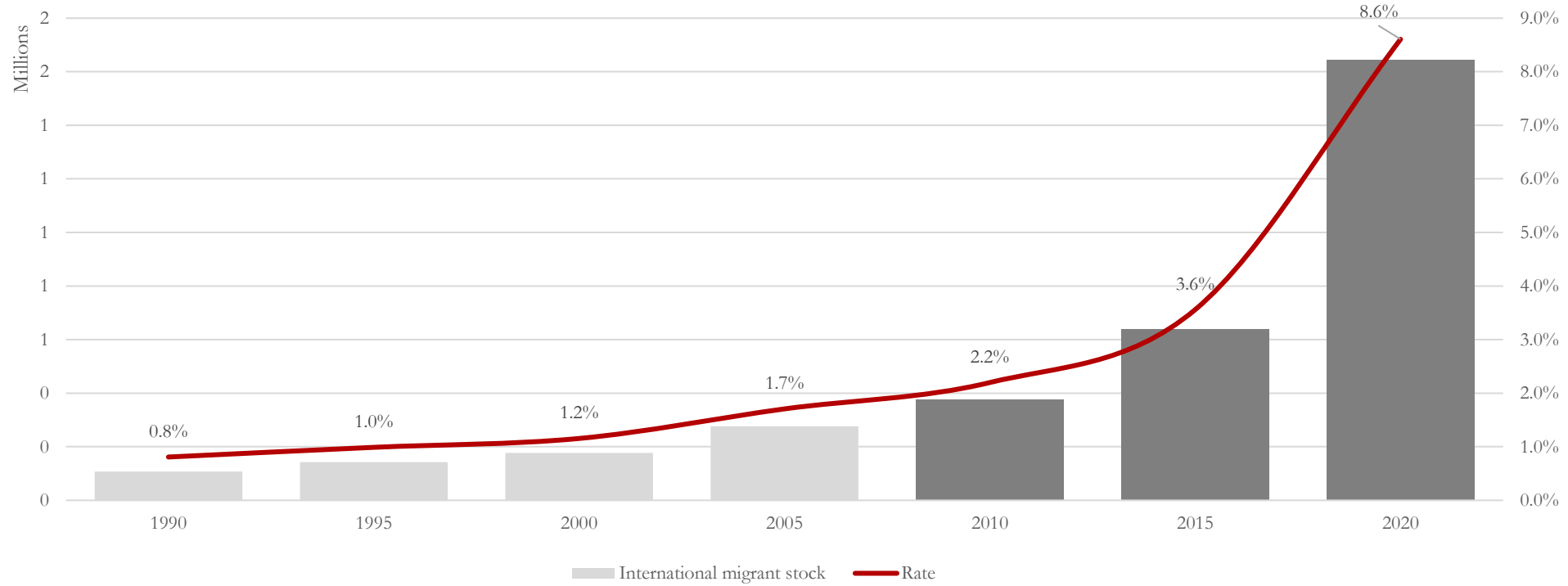@quality-employment.org

Thank You!

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- Mauricio Apablaza, Kirsten Sehnbruch, Pablo Gonzalez, Rocio Mendez and Veronica Arriagada (2021) "Beyond Unemployment: The Quality of Employment (QoE) in Central America", forthcoming in Social Indicators Research

- Brendan Burchell, Kirsten Sehnbruch, Agnieszka Piasna, and Nurjk Agloni (2014) "The Quality of Employment and Decent Work: Definitions, Methodologies, and Ongoing Debates", *Cambridge Journal of Economics, 2014: 38 (2): 459-477*

- Ignacio Madero-Cabib, Fabio Bertranou, Andres Biehl, Kirsten Sehnbruch and Esteban Calvo "Pension Regimes Built on Precarious Foundations: Lessons from a Longitudinal Study of Pension Contributions and Employment Trajectories in Chile" in *Research on Aging*

- Agnieszka Piasna, Brendan Burchell, and Kirsten Sehnbruch "Job Quality in the European Employment Strategy: One Step forward, two Steps back?" *The European Review of Labour and Research,* Vol. 25(2): 165-180

- Kirsten Sehnbruch, Brendan Burchell, Agnieszka Piasna, and Nurjk Agloni "Human Development and Decent Work: Why some Concepts succeed, and others fail to impact the Development Agenda", *Development and Change, 2015: 46 (2)*

- Kirsten Sehnbruch, Mauricio Apablaza, Pablo Gonzalez, Rocio Mendez and Veronica Arriagada (2020) "The Quality of Employment (QoE) in Nine Latin American Countries: a Multidimensional Perspective ", *World Development*

- Kirsten Sehnbruch, Mauricio Apablaza, Pablo Gonzalez and Rocio Mendez (2019) Regional developments of the QoE in Chile.

- Alkire Foster papers on methodology

- The IMPALA database (Beine, McGovern and other's, 2015)

- Piore

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The Chilean Context

International migrant stock / Rate

Year	Rate
1990	0.8%
1995	1.0%
2000	1.2%
2005	1.7%
2010	2.2%
2015	3.6%
2020	8.6%

	Age (<=35)		Age (35,60)		Age (>60)	
Year	Locals	Migrants	Locals	Migrants	Locals	Migrants
2010	60.4%	58.2%	57.0%	50.0%	69.8%	36.4%
2011	60.0%	68.8%	56.0%	52.0%	73.0%	67.4%
2012	56.1%	56.2%	53.4%	46.9%	71.5%	48.1%
2013	53.4%	43.9%	50.7%	49.9%	69.1%	50.7%
2014	56.5%	65.0%	51.4%	60.0%	69.7%	56.7%
2015	54.3%	51.1%	49.3%	42.6%	68.3%	75.8%
2016	54.5%	55.9%	49.2%	49.2%	65.7%	42.9%
2017	53.0%	53.1%	47.4%	56.6%	62.7%	64.6%
2018	54.8%	55.7%	48.8%	55.3%	66.1%	51.3%
2019	53.4%	58.6%	48.2%	54.0%	66.0%	68.1%

Sensitivity to income cutoff lines
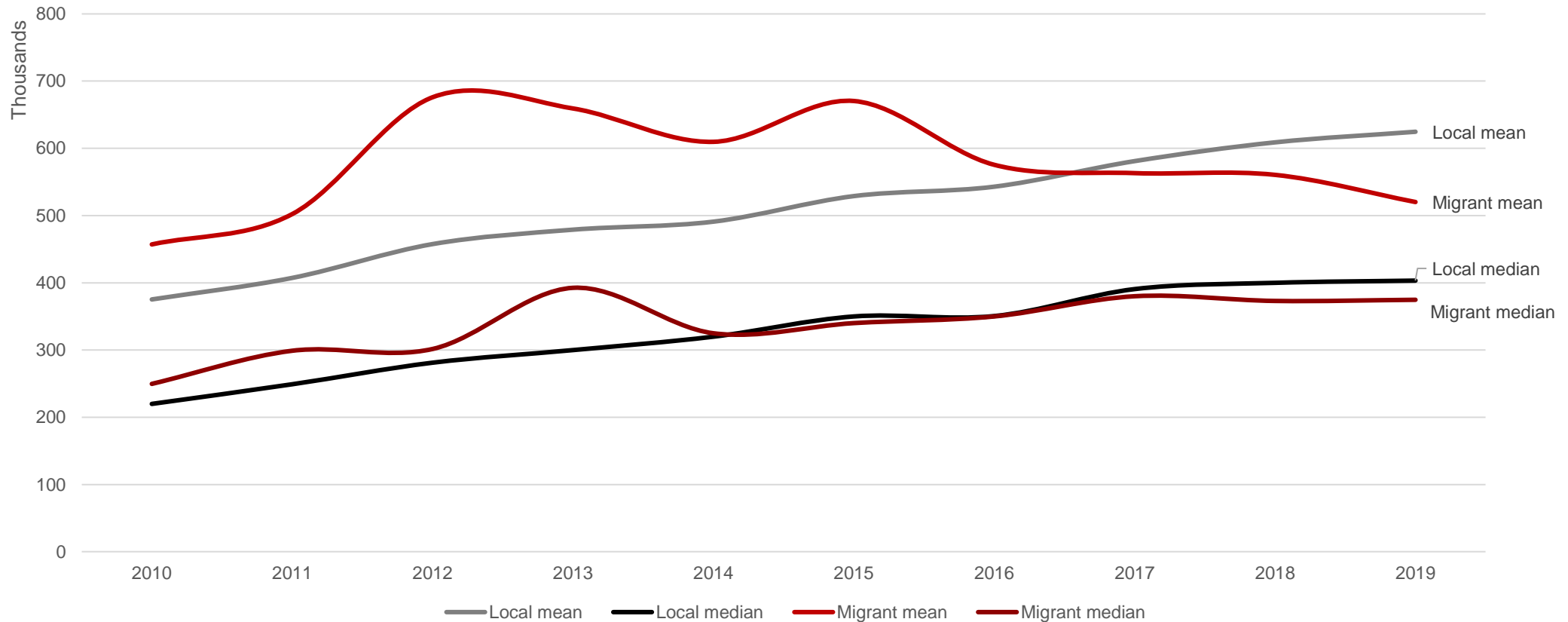
Sensitivity to cut-off lines (2019)

	Duration 3 years		Duration 1 year		Pension System		Health Insurance	
	Local	Migrant	Local	Migrant	Local	Migrant	Local	Migrant
2010	48.8%	61.2%	31.9%	36.9%	36.4%	25.8%	21.6%	14.6%
2011	50.3%	60.8%	32.2%	40.1%	34.8%	33.2%	20.4%	24.3%
2012	49.7%	67.6%	31.0%	34.9%	33.3%	25.7%	19.2%	15.6%
2013	48.7%	60.6%	30.1%	30.4%	33.2%	29.4%	18.2%	15.4%
2014	48.2%	66.5%	29.7%	42.1%	34.5%	33.8%	18.9%	18.7%
2015	47.6%	65.5%	28.4%	35.7%	34.5%	28.6%	18.7%	19.1%
2016	47.3%	63.8%	28.1%	36.7%	34.9%	32.1%	18.6%	16.7%
2017	46.2%	72.3%	27.2%	41.4%	35.3%	32.5%	17.9%	21.3%
2018	45.1%	77.5%	26.0%	48.1%	34.6%	30.3%	17.3%	18.8%
2019	45.4%	78.6%	25.3%	42.8%	34.6%	28.4%	16.6%	19.4%

Sensitivity to income cutoff lines

- **Food baskets**, $350,000, 60% of median earnings, and minimum wage

	6 food baskets		Guaranteed minimum income proposal		Relative earnings		Minimum Wage	
	Local	Migrant	Local	Migrant	Local	Migrant	Local	Migrant
2010	41.4%	27.3%	59.6%	58.1%	23.6%	12.3%	34.0%	20.4%
2011	42.9%	27.4%	56.3%	47.2%	22.6%	10.3%	32.0%	18.4%
2012	39.5%	26.5%	51.2%	41.8%	23.6%	10.0%	28.1%	13.6%
2013	36.2%	22.5%	46.9%	31.7%	22.4%	13.2%	30.4%	17.3%
2014	38.1%	36.9%	49.3%	47.9%	21.8%	13.0%	29.8%	26.7%
2015	36.3%	30.1%	47.5%	48.4%	24.2%	17.4%	28.9%	23.0%
2016	36.0%	30.2%	46.4%	46.0%	23.3%	16.2%	31.3%	23.5%
2017	33.2%	24.9%	43.1%	39.6%	22.8%	15.7%	29.0%	20.0%
2018	37.4%	35.3%	41.3%	42.0%	23.9%	15.2%	30.5%	23.8%
2019	37.1%	37.0%	43.1%	47.7%	22.0%	15.4%	33.4%	27.2%

Deprivation by Occupational Position

	Locals			Migrants		
	H	A	m0	H	A	m0
Employer	22.8%	41.0%	0.094	41.9%	40.6%	0.170
Self Employed	100.0%	66.0%	0.660	100.0%	69.7%	0.697
Wage-earners	39.1%	52.8%	0.206	49.7%	54.4%	0.271
Domestic Service	80.1%	65.1%	0.521	51.4%	59.5%	0.306

With higher education	Locals			Migrants		
	H	A	m0	H	A	m0
Employer	13.3%	39.7%	0.053	34.0%	34.6%	0.118
Self-Employed	100.0%	55.5%	0.555	100.0%	60.1%	0.601
Wage-earners	16.0%	45.6%	0.073	36.2%	51.0%	0.185
Domestic Service	94.6%	73.9%	0.699	79.6%	56.6%	0.451

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Pooled Sample from Years 2018 and 2019

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Deprived workers by Occupational Position

Occupational Position	Locals			Migrants		
	H	A	m0	H	A	m0
Wage-earners	39.1%	52.8%	0.206	49.7%	54.4%	0.271
Self-employed	100.0%	66.0%	0.660	100.0%	69.7%	0.697
Employers	22.8%	41.0%	0.094	41.9%	40.6%	0.170
Domestic Service	80.1%	65.1%	0.521	51.4%	59.5%	0.306

Occupational Category (SIC)	Locals			Migrants		
	H	A	m0	H	A	m0
Directors, managers and administrators	13.7%	45.2%	0.062	31.2%	37.0%	0.115
Professionals, scientists and intellectuals	26.9%	50.6%	0.136	36.6%	47.4%	0.174
Technicians, and mid-level professionals	29.6%	50.0%	0.148	30.4%	48.0%	0.146
Administrative Staff	30.4%	48.0%	0.146	35.0%	51.5%	0.180
Service and retail workers	67.1%	61.6%	0.413	63.8%	63.4%	0.404
Agricultural and qualified workers	78.7%	62.6%	0.493	81.3%	63.9%	0.520
Tradesmen	65.9%	60.1%	0.396	62.6%	54.2%	0.339
Machine operators	54.7%	55.9%	0.306	61.1%	60.3%	0.369
Elementary jobs	75.2%	61.0%	0.459	60.0%	57.5%	0.345

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Deprivation by Occupational Classification

	Locals			Migrants		
	H	A	m0	H	A	m0
Directores, gerentes y administradores + Profesionales, cientificos e intelectual	23.9%	49.9%	0.120	35.2%	44.9%	0.158
Tecnicos y profesionales de nivel medio + Personal de apoyo administrativo	29.8%	49.4%	0.147	32.3%	49.5%	0.160
Trabajadores de los servicios y vendedor	67.1%	61.6%	0.413	63.8%	63.4%	0.404
Agricultores y trabajadores calificados + Artesanos y operarios de oficios + Operadores de instalaciones, maquinas	63.6%	59.2%	0.377	63.9%	57.4%	0.367
Ocupaciones elementales	75.2%	61.0%	0.459	60.0%	57.5%	0.345

		Locals			Migrants		
		H	A	m0	H	A	m0
With higher education	Directores, gerentes y administradores + Profesionales, cientificos e intelectual	20.8%	47.1%	0.098	33.6%	43.4%	0.146
	Tecnicos y profesionales de nivel medio + Personal de apoyo administrativo	25.2%	48.2%	0.121	28.3%	47.0%	0.133
	Trabajadores de los servicios y vendedor	52.2%	60.7%	0.317	63.8%	62.3%	0.397
	Agricultores y trabajadores calificados + Artesanos y operarios de oficios + Operadores de instalaciones, maquinas	62.0%	52.4%	0.325	60.9%	49.9%	0.304
	Ocupaciones elementales	73.6%	65.5%	0.482	58.3%	57.7%	0.337

Pooled Sample from Years 2018 and 2019