Chapter 1

GENDER AND ETHNICITY:
THE PROBLEM OF THE STATISTICAL MEASUREMENT
IN VIEW OF THE COMBINATION OF INEQUALITIES

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ABSTRACT

There are different international objectives that can be related to gender equality which help create a balanced development toward the well-being of women and men (e.g., Beijing Consensus, Conference on Population and Development of Cairo, or the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women). Likewise, there has been an increase in awareness toward gender conceptualization for the need to develop new theories and approaches in this respect. The progress has been slow considering the amount of gender inequality phenomena present. Especially when taking into consideration the ethnic adscription of people in Latin America. This is relevant if we take into account the high percentage of indigenous population in some of the Latin American countries. And as a general rule, they tend to live in unfavorable conditions in comparison to the rest of their population of citizens. This inequality does not only occur when indigenous and white (or ‘ladinos,’ or mixed race people) population as integrated groups are compared. What is even more serious are the cases of indigenous women, who represent those living in the worst social conditions and are often forgotten by not being included in the national statistics. It is obvious that the current methods used by the national systems of statistics in many countries do not reach the international requirements and national laws.

In this chapter, the hope to reform the international census advances achieved in order to identify and calculate the situation and dynamics of indigenous groups to include a more gender-specific approach. In this work, we try to contribute some conceptual and
methodological tools to direct the compilation and analysis of data in census process and home surveys. By using a combined perspective of gender and ethnicity, the authors use their own work experiences in international organizations in countries such as Guatemala and Mexico, as well as the revision of census advances achieved in other countries like Canada.

Thus, we hope to tackle from an eminently practical position, one of the pressing weaknesses in the national systems of statistics. This weakness is the invisible gender differences that exist in the female population by a fragmented collective that generates barriers and often hinder the creation of policies that focus on the social development and well-being of indigenous women.

**INTRODUCTION**

When women have fewer opportunities than men to develop their capacities in an egalitarian way, then we say that there is a gender gap. Great conceptual and methodological advances have been achieved, where national policies have been developed in some countries to put an end to gender inequalities. What has really happened here is a attenuation of those inequalities and, in some cases, switching out some inequalities for others. Thus, women today are more integrated in the job market in the ‘economically developed societies,’ but this has also meant for many of them a ‘doppia presenza’ or ‘triple working day,’ as well as other limitations such as the ‘glass ceiling’.

As we stated, this is an example of what is happening in ‘economically developed societies.’ However, the problem is more complex when analyzing the gender gap in multicultural societies in which there are indigenous peoples coexisting with the general population. Policies in this field are much more scant. Women, particularly indigenous women have greater problems in trying to achieve a status of equality. On the one hand, being indigenous has been historically associated with a discrimination that affects all members of this group.

The same happens with indigenous peoples, as it can be observed in the fact that, in the business administration meetings and in the most important positions in the governmental agencies, members of indigenous peoples do not reach the percentage of the population they represent in the national structure by ethnicity; they also do not reach a proportional number

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1 *Doppia presenza* refers to the simultaneous work of adult women in the job market and in their own household. This involves these women supporting a daily weight of work at home, which limits their possibilities of developing a professional career. The relationship of these facts is synchronic, compared to the diachronic relation in men, which indicates that women always have housework in mind, although they are physically working in their job. The term *triple working day* has this meaning. On the one hand, it refers to the demand of carrying out both a job and housework; in addition to this, it is expected that women fulfill some requirements related to selfcare (such as being neat for their husbands), using the little time available. On the other hand, it also refers to the tasks related to life cycles, that is to say, to the fact of taking care of dependent people such as children and elderly.

2 Glass ceiling is defined as the artificial barriers based on attitudinal or organizational prejudices that hinder the advance of qualified workers towards important positions; in this case, it impedes women trying to occupy directorship positions in their professional career. For a more accurate definition see Powell and Butterfield, (1994). Investigating the “glass ceiling” phenomenon: An empirical study of actual promotions to top management. *Academy of Management Journal*, 37, 68-86.
of students in the university education, which in turn entails that children of the indigenous communities will not have the same opportunities as those from other social groups. Following the circular cumulative causation by Myrdal, applied now to human groups, one thing leads to another, but (unfortunately) nothing leads to nothing.  

On the other hand, women face accumulated disadvantages in their capacity to be themselves, because they also feel the weight of discrimination in all the fields: in their own community and on the part of men (and sometimes women) of the national dominant culture.

In this sense, only small advances have been achieved in development policies focused on indigenous people and from a gender perspective. There are several reasons for this. On the one hand, only very recently, have such policies been included in the governmental agendas. On the other, the planning of policies against the gender-ethnicity discrimination requires information that countries have not produced in a systematic way.

Thus, the lack of sources of information for obtaining updated data disaggregated by gender makes difficult for the design of policy programs focused on indigenous women. It is clear that indigenous people, and mainly women, are discriminated against in the statistics and in many administrative registers in Latin America. In this sense, and despite some achievements in some countries, it is required that attitudes change in order to provoke the need for information—information that is needed to change the situation of indigenous women and its people.

**POLITICAL AND LAW POLICY IN RELATION TO INDIGENOUS WOMEN AND PEOPLES**

A State Rule of Law is the only sociopolitical context in which stable requirements can allow citizens to achieve appropriate conditions for the generalized well being of economic, social and cultural terms are possible.

In addition to the creation of stable conditions for citizens’ development, the achievement of an adequate level of distributive justice also requires that the State compile enough suitable information about the situation of citizens, as well as about the determining factors and the possible sociocultural discrimination that people may be suffering for reasons related to gender or ethnicity. In fact, distributive justice cannot be the result of the clamorous feminine demand of dignity and equality on the part of women in general, and of indigenous women in particular. Why? Because “the loss of one’s dignity implies, depending on sociocultural contexts and instances, the lost of awareness of the lack of that dignity, that is to say, the lack of the possibility of practicing inalienable rights.”

In this section, we present a selection of the regulations, treaties, and conventions of international organizations on the women’s and indigenous people’s rights, that have been accepted for the majority of countries in Latin American (LA). Likewise, this section

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compiles, with the needed brevity, some of the regulations and national laws that pursue the same objectives.

This section suggests three conclusions: a) there exist optimum international and national methods that can be used as clear references to try to guarantee human and social rights from a gender perspective; b) currently, more emphasis should refer to particular rights linked to the specific cases of indigenous people; and, c) it is observed that there is an obvious necessity to develop methods to integrate a perspective which combine both the aspects of gender and its indigenous people. The implementation of this same perspective in the production of the national statistical offices, as well as of other national agents has clear relevance. Without precise information, the fulfillment of these objectives concerning human and social rights really cannot be accurately confirmed. This goes against the idea of distributive justice, and against the effective existence of a State’s Rule of Law.

**Review of International Policy**

The first question we must ask ourselves is: why emphasize the existent gap between the objective equality of women, in particular the indigenous women, with the statistical information available in the LA region? To face this urgent need of information we must revise some of the legal means whose effectiveness primarily depends on available information.

In the international field, declarations, treaties, conventions and conferences that focus on equality, can be classified into three general categories a) universal human rights; b) women rights; and c) minority and indigenous populations’ rights.

Although the consideration on gender equality in the LA region dates back to 1945; the first legal international agenda that specifically addressed the recognition of women rights was developed in 1967. This year was created the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). All countries in LA have ratified this Convention, which help promote the equality of rights for women in all life fields. Article 3 indicates:

States Parties shall take in all fields, in particular in the political, social, economic, and cultural fields, all appropriate measures, including legislation, to ensure the full development and advancement of women, for the purpose of guaranteeing them the exercise and enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms on a basis of equality with men.

Much later it was promulgated the ILO’s Convention n. 169 concerning indigenous and tribal peoples in independent countries. This convention was approved in Geneva by the ILO’s General Assembly in 1989. Article 2 points out that:

1. Governments shall have the responsibility for developing, with the participation of the people concerned, co-ordinate and systematic action to protect the rights of these peoples and to guarantee respect for their integrity.
2. Such action shall include measures for: (a) Ensuring that members of these peoples benefit on an equal footing from the rights and opportunities which national laws and regulations grant to other members of the population; (b) Promoting the full realization of the social, economic, and cultural rights of these peoples with respect
for their social and cultural identity, their customs and traditions and their institutions; (c) Assisting the members of the peoples concerned to eliminate socio-economic gaps that may exist between indigenous and other members of the national community, in a manner compatible with their aspirations and ways of life.

With regard to the recruitment and conditions of employment (Article 20), it indicates that there must exist an “equal remuneration for work of equal value” (b), and “that workers belonging to these peoples enjoy equal opportunities and equal treatment in employment for men and women, and protection from sexual harassment” (d).

Only two decades ago, we find international specific policy language that does take into consideration the necessities of the indigenous peoples. Later, other dispositions and agreements on gender and also on indigenous peoples have been developed. Along this evolution, we point out:

a. The International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD, Cairo, 1994), and ICPD + 5. This Conference is directly focused on the need of obtaining data from indigenous populations to ensure the performance of the dispositions: “The specific needs of indigenous people, including primary health care and reproductive health services, should be recognized. In full collaboration with indigenous people, data on their demographic characteristics should be compiled and integrated into the national data-collection system. The cultures of indigenous people need to be respected. Indigenous people should be able to manage their lands, and the natural resources and ecosystems upon which they depend should be protected and restored” (Chapter VI, Population Growth and Structure). And furthermore, it implicitly defines a difference between the conditions of indigenous and non-indigenous women: “Countries with indigenous people should achieve infant and under-5 mortality rates among their indigenous people that are the same as those of the general population” (Chapter VIII, Health, Morbidity, and Mortality).

b. The IV World Conference on Women (Beijing, 1995). As an example, in Annex I, paragraph 32, it is stressed the need of: “Intensify efforts to ensure equal enjoyment of all human rights and fundamental freedoms for all women and girls who face multiple barriers to their empowerment and advancement because of such factors as their race, age, language, ethnicity, culture, religion, or disability, or because they are indigenous people.” Also, in Annex II, paragraph 32, it is clearly indicated that indigenous women put up more barriers than women in general do: “The past decade has also witnessed a growing recognition of the distinct interests and concerns of indigenous women, whose identity, cultural traditions and forms of social organization enhance and strengthen the communities in which they live. Indigenous women often face barriers both as women and as members of indigenous communities.”

c. The Beijing + 5 (New York, 2000) was an extraordinary period of meetings to examine the progress achieved since the approval of the Platform of Beijing in 1995. Their conclusions explicitly talk about problems of indigenous women. In its Appendix, ‘New measures and initiatives for the implementation of the Declaration and Platform of Beijing,’ it is stressed the need of “Addressing the barriers faced by women, particularly by indigenous and other marginalized women, in accessing and
participating in politics and decision-making, including lack of training, women’s double burden of paid and unpaid work, negative societal attitudes and stereotypes.”

d. In the Plenary Session in Beijing +10 (New York, 2005) it was recognized the importance of incorporating the gender perspective in the formulation, implementation, supervision, and evaluation of the state policies and programs. This must be promoted in all spheres: political, economic, and social.

Other international policy related to the promotion of indigenous people rights, some of which emphasize the women rights, are: a) the World Summit for Social Development (Copenhagen, 1995), that points out in its Fifth Commitment the promotion of respect, and gender equality and equity; b) the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (New York, 2007); c) The Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues of UN (2000; and d) Durban Conferences against Racism (the last conference in 2009).5

Finally, we must mention one of the most important strides toward equality that was elaborated by the United Nations in the international context: the Millennium Development Goals (MDG). These goals were spread after the United Nations Millennium Declaration in 2000; the deadline for the performance of the objectives was set in 2015 for all countries.

According to UN, “The MDG’s encapsulate the development aspirations of the world as a whole. But they are not simply development objectives; they encompass universally accepted human values and rights such as freedom from hunger, the right to basic education, the right to health and a responsibility to future generations.”6 Indeed, the Goals refer to universally accepted human values and rights:

- Goal 1: Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger.
- Goal 2: Achieve universal primary education.
- Goal 3: Promote gender equality and empower women.
- Goal 4: Reduce child mortality.
- Goal 5: Improve maternal health.
- Goal 6: Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases.
- Goal 7: Ensure environmental sustainability.
- Goal 8: Develop a global partnership for development.

Although Goals 3, 4, and 5 are explicitly focused on women, and even though it is possible to think carefully about how the Goals can be addressed to promote greater gender equality, it is obvious that the aspiration of universalism of those Goals takes priority over the gender perspective. As it has been said7:

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5 One of the main points in the Durban Declaration and Programme of Action: “Recognition of multiple forms of discrimination based on sex, language, religion, political opinion, social origin, property, and birth; specific attribution of role of women in combating racism.”


7 United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia (UN-ESCWA, 2006), Gender in the Millennium Development Goals, booklet produced by Eleventh Regional Coordination Group (RCG) Meeting, which was held in Beirut from 20 to 21 June 2006. Available at: http://www.escwa.un.org.
While the Millennium Declaration emphasizes the assurance of equal rights and opportunities for women and men to development without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion, the MDG framework does not link up with existing international gender-relevant instruments - most notably, CEDAW and the Beijing Platform for Action, owing to the absence of sex-disaggregated data and mainstreaming of gender across all Goals.

It is even more obvious that the fight against ethnic inequalities appears only implicitly in the formulation of those Goals. Nevertheless, the MDG is an excellent instrument that gathers the efforts of the majority of countries in pursuit of a common purpose. This is demonstrated when observing that governments of the area, and therefore the National Statistical Offices (NSO), must produce and in fact produce specific information to carry out a constant supervision for the fulfillment of those Goals. Thus, as UN has pointed out: “We have made important progress towards all eight goals, but we are not on track to fulfill our commitments.” The 2009 Report stated, “Although data are not yet available to reveal the full impact of the recent economic downturn, they point to areas where progress towards the eight goals has slowed or reversed.”

This is true despite the advances achieved by different countries. Later, we will see that non-fulfillment of the objectives directly affects women; this is clearly evident in the case of indigenous people and particularly of indigenous women.

In short, this review on international policy shows that the development of a conscience in respect towards multiculturalism is very recent. Also that from the beginning of its development, there has been a great stride in the actions taken. National States subscribe to these efforts, as we will remark in the next section.

A Brief Review of National Policy

We said at the beginning that the initial efforts of international organizations have been accompanied by legal reforms carried out by the Latin-American states. Nevertheless, the process of legal recognition of multiculturalism has suffered several problems and frictions. Among those problems we find the following:

- Who is the indigenous subject? The identification of the indigenous subject is problematic, as far as a biological mix exists (mixed races), and that the definition of ‘indigenous’ includes subjective elements difficult to put into practice in the legal context.
- Who is the holder of the rights? There exists a tension between subject and community in relation to the indigenous rights. Following Carbonell “the constitutional recognition of indigenous rights is done in some cases for indigenous

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Which legal ordinance prevails? It is necessary to harmonize the national law and the indigenous law, since one of the traditional aspirations of indigenous peoples has been the right to have their own legal ordinance. Nevertheless, that legal sub-system may be in conflict with the fundamental rights of the state. According to Carbonell, there are at least three countries that recognize the jurisdictional autonomy of indigenous peoples: Mexico, Colombia, and Ecuador.

What kind of rights is more important? The problem here is the confrontation between autonomy rights and social rights. This problem is related to the fact that indigenous peoples in general, and indigenous women in particular, suffer a combination of multiple discriminations. To achieve the recognition of the cultural belonging there is a tendency to establish different norms that positively treat indigenous peoples that were discriminated before. However, the redistributive logic of the state demands the equality for all citizens in the social and economic fields. To put it in another words, the recognition of peoples demands the attention to their differentiated specificities, and the requirements of socioeconomic equality imply universal rights without a differentiation among peoples or sexes.

These problems have emerged because the list of reforms carried out by the counties in LA to recognize indigenous rights is large. This list includes not only constitutional reforms and the elaboration and implementation of legal norms, but also the creation of national governmental institutions addressed to guarantee the respect of the rights.

According to Torres-Rivas, in 1994 practically all countries in LA had incorporated in their Constitutions different Articles recognizing and protecting “certain” indigenous rights. Among these countries: Argentina, Mexico, Nicaragua, Colombia, Paraguay, Guatemala, Brazil, Panamá, Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador, Venezuela, El Salvador, Honduras, Chile, Belize, and Suriname. In some of these countries, great advances were conducted. For instance, the Colombian Constitution of 1991, quoted as the most advanced at this respect, “recognizes the existence of peoples with own culture and rights, adapt the rights of that indigenous population to the political organization, recognizes its autonomy and concedes to them a [geographical] space.”

The Paraguayan Constitution of 1992 (despite the low percentage of indigenous population in the territory) uses similar terms. It explicitly recognizes the indigenous population and their rights “to preserve and develop their identity in their respective environment, as well as the right to freely implement their political, social, economic, and cultural organization system, since these cultural groups are previous to the formation of the State.”

The Political Constitution that is currently in force in the United Mexican States, even explicitly mention the rights of indigenous women in some paragraphs. Article 2 specially focused on indigenous peoples and communities, and is divided into two paragraphs. In

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Paragraph A it recognizes and guarantees the right of indigenous peoples and communities to their free determination and, as a consequence, their autonomy for:

I. Deciding their internal norms of living together and social, economic, political, and cultural organization.

II. Implementing their own normative systems in the regulation and solution of their internal conflicts, respecting the general principles of this Constitution, the individual guarantees, the human rights, and specially, the dignity and integrity of women. The law will establish the instances and proceedings of validation by the corresponding judges or courts.

III. Choosing, according to their norms, traditional proceedings, and practices, and the legal authorities and representatives for the engaging in their own forms of internal government, guaranteeing the participation of women in conditions of equity with men, in a framework that respects the federal pact and the sovereignty of the states.

In Paragraph B, talks about the duties of authorities, sub-paragraph V points out one of them:

To favor the incorporation of indigenous women into the development, by supporting productive projects, giving protection to their health, offering stimuli to favor their education and participation in the decision-making related to community life.

And in sub-paragraph VII continues:

To establish social policies to protect indigenous migrants, both in the national territory and abroad, by means of actions that guarantee the labor rights of agricultural day laborers; to improve the health conditions of women; to support special programs of education and nutrition for children and youths in migrant families; to watch over the respect of their human rights and promote the diffusion of their cultures.

It is not necessary to continue our review of other legal aspects included in the Latin American Constitutions and the related rights of indigenous peoples and their women. What is most relevant, this review shows the urgent need for information that states have. Not only in order to guarantee the international agreements taken in relation for protection of indigenous women and peoples, but also to guarantee the performance of the legal aspirations on ethnic and gender equality.

THE SITUATION OF INDIGENOUS WOMEN IN LATIN AMERICA

In this section, we briefly show data that reflect the general situation of inequity in Latin America. Thus, data concerning the number of indigenous population living in different countries in Latin America will determine the importance that this population should have in the development of state policies; and therefore, design national statistical methods that should generate the necessary information to incorporate these policies in a supported way. At this point, we also refer to the sociocultural diversity of indigenous people that share the same
Gender and Ethnicity

The section reveals the situation of indigenous women in several countries within the region.

Conclusion from our analysis indicate that the term ‘indigenous’ constitutes an inappropriate generalizes category; because it hides the essential differences in the worldview and in the ways people from different ethnic populations in general, women within them in particular, are and behave. Another conclusion is that conditions and problems of women in some indigenous contexts cannot be identified with those from the rest of women. This fact suggests that policies must be based on precise and distinguished information and not on general measurements that could hide a serious social fragmentation (women vs. men, indigenous vs. non-indigenous, indigenous women vs. non-indigenous women) under the label “average life conditions.”

Inequality in Latin America: A General View

The gender and ethnic inequalities have a distinct relationship with the general inequality of a country or area. In this sense, it has been stated that Latin America is the most unequal region of all.12 This is true because Latin American resources are concentrated in very few hands, in different fields: education, health, work, incomes, landowning, and access to credit, among others. Pertinent to this last point, the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) had already shown the inequality in the household income distribution in this region. Data from a selection of countries illustrate this, as it is shown in Figure 1.13

In these countries, 40% of poorest the population are between 6.1% and 19.2% for incomes in the rural Guatemala and rural Peru, respectively. The 10% of richest population receives between 25.2% and 39.5% for incomes in rural Peru and rural Bolivia, respectively.

United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) shows coherent results in their different Human Development Reports (HDR). Pondering inequality in the Latin American Region, only 14 countries out of 85 with “Medium Human Development” obtained a Gini higher than 50 (or 0.5) in 2002; and 9 out of these 14 countries were Latin American. Within this list, only Namibia (74.3) and Lesotho (63.2) exceeded the inequality measured in Bolivia (60.1).

In the last years, the region has shown a relatively positive development in terms of income distribution. Nevertheless, the positive tendency has not reached all countries: Venezuela, Costa Rica, and Uruguay, traditionally more egalitarian countries, have registered a stagnation or growth in the inequality measured by the Gini Coefficient.

With respect to the countries analyzed in this section, the last HDR of the UNDP gives the following information:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Countries (2007)</th>
<th>Richest 10% to Poorest 10%</th>
<th>Gini (c)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(a)</td>
<td>(b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bolivia</td>
<td>93.9 (168.1)</td>
<td>58.2 (60.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecuador</td>
<td>35.2 (44.9)</td>
<td>54.4 (53.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guatemala</td>
<td>33.9 (48.2)</td>
<td>53.7 (55.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>21.0 (24.6)</td>
<td>48.1 (46.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peru</td>
<td>26.1 (30.4)</td>
<td>49.6 (52.0)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- b. Data show the ratio of the income or expenditure share of the richest group to that of the poorest.
- c. As we know, Gini coefficient ranges from 0 to 1, but UNDP simplifies its interpretation multiplying the value by 100. Thus, in Table 1, a value of 0 represents absolute equality, and a value of 100 absolute inequality.

As it is observed in the last column of Table 1, the Gini Index only increased in Ecuador. Thus, there is evidence that poverty and inequality are decreasing in some countries in this region. This can be the result of the economic growing and the implementation of different programs regarding state policy. Nevertheless, the general inequality continues to be very high. According to the ECLAC:

In 1997, 2002, and 2007, the great majority of Latin American people were of the opinion that income distribution was very unfair or unfair (80%, 87%, and 78%, respectively). This could worsen during the current economic crisis and become a problem for social cohesion, not only because general discontent among citizens could generate conflicts, but also because of the difficulty in creating protection agreements that engage large numbers of players and social strata.

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It must be noted that they stress “the difficulty in creating protection agreements that engage large numbers of players and social strata.” At this point we should take into consideration, as indicated by Klinsberg, that “Inequalities in Latin America have peak expressions in ethnic and color terms.”

In the following section, we analyze the number of indigenous population in different countries in Latin America, with the purpose of evaluating the magnitude of the problem related to the vulnerability of indigenous women in the countries with more population in this segment.

**Indigenous Women in Latin America**

It is interesting to know the number of indigenous population in the Latin American countries to analyze in more detail the situation of the women living there. Considering the data from the 2000 Census Round, results are the following:

**Table 2. Data from 2000 Latin American Census**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Indigenous Population</th>
<th>% of Indigenous Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>94,630,091</td>
<td>6,101,632</td>
<td>6.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bolivia</td>
<td>8,054,169</td>
<td>5,008,997</td>
<td>62.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guatemala</td>
<td>11,237,196</td>
<td>4,610,440</td>
<td>41.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecuador</td>
<td>12,156,608</td>
<td>830,418</td>
<td>6.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>168,666,184</td>
<td>734,128</td>
<td>0.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chile</td>
<td>15,116,435</td>
<td>692,192</td>
<td>4.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R. Bol. Venezuela</td>
<td>22,055,028</td>
<td>506,341</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honduras</td>
<td>6,076,885</td>
<td>427,943</td>
<td>7.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panama</td>
<td>2,839,173</td>
<td>285,229</td>
<td>10.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paraguay</td>
<td>5,163,198</td>
<td>88,529</td>
<td>1.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Costa Rica</td>
<td>3,713,004</td>
<td>63,876</td>
<td>1.72</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: CELADE (ECLAC), *System of Sociodemographic Indicators for Indigenous Peoples and Populations*. Data from the last Population and Housing Censuses of each country: Mexico, 2000; Guatemala, 2002; Ecuador, 2001; Bolivia, 2001.

We give two assessments about Table 2:

a. ECLAC considers as ‘indigenous’ those people that identify themselves as such, excluding other considerations, like the main language learnt in the childhood.

b. Ecuador has a large indigenous population, which is not represented here. This matter will be explained in depth later: the design of questionnaires used in censuses affects the interviewees’ responses. In particular, in the 2001 Bolivian census, the category ‘mixed race’ was excluded as an option of self-identification, where this option was included in Ecuador. As a consequence, Bolivian population that could

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have identified themselves as 'mixed race,’ perhaps did it as ‘indigenous,’ when part of the Ecuadorian population had the option to consider themselves as ‘mixed race.’

c. Unfortunately, in spite of the fact that Peru also has a large indigenous population, their data are not comparable to those obtained in the rest of countries, since the Peruvian census conducted in 2007 failed to include any question related to self-identification as an indigenous people\(^\text{19}\).

Thus, our description on the situation of indigenous women will be focused now on Bolivia, Guatemala, Ecuador, and Mexico which are the countries with a higher number of indigenous citizens. Nevertheless, we will refer later to other countries.

Once having said that, it is interesting to observe the percentage of indigenous women with respect to the general population. Data are the following:

Table 3. Percentages of Women Populations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Women Indigenous Population</th>
<th>% of Indigenous Women over total population</th>
<th>% of Indigenous Women over total indigenous pop.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bolivia</td>
<td>2.526.516</td>
<td>31.37</td>
<td>50.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecuador</td>
<td>425.670</td>
<td>3.50</td>
<td>51.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guatemala</td>
<td>2.345.486</td>
<td>20.87</td>
<td>50.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>3,079,802</td>
<td>3.25</td>
<td>50.48</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: CELADE (ECLAC), System of Sociodemographic Indicators for Indigenous Peoples and Populations.

As Table 3 figures indicate, Bolivian indigenous women represent almost the third part of the population, and in Guatemala more than a fifth. In Mexico, considering its high population, a little percentage of 3.25% represents an even higher proportion of indigenous women than in Bolivia and Peru: more than 3 million. The last column of the Table 3 shows that population of women is always slightly higher in comparison to indigenous men.

Finally, in this review on the proportional representation of indigenous women in the population, we give some data about their numerical representation compared to non-indigenous women.

Table 4. Proportional Representation of Indigenous Women

|---------|------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------------------------|

\(^{19}\) In fact, the last and most recent Peruvian census only gives an approximation in the classification of people as indigenous or non-indigenous, by means of a question referred to the first language learnt by the interviewee (Vid. National Statistical and Informatics Institute (INEI), XI Census of Population and VI Census of Housing, 2007). Apart from our reservations, it could still be possible to reach some conclusions on the number of indigenous population, by applying the hypothesis that the first language learnt is unequivocally associated to the potential self-identification as indigenous. In this sense, as it is clearly observed in Table 3, indigenous population would exceed three millions and a half in Peru (more than 15%), which is something expected in a country with a traditional indigenous profile. Nevertheless, this classification includes categories as ‘foreign language’ and ‘deaf-mute,’ both of which cannot be classified in terms of belonging or associated to an indigenous population. Furthermore, applying the mentioned hypothesis on the language would entail the use of a different criterion to the ECLAC’s to identify indigenous population in Peru, so for this reason their data cannot be considered for the purposes our comparisons.
According to the 2001 Census, the number of indigenous women in Bolivia is higher than the number of non-indigenous women. In Guatemala, indigenous women represent more than 40%, and in Ecuador and Mexico those percentages are lower than 7%.

Although the data may be quite imprecise for the aforementioned reasons, Table 4 indicates that there are more than 8 million indigenous women in the four Latin American countries we have considered. This means that there is a remarkable proportion of population in a special vulnerable situation in view of the scant statistical data available recently.

### Indigenous Women: Cross-linked Inequalities

As mentioned before, “Inequalities in Latin America have peak expressions in ethnic and color terms.” Klingsberg provides some data to describe this ‘peak’:

[...]

More than 80% of the 40 million indigenous people in the region are in extreme poverty. Disparities between basic indicators of White population and Afro-American population show also important contrasts. In addition to this, we have to add the existence of significant gender discriminations in the job market and other fields.

And there are voices that go beyond, pointing out that the economic growing in Latin America in the last years may have produced higher levels of inequality. In this sense, it is obvious that the economic growth does not increase equality by itself: re-distributive policies are required for this, as well as knowing who are the vulnerable population groups and their characteristics.

According to Trivelli, it is clear that the most vulnerable population is composed of people with three key characteristics: indigenous ethnicity, being woman, and living in the rural context:

That is to say, the economic growth in this region has made things more unequal. The losers are the same as always: indigenous groups, rural populations, and mainly those linked to agricultural and livestock activities on a small scale, as well as a large proportion of women. But the least favored by this economic growth, or what is often called the “trickle down,” are those very same groups that struggle for equality. In general, the group possess three characteristics: rural, indigenous populations and within them, specifically women.

Now, there are important questions to ask: a) Which is the most serious the stagnation of indigenous women in comparison to the rest of the general population?; b) Which specific

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factors can determine this stagnation of indigenous women? Are significant these differences based on gender or ethnicity? Later, we will see that this is not easy to determine.²²

Here, we will analyze the situation of indigenous women on the basis of some authorized sources, with the objective to understand which extent there are differences between their living conditions and those of the rest of the population. To do this, we have chosen three basic dimensions related to good life conditions and an indicator for each of them:

a. Education, expressed in terms of the rate or percentage of analphabetism; it is calculated as the population aged 15 years or older who do not know how to read and write, divided by the total population aged 15 years or older. This result is multiplied by 100.

b. Health, expressed as the rate of infant mortality, that is to say, it represents the probability of a newborn baby to die before being one year. This rate is very important, since it is associated to many negative factors such as poverty, malnutrition, lack of qualified medical attention during the labor, and others.

c. Occupation, expressed as the rate or percentage of economic participation; it is calculated as the number of people aged 15 or older who work or are searching a job, divided by the total population aged 15 or older. Result multiplied by 100.

Figure 2 shows that in all cases, rates of analphabetism among indigenous women are higher than those for indigenous men (all are above the diagonal line, a line that indicates equality between both sexes for each country).

Additionally, rates of analphabetism of the indigenous population in Chile are lower than in the rest of countries. More concretely, this rate is 6.7 for men and approximately 11 for women. In the other extreme are Paraguay and Guatemala. In Paraguay, indigenous men show a higher rate of analphabetism than in Guatemala (45.6 and 36.6 respectively), where rates for women are slightly lower (57.1 and 58.3 respectively). The rate of analphabetism found in Guatemala is especially important if we take into account the high percentage of indigenous population it has (41%). Rates for the rest of countries are between values found for Chile and Paraguay.

²² Vid. the section Challenges and proposals in the analysis of the statistical data, in this chapter.
Now then, with reference to the magnitude of the inequality in the analphabetism, things are different. In these terms, Bolivia’s rate of women is 2.88 times higher than the rate of men; therefore, it can be said that this is the country with the greater inequality by sex among indigenous population. Again, this data has a particular relevance, since population of that country is eminently indigenous (62.2%). Ecuador shows that the rate of women is 1.82 times higher than the rate of men, which is also a remarkable inequality, but less lower than in the case of Bolivia. Mexico and Panama are the following countries. The lowest differences by sex are observed in Honduras (1.16) and Brazil (1.20).

Thus, there are differences by sex in the indigenous population when considering the rates of analphabetism. We have here a social characteristic (education) that may be associated to a situation of subordination between sexes, without considering belonging to an indigenous people.

What happens if we now analyze the rates of indigenous women in comparison with those of non-indigenous women? That is to say, if we focus on ethnicity instead of gender. Figure 3 shows the result.

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23 We express this magnitude as the rate of woman divided by the rate of men.
An important difference is observed with respect to Figure 3. We find that dots are distributed almost vertically, which indicates a much higher inequality among the segments of population analyzed. There is a statistically significant correlation (0.01) between rates of indigenous men and women: 0.887. This indicates that both rates follow the same tendency: in the countries in which those rates increase for men, they also increase for women.

When considering rates of indigenous women in comparison to those of non-indigenous, the correlation is 0.398 and non-significant, that means that there is no proven association between values found for these variables.

Following with our interpretation of Figure 3, this indicates that the highest rates of alphabetsim among non-indigenous women are in Guatemala (23.3) and Honduras (19.0). In these countries, rates for indigenous women are 58.3 and 31.1 respectively. These differences are remarkable compared to those found between indigenous men and women.

We also observe important differences in countries as Paraguay, where the rate of alphabetsim of indigenous women is 49.5 higher than that of non-indigenous women (its vertical distance to the diagonal line is the highest). But this value is also higher in other countries: Panama, 42.3; Guatemala, 35.0, and Mexico, 30.9, are examples of this. The lowest difference was found in Chile: 6.70.
To finish our analysis on the variable “rate of analphabetism,” we calculated the magnitude of the inequalities between indigenous men and non-indigenous women. This comparison let us explore which variable shows a closer relationship with analphabetism: sex or ethnicity. The following graphic presents the results obtained.

Although some dots are close to the diagonal line that represent equality, the truth is that there is also a cloud of dots showing a tendency towards verticality, which refers to indigenous values (lower). Moreover, it is the first time we found a country below the diagonal line: Bolivia is the only country in which rates of analphabetism of indigenous men are slightly lower than those of indigenous women.

In this comparison of rates, it is observed that Guatemala is the country in which analphabetism presents the highest rates in the two segments of population considered: indigenous men and non-indigenous women. This shows a tradition, which is simultaneously patriarchal and sexist, at least in the educational field. However, the country with the highest inequality between the two groups is Paraguay, where the rate for indigenous men is 38 times higher than those of non-indigenous women. Other countries with inequalities in this sense are Panama (23.0) and the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela (22.3).

Figure 5 shows a summary of the relationships between rates of analphabetism, considering all comparisons carried out along this section for all segments of the population analyzed. These values represent the resulting ratio of dividing the rate of the first group mentioned in the caption with respect to the second; each graphic expresses the relative magnitude of the first ratio compared to the second (for example, the rate of analphabetism among indigenous men divided by the same rate among non-indigenous women). Higher rates indicate higher inequalities between populations.
Thus, data given in Figure 5 only show differences among segments of the population, but not the volume of analphabetism in each of the countries.

As it can be observed, the highest differences in all countries are between indigenous and non-indigenous women, and that the lowest differences are between indigenous men and non-indigenous women.

The results are obvious and conclusive. At least in the educational dimension, represented here by the indicator “rate of analphabetism,” the greatest inequalities are associated to the ethnic belonging and not to the variable ‘sex.’ Anyway, indigenous women are those that are in the worst situation.

**Infant Mortality**

As we indicated at the beginning of this section, the Infant Mortality Rate (IMR) is a synthetic indicator of great descriptive power, because it can be associated to many others. Infant mortality is related to non-desired pregnancies and with analphabetism. It also indicates that there are needs not satisfied, an inadequate cover of health services, prenatal services, services during the labor and puerperium, as well as a poor nutrition of mothers and their children.
What it is clear is that the situation of populations and households determines the maternal conditions and conditions of the women in labor. Poor conditions in terms of medical infrastructures and coverage of the state health will increase the likelihood of children to die. Figure 6 shows data referred to IMRs in all countries analyzed. Results indicate that this situation is worse for indigenous women in comparison to non-indigenous, in all cases.

Note that the IMR for non-indigenous women presents the highest value in Bolivia, Guatemala and Paraguay, with a ratio of 53, 41, and 38 respectively. The IMR in non-indigenous populations in these countries is the following: Bolivia: 74; Guatemala: 51; Paraguay: 79. Obviously, the IMR are high for the general population, but differences among segments of population shows deep inequalities in an indicator as sensitive as this. The greater inequalities seem to be in Panama, where the IMR of non-indigenous populations is a 0.44 of those of indigenous population. This means that the IMR of the indigenous group is 3.1 times higher than that of the non-indigenous group. A similar situation is found in Venezuela and Ecuador, where the IMR of the indigenous peoples is higher in 2.29 and 2.26 respectively. Eventually, this is indicating the indigenous peoples present high levels of poverty that are probably more common in rural areas.
Figure 7 shows the IMR in the rural context. Indeed, the IMR in most of countries is high for both segments of the population. Nevertheless, it is observed that the maximums are found among indigenous peoples (except in the case of Brazil). The highest IMR are in Bolivia (86 vs. 60 for non-indigenous), Paraguay (79 vs. 36) and Ecuador (74 vs. 38).

Figure 8 gives information about the situation in the urban context. There is a greater homogeneity in the IMR, although the rate for indigenous populations continue being higher, and mainly in Paraguay, Bolivia, and Guatemala. This cannot be explained by differences in the medical infrastructure (since infrastructure is the same as in the cities), but it can be due to other factors such as a different medical coverage for the two segments of the population.

The existence of so high IMR in the world has caused that the MDG include a clear objective on this indicator: “Reduce Child Mortality by two-thirds, between 1990 and 2015, the under-five mortality rate.” The matter is that this reduction must be reflected in all populations within each country, and not only in the general population as a whole. Again, the review of data we have presented here indicates that indigenous women add the gender and ethnic inequalities.
Gender and Ethnicity

Figure 8. IMR for non-indigenous vs. indigenous people in the urban area.

Occupation

The rate of economic participation is an indicator of the economic-labor integration of populations. Figure 9 shows clear differences between the rate for men and women in indigenous peoples.

It is observed that the lowest rate for men is 65, in Honduras, and the highest rate for women is 56, in Ecuador. It must be noted that the lowest rate for men is higher than the highest rate for women. This has to do with some issues, but one of the most important is that housework and children care are not considered as a job. This has been analyzed by only considering the rate of economic participation of indigenous and non-indigenous men. The following graphic shows the homogeneity of this rate for the men population: there are few differences that could be explained by the ethnic profile.  

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Obviously, the homogeneity only occurs with statistic figures of participation, but not with the quality of the job, as different studies have highlighted. We will go into this topic in depth later, when talking about the income. Although we are not going to analyze the kind of jobs, it must be noted that the percentage of indigenous people, men and women, who work in agriculture is very high.
Statistical data reveal something else when comparing rates of economic participation for indigenous and non-indigenous men, as it is shown in Figure 10 which gives statistics for
Figure 11 compares participation of women in the job market in Latin America. This figure shows data for indigenous and non-indigenous women by age.

Non-indigenous women aged 25-34 (right side of the graphic) show the highest average rate of participation (over 45%) taking all countries together. This is followed by the rate of non-indigenous women aged 35-44 (40%), the rate of indigenous women in the same age range (40%), and the rate of indigenous women aged 25-34 (39%). The structure indicates, then, a higher participation of young women (between 25 and 44 years) in both collectives. Likewise, it is observed that non-indigenous women tend to retire from the job market before indigenous women (average participation in the job market is 13 and 21 respectively at these ages).

Figure 12 reveals that total rates show a linear distribution to confirm certain homogeneity in the economic participation among women, apart from their ethnicity. Nevertheless, it is true that in eight out of eleven countries, the rate is higher among non-indigenous women.

However, there are three countries in which participation of indigenous women is higher: Ecuador, Bolivia, and Paraguay. In these cases, the interpretation of this fact can assume an inverse inequality: indigenous women are more integrated in the job market than non-indigenous women, and both are less integrated than men. This could indicate that economic discrimination is more closely related to gender inequality than to ethnic inequality.
However, it is necessary to take into account that economic participation does not define the quality of the occupation that one holds or is searching for. And it neither indicates that such participation is voluntary and compatible with housework. Data in Figure 12 shows—and omit—some things:

a) Data shows that indigenous women have higher rates of economic participation than non-indigenous women.

b) Data shows that high rates of participation of indigenous women are present in those countries that also have high rates of IMR: Bolivia, Paraguay, and Ecuador.

c) Data does not give information on whether economic participation entails economic benefits for the population. That is to say, whether indigenous women agree to work because they have the opportunity to obtain high incomes for their work.

There are examples which show what is really happening: indigenous women are those who get the lowest interests for their economic participation, a fact that brings them closer, but not make them equal, to non-indigenous women. Thus, the fact that indigenous women
work could be explained by reasons related to family needs, more than by the personal search of a worthy work.

Figure 13, which is based on data from the National Survey of Life Conditions (ENCOVI) 2006 of Guatemala, clearly shows an example of this. 25

![Figure 13. Guatemala: average labor income of workers according to educational level, sex and ethnic group (2006).](image)

As observed in Figure 13, in general, women and men who have a higher educational level, will also have a better economic status; although inequality with respect to men is remarkable. The first thing to catch our attention was the order established among the segments when analyzing the benefits of formal education. This established order showed the following: a) non-indigenous men; b) non-indigenous women, with a tendency very similar to…c) indigenous men; d) indigenous women. This not only indicates additional discriminations in the job market, but also that the most influential factor is the ethnic group, because salaries of non-indigenous women are higher than those of indigenous men when considering secondary education.

The upper line representing non-indigenous men’s income is the highest, over the 5,000 Quetzales, when possessing 13 or more years of formal education. Indigenous women have salaries fall below 50% even when having the same years of education.

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25 Estimations from previous years have shown similar results in the case of Guatemala. As an example; Valenzuela Fernández, R. (2004). *Inequidad, Ciudadanía y Pueblos Indígenas en Bolivia* [Inequity, Citizenship and Indigenous Peoples in Bolivia], Serie Políticas Sociales, 83. Santiago de Chile: CEPAL.
We also observed a proportional increase in benefits that can be attributed to formal education in all social segments and the degree of secondary education, where indigenous women show a linear progression from the beginning to the end. Anyway, indigenous women systematically are those who earn less money for their work. As it has been said, the impact of this fact is multiplied; therefore, affecting several dimensions of life:

Inequalities related to the low income and the ethnic belonging, have a remarkable impact in patterns of infant and maternal mortality. In the countries with available data, it has been documented that the level of infant mortality is higher among the indigenous population. With regard to the income level, available data indicate that mortality during childhood is higher in those groups with lower income. Despite the fact that maternal mortality affects all social strata, its incidence is much higher among women of low socioeconomic groups. This problem is particularly serious among indigenous women and the rural population.

This means that economic participation is not a bargain for women, and especially for indigenous women. Thus, despite appearances, it is easy to observe that indigenous women continue accumulating inequalities in the economic and labor world. This issue does not only happen in Guatemala. Class inequalities are suffered by those who live in marginal communities like Chiapas (Mexico). As noted:

[...] the inequality between indigenous men and women with respect to their peers non-indigenous (ethnic inequality); the inequality referred to indigenous and non-indigenous women with respect to indigenous and non-indigenous men (gender inequality); and the inequality of indigenous women with respect to non-indigenous women, indigenous men and non-indigenous men: triple oppression and subordination, due to their situation of poverty, being indigenous and women (class, ethnic, and gender inequality).

THE PROBLEMS OF STATISTICAL MEASUREMENT THAT HINDER THE DEVELOPMENT OF ANALYSES WITH AN INTEGRATED APPROACH TO GENDER AND PEOPLE

In this section, we do not have the intention to debate about the limited resources and/or scant operative capacity of National Statistical Offices (NSO) in relation to National Statistics Systems (NSS) and are generally composed of several ministries or governmental secretaries. Those limitations and their causes are as diverse as the objectives, means, and interests established by each government.

The eleven problems we synthesized in this section are directly related to the work developed by the NSO. Therefore, our comments can be useful, to a greater or lesser extent

26 CEPAL. (2007). Los objetivos de desarrollo del Milenio y los desafíos para América Latina y el Caribe para avanzar en mayor bienestar, mejor capital humano y más igualdad de oportunidades [The developmental objectives of the Millennium and the challenges for Latin America and the Caribbean to advance in more well-being, better human capital and more equality of opportunities], p. 89.

When considering all of them. The premise is that those offices can research in depth to get gender and people statistics, and may they even have the same starting conditions (the same normative or economic limitations).

Finally, we present Figure 14 that shows the main phases of the production and use of the national statistics. Figure 14 will help organize this our information to present some proposals to design household surveys using an integrated gender and people approach. This presentation will help clarify the diffusion of statistics on the part of national offices.

**Eleven Usual Problems: Eleven Lines of Work**

As we pointed out, there are at least eleven lines of work that NSO of the LA Region could develop in order to highly improve their production from an integrated perspective.

1. Statistical offices must do something else apart from satisfying the institutional needs explicitly expressed in the country. These offices are institutions that will obtain advantages (promote progress) if they are able to motivate more potential users to use their products and value the benefits of information. This is especially relevant if we take into account that, in the LA Region, there are a diversity of offices, foundations and associations dedicated to the study of gender inequalities and development of indigenous people, which do not know at all about the available information and about the uses of statistical products of NSO.

2. The NSO, and the National Statistical Systems (NSS) as a group, must adopt a transversal approach on gender and people that let them know and share the starting theoretical frameworks of their national and international users. Only from discussion and shared knowledge with specialists and users can a fruitful discussion occur to form a conceptual basis to guide future questionnaires. This knowledge will ensure that specific questions and response categories will eventually be used in censuses and household surveys that will harmonize with the particular cultures of indigenous people. In addition to this, another way is to ensure that these questions and categories are suitable to grasp the problems related to gender in different contexts (rural vs. urban, Mayan vs. Latino, etc.)

3. Following this concept, it is also considered an urgent necessity for NSO to have at least a unit or department orientated to a specific study of gender and how its related to different national cultures. This department would make a transversal approach possible for the gender and ethnic perspective in the NSS. Moreover, thanks to them, the NSO can be progressively updated on the topic, since they have think tanks capable of: a) reviewing and participating in qualitative studies on indigenous people and women, developed by the academy (universities) and other national agents; b) systematizing and analyzing the studies and regulations, agreements and international

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28 Obviously, the problems presented here affect the NSO of different non-Latin American countries, but this is not the purpose of the current chapter.
treaties generated by organizations as UNIFEM, UNFPA, UNDP, or OIT; c) coordinately participating in the achieved progress by the most advanced NSO in matters of production and diffusion of statistics on community profiles, feminization of poverty and other thematic statistics on gender and ethnic topics. Here, it is important to reinforce that one of the unresolved challenges of NSO is to improve the identification of national indigenous populations.

4. Of course, apart from all the previously discussed points; in addition, it is important to improve the coordination between the NSO group in the area. This will be another important step in the progress of the statistical production to focus on gender and ethnicity: by generating indicators supported from a theoretical perspective. That is to say, truly sensitive indicators that study gender and ethnic problems would complement the information collected by traditional indicators (e.g., sex of the head of the family). The general problem at this point is the label ‘gender statistics’ or ‘ethnic statistics’ is often given to those statistics to merely show androcentric and ethnocentric indicators crossed by sex and include the indigenous population.

From Evaluation of the available data to Communication campaign and data collection.

5. Moreover, this effort of the NSO will be only really useful if the sampling properly examines the population, indigenous or not, by sex. This means that ethnicity must be a stratification variable to select the sampling units in household surveys. Otherwise, the only source of available information will be the last population and housing census. This is an important problem for public policies since, as far as we know, the censuses: a) contain a very limited number of variables; and b) are done generally every ten (and sometimes more) years.

6. Now then, an adequate sampling requires a good fieldwork articulation: sensitized staff –composed also by indigenous women that coordinate and interview in the geographic areas required–, and questionnaires translated into indigenous languages, among other things. This aspect of ‘fieldwork’ is a part of the process in which many different biases can appear and could jeopardize the optimum sampling design. This is the reason why it must be carefully evaluated in an exhaustive way.

7. Along this premise, require NSO to use some of their budget to make communication campaigns prior to the census process. It is necessary that those campaigns be developed in a different way then as they have been traditionally done. Communication must follow a gender-sensitive perspective and, of course, must be developed from a cultural point of view considering indigenous populations.

From Communication campaign and data collection to Data tabulation and analysis.

8. NSO invests money toward the census and household surveys “in a gender perspective” to eventually produce some tabulations that do not offer the proper coverage of the needs of national and international information. It is obvious that this affects the usefulness of statistics for the development of social policies, as well as the evaluation of programs. Moreover, this entails a great waste of resources, considering the current possibilities of computing for the flexible development of statistical analyses. Respectfully, different international organizations –among of
which is the United Nations (UN) – provide guides for the exploitation of the data by
the NSO. We need to make the most of these guides, although their suggestions
need to be, generally, complemented with a comprehensive gender and peoples
approach.

9. The presentation of statistical results requires disaggregated but clear cross-
tabulations. Likewise, it also requires mega data that give sense and direction for
their use and limitations, as well as for the development of comparative cross-
tabulations and some analytical texts. This last case here refers to thematic or
analytical reports focused on gender and ethnic groups.

From Data tabulation and analysis to Diffusion of statistics

10. In many cases, the diffusion of these results needs to be improved through form,
content, and how is it accessible. Statistics must reach not only people who take the
decisions in the governmental offices, but also by the general citizens. Also, this
must be translated into the different indigenous languages, mainly when that
population constitutes an essential source of data.

From Diffusion of statistics to Definition of topics related to the needs of information
on gender and ethnic statistics

11. The process is not finished yet. NSO must take a crucial role to improve useful
feedback based on the results of the previous process. The different problems
identified in the population and housing censuses in the 90’s decade need to be
reviewed in order to modify the 2010 Census Round with the purpose of improving
the information about gender inequalities within and between the different national
cultures of the LA Region.

29 Vid., for example, Department of Economic and Social Affairs (2008), *Principles and Recommendations for
As previously mentioned, Figure 14 shows the traditional weaknesses of NSO to obtain data from a comprehensive gender and ethnic perspective. Figure 14 depicts the key aspects in the statistical production process applied by the NSO, as well as the phases affected by the problems described. The eleven problems have their corresponding number in the triangles. As a useful guide, Figure 14 demonstrates our general proposals that will be developed in the following sections.
Challenges and Proposals in the Identification of Indigenous Population

The ethnic adscription of women is a fact, but is only a part of other factors. Identifying the ethnic belonging of population in multicultural countries is the first step to achieve national developments mutually respectful and balanced. This is true, though, so long as only what is made known can be respected. In this sense, how can economic, educational, and health promotion policies calculate for the indigenous people if their cultural definition of concepts as well being, health, and education are unknown? And, as a essential problem, how to identify the ethnic sense of belonging in census and household surveys having, among others, the traditional problem of ethnic sub-identification because indigenous people declare not to be indigenous?

In this sense, questions (indicators) must be divided into those elaborate enough to identify indigenous people and those elaborate enough to analyze their situation. In this section, the first problem relates to sub-identification and the second problem will be addressed later.

Now, to describe how national statistics has made progress in different countries in order to face the problem of sub-identification. We also present here the United Nations Group approach, which has been generally adopted by the national statistical offices, and not only in the Latin American region. Finally, our conclusion highlights the need that NSO go into the conceptual frameworks on people’s cultures in depth, carrying out qualitative studies in the context. These studies are usually conducted by other national agents, or by universities and different associations. In the field of statistical production, our integrated approach is based on the joint analysis of a combination of variables that allow defining people’s ethnic belonging in a more appropriate way than the mere classic univariate approach.

The Problem

Indigenous people need to be identified in census and surveys, since they are the populations in the most unfavorable conditions. In general, they have the highest rates of poverty and have historically suffered a serious contempt from the human rights perspective. However, it is difficult for the NSO to define concepts as ‘indigenous’ and ‘afro-descendent’ in a precise way. As the United Nations Development Group (UNDG) has remarked:

The international community has not adopted a definition of indigenous people and the prevailing view today is that no formal universal definition is necessary for the recognition and protection of their rights. However, this should by no means constitute an obstacle to UN agencies in addressing the substantial issues affecting indigenous people.

It is true what the UNDG points out, but it is also true that accurate statistical information is needed to support the development of indigenous people, and that this information can only be obtained if each NSO follows a clear criterion to identify indigenous and afro-descendent people. However, this has been very complicated for numerous reasons. Among these reasons is the traditional ignorance of the key characteristics that define the different people.

This is a problem for the NSO. A problem of theoretical weaknesses leads to the pressing need of organizing processes to design of census and surveys, in which the academy participates, as well as other different indigenous institutions and organizations. Mexico was one of the pioneering countries in implementing this change. And in Guatemala, the National Statistics Institute has elaborated a ‘Conceptual framework to approach statistics of indigenous peoples.’  

These efforts have been preceded by studies and organizations as the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) or the UNDG developed remarkable contributions. As an example, we highlight a synthesis of characteristics in the definition of “indigenous people” that are useful for the NSO.

- Priority in time, with respect to the occupation and use of a specific territory;
- The voluntary perpetuation of cultural distinctiveness, to include the aspects of language, social organization, religion and spiritual values, modes of production, laws and institutions;
- Self-identification, as well as recognition by other groups, or by State authorities, as a distinct collectivity; and
- An experience of subjugation, marginalization, dispossession, exclusion or discrimination, whether or not these conditions persist.

The International Labour Office (ILO) is another authorized source of information. The ILO Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention applies to:

- Tribal peoples whose social, cultural, and economic conditions distinguish them from other sections of the national community, and whose status is regulated wholly or partially by their own customs or traditions or by special laws or regulations.
- Peoples who are regarded as indigenous on account of their descent from the populations that inhabited the country, or a geographical region to which the country belongs, at the time of conquest or colonization or the establishment of present state boundaries and who, irrespective of their legal status, retain some or all of their own social, economic, cultural, and political institutions.

Now then, the NSO still have an additional problem: to create particular indicators that allow the adscription of people to an ethnicity or race, even when some of the key characteristics are known. This is a methodological problem that emerges when simple and statistically comparable indicators are used to refer to complex concepts as ‘indigenous’ or ‘sense of belonging.’ To put it in another words, the statistical logic tries to quantify subjective and changeable social phenomena with expectedly objective categories, comparable and stable in time. At this point, it must be noted that ethnic identity should be considered by the following definition.


Ethnic identity refers to the way in which people and members of a group define themselves. But this self-perception is usually influenced basically how people are defined by others, and how they define others. That is to say, ethnic identity is built in the interaction between oneself and the others. Ethnic identity is a movement of consciousness, more than a series of attributes or cultural fixed elements. It is then the awareness of the ethnic being, of what one’s thinks s/he is, what the others are, what one must be and the consequent behavior from that assessment.  

It is not surprising, then, that the United Nations affirms that no international criteria are applicable.  

The classification of ethnic groups also requires the inclusion of the finest levels of ethnic groups, self-perceived groups, regional and local groups, as well as groups that are not usually considered to be ethnic groups, such as religious groups and those based on nationality. Countries collecting data on ethnicity should note that the pre-coding or the pre-classification of ethnic groups at the time of data capture may have a tendency to lose detailed information on the diversity of a population. Since countries collect data on ethnicity in different ways and for different reasons, and because the ethno-cultural composition of a country could vary widely from country to country, no internationally relevant criteria or classification can be recommended.

This is one of the fundamental reasons why it is complicated to establish comparable criteria to characterize indigenous people. That is why the conceptualization of ethnicity is difficult to implement in an equal way for each of the national realities, and the cooperative efforts of each conceptualization reflects this variation in the census development. All this makes it difficult to establish criteria and normalized statistical procedures to allow any implementation technically acceptable. At the same time, can it be politically admissible to have some basis to compare the situation of those groups in the different countries of the area?

Thus, the NSO have used different strategies for the identification of those populations, although it has been generalized the criterion of self-identification. Table 5 shows the variety of questions used in the 2000 Census Round in the LA Region.

Table 5. Questions in Latin America censuses to identify the membership of indigenous peoples

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criterion</th>
<th>Country and date</th>
<th>Question</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Race Self-identification</td>
<td>Brazil, 2000</td>
<td>• What color or race do you belong to?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-identification</td>
<td>Costa Rica, 2000</td>
<td>• What culture do you belong to?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spoken Language Self-identification</td>
<td>Mexico, 2000</td>
<td>• Do you speak any particular indigenous language or dialect?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Do you consider yourself as Nahuatl, Mayan,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Self-identification</th>
<th>Panama, 2000</th>
<th>Zapoteco, Mixteco from other indigenous group? (only in the extended version of the questionnaire)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Race Self-identification</td>
<td>Puerto Rico, 2000</td>
<td>• What indigenous group do you belong to? • What race do you belong to?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-identification and descendants</td>
<td>Argentina, 2001</td>
<td>• Is there any person in this home who identifies himself/herself as belonging to or descendant of any particular indigenous people?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-identification Native Tongue Spoken Language</td>
<td>Bolivia, 2001</td>
<td>• Do you consider yourself as belonging to any of the following native or indigenous peoples? • What language did you learn as a child? • What languages do you speak?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-identification Spoken Language</td>
<td>Ecuador, 2001</td>
<td>• Do you consider yourself as: indigenous, black (Afro-Ecuadorean), mixed race, white or other? • What language do you speak?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-identification</td>
<td>Honduras, 2001</td>
<td>• What social group do you belong to?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-identification Spoken Language</td>
<td>Venezuela, 2001</td>
<td>• Do you belong to any particular indigenous people? • Do you speak this people’s language?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-identification</td>
<td>Chile, 2002</td>
<td>• Do you belong to any of the following native or indigenous people?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race Self-identification</td>
<td>Cuba, 2002</td>
<td>• Which is your skin color?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-identification Native Tongue Spoken Language</td>
<td>Guatemala, 2002</td>
<td>• Are you indigenous? • What language did you learn as a child? • What languages do you speak?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-identification Spoken Language</td>
<td>Paraguay, 2002</td>
<td>• Is there any person in this home who considers himself/herself as indigenous or belonging to any particular indigenous ethnicity? • What ethnicity do you/does s/he belong to? • What language do you/does s/he speak?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-identification and descendants (Post-censal complementary survey)</td>
<td>Argentina (Indigenous Peoples Survey), 2004-05</td>
<td>• Do you identify yourself as belonging to any particular indigenous people? • Is/Was your father indigenous? • Is/Was your mother indigenous?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-identification Spoken Language</td>
<td>Colombia, 2005</td>
<td>• According to your culture, people or physical features, do you identify yourself as….? • Do you speak your people language?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-identification Spoken Language</td>
<td>Nicaragua, 2005</td>
<td>• Which of the following indigenous peoples or ethnicities do you belong to? • Do you speak the language of the indigenous people or ethnicity you belong to?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native Tongue</td>
<td>Peru, 2007</td>
<td>• What language did you learn as a child?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Apart from some differences in the way of asking the questions, it is obvious that the self-identification criterion is the only one repeated in the different censuses of the 2000 Round in the LA Region. This is logic: the ILO’s Convention n. 169 itself states that self-identification as indigenous or tribal shall be regarded as a fundamental criterion for determining the groups to which the provisions of this Convention apply.\textsuperscript{37}

However, one is the collection of the data, and then how it’s used. In particular, Mexico has traditionally identified the indigenous population by language.\textsuperscript{38} Yet other countries have opted for the self-identification, or for a combination of this one with other variables.

In addition to this, there are also differences in the way of defining ‘self-identification’: in some countries the question is referred to ethnic identification, but in other countries is referred to belonging to a specific race. The first is related to the person’s sense of belonging to a culture or people,\textsuperscript{39} and the second refers to the primary characteristics of the person (biological and physiological features). As it can be observed in Table 5, the countries that choose the race identification are Brazil, Puerto Rico, and Cuba. In Brazil and Puerto Rico the question is about race, while in Cuba they directly ask about the skin color.

Moreover, in Ecuador and Colombia there are mixed categories that combine the same question the ethnicity and belonging to a specific race. Thus, in the Colombian census some response options such as ‘indigenous,’ ‘Rom,’ ‘Black,’ and ‘afro-descendent,’ are presented together. In Colombia, later reflections lead to the decision of the separation of ‘ethnic and phenotypic aspects’ because\textsuperscript{40}:

Indigenous and gypsy people are clearly identified with an ethnicity, where this is not necessarily the case of the afro-Colombian population […]. Moreover, it is taken into account the need of knowing if discrimination and inequities suffered by the afro-Colombian population are mainly based on physical features.

The truth is that, ‘being Indigenous’ entails a sense of cultural belonging, while ‘being Black’ refers to an exogenous feature, which is unconnected with a sense of identity with a particular community. “I’m indigenous” implies a cultural recognition of belonging to a particular tradition. It is possible to say the same about the expression, “I’m (black) Garifuna.” Thus, “[…] indigenous people and gypsies strongly identify themselves with an

\textsuperscript{37} ILO Convention No. 169, Article 1, subsection 2.
\textsuperscript{38} In fact, in Mexico, the question referred to self-identification was only used in the extended version of the questionnaire. In the basic questionnaire, it was only used the linguistic criterion.
\textsuperscript{39} Although here we use the expressions ‘belonging to a culture’ and ‘belonging to a people’ without distinction, there are some features that make them different, as it has been stated: “The belonging to a people involves an aspect not found in the belonging to a culture. It entails a clearly defined perception of being part of a sociologic and historic community, currently in force. For a certain number of members, but not for all, it also means an experience and a will of belonging and, in turn, their adscription to a community with future, with projects.” Vid. Gundermann, H., Vergara, J.I., and Foerster, R. (2005). Contar a los indígenas en Chile. Autoadscripción étnica en la experiencia censal de 1992 y 2002 [Count indigenous people in Chile. Ethnic self-adscription in the census experience in 1992 and 2002], Estudios Atacameños, 30, 91-115.
ethnicity, where Afro-Colombian population does not necessarily do it; for this reason, it is essential to separately ask about the phenotype.\textsuperscript{41}

Given this difference, it is difficult to compare the self-identification in one or another sense, since they are rather complementary characteristics in the definition of ethnic belonging. Anyway, identification by race characteristics must be also self-identification. Otherwise we would be collecting data about an assigned identification, as it is defined by Granados & Lozano\textsuperscript{42}:

Identities can be assigned (or imposed), and self-assigned (assumed by the own choice). The assigned identity is referred to what is not dependent on our own free will, as for example, being a woman or a man, being mixed race, nasa, guambiano, young or old, which is not a product of a personal choice. Conversely, assumed identities are voluntarily built, according to the position of power, to the freedom of chose cultural, ideological, political or religious options.

Thus, self-identification is the criterion that best respects the interviewees’ will, because it gives the option to freely choose from a cultural point of view.\textsuperscript{43} It can be therefore said, that self-identification must be an essential criterion for the NSO, although such criterion should be complemented with others, since it is not exempt from critics. We mention one of them here\textsuperscript{44}:

\[…\] questions that can be raised: Indian is everybody that affirms being it?, doesn’t belonging must be ratified by the acceptance of the individual on the part of the group?, what happens with the increasing indigenous populations that deny their condition of Indian? We often listen to indigenous youths saying: ‘My parents and grandparents were Indian, but not us.’ Do they count as Indian, then? We listen to indigenous people saying ‘Indians are those who speak mazahua, otomi, nahuat…’ Don’t they count either? We find indigenous parents who do not want their children to learn the native tongue and to be indigenous like them, socially discriminated and humiliated, so they naturally say that their children are not Indian; don’t these denied individuals count either? And also, the thousands and millions of indigenous people who are legal or illegally in the United States and Canada, who come and go, mustn’t they be counted as well?

In addition to this kind of criticism, there are others taking the opposing arguments: the interviewers may declare that they are indigenous, when economical support from particular social policies is expected.


\textsuperscript{43} Belongs to an ethnic group who feels part of it and who is identified as such by others. This goes beyond the biological, geographical or cultural limits, but without excluding them, towards a conceptualization of the ethnic and cultural identity as a social construction. Vid. Oyarce, A. M., and Pérez, G. (2003). Reflexiones acerca de la pregunta para identificar a la población indígena. La experiencia chilena y el caso mapuche [Thoughts about the question to identify indigenous population. The Chilean experience and the Mapuche case.], in Lartigue, Francois y André Quesnel (Coords.), Las dinámicas de la población indígena. Cuestiones y debates actuales en México (pp. 137-148), Mexico: Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social, Institut de Recherche pour le Développment y Miguel Ángel Porrúa.

\textsuperscript{44} Sandoval Forero, Eduardo A. (2002). Grupos etnolingüísticos en el México del siglo XXI, [Ethnolinguistic groups in Mexico in the XXI century], Papeles de Población, pp. 219-235.
In the view of these problems described, it is obvious that both national quantification and international comparison of the situation of indigenous populations represent statistical problems. This is the complex framework that must be developed through analysis to join gender and ethnic belonging as an intertwined axis of inequality.

Some Answers

The possible responses do not give a solution to all problems related to the identification of indigenous people, but give, at least, a common guide for the NSO. It is necessary to apply the self-identification criterion, not only because it respects the right to chose, but also because it establishes a coherent definition for the different countries. This fact, moreover, facilitates the subsequent comparisons.45

Questions on indigenous identity should abide by the principle of self-identification. It is important that, where such an investigation is undertaken, multiple criteria are developed to accurately capture identity and socio-economic conditions of indigenous people. Defining the indigenous population can be done in many ways, such as through a question on ethnic origin (that is to say, ancestry) and/or on indigenous identity. Identifying the indigenous community also requires recognition of the diversity in this subpopulation, including nomadic, semi-nomadic and migrating peoples, peoples in transition, displaced persons, indigenous peoples in urban areas, and particularly vulnerable sects. It is important to point out that there is no single term among countries to describe the indigenous population. Consequently, countries tend to use their own national concepts to identify the indigenous population.

Nevertheless, if the UN’s recommendation for the identification is only used in census but not in household surveys, then a problem of comparability between data within countries can emerge.

For example, the National Maternal Infant Survey 2002 in Guatemala (ENSMI 2002) points out at least two characteristics of indigenous women: a) they do not reduce their maternity as latino women do; and b) they have two children over the national average.46 Nevertheless, what indigenous women does the Report refer to? To answer this question we need to revise the questionnaire used in the Survey. The questions on identification are the following47:

1. Ethnic group (interviewer’s observation48): a) indigenous; b) latino; c) other.
2. What language do members of your family (or most of them) usually use? (investigate: what language do they use during lunch time?): a) Spanish; b) Kaqchikel; c) Q’echi; d) Mam…; k) other (specify).
3. Do you understand Spanish?
4. Do you speak Spanish?

47 We thank the ENSMI for providing us the questionnaires of the Survey.
48 The ENSMI employs female interviewers to interview women, and male interviewers to interview men, which is an appropriate strategy to develop fieldwork.
5. Apart from Spanish, does any member of your family speak a Mayan language?
6. What language is it?

The same questions were asked in the recent ENSMI in 2008. It is important to capture the language, since this is one of the features associated to belonging to an indigenous people. Nevertheless, note that there is no reference to self-identification: in fact, the ethnic belonging is estimated by the interviewer’s observation. Obviously, the ENSMI does not have among their objectives the development of disaggregated estimates by peoples, but it let us show the content of questions about identification. The fact that interviewers fill out the question about ethnicity has been a traditional practice in the NSO, and mainly when the identity question is referred to ‘race’ and asks about biological and physiological features. As it has been previously indicated, in spite of using valid categories, this practice can cause biases in the results obtained with this instruments.  

Anyway, given the limitations of autonomously taking different criteria, we believe that the best option is the use some form of criteria that allow the multiple classification of the population.

Statistics Canada for example, uses a multifocused perspective to identify and analyze the population in their Ethnic Diversity Survey that consists of a Computer Assisted Telephone Interview (CATI) post-census survey. They use five topics by means of both subjective and objective dimensions of ethnicity. We believe that some of these dimensions could be a referent for the NSO in Latin America, such as: a) ethnic ancestry; b) ethnic ancestry on first coming to North America; c) importance of ethnic ancestry; d) ethnic identity; e) importance of ethnic identity.

There are some aspects of interest here. For example, the question about the ethnic ancestry goes beyond ethnic identification of parents or grandparents. This dimension includes ancestors from both sides of the interviewee’s family and it is defined as “someone from whom you have descended and is usually more distant than a grandparent.” As Statistics Canada indicates, ethnic or cultural ancestry refers to the ”roots” or cultural background and should not be confused with citizenship or nationality. From our experience, this approach will offer excellent results in the case of some indigenous people in Latin America, as the Mayan, who feel directly linked with their ancestors.

Another important question is the one related to the importance conceded by the interviewee to both the ethnic origin of their ancestries and their own ethnic identity. Both questions could be rejected by some NSO in Latin America for their subjective character. However, it must be praised the descriptive potential of the information capture by these questions. Among other things, the questionnaire asks later about the race identity, the religion faith and its relevance in life, and about the language learnt in childhood and currently used by the interviewee.

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51 Five categories of response are possible from “Not important at all” to “Very important.” This gives a very interesting gradient to analyze the feeling of belonging to different peoples in Canada.
The most important is to define an explicit and official unique criterion, but that other valid criteria are also specified when needed for different analyses. After all, identity is not a stable characteristic perfectly differentiated, but a dynamic feature that is configured in the relationships with the environment.52

Challenges and Proposals in the Design of Census and Household Surveys

Applying an integrated approach in the sample design of household surveys involves the introduction of the variable “national people” as part of the population stratification. Mainly, those cases where the study topic of the household survey is clearly related this kind of variable (as for example, surveys developed by the National Survey of Life Conditions (ENCOVI) which try to capture the life conditions of the population).

This has economic costs that depend on the volume of the indigenous population in each country; but this also has clear benefits. What must be considered is if the economic cost is higher or lower than the ignorance cost. In this sense, countries with such diverse population as Paraguay and Peru have carried out completed census of indigenous people, and other countries have conducted indigenous surveys complementary to censuses, as in the case of Argentina. Now then, why assume the cost of the development of specific censuses or the stratification of the population and obtain larger samples?

In 2006, for an example of this survey was given by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in the Human Development Report (HDR). According to this report, Guatemala presented a Human Development Index (HDI)53 of 0.65. This score rose to 0.7 for latino population. However, some ethnic groups have a HDI much lower. For instance, the HDI of Achi population is around 0.55, similar to Bostwana (Africa). The Q’eqchi have a HDI of 0.50, similar to Cameroon. This value indicates that the Q’eqchi are 32 positions below the score obtained by latinos. And the Pocomchi, with a HDI of 0.45, have a human development lower than in Zimbabwe. And here we are not talking about sex differences. To do this, we would need the required data from the NSO and a more complex methodological development for the HDI.

From this point of view, there exist some important areas of opportunity that deserve attention. If the focus is the evidence-based planning, it is necessary to collect information about the particular conditions of ethnic groups with more population, and at the same time a breakdown by sex.

As we already know, in order to carry out analyses by sex in the different people, any of the following five alternatives must be conducted: a) develop a people census; b) include a specific survey in the planning of the NSO; c) redesign the existent samples of some surveys to introduce the belonging to indigenous people as a stratification variable; d) increase the sample of some surveys in those communities with a majority of indigenous population, mainly when this population is geographically located in the country; e) make sure that the census, which is used as a sample reference, analyze the population in all fields, even in those of difficult access.

Maybe the best way to analyze this topic would be by using a fuzzy-logic that allows the establishment of degrees of belonging to a collective identity.

The HDI is a combined index composed of three dimensions: life expectancy, knowledge and education, and standard of living. All of them are aggregated indicators.
Undoubtedly, the indigenous censuses are an optimum option to know the volume, the structure, the situation and the dynamics of indigenous people. This has some countries to elaborate on that type of general census for Population and Household; this is the case of Paraguay, Costa Rica, Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, and Peru. Also, as we previously said, it was conducted in Argentina a Complementary Survey of Indigenous Populations (not a census) in 2004. Thus, procedures used in some countries in Latin America are getting closer to those used in countries such as Canada, where there are post-census surveys to know in more detail the situation and demands of indigenous people.

The statistical information represents the needed support for the design, monitoring, and evaluation of success or failure of focused policies. The cost of failing policies not based on the evidence may be higher than the cost of indigenous censuses or the cost of increasing the sample in some surveys.

Moreover, in order to design questionnaires focused on core topics that allow carrying out analyses from an integrated approach, the national statistical offices have to know the conceptual dimensions in which those analyses are usually based. Furthermore, these offices have to collect information referred to the indicators that will maintain the political decisions on the subject, both in the national and the international context.

To do this, and as aforementioned in this chapter, we point out as an important premise, that one of the objectives related to the statistical production of a country is to identify its cultural diversity, to estimate its volume, its geographical distribution, and other characteristics that allow governments and international agencies to support sustainable and equitable socioeconomic development policies.

Now then, the policies with a higher probability of success are those based on sensitive indicators towards populations in situations of vulnerability. This entails that the means for the distribution of help must harmonize with the culture and concerns of those who receive that policies. In this sense, all efforts are needed to make sure that the NSO: a) promote and review qualitative studies on national indigenous cultures; b) guarantee the participation of indigenous women in the processes of elaboration of questionnaires.

Anyway, many advances have been developed to understand the situation and concerns of indigenous women and LA people. By allowing us to know the indicators used in the questionnaires of the NSO’s studies, and to require special gender sensibility towards indigenous people.

Even the concepts of health and well being may differ among the indigenous and non-indigenous people, as it has been documented:

[...] all citizens could give a definition, and quite homogeneous, about what ‘to die’ means, or about the negative implications of ‘being ill.’ However, we would find discrepancies in the

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54 Including the policies against poverty, Latin America have been only focused on geographic variables on many occasions. This is not bad: after all, the most extreme poverty is in the rural area, limited by a geographical variable. Nevertheless, although it is important to know where the poor people are living, it is more important to identify their particular characteristics and the patterns associated to the reproduction of poverty. This cannot be solely analyzed with demographic variables, and cannot be solely attacked with the information offered by the geographical indicators by using marginalization. Neither can it be examined considering households as the aid targets, because the intrahousehold distribution of resources may be detrimental for women and children in some occasions.
meaning of ‘being healthy’ or about the things needed for human beings to be healthy, when comparing responses of indigenous and non-indigenous citizens.\(^{55}\)

In line with this,

Health, from the indigenous point of view, is measured taking into consideration the incidence of illnesses and epidemics, as well as the presence of other factors as for example the identification with a healthy territory, a good provision of resources, positive family and social relationships, self-respect, and confidence in cultural values, among others. These are some of the components of a health system with an important preventive purpose. These health systems have significantly suffered and are, nowadays, very deteriorated. These traditional health systems must be, in our opinion, revitalized to promote the health of indigenous people in an integrated way. It is important to take into consideration that what we label traditional medicine, is really one of the components of these cultural systems\(^{56}\).

About the term ‘well-being’, as it has been pointed out by Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (UN)\(^{57}\):

Throughout the discussion the participants analyzed the concept of well-being from the point of view of Indigenous Peoples, and considered that it is closely linked to the full recognition and exercise of the collective rights of Indigenous Peoples. In this sense, they considered that it is related to the spiritual health (existence in an environment of harmony, without tensions and noise), access to education, land and territory, and to the resources that exist there, as well as the equitable and just distribution of and compensation for the benefits generated from the use of their collective birthright.

It is evident the need of deeply analyzing the worldview of cultures to understand indigenous women and men, not only in relation to matters as health, but also regarding the meanings and definitions given to education and integration with environment. What is happening is that our studies label as ‘analphabet’ those people who do not know how to read and write, but for indigenous people, we are considering the official language instead of the knowledge of the indigenous languages. It seems logical to establish indicators that differentiate complete analphabetism from analphabetism in terms of the national dominant culture.

Furthermore, rural women in general, and particularly indigenous women, have traditionally specializes in the (respectful) use of natural resources. Thus, it should be recognized that processes of degradation and pollution have a greater impact on these women. They are who principally suffer the loss of natural resources that are necessary for the subsistence of households, which leads on some occasions to the movement to other

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geographical areas or to bigger communities, where they live in conditions of scarcity and poverty.

It is hardly surprising, then, that different studies come to the conclusion that the category ‘territory and the natural resources’ is the main thematic area to be considered in order to elaborate indicators that capture the situation and the contributions of indigenous peoples. In this sense, Renshaw and Wray point out seven thematic fields to guide development of indicators of indigenous well-being and poverty\textsuperscript{58}. These fields or dimensions are the following:

- Lands, territory, and natural resources.
- Nutrition, health, and environmental sanitation.
- Economy.
- Accommodation, state buildings, and consumer goods.
- School Education.
- Identity and culture.
- Autonomy, access to justice, and political participation.

Likewise, the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues give us several aspects that should be considered for the formulation of indicators of well-being from the perspective of indigenous people, as it is shown in Table 6.

| Land and Territory | Natural Resources.  
|                   | Relation, use and preservation of the Natural Resources on the part of indigenous women |
| Economy and Production | Innovations  
|                       | Estimation of the contribution of peoples to the regional and national product, considering the disaggregation by sex. |
| Culture and Tradition | Property Rights |
| Investment by the State and multilateral organizations in Indigenous Peoples | Transformation of production |
| Visibility and Transparency | Effects of projects and mega-projects (impacts) |
| Ethnicity | Migration – the role of migration and family remittances in the life styles of indigenous people, defining how to measure those processes. |
| Identity | Sex, age, family, groups of individuals, own languages |

Thus, a great effort is required not only for the design of the census and household surveys, but also for the elaboration of sensitive indicators from an integral gender-ethnic perspective. But benefits can be multiple, as for example: a) the development of a general knowledge about national multicultural characteristics; and b) the collection of the needed information for the elaboration of state programs and policies. The participation of people along the process is a key factor that can foster the always much needed national integration.

Challenges and Proposals in the Organization and Collection of the Data

As previously mentioned, minimizing problems of cooperation and of validity of interviewees’ responses, mainly when interviewees are women that belong to the indigenous population. This means that the organization and development of ‘fieldwork’ is a phase in the statistical production in which must be also applied the gender and people approach.59

59 We would like to thank the contributions of the Commission on Discrimination and Racism against Indigenous Peoples (CODISRA), the Defensor of Indigenous Women (DEMI), the Academy of Mayan Languages, the Presidential Secretariat for Women (SEPREM), and the Secretory of Planning and Programming of the Presidency of the Republic of Guatemala (SEGEPLAN). Vid. Estévez et al. (2009), Op. Cit.
Field work is one process that is usually forgotten when evaluating the quality of information collected in a household survey. However, it is clear the relevance of this phase to get results statistically that is valid and reliable; and this phase is even more important in the perspective of a gender and people approach. The expression Garbage In, Garbage Out (GIGO), used in computing, can be applied here to indicate that if one acts in a defective way in the development of the field work, then data analysts will have few opportunities to produce valuable information.

How could we take into account the cultural factors of population that may influence the correct development of the fieldwork? Along this section we try to give an answer to this question. Many times, it will be necessary to revise not only the design and edition of materials used by interviewers, but also the organization and execution of the tasks in the development of the fieldwork.

**A Map of Problems and Processes**

Figure 15 includes some aspects of the fieldwork. Figure 15 shows different factors that influence the likelihood that people cooperate with the field staff of the NSO. More concretely, it illustrates the possibilities of success in the collaboration of women belonging to indigenous communities.
External Factors

On the left-side in Figure 15, we have included some external factors that cannot be controlled by the NSO. There are two categories of factors here: those referred to the communities and those related to homes and people that will be interviewed.

Regarding indigenous communities, it must be noted that sometimes it is difficult to gain access to some of them. This is due to several factors, among of which we find the inadequate communication channels. Moreover, some collectives are reluctant to the presence of foreign people. Sometimes they are even more unwilling when NSO workers are identified as government staff members. In some areas, the problem goes to the extreme of rejecting the NSO staff and impedes the data collection to develop a basic cartography for the geo-referencing. This entails the difficulty of listing all the inhabitants even when population and housing census is used. That is not odd: quite often indigenous population have witnessed a history of social conflicts and discrimination in different countries that makes them not very friendly in some cases.

This is related to another problem on a different level: the possibility that indigenous women do not participate in interviews conducted in homes. To start with, we have documented on the field that it is more difficult to gain access to those houses with women living alone, because their distrust towards foreign people is very deep. This entails that women could be sub-represented in those houses where they live without the presence of men.

Likewise, it is also difficult that women of some communities agree to be interviewed when their husbands are not at home. And furthermore, it is also probable that women are not interviewed when their husbands are in the house, because in those cases the man opts for talking to the interviewer; and she prefers to omit her opinion, something she is used to. We must point out that ethnicity and sex are variables of inequality that are intertwined.

Indigenous women from the Andes and the Amazon are affected by marginalization, discrimination and social exclusion. This is expressed in the lack of participation and decision of the women in different settings, as the home, the community, or organization. […] Likewise, we are affected by the machismo, which is a disease imposed by occident, and reflects a serious family and social problem in our peoples, communities and homes. The machismo considers women as inferior beings and, therefore, it does not admit our rights, our abilities, but it is an obstacle for our development as women, leaders, and mothers. However, we have to admit that, consciously or unconsciously, we women, are who reproduce machismo. 60

That is one important reason why it is so important (and so difficult as well) that the NSO obtain reliable data from indigenous women in their communities.

In addition to the aforementioned problems, there are a great proportion of women dedicated to the work in the agriculture sector, or in the sale in local markets or in public spaces; in this kind of social setting it makes difficult for them to be willing to collaborate. We usually find these problems in the urban area, but the core questions remain. The fieldwork is a phase in the household survey process in which: a) the general population is better represented than indigenous people; b) indigenous women are systematically the

collective that less participate in the production of national statistical data. This also happens in the administrative registries, because for example, it is less frequent that indigenous women attend health centers or legal services in comparison with the rest of the feminine population.

**Internal Factors**

Thus, it is clear that the tasks done previously for the development of the work have a great significance when talking about household surveys that include the indigenous feminine population. In this sense, it can be more fruitful to focus on the process before developing it, than to correct mistakes later.

Information campaigns play a crucial role here. The surveys, but mainly the census, need specific messages to address the women population; and more importantly be printed using the languages of the various different communities. This implies that those responsible for the design of the communication must take into consideration the philosophic and cultural aspects of the indigenous populations, since its purpose is to have all people identify with the objectives that motivate the NSO to collect data.

Beyond the messages of massive diffusion campaigns, the NSO should also inform in advance the leaders of the communities (men and women) where the questionnaires are going to be applied. The NSO could turn to the indigenous associations to obtain recommendations, as well as to labor unions and other women associations, in order to get useful information for household surveys. Especially before developing a household census. For the NSO, the participation of indigenous women in the practical design of fieldwork in their communities is a real challenge. Also, the NSO need to achieve agreements to develop a framework of systematic collaboration with state organizations linked to indigenous peoples.

Therefore, it is evident that the complexity of the social context in multicultural countries makes the task difficult for the NSO. Also, the difficulty increases when trying to efficiently adapt the design of this fieldwork, and is necessary to obtain quality statistical information that can be used to support policies to specifically address and improve the living conditions of the marginal collectives.

In that context, it is very important how to implement the fieldwork. It is possible that, in general, an immersion process—and not massive—is required to develop the fieldwork in the indigenous communities. This is true because gaining trust of interviewees in those communities is something essential, and because it will be very costly to find many interviewers with the required profile. Nevertheless, the NSO generally have different strategies at their disposition to conduct an immersion process. We refer to an immersion process when only few interviewers are sent to a town or community, and must stay there the required time to collect the data from the entire sample. Massive processes, on the contrary, need a large number of interviewers during a short period of time.

Moreover, developing an integrated gender-ethnic approach in this fieldwork implies paying a careful attention in the selection and training of the fieldwork staff. The number of women, and indigenous women, that participate in all the phases of the household surveys and population and housing censuses, needs to be increased. This is also true in relation to the fieldwork. Women are required not only as interviewers, but also as team bosses and fieldwork coordinators. The reasons for this are obvious: it is necessary to have field workers that are sensitive and empathic towards the problematic of the collectives that are more
difficult to reach; these field workers are also needed in positions of decision, execution and evaluation of the process. As United Nations has remarked on indigenous people in general:\(^{61}\)

Involvement of the indigenous community in the data development and data-collection processes provides the arena for capacity-building and helps to ensure the relevance and accuracy of the data collection on indigenous peoples. Using local indigenous languages, employing local indigenous people (as interpreters, for example), and training and building the capacity of local indigenous people in data-collection processes can facilitate the collection and dissemination of this information. Non-indigenous professionals and technicians should also be informed of the culture and practices of indigenous peoples.

In this sense, it would be interesting to do an analysis of the “non response” of the interviewee by the interviewer’s sex, in order to identify if there are statistically significant differences. We believe that those differences exist, mainly in the indigenous populations, although the datasets available in the NSO do not permit to prove it, since these datasets do not include a code variable that identifies interviewers by sex.

Moreover, the application of an integrated approach demands the training of all the field workers not only in the common topics (subject matters of the questionnaire, definition of concepts used, codification…), but also in those aspects related to gender and ethnicity that can influence the development of the interview. That is to say: not only ability is required, but also awareness. Only by this way interviewers can get and register the biases produced as a consequence of the relationships by sex within homes.\(^{62}\)

We want to finish this section by considering the importance for possessing the knowledge of the indigenous languages in the area on the part of interviewers, even when the indigenous population represents a minority group in a particular community.

It is clear that some people from indigenous and Afro-American populations are bilingual or even speak a variety of languages as in the case of garifuna. However, the majority of citizens are monolingual, which mainly affects some indigenous populations. Obviously, this implies that the work of interviewers that only speak the official language of the country will entail an unavoidable bias, because data collected about these communities will not generally have the same reliability as data from communities with a widespread use of the official language.

The incidence of monolingualism mainly affects women, because, in general, they represent the group of population with fewer opportunities to study. This means that interviewers that do not know the native language will tend to interview men, with the subsequent bias in the data collection. This aspect of the problem indicates that it is more likely to generate a mistake in the compilation of data just on those populations that need more representation in national statistics in order to support equality and well-being policies.

Figure 16 shows the prevalence of monolingualism in four countries of the Latin-American subcontinent, by context (urban and rural) and sex.

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\(^{62}\) We remind here the importance of filling in the incidence reports or the general observations sections of the questionnaires.
Figure 16. Percentage of indigenous people that only speak the native language.

Figure 16 shows a clear pattern. In all countries, monolingual indigenous women represent a higher percentage than monolingual men, both in the rural and the urban contexts. This is a result based only on national averages. Thus, data from particular towns show more remarkable differences. As an example, in Huajuapan de León (Oaxaca, Mexico) 75% of women informed of speaking only the indigenous language, compared with the 25% of men. There are other recent estimates of high percentages of monolingualism that mainly affect women in communities like Chiapas:

In addition to amuzgos in Guerrero (33.5% monolingual), the languages with the highest rates of monolingualism are: tzotzil (27.5%), tzeltal (27.1%), cora (22.3%), amuzgo in Oaxaca (21.9%), and tlapaneco (21.7%).

It must be pointed out that the monolingualism has been related to other social factors, such as the prevalence of diseases or scant work opportunities. This is the reason why it is

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63 Vid. The paper “Instalarán este año cinco consejos de población en Oaxaca” (2003). [Five councils will be set up this year in Oaxaca]: http://www.cimacnoticias.com/noticias/03may03052109.html
very important to collect accurate data from monolingual population during censuses and household surveys with the objective of developing social and economic programs.

Thus, it is desirable that interviewers are bilingual, so they can easily communicate and express ideas using the main indigenous languages in the country, as for example the Mayan languages K’iche’ o Q’eqchi’, and others such as Xinca and Garifuna in Guatemala, Nauhatl in Mexico, Quechua and Aymara in Ecuador and Peru, and Mapuche in Chile.

Likewise, it is also important that questionnaires are translated into the languages spoken by the population interviewed. In some occasions, we have been informed that interviewers who know the indigenous language can do a simultaneous translation instead of doing that translation in writing. Nevertheless, the problem would then be that these translations would be coming from different interviewers and may also be different. This implies the introduction of an important bias in data.

Along this line, the NSO will benefit from a potential collaboration with the academies of autochthonous languages, not only in the selection of people who speak indigenous and Afro-American languages, but also in the translation of the policy needed for the fieldwork. Also, these schools can be of help to find interviewers that speak the native languages in different communities. Thus, it would be interesting to use the resources of the Mexican Academy of Language, the Veracruzana Academy of Mexican Indigenous Languages, and the Guatemalan Academy of Mayan Languages. The National Mapuche Language Academy, which has been recently set up in Chile, can be an important institution that gives support in the future to the National Institute of Statistics in this country. The same can be expected from the Institute of Languages of Indigenous Nationalities in Ecuador.

Challenges and Proposals in the Analysis of the Statistical Data

As it is known, statistics do not speak for themselves, and will not properly inform about the combined discrimination for gender or ethnic reasons unless the correct analyses are carried out. For instance, the fact of including variables of ethnic identification in the previous process for the execution of a census or survey, would not have any value if those variables are not eventually used in the analyses, or if their categories are inappropriately combined.

In this sense, today different statistical offices produce cross-tabulations that allow, only in a limited way, information to be used from a gender and people integrated approach. Here, we put forward some weaknesses in the phase of data analyses. Next, we include some proposals that can help both the statistical offices and the users of information and data possessed from those offices.

As we previously pointed out, there exist an added difficulty when developing integral analyses that jointly consider the combined impact of gender and people regarding their living conditions within the population. In this sense, which is the most limiting factor for a person, being woman or being indigenous? To answer this question, a multivariate analysis is needed, or at least, analysis based on comparisons that show if there are significant

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63 The authors conducted a multivariate analysis with data from the National Survey of Life Conditions (ENCOVI) 2006 in Guatemala. Results were presented in the Workshop of Gender and Ethnicity organized by the NSI at the end of 2008. Nevertheless, the multivariate option is normally vetoed because of the scant availability of suitable
differences among these four categories of population. We will explain this idea by using Figure 17 to illustrate:

![Figure 17. Significant differences between the four population categories.](image)

Thus, A represents the living conditions of men from indigenous peoples, B refers to the living conditions of women of those peoples, C represents the living conditions of the White men population, and D refers to White women. The lines indicate some of the possible binary comparisons between the living conditions of these segments of the population.

**Horizontal comparisons. Basic differences by gender:**

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*68* For example, contrasts of means or proportion.
• A→B. Statistically significant differences in this comparison could be indicating the existence of a gender discrimination among the indigenous population.

• C→D. Statistically significant differences in this comparison could be indicating the existence of a gender discrimination among the non-indigenous population.

• A→B with respect to C→D. Comparing these differences would indicate if intra-ethnic inequalities by gender were higher among indigenous populations or among non-indigenous populations. This will be useful to explore the idea (or the myth) of gender complement in some indigenous populations, in comparison to the idea that gender relationships in the white population is characterized by a dynamics of tension and confrontation.

Vertical comparisons. Basic differences by belonging to indigenous peoples:

• A→C. Statistically significant differences in this comparison could be indicating the existence of men discrimination for ethnic reasons in that society.

• B→D. Statistically significant differences in this comparison could be indicating the existence of women discrimination for ethnic reasons in that society.

Other comparisons. Differences of differences and differences among crossed categories:

• Differences of differences: if differences found between B→D are higher than those found between C→D, then we can talk about a racism problem, apart from the possible existence of lower or higher levels of gender discrimination. If C→D is higher, then we mainly have a gender problem.

• Crossed differences: the key difference comes from the comparison A→D, which will give information about the extent to which gender influences the living conditions with respect to the influence exerted by belonging or not to an indigenous people.

Figure 17 obviously shows a simplification of categories and social relationships. Thus, this figures omits social segments that identify themselves as, for example, ‘mixed race’ or ‘Afro-American.’ Moreover, we are neither taking into consideration the variety of people in Latin America, nor the rural or urban areas. There are many variables affecting the organization and people’s definition of ‘good living conditions.’ Having said that, the purpose of our graphic is simple: to describe some possibilities of analyses that are not usually considered in the statistical production supported by policies.

It is clear that more analysis is required to address the needs of national and international information. These needs are related to the evidence-based planning and, in turn, to the information requirements to evaluate the processes and impacts of state policies.

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60 Note that we say “could be indicating” and not “indicates.” The reason is that contrasts identify associations, but do not give information about causal influences.

70 The last idea is from Calfio, M., & Velasco, L. F. (2005). Mujeres indígenas en América Latina: ¿brechas de género o de etnia? [Indigenous women in Latin America: gender or ethnic gaps?] Santiago de Chile: CEPAL.
To offer coverage to those needs do not imply a passive role of the NSO, but a certain prospective orientation about the future needs in the national and international fields. In fact, in some occasions, the national policy makers themselves do not ask for data, in part because there is a trend towards the non-evidence-based planning.

This entails carrying out basic tabulations that describe the geographical distribution and the sociodemographic characteristics of the general population (also by sex), as well as the production of statistics recommended by the UN\textsuperscript{71} in the case of a census. Nevertheless, the advance has to go even further, adding the production of disaggregated statistics by sex of the most important subpopulations of the country, both by census and in household surveys that measure the variables which are especially sensitive to the ethnic belonging. Considering ethnicity in the gender mainstreaming means precisely this.

The women’s situation cannot be analyzed without taking into consideration the variables that link them to a situation of discrimination. Their situation can neither be analyzed if some aspects are omitted, such as cultural factors and the addition of multiple discriminations that affect indigenous women from their infancy, and mainly in multicultural countries. As the ECLAC points out, one of the lines of work to advance in the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals is\textsuperscript{72}:

To establish and/or strengthen the national and local systems with information of quality and disaggregated that support specific and suitable policies focused on the needs of children and adolescents of different ages, sexes, ethnic belonging and residence.

Even though the NSO cannot exploit all the possibilities of analyses that offers; as for example, like a population census. It is true that they must guarantee that economic resources spend on the design and process of the fieldwork is not wasted in the mere elaboration of a few tabulations. Data that have been collected with such effort must be translated into useful and wide information. These data will carry out multivariate calculations to estimate the importance of each factor (sex, ethnicity and context of residence) to determine the situation of a person. Such analyses have started to be conducted, and represent a powerful source of information when variables to identify sex and ethnic identity are available\textsuperscript{73}.

\section*{Challenges and Proposals in the Presentation and Diffusion of Statistics}


\textsuperscript{72}CEPAL, (2007). \textit{Los objetivos de desarrollo del Milenio y los desafíos para América Latina y el Caribe para avanzar en mayor bienestar, mejor capital humano y más igualdad de oportunidades} [The developmental objectives of the Millennium and the challenges for Latin America and the Caribbean to advance in more well-being, better human capital and more equality of opportunities], p. 89.

\textsuperscript{73}Vid., v. gr., Contreras, D. and Galván, M. (CEPAL) (2003). \textit{IV Reunión sobre Pobreza y Distribución del Ingreso} [IV Meeting on Poverty and Income Distribution], Universidad Nacional de La Plata, Facultad de Ciencias Económicas, La Plata; or INEI (2000), \textit{Características y Factores Determinantes de la Pobreza en el Perú} [Characteristics and determinant factors of poverty in Peru]. Available at: \url{http://www1.inei.gob.pe/biblioinfpub/bancopub/Est/Lib0384/RES.htm}. In this last study it was not considered the variable ‘ethnic belonging’ in relation to poverty.
The presentation of results from an integrated approach requires that the NSO provide information to combine the data by sex and ethnicity. For the inclusion of this section, we try to show some strategies to achieve this objective.

Here, we also present some action lines directed to ensure, as far as possible, a suitable diffusion that allows statistics to perform the variety of functions they require.

**The Presentation of the Results**

To perform a mainstream procedure for gender and ethnicity would involve that the statistics presented consider each aspect. It is not useful to have disaggregated data by gender and ethnicity at one’s disposal if these data are not analyzed. The same can be said about the next phase of the statistical process. Once the data has been analyzed, it should be presented in a disaggregated way that is understandable in the diverse topics related. The mainstream procedure must reflect the results of mainly, eminently multicultural societies, where there are different people living together. As we previously pointed out, according to available data, the country with the highest rate of indigenous population in Latin America is Bolivia. In fact, the Report entitled “Women and Men in Bolivia in Figures,” published at the end of 2009, within the section on Population revealed that[74].

The Bolivian State is characterized for its wide ethnic and cultural diversity; the official languages are Castilian (Spanish) and all languages of the nations and rural indigenous peoples; there is an important proportion of population that speaks native languages.

It is obvious that this report represents an effort in terms of statistical analysis and synthesis, and gives information about the different situation of women and men in the country. In fact, in this report, there are some topics widely revised but are scattered in the national statistics. Nevertheless, in the revision of the different topics discussed (education, employment, and health, among others) there is no result showing the disaggregation of data for the “wide ethnic and cultural diversity.” This is important, mainly when there are remarkable differences among women (and also men) depending on ethnic adscription.

Other excellent publications include tables with crossed differences (men and women, indigenous and non-indigenous) as in the case of “Women and Men in figures 2008” published in Guatemala. In this report there is information, for example, about the “population by ethnic group and sex according to levels of poverty” for years 2000 and 2006. However, the problem is to determine the magnitude of inequalities in Guatemala when considering this data. This information only includes absolute data about poor people and non-poor people, but not about the general population, which makes impossible to estimate percentages for comparisons.[75]

There are international recommendations to guide the presentation in a relatively comprehensible way for the general public, mainly from the gender perspective.[76] Moreover,
there are optimum presentations of different NSO that are an example for the diffusion of results. This indicates that apart from the technical support from organizations such as ECLAC, UNFPA, or UNIFEM, a framework of collaboration among the NSO of the area is needed. This framework must be used not only for the development of ambitious projects such as the Census Round, but also for the studies and reports in which the diffusion of the best experiences can be a determinant.

The Diffusion of the Results

“A Census is not complete until the information collected is made available to potential users in a form suited to their needs,” as determined by the UN. The same can be said about the household surveys. Among the functions of national statistics is to inform the population, to identify problems, and to promote positive changes. From an integrated gender and people approach, the following functions should be addressed:

- Identifying processes of inequality by gender and ethnicity.
- Analyzing the development of inequality and poverty phenomena in the population.
- Supporting state policies focused at different levels (for geographical reasons, groups of population…)
- Supporting the evaluation of the impact of state policies, identifying relevant subgroups of population; allowing independent evaluations of that impact, considering the work of the academy and other organizations.
- Motivating social changes towards equity by pondering the seriousness of problems with empirical data.

Thus, “statistics does not only perform the function of supporting decisions of those who design state policies, but they also represent the basis on which all citizenships and citizens have the opportunity of developing the suitable criteria that let them state critical opinions about those policies.” That is to say, to increase the degree in which citizens live in the democracy.

What we are suggesting is that the NSO must consider the diffusion of the information as part of the process of developing the census and household surveys. This diffusion, however, should not be based on the use of means that select the population that get this information. In order to fulfill its functions, the diffusion of statistics should take into account:

- Units and offices in the political field.
- International organizations.
- Producers of sectorial statistics.
- Universities, schools, researchers, and students.
- Foundations, associations, and civil organizations.


• Communal authorities and indigenous associations.
• The general population, considering the necessity that the information arrives to indigenous communities in multicultural countries.

It is obvious that the diffusion of results to the general population, including indigenous communities, is a great challenge for the NSO in Latin America. Reasons for this are simple:

a. The NSO websites cannot be considered as a mean of universal diffusion, since in different indigenous communities there is no access to the Internet or the use of this resource is unknown. This problem is even worse in the case of women, mainly from a certain age.

b. From the logistic point of view, it is difficult to carry out the diffusion of printed documentation (as leaflets) reaching citizens in all localities and, mainly, in some particular indigenous communities.

c. Although this diffusion could be done by the mentioned means, there are still some problems, as the existence of a monolingual population varying from country to country, and the low educational level of some populations—mainly among women—, which makes it impossible or very difficult reading the information.

d. The level of statistical knowledge among the general population is low; this entails an obstacle related to the citizens’ interest in the results obtained by the NSO. The NSO should take measures about this.

CONCLUSIONS: THE NEED FOR ADVANCING IN THE NATIONAL STATISTICS TO SUPPORT SOCIOECONOMIC INTEGRATED DEVELOPMENTS FROM A GENDER AND CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE

As previously stated, “Being black or indigenous constitutes a specific factor of vulnerability that may sentence the person to a situation of poverty. Being women constitutes an aggravating factor.” Indigenous people face multiple barriers associated with a discrimination that has traditionally includes both ethnic and gender exclusion.

The main objective of the census and household surveys, apart from providing information about the population and the economy of the country, or about the determining factors and potentialities; but is being the basis where programs and policies focus on improving life conditions of different socioeconomic collectives of a population. The implementation of an integrated approach is required. This approach should take into consideration, in all phases of the statistical production, the intricate subpopulations in the countries, along with considering two key variables for the development of social complexity which are present from birth: sex and ethnicity (or indigenous identity). Only focusing on one of them will unavoidably involve the rejection of essential information for the development of a State’s Rule of Law that pursues a desirable level of distributive justice.

Developing gender indicators is a challenge in itself. Doing this, in the case of indigenous people, even adds more complexity. There are added problems related to the conceptual weakness of the definition of ‘indigenous,’ and severely lacks the sources for information.

We have already mentioned some recommendations to elaborate upon the indicators for indigenous people, which are included in the framework of the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues. However, in our conclusions we must say something else about this.

Some of the 25 theses proposed by Galtung referred to the developmental theory and practice, and are excellent tools for helping to understand what we want to say when discussing the need for creating indicators that are both sensitive to gender and consider peoples’ belonging. Galtung theses 1, 2, 4, and 5 point out the following:

- Thesis nº 1 (first definition of development). The development is the deploy of a culture; the putting of the code and cosmology into practice. As there are many cultures, there are many developments.
- Thesis nº 2 (second definition of development). The development is the progressive satisfaction of the needs of human and non-human nature, starting by the most needed people. The nature has also its necessities.
- Thesis nº 4 (first grammatical thesis). The substantive ‘development’ can be understood in plural as developments, and not in singular.
- Thesis nº 5 (second grammatical thesis). The verb ‘develop’ can be only understood as an intransitive or reflexive verb, and not as a transitive verb. The development is essentially the development of oneself. Oneself cannot be the cause of development, understood as an effect on the Other, without damaging the Other’s autonomy, who is in turn a part of the ‘development’ according to all definitions.

Galtung’s statements harmonize very well, in some aspects, with the definitions used by international agencies such as ILO. Article 7 of the ILO’s 169 Agreement is clear in this respect:

1. The peoples concerned shall have the right to decide their own priorities for the process of development as it affects their lives, beliefs, institutions, spiritual well-being and the lands they occupy or otherwise use, and to exercise control, to the extent possible, over their own economic, social and cultural development. In addition, they shall participate in the formulation, implementation and evaluation of plans and programs for national and regional development which may affect them directly.

2. The improvement of the conditions of life and work and levels of health and education of the peoples concerned, with their participation and cooperation, shall be a matter of priority in plans for the overall economic development of areas they

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81 The author does not make any reference to gender studies, but we use his theses because we consider that they are applicable to the topic we are analyzing and, however, have not been exploited. Vid. Galtung, J. (1995). \textit{Investigaciones teóricas. Sociedad y cultura contemporáneas} [Theoretical investigations. Contemporary society and culture]. Madrid: Tecnos e Instituto de Cultura Juan Gil Albert. Chapter 11, which describes “Twenty-five Theses on Development Theory and Practice” comes from a conference of the same author, also available in English at: http://journals.upd.edu.ph/index.php/kasarinlan/article/viewArticle/863.
inhabit. Special projects for development of the areas in question shall also be so designed as to promote such improvement.

3. Governments shall ensure that, whenever appropriate, studies are carried out, in cooperation with the peoples concerned, to assess the social, spiritual, cultural and environmental impact on them of planned development activities. The results of these studies shall be considered as fundamental criteria for the implementation of these activities.

4. Governments shall take measures, in cooperation with the peoples concerned, to protect and preserve the environment of the territories they inhabit.

Now if Galtung’s theories are considered as a useful theoretical framework to give direction for analyzing sensitive indicators, why has our evaluation of the indigenous women’s situation been so limited? Our analysis clearly shows the limited possibilities for correctly evaluating the situation of indigenous women and people.

In this sense, it is obvious there is a lack of essential data to analyze the situation of indigenous women in Latin America. There are many research texts and documents (we previously mentioned some) in which it is affirmed that indigenous people are the most vulnerable within their communities, where indigenous women are especially vulnerable to social exclusion and poverty. Indeed, there are many more examples of this. It is said, for instance, that “Although the impact of education is positive within the indigenous and non-indigenous people, it has been observed that in Bolivia and Peru, differences between these two groups are not reduced because of education,” or that “Despite the fact that maternal mortality is present in all social strata, its incidence is much higher among women of low socioeconomic groups. This problem is particularly acute among indigenous women and rural population.”

However, we do not have disaggregated and reliable data as to support this statement for all the indigenous people in Latin America. As the ECLAC points out, referring to ‘Discrimination by gender and race,’ “Not all women perceive discrimination the same way, and not all are subordinated at the same level. Thus, gender is culturally constructed and in the feminine identity plays an important role in the differentiation of women according to the different realities they experience.” But, ECLAC also affirms that their contribution to the field of ‘Discrimination by gender and race’ has not been very wide.

Along this line, it has been stated that “Achieving the MDG’s will also require targeting areas and population groups that have clearly been left behind — rural communities, the poorest households and ethnic minorities, all of whom will have a hand in shaping our common future.” In this 60 page Report by the UN, there is no result that gives data to support the affirmation that ethnic minorities are “groups that have clearly been left behind”

82 ECLAC (2007). Los objetivos de desarrollo del Milenio y los desafíos para América Latina y el Caribe para avanzar en mayor bienestar, mejor capital humano y más igualdad de oportunidades [The developmental objectives of the Millennium and the challenges for Latin America and the Caribbean to advance in more well-being, better human capital and more equality of opportunities]. Santiago de Chile: ECLAC.


in relation to MDG’s, nor do they provide any data regarding women from different ethnic background.

The fact is that logically, if there are no data that show this as a reality (or data are biased), it therefore does not exist. And if an evident reality about the discrimination towards women does not exist on record then there are no reason to support specific policies on this problem. From our point of view, this is one of the principle challenges for the NSO and for governments in the 21st Century: the development to mainstream gender ethnic belonging and its imbrication. In turn, this mainstreaming can only be based on the production and appropriate management of data by gender in the indigenous populations, data that must be both statistical and qualitative. The only way to understand the development of “the Other” is to comprehend what the cultural deployment means for ourselves, with our particular gender experience.

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85 On page 16 we present a graphic that shows a “Parity index for primary school attendance by ethnicity, language or religion (lowest attendance rate/highest attendance rate, selected countries, 2005-2006)”. Note the use of a combination of variables which influence are undetermined: ethnicity, language, or religion.

86 There is an excellent thematic report that analyses the achievement of the MDG in relation to indigenous people. In this report, information is given in terms of “White” and “Non-White”. Vid. ECLAC; Inter-American Development Bank, UNDP and The World Bank, (2005). *Ethnicity and the Millenium Development Goals*, Colombia: UNDP.