

Qualified migrants born in the Latin American's Southern Cone living in Argentina and Brazil¹

Gabriela Adriana Sala

CONICET - Argentine National Council for Scientific and Technical Research

Summary

This article aims at determining the magnitude of the presence and characteristics of the qualified migrants of the Latin American's Southern Cone living in Argentina and Brazil, according to information from the last demographic census. It also analyses the occupational distribution of each group of regional migrants, focuses on Health Care occupations. Also it contains some references to the over-qualification and precariousness of their labor insertion.

It concludes that In Argentina, most of the qualified migrants developed occupations whose exercise implied a qualification in accordance with the education they already had, like health, administrative, legal, accountancy & financial, managerial and educative occupations. Occupations related to health care seem to be especially attractive for Bolivian and Paraguayan males and females and Uruguayan and Chilean females. Also, the percentage of Brazilian, Chilean and Uruguayan males in directive, managerial occupations is remarkable. On the other hand, there is a small percentage of qualified migrants in the classical working niches of border migrants residing in Argentina which shows high levels of precariousness, such as the activities of domestic cleaning, industrial production and handicrafts, construction and infrastructure and commerce.

In Brazil the insertion in activities tied to health care is very relevant among Bolivians and Paraguayans. Also, directive occupations concentrated most Argentine, Chilean and Uruguayan males, besides a significant portion of Paraguayan males and Argentine females. The relative presence of non registered employees can be highlighted among Education Professionals, salesmen and saleswomen and commercial service providers, social communicators, artists and members of religious orders and medium level technicians in administrative sciences. Precariousness in the employment also affected a considerable portion of biological sciences professionals, health and similar branches, professionals of social and human sciences, and medium level professionals and technicians in Physics, Chemistry and Engineering.

Qualified migrants of Latin America South Countries

The migration of qualified human resources has a relatively old presence in Latin America and the Caribbean. These movements mainly had been oriented towards countries outside the region, but also they had importance in the intra-regional exchanges. Excluding the United States as country of destination and without considering the extra-regional immigrants, up to 1990 in Latin America, few countries were distinguished as intra-regional receivers. Besides Argentina and Venezuela, Brazil shows a remarkable participation of qualified immigrants among Argentines, Chileans and Bolivians (Pellegrino & Martinez Pizarro, 2001).

Qualified migration from the Southern Cone countries expresses a wider process of emigration, which can be explained by the modernization and extension of educative systems, in contexts exposed to recurrent economic and political crises. The increase of qualified migration in Latin America was propitiated by the productive structure and the educational system's transformation in the countries of the region, specifically, by the educational attendance in the diverse educational levels and mainly in superior levels. Qualified emigration was also stimulated by universities and research centers development, in which availability of highly qualified human resources grew up. In addition, it was fostered by multinational companies and by the development of transportation and

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telecommunications, which created a great variety of forms of residential practices and spatial mobility, which implies continuous displacements and leads to the adoption of a transnational life space (Pellegrino & Martinez Pizarro, 2001).

The economic and political crisis and the military dictatorships also stimulated qualified emigration (Pellegrino, 2000). Moreover, it grew since the mid-eighties, fostered by the productive re-conversion and the unemployment rate going up in regional economies. In addition, factors such as reduction and freezing of work vacancies, due to an adjustment in the public sector, and traditional modalities of access to public employment, associated to the political favoritism and nepotism, also affects the jobs which require highly qualified human resources.

In the Latin American's Southern Cone, Argentina and Uruguay stand out as the generators of qualified human resources. Among the causes of the qualified emigration from these countries, Pellegrino (2003) mentions the low wages and the under employment of qualified workers. In the specific case of Argentina, she mentions the low support to education and scientific research, and the economic instability.

Pellegrino (2003), analyses the qualified emigration of Argentines and Uruguayans mainly to the United States, and raises a suggestive hypothesis about the qualified migration to Brazil. She believes that although Brazil is not the main destination of this kind of migration from these or other countries of the South Cone, this country increased its capacity to incorporate qualified migrants in the last years. She attributes this increase to the greater level of investment and to the clear definition of its policies on scientific and technological development, and to its tradition in attracting students from other Latin American countries, by offering scholarships. She also mentions the incentive to the industry policy and the close relationship between the industry and the universities and research centers as important facts in Brazil. People born in Chile and, in less scale, immigrants born in Bolivia who have taken up residence in Brazil, also presented an important proportion of immigrants with high formal education.

The low level of education of Brazilian labor force and the important returns to schooling in the Brazilian labor market also explain the role of Brazil as a regional pole of attraction of very qualified migrants. In spite of a substantial improvement in the levels of schooling, workers with complete superior studies continued being a minority and a well paid group in this country. The percentage of workers with more than fifteen years of schooling on the total number of Brazilian workers (7%) was lower than the percent of men coming from all Southern Cone countries and lower than that of Argentinean, Bolivian, Chilean and Uruguayan women with superior complete studies. The greater returns to schooling of the Brazilian work market, only comparable to those of the Chilean work market. By the end of the nineties, Brazil had the most important wage gaps, according to schooling level. This country, in relation to other countries of the region, presented the highest rates of return to primary education (17%) and, with Chile, showed returns to higher education larger than 20% (Sala, 2005).

This article aims at describing qualified migrants born in the countries of the Southern Cone of Latin America, living in Argentina and Brazil, according to the information provided by the last demographic census in both countries.

In Argentina migrants from the Southern Cone are those coming from Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Paraguay and Uruguay. Often, they are called regional or border migrants, because these countries share international boundaries with Argentina. In Brazil, migrants from the Southern Cone are people born in Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Paraguay and Uruguay and they are also called regional migrants. This article considers as qualified migrants those people with full high studies.

The first section analyzes the changes in the level of schooling of the cohorts of immigrants, determined by the year that they took up residence in both countries. The second describes the occupational distribution of these migrants in the Argentinean and Brazilian work markets. The third displays some explanations about the concept of precariousness that frame the description of the labor insertion of migrants. The fourth and fifth describes the occupational distribution of qualified migrants living in Argentina and in

Brazil. The sixth and seventh sections focus on the health care occupations of migrants and the last contains some conclusions.

1- Level of schooling² of the immigrants from Latin American's Southern Cone Countries

In 2001, Argentina registered 233,464 Bolivians, 34,712 Brazilians, 212,429 Chileans, 325,046 Paraguayans and 117,564 Uruguayans, which represented almost 3% of the total population of the country. In 2000, Brazil registered 733,833 immigrants, which represented 0.4% of the total population of the country. Although the amount had reduced, compared to 1991, the proportion of people from of the Latin American's Southern Cone countries grew slightly in that group. In 2000, Brazil registered 28,822 Paraguayans, 27,531 Argentineans, 24,740 Uruguayan, 20,388 Bolivians and 17,131 Chileans

At the beginning of XXI Century, Argentina continued being the main destiny of the low qualification bordering migrants while Brazil showed a few regional migrants among who predominated those with middle and high schooling. People born in Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Paraguay and Uruguay that went to Argentina had less schooling than the resident population in this country (TAB 1). Most of Argentineans, Bolivians, Chileans and Uruguayans who chose to live in Brazil had more schooling than the resident population. Among them, the percentage of people with complete superior studies was very high (TAB 2).

In Argentina, almost half of the men and four out of ten women in the total population had low schooling level. A little more than a third of Bolivians and Paraguayans, half of the Brazilians and a three of ten Chileans didn't assist to any educational establishments or they left them before concluding the elemental cycle. Four out of ten Bolivian men, a little more than a quarter of the Brazilians, almost half of Chileans and a little more than half of the Paraguayans and Uruguayans had low educational level. Almost three out of ten Uruguayans and a fifth of the Bolivians had completed middle studies or had incomplete university studies. Four out of ten Brazilian and Bolivian women and almost a third of the Paraguayan women had very low level of formal education. Among women, almost 80% of Bolivians, 71% of Brazilians, 77% of Chileans, 86% of Paraguayans and 59% of Uruguayans had very low or low education. The formal education of Bolivian women was lower than that of men of the same country. Among regional migrants, the percent of those with completed superior studies was higher among people born in Brazil and Uruguay and lower among the total population classified by sex (TAB 1).

In Brazil, when the total of residents is taken into consideration, Paraguayans concentrate in the lowest levels of schooling. Men and women born in Chile and Argentina and men from Bolivia and Uruguay presented greater concentration in the middle and high levels of schooling. Women of all the migratory groups had a lower level of schooling than men of the same origin and this difference was smaller among the Chileans (TAB 2).

Brazil shows a very low presence of foreigners. Among them, the proportion of international migrants with complete superior studies is high. It shows the importance of the economic and political bonds of Brazil with the world. Many of them were employees and members of international firms, but they did not participate in numerically high migratory chain. Under this perspective, Brazil would not be considered as a place of destination in the world chosen by qualified human resources. Even so, the relative weigh of those having completed superior studios an/or have qualified occupations allows the consideration of Brazil as a regional pole of attraction for qualified immigrants of the Latin America's Southern Cone (Sala, 2005).

Since 1980 the composition of the immigrant population from the Latin American's Southern Cone Countries living in Argentina and Brazil changed. Both countries show

² Levels of schooling: 1) Very low: incomplete primary schooling 2) Low: complete primary and incomplete secondary schooling. 3) Middle: complete secondary and incomplete higher schooling. 4) High schooling: complete university or tertiary studies.

absolute and relative increasing of people born in Paraguay and Bolivia. In both countries the amount of Chileans fell, probably by the return to the origin country. Also in Argentina the quantity of Uruguayan, especially women decrease.

The participation of people with very low education fell and the percent of migrant that had low and middle level of schooling grow among those who took up residence in Argentina since the seventies. Also, the percentage of people with completed superior studies fell among Bolivian, Paraguayan and Uruguayan men and women. The percentage of people with full high studies grew notoriously among Brazilians and Chileans who took up residence in the period 1990-2001³. This increase was associated to the migration of professionals and technicians of Brazilian and Chilean companies that operated in Argentina, to the increase of the emigration to Argentina of middle class Brazilians and to the re-emigration of Chileans with lower levels of educations during the nineties (Sala, 2008).

Among the Argentineans, Uruguayans, Bolivians and Paraguayans who took up residence in Brazil since the eighties, the proportion of people with middle, low and very low schooling, as well as less qualified workers increased. The lowest schooling level observed among the most recent immigrants was associated with the generalization of the migratory behavior of people of middle and low levels of education from Argentina and Uruguay, who preferred a closer destination, while most of the emigrants of those countries went to Europe and the United States. It also shows the increasing preference for Brazil by people born in Bolivia and Paraguay, countries that traditionally exported migrants of low levels of education towards Argentina. The old migrants, more educated, would have responded to the demand of qualified workers, very scarce in Brazil and they complemented the native labour force. In the two last decades, the proportion of qualified workers in the Brazilian work force continued being low, although the native workers were, in average, more educated (Sala, 2008).

In Brazil, men of all nationalities and Argentine, Bolivian, Paraguayan and Uruguayan women presented the greatest proportion of qualified migrants, among those who took up residence in Brazil between 1970 and 1979. There are many reasons for the relevant proportion of people with high schooling, among those took up residence in Brazil during the decade of 1970. Many of them may have emigrated from their countries as a result of the political violence and ideological repression of the military governments during the decade. Brazil's economic expansion, as well as the expansion of the institutions of higher education, may also have influenced, favoring the contracting of qualified human resources (Sala, 2008).

It is also important to consider that immigrants of these cohorts did not re-emigrate and they survived until the date of the census in 2000. The importance of highly qualified immigrants among those who established during the seventies could also indicate the existence of better possibilities of working conditions, which retained them. When these conditions changed, in the following decades, they could stimulated the re-emigration of high qualified people, as it is observed among the Chilean men, or the insertion of less instructed people, as it happened in the other migratory groups.

2- Occupational profile of regional migrants living in Argentina and in Brazil

In both countries, although especially in Argentina, in spite of the greater convergence in educational level of the regional migrants towards that of total resident population, the labor segregation of migrant workers persisted.

In Argentina, some labor branches, characterized by the precariousness of the working conditions and salaries, present a considerable concentration of migrant workers. Agriculture, construction, and textile industries, due to its seasonality, show a strong variation in the demand of workers. In these branches, precariousness is associated to particular

³ Persons with a high level of education, settled down before 1970, represented 3,1% (males) and 4,8% (females) from Brazil and 1,7% of male and 2,5% of females from Chile. Among those who settled down between 1990 and 2001, these rates were 20,9%, 21,5% among Brazilian males and females, respectively, and 11,5 and 10,2% among Chilean males and females, respectively (TAB 3).

forms of hiring human resources and to different sorts of remunerative frameworks (by piecework, by time and by production, instead of monthly payments with benefits). Domestic service is another branch that, in general, presents precarious forms of hiring and payment.

In the Great Buenos Aires, an area concentrating a 70% of bordering migrants residing in urban areas, concentration in the construction, domestic service and textile areas was confirmed (Maguid 1997). During the second half of that decade, as a consequence of an increase of unemployment in these branches, labor precariousness and the quantity of working hours among bordering migrants of those residing in this region went up as well (Cortés and Groisman, 2004). In 2001, the labor segregation of bordering migrants residing in Argentina, in the fields of construction, manufacturing industries, domestic service and to a lesser extent, hotels and food industry, was confirmed (Sala, 2008).

In Argentina, related to the native labour force, Bolivian, Paraguayan and Chilean men were over-represented among the operative qualified and not qualified workers. Brazilian and Uruguayan workers presented a similar distribution to Argentineans. Bolivian, Chilean, Paraguayan and Uruguayan women were over-represented among the non-qualified workers and, as the Brazilians, were over-concentrated in operative qualified occupations (TAB 3). In the new cohorts of men and women born in Bolivia, Paraguay and Uruguay the participation of workers with professional and technical qualification fell. Also the percentage of workers with technical qualification between the Chilean women fell. The Brazilian migrants of both sexes and, in a lesser degree, the Chilean men show a remarkable increase of professional and technical occupations in new cohorts. The participation of qualified workers didn't grow in new cohorts of all the migratory groups, with the exception of the Bolivian men, in whom it stayed (TAB 4)

In Brazil, regional migrants were more concentrated than native workers among the high-ranking civil servants', leaders of public interest organizations and companies, and managers and professionals of the sciences and the arts. Men and women born in Argentina, Chile and Uruguay showed a higher concentration in directive and professional occupations and Bolivian men, in professional occupations. Among the technicians of middle level, the higher concentration corresponded to the Argentinean men and the Chileans of both sexes. Bolivian and Paraguayan men and women were over-represented in the industrial goods production sector and the service sector, standing out the level of segregation in that occupation of the Bolivian women. Paraguayan women were over-concentrated, among the farming, forest, hunting and fishing workers and service sector workers, salesmen in stores and markets (TAB 5). The professional, directive or technical occupations predominated among the Argentinean, of all cohorts; the Bolivian and Chilean men, who took root before 1980 and among the Uruguayan workers, migrated in the seventies. The qualified workers predominated between the Argentineans women, who migrated in the eighties and seventies and Chilean women, of all migratory cohorts, although specially among whom who took root in the decade of ninety (TAB 6).

A multi-dimensional analysis allowed to seize the heterogeneity of employed people coming from the Southern Cone and residing in Brazil. Some of them had a better qualification besides a better salary and they settle down between 1974 and 1989. They had an occupation in the area of services, as registered employer and employee. A second group was also detected, which concentrated those people in a more unfavorable situation and which migrated during the nineties, they had a low level of education and they found themselves inserted in agriculture, construction, commerce, domestic service and the industry. These workers were more concentrated in the precarious occupation categories (family worker not registered) and they had a lower income. Within this group of workers, a fifth of the males and two out of five males born in Bolivia, a fourth of the Uruguayan workers, six out of ten Paraguayan workers, and one out of ten females (Sala, 2005).

3- Labor Precariousness

This section summarizes some characteristics of the labor market in Argentina and Brazil at the end of the nineties. In both countries, the deterioration in the quality of the employment could be ascertained through an increase of the labor precariousness and it was concomitant to the increase of the over-schooled workforce.

Those types of work that are clearly different to a full time employment, for a unique, identifiable employer, for an indefinite period of time, performed at the employer's address, protected by labor legislation and covered by social security, are considered precarious. An essential dimension of the precariousness is the certainty in the continuity of labor, thus the definition of precarious employments includes those agreed on a short-term basis and which run the risk of coming to an end at any time. Another dimension is the degree of protection that the worker gets, as regards legislation, customary practices and collective organizations, which refers both to social security coverage, as well as the preservation against discrimination, the unlawful dismissal or inadequate labor conditions such as bad salaries and insecure social insertion (Rodgers, 1989). The precariousness of labor relationships, besides being associated to lower levels of income and productivity, implies that the worker has no protection when he quits the labor market due to illness or retirement and apart from that, those workers have no access to mechanisms for the formation of unions and for the negotiation of working conditions, to ensure the exercise of their basic labor rights (Neffa, 1999). It also implies the presence of labor conditions characterized by an increase in the intensity and a longer duration of the working day, which are often self-imposed.

In the eighties and the nineties, the economies of the countries in the Southern Cone of Latin America went through a process of opening, deregulation and labor flexibility. With a variety of effects as regards employment and income distribution, these countries, with the exception of Chile, showed in general growing unemployment levels. In the urban areas of Brazil, the unemployment annual medium rate went from 5.3 % in 1985, to 7.6 in 1999, a modest growth when compared to the behavior of this parameter in other countries in South America. In Argentina, the open unemployment in urban areas reached 2.6 % in 1980 and 15.1 % in 2000, although higher levels were registered with some measurements in the second half of the nineties

In the nineties in Argentina, the precarious modalities for hiring staff were part of the entrepreneurial strategies to face the uncertainty and the low economic growth. In a context of relations of force which favored the employer, due to the high level of unemployment and sub-employment, the state fostered the flexible labor contracts through changes in the legislation and it was also a generator of bad quality employment. On the other hand, during the nineties precariousness also spread to workers with a higher education who, notwithstanding, continued with a level of protection which was relatively higher when compared to that of workers with less schooling.

In Argentina and in Brazil, work precariousness rose as a result of the fall and restructuring of employment, also because of outsourcing and labor flexibility. In both countries, the participation of industry fell and the relative weight of trade and services grew up. The new work positions in these two areas were characterized by the poor quality of employment. In both countries, another common characteristic was an increase in the outsourcing of entrepreneurial and state activities in order to outsource labor risks and costs.

Whereas in Argentina the salary level fell and the presence of free-lancers and family workers with no salary went up, in Brazil, the growth of registered paid work was very weak, when compared to the development of the unregistered employment in commerce and services, and involved positions with very low salaries. In Brazil, a good number of the occupations that had been created in the nineties implied provisions to persons and families, related to domestic service, food industry, maintenance and repair. The commerce also increased its participation departing from the free-lance work and in small private business, with little unregistered employees.

The population census in Argentina detects precarious forms of labor insertion departing from the way in which contribution for retirement are disbursed. In this country, those working for an employer and who are registered contributed to the social security

system by means of discounts carried out by the employers. In the eighties and especially in the nineties, there was an increase in the amount of independent workers who in fact have a hidden labor or working relationship and voluntarily made retirement contributions.

In Brazil, the lack of "*carteira de trabalho assinada*" indicates the presence of precarious forms of hiring among workers or employees. The signed work portfolio ("*carteira de trabalho assinada*") is a document signed by the employer, who recognizes the rights and obligations arising from the labor contract. Along this presentation, those with an occupation under a dependency relationship and with a signed work portfolio will be named registered and unregistered workers if they have not signed such a portfolio. The analysis of the situation of the health staff will include some references about the contributions for retirement.

In the nineties, the increase in the presence of migrants from Southern Cone countries in Argentina and Brazil coincided with improvements in the schooling of the populations and of the work force in both countries. During the second half of that decade, the Argentine labor market showed evident signs of crisis (growing unemployment, job insecurity and salary deterioration). In this context, the growth in the offer of workers with a high schooling contributed to increase in the proportion of workers hired for positions for which those workers with higher education than the educational requirement for the position. In Brazil, the increase in the schooling level and the over-qualification of the workforce took place in a recession context less serious than in Argentina. Besides, in that country, improvements in the schooling of the work force started from a level which was lower than in Argentina (Sala 2009a & 2009b).

The second column in tables 7, 8, 14 & 15 displays the average educational requirements for each occupational group. This measure is the range between one standard deviation more or one standard deviation less of the educational average (Clogg & Shockey, 1984). The educational average and the corresponding standard deviation were calculated departing from information about the years of schooling of native workers of both sexes.⁴

4- Occupational distribution of qualified migrants in Argentina

The occupational groups that concentrated bordering migrants with complete high studies residing in Argentina can be classified in two major categories, according to the degree of congruence of the average schooling required for its performance and the schooling of persons with complete high studies, equivalent to fifteen or more years of formal education.

The schooling of qualified migrants was compatible with the average schooling required in the health, administrative, legal, accounting and financial occupations; directive and managerial occupations in big, medium and small companies; directive occupations in social and public organizations, related to education and other basic social services, scientific research and production of software. These occupational groups concentrated the majority of qualified migrants who were born in the Southern Cone countries⁵.

The occupations in the field of health and sanity were in an outstanding place, because they concentrated most males and females born in Bolivia and Paraguay, and most females born in Chile and Uruguay. As regards Argentines with full high studies, Bolivian and Paraguayan males and females and Uruguayan females were sub-represented in this occupational group (TABs. 7 & 8).

⁴ Departing of this methodology developed by Clogg & Shockey (1984) Sala (2009a & 2009b) describes the level of over-qualification of migrant workers from the Southern Cone of Latin America, residing in Argentina and Brazil.

⁵ These occupational groups concentrated a 66% of males and a 73% of females, qualified and with an occupation, born in Bolivia; a 75% of males and a 79% of females, qualified and with an occupation, born in Brazil: 63% of males and a 78% of qualified women with an occupation born in Chile; 78% of males and 73% of women qualified and with an occupation born in Paraguay and 72% of males and 84% of qualified females and with an occupation born in Uruguay (TABs 7 & 8).

In this occupational group, among Bolivian and Paraguayan of both sexes and Chilean females, there was a predominance of public servants and the formal labor insertion was the general rule. The independent workers predominated among Brazilian and Uruguayan of both sexes and Chilean males. An important fraction of the migrants working in health and sanitary occupations enjoyed job stability because the employer made retirement contributions. This condition predominates in both sexes of the five groups, except the Uruguayan men, who show higher percents of voluntary contributors. However the higher labor precariousness of the regional migrants can be highlighted, since more than a half of Brazilian, Paraguayan and Uruguayan of both sexes and Chilean males contributed voluntary for retirement or did not make contributions nor did their employer (TABs. 9 to 13)..

The second place corresponded to administrative, juridical, accounting and financial occupations, which concentrated most males born in Chile and Uruguay. Besides, this occupational group was the second in importance among migrant females. Notwithstanding the relative weight of this group of occupations, regional migrants were sub-represented when compared to qualified Argentines (TABs. 7 & 8). Most migrants that were working in administrative, juridical, accounting and financial activities were workers or employees from the private area or independent workers.

Broader work stability, arisen from the fact of recognizing the work relationship, derives from the presence of contribution for retirement made by the employer. Among those performing administrative, legal, accounting and financial occupations, about six and seven out of ten Bolivian females enjoyed work stability, besides among Brazilians and Chileans of both sexes, and half of the Paraguayans and Uruguayans of both sexes plus Bolivian males.

15 % of males born in Brazil, 13% of males born in Chile and Uruguay, 12% of males born in Paraguay, and 6% of Bolivian males declared to be managers or directors in small and medium companies. With the exception of Brazilian males and Paraguayan females, regional migrants were sub-represented in this group of occupations, when compared to the qualified Argentines (TABs 7 & 8). Among migrants in this occupational group, precarious forms of labor insertion were predominant, since most of them were making contributions for retirement or did not make voluntary contributions (nor did their employer (TABs. 11,12 & 13).

Directive and managerial occupations at big private companies gathered most males born in Brazil and a considerable percentage of males born in Chile and Uruguay, besides a minority fraction of females born in these three countries. Migrants of both sexes born in Brazil, Chile and Uruguay were slightly over-represented in this occupation group, when compared to Argentines with the same schooling (TAB 7 & 8). The majority of the migrants in these three countries who were working as managers of big private companies were employees and their employers made contributions for retirement, from which a broader stability and formality of work relationship is inferred (TABs. 10,11 & 13).

The education occupations concentrated most Brazilian females. Among them, the majority were private sector employees. As regards Argentine females with full high studies, their Brazilian peers were over-represented in this group of occupations (TABs. 7 & 8). Perhaps many of them were engaged in teaching Portuguese. Although to a lesser extent, males and females born in Bolivia, Chile, Paraguay and Uruguay were also working in education occupations and most of them were public sector employees. As regards native workforce, those born in Bolivia, Chile, Paraguay and Uruguay were sub-represented in education occupations (TABs, 7 & 8).

Most migrants who were working in education occupations in the category "employees" enjoyed job stability because the employer made retirement contributions. However, the higher labor precariousness of Brazilian females can be highlighted, since a fourth of them did not make contributions for retirement nor did their employer, and there was a fifth group which stated to have made those contributions voluntarily, from which one could infer that there were hidden workers. Even if the labor precariousness was smaller, it can also be highlighted among those born in Bolivia, Chile, and Paraguay (TABs. 9 to 13).

The occupations of other basic social services concentrated a small fraction of qualified migrants (between 5% and 7% of qualified workers with an occupation from Chile

and Uruguay, besides Paraguayan males). However, regional migrants, with the exception of Bolivian males and Paraguayan females, were slightly over-represented in this group of occupations, with respect to the native workforce with the same schooling (TABs. 7 & 8). Most Chilean, Paraguayan and Uruguayan males with a connection to basic social services were working as independent workers or private sector employees. Among Chilean females, there was a predominance of public servants and the formal labor insertion was the general rule. Among Uruguayan females the majority were also independent workers. In the three migration groups it was possible to highlight the weight of those who made voluntary contributions and of those not contributing to the social security system (TABs. 9 to 13).

Notwithstanding the limited weight in the occupational structure of qualified migrants residing in Argentina, we should highlight the insertion in the fields of construction, infrastructure, industrial and handicraft production, domestic and non domestic cleaning. These occupations require schooling lower than that of those who have full high studies (15 years and more of study) and they show remarkable levels of precariousness.

Among qualified workers, construction and infra-structure occupations concentrated a 10% of qualified Bolivian males, 8 % of Chileans, 6% of Paraguayans and 5% of Uruguayans. As regards Argentine qualified males, those who were born in Bolivia, Chile and Paraguay were over-represented in this group of occupations (TABs. 7 & 8). Most of them were working as independent workers and the relative weight of workers or employees from the private sector was also important. Around two thirds of Bolivian, Chilean and Paraguayan males, and over three fourths of Uruguayan were precarious workers, because they were working in hidden working modalities and they made voluntary contributions or because neither them nor their employers made those contributions (TABs. 9, 11,12 & 13).

Among males with full high studies and with an occupation, 7% of Bolivian males, 5% of Chileans, and 4% of Uruguayans were in occupations regarding industrial production and handicrafts (TAB 7). More than half of them were working in the private sector, although it was also remarkable the weight of independent workers. Among Uruguayan males and to a lesser extent, among Chileans, the registered employees were predominant. More than half of Bolivians working in industrial production and handicrafts did not make any contributions for retirement nor did their employer (TABs. 9 to 13). As regards the native workforce, regional migrants of both sexes were over-represented in this group of occupations (TABs. 7 & 8).

Commercialization activities comprise a heterogeneous set of situations, linked to the scale and the position occupied at the place where they take place. In Argentina, retail commercialization was a part of the work strategies of bordering migrants with a low level of qualification and it is possible that there are differences between their labor insertion and that of qualified migrants, but this analysis goes beyond the objectives of this presentation.

Those who were born in Brazil, Chile and Uruguay, besides Bolivian and Paraguayan females, were over-represented in the occupations of commercialization in relation to qualified native workforce (TABs. 7 & 8).⁶ Most qualified males born in Chile and Uruguay and females from Bolivia, Paraguay and Uruguay working in commercialization activities did so as private sector employees, and to a lesser extent, as independent workers. Among Bolivian males and Chilean females, independent workers were predominant, and to a lesser extent, private sector employees.

Cleaning jobs also concentrated more regional qualified migrants from those five countries, in comparison with Argentines with the same schooling (TABs. 7 & 8). The level of over-representation of Paraguayan and Bolivian females can be highlighted; their participation in the occupational group was 16% and 7% respectively. They were predominantly private sector employees and they showed a high level of precariousness since a 73% of Bolivian women and 64% of Paraguayans did not make any contributions for retirement nor did their employer (TABs 9 & 12).

⁶ This occupational group concentrated a 5%, 8% & 7% of Brazilian, Chilean and Uruguayan males respectively, and a 9% of Bolivian females, 7% Brazilian females, 8% Chilean females, 5% Paraguayan females and 6% of Uruguayan females with full high studies (TABs. 7 & 8).

The cleaning jobs in general present precarious hiring and payment modalities and are a classic niche in which migrants insert once they arrive to urban work markets. In these occupations the role of migration networks is paramount, since other females of the same nationality facilitate the insertion of their compatriots. The demand in cleaning occupations shows two modalities since the worker may live in or not; migrant women in general chose to live in. The hiring modality with the maid living in is very common in the high and medium sectors. Many females often prefer this modality because it solves the problem of housing.

5- Occupational distribution of qualified migrants in Brazil

The occupations concentrating most qualified migrants from the Southern Cone residing in Brazil can also be classified in two groups. In the first place, we can distinguish the professional occupations which, as an average, require education similar to that of those who had full high studies. Those occupations are: professionals of biological sciences, health and similar fields, Exact Science, Physics & Engineering professionals, Education and Legal science Professionals, Company and organization directors (except those of public interest), Professionals of social & human sciences.⁷

Directive occupations, medium level technical occupations, clerks, social communication professionals, artists, members of religious orders, teachers with no diploma and medium level, salesmen and commercial service providers, service workers, an average, required less than 15 years of school (TABs. 14 & 15). People with full superior studies working in this occupations were be over-qualified

Health professionals had a relevant weight among qualified migrants born in the Southern Cone countries, especially among Bolivians and Paraguayans. As regards the native workers with full high studies, migrants from the Southern Cone of Latin America were over-represented in this group of occupations (TABs. 14 & 15). The percentage of independent workers and employers and among professionals in the field of biological sciences, health and similar indicates the self-generation of labor options. In this occupational group, most Argentine males were employers and the females, independent workers. Among Chilean and Uruguayan males, and Bolivian females, there was a predominance of registered workers, although the relative weight of those with no registration was remarkable. The percentage of workers with no registration was considerably high among Bolivian, Chilean, Paraguayan and Uruguayan males (37%, 33%, 42% and 18%, respectively) and among Argentine, Bolivian and Uruguayan females (28%, 12% y 29%, respectively). This category concentrated most Bolivian and Paraguayan males (TABs. 16 to 25).

Directive occupations concentrated most Argentine, Chilean and Uruguayan males, besides a significant part of Paraguayan males and Argentine females. As regards those born in Brazil with the same schooling, migrants from the five countries, with the exception of Paraguayan females, were over-represented in directive occupations (Sala, 2005).⁸ Among Argentine, Bolivian, Chilean and Paraguayan males, and Chilean females, there was a predominance of registered employees. Directors of both sexes from Uruguay were evenly distributed among registered employees and employers. Most Argentine and Bolivian females in directive positions were employers (TABs. 16 to 25).

Males and females of the five migration groups under analysis were over-represented among those working as Education Professionals, being remarkable the participation of Argentines, Chileans and Uruguayans. Most Education Professionals from Chile and

⁷ This occupational groups concentrated a 43% of males and a 53% of females, Argentine and with a qualification; 74% of males and 62% of females, qualified, with an occupation, born in Bolivia; 38% of males and 61% of females, qualified, with an occupation, born in Chile; 49% of males and 52% of females, qualified and with an occupation, born in Paraguay and 45% of males and 59% of females, qualified, with an occupation, born in Uruguay (TABs. 14 & 15).

⁸ Among those who had completed high studies, a 21% of Argentine males were engaged in directive occupations, also a 15% of Chilean and Uruguayan males, 12% of Paraguayan males, 14% of Argentine females, 10% of Bolivian and Chilean females, and 8% of Uruguayan females (TABs. 14 & 15).

Paraguay settled down in the seventies and most Argentines and Bolivians did so before that period. Among those born in Argentina, Chile and Uruguay, and the Bolivian males connected with this occupational group, registered employees predominated and to a lesser extent, those non registered and independent workers. In the same occupations, among Bolivian females and those born in Paraguay, there was a predominance of employees with no registration and, to a lesser extent, those with a registration and independent workers (TABs. 16 to 25).

Qualified migrants of both sexes from the five countries in the Southern Cone were also concentrated in the professional occupations of Exact Sciences, besides Physics and Engineering.⁹ Among Argentine and Bolivian males there was a predominance of independent workers, whereas most who were born in Paraguay, Chile and Uruguay were registered employees. Chilean, Argentine and Uruguayan males showed a high rate of employers (TABs. 16 to 25).

Directive occupations at companies and organizations concentrated a 10% of Argentine males, 4% of Chileans, 5% of Paraguayans, and 8% of males and 6% of females from Uruguay. Regional migrants of both sexes, with the exception of Paraguayan females, were over-represented in this occupational group, with respect to Brazilians with the same education (TABs. 14 & 15). There was a predominance of employers in this group of occupations, thus it is possible that migrants generated themselves their working chances. However, the percentage of registered employees, protected by labor legislation was also relevant¹⁰ (TABs. 16 to 25).

Labor segmentation was a distinctive feature of labor insertion of qualified migrants from the Southern Cone countries residing in Brazil. In some of them, legal protection was more important, since they were engaged in a registered employment. Some others lacked that labor legislation protection for not being registered, for working as trainees or because they were family workers. Finally, there was a very heterogeneous third group of qualified migrants who inserted themselves taking advantage of the generation of working opportunities, such as the employers and independent workers.

Among males born in Argentina, Bolivia, Chile and Uruguay and among females from the five migration groups there was a predominance of registered workers. However, the percentages of non registered employees was especially high among those born in Bolivia, Paraguay and Uruguay (24%, 28% and 21% of males and 21%, 22% and 24% of females born in these countries, respectively). Around a third of males born in Bolivia, Chile and Paraguay and Argentine females were independent workers; a fourth of Argentine and Uruguayan males, of Bolivian and Paraguayan females and a fifth of Uruguayan females (TABs. 16 to 25).

The relative presence of non registered employees can be highlighted among Education Professionals, salesmen and saleswomen and commercial service providers, social communicators, artists and members of religious orders and medium level technicians in administrative sciences. Precariousness in the employment also affected a considerable portion of biological sciences professionals, health and similar branches, professionals of social and human sciences, and medium level professionals and technicians in Physics, Chemistry and Engineering (TABs. 16 to 25).

It is very likely that many qualified migrants from the Southern Cone who declared to be employed in occupations connected to education were teaching Spanish at private schools which hired them during the school year. This activity is one of the labor opportunities more common for migrants who are unable to validate their education

⁹ These occupations concentrated a 10% of Argentine males, 11% of Bolivian males, 14 % of Chilean males, 7% of Paraguayan males and 13% of Uruguayan males (TABs. 14 & 15)

¹⁰ Among Bolivian, Chilean and Uruguayan males, working as company directors, there was a predominance of employers. Argentine males were homogeneously distributed among registered employees and Argentine females were distributed between non registered employees and employers. Among Uruguayan females there was a predominance of registered employees (TABs. 16 to 25).

credentials in Brazil and it has a considerable demand due to the fact that Spanish tests are compulsory to study at universities and also to have access to many formal administrative positions.

Around a fourth of Chilean and Paraguayan females working in the provision of services were registered domestic employees and almost half of Paraguayans were domestic workers with no registration. A fourth of Chilean females and over a half of Uruguayan females working as saleswomen and service providers in the field of commerce were family workers with no salaries (TABs. 31, 33 & 35)

All or most migration groups showed relevant percentages of independent workers among those working in sales and providing commercial services, communicators, artists, members of religious orders and professionals of biological sciences, health and similar fields, social and human sciences professionals and medium term technicians of administrative sciences. Eight out of ten Bolivian males working in the textile industry, tannery, clothing and graphic arts were independent workers, besides half of Chilean males working in mechanic maintenance and repair (TABs. 16 to 25).

6- Health and sanitation occupations

The percent of migrant workers over the total number of health professionals residing in Argentina and Brazil is low if compared with this measure in countries like Great Britain or Canada. However, health and sanitation occupations deserve a special analysis due to its remarkable relative weight among the occupational distribution of qualified workers in both countries.

In Argentina, this category gathered physicians, nurses and service workers of clinics and hospitals. Most Bolivian and Paraguayan males and Bolivian, Chilean, Paraguayan and Uruguayan females with full high studies belonged to this category.¹¹ In Brazil, the majority of Bolivian and Paraguayan males and females and Uruguayan females belonged to this category, in other migratory groups this occupational category was also relevant.¹²

There is a renewed interest in the emigration of health human resources, expressed in statements of international organizations. For the PAHO (2007), the emigration of health personnel in Latin America is a growing problem, related to the incapacity of working markets at the expelling countries of adequately absorbing the health professionals; the budget limitations of public medical services at the countries of origin and the unsatisfactory working conditions. Other factors associated to this issue are the little adequacy of some formation programs to the local health problems and to the available technological levels, and the stimulus of agencies and recruiters of nurses or physicians willing to emigrate.

The conditions for professional insertion at the countries of origin occupy an important place among the factors promoting the emigration of health professionals. Among other situations, emigration is fostered by factors such as low salaries, uncertainty about the future, weak infrastructure and equipment, the lack of working material, little flexible work schedules, long working days, low chances for professional development and wrong management of services, especially in what concerns the staff welfare. Besides, nursing has been characterized as a hard, intense work, with bad salaries, implying a big responsibility and scarcely valued. This promotes emigration as a way of improving work and life conditions.

¹¹ In Argentina, among those occupied with full high studies, 39% of Bolivian males, 40% of Bolivian females, 30% of Paraguayans of both sexes, 30% of Uruguayan females, 15% of Uruguayan males and 24% of Chileans females developed occupations related to health care (TABs 7 & 8).

¹² Over the total number of migrants with full high studies and with an occupation, the category "professionals of biological sciences, health and similar fields concentrated almost half of Bolivian males, a fifth of Paraguayan males, and a 10% of Uruguayans. Among qualified females with an occupation, the following rates belonged to that category: 31% of Bolivians, 24% of Paraguayans, 17% of Uruguayans, 11% of Argentines and 10% of Chilean females. The relative participation of Professionals of biological sciences, health and similar fields was smaller among Argentine and Chilean qualified males (6% y 4%, respectively) (TABs. 14 & 15).

Precariousness of employment was also taken into consideration in the case of health employees in Argentina, Brazil and Peru, where the hiring modalities are differentiated, leading to the formation of a dual labor market, with better salaries and working conditions in the private sub-sector, besides a broader social protection and other benefits in the public sub-sector. Increase in plural employment was also remarked, as a result of an increase in the amount of part-time jobs and the low level of salaries in Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay and Peru (PAHO, 2007).

The relevance of this issue can be highlighted on some of the following grounds: the preponderance of health professionals among qualified migrants on a global scale, the growing demand for these professionals, related to a higher incidence of chronic diseases, associated to population aging and the difficulties of some countries to take care of that demand with local human resources (Koolhaas and Prieto, 2007).

7- South American Health Professionals who emigrated to Argentina and Brazil

Argentina is one of the Latin American countries with the higher amount of physicians per inhabitant. It presents a surplus of physicians and a lack of nurses.¹³ In Argentina there is a co-existence of nurses who graduated at the university and other who received training at nursing schools in public hospitals. The restrictions to enter medicine faculties were cyclical.¹⁴ At the moment there is an important offer of medicine courses at private universities, with admission requirements which are more flexible than those at state run universities. In order to exercise their profession, doctors must get a credential and they must compulsorily attend courses-practices at school-hospitals to get a specialization. In general they get a salary, but they are not considered as employees.

In 2001, the 20,418 foreigners working in occupations connected to health represented around 3% of the occupational group. Most of them came from Peru, Paraguay, Bolivia, Chile and Uruguay. Peruvian workers represented a fifth of foreigners and we could also highlight the participation of Paraguayan and Chilean females besides Bolivian males, who concentrated, respectively, 17%, 16% and 14% of the total number of foreigners in these occupations.

Considered as a whole, within the group of health professionals we can highlight the broader concentration of bordering migrants among those with a degree in medicine and nursing. Bolivian, Paraguayan and Brazilian males concentrated the highest number of physicians whereas dentists were the majority among those coming from Paraguay. Bolivian, Paraguayan and Chilean females concentrated the highest number of nursing graduates.

Most physicians, dentists and nurses from Paraguay settled down in Argentina before 1970. In the seventies, the same happened with most physicians, dentists and nurses coming from Chile and Uruguay. Due to their long permanence, it is very likely that their formation took place in Argentina. Unlike all these migration groups, most health workers and professionals from Bolivia migrated to Argentina in the eighties and the nineties, probably because of the economic crisis affecting their country. Among physicians and dentists who were born in Chile, Paraguay and Uruguay, the rate of those settling down in those decades fell considerably. The participation of Brazilian workers and professionals employed in health activities was very low. Most of them settled down in Argentina in the seventies and the

¹³ In Argentina, estimations indicated that by 2004 half a million workers were connected to health activities and social services and a 70% of them were female. The annual growth rate of the population of physicians was higher than the growth rate of the country's population (3,5% & 1,6%, respectively). The national average was 3,2 physicians per 1.000 inhabitants. Nurses were insufficient. The ratio physician/nurse was 9,5 physicians per nurse, if only those with a university degree were considered, and 1,5, if auxiliary and empirical nursing personnel was taken into account (PAHO, 2007).

¹⁴ In general, at Argentine national universities, the number of candidates to study at the Faculty of Medicine was regulated through entrance examinations which were qualifying at the time of the military governments, and then, with the return of democracy, university authorities decided, in an autonomous way, to apply or not these restrictions.

nineties. Most migrant doctors were concentrated in jurisdictions with the highest number of physicians.

In Brazil, the category that involved professionals of biological sciences, health and similar areas, coming from Southern Cone countries, mostly included physicians and surgeon-dentists of both sexes, besides nurses with a professional formation. The highest percentages of physicians corresponded to Bolivian and Paraguayan males and to Bolivian and Argentine females. The highest rates of surgeon-dentists were observed among Chilean and Bolivian males and among Argentine and Paraguayan females. Bolivian, Paraguayan, Chilean and Uruguayan females were also concentrated among nurses with high studies. The presence of physiotherapists can also be highlighted, especially among Paraguayan, Argentine and Uruguayan females; also the presence of biologists, among Chilean females and chemists among Bolivian and Paraguayan females.

In Brazil, the health professionals from other Southern Cone countries have a low presence and most of them arrived to Brazil in the seventies. Bolivia provided most of those professionals. Most physicians and dentists from Bolivia arrived to Brazil before 1970. Among physicians, the rate of those who arrived in the eighties was also remarkable. In the seventies, most Argentine physicians and dentists of both sexes settled down in Brazil; the same happened with Chilean, Paraguayan and Uruguayan doctors and dentists. More than a half of Uruguayan female doctors emigrated during the nineties and most Bolivian female doctors did so in the eighties and the nineties. The presence of nurses from Southern Cone countries was not relevant and most of them migrated in the seventies.

The last demographic census in Brazil registered 198.153 physicians, of which 5675 were foreign (2.9%). Most of them were born in Bolivia, Portugal, Peru, Colombia, Italy, Argentina, Cuba, Uruguay, Paraguay and Spain.

Migrant doctors were highly concentrated in the states of the South and South-east regions of Brazil. These regions, besides being the most prosperous, had an offer of health human resources which was higher than the national average. The South-east area, composed by the States of Sao Paulo, Rio de Janeiro and Minas Gerais, is the most populated in Brazil, and the two first states were historically the main poles of attraction for international migration from the Southern Cone. In the eighties and nineties the States in the South area (Parana, Santa Catarina and Rio Grande do Sul) welcomed migrants from Uruguay, Argentina and Paraguay.

Most Argentine male physicians were employers whereas females were independent workers. Among males and females from Chile and Uruguay, besides Bolivian females, there was a predominance of registered workers, although the relative weight of those non registered was relevant. The percentage of workers with no registration was very high among Bolivian, Chilean, Paraguayan and Uruguayan males (37%, 33%, 42% and 18% respectively) and among Argentine, Bolivian and Uruguayan females (28%, 12% and 29% respectively). This category concentrated most Bolivian males and Paraguayan physicians. The trainees with no salary were present among Bolivian physicians, especially among those residing in Sao Paulo.

Brazil shows differences and similarities as regards entering education centers that train physicians and health professionals and also as regards the proportion of health professionals and the amount of inhabitants, when compared to other countries in South America. Just like in Argentina, Chile and Uruguay, in Brazil, both public federal and private universities have strict qualifying examinations to start medicine and nursing studies. In Brazil, the quantity of physicians by inhabitant is lower than in Argentina and Uruguay, but it is higher than in Bolivia and Paraguay and, as in most countries in the Southern Cone, most physicians are concentrated in big cities¹⁵.

At the end of the nineties Brazil changed its policy of recognition of university diplomas obtained abroad, thus putting obstacles to validating studies done in other

¹⁵ In 2004, in Brazil, there were 1,6 physicians and 1,0 dentists per 1.000 inhabitants all over the country and there were important regional differences, being the South and South-east areas in a more favorable situation (PAHO, 2007)

countries and the exercise of the medical profession. This situation multiplied the judiciary presentation of doctors who had graduated outside Brazil, besides the federal and regional councils of medicine, which were interested in regulating the exercise of that profession. In 1999, Brazil stopped signing the Convention for the Recognition of Studies, Degrees and Diplomas from countries in Latin America and the Caribbean. Act 9.394/96 was passed during the presidency of Fernando Henrique Cardoso, and it compelled both Brazilians and foreigners to validate the university diplomas obtained outside Brazil to being able to exercise their professions in the country. In the case of physicians, it was also necessary to pass some examinations for professional sufficiency and to check out their mastering of Portuguese language. Before that, the recognition of medicine diplomas issued abroad could be performed at any federal or state university, and afterwards, the Medicine Regional Councils provided the credential for the professional exercise. In the last years, state governments tried to widen the access to health services to persons with little resources and residing in faraway areas. To satisfy the demand for physicians, some foreign doctors were hired, but this measure had to face the opposition of medical professional associations.¹⁶

Those who received a salary and made contributions to social security funds had a broader relative weight among Chilean, Argentine and Uruguayan physicians. Those born in Chile concentrated the highest percentages of contributors, both as regards registered and non registered employees, and of those who did not contribute (among registered ones). Those from Paraguay and Argentina concentrated the highest percentages of non registered physicians, who did not contribute to the social security system, and those born in Chile and Uruguay, the highest percentages of registered physicians who did not make contributions. Among registered workers the smallest percentage of contributors corresponded to Bolivian workers. Stability of labor insertion of registered employees would probably have no relationship with the higher number of years of residence in Brazil of Bolivian physicians, and on the contrary, there could be a connection with Chilean physicians as they are a population which showed no renewal regarding the arrival of new migrants. Unlike the situation in Argentina, in Brazil the migrant physicians who set up residence in the nineties had a less precarious labor insertion since the percentage of social security contributors and of statutory public employees is higher.

Emigration and availability of health resources in the origin countries

Bolivia and Paraguay are important suppliers of health professionals for Argentina and Brazil. In Paraguay and Bolivia, in spite of the shortage of human resources in this area, the scarce development of health structures and the low public investment in that field do not favor the working and payment expectations of health workers; they foster emigration and discourage the return of emigrants.¹⁷

Some countries with intermediate levels of availability of health professionals per inhabitant, such as Chile and to a lesser extent, Brazil, turned into hosts of professionals in this area, coming from other countries in the region. In the last decade, both countries show a series of initiatives oriented towards an improvement in the staff of human resources in

¹⁶ In mid-April 2005, the government of the state of Tocantins put an end to employment contracts for 56 out of 96 Cuban doctors who had come to Brazil through bilateral agreements between the governments of Cuba and Brazil. This measure resulted from observing the prohibition of the Federal Justice of exercising medicine if the professionals did not validate their diplomas, and originates in the lawsuit brought by the *Conselho Regional de Medicina (Regional Medicine Council)*. The government decision gave birth to a diplomatic conflict, which ended with the request on the part of the Cuban government for the release of those 96 physicians (see journalistic sources in Sala, 2005).

¹⁷ The ratio of health staff per 10,000 inhabitants in Paraguay and Bolivia were respectively 9,1 and 10,8 in 2004. They were below the minimum density required to provide a minimal health coverage to residents. Bolivia shows a shortage of professionals in suburban and rural areas. Paraguay shows important disparities in the access to health and serious faults in the quality of care and, paradoxically, an excess in the formation of physicians (PAHO, 2007).

health services, which allowed for the hiring of foreign professionals.¹⁸ In Chile, the immigration of health professionals has a higher relative weight and it probably took place in the last decade.

In countries with more developed health structures such as Argentina and Uruguay, the physician surplus and the precariousness of working conditions fostered emigration.¹⁹ In general, the excess in the offer of workers of a branch, specialty or occupation can contribute in the devaluation of their work. Both situations are strong enough to induce to emigration or to occupational restructuring. Structural factors and other factors peculiar to this situation do have an influence on the costs and benefits of choosing an internal or an international, regional or extra regional destination, and also on the fact of trying to change the occupation. In the eighties and nineties, emigration of Argentine and Uruguayan physicians could be explained by the excess of offer of graduates and the deterioration in the labor and salary conditions. Argentina and Uruguay feed flows of health professionals to USA and Europe, and to a lesser extent, to Brazil. It is important to mention the outstanding nature of Uruguayan female doctors and nurses, who choose regional destinations in Brazil and Argentina. However, the general reduction of the stock of Uruguayans in Argentina leads to thinking that this country is no more attractive for Uruguayan females.

Conclusions

Taking into account the different ways workers can insert themselves in the labor market, it is possible to determine precarious modalities to build up a working relationship, as well as strategies for the generation of employment and differentiated labor circuits. They show that labor segmentation was a distinctive feature of labor insertion of qualified migrants from the Southern Cone countries, residing in Argentina and Brazil.

In Argentina the labor insertion of qualified migrants is segmented. Most of the border workers developed occupations whose exercise implied a qualification in accordance with the qualification they already had, like health, administrative, legal, accountancy & financial, managerial and educative occupations.

Occupations related to health care seem to be especially attractive for Bolivian and Paraguayan males and females and Uruguayan and Chilean females. Also, the percentage of Brazilian and in less grade, Chilean and Uruguayan males in directive, managerial and commercialization occupations is remarkable. Brazilian women are concentrated in educational occupations and in managerial occupations with Uruguayan women.

On the other hand, there are small percentages of qualified migrants in the classical working niches of border migrants residing in Argentina, such as the activities of domestic cleaning, industrial production and handicrafts, construction and infrastructure and commerce. These occupations require less qualification than the qualification of persons with full high studies and they show a remarkable level of precariousness. Qualified females born in Paraguay and Bolivia were concentrated in occupations of domestic and non domestic cleaning. Females from Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Paraguay and Uruguay had also participation in commercialization occupations. Some of the very qualified migrants from Chile and Bolivia developed occupations in the fields of construction and infrastructure and in the industrial production and handicrafts. A remarkable characteristic is the over-concentration of Bolivian males in industrial production and handicrafts, which in Argentina mainly involves the workers of the textile sector.

¹⁸ In Chile, out of the 25.542 physicians currently exercising their profession, 2.276 got their degrees overseas and their diplomas were directly validated by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; 963 were immigrants whose diplomas were validated in that country. The ratio physician/inhabitant was 1/612 in 2004 (PAHO, 2007). In Brazil, the government of the state of Tocantins promoted the incorporation of Cuban physicians in its services.

¹⁹ The ratio physician/inhabitant in Uruguay and Argentina was the highest in the region (they were over 30 per 10,000 inhabitants). In 2005, there were 13.390 physicians (41,3 per 10.000 inhabitants) in Uruguay. Most of them had finished a specialization course and had more than one job (OPS, 2007).

In the Southern Cone of Latin America Brazil became a pole of attraction for qualified human resources in the region, due to factors such as the low degree of education of its workforce and the important return to schooling in the Brazilian work market. In this country, the insertion in activities tied to health care is very relevant among Bolivians and Paraguayans. It is also important to highlight the concentration of qualified regional migrants in directive occupations, which concentrated most Argentine, Chilean and Uruguayan males, besides a significant portion of Paraguayan males and Argentine females.

The incidence of the over-qualification on qualified migrant labor insertion were bigger in Brazil than in Argentina. The percent of qualified regional migrants whose education match with the educational average requirements was smaller among them who lived in Brazil. It's possible conclude that the over-qualification of high skilled regional migrants is related to factors derived from the dynamics of the work market, the existence of legal limitations for the exercise of regulated professions and/or of idiomatic barriers. They were expressed in the insertion in poorly qualified occupations, like an alternative to unemployment. The existence of idiomatic barriers is specially pertinent for explaining the high percentage of over-qualified regional migrants living in Brazil and Brazilian professional women living in Argentina. In the last case, they had probably migrated outside of transnational hiring schemes, that could had guaranteed their labor insertion match with their schooling, like it happened among many Brazilian men.

The change of the regulations for the professional exercise of medicine and the obligation of having to validate diplomas and the labor experience obtained overseas, can lead to many migrant physicians to accept employments for which they are over-qualified; it could also lead to their inactivity or to accept jobs with poor hiring and salary conditions, that is to say, they would become flexible workers in an area in which employment tends to become precarious.

In spite of the fact that medicine is a regulated profession in Argentina and Brazil, the unequal distribution of health professionals and the tendency to precariousness allowed the existence of differential medical care circuits. Perhaps for these reasons migrant physicians often work in worse conditions than native doctors and find resistance from their native colleagues. In Brazil, labor and hiring conditions for health professionals became more precarious, although being a doctor is still a lucrative activity due to a higher return to schooling in the labor markets in that country.

Labor reforms in the nineties, which contributed to multiply the precarious forms of labor hiring of health professionals, seem to have fostered the emigration from Andean countries (Bolivia, Peru and Ecuador) towards other countries in South America such as Chile, Argentina and Brazil and also outside the continent. The census information shows that most professionals in this area who were born in the other countries in the Southern Cone settled down in Argentina and Brazil in the seventies. This leads to guess that many South American professionals had to face the growing deterioration of labor conditions in the area through behaviors related to internal and extra-regional emigration, besides the occupations restructuring and, to a lesser extent, through intra-regional migration.

When analyzing the potential impact of emigration in the countries of origin, it is possible to highlight that Bolivia and Paraguay have a very low availability of health professionals and that emigration in those countries imply a loss, but also an opportunity for promoting the transfer of knowledge. It is the duty of regional governments to develop mechanisms to foster the circulation of health professionals among the countries in the region.

Table 1
Argentina. Immigrants born in Latin American's Southern Cone Countries aged 20 and over, who didn't attend school at the moment of the census, by gender, country of birth and level of schooling. 2001

| Gender and Level of Schooling | Bolivia | Brazil | Chile | Paraguay | Uruguay | Total Latin-Americans South Cone | Total residents in Argentina |
|-------------------------------|---------------|---------------|----------------|----------------|---------------|----------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Male | | | | | | | |
| Very low | 37.1 | 53.9 | 31.5 | 34.1 | 12.5 | 31.9 | 19.7 |
| Low | 39.8 | 25.6 | 48.4 | 53.2 | 51.3 | 47.4 | 49.5 |
| Middle | 19.9 | 12.3 | 16.5 | 10.8 | 28.6 | 17.1 | 22.1 |
| High | 3.2 | 8.2 | 3.6 | 1.9 | 7.5 | 3.6 | 8.7 |
| Total (%) | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Total (absolute) | 97,363 | 11,620 | 93,110 | 118,376 | 50,735 | 371,204 | 10,019,452 |
| Female | | | | | | | |
| Very low | 45.6 | 43.2 | 28.7 | 32.3 | 11.6 | 32.2 | 20.5 |
| Low | 34.6 | 28.0 | 48.0 | 53.4 | 47.9 | 46.3 | 44.8 |
| Middle | 16.6 | 17.6 | 18.7 | 11.8 | 30.4 | 17.1 | 22.0 |
| High | 3.2 | 11.2 | 4.6 | 2.5 | 10.1 | 4.4 | 12.8 |
| Total (%) | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Total (absolute) | 94,924 | 16,924 | 100,457 | 162,787 | 54,167 | 429,259 | 10,920,827 |

Source: INDEC (2005) Demographic Census 2001

Table 2
Brazil. Immigrants born in Latin American's Southern Cone Countries aged 20 and over, who didn't attend school at the moment of the census, by gender, country of birth and level of schooling. 2000

| Gender and Level of Schooling | Argentina | Bolivia | Chile | Paraguay | Uruguay | Total Latin-Americans South Cone | Total residents in Brazil |
|-------------------------------|---------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------|
| Male | | | | | | | |
| Very low | 15.4 | 18.4 | 7.4 | 53.8 | 28.7 | 24.3 | 56.6 |
| Low | 12.8 | 17.2 | 10.1 | 15.9 | 18.1 | 14.8 | 16.0 |
| Middle | 36.2 | 30.3 | 43.0 | 18.0 | 33.5 | 32.6 | 19.4 |
| High | 35.5 | 34.1 | 39.5 | 12.3 | 19.8 | 28.3 | 8.0 |
| Total (%) | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Total (absolute) | 12,282 | 8,305 | 8,972 | 8,706 | 11,541 | 49,806 | 33,075,489 |
| Female | | | | | | | |
| Very low | 23.7 | 31.5 | 8.8 | 59.6 | 32.5 | 33.0 | 55.3 |
| Low | 11.5 | 19.6 | 10.5 | 15.0 | 18.8 | 15.2 | 15.1 |
| Middle | 34.1 | 29.4 | 46.9 | 17.6 | 33.0 | 31.2 | 20.8 |
| High | 30.7 | 19.5 | 33.8 | 7.8 | 15.7 | 20.5 | 8.8 |
| Total (%) | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Total (absolute) | 9,534 | 6,205 | 6,179 | 9,554 | 10,493 | 41,965 | 35,525,535 |

Source: IBGE (2004) Demographic Census 2000

Table 3
Argentina. Workers by gender, occupational qualification and country of birth, (%). 2001

| Gender and occupational qualification | Argentina | Bolivia | Brazil | Chile | Paraguay | Uruguay |
|--|------------------|----------------|---------------|---------------|-----------------|----------------|
| Male | | | | | | |
| Professional qualification | 8.1 | 2.5 | 8.2 | 2.8 | 2.3 | 6.6 |
| Technical professional | 15.1 | 6.2 | 14.0 | 8.7 | 6.9 | 14.4 |
| Operative Qualification | 55.5 | 70.3 | 64.3 | 65.7 | 70.3 | 58.0 |
| Non qualified | 14.6 | 15.4 | 8.9 | 15.9 | 12.9 | 13.7 |
| Insufficient information | 3.0 | 2.0 | 1.8 | 3.4 | 3.3 | 3.5 |
| Ignored qualification | 3.8 | 3.6 | 2.8 | 3.5 | 4.3 | 3.7 |
| Total (%) | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Total absolute | 6,472,494 | 63,932 | 8,225 | 57,843 | 62,275 | 34,581 |
| Female | | | | | | |
| Professional qualification | 8.8 | 1.6 | 7.5 | 2.4 | 1.5 | 6.3 |
| Technical professional | 25.1 | 8.8 | 18.5 | 12.5 | 7.3 | 18.2 |
| Operative Qualification | 32.4 | 37.7 | 42.5 | 27.9 | 19.3 | 34.5 |
| Non qualified | 28.0 | 45.0 | 23.2 | 51.0 | 66.4 | 34.9 |
| Insufficient information | 1.3 | 1.2 | 3.0 | 1.5 | 1.4 | 1.6 |
| Ignored qualification | 4.5 | 5.7 | 5.3 | 4.7 | 4.0 | 4.5 |
| Total (%) | 100,0 | 100,0 | 100,0 | 100,0 | 100,0 | 100,0 |
| Total absolute | 3,875,482 | 33,692 | 5,409 | 32,285 | 58,829 | 21,182 |

Source: INDEC (2005) Demographic Census 2001

Table 4
Argentina. Immigrants born in Latin American's Southern Cone Countries in qualified occupation*, by gender, country of birth and period they took up residence in Argentina (%). 2001

| Gender and country of birth | Before 1970 | 1970-79 | 1980-89 | 1990-2000 | % qualified occupied total occupied in 2001 | Total occupied by country of birth (100%) |
|------------------------------------|--------------------|----------------|----------------|------------------|--|--|
| Male | | | | | | |
| Bolivia | 15.1 | 12.1 | 9.2 | 5.1 | 8.8 | 63,932 |
| Brazil | 15.7 | 14.6 | 22.8 | 39.1 | 22.2 | 8,225 |
| Chile | 11.2 | 12.2 | 9.5 | 17.3 | 11.5 | 57,843 |
| Paraguay | 15.3 | 10.5 | 6.6 | 4.3 | 9.2 | 62,275 |
| Uruguay | 32.0 | 22.4 | 16.4 | 21.9 | 21.0 | 34,581 |
| Female | | | | | | |
| Bolivia | 18.5 | 15.9 | 11.4 | 5.3 | 10.4 | 33,692 |
| Brazil | 17.2 | 21.6 | 30.6 | 33.5 | 26.0 | 5,409 |
| Chile | 16.3 | 16.6 | 12.0 | 12.8 | 14.9 | 32,285 |
| Paraguay | 19.0 | 12.3 | 7.0 | 2.9 | 8.9 | 58,829 |
| Uruguay | 36.7 | 27.4 | 18.1 | 21.1 | 24.5 | 21,182 |

Source: INDEC (2005) Demographic Census 2001

*Qualified occupied: occupied in occupation with Professional & Technical qualification

Table 5
Brazil. Workers by gender, occupational group and country of birth, (%). 2000

| Gender & occupational groups | Brazil | Argentina | Bolivia | Chile | Paraguay | Uruguay |
|---|-------------------|------------------|----------------|--------------|-----------------|----------------|
| Male | | | | | | |
| High-ranking civil servants, leaders of public interest organizations and companies, and managers | 4.6 | 20.4 | 6.9 | 14.0 | 5.5 | 14.6 |
| Science and art professionals | 4.5 | 24.6 | 27.2 | 23.3 | 8.3 | 14.5 |
| Medium level technicians | 6.3 | 13.7 | 6.6 | 18.8 | 6.2 | 12.4 |
| Administrative service workers | 5.4 | 3.4 | 1.8 | 4.1 | 2.5 | 2.7 |
| Service sector workers, salesmen in stores and markets | 20.3 | 13.9 | 11.2 | 12.1 | 16.7 | 20.5 |
| Farming, forest, hunting and fishing workers | 22.2 | 3.1 | 5.5 | 1.3 | 19.2 | 7.4 |
| Production of industrial goods and service workers | 30.1 | 15.0 | 35.3 | 17.3 | 35.6 | 20.2 |
| Other occupations | 5.1 | 1.9 | 3.3 | 6.2 | 4.6 | 5.3 |
| Occupations badly specified | 1.6 | 3.9 | 2.4 | 3.0 | 1.5 | 2.4 |
| Total (%) | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Total absolute | 40,655,080 | 11,024 | 8,132 | 8,195 | 7,876 | 9,513 |
| Female | | | | | | |
| High-ranking civil servants, leaders of public interest organizations and companies, and managers | 3.5 | 13.1 | 5.4 | 10.0 | 3.4 | 9.3 |
| Science and art professionals | 7.9 | 31.6 | 16.0 | 34.6 | 7.5 | 20.3 |
| Medium level technicians | 10.4 | 8.6 | 5.3 | 16.7 | 4.2 | 9.8 |
| Administrative service workers | 12.8 | 9.4 | 4.2 | 9.9 | 4.6 | 10.5 |
| Service sector workers, salesmen in stores and markets | 44.9 | 24.3 | 35.7 | 21.4 | 60.4 | 38.7 |
| Farming, forest, hunting and fishing workers | 10.1 | 2.8 | 2.1 | 0.3 | 8.3 | 1.9 |
| Production of industrial goods and service workers | 9.1 | 7.4 | 30.4 | 6.6 | 10.7 | 7.2 |
| Other occupations | 0.2 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.4 | 0.4 |
| Occupations badly specified | 1.1 | 2.8 | 1.0 | 0.5 | 0.4 | 2.0 |
| Total (%) | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Total | 24,691,611 | 4,396 | 3,683 | 3,281 | 4,445 | 4,644 |

Source: IBGE (2004) Demographic Census 2000

Table 6
Brazil. Immigrants born in Latin American's Southern Cone Countries in qualified occupation*, by gender, country of birth and period they took up residence in Brazil (%). 2000

| Gender and country of birth | Before 1970 | 1970-79 | 1980-89 | 1990-2000 | % qualified occupied total occupied in 2000 | Total occupied by country of birth (100%) |
|------------------------------------|--------------------|----------------|----------------|------------------|--|--|
| Male | | | | | | |
| Argentina | 58.9 | 61.2 | 54.6 | 60.4 | 58.8 | 11,023 |
| Bolivia | 58.2 | 59.2 | 37.9 | 21.0 | 40.6 | 8,132 |
| Chile | 55.3 | 64.1 | 48.2 | 41.1 | 56.1 | 8,196 |
| Paraguay | 18.7 | 29.4 | 18.4 | 15.3 | 20.0 | 7,877 |
| Uruguay | 45.8 | 55.8 | 34.8 | 30.3 | 41.5 | 9,514 |
| Female | | | | | | |
| Argentina | 46.0 | 59.0 | 55.6 | 48.7 | 53.3 | 4,397 |
| Bolivia | 49.4 | 37.2 | 21.6 | 14.5 | 26.7 | 3,682 |
| Chile | 57.8 | 64.0 | 52.9 | 76.8 | 61.3 | 3,280 |
| Paraguay | 26.5 | 16.7 | 11.1 | 12.2 | 15.1 | 4,443 |
| Uruguay | 37.2 | 49.5 | 35.3 | 30.6 | 39.4 | 4,644 |

Source: IBGE (2004) Demographic Census 2000

*Qualified occupied: high-ranking civil servants, leaders of public interest organizations and companies, and managers; science and art professionals and medium level technicians.

Table 7
Argentina. Male Born in Latin American's Southern Cone with High Level of Education
by Occupational Group and Country of Birth (%). 2001

| Occupational Group | Average educational requirements of the occupational group (years of study) | Country of Birth | | | | | |
|--|---|--------------------------|--------------|------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| | | Argentina (non migrants) | Bolivia | Brazil | Chile | Paraguay | Uruguay |
| Health and Sanity | 10 - 18 | 17.2 | 38.5 | 9.9 | 10.2 | 30.1 | 14.7 |
| Administrative. Legal. Accountancy and Financial | 10 - 16 | 26.0 | 8.0 | 12.9 | 14.0 | 18.4 | 18.2 |
| Small and Medium Private Companies Directive and Manager | 7 - 15 | 13.4 | 6.0 | 14.8 | 12.7 | 11.6 | 13.2 |
| Big Private Companies Directive and Manager | 11 - 18 | 4.2 | 2.8 | 20.7 | 9.0 | 3.9 | 8.4 |
| Building and Infrastructure | 4 - 12 | 6.0 | 9.9 | 4.0 | 7.8 | 6.3 | 4.8 |
| Commercialization | 7 - 14 | 5.1 | 4.2 | 5.4 | 7.7 | 4.3 | 7.0 |
| Education | 13 - 17 | 7.2 | 4.8 | 5.4 | 6.4 | 5.6 | 5.7 |
| Other Basic Social Services | 10 - 17 | 4.4 | 2.5 | 6.4 | 5.7 | 4.8 | 6.8 |
| Industrial and Handicraft Production | 5 - 12 | 2.6 | 7.0 | 3.3 | 4.5 | 2.7 | 3.5 |
| Software Production | 14 - 18 | 1.8 | 1.4 | 1.9 | 1.1 | 1.2 | 2.6 |
| Scientific Research | 13 - 18 | 0.2 | 1.3 | 1.9 | 2.1 | 1.1 | 1.7 |
| Transport & Storage | 6 - 12 | 0.6 | 1.8 | 0.2 | 1.7 | 1.0 | 1.8 |
| Installation and Maintenance of Machinery, Equipment and Systems | 7 - 14 | 0.8 | 0.9 | 1.0 | 2.0 | 0.3 | 1.3 |
| Other Services | 5 - 12 | 0.5 | 0.9 | 1.9 | 1.2 | 0.7 | 1.2 |
| Extractive Production | 6 - 14 | 0.4 | 1.1 | 1.0 | 2.4 | 0.2 | 0.3 |
| Public Institutions and Social Organizations Directive | 12 - 17 | 1.4 | 0.6 | 0.7 | 1.3 | 1.7 | 0.6 |
| Repairing consumers goods | 6 - 12 | 0.2 | 1.4 | 0.2 | 1.1 | 0.9 | 0.9 |
| Agriculture production | 3 - 9 | 0.7 | 1.2 | 0.3 | 1.1 | 0.4 | 0.5 |
| Domestic and Non Domestic Cleaning | 4 - 10 | 0.1 | 0.8 | 0.2 | 0.9 | 0.8 | 0.8 |
| Gastronomy and Tourism | 5 - 12 | 0.2 | 0.7 | 0.7 | 0.7 | 0.3 | 0.5 |
| Other | | | 1.6 | 3.0 | 2.2 | 1.7 | 1.8 |
| Ignored character | | 2.5 | 2.5 | 4.2 | 4.0 | 2.2 | 3.7 |
| Total (%) | | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Total (absolute) | | 469,578 | 1,591 | 575 | 1,660 | 1,054 | 1,739 |

Source: INDEC (2005) Demographic Census 2001

Table 8
Argentina. Female Born in Latin American's Southern Cone with High Level of Education by Occupational Group and Country of Birth (%). 2001

| Occupational Group | Average educational requirements of the occupational group (years of study) | Country of Birth | | | | | |
|--|---|--------------------------|------------|------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| | | Argentina (non migrants) | Bolivia | Brazil | Chile | Paraguay | Uruguay |
| Health and Sanity | 10 - 18 | 24.6 | 40.3 | 12.4 | 23.8 | 30.0 | 30.0 |
| Administrative. Legal. Accountancy and Financial Education | 10 - 16 | 26.2 | 10.6 | 16.2 | 18.2 | 18.1 | 23.9 |
| Commercialization | 13 - 17 | 19.9 | 7.7 | 29.6 | 17.8 | 9.2 | 12.1 |
| Small and Medium Private Companies Directive and Manager | 7 - 14 | 4.5 | 8.9 | 6.7 | 8.1 | 4.9 | 6.2 |
| Domestic and Non Domestic Cleaning | 7 - 15 | 6.6 | 5.5 | 8.8 | 5.6 | 8.4 | 6.3 |
| Other Basic Social Services | 4 - 10 | 0.1 | 7.4 | 1.3 | 3.6 | 15.6 | 1.6 |
| Industrial and Handicraft Production | 10 - 17 | 4.3 | 4.5 | 5.2 | 6.7 | 3.2 | 4.6 |
| Scientific Research | 5 - 12 | 1.5 | 5.0 | 2.8 | 3.2 | 1.7 | 2.2 |
| Big Private Companies Directive and Manager | 13 - 18 | 2.7 | 1.1 | 2.8 | 2.1 | 1.4 | 2.4 |
| Other Services | 11 - 18 | 1.1 | 0.8 | 2.3 | 2.1 | 1.0 | 1.8 |
| Building and Infrastructure | 5 - 12 | 0.4 | 0.7 | 4.1 | 1.6 | 0.7 | 1.0 |
| Software Production | 4 - 12 | 2.1 | 1.2 | 1.5 | 1.1 | 1.2 | 1.6 |
| Public Institutions and Social Organizations Directive | 14 - 18 | 1.2 | 1.5 | 1.0 | 0.4 | 0.4 | 1.8 |
| Gastronomy and Tourism | 12 - 17 | 1.4 | 0.8 | 0.8 | 0.8 | 1.5 | 0.6 |
| Other | 5 - 12 | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.8 | 1.1 | 0.2 | 0.6 |
| Ignored character | | 1.6 | 1.5 | 1.1 | 1.5 | 0.8 | 0.9 |
| Total (%) | | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Total (absolute) | | 418,684 | 739 | 611 | 1,217 | 1,037 | 1,512 |

Source: INDEC (2005) Demographic Census 2001

Table 9
Argentina. Migrant Born in Bolivia with High Level of Education by Gender, Occupational Group and Contribution for retirement (%). 2001

| Gender and Occupational Group | Contribution for retirement | | | | Total |
|--|-----------------------------|------------------------|--|----------------------|--------------|
| | Deduct by the Employer | Voluntary contribution | Not deduct By the employer nor contributes voluntary | Don't receive salary | |
| Male | | | | | |
| Health and Sanity | 61.3 | 25.4 | 13.2 | 0.0 | 613 |
| Building and Infrastructure | 32.3 | 27.2 | 39.9 | 0.6 | 158 |
| Administrative. Legal. Accountancy and Financial | 50.0 | 24.2 | 25.0 | 0.8 | 128 |
| Industrial and Handicraft Production | 41.4 | 6.3 | 51.4 | 0.9 | 111 |
| Small and Medium Private Companies Directive and Manager | 13.7 | 60.0 | 26.3 | 0.0 | 95 |
| Education | 81.8 | 2.6 | 15.6 | 0.0 | 77 |
| Commercialization | 20.9 | 23.9 | 49.3 | 6.0 | 66 |
| Total (Including another occupational groups) | 50.7 | 23.2 | 25.3 | 0.8 | 1,591 |
| Female | | | | | |
| Health and Sanity | 63.8 | 17.4 | 17.4 | 1.3 | 298 |
| Administrative. Legal. Accountancy and Financial | 61.5 | 24.4 | 14.1 | 0.0 | 78 |
| Commercialization | 24.2 | 21.2 | 50.0 | 4.5 | 66 |
| Education | 77.2 | 12.3 | 10.5 | 0.0 | 57 |
| Domestic and Non Domestic Cleaning | 23.6 | 3.6 | 72.7 | 0.0 | 55 |
| Total (Including another occupational groups) | 51.4 | 18.7 | 28.3 | 1.6 | 739 |

Source: INDEC (2005) Demographic Census 2001

Table 10
Argentina. Migrant Born in Brazil with High Level of Education by Gender, Occupational Group and Contribution for retirement (%). 2001

| Gender and Occupational Group | Contribution for retirement | | | | Total |
|--|-----------------------------|------------------------|--|----------------------|------------|
| | Deduct by the Employer | Voluntary contribution | Not deduct By the employer nor contributes voluntary | Don't receive salary | |
| Male | | | | | |
| Big Private Companies Directive and Manager | 83.2 | 13.4 | 3.4 | 0.0 | 119 |
| Small and Medium Private Companies Directive and Manager | 34.1 | 54.1 | 11.8 | 0.0 | 85 |
| Administrative. Legal. Accountancy and Financial | 64.9 | 21.6 | 12.2 | 1.4 | 74 |
| Health and Sanity | 50.9 | 40.4 | 8.8 | 0.0 | 57 |
| Total (Including another occupational groups) | 58.3 | 25.4 | 15.1 | 1.2 | 575 |
| Female | | | | | |
| Education | 53.0 | 19.9 | 26.5 | 0.6 | 181 |
| Administrative. Legal. Accountancy and Financial | 69.7 | 12.1 | 16.2 | 2.0 | 99 |
| Health and Sanity | 39.5 | 32.9 | 27.6 | 0.0 | 76 |
| Small and Medium Private Companies Directive and Manager | 7.4 | 70.4 | 22.2 | 0.0 | 54 |
| Total (Including another occupational groups) | 46.3 | 25.2 | 27.2 | 1.3 | 611 |

Source: INDEC (2005) Demographic Census 2001

Table 11
Argentina. Migrant Born in Chile with High Level of Education by Gender, Occupational Group and Contribution for retirement (%). 2001

| Gender and Occupational Group | Contribution for retirement | | | | Total |
|--|-----------------------------|------------------------|--|----------------------|--------------|
| | Deduct by the Employer | Voluntary contribution | Not deduct By the employer nor contributes voluntary | Don't receive salary | |
| Male | | | | | |
| Administrative. Legal. Accountancy and Financial | 63.8 | 25.0 | 11.2 | 0.0 | 232 |
| Small and Medium Private Companies Directive and Manager | 24.3 | 49.5 | 26.2 | 0.0 | 210 |
| Health and Sanity | 49.4 | 39.4 | 11.2 | 0.0 | 170 |
| Big Private Companies Directive and Manager | 83.3 | 14.0 | 2.7 | 0.0 | 150 |
| Building and Infrastructure | 35.4 | 24.6 | 40.0 | 0.0 | 130 |
| Commercialization | 39.1 | 23.4 | 35.2 | 2.3 | 128 |
| Education | 78.5 | 9.3 | 11.2 | 0.9 | 107 |
| Other Basic Social Services | 47.9 | 29.8 | 21.3 | 1.1 | 94 |
| Industrial and Handicraft Production | 48.0 | 20.0 | 32.0 | 0.0 | 75 |
| Total (Including another occupational groups) | 53.5 | 25.4 | 20.8 | 0.4 | 1,660 |
| Female | | | | | |
| Health and Sanity | 65.2 | 17.2 | 17.6 | 0.0 | 290 |
| Administrative. Legal. Accountancy and Financial | 62.2 | 20.7 | 16.2 | 0.9 | 222 |
| Education | 79.7 | 6.0 | 13.4 | 0.9 | 217 |
| Commercialization | 33.3 | 24.2 | 36.4 | 6.1 | 99 |
| Other Basic Social Services | 58.5 | 20.7 | 19.5 | 1.2 | 82 |
| Small and Medium Private Companies Directive and Manager | 5.9 | 61.8 | 32.4 | 0.0 | 68 |
| Total (Including another occupational groups) | 57.1 | 18.3 | 23.0 | 1.6 | 1,217 |

Source: INDEC (2005) Demographic Census 2001

Table 12
Argentina. Male Born in Paraguay with High Level of Education by Occupational Group and Contribution for retirement (%). 2001

| Gender and Occupational Group | Contribution for retirement | | | | Total |
|--|-----------------------------|------------------------|--|----------------------|--------------|
| | Deduct by the Employer | Voluntary contribution | Not deduct By the employer nor contributes voluntary | Don't receive salary | |
| Male | | | | | |
| Health and Sanity | 55.5 | 35.3 | 8.8 | 0.3 | 317 |
| Administrative. Legal. Accountancy and Financial | 50.5 | 33.5 | 15.5 | 0.5 | 194 |
| Small and Medium Private Companies Directive and Manager | 5.7 | 74.6 | 19.7 | 0.0 | 122 |
| Building and Infrastructure | 31.8 | 39.4 | 25.8 | 3.0 | 66 |
| Education | 78.0 | 6.8 | 15.3 | 0.0 | 59 |
| Other Basic Social Services | 41.2 | 37.3 | 19.6 | 2.0 | 51 |
| Total (Including another occupational groups) | 48.8 | 33.8 | 16.8 | 0.7 | 1,054 |
| Female | | | | | |
| Health and Sanity | 55.3 | 31.8 | 12.9 | 0.0 | 311 |
| Administrative. Legal. Accountancy and Financial | 51.1 | 30.9 | 17.6 | 0.5 | 188 |
| Domestic and Non Domestic Cleaning | 33.3 | 3.1 | 63.6 | 0.0 | 162 |
| Education | 84.2 | 2.1 | 12.6 | 1.1 | 95 |
| Small and Medium Private Companies Directive and Manager | 4.6 | 80.5 | 13.8 | 1.1 | 87 |
| Commercialization | 31.4 | 31.4 | 25.5 | 11.8 | 51 |
| Total (Including another occupational groups) | 49.6 | 25.7 | 23.6 | 1.1 | 1,037 |

Source: INDEC (2005) Demographic Census 2001

Table 13
Argentina. Male Born in Uruguay with High Level of Education by Occupational Group and
Contribution for retirement (%). 2001

| Gender and Occupational Group | Contribution for retirement | | | | Total |
|--|-----------------------------|------------------------|--|----------------------|--------------|
| | Deduct by the Employer | Voluntary contribution | Not deduct By the employer nor contributes voluntary | Don't receive salary | |
| Male | | | | | |
| Administrative. Legal. Accountancy and Financial | 51.1 | 36.9 | 11.0 | 0.9 | 317 |
| Health and Sanity | 45.1 | 48.2 | 6.3 | 0.4 | 255 |
| Small and Medium Private Companies Directive and Manager | 16.2 | 69.9 | 14.0 | 0.0 | 229 |
| Big Private Companies Directive and Manager | 77.4 | 19.9 | 2.7 | 0.0 | 146 |
| Commercialization | 56.2 | 27.3 | 15.7 | 0.8 | 121 |
| Other Basic Social Services | 39.8 | 43.2 | 16.1 | 0.8 | 118 |
| Education | 75.8 | 12.1 | 12.1 | 0.0 | 99 |
| Building and Infrastructure | 23.8 | 48.8 | 26.2 | 1.2 | 84 |
| Industrial and Handicraft Production | 52.3 | 24.6 | 20.0 | 3.1 | 61 |
| Total (Including another occupational groups) | 48.6 | 37.6 | 13.1 | 0.7 | 1,739 |
| Female | | | | | |
| Health and Sanity | 44.1 | 37.0 | 18.7 | 0.2 | 454 |
| Administrative. Legal. Accountancy and Financial | 57.2 | 29.0 | 13.0 | 0.8 | 362 |
| Education | 73.8 | 10.4 | 14.8 | 1.1 | 183 |
| Small and Medium Private Companies Directive and Manager | 11.6 | 73.7 | 14.7 | 0.0 | 95 |
| Commercialization | 58.5 | 17.0 | 20.2 | 4.3 | 94 |
| Other Basic Social Services | 44.9 | 40.6 | 13.0 | 1.4 | 69 |
| Total (Including another occupational groups) | 51.3 | 30.4 | 17.3 | 1.1 | 1,512 |

Source: INDEC (2005) Demographic Census 2001

Table 14
Brazil. Male Born in Latin American's Southern Cone with High Level of Education by Country of Birth and Occupational Group (%). 2000

| Occupational Group | Average educational requirements of the occupational group (years of study) | Country of Birth | | | | |
|--|---|------------------|---------|-------|----------|---------|
| | | Argentina | Bolivia | Chile | Paraguay | Uruguay |
| Professionals of biological sciences, health and similar | 13 - 18 | 6.3 | 50.9 | 4.0 | 19.6 | 10.0 |
| Managers | 6 - 14 | 20.8 | 6.8 | 14.8 | 12.0 | 15.0 |
| Exact, Physical Science and engineering Professionals | 12 - 17 | 9.8 | 10.9 | 13.7 | 6.9 | 12.9 |
| Education Professionals (with formation at a superior level) | 12 - 17 | 11.5 | 5.4 | 10.4 | 13.0 | 9.0 |
| Company and organization directors (except those of public interest) | 8 - 16 | 10.3 | 2.0 | 4.2 | 5.1 | 8.4 |
| Communicators, artists and members of religious orders | 5 - 14 | 6.9 | 1.9 | 6.6 | 5.2 | 5.2 |
| Professionals of social & human sciences | 10 - 16 | 5.5 | 4.4 | 5.4 | 4.7 | 4.3 |
| Physical and Chemical Science & engineer Medium Level Technicians | 6 - 13 | 1.8 | 0.5 | 10.2 | 4.5 | 7.2 |
| Administrative Science Medium Level Technicians | 7 - 14 | 4.0 | 1.5 | 4.4 | 8.4 | 6.5 |
| Salesmen and trade service suppliers | 4 - 11 | 2.4 | 1.5 | 3.3 | 1.7 | 3.2 |
| Clerks | 8 - 13 | 3.6 | 0.9 | 3.1 | 2.8 | 1.1 |
| Service workers | 2 - 9 | 2.6 | 1.5 | 1.7 | 3.3 | 2.6 |
| Extractive industry and civil construction workers | 3 - 10 | 1.1 | 0.0 | 2.0 | 3.6 | 0.5 |
| Textile, tanning, and graphic arts industry workers | 7 - 14 | 0.2 | 1.8 | 1.5 | 1.6 | 1.1 |
| Lay & medium level professors* | 9 - 14 | 0.8 | 0.4 | 1.3 | 1.0 | 1.8 |
| Other occupational groups | | 12.2 | 9.7 | 13.5 | 6.4 | 11.2 |
| Total (%) | | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Total (abs.) | | 3,663 | 2,391 | 3,116 | 866 | 1,863 |

* Teachers of middle level in child education, primary education, of trades and at free schools; teachers without certificate for child education, elementary education, trades and at free schools; instructors and teachers of free schools; inspectors of students and similar.

Source: IBGE (2004) Demographic Census 2000

Table 15
Brazil. Female Born in Latin American's Southern Cone with High Level of Education by
Country of Birth and Occupational Group (%). 2000

| Occupational Group | Average educational requirements of the occupational group (years of study) | Country of Birth | | | | |
|--|---|------------------|---------|-------|----------|---------|
| | | Argentina | Bolivia | Chile | Paraguay | Uruguay |
| Education Professionals (with formation at a superior level) | 12 - 17 | 23.1 | 14.5 | 29.2 | 14.8 | 21.3 |
| Professionals of biological sciences, health and similar | 13 - 18 | 11.2 | 30.7 | 9.8 | 23.1 | 16.5 |
| Managers | 6 - 14 | 13.5 | 10.4 | 9.9 | 0.0 | 8.4 |
| Professionals of social & human sciences | 10 - 16 | 7.8 | 8.0 | 13.0 | 0.0 | 7.2 |
| Salesmen and trade service suppliers | 4 - 11 | 4.3 | 6.9 | 4.3 | 5.3 | 5.5 |
| Service workers | 2 - 9 | 2.9 | 4.9 | 3.5 | 18.4 | 4.0 |
| Clerks | 8 - 13 | 5.4 | 5.9 | 2.9 | 3.2 | 5.1 |
| Communicators, artists and members of religious orders | 5 - 14 | 6.3 | 2.7 | 1.9 | 1.9 | 5.0 |
| Professional of Physical and Chemical Science & engineer | 12 - 17 | 2.9 | 4.4 | 3.0 | 5.6 | 4.9 |
| Lay & medium level professors* | 9 - 14 | 3.6 | 0.0 | 3.1 | 7.5 | 3.7 |
| Company and organization directors (except those of public interest) | 8 - 16 | 2.9 | 2.7 | 0.0 | 3.4 | 6.3 |
| Exact, Physical Science and engineering Professionals | 12 - 17 | 3.7 | 0.6 | 3.0 | 3.2 | 1.5 |
| Public attention workers | | 2.5 | 1.5 | 2.1 | 1.9 | 2.5 |
| Legal Sciences Professionals | 14 - 17 | 1.2 | 1.4 | 2.9 | 1.9 | 1.6 |
| Textile, tanning, and graphic arts industry workers | 3 - 10 | 0.4 | 4.3 | 1.2 | 0.0 | 3.4 |
| Administrative Science Medium Level Technicians | 7 - 14 | 0.4 | 1.1 | 2.8 | 4.4 | 0.6 |
| Physical and Chemical Science & engineer Medium Level Technicians | 6 - 13 | 2.3 | 0.0 | 2.7 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| Other occupational groups | | 5.6 | 0.0 | 4.7 | 5.3 | 2.4 |
| Total (%) | | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Total (abs.) | | 1,801 | 792 | 1,289 | 412 | 1,173 |

* Teachers of middle level in child education, primary education, of trades and at free schools; teachers without certificate for child education, elementary education, trades and at free schools; instructors and teachers of free schools; inspectors of students and similar.

Source: IBGE (2004) Demographic Census 2000

Table 16
Brazil. Male Born in Argentina with High Level of Education by Occupational Group and Category in Employment (%). 2000

| Occupational Group | Registered Employee | Non Registered Employee | Employer | Own-account worker | Total |
|--|----------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|--------------|
| Managers | 41.2 | 13.5 | 34.8 | 10.5 | 791 |
| Education Professionals (with formation at a superior level) | 53.2 | 37.2 | 0.0 | 9.6 | 457 |
| Exact, Physical Science and engineering Professionals | 29.0 | 14.6 | 16.6 | 39.8 | 397 |
| Company and organization directors (except those of public interest) | 48.1 | 2.6 | 49.4 | 0.0 | 391 |
| Communicators, artists and members of religious orders | 11.2 | 23.1 | 4.0 | 61.7 | 277 |
| Professionals of biological sciences, health and similar | 35.4 | 5.3 | 32.5 | 26.7 | 243 |
| Professionals of social & human sciences | 49.8 | 4.0 | 5.4 | 40.8 | 223 |
| Administrative Science Medium Level Technicians | | 17.2 | 0.0 | 29.6 | 169 |
| Clerks | 68.8 | 31.3 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 144 |
| Salesmen and trade service suppliers | 15.8 | 0.0 | 6.8 | 77.4 | 133 |
| Service workers | 11.0 | 27.1 | 0.0 | 55.1 | 118 |
| Physical and Chemical Science & engineer Medium Level Technicians | 38.9 | 18.9 | 0.0 | 42.1 | 95 |
| Legal Sciences Professionals | 24.5 | 0.0 | 14.3 | 61.2 | 50 |
| Total (Including another occupational groups) | 37.4 | 15.9 | 19.4 | 26.9 | 4,056 |

Source: IBGE (2004) Demographic Census 2000

Table 17
Brazil. Female Born in Argentina with High Level of Education by Occupational Group and Category in Employment (%). 2000

| Occupational Group | Registered Employee | Non Registered Employee | Employer | Own-account worker | Total |
|--|----------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|--------------|
| Education Professionals (with formation at a superior level) | 58.7 | 27.0 | 0.0 | 13.1 | 426 |
| Managers | 36.6 | 5.9 | 48.0 | 9.4 | 254 |
| Professionals of biological sciences, health and similar | 22.2 | 13.1 | 17.6 | 47.1 | 221 |
| Professionals of social & human sciences | 23.6 | 6.4 | 0.0 | 70.0 | 140 |
| Communicators, artists and members of religious orders | 25.4 | 10.0 | 0.0 | 58.5 | 130 |
| Clerks | 71.1 | 19.6 | 0.0 | 9.3 | 97 |
| Salesmen and trade service suppliers | 0.0 | 28.6 | 0.0 | 71.4 | 77 |
| Lay & medium level professors* | 17.8 | 45.2 | 0.0 | 37.0 | 73 |
| Exact, Physical Science and engineering Professionals | 36.4 | 10.6 | 0.0 | 53.0 | 66 |
| Service workers | 0.0 | 14.5 | 0.0 | 85.5 | 62 |
| Company and organization directors (except those of public interest) | 27.9 | 0.0 | 72.1 | 0.0 | 61 |
| Administrative Science Medium Level Technicians | 18.9 | 32.1 | 0.0 | 49.1 | 53 |
| Total (Including another occupational groups) | 34.9 | 17.6 | 10.7 | 35.7 | 1,911 |

* Teachers of middle level in child education, primary education, of trades and at free schools; teachers without certificate for child education, elementary education, trades and at free schools; instructors and teachers of free schools; inspectors of students and similar.

Source: IBGE (2004) Demographic Census 2000

Table 18
Brazil. Male Born in Bolivia with High Level of Education by Occupational Group and Category in Employment (%). 2000

| Occupational Group | Registered Employee | Non Registered Employee | Employer | Own-account worker | Total |
|--|----------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|--------------|
| Professionals of biological sciences, health and similar | 27.1 | 26.7 | 9.8 | 35.7 | 1371 |
| Exact, Physical Science and engineering Professionals | 39.1 | 12.5 | 6.9 | 41.5 | 289 |
| Managers | 34.1 | 14.7 | 27.1 | 24.1 | 170 |
| Education Professionals (with formation at a superior level) | 66.7 | 22.5 | 0.0 | 10.9 | 129 |
| Professionals of social & human sciences | 35.7 | 9.6 | 0.0 | 54.8 | 115 |
| Administrative Science Medium Level Technicians | 20.7 | 39.7 | 0.0 | 39.7 | 58 |
| Textile, tanning, and graphic arts industry workers | 0.0 | 13.0 | 0.0 | 87.0 | 54 |
| Communicators, artists and members of religious orders | 0.0 | 18.9 | 0.0 | 81.1 | 53 |
| Company and organization directors (except those of public interest) | 17.6 | 41.2 | 41.2 | 0.0 | 51 |
| Total (Including another occupational groups) | 30.0 | 23.4 | 9.8 | 36.5 | 2,705 |

Source: IBGE (2004) Demographic Census 2000

Table 19
Brazil. Female Born in Bolivia with High Level of Education by Occupational Group and Category in Employment (%). 2000

| Occupational Group | Registered Employee | Non Registered Employee | Employer | Own-account worker | Total |
|--|----------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|---------------|
| Professionals of biological sciences, health and similar | 55.1 | 13.2 | 9.8 | 21.9 | 265 |
| Education Professionals (with formation at a superior level) | 30.0 | 44.2 | 0.0 | 25.8 | 120 |
| Managers | 16.7 | 0.0 | 62.2 | 21.1 | 90 |
| Professionals of social & human sciences | 0.0 | 69.4 | 0.0 | 22.6 | 62* |
| Salesmen and trade service suppliers | 18.2 | 40.0 | 0.0 | 21.8 | 55** |
| Total (Including another occupational groups) | 31.2 | 20.7 | 12.4 | 27.1 | 828*** |

*Also includes 8% of non waged trainee **Also includes 20% of non waged household workers

***Also includes 3.5% of non waged trainee and 2.7% non waged household workers

Source: IBGE (2004) Demographic Census 2000

Table 20
Brazil. Male Born in Chile with High Level of Education by Occupational Group and Category in Employment (%). 2000

| Occupational Group | Registered Employee | Non Registered Employee | Employer | Own-account worker | Total |
|--|----------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|--------------|
| Managers | 61.8 | 2.7 | 10.2 | 25.3 | 482 |
| Exact, Physical Science and engineering Professionals | 48.4 | 18.7 | 18.3 | 14.6 | 481 |
| Education Professionals (with formation at a superior level) | 66.9 | 19.2 | 0.0 | 13.9 | 360 |
| Physical and Chemical Science & engineer Medium Level Technicians | 43.3 | 13.3 | 0.0 | 43.3 | 353 |
| Communicators, artists and members of religious orders | 5.6 | 18.1 | 7.4 | 61.4 | 215 |
| Professionals of social & human sciences | 50.9 | 24.0 | 0.0 | 25.1 | 167 |
| Company and organization directors (except those of public interest) | 32.1 | 11.4 | 56.4 | 0.0 | 140 |
| Administrative Science Medium Level Technicians | 14.0 | 39.0 | 0.0 | 47.1 | 136 |
| Professionals of biological sciences, health and similar | 26.4 | 16.0 | 8.0 | 49.6 | 125 |
| Salesmen and trade service suppliers | 10.8 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 89.2 | 102 |
| Clerks | 64.6 | 19.8 | 0.0 | 15.6 | 96 |
| Extractive industry and civil construction workers | 46.9 | 37.0 | 0.0 | 16.0 | 81 |
| Repairing and mechanic maintenance workers | 30.9 | 14.7 | 0.0 | 54.4 | 68 |
| Service workers | 24.5 | 17.0 | 0.0 | 47.2 | 53* |
| Total (Including another occupational groups) | 43.3 | 14.8 | 8.7 | 32.5 | 3,349 |

* Also includes 11.3% of registered domestics workers
Source: IBGE (2004) Demographic Census 2000

Table 21
Brazil. Female Born in Chile with High Level of Education by Occupational Group and Category in Employment (%). 2000

| Occupational Group | Registered Employee | Non Registered Employee | Employer | Own-account worker | Total (absolute) |
|--|----------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|
| Education Professionals (with formation at a superior level) | 53.4 | 30.6 | 0.0 | 15.9 | 408 |
| Professionals of social & human sciences | 56.0 | 13.3 | 0.0 | 24.1 | 166 |
| Professionals of biological sciences, health and similar | 41.4 | 26.2 | 26.2 | 6.2 | 145 |
| Managers | 63.3 | 0.0 | 28.9 | 7.8 | 128 |
| Lay & medium level professors* | 44.6 | 21.5 | 0.0 | 33.8 | 65 |
| Service workers | 0.0 | 12.5 | 0.0 | 62.5 | 64* |
| Salesmen and trade service suppliers | 12.7 | 23.8 | 17.5 | 20.6 | 63** |
| Total (Including another occupational groups) | 50.2 | 19.3 | 8.6 | 17.2 | 1,402 |

* Teachers of middle level in child education, primary education, of trades and at free schools; teachers without certificate for child education, elementary education, trades and at free schools; instructors and teachers of free schools; inspectors of students and similar ** This category includes 25% of registered domestic worker *** Also includes 25.4% of non waged household worker
Source: IBGE (2004) Demographic Census 2000

Table 22
Brazil. Male Born in Paraguay with High Level of Education by Occupational Group and Category in Employment (%). 2000

| Occupational Group | Registered Employee | Non Registered Employee | Employer | Own-account worker | Total (absolute) |
|--|----------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|
| Professionals of biological sciences, health and similar | 32.3 | 30.1 | 10.8 | 26.9 | 186 |
| Education Professionals (with formation at a superior level) | 28.5 | 48.0 | 0.0 | 23.6 | 123 |
| Managers | 48.1 | 16.3 | 21.2 | 14.4 | 104 |
| Administrative Science Medium Level Technicians | 36.6 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 63.4 | 82 |
| Exact, Physical Science and engineering Professionals | 74.6 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 25.4 | 71 |
| Total (Including another occupational groups) | 27.3 | 27.8 | 10.1 | 34.8 | 911 |

Source: IBGE (2004) Demographic Census 2000

Table 23
Brazil. Female Born in Paraguay with High Level of Education by Occupational Group and Category in Employment (%). 2000

| Occupational Group | Registered Employee | Non Registered Employee | Employer | Own-account worker | Total (absolute) |
|--|----------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|
| Professionals of biological sciences, health and similar | 41.5 | 12.8 | 7.4 | 38.3 | 94 |
| Service workers | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 25.8 | 89* |
| Education Professionals (with formation at a superior level) | 21.1 | 56.3 | 0.0 | 22.5 | 71 |
| Total (Including another occupational groups) | 27.9 | 22.2 | 6.1 | 23.6 | 441* |

* Also includes 27% of registered domestic workers and 47.2% of non registered domestic workers ** Also includes 5.4% of registered domestic workers and 9.5% of non registered domestic Source: IBGE (2004) Demographic Census 2000

Table 24
Brazil. Male Born in Uruguay with High Level of Education by Occupational Group and Category in Employment (%). 2000

| Occupational Group | Registered Employee | Non Registered Employee | Employer | Own-account worker | Total (absolute) |
|--|----------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|
| Managers | 44.2 | 8.2 | 43.9 | 3.7 | 294 |
| Exact, Physical Science and engineering Professionals | 47.7 | 22.2 | 12.4 | 17.7 | 266 |
| Professionals of biological sciences, health and similar | 27.8 | 11.3 | 7.7 | 49.5 | 194 |
| Education Professionals (with formation at a superior level) | 62.5 | 37.5 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 168 |
| Company and organization directors (except those of public interest) | 10.8 | 0.0 | 89.2 | 0.0 | 158 |
| Physical and Chemical Science & engineer Medium Level Technicians | 28.1 | 23.7 | 0.0 | 39.3 | 135 |
| Administrative Science Medium Level Technicians | 8.3 | 25.6 | 0.0 | 66.2 | 133 |
| Communicators, artists and members of religious orders | 25.5 | 9.4 | 0.0 | 65.1 | 106 |
| Professionals of social & human sciences | 48.8 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 51.3 | 80 |
| Salesmen and trade service suppliers | 0.0 | 36.7 | 0.0 | 63.3 | 60 |
| Total (Including another occupational groups) | 34.4 | 20.4 | 17.2 | 26.6 | 1,955 |

Source: IBGE (2004) Demographic Census 2000

Table 25
Brazil. Female Born in Uruguay with High Level of Education by Occupational Group and Category in Employment (%). 2000

| Occupational Group | Registered Employee | Non Registered Employee | Employer | Own-account worker | Total (absolute) |
|--|----------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|
| Education Professionals (with formation at a superior level) | 62.5 | 34.2 | 0.0 | 3.3 | 272 |
| Professionals of biological sciences, health and similar | 44.6 | 13.0 | 8.8 | 33.7 | 193 |
| Managers | 49.5 | 0.0 | 50.5 | 0.0 | 99 |
| Professionals of social & human sciences | 26.2 | 19.0 | 16.7 | 38.1 | 84 |
| Company and organization directors (except those of public interest) | 48.6 | 14.9 | 36.5 | 0.0 | 74 |
| Clerks | 72.1 | 27.9 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 68 |
| Salesmen and trade service suppliers | 0.0 | 13.6 | 0.0 | 31.8 | 66* |
| Communicators, artists and members of religious orders | 0.0 | 22.0 | 11.9 | 66.1 | 59 |
| Administrative Science Medium Level Technicians | 34.5 | 25.9 | 0.0 | 39.7 | 58 |
| Total (Including another occupational groups) | 42.5 | 24.0 | 10.1 | 20.4 | 1,213** |

*Also includes 54.5% of non waged family workers **Also includes 3% of non waged family workers Source: IBGE (2004) Demographic Census 2000

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