

OCCUPATIONAL LEGACY: An analysis of young people in rural work HERANÇA OCUPACIONAL: Uma análise dos jovens no trabalho rural

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to analyze the probability of young people living in rural areas performing the same occupations as their parents in the Brazilian labor market, based on the PNADC 2017 - National Continuous Household Sample Survey - and the measure of conditional probabilities. The results show that the profession of the young is marked by the family professional trajectory and family expectations. Male sons inherit their father's occupations, while daughters inherit their mother's occupations. Children whose fathers and mothers are in the same occupation, regardless of gender, are more likely to perform the same occupation as their parents, but this tendency is lower in single-parent families. Occupational legacy may promote a poverty trap whether occupation is secondary, with low wage and precarious work generating a vicious cycle of poverty. Young people are also influenced by their parents in relation to human capital, which will determine their occupation and work remuneration. The higher the educational level of young people the greater the chances of pursuing different professions from their parents. These results confirm the importance of education in rural areas, which contributes to a better quality of life for rural families.

Keywords: Occupational legacy. Rural occupation. Occupational choice.

RESUMO

Este estudo tem por objetivo analisar a probabilidade dos jovens que residem no meio rural atuarem nas mesmas ocupações de seus pais no mercado de trabalho brasileiro, a partir dos microdados da PNADC 2017 - Pesquisa Nacional por Amostra de Domicílios Contínua - e da medida das probabilidades condicionais. Os resultados mostram que a profissão do jovem é marcada pela trajetória profissional e expectativas familiares. Os filhos homens herdaram as ocupações do pai, enquanto as filhas herdaram as ocupações das mães. Filhos, cujos pais e mães exerçam a mesma ocupação, independente do gênero, têm maior probabilidade de executar a mesma ocupação dos pais, mas essa tendência é menor em famílias monoparentais. O legado ocupacional pode promover uma armadilha da pobreza se a ocupação for secundária, de baixos salários e trabalho precário gerando um ciclo vicioso de pobreza. Os jovens também sofrem influência dos pais em relação ao capital humano, que determinará sua ocupação e remuneração do trabalho. Quanto mais elevada for a escolaridade dos jovens, maiores as chances de seguirem profissões diferentes das exercidas

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pelos pais. Esses resultados confirmam a importância da política educacional, o que contribui para uma melhor qualidade de vida das famílias do meio rural.

Palavras-chave: Legado ocupacional. Emprego rural. Escolha ocupacional.

JEL: J24, J43, P46

INTRODUCTION

In a heterogeneous country such as Brazil, when comparing regions and economic sectors, rural activity stands out for its vast diversity of production, income and jobs, which makes this labor market complex and dynamic. For Puntel, Paiva and Ramos (2011) it is possible to observe that the rural environment is an increasingly heterogeneous and unequal space, with youth being the most affected class, justified by the lack of perspectives for those who live on agriculture. More and more young people are looking for other aspirations for their life projects, usually linked to the desire for insertion in the modern world. Professional choice is therefore an important decision about what to do in occupational terms and what individuals want to be in the future, as an ongoing process consisting of various life-long decisions, influenced by discourses and values that circulate in the family environment (LUCHIARI, 1996; SOBROSA et al., 2015).

Professional decision is and will be relevant not only to your individual future, but to a generation as it will form a family and influence your children in their career choice, and your children will influence your grandchildren and so on a link will be built from generation to generation. Thus, in the process decision of an occupation young people can mirror their parents conditioned to the socioeconomic environment and the job supply.

Young people take into consideration the desire and preconscious experience, related to the expectations and desire of family members when choosing an occupation. For Luchiari (1996) they choose their profession in line with the expectations of their parents; choose professions not performed by their parents, fulfilling their parents' dream, that is, choosing the occupation that their parents would like to have followed; and choose by identification their parents' profession, that is, the same profession as their father or mother. In the same direction, Carvalho and Taveira (2009) argue that the family has been considered as the most influential factor in the process of choosing young people's careers.

In the rural context, changes in productive structures and infrastructure conditions and, especially, the reduction of job opportunities encourage the insertion of women and young people in non-agricultural activities, most of them in precarious conditions and without labor guarantees, especially in execution of domestic services and informal trade (MATTEI, 2015).

Therefore, this study seeks to measure the classic conditional probability of a rural youth working in the same or similar occupations of his parents in Brazil. It is possible to verify if there is an unwanted legacy that provides a poverty trap, because most of these agricultural occupations is in the secondary segment of the labor market, as explained by the dual market theory. Despite parents' encouragement to their children from studying and looking for better opportunities in the cities, as work in the countryside is hard and constantly dependent on nature, there is still a large proportion of these young people who continue in the same occupation as their father or mother.

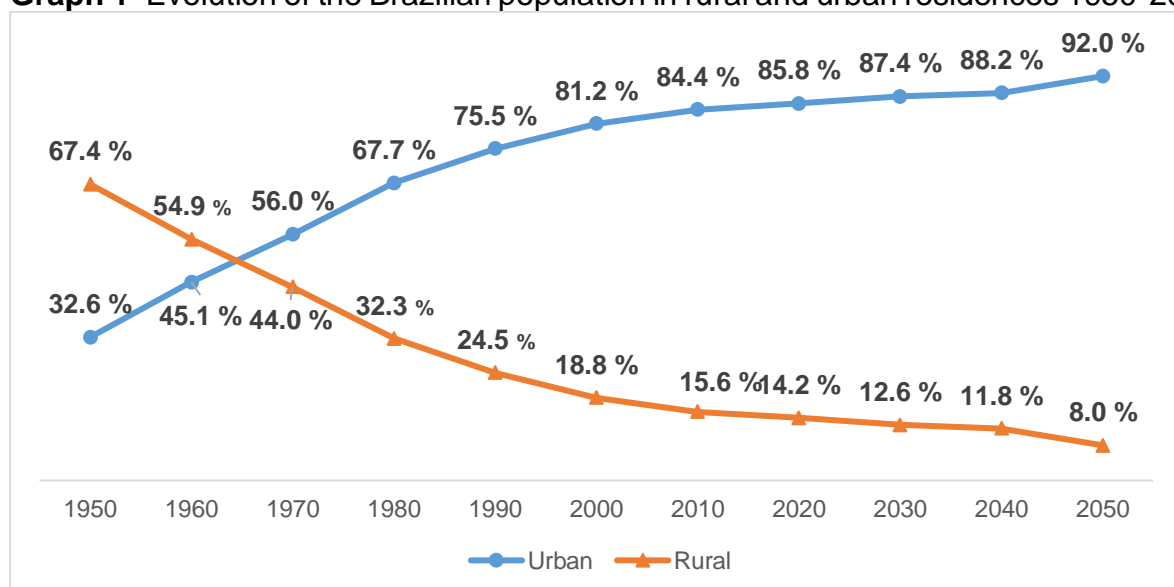
These findings may contribute to the better characterization of inequalities in rural areas and their persistence over time, stimulating public actions to promote investment in human capital of these young people, with the chance of occupation in primary segments, good working conditions and higher wages. Human capital plays an important role in the formation of the human being, both in the building of knowledge, as in the strengthening and construction of his personality, exerting great influence on the choices these young people will make (PUNTEL, PAIVA AND RAMOS, 2011).

This study is organized into five sections, including the introduction. The second section addresses the theoretical and empirical references. The third section exposes the database and the methodology used, as well as the variables. The fourth section shows the characteristics of the rural worker and the probability of the young person's insertion in an occupation equal or similar performed by his father or mother. Finally, we discuss the conclusions of the work.

THEORETICAL AND EMPIRICAL REFERENCES

The rural population has been decreasing significantly in recent decades and future projections are not the most encouraging. According to DIEESE (2014) in the last Brazilian demographic census of 2010, the population totaled 190 million people and of this amount approximately 15.6% represented rural population of the country, 29 million people. This percentage indicates a significant relative reduction when compared to the 1950 percentage where the rural population corresponded to approximately 63.8%. With the data from the census and projections performed by DIEESE, Graph 1 shows the evolution of the Brazilian rural population.

Graph 1- Evolution of the Brazilian population in rural and urban residences 1950-2050



Source: Prepared by the authors from Census data (IBGE) available from DIEESE / 2014

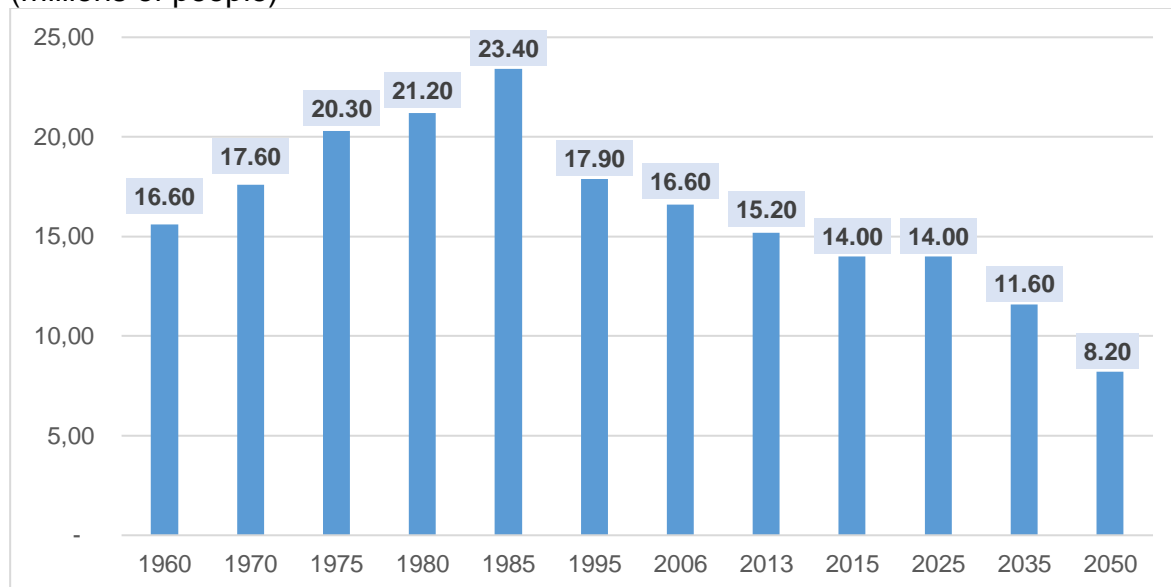
As observed in the 1960s and 1970s, there was an inversion of the results, where the urban population became the majority in Brazil. From these decades the

rural population has been losing space year after year, and if this trend continues, it is estimated that by 2050 the rural population will be around 8% (18.1 million).

Also according to DIEESE (2014) the significant reduction is due to some factors such as: i) the increase in labor demand due to the higher industrial concentration in urban areas; ii) changes in the productive process in agriculture; iii) weakness in the supply of goods and services in rural areas, such as: access to health, education, leisure, transportation, etc. iv) precariousness and hardship in rural work; v) increased technology for rural activities; vi) decreased fertility, which in turn retracts the population replacement; vii) increased land concentration.

From this perspective, changes in the population profile, both rural and urban, imply changes in the labor market. There is a reduction in agricultural occupations, and, on the other hand, increasingly swollen cities can cause problems that are difficult to solve, according to Graph 2.

Graph 2 - Evolution of occupation in agricultural establishments, Brazil:1960-2050 (millions of people)



Source: Prepared by the authors based on data from DIEESE / 2014.

Regarding occupation in rural areas, in 1985, according to DIEESE data, the employed rural population was 23.4 million workers. From that year onwards, it began to fall, reaching an estimate of approximately 8.2 million employed by 2050.

The decrease in rural occupation is a reflection of the continuous changes in the countryside, which are characterized, among other things, by the advance in the specialization and mechanization of the agricultural process and, consequently, the reduction in the number of jobs and the lack of interest of young people to stay in the countryside and follow the legacy of their ancestors. This lack of interest corroborates the migration to the urban environment (for personal and / or professional reasons), especially among young people aged 16-24 years.

According to Mattei (2015) the end of the twentieth century was marked by changes in the Brazilian rural socioeconomic dynamics, as a reflection on the different forms of agriculture and occupation in the Brazilian regions. According to the same

author, the specialization of agricultural production and its individualization affects the expectations of young people from the family, who seek other forms of occupational insertion outside agriculture. This dynamic promotes other sources of household income, with agriculture being just one of them. The progressive lack of interest of young people, children of small farmers, to continue in the countryside is constantly debated in several Brazilian studies, such as Panno and Machado (2014); Balsadi and Grossi (2016); Kuhn and Brumes (2012); Troian (2009); Castro (2005) and Weisheimer (2005).

Panno and Machado (2014), in the study of Frederico Westphalen's microregion, northwest of Rio Grande do Sul, show some factors that influence the decision-making of these young people whether or not to stay in rural areas, for the authors, access to technology from information, such as the Internet, Smartphones, and Pay TV, confronts 21st century young people in a world full of "clicks" attractions. In this scenario, rural youth are becoming increasingly urban. In the scenario presented by the authors, the advance of modernization in agriculture encourages the evasion of rural young people, who follow their directions targeted by the benefits and facilities of urban centers. This evasion is of concern to regions characterized by family farming and small land holdings.

For the authors it is worrisome the lack of interest of young people to stay in rural areas, as rural youths are leaving their parents' lands to try their luck in the city, which causes overpopulation in urban areas, often with the aim of continuing their studies or other activities, often encouraged by parents. Among the aspects responsible for this reality is the lack of prospects for prosperity in rural areas. These pressures generate in young people, the desire to solidify themselves professionally in an environment that tends to provide a better approach to what they believe as a better quality of life and dignity and realize this possibility in the urban environment.

In this context the scenario for family farming and small farms is not the best, since continuity of ownership is almost exclusively a hereditary occupation, so the transfer of control of ownership to the next generation is not an easy one, given the desire young people to build their careers in the urban environment.

Mesquita et al. (2010) in their search shows that the decision to offer work is linked to the characteristics of rural property and that non-agricultural work is correlated with age, education and number of children in the family. For Kuhn and Brumes (2012), with industrialization the city became the locus of production as it concentrated manufacturing activities and the countryside began to play a secondary role, subordinated to cities. According to the authors, agricultural transformations such as mechanization, chemistry, biotechnology among others, generated the called expulsion factors that began in the migration of young people from the countryside to the cities. Therefore, the young people of the countryside are attracted to the cities due to the lack of prospects for them in the countryside.

For Castro (2005) and Weisheimer (2005), when a young person reaches work capacity, they acquire a new role within the family productive unit. However, this young man is not considered socially adult, because he is under the authority of his father. One of the reasons that young people leave the countryside and take risks in the urban environment is subordination to their parents and lack of independence.

This young person will only be considered socially adult when constituting an autonomous productive unit, after marriage or after the succession of the family establishment from father to son. To overcome the condition of young and to be part

of the adult world, the youth will have to possess the agricultural knowledge that is transmitted by the father to the child in his own work.

In their studies Kuhn and Brumes (2012) show a possible occupational segregation between genders in rural areas. Of the total of the interviewed youngsters more than 90% are responsible for the animal treatment and services close to home (taking care of the garden). The young also help in the planting and in the harvest of products grown on the property and very few young people help with household chores; this function being almost exclusively for young women, approximately 90%, and also assist in dealing with animals and services close to home. The authors also pointed out that young people are discouraged, as decision-making within the property is the sole task of parents, even though they perform activities within the production unit.

This eagerness by the youth to leave the countryside is due to their negative view of the countryside, such as: i) low product prices; ii) weather adversities; iii) price volatility; iv) lack of incentives; v) lack of leisure; vi) excessive working hours, among others. Thus, they prefer to outline future projects that have a job in the urban environment. However, according to Kuhn and Brumes (2012), the family is very important in the lives of young people and it is in this context that they build their identities.

The study by Troian (2009) sought to analyze the variables that influence young people in the localities of Dr. Pedro and Mirim to stay or leave the countryside. The results showed a tendency of young people to leave the countryside, with parents as the incentive agents for such decision, which corroborates the fact observed by Kuhn and Brumes (2012). Also, according to the author, the decision of the youth to leave or stay in the countryside has the influence of parents, religious organizations and public policies as way to encourage their stay in rural activities. However, the devaluation of rural areas by young people have contributed to the constant evasion towards urban centers in search of new professional and personal horizons.

Puntel, Paiva and Ramos (2011) point out that the increase in life expectancy, coupled with the exodus of rural young people to the urban environment, contributed to the aging of the rural population. In this scenario, the working age rural population (young people) face difficulties to build their life project in the countryside and increasingly seek better living conditions in urban centers.

In short, the succession problem in the family farming intensifies when the new generations show a lack of interest in following the family's legacy, losing the cultural traits brought by their ancestors. By this logic, young people increasingly choose wage occupation in the urban environment, which reinforces the tendency of rural emptying and aging, as presented by the above-mentioned authors, and the male predominance of the rural population.

The lack of interest in working in an agricultural occupation and staying in the countryside is a reality, but the family, especially parents, play a fundamental role in deciding the profession of their children. According to Luchiari (1996), the choice of the profession of the individual results from a process of social development since childhood in the family and school. The young person's turning point is at the time when he finishes high school and must decide whether to continue his studies, entering a university course or seeking a location in the job market.

For Almeida and Melo-Silva (2011) the process of choosing a profession derives from a complex network of factors of both individual and social dimensions. The choice is influenced by family background, educational background, characteristic

of the labor market and, more broadly, by the social, political, economic and cultural context. Together all the factors influence the vocational trajectory of the individual.

According to Luchiari (1996) this choice brings into play the young man's life story, his position within the family, and within society. For the authors, the profession of parents, grandparents and close relatives can decisively influence the choice of this young person. The author's hypothesis is that young people choose their profession taking into consideration the experience of their parents and grandparents. Thus, the authors sought to identify the influence on the profession of parents and grandparents in the process of professional choice of children. To test their hypothesis, they used as a tool a primary data survey applying a questionnaire of 40 questions in the agricultural units, and the questions collected personal information and opinions and wishes of parents and children of agricultural family units. The main results found were that the profession of parents is equal to the choice of children from 1 to 4 young people investigated. Regarding the autonomy of choices (considered "autonomy" as the choice different to the wishes of parents) the result was 1 to 6 from young people investigated.

Luchiari (1996) concluded that the choice of profession is marked by the family professional career; the wishes of parents and grandparents were fundamental to the youth. The authors found that many young people recognize the influence of parents on their decision and that the choice of profession confirmed the expectations expressed by family members. Corroborating these findings, Almeida and Melo-Silva (2011) found evidence of the role of parents in the processes of professional choice of their children, something that began in childhood. This influence can involve as objective and practical actions as even having parents as financing agents for their children's educational background. There are also subjective influences such as support, approval or disapproval of choices, expectations of outcomes, demands and even parents' beliefs about the job market, dreams and projects that they draw for their children.

It is important for parents to have expectations about their children's future so that their children can create their own life projects. However, parents' expectations should make room for their children to follow their choice, thus forming their identity and becoming aware of their wishes with relative autonomy.

Besides the influence of parents in choosing an occupation, other aspects also influence the young person. Sobrosa et al. (2015) points out that parents' opinion about the world of work is considered by young people in their future plans. It also points out that the period of choice is characterized by the search for a balance between what you want to be and what reality enables you, because professional choices involve, among other factors, personal characteristics, socioeconomic factors and the reality of the job market.

From the point of view of economic theory, in the approach of segmentation or dual market, which has as exponents Doeringer and Piore (1970), it is the personal allocative factors of individuals as education, color, gender, experience that determine the type of market in which they will be inserted. In this case, the characteristics of the job offer determine the employment of the individual. On the demand side, Vietorisz and Harrison (1973) and Harrison and Sum (1979) point out that technology segments jobs and workers' organization. There is also market segmentation due to the historical process of class disputes (LIMA, 1980).

According to Paim (2007) other factors can hinder the insertion of young people in the labor market, the lack of experience, lack of the required qualification,

the place of residence of the youth, appearance of candidates as skin color, hair type, biotype. The provisional answer to these factors is the theories of human capital and discrimination. According to the theory of human capital, the higher the level of education, experience and acquired skills, higher will be the productivity and more likely they are to be hired in better occupations with higher wage (MINCER, 1958; SCHULTZ, 1961; BECKER, 1962; LIMA, 1980). Regarding the theory of discrimination, skin color, gender and other innate characteristics are requirements for the admission and remuneration of work (PHELPS, 1972; DICKINSON; OAXACA, 2006).

Another important factor in choosing and, consequently, in inserting young people in an occupation is the family economic background that can be highlighted by Sobrosa et al. (2015), Moura and Possato (2012), and Oliveira, Pinto and Souza (2003). Young people from unfavorable socioeconomic classes tend to have difficulties to make decisions about the desired occupation, as economic constraints may limit their possibilities.

Therefore, young people from unfavorable socioeconomic classes possibly have lower expectations of professional success, which ends up creating a perpetual cycle of poverty. These young people are unmotivated in choosing the desired occupation and accepting the one closest to their reality. Consequently, choosing the profession as a teenager is not trivial and by far easy to do. This is a very important moment for young people as this choice begins in the formation of their identity and at the same time has the desire of becoming independent.

DATABASE AND METHODOLOGY

The data used by the work were collected in the National Continuous Household Sample Survey (PNADC) of 2017. The PNADC is a Brazilian survey conducted by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE) and its sample consists of respondents in Brazilian households through self-declared questionnaires. It aims to evaluate various socioeconomic characteristics of the country, such as population, education, work, income, housing, social security, migration, health, nutrition, etc. In this study, the analysis focused on occupations, data refer to the single or main job that people 14 years of age or older had in the reference week of the survey.

To quantify the probability of young people inheriting their parents' professions, the classic probability was used, when it is possible to know the number of possible outcomes of the event of interest. We used the conditional probability presented in several statistical manuals such as Hoffmann (2006), Martins and Domingues (2017), Doane and Seward (2014).

Given that \mathbf{x}_i is a vector of \mathbf{X} , such that:

$P(\mathbf{X} = \mathbf{x}_i) = P(\mathbf{x}_i) > 0$; the probability

$$P(\mathbf{Y} = \mathbf{y}_i | \mathbf{X} = \mathbf{x}_i) = \frac{P(\mathbf{X} = \mathbf{x}_i, \mathbf{Y} = \mathbf{y}_i)}{P(\mathbf{X} = \mathbf{x}_i)} \quad (1)$$

is called conditional probability of $\mathbf{Y} = \mathbf{y}_i$, such $\mathbf{X} = \mathbf{x}_i$.

Thus, for fixed \mathbf{x}_i , the pairs $[\mathbf{y}_i, P(\mathbf{Y} = \mathbf{y}_i | \mathbf{X} = \mathbf{x}_i)]$ define the conditional distribution of \mathbf{Y} , given that $\mathbf{X} = \mathbf{x}_i$.

Similarly to \mathbf{X} :

$$P(\mathbf{X} = \mathbf{x}_i | \mathbf{Y} = \mathbf{y}_i) = \frac{P(\mathbf{X} = \mathbf{x}_i, \mathbf{Y} = \mathbf{y}_i)}{P(\mathbf{Y} = \mathbf{y}_i)} \quad (2)$$

By this logic, it is possible to estimate the conditional probability of a young person performing in an occupation similar or different to that performed by his parents. To this study, we considered employed rural youth aged 14 years and over. To verify whether young people followed the same occupation as their parents, we used the codes of the 22 sectors according to the National Classification of Economic Activity (CNAE), because it will represent the influence or not of parents on the profession of their children. For example, given that the father is a bricklayer and his son is a painter, if we consider the Brazilian Occupation Classification (CBO), a measurement error can be made, because in this case one could classify the young with a different occupation from the father, that is, that the son was not influenced by the father in his profession, however, in classifying the child's profession according to CNAE this young man would fit in the same or similar occupation of his father, since if the father is a bricklayer and the son painter, so the father had some influence on his son's profession.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The procedures resulted in important data and allow us to state that, on average, persons over 14 years of age who are employed and living in the rural area and living in the household with one or both parents had an average age of approximately 23 years in Brazil. According to Balsadi and Grossi (2016), the agricultural labor market is characterized by various forms of occupation, from family work to salaried relationships. Other characteristics of the rural population over 14 years of age are presented in Table 1.

The formal wage rate for the year studied was approximately 23%. If we check the gender of these workers, we noticed a higher rate for women 25.24% and 22.05% for men. These results indicate an inversion in relation to the study developed by Mattei (2015), which was found, for 2013, a rate of agricultural wage earners of 36.8% and 10.8% for men and women, respectively. There was a significant improvement for women and a deterioration for rural men. Regarding the informality rate there was a slight worsening compared to Mattei (2015) where he found a rate of 59.4% for 2013. According to the data collected for 2017, this percentage was 63.68%.

Table 1 – Rural Employment by position in occupation and gender - individuals 14 years of age and over - Brazil - 2017.

Occupation Position	Men	Women	Total
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Employee with signed work card	1,636,212	898,535	2,534,747
	64.55 %	35.45 %	100 %
	22.05 %	25.24 %	23.09 %
Employee without signed work card	1,870,310	936,136	2,806,446
	66.64 %	33.36 %	100 %
	25.21 %	26.30 %	25.56 %
Self-employed	3,240,892	944,224	4,185,116
	77.44 %	22.56 %	100 %
	43.68 %	26.52 %	38.12 %
Employer	223,640	44,207	267,847
	83.50 %	16.50 %	100 %
	3.01 %	1.24 %	2.44 %
Auxiliary Family Worker⁵	448,025	736,699	1,184,724
	37.82 %	62.18 %	100 %
	6.04 %	20.69 %	10.79 %
Total	7,419,079	3,559,802	10,978,882
	67.58 %	32.42 %	100 %
	100 %	100 %	100 %
Salaried rate	22.05 %	25.24 %	23.09 %
Informality rate	68.89 %	52.82 %	63.68 %

Source: Prepared by the authors based on data from IBGE-PNADC / 2017.

Note: Salaried rate (with signed work card / total); informality rate (without signed work card + Self-employed) / total).

The deterioration in men's wage rate is reflected in an increase in informality, approximately 69%. Other results that meet the study by Mattei (2015) is the occupation rate of men (67.58%) and women (32.42%), which also shows a male hegemony in the agricultural jobs, possibly pointing to gender occupational segregation in the sector.

Another factor to highlight is the fact that men are the majority among workers without a formal contract and among self-employed workers and employers; however, in the family worker category, women are the majority, 62.18%, compared to men, 32.82%. This perpetuates the historical and cultural inheritance of the countryside, with the man being the provider of the home and the woman responsible for the work of the home. As Kuhn and Brumes (2012) point out, there is a possible occupational segregation between genders, where 90% of young rural workers help in dealing with animals and services close to residence besides support in planting and cultivation, but the domestic chores remain almost wholly with young women. The results also corroborate another finding by Mattei (2015) in which the most of the agricultural jobs is located in the family farming sector, which represents self-employed and unpaid workers, as well as workers for their own consumption, where this last one has been growing considerably.

Regarding the occupational inheritance left from parents to their children, Table 2 shows that, on average, 65.23% of these young people perform the occupation of parents or similar. Of these, 10.16% followed the influence of occupation of mother, 30.71% of the father and 24.35% when both had the same or related occupations. Already 34.77% of these young people opted for occupation different from their parents. This result corroborates the study by Luchiari (1996), because according to the author, the identification with the family group and the values that these groups

⁵ A person who works unpaid for at least an hour in the reference week as self-employed to help household member, employer or employee.

present in different professions influence the young in choosing their profession. In the work of the family unit in the field exists a gender division as pointed out by Kuhn and Brumes (2012), in which men work in agriculture-oriented activities and women in domestic services. The results were also in agreement with the study by Troian (2009) that points out that among the difficulties encountered in the formation of new productive units are the desire of many young people not to continue the reproductive social process of properties similar to that of their parents in rural activities. .

The percentage of young people who do not follow their parents' occupations may indicate a greater independence of these young people when choosing their professional career, but it is important to point out that according to Luchiari (1986) if parents realized their life projects in relation to their profession, your children are freer to realize their own dreams. On the other hand, if parents have failed for some reason to pursue a desired profession, they often project this dream on their children so that they can do it instead. Therefore, according to the author, the father's profession is the source and professional aspiration of the children, which, in turn, is determined by the social level reached or which they would like to have reached. Parents want their children to reach a level higher than their own, so they tend to make every effort to get their heirs to reach that level.

It is also possible to observe that the legacy influence of father to son is different when analyzing the gender of the young. From the male universe it is observed that in great majority they were influenced by the career of the parents (71.55%), and The greatest influence is the legacy left by the father, approximately 38%, with the occupational inheritance left by the mother only 8.6% for the male children. For the female universe, just over 52% chose a different occupation from their parents, 22.66% were in the same occupational sector as their parents, and 14.56% of the girls were in the same sector in which their mother worked. This result can corroborate the study by Balsadi and Grossi (2016) which shows that young women were the ones who left the most agricultural activities, corroborating the aging and male predominance of the Economically Active Population (EAP) that is occupied.

Table 2 - Occupational inheritance by gender in the rural areas

Gender	IM	IF	IMF	NI	Total
Men	93,840	414,578	272,334	310,480	1,091,234
(%)	8.60	37.99	24.96	2.45	100
(%)	62.45	91.30	75.62	60.38	73.80
Women	56,426	39,524	87,782	203,714	387,447
(%)	14.56	10.20	22.66	52.58	100
(%)	37.55	8.70	24.38	39.62	26.20
Total	150,266	454,102	360,117	514,194	1,478,682
(%)	10.16	30.71	24.35	34.77	100
(%)	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Prepared by the authors based on data from IBGE-PNADC / 2017.

Note: IM: inheritance from mother; IP: inheritance from father; IMF: inheritance from both and NI: did not follow parental occupation.

The female preference for different occupations and possibly non-agricultural occupations is in line with the study by Zago and Bordignon (2012). In agreement to the authors the desire to remain in the agricultural profession is greater among men than among women and it is also found that the legacy of the mother left to the

daughters is also relevant. In agreement to Luchiari (1996), the daughters of mothers who works outside are likely to work outside as well, especially if the mother is happy with her work. Still, in agreement to the authors, mothers who do not have a profession but wish they had, influenced their daughters to follow their studies to have a different life from theirs.

In the universe of inheritance / occupational influence left from parents to children, it is noted that of the amount that followed divergent careers to parents, 60.38% are men and 39.62% are women. In this analysis it is also possible to observe that the father has a strong influence on his son's career, since 91.3% of the young people who followed the father's career were men and 8.7% were women, while the total that followed the mother's occupation 62.45% were male and 37.55% female.

The results reinforce the influence of parents in the decisions of the first occupations of their children, as pointed out in the literature, in which the motivations and attitudes of young people, however personal they may seem, always reveal to be the consequence and expression of a family experience of many generations. For Almeida and Melo-Silva (2011), the family plays an important role in the vocational development of their children, since parents' satisfaction and dissatisfaction have influenced their children since childhood.

Table 3 shows the inheritance left by parents regarding their position in the occupation, as observed from the total number of young people employed in rural areas. More than 30% have family work, 20.12% have a formal contract and more 27% work in the informal market, while young people in the self-employed category represent 21.25%.

Table 3 - Inheritance by position in occupation in the rural areas

Occupation Position	IM	IF	IMF	NI	Total
Employee with signed work card	19,782	61,851	15,809	200,053	297,496
(%)	13.16	13.62	4.39	38.91	20.12
Employee without signed work card	43,097	120,634	35,132	206,946	405,811
(%)	28.68	26.57	9.76	40.25	27.44
Employer	2,709	2,692	1,627	4,627	11,657
(%)	1.80	0.59	0.45	0.90	0.79
Self-employed	37,792	108,678	75,288	92,527	314,287
(%)	25.15	23.93	20.91	17.99	21.25
Auxiliary Family Worker	46,885	160,246	232,259	10,038	449,429
(%)	31.20	35.29	64.50	1.95	30.39
Total	150,266	454,102	360,117	514,194	1,478,681
(%)	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Prepared by the authors based on data from IBGE-PNADC / 2017.

Note: IM: inheritance from mother; IP: inheritance from father; IMF: inheritance from both and NI: did not follow parental occupation.

Regarding the legacies or influence left by parents, it is observed that of the amount of young people who followed the occupation of the mother, approximately 60% were on the occupation of family work or without signed work card, 31.2 % and 28.68% respectively. The same pattern is found in the occupational inheritance left by

the father, where the most of young people in the same sector as their father are on family work, informal work and self-employment. When parents have the same occupation, the synergy passed to their children is stronger to family work, 64.5% of the young people who had the same position of father and mother were busy on family work and 20.91% in the category of self-employment

The result points out that the legacy left by parents to their children can promote a “poverty trap”, where work is passed from parent to child, and this is perpetuated. When this legacy is a primary occupation, the individual can escape this trap. However, when inheritance is left from the secondary segments, individuals end up in a vicious cycle of poverty, since they are more likely to pass on knowledge and experience for their heirs and so on. According to the dual market theory, presented by Doeringer and Piore (1970) the division of the labor market is given by primary segments - stable, formal jobs and higher wages and secondary segments - informal jobs with higher turnover and lower wages.

Table 4 corroborates the above theory as it is possible to observe the worst remuneration for the familiar work position, R\$ 2.65 per hour, self-employed and informal position, R\$ 4.66 and R\$ 4.95 respectively, below the general average of agricultural workers, R\$ 5.57. Young people from unfavorable socioeconomic classes tend to have difficulties for making decisions about the desired occupation, as economic constraints may limit their possibilities (SOBROSA et al., 2015; MOURA; POSSATO, 2012).

Therefore, these young people possibly have lower expectations of professional success, which ends up creating a persistent cycle of poverty as the choice of the desired occupation becomes increasingly demotivated, accepting the one closest to their reality. This can be verified by observing that young people who did not inherit their parents' professions had a higher average remuneration of R\$ 6.07.

Table 4 - Hourly wage (R\$/h) by position in the rural occupation

Occupation Position	IM	IF	IMF	NI	Total
Employee with signed work card	7.40	6.86	7.19	7.42	7.29
Employee without signed work card	3.82	5.05	4.70	5.49	4.95
Employer	10.58	14.53	7.25	10.47	10.83
Self-employed	4.93	4.10	4.77	4.92	4.66
Auxiliary Family Worker	1.10	3.69	2.48	---	2.65
Total	5.14	5.11	5.02	6.07	5.57

Source: Prepared by the authors based on data from IBGE - PNADC / 2017.

Note: IM: inheritance from mother; IF: inheritance from father; IMF: Inheritance of both and NI: Did not follow parental occupation.

Table 5 shows the educational level of young people who are employed in rural areas and who have or have not followed the occupations of their guardians. The influence of schooling on the decision of first occupation for young people are evident, the lower the level of education the more susceptible young people are to the influence of parents in choosing a career path. Of the uneducated or elementary school youth, 74.57% chose to follow their parents' occupations, 10.78% followed their mothers' occupations and 37.42% of their fathers and 26.38% of both, 25.43% chose another

different occupation from parents. For young people with higher education, more than 62.63% chose different occupations from their parents.

Thus, it can be concluded from these results that knowledge contributes to providing new career opportunities for young people. For Puntel, Paiva and Ramos (2011), education plays an important role in shaping on the root of the human being, both in the aspects of knowledge, as well as in the strengthening and construction of his personality, exerting a large part of the responsibility for the opportunities and choices that the young people will take.

Table 5 - Occupational inheritance of young people by level of education in rural areas

Schooling		IM	IF	IMF	NI	Total
Uneducated or fundamental		75,313	261,517	184,343	177,696	698,870
	(%)	10.78	37.42	26.38	25.43	100
	(%)	50.12	57.59	51.19	34.56	47.26
		58,346	179,616	154,742	251,693	644,399
High school	(%)	9.05	27.87	24.01	39.06	100
	(%)	38.83	39.55	42.97	48.95	43.58
		16,607	12,968	21,031	84,804	135,412
Higher education	(%)	12.26	9.58	15.53	62.63	100
	(%)	11.05	2.86	5.84	16.49	9.16
		150,266	454,102	360,117	514,194	1,478,682
Total	(%)	10.16	30.71	24.35	34.77	100
	(%)	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Prepared by the authors based on data from IBGE - PNADC / 2017.

Note: IM: inheritance from mother; IF: inheritance from father; IMF: Inheritance of both and NI: Did not follow parental occupation.

Still on the information of Table 5, from the universe of young people who had the influence of their parents, it is obvious that the lower the schooling the more influenced they are by their parents. More than half of the young people who had their parents' occupational inheritance had low levels of education (uneducated or elementary). Already in the number of young people who followed the career of parents, with higher education was lower, stands out the influence of parents (IF) influencing in only 2.86% of young people.

Table 6 presents the occupational inheritance of children, by age and gender. In general (men and women), the older the age, the less influence parents' occupations have on their careers. The younger the children, the greater the influence of parents on career decision making. For 14- to 17-year-old males only 14.31% had a different occupation from their parents, more than 85% of them performed a similar occupation to that of their mother, father or both. For young women of the same age group, the percentage that opt for divergent occupations of parents is double, 28.65%.

Table 6 - Inheritance in the first occupations of young people, by age group

Age Group	IM		IF		IMF		NI		Total	
	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(total)	(total)

14 a 17	12.70	9.48	10.48	40.48	48.16	35.74	28.65	14.31	67,115	219,558
18 a 24	13.85	7.56	10.74	38.33	18.51	24.00	56.90	30.11	206,852	541,774
25 a 29	18.96	9.82	7.66	34.37	14.56	18.90	58.81	36.90	61,948	167,037
30 +	14.54	9.61	10.72	37.24	15.84	19.83	58.90	33.32	51,531	162,864
Total	14.56	8.60	10.20	37.99	22.66	24.96	52.58	28.45	387,447	1,091,235

Source: Prepared by the authors based on data from IBGE - PNADC / 2017.

Note 1: IM: inheritance from mother; IF: inheritance from father; IMF: Inheritance of both and NI: Did not follow parental occupation.

Nota 2: W: Women e M: Men.

Still on the young, male sons inherit the legacy of their father's occupations, while daughters inherit the legacy of their mothers' occupations. When father and mother work in the same or similar occupation, children, regardless of gender, are more likely to perform the same occupation. In short, the choice of a profession in adolescence is not trivial and by far easy to make, this is a very important moment for young people as this choice begins the formation of their identity.

Another relevant factor in the vocational influence of young people is the family structure, as shown in Table 7. In rural areas, more than 13% of families are headed by only one parent, 38.13% of these children had the same occupation as their mother and just over 19% of the father. When the family is unstructured, children tend not to follow their parents' occupation, 42.8% of young people opted for other occupations. Young people living with father and mother (structured family) tend to see their parents' careers as an example and have a greater chance of pursuing the same or similar occupation. Of the structured families, more than 66% had the same occupation as their parents, and only about 33% followed other occupations.

As pointed out by Carvalho and Taveira (2009) and Sobrosa et al. (2015) the family has been considered as the most influential factor in the process of choosing children's careers. In agreement to Troian (2009), of young people who want to stay in rural areas, these and their families are well-structured socioeconomically, with enough conditions to develop agricultural activities, that is, have adequate land, capital and equipment, and enjoy working in the field. Therefore, it is evident that the influence of a family structure is relevant in the young person's decision to choose an occupation.

Table 7 - Occupational inheritance by family structure

Family structure	IM (%)	IF (%)	IMF (%)	NI (%)	Total
Unstructured	38.13	19.06	---	42.81	197,580
Structured	5.85	32.51	28.11	33.53	1,281,102
Total	10.16	30.71	24.35	34.77	1,478,682

Source: Prepared by the author based on data from IBGE - PNADC / 2017.

Note: IM: inheritance from mother; IF: inheritance from father; IMF: Inheritance of both and NI: Did not follow parental occupation.

Among the regions of Brazil (

Table 8), there is also divergence regarding the past occupational inheritance from father to son in relation to the gender of the young. In the northern region the occupational legacy of parents is more present over their children than in the other regions, because of the total young males in the northern region 86.44% had the same occupation of father or mother or both. And for women this percentage was 69.56%. The greatest independence of occupational choice for women is in the Southeast and

Midwest, over 65% and 61%, respectively, had a different occupation than their parents. For men, this greater independence was in the Southeast and Northeast.

Table 8 - Occupational Inheritance by Region

Regiões	Men				Total
	IM (%)	IF (%)	IMF (%)	NI (%)	
Midwest	7.29	49.48	15.16	28.07	54,794
Northeast	10.51	39.32	17.80	32.37	392,758
North	8.68	42.51	35.24	13.56	209,453
Southeast	6.78	37.61	21.77	33.85	230,599
South	7.24	28.13	34.42	30.21	203,628
	Women				
Midwest	7.57	9.72	21.18	61.53	17,213
Northeast	20.51	10.48	17.50	51.50	142,871
North	11.81	14.77	42.99	30.44	56,413
Southeast	11.96	8.93	13.76	65.34	94,444
South	10.28	7.98	28.61	53.14	76,504

Source: Prepared by the authors based on data from IBGE - PNADC / 2017.

Another important legacy left by parents to their children is the influence of human capital, which will directly determine the occupational choice of young people, as shown in Table 9. As in Cunha (2011) notes, young people's access or not to higher education is related to parents' educational level and family income. Zago and Bordignon (2012) affirm that at the family level, children are encouraged to continue their education and to exercise different professions from those of the countryside and dependent on natural factors.

Note that when parents have a low level of education (uneducated or elementary), the likelihood that their child aged 18 and over will have the same level of education as their parents is 43 to 44.8 percent, and only from 8 to 9.72 per cent have higher education. When parents have a higher level of education, the situation is reversed, children tend to continue in studies accumulating greater human capital. Of parents with higher education, their children are 45 to 47.5 percent likely to have the same level of education. Of parents with higher education, fewer of 11% of children had low education.

Table 9 – Influence of parents on schooling of children over 18

Parental Education Level		Children's Education Level		
		Uneducated or fundamental (%)	High school (%)	Higher education (%)
Uneducated or fundamental	Mother	44.83	46.47	8.69
	Father	43.03	47.25	9.72
High school	Mother	14.60	58.72	26.67
	Father	16.41	51.68	31.91
Higher education	Mother	10.74	43.96	45.30
	Father	9.54	42.89	47.57

Source: Prepared by the authors based on data from IBGE - PNADC / 2017.

The legacy or influence on children's schooling is directly correlated with youth pay, as the theory of credentialist and human capital also points out that the higher the schooling of the individual the higher their wage (MINCER, 1958; SCHULTZ, 1961; BACKER, 1962; LIMA, 1980).

Table 10 - Hourly wage (R\$/h) of heirs by level of education in rural areas

Parent Study Level		Children's Study Level			
		Uneducated or fundamental	High school	Higher education	General
Uneducated or fundamental	Mother	4.85	5.66	8.48	5.58
	Father	4.94	5.69	9.07	5.76
High school	Mother	5.07	5.93	9.80	6.91
	Father	5.16	6.93	11.32	8.07
Higher education	Mother	4.47	7.63	13.92	10.27
	Father	4.47	5.61	11.48	8.53
General	Mother	4.85	5.77	9.56	5.90
General	Father	4.95	5.79	9.56	5.95

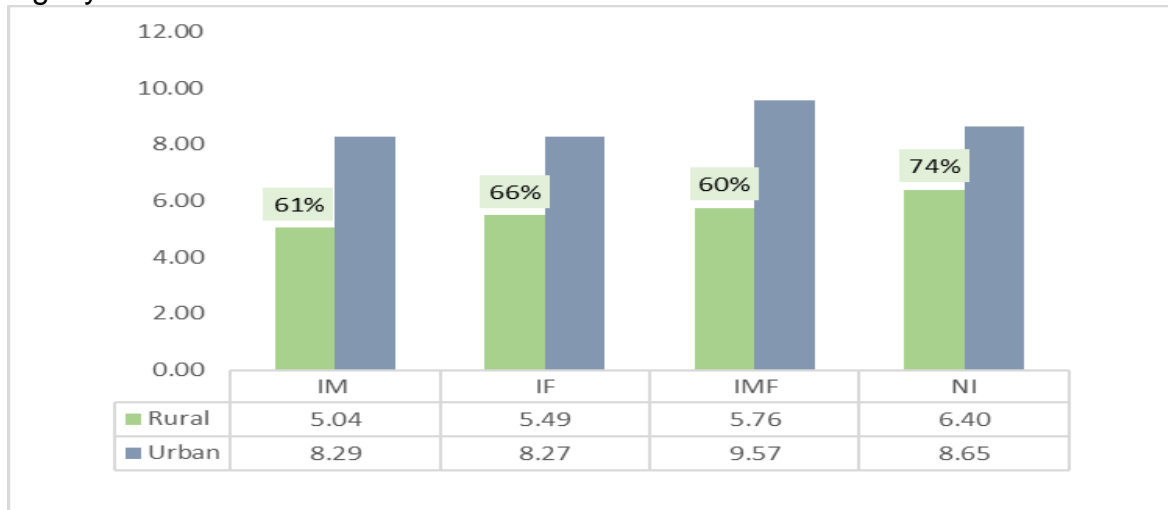
Source: Prepared by the author based on data from IBGE - PNADC / 2017.

Table 10 corroborates the theory of human capital, showing the higher the level of education of young people, the higher their wage returns, with a remuneration of more than twice that of young people without education or with elementary level. The highest hourly wages are received for the higher education youngsters who have some influence on their parents, since their parents also had a higher level of education. These results confirm the importance of education in rural areas and the importance of incentive policies for young people to remain and continue their studies. This is because this investment in human capital promotes higher wage returns, which contributes to a better income distribution and quality of life of rural families.

The progressive lack of interest of young people in continuing in the field in agreement with the empirical reference is reinforced by information regarding the hourly wages of young rural and urban workers, Graph 3. As it is observed, the rural young people earn on average 60% of urban youth who followed in the same occupations as their parents. Even as the rural youth choose not to follow their parents'

occupation, there is still a pay gap, the average rural youth receives, on average, 74% of urban youth who also had a different occupation than their parents.

Graph 3 - Hourly wage of young workers from rural and urban areas by occupational legacy.



Source: Prepared by the author based on data from IBGE - PNADC / 2017.

In short, the results signal an “unwanted legacy” for rural youth. This occupational inheritance from parents to their children can promote a “poverty trap” because as noted these occupations usually stand out for low wages and precarious jobs, which ultimately generates a vicious cycle of poverty. Therefore, these young people possibly have lower expectations of professional success, as they are becoming increasingly unmotivated in choosing the desired occupation and accepting the one closest to their reality.

CONCLUSION

This study aimed to analyze the occupational legacy left by parents to their children in rural areas using the classic conditional probabilities. We found the precariousness of rural work since more than 63% of workers are informally, only about 23% are salaried formal. It was observed that rural women are in large proportion in the occupation of family work, which shows a possible gender occupational segregation in rural areas. It was observed that young people have little or no influence on rural property decisions, according to the literature.

Regarding the occupational inheritance passed from parents to children, significant influence of parents on the occupation of young people was noticed. The sons carry the legacy the father's occupations, while daughters inherit the the mothers' occupations. When fathers and mothers work in the same or similar occupation, children, regardless of gender, are more likely to perform the same occupation, overall more than 65% of young people follow their parents' occupation. Of the total number of young women employed in rural areas, more than half, around 52%, opted for a different occupation from their parents, while of the total of young men, these had more

family influence in choosing an occupation, approximately 72% opted for an occupation equal to that of parents.

In relation to the legacy left by the family workers, the occupation of the father has more relevance on the choice of the son, on the other hand the occupation practiced by the mother generates a greater influence on the occupation of the daughter. Family structure also influences the vocation of young people, because in a unstructured family, children tend not to follow the occupation of parents, 42.8% of young people chose other occupations. In rural area, the influence of parents on the occupation of their children is different when compared to the regions of Brazil, for example, in the Northern region, the occupational legacy of parents is more present on their children than in other regions.

The educational level of young people is also very important in their vocational decision, the higher the educational level, the greater the chances of pursuing professions different than those exercised by their parents. There is a greater independence of this young people in choosing a profession. Another relevant influence evidenced, passed from father to son, is related to human capital, which will directly determine the occupational choice of the young person.

This legacy is also directly correlated with youth pay, as pointed out by the theory of human capital and credentialist. The highest wages were received by young people who had higher education and who also had their parents with the same level of education. These results confirm the importance of education in rural areas and the importance of incentive policies for young people to remain and continue their studies as this investment in human capital promotes higher wage returns, contributing to better income distribution and quality of life for rural families.

Finally, the results point out that the past legacy of parents to children can promote a “poverty trap”, especially if the past work of parent to child is perpetuated and this inheritance is a secondary occupation, which according to dual or segmented market theory stands out for low wages and precarious jobs, which ends up generating a vicious cycle of poverty. Therefore, these young people possibly have lower expectations of professional success, as they are becoming increasingly unmotivated in choosing the desired occupation, accepting the one closest to their reality. This article shows the importance of public policies to promote the inclusion of rural youth in schools and universities, since education is the tool for these young people to “escape” from the occupational legacy trap. Thus, this study gathers data to provoke further investigations in this field of study.

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