Selectos pero desiguales: inmigrantes latinoamericanos en México (1990-2015)[*]

Selected but unequal: Latin American immigrants in Mexico (1990-2015)

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Resumen

Con base en técnicas estadísticas multivariadas, se analiza la heterogeneidad (sociodemográfica y sociolaboral) de la inmigración latinoamericana en México (1990-2015) como parte de los intercambios intrarregionales. Los resultados confirman el predominio femenino y la alta selectividad de los latinoamericanos residentes en México, nacidos fuera de Centroamérica, y su mejor inserción laboral en relación con el resto de los latinoamericanos y los mexicanos. El contraste entre colectivos de mayor y menor tradición migratoria al país (cubanos y argentinos; colombianos y venezolanos) revela patrones demográficos consistentes con dicha diferenciación, e importantes desigualdades internas

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medidas a través del ingreso laboral, en las que inciden tanto el origen de los inmigrantes como la diversidad de los mercados de trabajo en que participan.

Palabras clave: inmigrantes latinoamericanos, heterogeneidad, desigualdad laboral.

Abstract

On the basis of multivariate statistical techniques, this article analyzes the socio-demographic and labor heterogeneity of Latin American immigration in Mexico (1990-2015) as part of intra-regional exchanges. The findings confirm the predominance of women and the high selectivity of Latin Americans born outside of Central America but residing in Mexico, and their improved economic insertion in relation to Mexicans and other Latin Americans. The contrast between groups with a greater and lesser migratory tradition to said country (Cubans and Argentineans; Colombians and Venezuelans), reveals demographic patterns consistent with this differentiation, and significant internal inequalities measured through their working income, in which both the origin of immigrants and the diversity of the labor markets in which they participate come into play.

Keywords: Latin American immigrants, heterogeneity, labor inequality.

Introduction

Although Mexico is among the top four countries receiving intraregional immigrants, relatively few studies address their role in the regional migration system, and even fewer analyze the labor market insertion of immigrants (ECLAC and ILO, 2017; Leiva, Mansilla and Comelin, 2017). Latin American immigration to Mexico has been present since at least the last decades of the 19th century, and it has grown steadily since the nineteen-seventies, to the rhythm of a complex series of political, social, and economic processes that have driven emigration from the countries of origin. Among these factors, the repeated economic crises that have hit several countries in the region since the 1990s have gained preeminence in recent decades. Except for the Central American immigration by virtue of geographic proximity, three sub-regions have contributed the most immigrants to the country in recent decades: the Andean region (Colombia and Venezuela), the Southern Cone (Argentina) and the Caribbean (Cuba). The most outstanding feature of these immigrants is their high educational selectivity, which gives them undoubted advantages in the labor market vis-à-vis other Latin Americans and those born in Mexico.

The aim of this paper is to deepen the knowledge of this immigration in a recent period (1990-2015), by considering their sociodemographic and socio-labor heterogeneity, and examining their economic insertion into the labor market. We grouped the four most important groups according to their migratory tradition -older (Cubans, Argentines) or more recent (Colombians, Venezuelans)- and systematically contrasted them with other Latin Americans. The data on which we rely come from the 1990, 2000 and 2010 Population and Housing

Censuses and the 2015 Intercensal Survey. (INEGI, s. f.-a, s. f.-b, s. f.-c).

The paper is divided into five sections, in addition to this introduction. The first section outlines the trends of Latin American immigration to Mexico in the context of regional migratory dynamics, focusing on the characterization of the selected groups. In the second, the concept of migratory selectivity is presented, outlining some of its implications. The third section describes the methodological approach and the analytical strategy. The empirical examination of the *stock* of immigrants is undertaken in the fourth and fifth sections with the support of two complementary statistical techniques: multiple correspondence analysis and linear regression analysis. The conclusions synthesize the main findings.

Trends in Latin American immigration to Mexico

Although Latin America is a region of net emigration[1], one of the features of its recent migratory dynamics is the increase in intra-regional exchanges (Martínez, Cano and Soffia, 2014; Martínez and Orrego, 2016). Between 2000 and 2010, the *stock* of Latin Americans residing in a country of the region other than the one in which they were born increased by 31.6% (Martínez and Orrego, 2016, p. 15). In absolute terms, in 2010 Mexico was among the four main destinations of these interregional exchanges, together with Argentina, the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela (whose situation has changed radically since then) and Brazil. In the period from 2010 to 2015, the Aztec country was -after Chile- the nation with the highest relative increase of Latin American immigrants (ECLAC and ILO, 2017).

It is the 1970s that mark the beginning of the trend of increasing regional immigration to Mexico. From 1970 to 2015, such immigration grew at an average annual rate of between 4.1 and 4.5 %, with the decades 1970-1980 and 2000-2010 being those of greatest relative dynamism (see Table 1). As a result, in the 45 years between 1970 and 2015, the *stock* of Latin Americans residing in Mexico increased sixfold from 26,897 people to 170,723. From 1990 onwards, those born in Latin America took second place in the total number of immigrants, only after Americans, at which point they displaced Europeans (mainly Spaniards), whose presence steadily declined from 1970 onwards (Rodríguez, 2010).

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[1] According to 2010 census data, about 28.4 million Latin Americans were emigrants, equivalent to 4.8% of the population; in contrast, seven million five hundred sixty-four thousand were immigrants (extra- and intra-regional) (Martínez and Orrego, 2016).

In fact, many U.S. immigrants are of Mexican origin, which makes it difficult to assess the real weight of immigration (intra- and extra-regional) to the country. Based on the 2015 Intercensal Survey (INEGI, s. f.-d), Jiménez (2018) estimates that 78.56 % of the 739,168 U.S. persons residing in Mexico in 2015 are persons of Mexican origin, 89.1 % of whom are under 18 years of age; that is, they are children of Mexicans (minors), who were born in the United States and who reside in the country of their parents. By excluding them, this leaves 158,474 Americans, less than the 170,723 Latin Americans who settled in the country in the same year, according to the same source of information.[2] Therefore, the calculation places Latin Americans as the top immigration group in Mexico in 2015, enhancing the importance of intra-regional exchanges.

The factors behind the increase in Latin American immigration to Mexico in recent decades are multiple and their relative importance varies from moment to moment. On the one hand, there are the changing conditions (political, social, and economic) in the countries of origin as specific contexts of departure; on the other hand, Mexico's place in the regional migratory system in its fourfold condition as a country of immigration, emigration, transit, and return, and as a forerunner of the main pole of attraction of migration at the global level. The implications of economic integration processes on the possibilities of mobility on a regional scale are also relevant, as are migration policies insofar as they affect the selectivity of flows and the possibilities of settlement.

The materialization of international agreements as part of the constitution of sub-regional economic blocs usually entails the repeal of visa requirements between signatory countries. A little more than a year and a half after the Pacific Alliance between Colombia, Peru, Chile, and Mexico was formed, in April 2011, the Aztec country abolished the visa requirement for citizens of the first two nations, granting them the same treatment as Chileans.[3]

In a general sense, Mexican migration policies have been highly selective (Rodríguez, 2010; Yankelevich, 2011). Except for the Immigration and Naturalization Law of 1886, drafted to promote the arrival of European immigrants, all the other legislative provisions stand out for their restrictive nature, showing a perennial concern for the eligibility of foreigners. (Yankelevich, 2011).[4] Thus, to obtain the status of immigrant, the 1926 Migration Law required the obligatory requirement of knowing how to read and write; the 1930 law prohibited entry to those who were workers and those who did not have a capital equivalent to US$ 3,000 (Yankelevich 2011, p. 43). The Population Law of 1974 considered an "instrument of surveillance and control" (Bucheneau, 2001 quoted by González-Murphy and

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[2] The estimation was made based on the questions on nationality, possession of a Mexican birth certificate and identification of the father and mother, in the 2015 Intercensal Survey (Jiménez, 2018). Unfortunately, it cannot be replicated with the census sources we rely on because they do not include all the necessary questions.

[3] The abolition of the tourist visa allows them to stay in the country for 180 days, without engaging in remunerated activities (Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Government of Mexico, n. d.).

[4] The selection criteria of the Migration Law of 1926 sought to prevent the "danger of social, cultural and political decomposition", "racial degeneration". The Migration Law of 1930 promoted the "defense of the mestizo", restricting the entry of those considered unassimilable to the Mexican environment: Syrians, Lebanese, Arabs, Turks, Russians, Poles, among others (Yankelevich, 2011; quotation marks are ours).

Koslowski, 2011), favored the entry of people with physical and mental health and economic solvency, as long as they did not represent a threat to the employment of Mexicans. In parallel to these restrictive provisions, Mexico has shown a consistent attitude of welcoming immigrants for political reasons (Carrillo, 1979; Yankelevich, 2011), which is why Mexican legislation on asylum is considered one of the broadest in Latin America (Gandini, Prieto and Lozano, 2019; Selee, Bolter, Muñoz-Pogossian and Hazán, January, 2019).

Table 1. Number of Latin American immigrants in Mexico (1970-2015)

Region and country of origin	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010	2015
Latin Americans	**26,897**	**40,821**	**86,117**	**78,586**	**135,967**	**170,723**
Guatemala	6,969	4,115	46,005	23,957	31,888	42,874
Colombia	1,133	2,778	4,964	6,215	12,832	18,735
Venezuela	805	1,940	1,533	2,823	10,786	15,664
Argentina	1,585	5,479	4,635	6,480	14,171	14,747
Honduras	942	1,500	1,997	3,722	9,980	14,544
Cuba	4,175	3,767	2,979	6,647	11,822	12,768
El Salvador	1,213	2,055	5,215	5,537	8,864	10,594
Peru	804	2,188	2,973	3,749	6,870	5,448
Chile	845	3,345	2,501	3,848	5,633	5,160
Other South Americans	538	4,901	4,740	6,504	11,792	13,930
Other Central Americans	5,855	8,753	7,461	6,335	7,659	11,018
Caribe			1,114	1,676	2,125	5,241
America*	2,033			1,093	1,545	
Other foreigners	**164,287**	**227,570**	**253,592**	**412,518**	**831,937**	**834,743**
Not specified		**509**	**1,115**	**1,513**	**367**	**1,597**
Total foreigners	**191,184**	**268,900**	**340,824**	**492,617**	**968,271**	**1,007,063**

Average annual growth rates of Latin Americans and all foreigners residing in Mexico, 1970-2015

	1970-1980	1980-1990	1990-2000	2000-2010	2010-2015
Latin American average annual growth rate	4.17	7.47	-0.92	5.48	4.55
Average growth rate	3.40	2.40	3.70	6.80	0.79

* Census information for the years 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000 and 2010 for those classified as "America" does not allow us to distinguish whether they originate from the United States or Latin America.

Source: own estimates based on population censuses 1990, 2000, 2010 and Intercensal Survey 2015 (Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía (National Institute of Statistics and Geography) [INEGI], s. f.-d).

Taking 1970 as a reference, the decade in which the increase in Latin American immigration to Mexico began, two sub-periods can be identified according to the factors driving it: a) 1970-1990; and b) 1990-2015. While political aspects predominate in the first factor, economic aspects prevail in the latter. In recent years, violence has been added to them as a trigger for mobility in a subset of countries in the region.

The emergence of Latin American exiles because of the military dictatorships in the Southern Cone, the massive arrival of Guatemalan displaced persons and refugees in Southeast Mexico due to the prolonged civil war that that country experienced between 1960 and 1996 (Castillo

and Olivera, 2010; Pederzini, Ruismena, Masferrer and Molina, 2015),[5] in which the first subperiod is characterized by the arrival of Colombians and Salvadorans escaping serious internal armed conflicts. Consequently, Guatemalans, Salvadorans, Colombians, Argentines, Peruvians, and Chileans are the six groups with the greatest absolute increase between 1970 and 1990 (see Table 1). Except for 1980, those born in Guatemala have always been the top immigration group in Mexico, given its status as a border country, a pattern that is replicated in the rest of the region: the primary country of immigration is always a border country (Martínez and Orrego, 2016).

Once democracies were reestablished in the Southern Cone and peace agreements were reached in Central America in the early 1990s, economic factors became important as determinants of emigration to Mexico. The recurrent financial crises that hit several countries in the region after the processes of economic restructuring and liberalization were the breeding ground for these displacements. Closer to home, as the 2000s began, violence and profound social and institutional breakdown were the triggers for mobility in a subset of Central American nations (Durand, 2020). All this configures a dense and complex national migratory map, in which the aforementioned factors are juxtaposed. The immigrants with the greatest absolute increase in this second subperiod (1990-2015) were: Argentines, Venezuelans, Cubans and Colombians, countries that experienced deep economic crises; also, Hondurans and Guatemalans, immersed in deep social crises.

Recent Latin American immigrants (1990-2015)

The first four immigration groups in this subperiod—Cubans, Argentines, Colombians, and Venezuelans— differ from each other with respect to their migratory tradition to Mexico. The first two have long-standing roots; the Andeans, on the other hand (mainly the Venezuelans), are less deeply rooted. By contextualizing them, we maintain this criterion of differentiation.

Cubans and Argentines

Cuban immigration to Mexico is historical, a "constant and enduring trickle" that began in the 19th century in the context of Cuba's wars of independence (1868-1998) (Herrera, 2010).[6] Census sources record the presence of islanders since 1910. Of the Greater Antilles, Cuba has had the most contact with Mexico, something that is influenced by the geographic proximity between the Yucatan Peninsula and the Caribbean Island, and by the important economic ties woven in the historical perspective between Cuban landowners and the hacienda owners of Yucatan, Veracruz and Oaxaca (Herrera, 2010; Martínez and Bobes, 2010; Palma, 2006; Salazar, 2010).

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[5] Based on external sources, Castillo and Olivera (2010) indicate that around 46,000 Guatemalans were displaced by violence between 1982 and 1984, to which should be added the thousands who moved on their own.

[6] It should be noted that Mexico was the only Latin American country that did not end diplomatic relations with Cuba after its expulsion from the OAS in 1964.

Since 1930, Cuba has registered negative migratory balances, with a substantial increase from 1959 onwards. (Aja, Rodríguez, Orosa and Albizu-Campos, 2017). Although only 5% of this emigration is destined for Latin America, Mexico is among the preferred countries, along with Venezuela, the Dominican Republic, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Chile, and Brazil. (Aja et al., 2017). Cuban immigration to Mexico has grown steadily since 1960 (with the sole exception of 1990), with peaks in the intercensal periods of 1990-2010 and 2000-2010 (see Figure 1). They are related to the profound crisis that the country experienced as a result of the dismemberment of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). The so-called Special Period in Time of Peace, the strategy with which the Cuban government faced the situation, began with an inordinate GDP contraction of 37.2%, which had catastrophic consequences for the living standards of the population and brought extensive collateral effects (Martínez, 2016).

Part of recent Cuban immigration to Mexico is transit migration. The announcement of the reestablishment of diplomatic relations with the island, made by Barack Obama in December 2014, seems to have exacerbated this component in its universe due to the fear aroused in the islanders by the eventual loss of the preferential treatment they have historically enjoyed. (Ramírez, 2019; Martínez, 2016)[7].

In contrast, it was not until 1970 that Argentine immigration to Mexico gained presence. According to Yankelevich (2010), prior to Jorge Videla's military coup in 1976, Argentine emigration to Mexico was irrelevant. From 1970 to 2015, there were two significant intercensal increases: 1) 1970-1980, when numbers tripled; 2) 2000-2010, when they went from 6,480 to 14,171, i.e., they doubled (see Figure 1). Unlike the political immigration of the 1970s, the large influx of Argentines since 2000 is part of the so-called "economic exile" that thousands of these nationals undertook after the explosive crisis that shook the country with the collapse of the economic model established in the early 1990s, the so-called Convertibility Plan, which had catastrophic consequences. Two of the emblematic features of this emigration were its volume and its extreme instability (Esteban, 2003; Gandini, 2015). It is estimated that between 2000 and 2001 alone, 118,087 people left the country, an amount equivalent to the emigration of ten years (Esteban, 2003, p. 32). It was also the first time that negative migration balances were recorded.

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[7] It is worth mentioning the 1995 executive order *Pies secos/Pies mojados* ("*Dry feet/wet feet*"), which granted immigrants a legal stay and eventual access to residency, as long as they were not intercepted on the high seas ("wet feet"). Based on Cancio (January 5, 2015), Ramirez (2019, p. 122) documents the arrival in 2014 of 16,247 Cubans to U.S. territory through the Mexican border.

Figure 1. Number of Latin American immigrants in Mexico (selected countries: 1970-2019)
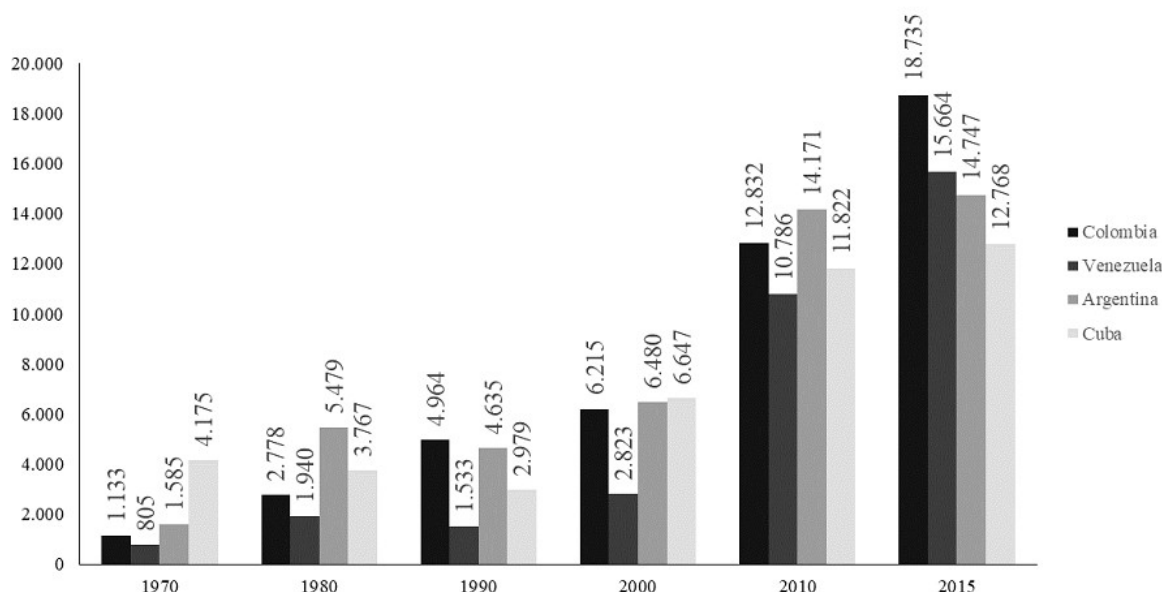
Source: own estimates based on population censuses 1990, 2000, 2010 and Intercensal Survey 2015 (INEGI, s. f.-d).

In analytical terms, the event meant a reversal of the role played until then by Argentina in the regional context: from population receiver to expeller (Esteban, 2003; Solimano, 2003), a fact that would later be reversed.[8] As a result of the economic crisis at the beginning of the 20th century, Spain became the first place of destination for Argentines, displacing the United States, a country that, in view of the vertiginous flow, imposed visa requirements in 2002. In the context of Latin America, in 2005 Mexico was the seventh country of residence of its emigrants, after Paraguay, Chile, Bolivia, Brazil, Uruguay, and Venezuela (Ratha and Shaw, 2007).

Colombians and Venezuelans

Colombia stands out as one of the countries with the highest levels of emigration in the region, with 10% of its population residing abroad in 2009 (Ramírez, Zuluaga and Perilla, 2010). Estimates by Colombia's National Administrative Department of Statistics document negative net migration balances, every year, from 1985 to 2005 (Ramírez et al., 2010), emigration that in recent years has continued to grow and diversify (ECLAC and ILO, 2017; Neira, 2010; Polo and Serrano, 2019).

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[8] It then returned to being one of the main regional immigration poles (ECLAC and ILO, 2017).

Colombian immigration to Mexico has become notorious since 1980. The five-year period 2010-2015 is noteworthy, when Colombians increased from 12,832 to 18,735 (see Table 1), making up the largest group of Latin Americans residing in the country in 2015 (with the exception of Guatemalans). At the regional level, Mexico ranks fifth among the destinations of its emigrants (Ratha and Shaw, 2007); the United States and Spain are its main extra-regional recipients.

Although the causes behind Colombian emigration are multiple, from the conditions of insecurity to the deterioration of the socio-political context, including the absence of opportunities (economic and educational) for large sectors of the population (Bermúdez, 2019), economic factors stand out in recent decades (Polo and Serrano, 2019; Ramírez et al., 2010), with a watershed in the severe financial crisis that the country went through at the end of the twentieth century, one of the most acute in its history (Torres, 2011).[9]

The arrival of Hugo Chávez to power in 1999 marks the beginning of recent Venezuelan emigration, a country that for many years was an important pole of attraction for intra-regional migration.[10] The end of commodity boom-driven economic growth in 2012, coupled with the deep recession and exorbitant hyperinflation that followed, catapulted international mobility.[11] Since 2015, emigration has become massive, a part of which takes on overtones of forced displacement in a context of humanitarian crisis and worsening poverty (Acosta, Blouin and Freier, 2019; Freitez, 2019; Gandini et al., 2019; Vivas and Páez, 2017). The International Organization for Migration (IOM) estimated that in October 2019 more than 4.4 million Venezuelans had left the country, out of a total of 28.5 M (IOM, 2019), equivalent to 15.4% of the population; with most heading to the Andean Corridor[12] (IOM, 2019). It was between 2000 and 2010 when large contingents of Venezuelans arrived in Mexico, a period in which they nearly quadrupled (from 2,823 to 10,786). In 2015, they were already the second largest immigration group among non-Central Americans, after Colombians.

Migration selectivity and labor insertion

Migrants do not constitute a representative (random) sample of the societies from which they depart, since they have selected traits - positive or negative - with respect to the whole, one of the best-known empirical regularities of migration. Age, education, differences in income distribution and wage dispersion between the societies of origin and destination, geographical distance, social networks, and migration policies are among the factors that influence the type of selectivity of migrants at any given time (Borjas, 1987; Browning and Feindt, 1969; Fernández-Huertas, 2011; Mackenzie and Rapoport, 2010).

Age, education, and sex are the three most important attributes with respect to which migrants

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[9] In 1999, GDP contracted 4.2%, and unemployment climbed to 22% (Torres, 2011).

[10] Since 1950, Venezuela received substantial volumes of immigrants, with a peak in the 1980s, exceeding one million people (Martínez and Orrego, 2016).

[11] Between 1991 and 2015, GDP per capita fell 53 %; from 2013 to 2017, cumulative inflation was 10,630 % (Zambrano and Sosa, 2018 cit. in Freitez, 2019).

[12] Ecuador, Bolivia, Colombia and Peru.

differ. In general, those who move tend to be young people of working age due to the strong association between spatial mobility and labor market insertion. Migrants tend to have higher levels of education than their peers in the place of origin (positive selection) -a condition that is less universal than concentration in certain age brackets-, an aspect that may change over time (Browning and Feindt, 1969). Educational selectivity decreases as migration networks expand in a community, as they reduce travel costs, making migration accessible to a more heterogeneous (less select) group of people (Mackenzie and Rapoport, 2010).

The predominance of male, female, or balanced gender composition of migrant flows and *stocks* varies historically and is contingent on a complex set of factors that are difficult to discern and subject to empirical evaluation. Mention should be made of strictly economic aspects (gender segregation of labor markets); political aspects (provisions favoring -or not- family reunification); and demographic aspects (imbalances in marriage markets, demographic aging, etc.).

For the analytical purposes of this article, it is important to highlight the importance of educational selectivity because of its known effects on the labor market insertion of migrants and their incomes. A higher level of education is associated with spatial mobility, since more educated people are more likely to change their residence: the higher the level of education, the greater the number of movements (Docquier and Marfouk, 2006; González, Recaño and López, 2020; Sjaastad, 1962). A generalized finding is that the educational levels (and skills and experience) of migrants favor their chances of labor market insertion and their income (Belot and Hatton, 2008). However, this positive correlation may change over time. Evidence for the United States shows that initial discrepancies between the incomes of native-born and immigrants with similar educational levels at the time of arrival attenuate over time and may even reverse in favor of the foreign-born (Borjas, 1987).

In the context of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) countries, Mexico stands out as one of the four destinations with the highest percentage of immigrants with tertiary education,[13] after Ireland, Canada, and Australia (values of 39.7%, 38.0%, 37.9% and 37.1%, respectively, data for 2000-2001) (Belot and Hatton, 2008). The data is striking because -in contrast to these countries- Mexico is not a large recipient of migrants. The authors point out that these countries (including Mexico) "tend" to select and to attract immigrants with high levels of education.

Data referring to the percentages of the population 25 years of age and older with at least a high school education in the four immigrant groups, compared to the same population in their countries of origin, corroborate the statement: in all cases immigrants residing in Mexico exceed their peers by values ranging from 12.3 to 46.4 percentage points (see Table A.1 in the Appendix).

Methodological approach and analytical strategy

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[13] Percentage of those born abroad, aged 15 years and older, with some tertiary (post-secondary) education (Belot and Hatton, 2008).

The empirical exercise we undertake below seeks to highlight differences in the demographic composition (level of feminization, education, age, socio-spatial location) and economic insertion (occupation sector, type of activity, position at work, labor income) of immigrants, highlighting inequalities in their universe as measured by their labor income.

By addressing sociodemographic aspects, we offer an overview based on the 1990, 2000 and 2010 Population and Housing Censuses and the 2015 Intercensal Survey (INEGI, s. f.-d). On the other hand, when delving into the socio-labor dimension, we focus on the year 2015, exploiting this survey, given the limitations of population censuses to analyze labor markets.[14] At different points in the analysis we introduce the following subpopulations as control variables: the rest of the Latin American immigrants, the total number of foreigners and those born in Mexico.

The quantitative exercise uses descriptive and multivariate analyses (multiple correspondence analysis and linear regression). Multiple correspondence analysis is an ideal technique for the examination of categorical variables since it provides a graphic representation of the association between individuals and variables in a two-dimensional plane. We sought to identify the patterns of association between socio-labor variables and the countries of origin of Latin American immigrants. With multiple linear regression we sought to determine the factors that influence the increase in labor income, controlling for a set of independent variables (individual, social, labor and spatial, which are explained below). Due to statistical reasons, when examining socio-labor heterogeneity (correspondence analysis) and the determinants of individual income (linear regression), we excluded Mexicans, since their magnitude would prevent us from observing internal differences between the selected groups.

The analytical strategy proposes a systematic contrast between the groups with a longer and shorter migration tradition to Mexico under the theoretical assumption that seniority favors better labor market insertion, since the initial disadvantages of immigrants (inexperience, lack of knowledge of the market, institutional barriers, etc.) are reduced, while their social capital (social networks) grows. For some authors, this may be a product of the assimilation process, or of a change in the composition (the quality) of the immigrant cohorts (Borjas, 1987).

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[14] In general, censuses restrict the exhaustive analysis of labor market insertion due to the smaller number of questions. The sample size of the 2015 Intercensal Survey (22 million, equivalent to 18 % of an estimated population of 119 million in 2015) allows for higher levels of disaggregation in small populations such as these (immigrants represent less than 1 % of the population); more robust confidence intervals and reliable coefficients of variation at the limits of representativeness. The 2010 and 2020 census samples are smaller.

Thus, the first research hypothesis holds that in a highly select universe such as the one comprising these four groups (Cubans, Argentines, Colombians, and Venezuelans), greater seniority promotes better labor market insertion. However, this will be conditioned by the socio-spatial heterogeneity of the labor markets in which they participate: the greater the concentration in metropolitan areas, the better the employment situation (second hypothesis). This is the way in which we empirically approach the diversity of the labor markets, given the possibilities of disaggregation that the source allows us for a reduced population universe such as the one comprising these immigrants. We first address the sociodemographic dimension (level of feminization, education, age, socio-spatial location), followed by the labor dimension.

Sociodemographic profile: selected and heterogeneous

Masculinity ratios (Figure 2) show that women predominate among those born in Latin America: in 2015, 90 men resided in the country for every 100 women from the subcontinent. Feminization is a general aspect of intraregional immigration (Martínez and Orrego, 2016) that finds further confirmation in the case of Mexico. Our groups of analysis are strikingly opposed in this aspect: in Cubans and Argentines, men prevail, in Colombians and Venezuelans, women. The relative masculinization of Cubans and Argentines is consistent with the profile of their emigrants in the 2000 and 2010 censuses, according to ECLAC (Martínez and Orrego, 2016). The *stock* of Argentines residing in Mexico has fluctuated between equilibrium and masculinization (Figure 2). Cubans, on the other hand, transited from feminization (1990-2010) to masculinization (Figure 3).[15] It is possible that this reversal of the trend is cyclical and is related to the increase in the number of transit migrants in their universe, as mentioned above (Ramírez, 2019).

The feminization of Colombians and Venezuelans is also consistent with the profile of their emigrants in the 2000 and 2010 censuses (Martínez and Orrego, 2016), although it is considerably more marked in residents of Mexico, with masculinity ratios of 73.9 and 77.9, respectively. At the regional level, values ranged from 90 to 93.8 men per 100 women in 2000 and 2010 (Martinez and Orrego, 2016, p. 19). Figure 2 indicates that feminization has been an enduring feature of Venezuelan and Colombian immigrants in the country (Gandini, Pietro and Lozano, 2019; Merchan and Merchan, 2019).

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[15] The sex composition of Cuban immigration has varied historically: masculinized between 1868 and 1959, balanced in the mid-20th century, feminized from 1970 to 2010 (Herrera, 2010; Martínez and Bobes, 2010; and own tables).

Figure 2. Masculinity ratios of Latin American immigrants in Mexico (selected countries: 1970-2015).
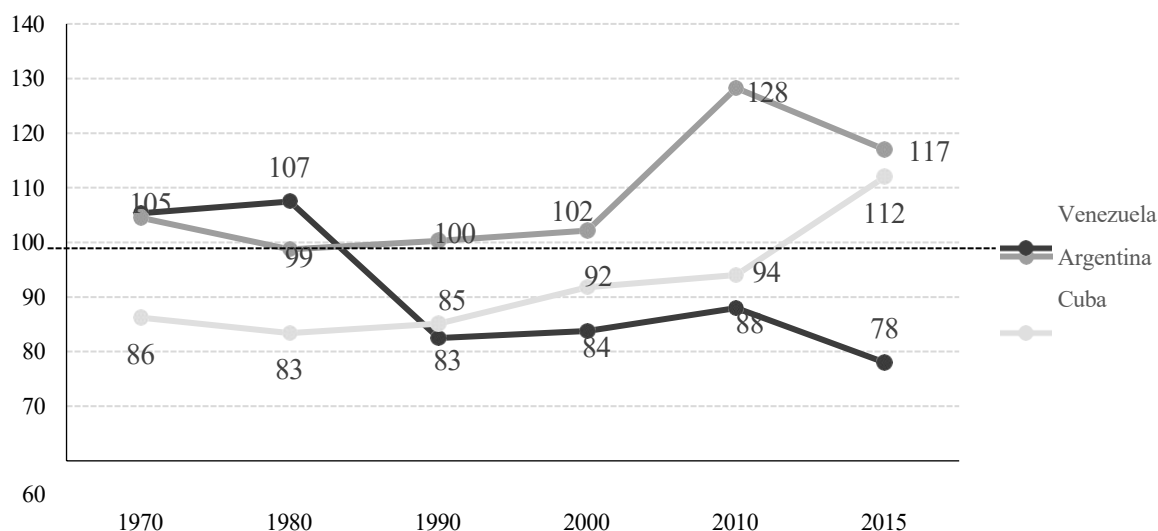
Source: own estimates based on population censuses 1990, 2000, 2010 and
Intercensal Survey 2015 (INEGI, s. f.-d).

In line with trends in demographic change, the median age of immigrants has risen markedly between 1990 and 2015 (from 27 to 36 years) (see Table 2). The analysis groups also differ with respect to this attribute: in 2015, Venezuelans and Colombians were young adults (mean age 34 and 35 years, respectively) and recent immigrants, as about 40% had lived in another country five years earlier (see Appendix Table A.2). In contrast, Argentines and Cubans had an older age structure (median age of 39 and 45 years), and more than two thirds (72%) had resided in the country five years earlier (see Table A.2 in the Appendix). Such features are due both to the historicity of their immigration to Mexico and to the fact that they come from countries located in more advanced stages of the demographic transition process.[16]

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[16] Cuba is the most aged country, with 22.9 % of the population in the 60 years and older age bracket, followed by Argentina (17.8 %), Colombia (12.1 %) and Venezuela (10.6 %) (United Nations, 2015).

Table 2. Sociodemographic characteristics of immigrants in Mexico (1990-2015)

Indicators	1990	2000	2010	2015
Median Age				
Latin Americans	27	34	35	36
Argentina	38	40	38	39
Colombia	30	35	36	35
Cuba	52	40	42	45
Venezuela	28	31	33	34
Other Latin Americans	25	32	35	35
Other countries	15	10	9	12
Total foreigners	19	14	12	14
Mean years of education*				
Latin Americans	11.0	10.6	11.8	12.2
Argentina	13.4	14.1	15.0	15.0
Colombia	14.1	14.9	15.6	15.4
Cuba	12.4	13.9	14.7	15.0
Venezuela	14.0	14.9	15.5	15.8
Other Latin Americans	10.2	9.2	9.9	11.5
Other countries	11.0	11.9	12.9	14.2
Total foreigners	11.0	11.5	12.5	12.6

* It refers to the population aged 20 years and older.

Note: those whose place of birth is listed as "America" are not considered, because it is not possible to identify whether they are from the United States or Latin America.
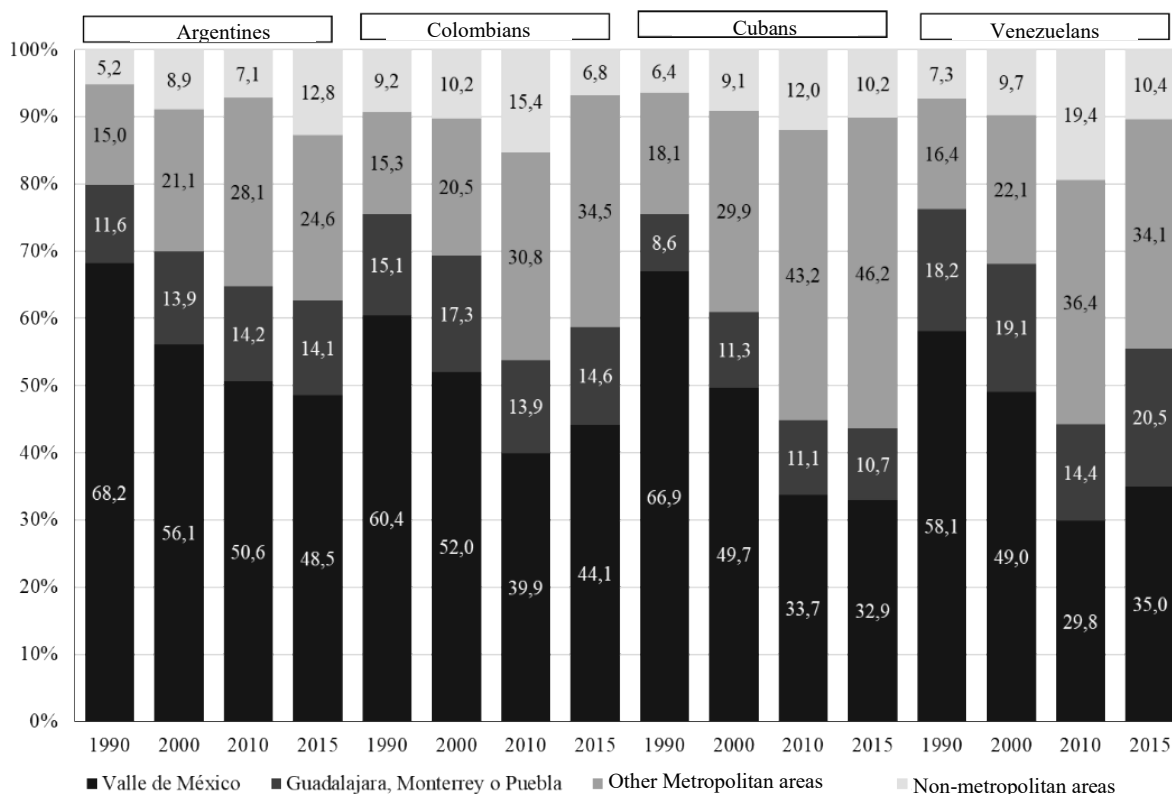
Source: own estimates based on Population Census 1990, 2000, 2010 and Intercensal Survey 2015 (INEGI, s. f.-d).

Between 1990 and 2015, there has been a gradual increase in mean years of education (from 11 to 12.2 years) in the total number of Latin Americans living in Mexico aged 20 years and older, consistent with the expansion of the schooling process in the region (Table 2). The analysis groups present differences according to this variable: Colombians and Venezuelans, with a shorter migration tradition to the country and who are younger, exceeded Argentines and Cubans by between 0.4 and 1.1 years of education throughout the observation period. In 2015, the nationals of these countries exceeded other Latin Americans and the total number of foreigners by at least 2.4 years of mean years of education.

Socio-spatial location, a variable that indirectly brings us closer to the diversity of labor markets, reveals the high concentration of immigrants from these four countries in the country's main metropolitan areas (Figures 3 and 4). With respect to this characteristic, the groups analyzed are not aligned according to migratory tradition: while Argentines (62.6%) and Colombians (58.7%) are relatively more concentrated in the capital or in one of the three metropolitan areas that follow in size (Guadalajara, Monterrey, Puebla), Venezuelans, and above all Cubans, are more concentrated in relative terms in the rest of the metropolitan areas, with percentages of 34.1% and 46.1%, respectively. The presence of Venezuelans in the rest of the metropolitan areas can probably be linked to the functional economic region of Villahermosa (oil zone), as magnet for skilled Venezuelan emigration (Delgado, 2019). The

spatial dispersion of Cubans is consistent with the historical patterns of settlement of their immigrants in certain regions of the country (Yucatan Peninsula, Veracruz), as mentioned above.
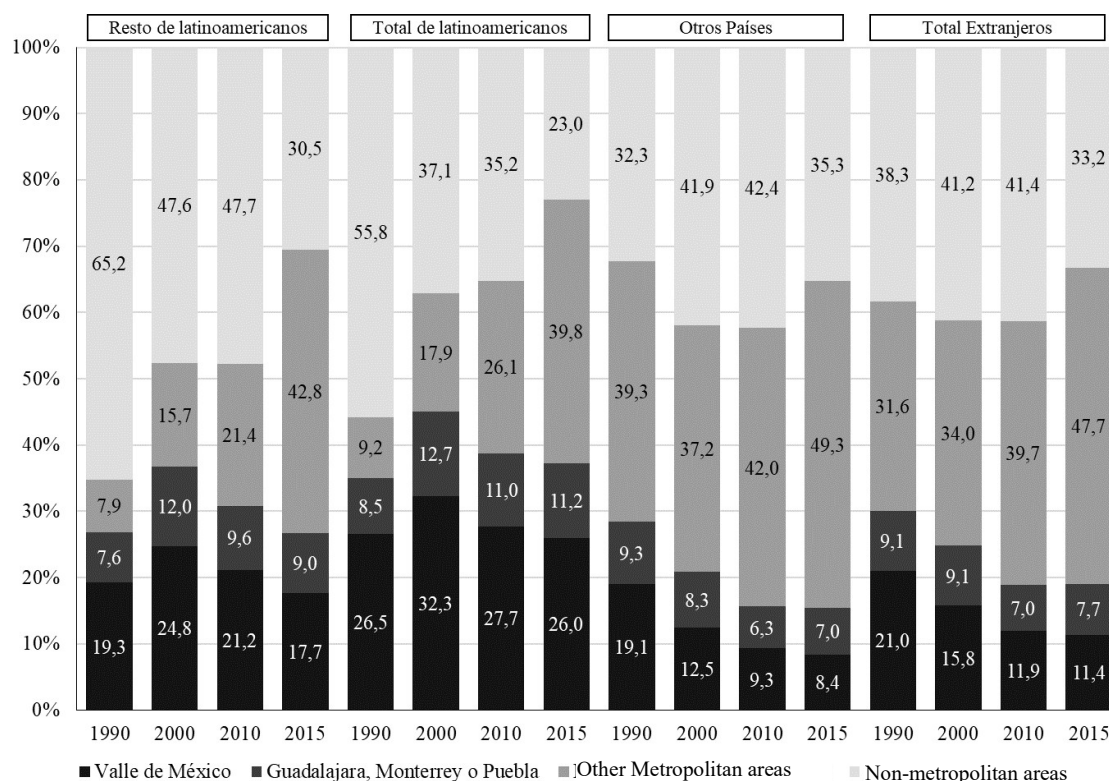
Figure 3. Residence of Latin American immigrants according to metropolitan area (selected countries): 1990-2015)

Note: those whose place of birth is listed as "America" are not considered, because it is not possible to identify whether they are from the United States or Latin America.

Source: own estimates based on Population Census 1990, 2000, 2010 and Intercensal Survey 2015 (INEGI, s. f.-d). Delimitation of Mexico's metropolitan areas, 1990, 2000, 2010 and 2015.

Figure 4. Residence of immigrants by region of origin and metropolitan area (Mexico: 1990-2015)

Note: those whose place of birth is listed as "America" are not considered, because it is not possible to identify whether they are from the United States or Latin America.

Source: own estimates based on Population Census 1990, 2000, 2010 and Intercensal Survey 2015 (INEGI, s. f.-d). Delimitation of Mexico's metropolitan areas, 1990, 2000, 2010 and 2015.

A diachronic view (1990-2015) reveals a clear trend towards spatial redistribution of immigrants to other metropolitan areas, consistent with the patterns of urbanization in Mexico (Garza, 2003). In the early 1990s more than 60% of immigrants from these four countries resided in the Metropolitan Zone of the Valley of Mexico; 25 years later, the percentage dropped to one third, except for Argentines.

Social and labor market insertion: advantaged but unequal

The analysis of the labor market insertion of Latin American immigrants that we undertake in this paper has the interest of focusing on foreigners who are educationally select, a condition that gives them undoubted advantages in the labor market. As Table 3 shows, immigrants from these four countries outperform Mexicans and other Latin Americans in all the indicators considered: average income, type of activity, occupation sector (non-manual or manual). They also have important intergroup differences.

Whether we take average or median income, Argentines, Cubans, Colombians, and Venezuelans earn at least twice as much as other Latin Americans, and three times as much as Mexicans (Table 3). A glance at the features of their labor market insertion allows us to understand this dissimilarity. Overall, more than 80% of Argentines, Cubans, Colombians and Venezuelans are non-manual workers (and between 44% and 56.8% are professionals and managers), a percentage that does not exceed 45.1% for other Latin Americans and those born in Mexico. In the same sense, even though all population groups are mostly in the tertiary sector, the dominant sector of the Mexican economy since the mid-1990s, the presence of Argentines, Cubans, Colombians, and Venezuelans in the modern (or high) areas of this sector (social and financial services, around 45.6%) is much greater than that of other Latin Americans (22.6%) and Mexicans (26.3%). In other words, immigrants from these four countries are overrepresented in areas of the labor market that enjoy better conditions and require skilled labor force (Garcia, 2012; Garcia and Oliveira, 2001).

In order to identify the patterns of association between the different socio-labor variables and the origins of immigrants, we applied a multiple correspondence analysis for all Latin Americans, which allows us to delineate our groups of analysis in the regional immigration group as a whole.[17] The variables included are: occupation sector (non-manual or manual); type of activity (primary, secondary and tertiary type: high or low); and a range of average labor income (between 10 thousand and 20 thousand Mexican pesos). As can be seen in Figure 5, the first dimension of the coordinate axis, which explains more than 90% of the variance, discriminates immigrants according to whether they are manual workers (the sector in which other Latin Americans are exclusively located) or non-manual workers (negative and positive values, respectively). The second dimension separates them by the sector or subsector of insertion in the economy: primary and secondary versus modern or high tertiary (social, government and finance) and traditional or low tertiary (commerce, transportation, and various services).

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[17] For statistical reasons we excluded Mexicans, as their large volume would have obscured internal differences among Latin Americans.

Table 3. Socio-labor indicators by migratory status (region and country of origin, Mexico, 2015)

Social and labor indicators (1)	Argentines	Colombians	Cubans	Venezuelans	Other Latin Americans	Latin Americans	Other Foreigners	Total Foreigners	Mexican Population
Working age population	8,948	10,342	7,732	8,135	56,835	91,992	144,091	237,144	45,085,410
Economically active	64.7	59.3	64.8	61.1	57.9	59.5	35.2	41.9	50.2
Non-economically active	34.8	40.3	35.2	38.4	41.9	40.3	64.4	57.8	49.4
Total	99.6	99.6	100.0	99.5	99.8	99.8	99.7	99.7	99.6
Work status									
Salaried employee	58.0	66.4	68.3	72.5	65.3	65.6	70.0	68.3	73.2
Non-salaried employee	40.8	33.1	30.5	27.4	33.2	33.2	28.3	30.2	25.6
Total (2)	98.8	99.5	98.8	99.9	98.4	98.8	98.3	98.5	98.8
Type of business activity									
Primary	--	--	--	--	14.6	9.4	4.6	6.4	1.1
Secondary	12.5	13.6	6.3 *	22.1	18.7	16.8	19.3	18.3	27.8
Tertiary (subtotal)	82.5	83.7	90.0	74.3	65.1	71.8	73.0	72.5	71.1
Trade, transportation and other services (Low tertiary)	40.2	36.8	39.9	31.1	42.4	40.4	41.4	41.0	44.8
Social, government and financial (High Tertiary)	42.3	46.9	50.2	43.2	22.6	31.4	31.6	31.5	26.3
Total types of economic activity (2)	95.0	97.4	96.3	96.4	98.3	97.9	96.9	97.3	100.00
Occupational categories									
Non-manual (subtotal)	82.5	85.9	86.3	87.6	45.1	60.6	65.0	63.3	42.1
Professionals and executives	44.0	49.3	50.1	56.8	20.9	31.9	28.8	30.1	13.6
Other non-manual	38.5	36.6	36.2	30.8	24.3	28.6	36.1	33.2	28.5
Manual	15.5	13.6	13.1 *	11.7 *	54.0	38.6	33.4	35.4	57.9
Total (2)	98.0	99.5	99.4	99.3	99.2	99.1	98.4	98.7	142.10
Average labor income (3)									
Salaried employee	27,283.25	24,329.16	13,853.79	23,047.47	10,867.95	15,084.00	17,584.23	16,607.45	6,404.14
Non-salaried employee	22,651.01	15,357.38	15,465.02	22,188.89	8,868.64	12,587.00	18,851.88	16,067.47	5,863.10
Total	25,388.77	21,394.91	14,305.94	22,822.14	10,185.10	14,224.00	17,949.02	16,436.67	6,483.00

Notes: (1) The indicators refer to the population over 12 years old. Absolute and relative estimates have 90% confidence limits.

(2) Most of the indicators do not add up to 100%, because cases with no response specified are not shown.

(3) Amounts in Mexican pesos.

* These estimates should be interpreted with caution since their coefficient of variation was between 15 and 30 %.

-- Estimates with coefficients of variation greater than 30 % are omitted, as the sample yields poor estimates.
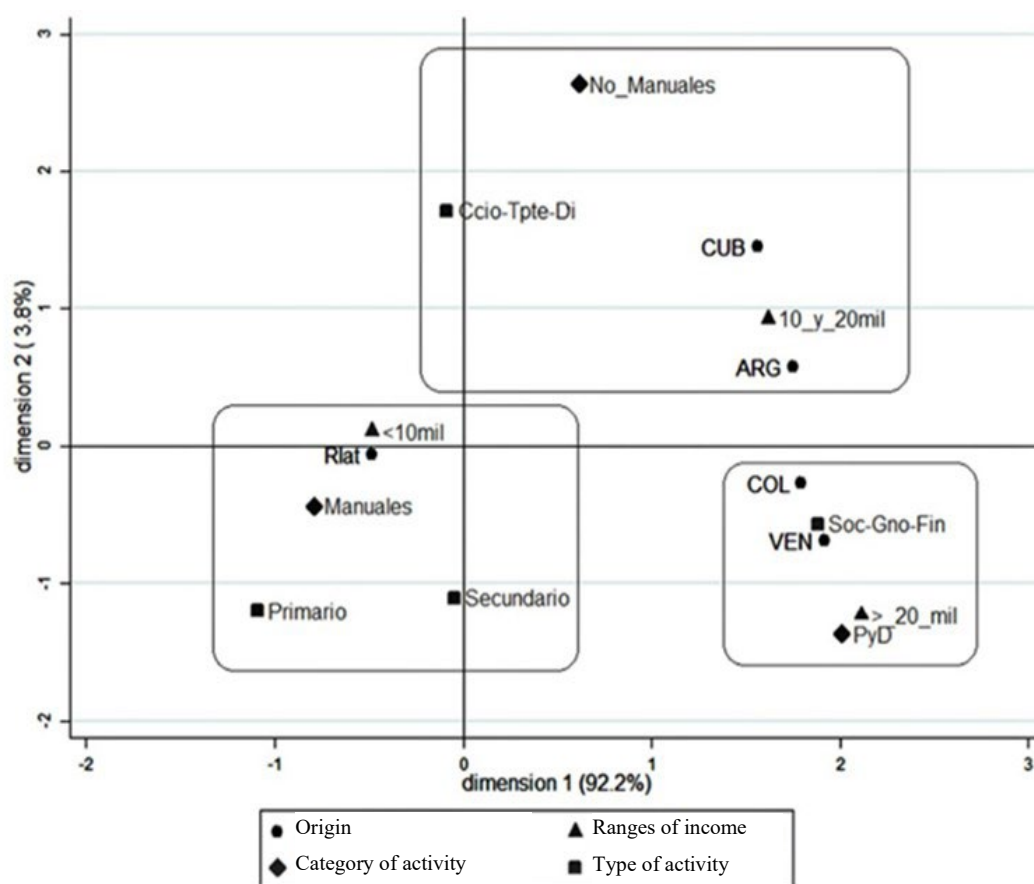
Source: own estimates based on the Intercensal Survey 2015 (INEGI, s. f.-d) and Consejo Nacional de Población (National Population Council) (CONAPO, for its acronym in Spanish).

Three patterns of association are clearly visible: one, made up of the other Latin Americans, with average salaries of less than 10,000 pesos, manual occupations, and insertion in the primary and secondary sectors of the economy. Another, made up of Colombians and Venezuelans, with high incomes, the presence of professionals and managers (high non-manual workers) and insertion in the modern subsectors of services. And a third group, somewhat more heterogeneous, which includes Cubans and Argentines, with average incomes between 10,000 and 20,000 pesos, non-manual activities, and presence in the lower service sectors.

Up to this point, the statistical analysis is consistent with the differential profiles of the immigrants previously described. In the sub-universe of the "other Latin Americans", Guatemalans, low-skilled manual workers, with a presence in the primary and secondary sectors of the economy and with low incomes, have an important weight. This group is made up of Cubans, Argentines, Colombians, and Venezuelans, who form two patterns congruent with the higher level of education of the Andeans, the most select in our sample, and their preferential labor insertion in the high tertiary subsectors (see Table 3).

This first correspondence analysis provides a reference context to deepen the internal heterogeneity of the groups of analysis. We replicate the statistical exercise by restricting the observation to the sub-universe of Argentines, Cubans, Colombians, and Venezuelans. Given that more than 80% of them are non-manual workers, we replaced this variable with that of position at work (salaried or non-salaried), in which they have greater internal variability; and we excluded the primary sector, given its null importance in this subpopulation (see Table 3). We retain the secondary sector and the differentiation between high (social services, government, and finance) and low (commerce, transportation, and miscellaneous services) subsectors of services. We raise the range of the income variable to the 20,000 threshold, by virtue of the higher incomes enjoyed by these workers.

Figure 5. Multiple correspondence analysis of the socio-labor dimension of Latin American immigrants (Mexico, 2015)

Source: Prepared by the authors based on the Intercensal Survey 2015 (INEGI, s. f.-d).

Figure 6. Multiple correspondence analysis of the socio-labor dimension of Latin American immigrants (selected countries, Mexico), 2015)
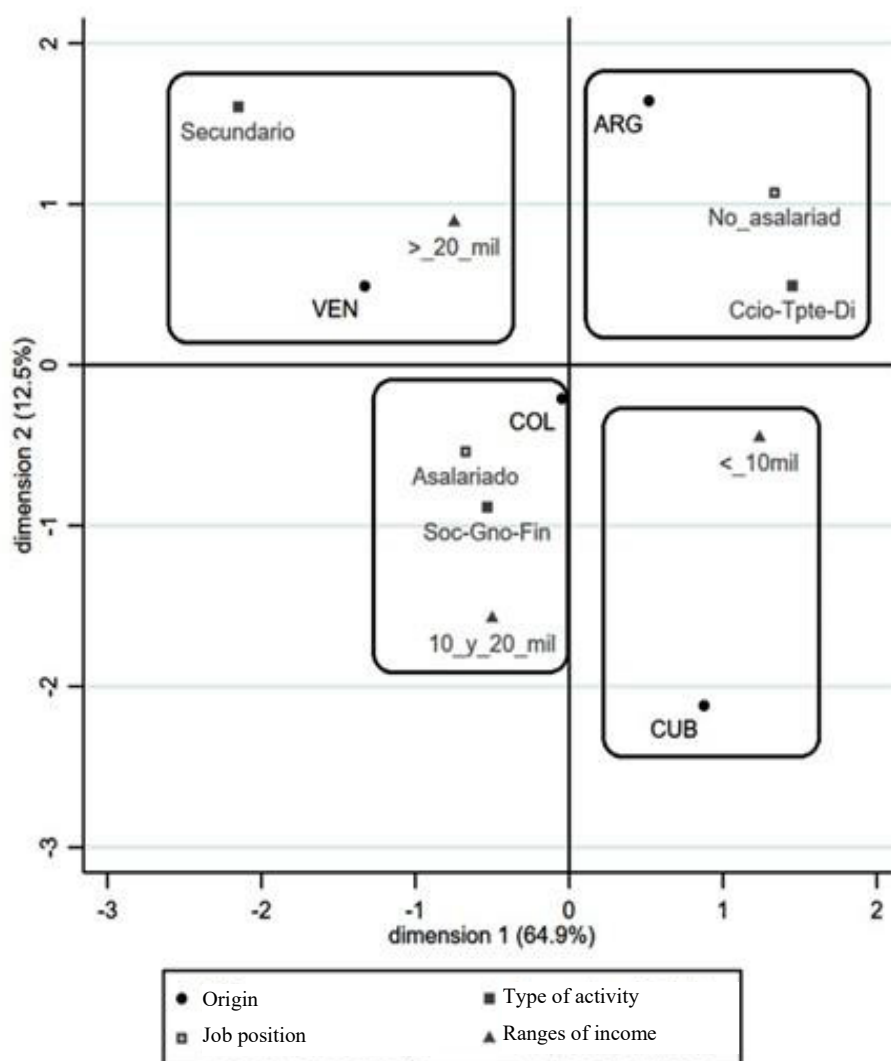
Source: Prepared by the authors based on the Intercensal Survey 2015 (INEGI, s. f.-d).

Dimension 1 of the coordinate axis (Figure 6), which accounts for 64.9 % of the variance, discriminates the four groups into two: those who are more associated with a non-salaried insertion (Argentines and, much further away, Cubans), or salaried (Venezuelans and Colombians). The second dimension of the quadrant, 12.5% of the variance, separates them according to their average income level (above or below 20,000 pesos). Four patterns of association emerge from the crossover between them: one, made up of Argentines, linked to non-wage-earning activities, working in commerce, transportation, and various services (low tertiary), but with high incomes.

A second pattern, which includes Venezuelans, with similarly high labor incomes, insertion in the secondary sector of the economy and a significant presence of professionals and managers. The other two patterns identified, made up of Colombians and Cubans, have a less

favorable situation, as they earn incomes below the threshold of more than 20 thousand pesos (mainly those born on the Caribbean Island). While Colombians, close to the origin of the coordinate axis, are wage earners in the modern (or high) tertiary sectors, Cubans, far from the average values, are more associated with non-salaried insertions (like Argentines) but earn the lowest labor income of all. The question then arises as to what factors underlie these differences in a population that is quite homogeneous in terms of its levels of education and the mainly non-manual nature of its labor force. To answer this question, we undertake a third multivariate statistical exercise.

Determinants of labor income

Figure 7 shows the beta coefficients resulting from fitting a multiple regression model for 2015, whose dependent variable is the logarithm of labor income.[18] The independent variables are grouped into four: 1) individual (age -continuous or metric variable-; age squared; education -accumulated years-; and sex, control variable); 2) social (country of origin: Argentina, Cuba, Colombia, Venezuela; and length of residency: residence five years ago); 3) labor (type of position: salaried or not; occupation sector: manual or non-manual; type of activity: primary, secondary and tertiary, high (social services, government and financial services) or low (commerce, transportation and miscellaneous services); and 4) a socio-spatial variable (residence in the Metropolitan Zone of the Valley of Mexico, or not), an indirect approximation to the socio-spatial heterogeneity of labor markets. The high goodness-of-fit values (R-squared, 0.489, Appendix Table A.3) indicate that the model accounts for much of the variability in the data.[19]

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[18] A cross-sectional linear regression model was fitted for 2015. The dependent variable, labor income, was linearized. The model was estimated by Ordinary Least Squares and Maximum Likelihood, and supported the assumptions of multicollinearity, normality, and homoscedasticity.

[19] All variables were significant at $p < 0.05$, except for two whose p-value was less than 0.10 (Colombian: 0.075, and Cuban: 0.052).

Figure 7. Coefficients of the multiple linear regression of labor income of Latin American immigrants (Mexico, 2015)
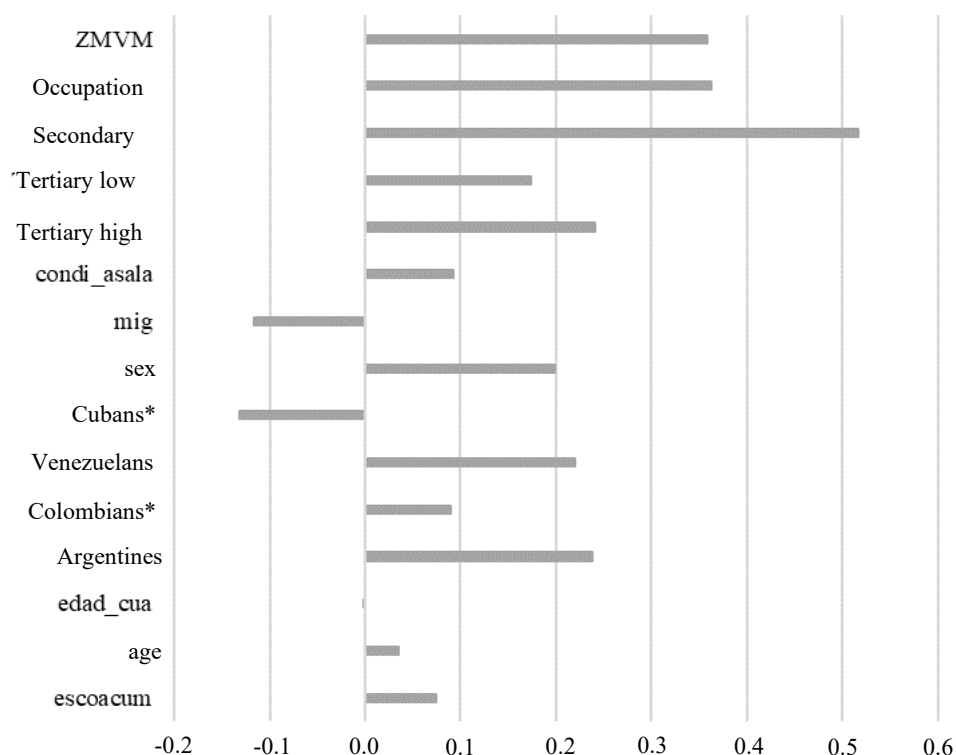
All variables were significant at p < 0.05.
* Variables significant at p < 0.010.
Source: Prepared by the authors based on the Intercensal Survey 2015 (INEGI, s. f.-d).

As shown in Figure 7, it is the labor variables, followed by the socio-spatial variable, which most favor an increase (by one unit) in income (high and positive values) once the others are controlled for. Among them, being in the secondary sector of the economy is the one with the greatest explanatory power, followed by the condition of being a non-manual worker and, with the same weight as the latter, the fact of residing in the Metropolitan Zone of the Valley of Mexico. Also, although with a lesser positive impact, belonging to the high tertiary subsectors (social, financial and government services).

After the labor and residence variables in the Metropolitan Zone of the Valley of Mexico, sociodemographic variables have the greatest explanatory capacity. Consistent with the correspondence analysis, the condition of being a national of Argentina or Venezuela (slightly less) has a positive impact on the logarithm of income. In the universe of Latin Americans, being Colombian promotes a better labor income, but in a much more moderate way, as opposed to being a native of Cuba. This variable, together with the fact of having been residing in Mexico for more than five years (length of residency), are the only ones that de facto reduce income, keeping the effect of the others fixed. In this sense, the results disprove the importance of length of residency in favoring better labor market insertion, highlighting instead the diversity of labor markets (socio-spatial location) and the type of

economic sector in which immigrants are inserted. The two most favorable conditions are being located in the secondary sector of the economy (where Venezuelans are relatively more involved) or working in Mexico City (where Argentines are concentrated).

Sex, a control variable given its known relevance in the labor market,[20] behaves as expected: being a man raises income by 0.20 units. Finally, the positive, but slight, effect of cumulative years of education on income is striking, which we understand to be related to the high educational selectivity of Latin American immigration to Mexico. This data indicates that rather than being an element of heterogeneity with a strong impact on labor conditions, as is usually the case in many labor market studies, education constitutes an aspect of relative homogeneity in this sub-universe, which does little to raise income.

In brief, the statistical analysis reveals that, although selected and with relatively advantaged positions in the labor market (especially when compared to those born in Mexico and the rest of Latin America), significant labor inequalities prevail in this group of immigrants that need to be further explored.

Conclusions

The analytical exercise undertaken in this paper sets out to delve into the heterogeneity (socio-demographic and socio-labor) of recent Latin American immigration to Mexico (1990-2015) to highlight the country's role in intraregional migration dynamics, and to examine the differential features of the labor market insertion of these immigrants, an aspect little addressed in regional research (ECLAC and ILO, 2017).

There are three sub-regions that nurture recent Latin American immigration to the country: the Andean (Colombians and Venezuelans), the Southern Cone (Argentines) and the Caribbean (Cubans). Those born in Latin America (outside Central America) stand out for their high level of education and the predominance of women. When investigating the internal diversity of the first four immigration groups in 2015 (Colombians, Venezuelans, Argentines and Cubans), differences emerged in the degree of selectivity in favor of the most recent ones (Colombians and Venezuelans); and of feminization, since in some groups men predominate (Argentines and Cubans). The high educational selectivity of these immigrants gives them considerable prerogatives in the labor market, both with respect to other Latin Americans and to Mexicans themselves.

However, there are notable inequalities in their universe - measured by labor income - that denote advantages for some (Argentines and Venezuelans) and relative disadvantages for others (Colombians and Cubans), which are not related to the length of residency, as postulated in the first research hypothesis. Venezuelans and Argentines are at the antipodes of Cubans in terms of labor income, despite the centennial presence of Caribbean nationals in the country; Colombians, on the other hand, are in an intermediate position. The relative

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[20] Considering the differences by sex would have caused sampling problems, due to the lower economic participation of women.

novelty and speed of Venezuelan immigration does not prevent its nationals from earning the best labor income, after the Argentines, once the other independent variables are controlled for. Cubans are the lowest paid in the labor market, even though they have essentially the same socio-demographic and socio-labor characteristics (non-manual workers) as others.

The multivariate statistical exercise reveals that income inequalities are explained above all by socio-labor insertion, given that education is not a variable with high explanatory power in such a select sub-universe. The sectors of economic insertion (secondary, versus high or low tertiary) and the heterogeneity (socio-spatial) of the country's labor markets (Mexico City or the rest of the metropolitan area) allow us to understand the differences found, an aspect that supports the second research hypothesis. Even when Venezuelans are relatively dispersed territorially, they are the ones who exhibit a greater relative participation in the secondary sector, the one that most favors the increase in income. We hypothesize that part of this insertion takes place in the oil industry in the economically functional region of Villahermosa, a privileged labor sector. In contrast, the relative concentration of Cubans in labor markets outside Mexico City does not go hand in hand with better labor income. To clarify this question, it would be necessary to delve deeper into the specificity of the local labor markets in which they participate outside the main metropolis (Yucatan, Veracruz, and other smaller metropolitan areas).

Two aspects to which this paper hopes to contribute are: to highlight Mexico's place in the intraregional migration dynamics; and to delve into the socioeconomic profiles and labor inequalities present in the select group of Latin American immigrants who have made Mexico their place of life and work over the years.

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Apéndice

Tabla A.1. Porcentaje de población de 25 años y más con al menos educación secundaria (no necesariamente culminada, 2015)

	En el país de origen	**En México**	**Diferencias**
Argentina	54,6	98,3	43,7
Colombia	50,2	96,6	46,4
Cuba	84,8	97,1	12,3
Venezuela	68,9	98,9	30,0

Fuente: Programa de Desarrollo de la Naciones Unidas y Encuesta Intercensal 2015 (INEGI).

http://hdr.undp.org/en/indicators/23806

Tabla A.2. Inmigrantes latinoamericanos en México por condición de antigüedad (2015)

Indicadores	Argentinos	Colombianos	Cubanos	Venezolanos	Resto de Latinoamericanos	Total de latinoamericanos
Lugar de residencia 5 años atrás*						
Antiguos	73,0	60,6	80,2	59,9	75,7	72,7
Recientes	26,6	38,3	19,5	39,5	23,8	26,7
Total	99,6	98,8	99,7	99,4	99,4	99,4

*Los indicadores de lugar de residencia cinco años atrás y escolaridad se refieren a los mayores a 5 y 15 años, respectivamente.

Fuente: estimaciones propias con base en la Encuesta Intercensal 2015 (INEGI) y Consejo Nacional de Población (CONAPO).

Tabla A.3. Modelo de regresión múltiple del ingreso laboral de los inmigrantes latinoamericanos (México, 2015)

Variable independiente	Coeficiente Beta	Error estándar	t	P>t	[95% Intervalo de confianza]	
Escolaridad acumulada	0,07	0,00	21,89	0	0,07	0,08
Edad métrica	0,04	0,01	6,74	0	0,02	0,05
Edad al cuadrado	0,00	0,00	-5,73	0	0,00	0,00
Latinoamericanos						
Argentinos	0,24	0,06	3,86	0	0,12	0,36
Colombianos*	0,09	0,05	1,78	0,075	-0,01	0,19
Venezolanos	0,22	0,06	3,56	0	0,10	0,34
Cubanos*	-0,13	0,07	-1,94	0,052	-0,26	0,00
Resto de Latinoamericanos	--	--	--	--	--	--
Sexo						
Hombre	0,20	0,03	6,63	0	0,14	0,26
Mujer	--	--	--	--	--	--
Antigüedad de la migración						
Antigua	-0,12	0,04	-3,21	0,001	-0,19	-0,04
Reciente	--	--	--	--	--	--
Posición en el trabajo						
Asalariado	0,09	0,03	2,9	0,004	0,03	0,15
No asalariado	--	--	--	--	--	--
Sector de la economía						
Terciario Alto	0,24	0,06	4,09	0	0,13	0,36
Terciario Bajo	0,17	0,04	3,92	0	0,09	0,26
Secundario	0,52	0,04	11,63	0	0,43	0,60
Sector de la ocupación						
No manual	0,36	0,04	8,69	0	0,28	0,44
Manual	--	--	--	--	--	--
Residencia						
Zona Metropolitana del Valle de México	0,36	0,05	7,89	0	0,27	0,45
Otro lugar	--	--	--	--	--	--
	6,59	0,12	54,1	0	6,35	6,83

Todas las variables fueron significativas a p < 0,05.
*Variables significativas al p < 0,010.
Valores del modelo: (1) número de observaciones: 9.210; (2) tamaño de la población: 72.938; (3) Prob > F: 0;
(4) R-squared: 0,489.

Fuente: elaboración propia con base en la Encuesta Intercensal 2015 (INEGI).