Migrants in the Chilean Labour Market: A Story of Successful Integration?

Kirsten Sehnbruch, London School of Economics[1]

Mauricio Apablaza, Universidad del Desarrollo, Chile

Veronica Arriagada, Centre for Social Conflict and Cohesion, Chile

1. Introduction

In recent years, Chile has become one of the top 5 destination countries where migration has increased the most (United Nations, 2020): Just over one million migrants arrived in the last five years in a country with a total population of 19.1m. This is part of an increasing trend in South-South migration, which prompts questions as to how well these migrants integrate into local labour markets.

The theoretical and empirical literature on migrant integration into labour markets is generally based on industrialised countries (Hujo & Piper, 2007). However, the experience of migrants in developing countries is likely to be very different from what we have observed in the Global North: Large informal sectors shape labour markets, welfare states are incipient, as is the institutional infrastructure that helps migrants integrate into local labour markets (Fellini & Guetto, 2020). Also, the quality of available jobs in these countries is frequently so low that workers may be unable to achieve a minimal standard of living (Sehnbruch et al., 2020; Gonzalez et al, 2021).

Given the lack of micro data, many studies on migrants in the global South are based on case studies or qualitative evidence, which accounts for high levels of discrimination, racialisation and exploitation of migrant workers.[2] While this qualitative research provides valuable insights, it is crucial to analyse the integration of migrants at the macro level. This paper therefore attempts to contribute to the existing literature by asking how well migrants integrate into the Chilean labour market regarding *both* their participation and the quality of their employment. This approach brings together the literature on intraregional migration with the international literature on job quality.

This paper contributes to the existing literature in three ways: first, it uses detailed survey data – as opposed to case studies – to examine how well migrants are integrating into the Chilean labour market using a set of multidimensional indicators. Until now, this was not statistically possible as employment data did not capture enough cases of migrants to allow for a disaggregated analysis

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[2] For examples from Latin America, see Painter et al., 2019 and for case studies on Chile, see Leiva and Orellana, 2016; Madero and Mora, 2011; Mora and Undurraga, 2013; Ryburn, 2016; 2018; Stefoni, 2009; Stefoni et al., 2017.

(see section 4 below).[3] But as the sample size of migrants has increased, the labour market outcomes of migrants can be analysed in more detail and compared to those of the local population.

Second, this paper presents a measure of the labour market performance of migrants that is more nuanced than existing studies. In the international literature, migrant labour force integration is often examined by studying the employment rates and wages of migrants and how different factors influence these outcomes.[4] But this paper asks whether migrant workers are more deprived than local workers in terms of the quality of their jobs. In the global South, where widespread and high levels of informality characterise labour markets, a multidimensional perspective of labour market achievements and deprivations is crucial.

Third, by examining horizontal labour market inequalities (Stewart, 2008), this paper asks whether some of the findings and theoretical approaches that the literature on migration has established in the global North also hold in the global South. In particular, it will examine whether the relationship between the educational levels of migrants and their employment outcomes are similar, and whether the liberal institutional arrangements for immigration and employment in Chile have positively affected the integration process of migrants in the labour market.

To this end, the quality of employment (QoE) index, developed by Sehnbruch et al. (2020), is used to study employment deprivations of migrants compared to the local population. Such a measure highlights differences between traditional measures of labour market performance (such as employment rates and wage levels) and the more nuanced, multidimensional measure of QoE deprivation. In addition, such a synthetic measure is fundamental to then analysing which migrant characteristics determine employment outcomes, *something that cannot be done with a dashboard of individual indicators as presented in other studies* (Leschke and Watt, 2013). The results of this analysis show that, generally and despite qualitative evidence to the contrary, migrants in Chile have integrated remarkably well into the local labour market, especially considering that so many people arrived in such a short space of time. These results are broadly in line with other reports on the socioeconomic integration of migrants in Chile (Fuentes & Vergara, 2019; Lafortune & Tessada, 2016).

On this issue, the Chilean case has much to contribute to the migration literature as the data show how well migrants generally integrate into the labour markets of their destination countries when a liberal immigration regime links visas to the existence of a formal written employment contract.[5] These results are in line with studies that show that migration policies in the host country combine with the characteristics of both migrants and their countries of origin to influence the type of employment migrants can access (Beine et al, 2016). Even though, migration policies do not

[3] A previous study by Contreras et al. (2013) examines the period between 2006 and 2009, i.e. a period before the significant influx of migrants that began in 2014.

[4] See for example Clark & Lindley, 2009; Clark et al., 2019; Christl, Köppl-Turyna & Gnan, 2018; Felbo-Kolding, Leschke & Spreckelsen, 2019; Li, 2010, 2018; Li & Heath, 2020; Longhi, 2020. There are only few studies that addresses migrants performance in terms of occupational status and other qualitative aspects of employment (Fellini & Guetto, 2020; Kogan, 2011; Lindemann & Kogan, 2013; Takenoshita, 2013).

[5] Although ethnographic work (Ugarte, 2019) highlights the extremely complex relationship between employment and immigration status.

improve labour outcomes directly (Tani, 2020), some scholars argue greater access to social benefits may lead to better jobs (Ruhs, 2018; Shutes, 2016).

As ECLAC (2017) shows, Chile is not the only country in Latin America that has received such a sharp increase of migrants. As legislation on immigration in the region is generally liberal (Doña and Mullan, 2014), the results from this study are likely to be relevant for the region as a whole, particularly in countries such as Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay in the Southern Cone and Costa Rica, the Domincan Republic and Panama in Central America/the Caribbean, which have all transitioned to being upper middle or high income countries during the period studied, even though they still retain most of the institutional, social and labour market characteristics of non-industrialised nations.

To illustrate these points, this paper proceeds as follows: it first presents a brief literature review relevant to the subjects of migration and the quality of employment before presenting the context of migration in Chile, as well as discussing the data used in this analysis. Third, it presents the methodology put forward by Sehnbruch et al. (2020) to calculate an index of the quality of employment (QoE) deprivation that compares the migrant population to the local population before concluding by discussing the relevance of these results to other countries.

2. Labour market integration and the quality of employment in the literature

Since Piore's (1979) work on the integration of migrants in the labour market, much theoretical and empirical progress has been made in the study of labour market integration, of which Nandi and Platt (2020: 840) provide a comprehensive overview. Migration studies frequently focus on how the institutional arrangements of destination countries shape the 'success' of migrant integration into the labour markets of their destination countries (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Alba & Nee, 2003), on how human capital, skills and language shape this integration (Christl et a,., 2018; Heath & Brinbaum 2014), and on how discrimination based on nationality and/or ethnicity hinders it (Bean et al., 2011; Li and Heath, 2020; Heath and Cheung 2007).

This literature finds that migrants integrate into their host labour market differently depending on their country of origin and its development gap with the destination country; their level of education (and whether this education took place in the country of origin or destination); their level of work experience prior to arrival; the legality of their migration status; the ethnicity of migrants; and the skill permeability of the destination labour market. The gender of migrants also plays a role as does their ability to speak the local language.[6]

For example, Felbo-Kolding, Leschke and Spreckelsen (2018) provide evidence of a division of labour by region of origin, which leads to lower wages, regarding intra-EU immigrants in Germany, Denmark and the UK. Migrants from Western Europe find the best jobs, followed by Southern and Eastern European immigrants. These differences are related to the economic conditions of their countries of origin, which determines the reservation wage level of migrants. The greater the development gap with a migrant's country of origin, the lower the level of job quality that a migrant is likely to accept.

[6] Felbo-Kolding, Leschke and Spreckelsen, 2018; Heath and Cheung 2007; Heath and Brinbaum 2014; Kogan, 2011; Li and Heath, 2020; Portes and Rumbaut, 2001; Schrover et al., 2007.

While language fluency and education levels play a significant role in the labour market integration of migrants, most studies show that foreign education and experience achieve lower returns (e.g. Felbo-Kolding et al., 2018; Kogan, 2011). However, the literature also recognises that there is a substantial gap of unobserved characteristics when it comes to explaining the differential insertion of migrants into labour markets. Many studies suggest that ethnicity and discrimination significantly influence outcomes. In the UK, for instance, ethnic minorities face a heightened risk of unemployment and lower earnings, and confront significant 'ethnic penalties' in their labour outcomes (Clark and Lindley; 2009; Felbo-Kolding et al., 2018; Heath and Brinbaum 2014; Li and Heath, 2020). Research on other countries, such as the US and Germany, presents similar conclusions (Li, 2010; Felbo-Kolding et al., 2018; Kogan, 2011).

Inequalities in the achievements of local and migrant workers have thus been examined extensively, but most studies have focused on *labour market participation and the wage gap* between migrants and the local population, using wages as a proxy variable for employment conditions.[7] Even though the quantity of employment and wage levels are relevant issues when it comes to integrating migrant workers into a labour market, other characteristics of immigrants' jobs, such as job stability and employment conditions, are equally important (Muñoz de Bustillo et al., 2011; Kalleberg, 2018; Sehnbruch et al., 2020; Gonzalez et al., 2021).

More recently, some research has focused on the specifics of the employment conditions for migrants: for example, we know that migrants hold a higher proportion of temporary contracts, have scarce job security, face increased risks at the workplace and generally suffer from poorer working conditions (Felbo-Kolding et al., 2019; Fellini and Guetto, 2020). However, this literature usually refers to developed countries with a long-standing history of immigration, such as the United States and selected European Union countries. By contrast, the job quality of migrants in emerging economies has never been studied in a systematic way. Yet, the quality of employment is especially crucial for the immigrant population in developing countries as these generally do not have fully fledged welfare states (Huber & Oberdabernig, 2016;). For working-age migrants, therefore, access to social security and other key aspects associated with the quality of employment is a particularly important component of their economic and social rights (Guiraudon, 2000).

In the context of migrant employment outcomes, the literature on migration studies also frequently focuses on how the institutional arrangements of destination countries shape the integration of migrants (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001; Alba and Nee, 2003). The premise is that institutional variations affect the integration process of migrants, so that divergent institutions produce different integration processes, but there is no clear consensus as to which types of migration regimes produce which type of outcome (Guzi et al., 2018).

However, we know much less about intraregional migration between different Latin American countries and how this affects local labour markets, even though migration flows have increased very significantly in recent years. According to the UN (2020) 64% of immigration in Latin America is between countries within the region. Examples include Salvadorian and Guatemalan immigration to Costa Rica, Venezuelan immigration to Colombia, and Colombian, Peruvian, Haitian, Bolivian and Venezuelan immigration to Chile, Argentina and Uruguay. In particular, the socio-economic collapse of Venezuela in recent years has generated the largest diaspora ever seen in the Latin American region (UNHCR-IOM, 2021).

[7] See for example Friedberg, 2000; Nielsen et al., 2004; Clark and Lindley, 2009; and Felbo-Kolding, 2018.

One of the reasons for which the labour force integration of migrants is often not studied more comprehensively is that we lack comparable survey and administrative data from the region. For instance, ECLAC (2017) presents some census data from the Investigation of International Migration in Latin America (IMILA) database, but its employment data is limited to participation and unemployment rates, economic sectors and occupational groups. No study looks at the quality of employment of migrants in Latin America from a multidimensional perspective. Specifically, no study uses a composite index that permits the examination of multiple employment deprivations and their distribution between local and migrant populations at the same time.

Ethnographic research by Ryburn (2016) and Ugarte (2019) highlights how Bolivian and Haitian migrant workers may be economically marginalised and exploited in Chile as a result of the complex interrelationship between migration status and employment contracts and the role nationality plays in the labour integration process. Ryburn (2016: 55) emphasises how this incorporation is usually multidimensional in the sense that workers can be "simultaneously incorporated in and marginalised" by labour markets. A study of the construction sector presents similar results considering migrants from Bolivia, Peru, Colombia and Ecuador (Stefoni et al., 2017). Similarly, Howson (2020) shows that although Colombian and Venezuelan migrants have successfully inserted themselves into the Chilean gig economy, this can become a double-edged sword if they become "stuck" in relatively low paying informal jobs, where they are not making full use of their educational qualifications.

Further research in Chile has considered the labour conditions of domestic workers, as this is the economic activity in which many female migrants are employed, often under conditions of exploitation and layered vulnerabilities (Stefoni, 2009 and Ugarte, 2019). And some studies have focused on other activities, such as self-employment or entrepreneurship, and have discussed the highly precarious strategies developed by migrants in this environment (Guerrero et al., 2021; Ramirez and Chan, 2018).

This much abbreviated literature review on the integration of migrants in the labour markets of the destination countries illustrates that there are many common concerns, regardless of whether these destination countries are located in the global North or South. Issues of education, discrimination, ethnicity and the qualifications of migrants are transversal, as are the role of institutions and the regulation of migration, especially when the latter is linked to employment contracts. The analysis that follows will examine whether survey data from Chile can confirm these findings from a multidimensional perspective.

4. Data and Methodology

4.1. Data

This paper uses data from the National Supplementary Income Survey *(Encuesta Suplementaria de Ingresos (ESI)* in Spanish), which was established in 2010 and is Chile's main labour market survey. The survey is representative at the national and regional levels and comprises information on the main characteristics of the employment situation of workers ((un)employed or inactive), including information on their contractual status, working hours, social security contributions. It does not, however, include data on the working conditions of employment, such as health and safety issues, unionisation affiliation and collective bargaining, or levels of worker autonomy, such as we would expect from an employment survey in a developed country. The survey includes more

than 30.000 households, which provides us with data on more than 40,000 workers (n) in each survey year (see Table A.1). Between 2010 and 2019, the number of migrants included in the survey increased from 618 cases in 2010 to 1703 in 2019.

Table 1 below shows the extent to which the composition of the migrant workforce has changed in recent years in terms of the country of origin of the workers. During the early part of the decade, 50% of migrant workers were Peruvian. Overall, this proportion dropped to 26% by 2018, while the proportion of Colombian, Venezuelan and Haitian immigrants increased significantly. As discussed above, the recent Venezuelan diaspora has increased migration to Chile in a very short period of time.

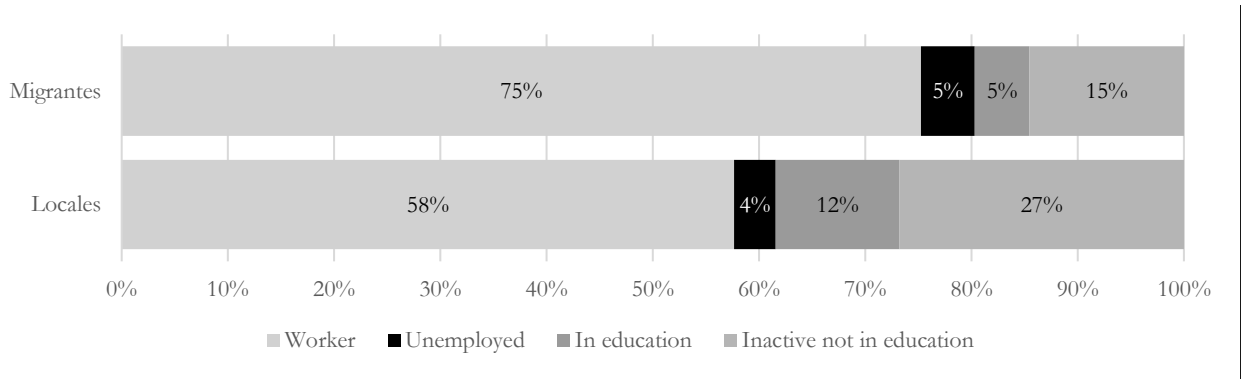
Table 1: Percentage of workers by country of origin

Year	*Argentina*	*Bolivia*	*Colombia*	*Ecuador*	*Haiti*	*Peru*	*Venezuela*	*Rest of LAC and Mexico*	*Europe, US and Canada*	*Africa, Asia and Oceania*
2010	10.5%	6.1%	3.7%	4.6%	0.0%	52.0%	0.8%	11.8%	8.6%	2.0%
2011	10.0%	4.7%	6.6%	2.8%	0.0%	51.5%	2.4%	6.2%	13.2%	2.7%
2012	8.3%	7.4%	10.5%	5.3%	0.3%	41.1%	1.0%	8.1%	13.7%	4.2%
2013	10.8%	8.7%	7.8%	5.0%	0.3%	36.3%	3.2%	9.3%	14.2%	4.5%
2014	9.2%	10.7%	10.3%	4.9%	1.0%	33.8%	1.4%	15.1%	8.8%	4.8%
2015	6.9%	13.1%	8.7%	3.7%	3.2%	37.2%	1.1%	10.6%	6.8%	8.7%
2016	4.3%	12.3%	9.6%	4.7%	3.6%	38.7%	3.6%	10.4%	7.8%	5.1%
2017	6.5%	8.3%	16.1%	4.7%	10.2%	30.0%	6.4%	5.4%	8.2%	4.4%
2018	3.2%	7.0%	12.5%	2.7%	12.2%	25.0%	26.3%	5.4%	2.9%	2.8%
2019	1.6%	7.1%	8.8%	1.9%	18.0%	20.8%	32.9%	4.2%	3.8%	1.0%
Total	5.3%	8.6%	10.6%	3.6%	8.7%	31.0%	14.3%	7.4%	6.8%	3.7%

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

Figure 2 below shows that the overall employment rate of migrant workers aged 15 or more is almost 20% higher than among local workers, while unemployment is generally lower by an average of 1.3% over the period. The inactive population among migrants is also significantly lower, not only because a higher proportion of adults work but also because a smaller proportion of migrants are in secondary or higher education.

Figure 2: Participation rates of Local and Migrant population aged 15 or more (pooled data 2010-2019)



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

Table 2 below shows that, on average, migrants are 5.6 years younger than the local population, with the average age of migrants steady at around 36, while the Chilean labour force has aged slightly (2.4 years on average) over the period. The participation rate of Chilean women has increased slightly and gradually over the period studied, while the participation rate of migrant women has fluctuated somewhat, but at a higher level. In recent years (2018 and 2019), it dropped to slightly below the levels of Chilean women as the proportion of female migrants has dropped.

In terms of their levels of education, migrants coming to Chile are generally more educated than the local population in that the proportion who have completed university education is 5% higher on average. However, the educational difference between the local and migrant population has changed over time, as the proportion of Chilean workers with higher education has increased from 16% to 22.7%. There is a marginal decline in the education level of migrant workers that coincides with Haitian migration. However, starting in 2017, early waves of Venezuelan workers increased the percentage of migrants with higher education. Among recent migrants from Venezuela, the proportion with tertiary education is somewhat lower (See Table A1). Educational data prompt the question whether migrants are working in jobs that use their skills, which will be explored in section 5 of this paper.

Table 2: Descriptive statistics: feminization, age and education

	Locals Workers			*Migrant Workers*		
year	Average Age	% of female LF participation	% with tertiary education	Average Age	% of female LF participation	% with tertiary education
2010	41.04	39.7%	16.0%	36.32	43.2%	26.0%
2011	41.24	40.3%	16.7%	36.72	50.5%	23.9%
2012	41.61	40.4%	18.0%	36.95	49.3%	31.3%
2013	41.87	41.1%	18.5%	38.12	47.8%	30.6%
2014	41.98	41.2%	18.4%	38.12	47.2%	24.0%
2015	42.35	41.5%	19.5%	38.38	48.3%	19.7%
2016	42.55	41.6%	18.7%	36.50	48.1%	20.7%
2017	42.94	41.9%	20.3%	36.47	45.9%	23.5%
2018	43.18	42.3%	21.6%	35.72	42.6%	25.0%
2019	43.45	42.6%	22.7%	35.84	40.7%	24.2%
Total	42.25	41.3%	19.1%	36.59	45.0%	24.1%

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

While the employment rates of migrants in the Chilean labour market are undoubtedly encouraging, there is an extensive literature that shows that we must look beyond these statistics to get a more complete picture of labour market developments, especially in developing countries. As discussed above, the proportion of workers with low QoE in less industrialised countries can be so high that participation and unemployment rates mean very little (OECD, 2014; Burchell et al., 2014 and Sehnbruch et al., 2020). The following sections of this paper therefore examine key aspects of job quality that can be analysed using official employment data.

4.2. Methodology

The existing literature on job quality recommends including dimensions and indicators on the quality of labour earnings, employment stability and employment conditions (Green & Mostafa, 2012; OECD, 2014). The multidimensional methodology presented here follows the same steps that Alkire and Foster (2011) constructed for the Multidimensional Poverty Index, MPI (UNDP, 2020) and which was adapted by Sehnbruch et al. (2020) and Gonzalez et al. (2021) to produce the QoE Indices for Latin and Central America. The Alkire/Foster method was therefore chosen for this paper because it has been tried and tested in the construction of both national and internationally comparable multidimensional indices, because it focuses policy attention on the most vulnerable workers in the labour market, and because it has an established track record of informing public policy. Moreover, it is based on a solid theoretical foundation (the capability approach), which focuses on issues of social justice and distribution (Alkire et al., 2015).

Finally, this method also allows us to calculate the *distribution* of the QoE and to examine the job characteristics of particular groups within the labour market, such as men and women, age groups, regions, or migrants.[8] Such distributional differences are an even more important consideration in developing countries where labour markets are much more heterogeneous in terms of their composition, and where inequalities are higher while the differences between particular groups of workers can be considerable. Details on this method can be found in Appendix 1.

Following this literature, three equally weighted dimensions (Atkinson, 2003) are included in this index. Cut-off lines for each variable and for the overall index have also been adapted from Sehnbruch et al. (2020). Even though the indicators included in this index are not exhaustive due to the data constraints mentioned, they serve to capture the most essential characteristics of employment in Chile (and in other developing countries). The dimensions and indicators together with their respective weights, cut-off lines and their justification are summarised in Table 3 below.

The overall cut-off for QoE deprivation is set at one third of the index, again following the structure of other multi-dimensional indices such as the global multi-dimensional poverty index (Alkire et al., 2015). Given a set of three dimensions, an individual is considered deprived overall if they are deprived in at least one dimension in the case of income or two indicators that can be part of any dimension.

[8] See Stewart (2008) for a conceptualisation of horizontal inequalities.

Table 3: Dimensions, Indicators and Weights used in the QoE Index

Dimensions	**Income 1/3**	**Employment Stability 1/3**		**Employment Conditions 1/3**	
Indicator	Earnings from Work	Occupational Status	Tenure	Social Security	Excessive Hours worked
Weight	1/3	1/6	1/6	1/6	1/6
	Less than 6 basic food baskets (monthly calculation) using CEPAL data	Wage-earners without contracts and self-employed workers.	Less than 3 years employed in current occupation, 1 year if aged between 18-24	No contribution to the pension system	Working more than 45 hours per week
Justification for Inclusion of Variable	Earnings from labour are not just a resource and crucial to not being classified as "working poor", but also serve as an indicator of an individual worker's worth in the labour market as they tend to be a reflection of multiple worker characteristics (such as gender, age, education level, or years of experience).	Occupational status serves as an indicator of the legal rights associated with a job. Wage-earners without contracts would have to go through complex legal procedures to enforce their employment rights, while the self-employed are both uninsured and unprotected.	Job instability is the leading cause and expression of poverty, while job rotation has become a significant problem in Latin America. Job rotation undermines social security systems and much needed investments in human capital. Job tenure serves as an indicator of job stability.	This variable ensures the sustainability of resources over the life-cycle and also serves as a proxy for other benefits, such as health, accident, disability or unemployment insurance as contributions to these insurance systems are normally linked together in a single payment mechanism	This variable reflects concern over the strong positive correlation between long hours and job strain. Excessive working hours also negatively impact a workers' physical and mental health, particularly when they do not have control over their working hour schedule.
Justification for cut-off	6 food baskets were chosen because they allow for one worker and one dependent (which is the Chilean average) to live above the poverty line with a small amount of extra income, which is necessary to function in the labour market.	Informal workers are not protected by employment legislation and they have no employment rights or collective representation, and would find it difficult to sustain any kind of legal recourse in relation to their employment situation.	3 years of job tenure are necessary for a worker to accumulate rights to severance pay and unemployment insurance that would cover the average period of unemployment recorded in Chile.	Individuals not contributing to the pension system are unlikely to achieve sustainable income over the life-cycle.	This cut-off is based on statutory working hour limits in Chile.
Population	All occupied individuals between the age of 18-65, who report information on the variable in question				

Source: adapted to the Chilean case by the authors based on Sehnbruch et al., 2020.

Note that the official definition and value of food baskets changed in Chile in 2013 to reflect changing standards of living and associated needs. In 2019 the Ministry of Social Development and Family (MDSF) published a series of poverty rates that use this new methodology, adjusting past data accordingly. This paper uses these updated food basket data (MDSF & UNDP, 2019).

5. Results: The quality of employment of migrants

Table 4 presents a dashboard of uncensored headcount ratios (i.e. proportions of workers who are deprived) in each of the five indicators that comprise this index. The table shows the proportion of individual workers, who are deprived in each indicator. Overall, the table shows that deprivation levels have improved in all indicators, but significantly more in some than in others. Importantly, deprivation levels among migrants are generally lower than among the local population with the exception of the indicators tenure and working hours.

Absolute income deprivation is one of the variables that has improved the most during the time period considered, but mostly among the local population (by 8.5%). By contrast, migrant income deprivation was never quite as severe and improved only by 2.1%. Overall, the income distribution between locals and migrants is quite similar, both when considered in terms of absolute income levels and income per hour (see Figures A1 and A2 in the Appendix), but a higher number of local workers is concentrated at the lowest end of the income distribution. As the graphs show, this difference is explained by the fact that more low-income Chilean workers work fewer hours than migrants. This difference evens out if we consider the distribution of income per hour of the local and migrant population. However, in the index the variable absolute income was used to reflect the fact that income from labour has to cover the basic needs of a worker and their dependents (See Table 3).

Sensitivity analysis shows that the income deprivation level of migrants is significantly lower than that of the local population, regardless of the cut-off line used.[9] Only at slightly higher income levels (above 350,000 Chilean Pesos) do local workers do better than the migrant population (see Table A1).

It is noteworthy that migrants are generally less deprived in their occupational status than the local population throughout the period studied, although the difference between the two populations varies slightly over the period studied. This result is probably related to the fact that migrants are required to show that they have a formal written employment contract to obtain visas and residency permits. As a result, the levels of deprivation in this indicator are likely to vary in line with variations in the flow of migrants into Chile. For example, some nationalities may find it easier than others to obtain written employment contracts (e.g. Venezuelans versus Haitians). Alternatively, migrants who have been in the country for longer, are more likely to have formal and stable employment contracts than those who have arrived recently. These results may also be affected by the sample size, which is smaller in earlier years of the period studied and may thus lead to more variation between 2010 and 2015.

On the other hand, migrants are significantly more deprived than Chileans in terms of their job tenure. Unfortunately, the available survey data do not give us information on when migrants arrived in Chile, so we cannot control for the levels of experience in the Chilean labour market. Given the recent sharp increase in migration, many migrants arrived within the last two or three years, so this makes it less likely that they have found stable jobs with a duration of more than

[9] We tested sensitivity based on six food baskets, minimum wage levels and a proposed guaranteed minimum income level that the Chilean government has been discussing (see Figure A1 in the Appendix).

three years, which leaves them unprotected in case of unemployment.[10] Table A1 in the appendix shows that if the cut-off lines were reduced to 12 months, the proportion of deprived migrants in this indicator would be significantly lower at 39.3%, although this is still significantly higher than the 21.5% experienced by the local population with the same cut-off line.

The proportion of deprivation in the indicator social security is also lower for migrants as having a formal written contract generally goes together with contributing to social insurance. Chileans may prefer not to contribute to social security systems, but migrants do not have a choice in the matter if they want to get their permanent residence permit.[11] However, overall, the proportion of Chileans and migrants contributing to social security over time has not improved significantly. This is one of the main public policy challenges that Chile faces. The QoE index presented below illustrates how closely the employment situation of workers and their social security contributions are linked, a connection that is not often made by policymakers and a point that this paper will discuss further below.

Among local workers, the proportion of individuals working more than 45 hours per week and deprived in the income dimension has improved the most by almost 10%, while the proportion of migrants working excessive hours has declined more significantly by 20%. Again, this improvement highlights the importance of labour market regulation in job quality outcomes: In 2005, the working week in Chile was reduced from 48 to 45 hours. As a result, working hours have come down gradually but steadily over time.

Table 4: A Dashboard of Deprivations by Dimensions and migration status

	Locals					Migrants				
	Labour Income	Occupational Status	Tenure	Social Security	Excessive Working Hours	Labour Income	Occupational Status	Tenure	Social Security	Excessive Working Hours
2010	34.1%	33.0%	45.4%	35.4%	31.1%	19.2%	22.8%	58.9%	24.2%	43.8%
2011	30.7%	31.2%	46.5%	33.6%	30.2%	19.5%	34.2%	59.0%	33.4%	40.0%
2012	28.43%	29.9%	46.2%	32.5%	27.9%	14.5%	22.7%	66.2%	25.2%	32.6%
2013	28.1%	29.9%	45.4%	32.4%	26.8%	16.0%	25.2%	58.5%	28.7%	28.0%
2014	28.5%	30.7%	45.0%	33.7%	26.2%	26.8%	32.2%	63.9%	33.5%	34.8%
2015	26.1%	30.5%	44.4%	33.5%	23.4%	22.1%	25.4%	64.2%	27.8%	25.1%
2016	23.7%	31.1%	44.2%	34.3%	23.1%	15.8%	28.0%	61.4%	32.0%	27.2%
2017	22.1%	31.4%	43.4%	34.8%	22.1%	15.6%	30.7%	71.0%	32.0%	28.7%
2018	24.4%	30.8%	42.0%	34.1%	21.3%	16.4%	27.0%	76.3%	29.9%	23.6%
2019	24.3%	30.5%	42.5%	33.9%	21.3%	17.0%	24.1%	77.2%	26.9%	23.9%
Pooled Total	26.5%	30.9%	44.5%	33.8%	25.2%	17.6%	27.1%	69.5%	29.6%	27.5%

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

Table 5 aggregates these dashboard results into a single index, which summarises their development in terms of their headcount ratio, average intensity share, and adjusted headcount

[10] Contributions to the unemployment insurance system of a minimum of three years are necessary to give workers the right to enough severance pay and unemployment benefits to allow them to weather the average period of unemployment between jobs of between 5-6 months (See Sehnbruch et al., 2020)

[11] To obtain temporary and – after five years permanent – residency status, migrants in Chile must show that they have a formal written employment contract and have paid associated social security contributions.

ratio. This is a key step in this methodology as it not only summarises the results discussed above, but also examines the intensity of deprivation and its joint distributions. A key question in this analysis is whether workers are deprived in one indicator or dimension, or multiple indicators or dimensions. The average intensity share (A ratio) therefore captures improvements in the multiple deprivations that workers may experience over the period analysed. Finally, as discussed in section 4.2, the adjusted headcount ratio is the headcount ratio multiplied by the average intensity share.

Thus, Table 5 shows that in terms of the headcount ratio, the QoE deprivation of local workers has improved by almost 10% over the period, leading to a total level of deprivation of 43.9%. Among migrants, QoE deprivation has improved by 5%, which means that locals and migrants now have similar levels of QoE deprivation, even though, as we saw in the section above, the individual variables in which they are deprived differ.

Little improvement, however, can be observed in the intensity share of deprivation shown in Table 5. Locals are consistently a little more deprived in terms the intensity share than migrants, but variation over time in both groups is within the 1% range.

Both the absolute level of deprivation and the intensity scores are multiplied ($HxA=M_0$) as discussed in section 4, to produce the QoE index. As Table 5 shows, this has improved over time, leading to a convergence of deprivation levels between local and migrant workers. So despite high inflows of migrants into the Chilean labour market, and despite the fact that these migrants are deprived almost by definition as a result of shorter job tenures, it is interesting to note that their deprivation levels are marginally lower than those of Chilean workers.

Table 5: Aggregated Results: M0, H & A

	Locals			Migrants		
year	Headcount Ratio	Average Intensity	Adjusted Headcount Ratio	Headcount Ratio	Average Intensity	Adjusted Headcount Ratio
2010	53.8%	57.4%	0.309	50.0%	51.5%	0.258
2011	51.0%	57.4%	0.293	57.7%	51.7%	0.298
2012	46.7%	56.3%	0.263	43.1%	50.1%	0.216
2013	47.5%	57.0%	0.271	43.0%	51.6%	0.222
2014	48.7%	56.7%	0.276	53.9%	56.6%	0.305
2015	45.8%	56.8%	0.260	43.3%	56.8%	0.246
2016	44.4%	56.9%	0.253	44.3%	53.9%	0.239
2017	43.7%	56.3%	0.247	49.1%	52.5%	0.258
2018	44.4%	56.5%	0.251	44.5%	54.4%	0.242
2019	43.9%	56.8%	0.250	45.0%	52.9%	0.238
Pooled Total	46.9%	56.8%	0.267	46.3%	53.6%	0.248

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

In what remains of this section, further disaggregation of the QoE index is discussed. The data that follows illustrates why it is useful to produce such a summary indicator. In Table 6 above, five component variables of the QoE were analysed separately as a dashboard for both migrants and the local population, producing 10 indicators overall. Breaking this data down further, for instance by gender, would create 20 indicators overall. Examining dashboard data from other perspectives

such as age categories, economic sectors, occupational positions, migrant nationalities or education levels would soon produce a plethora of separate indicators that would be difficult to interpret. In addition, such an analysis would tell us nothing about the intensity of deprivation in each category and the joint distributions of the QoE. A synthetic indicator, such as the one presented in Table 5 makes this task easier. To illustrate this point, Tables 6 and 7 as well as Figure 3 undertake such an analysis. Further disaggregations on age groups, firm size and worker category (blue vs white collar) can be found in Appendix 2 of this paper (Tables A3-A5).

Table 6, for example, shows that both local and migrant women are more QoE deprived than men and, on average, are equally disadvantaged. However, while the gender gap among local women has declined gradually over time, the gender gap among migrant women has fluctuated more. This result may be related to the fact that the proportion of women migrants with higher levels of education has fluctuated between 2010 and 2019. Conversely, the proportion of employed Chilean women with higher education has increased gradually but steadily over the period analysed: By 2019, 1 out of 4 local women workers had higher education, compared to only 1 in 5 men (See Table A6).

Table 6: Adjusted Headcount Ratios by gender (convergence)

	Locals		Migrants		Gender Gaps		
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Locals	Migrants	Women Migrants vs Locals
2010	0.354	0.279	0.264	0.253	0.075	0.011	-0.090
2011	0.342	0.260	0.336	0.259	0.082	0.077	-0.006
2012	0.308	0.232	0.260	0.173	0.076	0.088	-0.048
2013	0.312	0.242	0.246	0.199	0.070	0.048	-0.066
2014	0.314	0.249	0.373	0.245	0.065	0.128	0.059
2015	0.298	0.234	0.301	0.193	0.064	0.108	0.003
2016	0.287	0.228	0.288	0.194	0.059	0.095	0.001
2017	0.275	0.226	0.291	0.230	0.049	0.061	0.016
2018	0.276	0.232	0.270	0.221	0.043	0.049	-0.006
2019	0.278	0.228	0.255	0.227	0.050	0.027	-0.024
Pooled Total	0.303	0.241	0.283	0.220	0.062	0.063	-0.020

As Table 7 shows, higher education is one of the main determining factors of having a good quality job. However, having completed higher education does not guarantee that a worker will have a good job. As can be observed in Table 7, deprivation levels are significantly lower among workers with higher education. Nevertheless, a quarter of Chilean workers and just over one third of migrant workers with higher education are QoE deprived. This gap is noteworthy. Migrants with higher education are consistently and significantly more likely to be QoE deprived than local workers. This finding is important as it suggests that that migrant workers with a university degree or professional qualification are more likely to be deprived than local workers with similar levels of education. This result is consistent with the international literature which shows that the degrees of first generation migrants are valued less than those of the local population by employers. To illustrate this point, Table A7 (in the Appendix) shows that of the total number of migrants with higher education, a smaller proportion worked as professionals, scientists or intellectuals (37.9% versus 62% among Chilean workers).

Differences in QoE deprivation levels between the local and migrant population, however, vary in the other educational categories. Migrants with incomplete secondary education are significantly less likely to be QoE deprived than local Chilean workers, while the proportion of QoE deprived workers is similar among migrants and locals with secondary education.

Table 7: Adjusted Headcount Ratio by education level

	Incomplete secondary				Complete secondary				Complete higher education			
	Local		Migrant		Local		Migrant		Local		Migrant	
year	M0	H	M0	H	M0	H	M0	H	M0	H	M0	H
2010	0.444	72.5%	0.372	64.9%	0.284	51.2%	0.273	56.2%	0.132	27.8%	0.160	30.2%
2011	0.435	70.7%	0.393	71.8%	0.275	49.6%	0.304	59.7%	0.112	24.0%	0.235	47.7%
2012	0.399	65.4%	0.339	57.2%	0.247	45.5%	0.230	46.7%	0.109	23.7%	0.153	32.8%
2013	0.414	67.6%	0.346	57.7%	0.256	46.4%	0.250	47.7%	0.114	23.7%	0.130	30.2%
2014	0.416	68.5%	0.356	63.8%	0.265	47.8%	0.337	55.9%	0.123	25.9%	0.210	42.7%
2015	0.399	65.7%	0.331	54.7%	0.250	45.0%	0.280	48.4%	0.122	24.9%	0.113	23.9%
2016	0.383	62.9%	0.379	61.5%	0.245	43.8%	0.235	45.2%	0.121	24.9%	0.161	31.6%
2017	0.375	62.1%	0.392	65.1%	0.244	43.8%	0.251	50.1%	0.127	25.8%	0.165	35.6%
2018	0.389	64.4%	0.307	47.1%	0.247	44.2%	0.269	49.6%	0.131	26.7%	0.162	34.8%
2019	0.382	63.0%	0.295	56.3%	0.260	45.7%	0.243	43.8%	0.130	26.1%	0.193	39.6%
Pooled Total	0.405	66.5%	0.337	57.8%	0.257	46.2%	0.260	48.5%	0.123	25.4%	0.168	35.1%

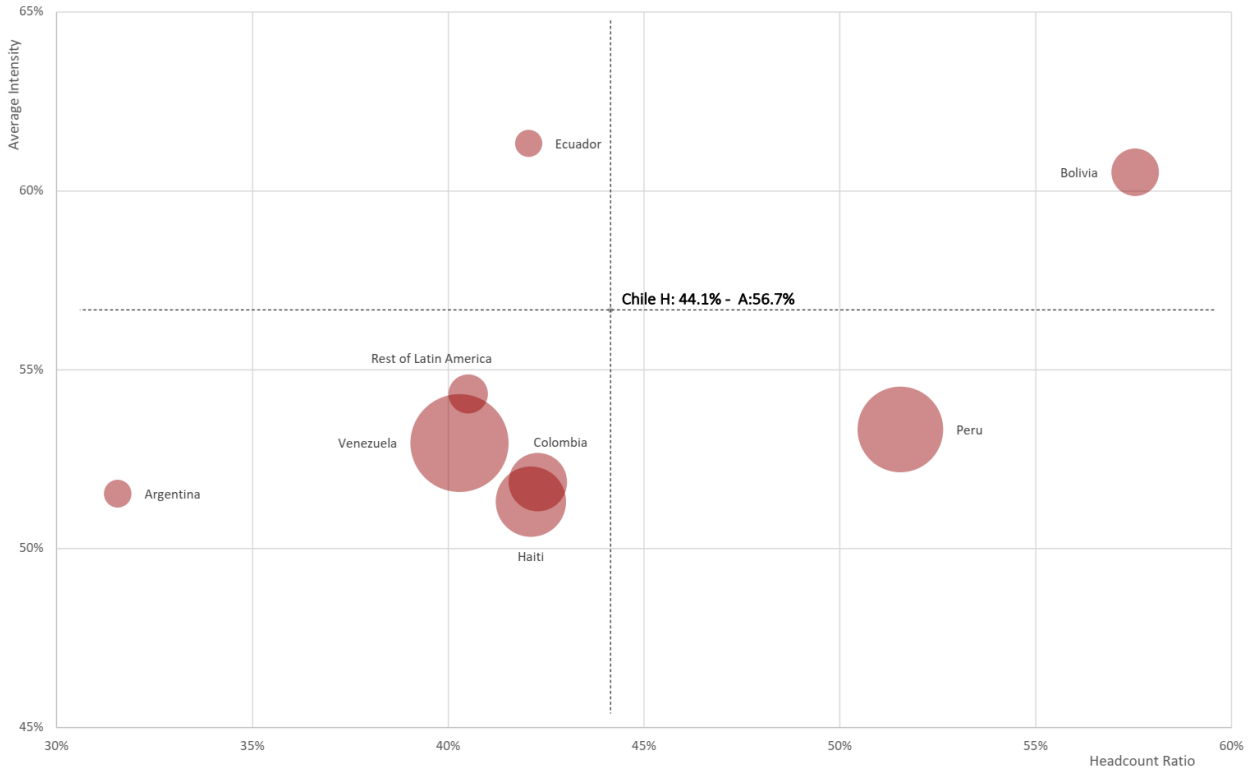
One question that persistently crops up in the literature on the integration of migrants into the labour market is the issue of discrimination. In most countries where this has been studied, the empirical evidence shows that migrants from particular ethnicities or countries do worse than others. As discussed above, several articles have studied the integration of particular migrant groups in Chile, such as Bolivians in the North (Ryburn, 2018) or Haitian women (Ugarte, 2019 and 2021). It is therefore relevant to examine this issue in the context of the Chilean labour market. However, we do not have data on the ethnicities of migrants, in part because most countries in Latin America have "mestizo" populations, a term which refers to the mixture of white colonial settlers with local indigenous populations (Flórez et al., 2001).[12] Although we have some information on discrimination based on ethnicities and nationalities in Latin America from LAPOP surveys (Painter et al., 2019), these data cannot be linked to employment data. The Chilean labour force survey includes no questions on the ethnic origin or skin colour of workers.

There exists, however, an informal hierarchy of nations in Latin America, which is in part based on their particular level of development and education as well as on perceptions of the particular ethnic mix predominant in those countries. Thus, Bolivia and Peru are perceived as more indigenous countries, while Argentina and Uruguay are perceived as more "European", with countries such as Colombia and Venezuela somewhere in between these two extremes. Further afield, there are countries such as Haiti and the Dominican Republic, where the population is more likely to be black, and in the case of Haitians, does not speak Spanish (Painter et al., 2019).

[12] Mestizo is a blanket term that can conceal complex skin colour-based hierarchies. See Telles (2014) for a discussion.

Although the graph below does not provide conclusive evidence of discrimination, it does illustrate that migrants from some countries, in particular Bolivia and Peru, are more likely to be QoE deprived than others, with Argentine migrants representing the least deprived group. In the middle of the scale, we find Colombian, Venezuelan, and Haitian migrants. However, on average, Colombians have been in Chile for longer, whereas Venezuelans and Haitians arrived more recently, and are therefore certainly more likely to be deprived in the dimension of tenure, which could negatively affect their QoE. Importantly, the graph shows how different nationalities fare compared to the Chilean average (represented by the dotted lines).

Figure 4: Headcount Ratio and Average Intensity by migration country (pooled data from 2018 and 2019)



Note: The dotted lines represent the situation of Chile with an H ratio of 44.1% and an A of 56.7%.

6. Conclusions

Although it is difficult to come to definitive conclusions based on the descriptive data presented above, our analysis does seem to suggest that migrant workers – on average – perform somewhat better than local workers in Chile, both in terms of their employment rates and job quality characteristics. This is a noteworthy result as the "displacement hypothesis" (Chiswick, 1978; Borjas, 1987) would expect migrants to increase labour supply, which is supposed to lead to a

deflation of wages in flexible labour markets, or to an increase in unemployment in regulated markets. In Chile, neither result has occurred as real wages have generally increased, while the unemployment rate has remained relatively low during the period studied. The "displacement hypothesis" model makes a strong assumption regarding the price elasticity of supply and demand in labour markets, and also assumes equal levels of human capital between migrants and local workers, which is clearly not the case in Chile.

The results of the multidimensional QoE Index further shows that migrants are relatively less deprived in the Chilean labour market. This supports Piore's (1979) critique of the classic literature on migrant integration and coincides with studies which argue that the capacity of migrant workers perfectly to substitute local workers rarely holds in practice (Smith & Edmonston, 1997; Friedberg, 2000; Turner, 2010)

Overall, these results point to a successful integration of migrant workers in the Chilean labour market despite the fact that, as in Europe, they are often not making full use of their educational levels and qualifications. It is further likely that the results presented mask significant differences between different groups of migrants. Unfortunately, current household and labour market surveys in Chile do not oversample migrants so that current data do not include enough cases for a more conclusive analysis of these differences. Further research on these issues should therefore be carried out including valuable ethnographic and qualitative research that will shed more light on these questions.

It should also be noted that these results do not preclude the "simultaneously incorporated but marginalised" dichotomy that Ryburn (2016) points out. For example, Chile's liberal migration regime ties the residency status of migrants to their employment status. But this does not preclude employers from abusing their need for such contracts. Similarly, it does not preclude them from being discriminated against or otherwise marginalised in terms of other aspects of their employment relationships on which there is no survey data. So while the results presented in this paper are encouraging, further research on the multidimensional aspects of job quality is needed.

Overall, though, this paper shows that using a multidimensional summary index to analyse QoE deprivation is both useful and informative. A similar analysis of how educational levels, firm size, occupational categories or different nationalities integrate into a labour market would not be possible without such an index. Indeed, an analysis based on dashboard indicators (reviewed in Burchell, et al., 2014) would lead to a plethora of variables that would not be able to identify the most vulnerable workers in a labour market and inform policy makers accordingly.

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