

**IUSSP
General Population Conference
Salvador, Brasil
18-24 August 2001
S26. International migration-Micro (Poster Session)
Coordinator: Nasra SHAH**

**Argentina: Mobility, networks of exchange and circulation among immigrants
from bordering countries.**

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1. The understanding of the study of international migrations. What the data source available can do for us today.

The globalization of the economic spaces has not only brought the exchange of goods, services and technology but as well a circulation of the population in general and of skills in particular that makes a change of parameters in the mobility of the people. Traditional patterns of mobility get consolidated but others appear, which are diverse and complex in nature.

Migration today is a kind of movement which has a great variety of spatial displacement and thus require a broader conceptual framework as it is the one of population mobility, that is better than the classical scheme of place of origin and place of destiny, in order to have a better understanding and further analysis of the paths and migration networks.

In this sense the breakthroughs in the empirical knowledge of the characteristics of the networks of exchanges of people and goods between Argentina and the bordering countries have serious constraints in the field of traditional data sources, which are in no condition of capturing this dynamic. In the need of updating these traditional sources to measure this phenomena through new methodological strategies, an interinstitutional³ staff that has been working for four years in the design and testing of an alternative methodology tending to produce information that enriches the one that will emerge in the next population census.

Taking into account the varieties of conceptual frameworks of the problem of migrations (based in the development in the School of Chicago, of the marxists theories, of the neoclassical school -Harris and Todaro, 1970-; of the “new economy” of migrations -Massey, 1997-; of the theory of segmentation -Piore and Doeringer, 1971-; on the theory of human capital -Borjas, 1990-; on social networks -Boyd, 1989-; etc), this proposal is embedded in the theoretical developments of the concepts “space of life” and “base residency” Courgeau (1988). These allow us to understand migrations in

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³ Made up of INDEC-Master in Demography (University of Córdoba), Institute de Recherche pour le Développement (IRD)- France-; Université Aix-en- Provence (Marseille), International Organization for Migrations (OIM-Buenos Aires); and the seat of Methodology (Social Sciences School-UBA-).

a more complete way than the traditional definitions that refer to the change of residency.

The “space of life” is the realm in which the individual performs all of his/her activities in the broaden sense of the concept; and “base of residency “ is the place or set of places from which displacements are made due to work, study, business, social relations, etc. A concept that further broadens the one of base of residency, it is the one of “reversibility” of flows that allow us to classify them according to its reference into reversible and unreversible (Domenach and Picouet, 1990).

Advancing the idea of “reversibility”, Domenach and Picouet (1996) say that the people’s life space is not only determined by the frequency and amount of the physical movements and trajectories but also by other kinds of exchanges, links, and interpersonal networks.

The most significant feature of these last three concepts is that they come from theoretical elements to study certain characteristics of current displacements that are not included in the traditional schemes. Therefore, they offer an alternative that is superior and integrative of them.

Passing onto the empirical antecedents⁴, international migrations had a founding role in the Argentinean population from 1850 till 1950. Its volume multiplied itself up until the first half of the twentieth century due, to a great extent, to the contribution or international migrations: in 1914 non native population represented one third of the total population of the country. However, up to the present days the contribution of international migrations has suffered profound changes: the magnitude of the flows has diminished systematically since the second half of the twentieth century and also the origin of the flows have varied notoriously till 1991 (year of the last census in Argentina).

**Argentina: Total Population, intercensus rates of growth (by thousands)
Percentage of foreigners in the total population by sex between the censuses dates 1914
and 1991**

Year	Population (in thousands)	Rate of growth (by thousands)	Strangers (percentages)		
			Total	Males	Females
1914	7.885	20,4	29,9	34,9	24,2
1947	15.894	17,9	15,3	17,4	13,2
1960	2.001	15,6	13,0	14,2	11,8
1970	23.364	18,1	9,5	10,0	8,9
1980	27.949	14,7	6,8	6,9	6,7
1991	32.609		5,0	4,9	5,1

Source: Lattes(1975). INDEC (1980), (1993).

⁴ The majority are analyzed in Bertonecello and Lattes (1987); Giusti (1993); Gurrieri (1990); INDEC (1993 and 1997a); Lattes (1990); Maguid and Bankirer (1993); Marshall and Orlansky (1983); Recchini de Lattes (1965).

In fact, from 1947 till 1991 the rate of foreign population represented only 5% of the total population (even though it has to be acknowledged that in some areas this weight increases considerably – capital cities of provinces or states that border other countries, Metropolitan Buenos Aires area). It is said that if the migration component of the growth of the country had not existed, the Argentine population in 1960 would have been half of the population actually registered in that year’s census. In the same way, if the rate of migration growth for the years 1895 and 1914 would have maintained through the years, Argentina would have surpassed the 120 million inhabitants by the year 2000 (being currently 36 million).

On the other hand, the alteration of the patterns of origin of the immigrant population is outstanding. It passed from the one that was non bordering (and specially from overseas till 1947) to a one that come from bordering countries.

Argentina: Foreign Population by origin, census dates 1869-1991 (in percentages)

Year	From bordering countries	From non-bordering countries
1869	19,7	80,3
1895	11,5	88,5
1914	8,6	91,4
1947	12,9	87,1
1960	17,0	83,0
1970	25,9	74,1
1980	39,6	60,4
1991	50,2	49,8

Source: INDEC (1980), (1993).

The flows were mainly from Europe (being the great majority Italian and Spanish) since the late nineteenth century until 1947 and, since 1960, basically from bordering countries (mostly Paraguayans, Bolivians and Chileans). Between 1970 and 1980, 87% of the net migration of foreigners was from bordering countries and between 1980 and 1990 net migration reduced itself to the half as a result of the dropping of the quota of people of non-bordering countries⁵.

The participation of the migrants from bordering countries in the Argentine population has almost registered no variations during the XX century. Even though, as a result of the change in the composition of the international flows, the presence of the migrants from bordering countries over the total foreigners tends to increase becoming by the year of 1991 more than the half of those from other countries. This, in fact, could promote a greater social visibility for this group. At that time the analysis by country of birth reveals that Chileans and Paraguayans register the greater shares (with figures of

⁵ On the one hand , the expansive stages of the Argentinean economy and on the other the economical and political situation of the countries of origin have an effect on the variation of flows coming from bordering countries. In such a way, the Paraguayan civil war of 1946-1950 and the coup d’état of 1954 could explain the increase in the percentage of paraguayans detected between 1947 and 1970. At the same time the dictatorships of Uruguay and Chile during the 70’s decade would have a similar impact. The natives from Bolivia show relative increases during the last two decades and the Brazilians diminished their participation among the bordering countries since 1947.

more than 30%), followed by Bolivians and Uruguayans, meanwhile Brazilians make the most reduced number, it does not even reach the 5%.

The mentioned changes in the last decades in the modality of spatial mobility (persons, goods and services and networks of exchange and circulation) have increased and multiplied under the light of new realities, in a context of globalized economic and social spaces. These changes have not been accompanied by an adaptation of the recollection techniques usually used by the data sources available, which in turn makes it difficult to visualize them at the quantitative level (Giusti, 1993; Giusti and Calvelo, 1999a).

It is because of this that the quantitative empirical study mentioned above was important in the past but nowadays it is subject to the limitations of the secondary data sources and the opportunity of the data that these provide. On the one hand, its qualitative approach (Benencia and Karasik, 1995; Murgarza, 1985) is relatively profuse and allows a valuable approach to hypothesis over migration trajectories, networks of exchange and modalities of insertion in different periods and regions of the country.

It is within this context that the INDEC has decided, on the one hand, to maintain the Argentinean tradition in matters related to the measurement of migrations (based in the applicability of the questions on place of habitual residency, residency five years before and place of birth) following the international recommendations and with the agreement of the countries that constitute the MERCOSUR (Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay) plus Bolivia and Chile.⁶

On the other hand it has been planned for the year 2002 the application of a complementary post-census survey to a sample of households with migrants from bordering countries which will have been seized in the population census. The proposed methodology will allow to obtain new information about migration trajectories, circulation of good and services, network of exchanges and integration, which will result in a deeper and more realistic knowledge of the phenomena (Giusti and Calvelo, 1999 a and b).

The feasibility of this methodology has its origin in a series of studies of a qualitative nature and exploratory objectives, and, above all, taking the antecedent of a survey to the Bolivian community in Córdoba (Domenach, Celton and others, 1998). The adjustment of a tool of data gathering that has been applied in two quantitative surveys was completed: one was performed in Neuquén-Centenario-Plottier in July 1999 on the Bolivian community (INDEC, 1997b and 1998) and another in Pergamino, Province of Buenos Aires (ELEP2000) to the community from bordering countries in the framework of the Experimental Census 2001⁷.

⁶ This will allow us to dispose, for comparative purposes, of information about the demographic, educational, housing, and occupational characteristics of international migrants, from bordering and non-bordering countries, in the most desegregate levels of geographic information. The updating of the data will allow to estimate, by indirect methods, the migratory balances usable for the population projections.

⁷ Córdoba is a province in the central part of Argentina, one of the most developed in the country. Neuquén is located in the patagonic region, and the national and international migratory component has been the ground of a growth quite superior to the national average. Finally, Pergamino is located in the pampean region, a historical center of the development of the country.

This paper gives some results to the third survey mentioned above and shows the potential an statistical action of this nature in the sense of broadening information that the 2001 Census will give on this area⁸.

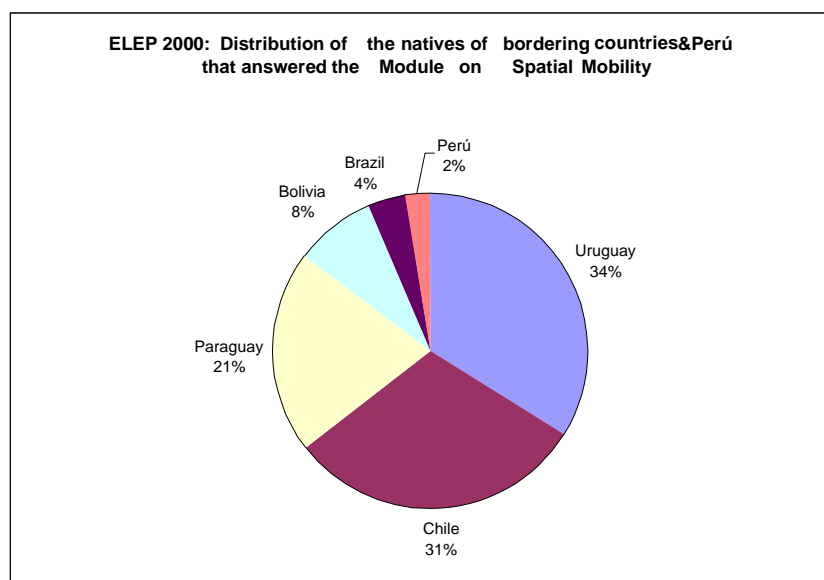
2. How a complementary survey can broaden the information of the Census: some breakthroughs.

It has been chosen the community from bordering countries⁹ in Argentina because it is the biggest one among international migration that our country received in the last decades, as mentioned above. All in all, the breakthroughs of methodological nature of this proposal can be applied indistintively to any other community.

The data that follows come from the quoted field experience applied to all the households with at least one native of bordering countries from the mentioned location (approximately 900 people).

The most of the households taken into account correspond to people born in Uruguay and Chile, which taken together represent more than the 60% of the universe. In numeric importance, follow the Paraguayans households (21%), the Bolivians (8%), the Brazilians and the Peruvians, these last two with only 8 and 5 households respectively¹⁰. It has to be remembered that the household nationality has been established according to the country of birth of the member that answered to the Module of Spatial Mobility.

ELEP 2000: Distribution of natives of bordering countries and Perú that answered affirmatively to the Module over Spatial Mobility.



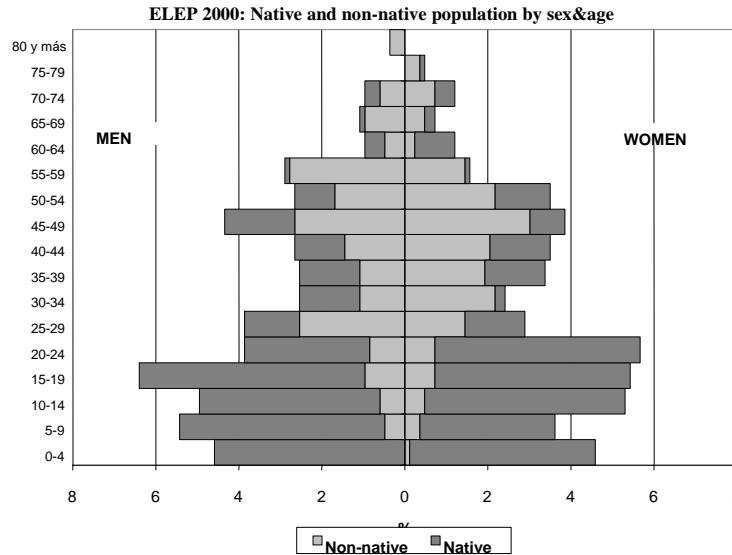
⁸ It will be carried out in October 2001.

⁹ It is considered the set of members of a household in which at least one member is older than 18 years of age was born in a bordering country.

¹⁰ In the country, the most important communities from bordering countries in 1991 were the Chilean and the Bolivian. The Uruguayans have in Pergamino more presence due to the closeness to that country.

The total population studied by the survey presents a young age structure. However, its components (natives and non natives) show opposite structures as it was expected: the foreigners are concentrated in active adult ages and in old ages meanwhile the Argentinians are in general very young: they are natives descendent from the migrants and in a lesser degree couples and other relatives.

ELEP 2000:Native and non-native population by sex and age.



In quantitative terms, the experience of living together of natives and non-natives in the households with at least one migrant from bordering countries implies that 63% of the total population corresponds to Argentinean natives or, in other words, the rate is 17 Argentinians for every 10 foreigners. This values reflect empirically what this survey considered as “community from bordering countries”, that is the part of the population that lives in households where one of the members was born in a bordering country.

This strong excess of Argentinians in relation to foreigners derives from the fact that they are in general descendents migrants from bordering countries and the fact that the latter are strongly represented older migrants: 73% of them arrived to Argentina until 1980.

ELEP 2000: Migrants from bordering countries by year of arrival to Argentina

Year of arrival to Argentina	Relative values
1991-2000	6,3
1981-1990	20,8
1971-1980	40,3
1961-1970	13,6
1951-1960	11,8
1941-1950	4,5
1931-1940	1,4
1921-1930	0,9
1911-1920	0,5
Total	100,0 (221)

The survey information does not replace the census information, on the contrary, it complements it and broadens it. To the data about place of birth, for example, it adds the identification of locality of origin for the foreigners. This information shows that the greater expelling force of each country corresponds to their capital cities. For the two main majorities, Uruguayans and Chileans, they contribute to more than 40% of the flow of those countries to Pergamino.

It can be said that the Uruguayans come mainly from Montevideo, Soriano and Paisandú; Chileans come from Santiago, Araucania and Valparaíso, the Paraguayans from Asunción, Paraguari e Itapuá, Bolivians from Cochabamba, La Paz and Tarija, Brazilians from Rio de Janeiro, Sao Pablo and Rio Grande do Sul and Peruvians from Lima, Loreto and La Libertad.

The survey gives additional information that allows us to complete a descriptive panorama of 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 maintained it.

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 the migrants changed their occupation (according to the large occupational groups). To summarize, it seems that job mobility consists in a change in the occupational sector and in keeping the qualification for the job.

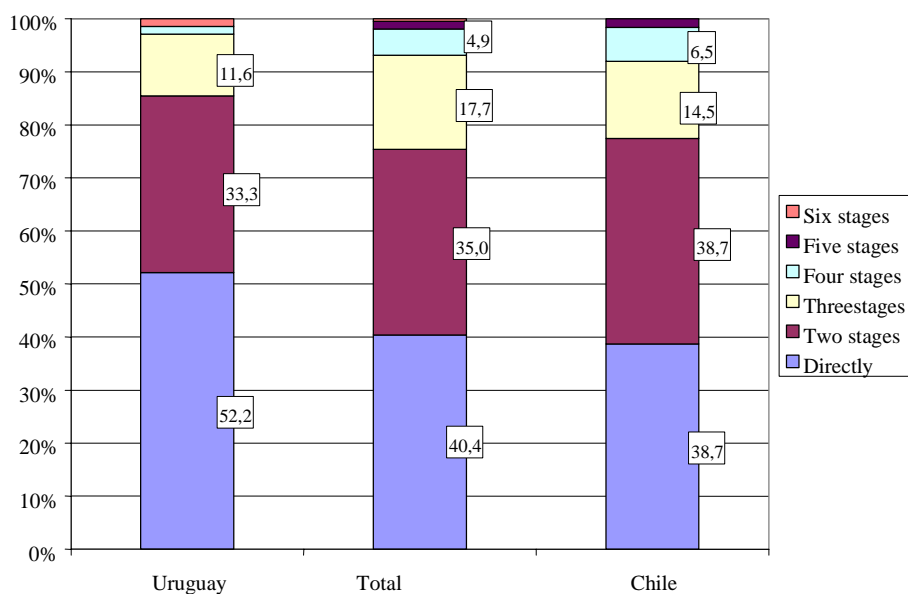
Now, from the point of view of spatial mobility, the survey allows us to reconstruct the trajectories of the people from the moment in which they left their country of birth up to the place where they settled in the survey area. It is observed that a great majority (40%) roamed directly to that locality. 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" represent only one case.

ELEP 2000: Migrant from bordering countries and Peruvians by main routes followed to Pergamino (at the state level)

	Relative Values
Directly to Pergamino	39,4
Bs.As/Pergamino	12,2
Capital Federal/Pergamino	8,6
San Luis/Pergamino	6,3
Bs.As/Bs.As/Pergamino.	4,5
Cap,Fed/BsAs/Pergamino	3,6
Sta.Fé/Pergamino	3,2
Entre Ríos/Pergamino	1,8
Bs.As./Cap.Fed/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
Remainder	15,0
Total	100,0 (221)

The trajectories can also be described from the point of view of the quantity of destinations that are reached in its development. In the following graphic a comparison is shown between Chilean, Uruguayan migrants and the total by the quantity of destinations of their trajectories. The Uruguayans have in general shorter trajectories (in terms of amount of destinations) contrarily to the Chileans, that moved territorially recognizing more intermediate residencies. The group of bordering countries behaves in an intermediate situation since it represents an average between uneven situations as the ones described above.

ELEP 2000: Chilean, Uruguayan migrants and bordering group by amount of destinations in the trajectory to Pergamino



The data about the year of arrival given by the survey can be desegregated for any residency from the moment the migrant arrived to Argentine territory (being the place of residency in Argentina or abroad). In the following chart information about year of arrival to Argentina and Pergamino is provided. The difference between both distributions show an important amount of incomes that are older for Argentina and more recent for Pergamino, situation that is explained by the quantity of cases that reach a greater amount of destinations in the national territory before arriving to that location.

ELEP 2000: Migrants from bordering countries and Peruvian residents in Pergamino by quantity of destinations of their trajectory and year of arrival to Argentina. (in percentages)

Year of Arrival	To Pergamino	To Argentina
1991-2000	16,7	6,3
1981-1990	20,8	20,8
1971-1980	45,2	40,3
1961-1970	12,2	13,6
1951-1960	3,2	11,8
1941-1950	0,5	4,5
1931-1940	0,9	1,4
1921-1930	0,5	0,9
1910-1920	0,0	0,5
Total	100,0 (221)	100,0 (221)

Regarding the circulation of people and goods, it accompanies the long-lasting spatial mobility, this is to say, the changes of residency that are sustained over time. This phenomena implies, in the circulation of people, the occurrence of occasional displacements or, in plain English, trips. In the case of goods it 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 of the ELEP 2000 refers to the three years previous to the survey. Within this given period, 46% of migrants resident in Pergamino traveled to their countries of birth and 38% traveled to another province of Argentina. The rest did not displaced themselves in an occasional way.

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

**ELEP 2000: Migrants from bordering countries and Peruvian residents in Pergamino by amount of occasional displacements (trips) done over the last three years to the country of birth and another Argentine province.
(in percentages)**

Number of trips	To the country of birth	To another Argentine province
One	46,5	38,6
Two	20,2	21,7
Three	16,2	8,4
Four	4,0	6,0
Five	4,0	2,4
Six	0,0	1,2
Seven	2,0	4,8
Eight	0,0	0,0
Nine	3,0	0,0
Ten or more*	4,0	16,9
Total	100,0 (99)	100,0 (83)

*It includes up to 80 trips to another Argentine province.

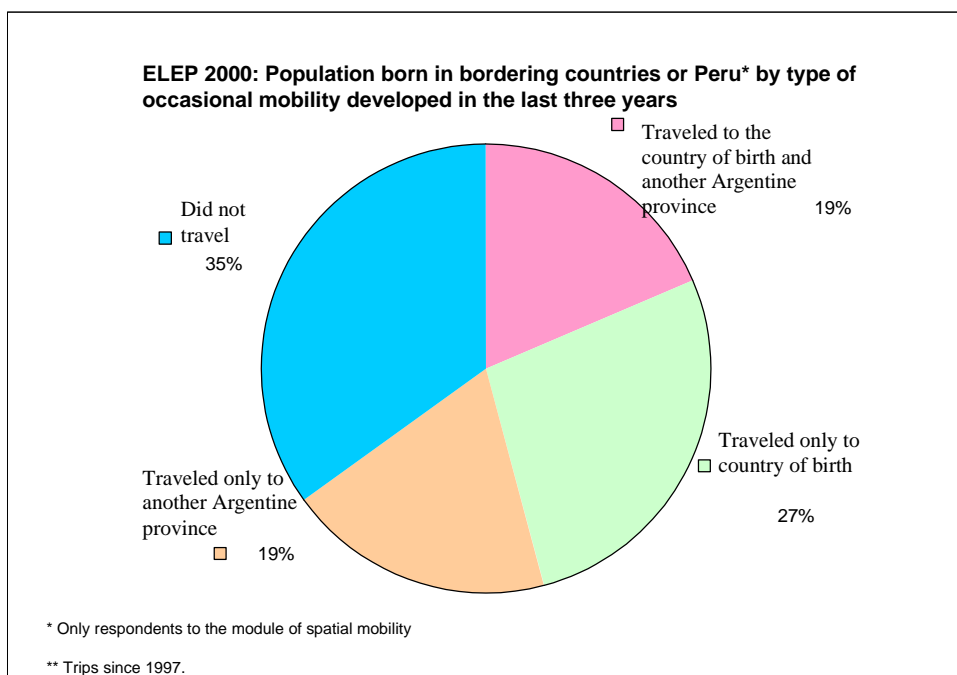
About the reasons for such occasional displacements it can be said that the visit of family and friends is the main one for the trips to the country of birth as well as another places of Argentina. Even though work trips have a greater weight among trips inside the country, as it can be seen in the following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

ELEP 2000 : Migrants from bordering countries and Peruvian residents of Pergamino that traveled to their country of birth and/or to an Argentine province by reason of the trip.

Reason of trip	Trips to the country of birth	Trips to another Argentine province
	Relative values	Relative values
Visits to family and friends	63,6	39,8
Other reasons	18,2	32,5
Work	3,0	20,5
Purchases, paperwork	11,1	3,6
Religious feasts	2,0	2,4
Health	2,0	1,2
Total	100,0 (99)	100,0 (83)

*According to information of last trip done.

The category of “other reasons”, that was presented openly in the questionnaire, showed that trips due to touristic motives are the majority of the trips inside Argentina, meanwhile the death of relatives appear as the main of the other reasons for the trips to country of origin.



The survey allows to identify the places where the trips are made. In such a way we could say that the Uruguayans traveled mainly to Montevideo, Salto y Soriano; the Chileans to Santiago, Valparaíso and Biobío; 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 countries were Santa Fé, Córdoba, Province of Buenos Aires, Capital Federal, Misiones, Entre Ríos, Santiago del Estero, Rio Negro, Neuquén, Salta, San Luis and Mendoza.

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

ELEP 2000: Migrants from bordering countries and Peruvian residents by exchanged goods with the country of birth and other Argentine province*

Exchange of	Sent		Received	
	To the country of birth	To other Argentine provinces	From the country of birth	From another Argentine province
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
Others	12,7	11,3	14,5	10,9

* (The percentages express the of cases that declared exchange in each item with respect of the total of respondents –221–)

** The cases that declared sending money refer to amounts between pesos 50 and 200 for the country of birth and between pesos 50 and 250 for another Argentine province.

Finally when asked about the degree of satisfaction with the compliance of the objectives they had when arrived to Argentina and if they are planning to 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 residency. As expectable from theory, within the cases that said to be dissatisfied (a very reduced group) the group of those planning to change residency increases considerably.

ELEP 2000: Satisfaction of objectives of arrival by plans of future mobility

		Satisfaction of objectives of arrival				Total
		Very Satisfied	Satisfied	Less satisfied	Dissatisfied	
Planning to change residency	Yes	15,9	11,6	15,0	42,9	14,1
	No	84,1	88,4	85,0	57,1	85,9
	Total	100,0 (63)	100,0 (129)	100,0 (20)	100,0 (7)	100,0 (219)

The results of the ELEP 2000 has allowed on the one hand to broaden the knowledge given by the experimental census about the community from bordering countries of Pergamino and, on the other hand, to put test a methodology that has confirmed its viability . The next phase is to sharpen a questionnaire that satisfies requirements of information of a wide spectrum of public and private users. At the same time, to design the survey that the INDEC is planning to put into practice during the 2002 year to a sample of households with migrants from bordering countries detected in the 2001 population census.

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