IUSSP General Population Conference Salvador, Brazil

18-24 August 2001 S6. The collection of demographic statistics Coordinator: Eduardo ARRIAGA

¿Will the censuses of developing countries be able to face the future requests of information?: the case of Argentina

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Alejandro GIUSTI²

1. "Social" reality versus "statistical" reality: a breach that tends to be reduced

It is known that, from a general point of view, population censuses are up to the moment one of the sources of more important data for the study of numerous issues. This is because it has a universal and simultaneous coverage and offers the possibility of connecting the condition of the population under study with different demographic, housing, social and economic characteristics.

Regarding the **sources of data**, the history of the official statistics may be considered fragmentary and non-systematic until 1869 (Massé, 1997). The effects of the requirements of the Spanish government, that dominated the country politically and economically till 1820, can be seen in the knowledge of two basic data: the state of the population and the evolution of inner and foreign trade (counting of diverse populations in specific moments: soldiers and families -1573 and 1577-; census of Vertiz –1776- of the Virreinato del Río de la Plata; customs registers).

The influence of International Congresses of Statistics towards 1853 and the eagerness for international comparison are the germ of the *first census of population of the country (1869)*, with undeniable influence of the censuses of the United States and European countries. Its most immediate antecedent are the censuses of 1855 and 1857 carried out by two blocks in which the Argentine territory is divided (Buenos Aires and the Confederación respectively).

The Census of 1869, with Argentina already unified, begins the denominated statistical cycle. It intends to reflect the achievements of the country, characterized by an agricultural strategy that promotes a dependant capitalist development based on the affluence of foreign capital and working force. The country becomes a receiver of vast migratory currents from Europe. This plays a key role in its development, not only from a demographic point of view but also from the cultural and social (Giusti, Massé and Goldberg, 1998).

By the end of the XIX century and the beginnings of the XX, the censuses reflect the requirements of those times, which show a particular interest in population statistics, natural resources and foreign trade (general censuses of population, agriculture and industry of 1895 and 1914). From 1914 to 1947 there are no censuses

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in Argentina: the end of the agricultural phase reduces the commerce drastically (Massé, 1997). The economic strategy remains capitalist dependant, but now industrial and substitutive of imports. Besides, the 1929 crisis leads to a lack of interest that can be seen in the absence of censuses.

Once the Second World War is over there is a boom of statistics in independent countries under the American influence. The peronist period makes an organic attempt of centralized planning and, in the context of the strategy of the Welfare State, carries out the 1947 Census through a wide campaign of diffusion that makes it the most clear antecedent of a modern census (a computerized processing of data was made). From 1960 the country starts the stage of the decennial censuses (1970, 1980 and 1991) following the international recommendations about the measurement of variables and the use of universal techniques of gathering of data. Also, surveys by sampling begin to be applied, providing more detailed information that cannot be produced by censuses about issues of those times.

From the *conceptual and methodological* point of view, those changes put "pressure" on censuses. This may be seen in the analysis of the history of the incorporation and modification of the measurement of different issues, changes that model the censuses (Massé, 1997).

Of course, the basic *demographic variables*, *sex*, *age* and *legal marital status* were studied from the beginning, but also were studied *alphabetism*, *attendance to school and place of birth*, three interesting aspects for the agricultural model due to their evident influence on the composition, structure and distribution of the population.

The changes in the measurement of **education** through the censuses are related to the transformations of the Argentine educative system (the first change was to know the reach of the *attendance* to primary school – 1895 and 1914-; then to obtain figures in the debate between *private and public education* –1960-; or to know the access to the *university*; and detect the successive changes in the current systems given the coexistence of different cohorts- from 1970).

On the other hand, the censuses from 1869 to 1947 provide information on the *legal marital status* of the population. The *actual marital status* is studied afterwards (from 1960 and on) when the society begins to wonder about the factual situations. The same changes are reflected in the study of the *age at marriage* or the *fecundity* (al first it was studied only about married and widow/er women, later to all of them).

Similarly, the concept of *occupation* used from the first national census until the middle of the XX century refers to what a person does for a living or the usual occupation, to the idea of "paid worker". From the Census of 1970, it refers to the idea of "labor force". The name of the *occupation* is studied from the first census; later the study of the *employment status* (measurement of unemployment), the *occupational category* (waged workers, employers, freelance workers, etc.) and the *kind of activity* (from 1947); and the *condition of activity* –active and non-active people- (from 1960).

Regarding the measurement of the *migratory issue*, the transoceanic movements of the previous century were, until the beginnings of the last, "for ever" (long distances, rare means of transport and communication). The question *Where were you born?* was

appropriate to study the type of migratory pattern observed in that period (Giusti and Calvelo, 1998).

Later on, the exhaustion of the agricultural model and the new "industrial model" coincide with the disminution of the migration from overseas, the increase of the relative participation the migrants from bordering countries and the urbanization process sustained by the internal migrations (short movements, appearance of many cheap means of transport and communication). The study of recent migration through the incorporation of "year of arrival" and "!" for foreigners (1947 and 1960) become a need, and "naturalization" for foreigners (1947 and 1960), and the "place of residence in a previous date" for all kind of migrants (from 1970).

Censuses were interested in **disability** from the late XIX century to 1960, at first because there was a need of knowing the results of the wars and epidemics in the physical and psychic health of the population. Later, during the XX century, the interest in the subject is reduced mainly because of problems of validity of the results. A unique question was always used to provide information about the entire universe of population, which allowed having data in the level of the provinces. During the last forty years information has not been produced excepting punctual studies or registers made by organizations dedicated to the issue.

Finally, it is worth to mention the interest in the quantification and characterization of the *indigenous peoples* in the censuses of Argentina. The only attempt to study the etnias existing in the country (white, black and native) was in 1895. Afterwards, only one census in 1968 carried out in specific areas gives poor information about the subject. The precise weight of the original populations from America and from Africa in the Argentine territory was unknown, but the estimations and the knowledge of the historical reality indicate they never had the magnitude they had in other countries of the American continent, in which even today the indigenous or black component is relevant (Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador, Mexico, Guatemala, Brazil -to mention some of them-).

Besides, it must be recognized that the social and economic model in which the XIX and even XX century (although less remarkably) censuses was rather excluding (for example, through the Desert Campaign) regarding those minorities and that shows in those sources. The next census of Argentina plans to produce statistical knowledge of the current existence of 17 indigenous peoples.

In the last decades, characterized by the globalization of the economic spaces, new phenomena appear and those already existing change becoming difficult to be studied by censuses. This produces a true 'hiatus' between social and statistical realities (Domenach and Picouet, 1996) that can only be solved by redesigning that source and including improved strategies to accompany the census. The pressure from minorities (indigenous; disabled people) to know their magnitude, characteristics and location in the territory in order to defend their fundamental rights leads to increasing requirements of information from censuses.

In that sense, during the planning of the next census of population (October 2001), the national office of statistics (INDEC) has been doing diverse actions intending to diminish the breach and shortage mentioned above, together with public and private

users. On the one side, strategies to improve the validity of the results and to make some aspects of the 'social' reality more statistically 'real' are being developed. On the other hand, methodologies to know phenomena of a very complex nature that have not been properly analyzed in censuses are being studied and tested.

Next, relative results of the measurement of the "actual marital status" of the population and of the "position" of people in the labor market ("occupational category") are displayed as an example of the first objective mentioned above. Also, it is shown the supplementary value for the census given by the incorporation of complementary surveys to study the disabled population, that belonging to or descendent of indigenous peoples and the population integrating the communities of "international migrants" (particularly those from bordering countries).

The data is from pilot and validation surveys and from an experimental census carried out between 1996 and 1999 in order to plan the census 2001.

2. Improvements in the validity of the study of the "actual marital status" and the "occupational category" of the population

The study of the *legal marital status* of the population (1869 to 1947) was replaced by the study of the *actual marital status*, which includes the "de facto" or agreed couples (1960 to 1991 in more or less valid ways) as a reality that evidently needs to be detected

Every version until 1991 supposes the inclusion of an unique item (a single question), with a classificatory system not mutually excluding. Specifically, the question *Are you...in a "de facto" couple, married, separated, widow/er*, made the person registered in the census have to choose between declaring the legal or the actual situation (a legally divorced person with a "de facto" couple could be classified in either one or the other situation, and the separated people that remained legally married were in the same dilemma).

The meetings with specialists and users of the information led to the need of replacing the 'unique item' by two different and independent questions that could detect both the *legal marital status* and *whether the people live with a couple or not* in order to discriminate clearly the legal situation from the conjugal (Wainerman and Añaños, 1997; Torrado, 1999)³.

The experimental census shows the potential of both questions to show in a more valid way an increasingly complex reality. Non the less it does not allow to see new ways such as the LAT relationships (living apart together) or the conformation of assembled families it clears remarkably the panorama.

In Chart 1 it can be seen the distribution obtained from the combination of the categories of the 'unique item' of the last census (1991) and the equivalent for 1999. It

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³ Even if this is not developed in this document, it is worth to mention that a question on the 'current union' has been added in the census 2001. This will allow to better the marriage rate. For instance, to know the age from which the second order or more unions start to be more frequent and if this situation is differential by sex. Also, it will make the approach to the breaking up or dissolution of the unions easier.

is to mention the remarkable increase of the "de facto" couples and the relative diminution of the legally married and the widow/er people.

Chart 1 Actual marital status of the population aged 14 or over in 1991 y 1999, Pergamino (in percentages)

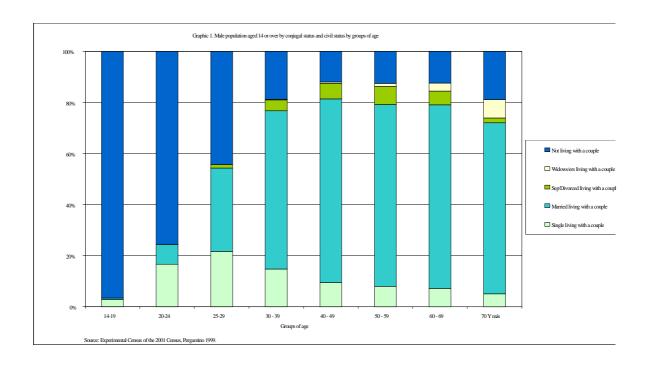
Actual marital status	1991	1999
Total	100.0 (70546)	100.0 (71606)
Single	26.3	27.2
With a "de facto" couple	8.7	15.6
Married	52.7	47.0
Separated	2.8	2.6
Divorced	0.7	1.4
Widow/er	8.8	6.2

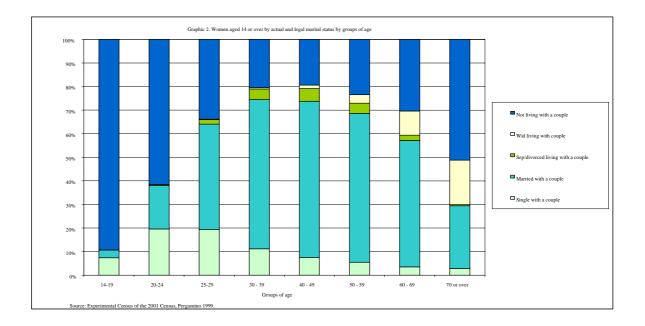
Source: 1991 Census and 1999 Experimental Census

Even though it cannot be discerned to which extent that increase is due to a real change and in which extent to a technical change, the non participant observations in the field and the analysis of the same data indicate an improvement in the detection, or at least a more 'realistic' detection of legality and "de facto" situations⁴.

Finally, the mentioned change in the measurement gives additional information that could never be given by the unique item, contributing to deepen the study of the mentioned phenomena.

⁴ The increase of the "de facto" unions is one of the emerging phenomena in most of the countries passing through the denominated second demographic transition (Van Der Kaa, 1987; and Lesthaegue, 1992). In that sense, to obtain a more precise measurement of the predominant patterns in the constitution of unions would allow to know if the changes registered in our country follow the same direction that the occidental family in the developed countries.





Graphics 1 and 2 show to which extent the people's marital trajectory has become more and more complex and less tied to a rigid model. In the first place, they show that the cultural pattern indicating that men conform unions (legal and non-legal) later than women. Besides, among the youngsters (under the age of 25) who live with a couple the non legal unions are clearly predominant and this is more accentuated among men. In the central ages (25 to 59 years old) the non-legal unions become less frequent, but there is an increase of the couples integrated by divorced, separated people and widows/ers; by people with the experience of a previous union. Over the age of 70, there is a pattern of behavior clearly differential by sex: the probability of living out of a union is much higher for women than for men. On the other hand, while less than half

of the elderly women that live with a couple have a legal union, men who live with a couple are mostly legally married.

With respect of the "position of the people in the job market or *occupational category* in all cases it is widely recognize that the constrains of the traditional sources, particularly of the population census to capture a social universe more individualistic and atomized, with profiles that tend to be more fluctuating and unstable. The instruments used are still the same in the lasts decades even though the using of the traditional "only item" to measure the occupational category has been doubted in the last years, not only from the declarative point of view(Giusti and Cucca, 2001).

The methodological exercises developed in the preparation of the census are put within a context of *two ways* to give statistical existence to the occupational category, one is a direct one that is fundamentally based in the use of the "*unique item*" and of the "*unfolding*" of questions. In both the self-identification allows us to classify each working individual.

Another *indirect* way consists of the development of "*multiple questions*". Each individual is positioned in an occupational category through theoretical *allocation* implemented trough a processing way.⁵

The conceptual debate between the *direct and indirect* way for the measurement of the occupational category it seems to have been resolved trough field exercises, favoring the last one. We have arrived to the conclusion that *self-identification* it is not valid to study the phenomenon that we are interested in and so will be the *theoretical assignation*.

From a set of multivariate exercises it has been proved that the inconsistency of self-identification with the allocation from differentiated groups of significant internal coherence. In charts 1 and 2 you can see the invalidity of the direct way , being irrelevant it is performed through the "only item" or the "unfolding"

Giusti and Rodriguez Gauna (1999); and Giusti and Cucca, 2001).

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⁵ The "only item" is used to capture workers, employees and other categories; the "unfolding" turns each category of "the only item" in questions of simple alternative (Are you a worker? Are you an employee?). The "multiple questions" are 22 and correspond to five dimensions into which it can manifest the "position" of the people in the job (economic risk; authority; origin of revenues; responsibility facing the taxing burdens, and kind of relationship with the employer). For more details see Pok (1992); Giusti (1998); Elizalde (1999); EPH(1999);

Chart 2
Composition of groups by occupational category 'Unique item'

	Theoretical assignation		
Category	Group 1 (%)	Group 2 (%)	Group 3 (%)
Total	100,0 (236)	100,0 (86)	100,0 (166)
Waged worker	26,3	14,0	93,4
Employer	9,3	38,4	3,6
Free lance worker	64,4	47,7	3,0

Source: Elaboration based on a multivariate

processing

Chart 3
Composition of groups by occupational category 'spreading out'

	Theoretical assignation		
Category	Group 1 (%)	Group 2 (%)	Group 3 (%)
		100,0	100,0
Total	100,0 (335)	(43)	(184)
Wager worker	49,0	23,3	98,9
Employer	1,2	65,1	0,5
Free lance			
worker	49,9	11,6	0,5

Source: Elaboration based on multivariate

processing

The inconsistencies are due to the visualization of the people having of their jobs nowadays. Exists people who proclaim themselves "employers" that are "captive " (of only one client or company); "self-employed" that are "undercover employers" (they continuously hired people); just to mention a few cases .

The self-identification of "waged workers" seems to be more consistent for the defined of Group 3 (assigned theoretically as such), but the inconsistencies make themselves more evident for whom proclaim themselves "employers" and "self-employed" for the groups 1 (theoretically "employers") and 2 (theoretically "self-employed").

In spite of the fact that the "direct way" has been ostracized, the 2001 Census cannot replace the traditional question "only item" for a set of 22 questions (it has not been discovered yet the most representative of them) so it has been decided to keep it with some important changes with respect to its operacionalization, but to be able to

see the differences inside the self-identified groups through the incorporation of selected questions among multivariate exercises (Giusti and Cucca,2001)⁶

Finally the combination of the results of "only item" with the set of questions that are mentioned and the size of establishment (to mention some of the other questions) allowed the quoted authors to obtain an accurate information, that was reliable over 32 occupational different situations , 28 out of which could not be analyzed in the 1991 Census.

3. Complementary study of population with "disabilities", "indigenous people" and communities of "international migrants".

Several authors and the experience of the census in itself recognize the difficulty of trying to measure the first two phenomena and the modalities it assumes in the last decades the third of them , through a unique source like the census. Since it is a mass undertaking , that is developed over a few times and with a training , that due to the very nature of the gathering , it can only be concentrated upon phenomena that can be easily measured. ⁷

Disability is a difficult subject to deal with in the censuses given its multidimensional nature that has in turn has brought up a different array of conceptual definitions.⁸

On the other hand the identification of **indigenous people** in the census also constitutes a challenge given the complexity of its conceptualization and its difficult social visibility, in a country which its "official story" is of the great migratory flows that came from Europe that build up the model of our country as it is today.⁹

Finally the problematic study of **international migrations**, its not so much the difficulty of its identifications¹⁰ (beyond the constraints of any source to study the place of origin of the people, its widely recognized the validity of the questions over *place of birth*" and "current residency of a date prior to the census date but due to the fact that the census is incapable of as a source to account for the new modalities and dynamics of

⁸ Nowadays three specific concepts are used: **deficiency, disability and handicap**. The first one refers to the loss or abnormal of a structure or psychological function, being physiological or anatomical. The second concept refers to the restriction or absence of a capacity (due to a deficiency or disability) to perform an activity that is considered normal according to age, sex, judgement and social situation, and the third one refers to a disadvantageous situation for an individual as a result of a deficiency or disability that limits or impedes his/her normal performance. For more details see INE (1986), INDEC (1998 and 1999 a and b) and UN (1997).

⁶In this sense the only item has been designed of 1991, eliminating the category of "domestic services" and the reference to "without fixed wages" for family workers. On the other hand, to workers or employees are going to be asked not only by the "retirement discount" but also over the "retirement contribution", and to the family workers are going to be asked if they receive "some kind of pay", that is the same sequence of questions than to the waged workers.

⁷ The argentine census is a de facto census and it is carried out in two days.

⁹ Different are the criteria by which the quantification of the indigenous peoples is carried out from the census sources. In Latin America the most widely used are of the geographic location, spoken language, and self-identification (Peyser and Chackiel, 1999) and in North America the criteria used is of ethnic origin. For more details see INDEC (1999c).

Apart from the limits any source has to study the place of origin of people, the validity of the questions on *place of birth and habitual residence in a date previous to the census* is recognized.

the spatial mobility of the people in contexts of globalized economic and social spaces. It is in this context that that the knowledge of migratory trajectories, networks of exchange and circulation of goods and services it has become an inevitable issue for the formulation of public policies.

The analysis of these situations, the modalities of measuring of these phenomena trough diverse sources, particularly from other countries of the region, together with the few quantitative experiences of our country have taken the National Bureau of Statistics to call upon governmental organizations as well as the non- governmental ones to analyze each topic by groups of these agencies, having in mind the different international recommendations (United Nations, 1992) along with the Argentinean reality, have created a particular methodology for the study of these in the Census 2001.

For these three cases, the methodological proposal it is thought to be carried out in **two phases**, being **the first one**, that is going to be carried out within the framework of the 2001 Census and consists of the identification of the components (disabled people, indigenous people, and international migrants) in the households (Giusti, 2001).¹¹

In the case of the handicap people a question of ample content about *deficiencies, disability and handicaps* is going to be asked; the question to identify indigenous people in the household ,this in turns implies the self-identification or self-perception and the ethnic origin. ¹² (both questions are included in the section of the Census that deals with households.) Finally the international migrants will be identify from the place of birth that is being asked to each member of the household.

In the **second phase**, that will be carried out during the year 2002, with a sample of households that are identified in the census will be revisited to apply a specific questionnaire that will allow a more valid characterization of the considered groups in Argentina. From the experimental census complementary studies are carried out for the three groups, during the year 2000 to validate, on the one hand, the question used in the census, and on the other to deepen the knowledge of the universe captured by the census. ¹³

It is still to be defined the geographic coverage of this second phase, this will depend upon the analysis that are doing the corresponding groups(national or partial coverage according to the phenomenon that it deals with, for example, with households

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¹¹ The requirements imposed to the design of the census question were: it had to be simple for the person who administers the census to the people and it had to be easily to understand it by the respondent; that it did not trigger a discussion between the respondent and the persons who administers it, so as not to affect the measurement of other habitual aspects of the census; that its concept can be easily reflected during the training course; finally that it allows to register the phenomenon in the most ample possible way.

¹² The need to combine the criterions of self-identification with ethnic origin or descendance, it lies in the fact that knowing our own prejudices in Argentina, we wanted to make the broadest question to give people the chance identify themselves in one way or the other. For more details see Giusti (1999), INDEC (1999 d) and Massé and Matheu (1999).

⁽¹⁹⁹⁹ d) and Massé and Matheu (1999).

13 In the case with people with disabilities, a 30 question questionnaire allowed us to detailed this problematic; in the case of indigenous people, an 18 page questionnaire covered three dimensions: self-identification, ascendance and language. Finally the survey to migrants included the items of trajectories, networks of exchange, and physical and non-physical links among the members of the bordering community.

with international bordering migrants, which exists a prior and greater knowledge, and it could be chosen in the areas where its relative weight is greater.

In the following Charts and Graphics some results are shown of the surveys of validation of the questions on disabilities and indigenous peoples and of the complementary survey for international migrants applied based on samples selected from the results of the experimental census carried out in 1999¹⁴. These show the potentiality of these surveys to broaden and deepen the information given by the census itself and the richness of the information for the elaboration of diagnostics, which are more accurate for the formulation of more assertive policies and for a scientific knowledge that is more valid and for the populations being studied.

With respect to **disabilities**, the census has permitted to detect the set of households with at least one component having some kind of disability (around 9%). The applicability of the complementary survey broadens this general knowledge and contributes to the characterization of that population as is shown in Charts 4 through 9, something that could not have been possible from the census itself.

Chart 4
Disabled people by dimensions y types of disability (in percentages)

Dimensions and types of disability	Disabled people
Total	100.0
He/she does not have arms, hands or legs or has them atrophied	42.3
Permanent difficulties to walk or climb stairs	7.8
He/she does not have one or both legs or has them atrophied	9.1
Use of a wheelchair	8.0
He/she walks with the assistance of instruments or prothesis	10.8
He/she does not have arms, hands or fingers or has them atrophied.	
Difficulties to grab objects	6.6
He/she is blind in one or both eyes	12.9
Blindness	2.2
He/she is blind in one eye	6.2
Severe difficulties to see even with glasses	4.5
He/she is deaf or needs an earphone	9.7
Deafness	3.6
He/she is deaf in one ear	3.9
Use of earphone. Severe difficulties to hear	2.1
He/she is mute or has severe problems to talk	3.8
With mental retard or problems	26.6
Another difficulty	4.7

Source: INDEC. Experimental Census (EC), Pergamino,

1999 and Survey on Disability, 2000. (1) Simulation on validation

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¹⁴ Although the validation surveys for *disabled population* and for *indigenous people* were carried out, as their name indicate, to evaluate the of the questions included in the experimental census to study these issues. As these surveys include questions to characterize those populations, it is *simulated* for the presentation of the results that they are the complementary surveys themselves (which are being designed). In the case of the international migrants, a complementary survey was applied directly.

Chart 5
Disabled people and total population
(EC) by sex
(in percentages) (1)

Sex	Disabled people	Total population
Total	100.0	100.0
Men	49.8	47.8
Wome		
n	50.2	52.2

Source: INDEC. Experimental Censu (EC), 1999 and Survey on Disability, 2000.

(1) Simulation based on the validation survey.

Chart 6
Disabled people and total population
(EC) by groups of age (1)
(in percentages)

Groups of age	Disabled people	Total population
Total	100.0	100.0
0-5	2.7	10.4
6-13	7.8	15.3
14-64	51.4	62.8
65 or over	38.1	11.5

Source: INDEC. Experimental Census (EC), 1999 and Survey on Disability, 2000.

Chart 7
Disabled people y total population (EC)
by activity status (1)
(in percentages)

Activity status	Disabled people	Total population in the EC
Total	100.0	100.0
Population economically active	32.7	58.2
Population economically inactive	67.3	41.8

Source: INDEC. Experimental Census (EC), Pergamino, 1999 and Survey on Disability, 2000.

Chart 8
Disabled people y total population (EC) over the age of 15 by maximum level of education (in percentages)

	1	
Maximum level of education	Disabled people	Total population in the EC
Total	100.0	100.0
Without education /		
primary education		
uncomplete	43.5	18.6
Primary education		
complete./ secondary		
education		
incomplete	44.8	54.8
Secondary education complete / university		
incomplete	9.5	19.1
University complete	2.2	7.5
C NIDEC E		

Source: INDEC. Experimental Census (EC), Pergamino, 1999 and Survey on Disability, 2000.

(1) Simulation based on the validation survey.

⁽¹⁾ Simulation based on the validation survey.

 $Chart~9\\ Disabled people aged from~0~to~64~and~y~total~population~(EC)~by~perception~of~retirement~benefit~and~allowance~^{(1)}$

Retirement benefit or allowance	Disabled people	Total population in the EC
Total	100.0	100.0
Yes	35.5	14.6
No	64.5	85.4

Source: INDEC. Experimental Census (EC), 1999 and Survey on

Disability, 2000.

With respect to the population belonging to the **indigenous people**, the complementary survey also gives additional information to that of the census, as it can be seen in charts 10 through 15.

Chart 10
Population by sex by type of answer in the dimensions of language, ascendance and self-identification (in percentages)

	Clorinda	Pergamino
Total	100.0	100.0
Total	(244)	(163)
3 dimensions		
(language/ascendance/self-	89.3	45.4
identification)		
2 dimensions (self-		
identification/	10.7	55.6
ascendance/NOT language)		

Source: INDEC, Survey on Indigenous Peoples. Clorinda y

Pergamino, 2000.

⁽¹⁾ Simulation based on the validation survey.

⁽¹⁾ Simulation based on the validation survey.

Chart 11 Population by groups of age (1) (in percentages)

Groups de	Clorinda	Pergamino
age		
Total	100.0 (244)	100.0 (163)
0-2	10.7	3.7
3-14	40.2	31.3
15-20	10.2	10.4
21-34	19.3	20.2
35-54	14.8	22.7
55-74	3.7	10.4
75 or over	1.2	1.2

Source: INDEC, Survey on Indigenous Peoples. Clorinda y Pergamino, 2000. (1) Simulation based on the validation survey.

Chart 13
Population that identifies itself as indigenous by people of belonging⁽¹⁾
(in percentages)

People of belonging	Clorinda	Pergamino
		100.0
Total	100.0 (244)	(74)
Diaguita-		
calchaquí	0	1.4
Kolla	0	2.7
Mapuche	0	13.5
Mocoví	0	2.7
Ona	0	1.4
Tehuelche	0	6.8
Toba	100.0	12.2
Tupí		
guaraní	0	5.4
Another		
indigenous		
people	0	6.8
Guaraní	0	1.4
Ignored	0	45.9

Source: INDEC, Survey on Indigenous Peoples. Clorinda y Pergamino, 2000. (1) Simulation based on the validation survey.

Chart 12
Population by country of birth (in percentages)

Country of birth	Clorinda	Pergamino
Total	100.0 (244)	100.0 (163)
Argentina	100.0	100.0

Source: INDEC, Survey on Indigenous Peoples. Clorinda y Pergamino, 2000. (1) Simulation based on the validation survey.

Chart 12 Households by type ⁽¹⁾ (in percentages)

Type of household	Clorinda	Pergamino
	100.0	100.0
Total	(44)	(155)
Unipersonal	4.6	12.2
Nuclear	63.6	68.4
Multi-person	31.8	18.7
Extend	0	0.7

Source: INDEC, Survey on Indigenous Peoples. Clorinda y Pergamino, 2000.

⁽¹⁾ Simulation based on the validation survey.

Chart 15
Households by presence of at least one person that identifies him/herself as descendent or pertaining to an indigenous people

(in percentages)

Presence of at least one person that identifies him/herself as descendent or pertaining to an indigenous people	Clorinda	Pergamino	
Total	100.0 (241)	100.0 (29,186)	
Yes	19.0	1.6	
No	81.0	98.4	

Source: INDEC, Survey on Indigenous Peoples. Clorinda y

Pergamino, 2000.

In the same way that the preceding cases, **bordering international migrations** will have a broader visualization from the complementary survey expected to be carried out after the census 2001 (Giusti and Calvelo, 1999). The data that follows show the potentiality of this strategy.

The majority of the households taken into account correspond to people born in Uruguay and Chile that taken together represent more than the 60% of the universe. It follows in number of importance the Paraguayans households (21%), Bolivians (8%), Brazilians and Peruvians, these last two with only 8 and 5 households respectively. It has to be remembered that the household nationality has been established according to country of birth of the member that answered to the Module of Spatial Mobility.

The total sampled population by the survey presents a young age structure. Even though its components (natives and non natives) show opposite structures as it was expected: the foreigners are concentrated in active adult ages and old age meanwhile the Argentineans are in general very young: this deals with natives descending from the migrants and in a lesser degree couples and other relatives. In quantitative terms, the experience of living together of natives and non-natives in the households with at least one bordering migrant implies that 63% of the total population correspond to Argentinean natives or in other words the rate is 17 Argentineans for every 10 foreigners.

The survey information does not replace the census information, on the contrary, it complements it and broadens it. To the data over place of birth, for example, it adds the identification of location of origin for the foreigners. This information shows that the greater expulsing force of each country corresponds to its capital cities. The two

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⁽¹⁾ Simulation based on the validation survey.

¹⁵ In the country, a most important bordering comunities in 1991 were the paraguayan, chilian and bolivian. The uruguayan have in Pergamino more importants due the fact of the closeness of that location with that country.

main majorities, Uruguayans and Chileans, contribute to more than 40% of the flow of those countries to Pergamino location.

The survey gives additional information that allows us to complete a descriptive panorama about the social evolution of the foreign population in Argentina .About the changes experienced at the educational level (educational mobility) it can be said that 20,5% of migrants improved their educational level in Argentina while the rest was maintained.

The changes regarding the occupational qualifications, on the one hand, show that only the 9,6% of the cases experimented an improvement in their position .More than one half of migrants changed its occupation (according to the big occupational groups). To summarize it seems that job mobility consists of a change in the occupational sector and in keeping the qualification for the job.

Now from the point of view of spatial mobility, the survey allows us to reconstruct the trajectories of the people from the moment in which they left their country of birth up to the place where they settled in the survey area. It is observed that a great majority (40%) it roamed directly to that location. Outside this group you can find a great dispersion of routes. In the following chart that information is shown. The routes are grouped as "Rest" represents only one case. Chart 16 shows this information.

Chart 16
Percentage of migrants from bordering
countries by main routes followed to Pergamino (in the level of the province)
(in percentages)

Total	100,0	
Studight to Dougoming	(221)	
Straight to Pergamino	39,4	
Bs. As./Pergamino	12,2	
Cap.Fed/Pergamino	8,6	
San Luis/Pergamino	6,3	
Bs.As./Bs.As./Pergamino	4,5	
CapFed/Bs.As./Pergamino	3,6	
Sta.Fé/Pergamino	3,2	
Entre Ríos/Pergamino	1,8	
Bs.As./CapFed/Pergamino	0,9	
Bs.As./Río Negro/Pergamino	0,9	
Bs.As/Sta. Fé/Pergamino	0,9	
Mendoza/Pergamino	0,9	
Mendoza/San Luis/Pergamino	0,9	
Río Negro/Pergamino	0,9	
The rest	15,0	

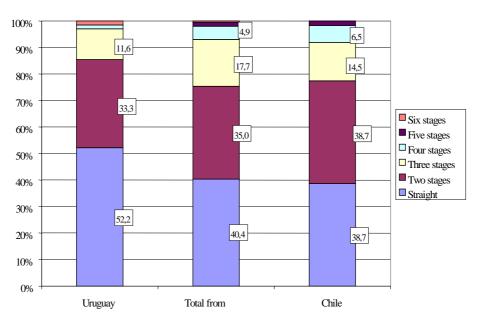
Source: INDEC, Complementary Survey on International

Migrants, Pergamino, 2000

The trajectories can also be described from the point of view of the quantity of destination that are reached in its development. In the graphic 3 a comparison is shown between Chilean, Uruguayans migrants—and the total according to the quantity of

destination of its trajectories. The Uruguayans have in general shorter trajectories (in terms of quantity of destination) opposite Chileans that moved territorially recognizing more quantity of intermediate residencies .The set of bordering countries is situated in an intermediate situation since it represents an average between uneven situations as the ones described above.

Graphic 3
Chilean, Uruguayan migrants and group from bordering countries by amount of destinies of their trajectory towards that locality



Source: INDEC, Complementary Survey on International Migrants, Pergamino, 2000

With respect to the circulation of people and goods, it goes hand in hand, with lasting spatial mobility, this is to say, to the changes of residency that are sustained over time. This phenomenon implies, that the circulation of people, the occurrence of occasional displacements or in plain English trips, and in the case of goods implies the exchange of them, which is a condition to keep interpersonal links.

The period of reference established for this measurement of circulation of people inside the framework it refers to the three years previous to the survey. Within this given period , 46% of migrants residents of Pergamino traveled to its country of birth and 38% traveled to another province of Argentina. The rest did not displaced itself with transitional character.

The majority of the people that traveled in those three years only did it once. Even though , within the displacements inside Argentina there are cases that traveled up to 80 times.

About the reasons for such occasional displacements it can be said that the visit of family and friends it is the main reason for the trips to the country of birth as well as another places of Argentina. Even though working trips have a greater weight among trips inside the country, as it can be seen in the following chart.

Chart 17
Migrants from bordering countries resident in Pergamino that traveled to their country of birth and/or an Argentine province by reason of the trip*
(in percentages)

Reason of the trip	Trips to the country of birth (%)	Trips to another Argentine province (%)	
	100,0	100,0	
Total	(99)	(83)	
Visits to relatives or friends	63,6	39,8	
Other reasons	18,2	32,5	
Work	3,0	20,5	
Shopping, transactions	11,1	3,6	
Religious holidays	2,0	2,4	
Health	2,0	1,2	

Source: INDEC, Complementary Survey on International Migrants, Pergamino, 2000

The survey allows to identify the places to where the trips are made .In such a way we could say that the Uruguayans traveled mainly to Montevideo, Salto and Soriano; the Chileans to Santiago, Valparaíso and Biobio; the Paraguayans to Asunción, San Pedro and Cordillera, the Bolivians to Tarija, Chuquisaca and Oruro; the Brazilians to Sao Paulo and Rio Grande do Sul, and the Peruvians to San Martín and Arequipa. On the one hand, the most visited provinces for the set of bordering foreigners were Santa Fé, Córdoba, the Buenos Aires Province, Capital Federal, Misiones, Entre Ríos, Santiago del Estero, Río Negro, Neuquén, Salta, San Luis and Mendoza.

The circulation of goods (registered for the same period of reference of the people) it focuses in the exchange of letters, a more frequent situation with respect of the country of birth than other places of Argentina. The sending of money to the country of birth appears to be declared by the 5% of the migrants.

Chart 18
Migrants from bordering countries resident in Pergamino by goods exchanged with the country of birth and another Argentine province *

(in percentages)

	Sei	nds	Receives		
	To the	To other	From the From othe		
Exchange of	country of birth	Argentine provinces	country of birth	Argentine provinces	
Letters	24,9	13,1	27,6	15,4	
Clothes	3,2	0,5	1,4	1,4	
Money	4,5	2,3	0,9	1,8	
Other	12,7	11,3	14,5	10,9	

Source: INDEC, Complementary Survey on International Migrants,

Pergamino, 2000

^{*} According to the information on the last trip made

^{*(}The percentages express the amount of cases that declare exchange in each item regarding the total respondents -221-)

Finally when asked about the degree of satisfaction with the complyances of the objectives that they brought when they arrived to Argentina and if they are planning to go and live somewhere else different from Pergamino, a 87,7% of the migrants expressed to be satisfied or very satisfied and almost the same amount of cases (85,9%) answered they are not planning a change of residence. (Chart 19).

The reduced group that thinks about in going to live somewhere else as future residency to its countries of birth apart from USA, Spain, and Australia. Also other places of Argentina appear like Mendoza, Capital Federal, Río Negro, Neuquén, Córdoba, Santa Fé and the south of Argentina in general.

Chart 19
Satisfaction of arrival goals by expectations of future mobility

Satisfaction of arrival goals						
		Very Satisfied	Satisfied	Relatively satisfied	Unsatisfied	Total
	Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100
change Ye	Total	(63)	(129)	(20)	(7)	(219)
	Yes	15,9	11,6	15,0	42,9	14,1
	No	84,1	88,4	85,0	57,1	85,9

Source: INDEC, Complementary Survey on International Migrants,

Pergamino, 2000

4. What can be expected from the future census?

The users will be able to study a more "real" reality of the people's *actual marital status* and the *occupational position*. The changes in the instrument, at least the operational ones, have been incorporated taking into account the limits the census has as a source to study such complex phenomena or issues that have shown new ways. Of existence.

The people's *actual marital status* appears to have had significant changes according to the case studies and the qualitative and quantitative field experiences limited in space. The data provided by the census will allow to test hypothesis about the multiplicity of ways of family grouping developed as life strategies regarding the economic and social changes of the late XX century.

The census will not be able to make visible all the different people's positions in a more and more flexible, irregular and unstable labor market. However, it will at least characterize the most paradigmatic cases of the moment such as precarious employees, those "in black", those working for formal and registered enterprises, even public ones, that have come to constitute the globalized world "suggested" by the central countries.

The measurement of groups like the disabled, the indigenous peoples or the widening of the knowledge on the issue of spatial mobility means for the census a innovative but expensive. the census itself is in charge of the identification of groups that are minorities but have an important social significance. A wide question for disabled and indigenous populations and the traditional question about the place of birth

for international migrations will allow to identify the households that will be revisited in a moment posterior to the census during 2002.

That survey will provide more viable information about their volume and characteristics and, therefore, more realistic to determine the policies' focal groups. The planning of the survey is a task as complex as that of the census or even more: to develop the special survey with the agreement of specialists, users, governmental and non governmental organizations; to develop a complicated logistics that contemplate the "search" of the house in a territory in which the households are "scattered".

Reality has been harassing the sources and the first XXI century census will provide more valid information on some variables and, in the case of certain issues, will come to terms with the past: about the indigenous people, for instance, information will be obtained about their presence in the territory after 500 years of indifference (to be benevolent) and at least after 150 years of complete absence in the whole statistical era of the country.

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