ESS Extension of Social Security

The Non-Contributory Pension programme in Argentina: Assessing the impact on poverty reduction

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Summary

There is increasing acknowledgement of the need to extend the scope of social protection to those segments of the population that have traditionally been excluded from social security. Non-contributory pension programmes constitute an excellent alternative that merits examination. This report will describe and evaluate numerous aspects of the Non-Contributory Pension (NCP) programme in Argentina.

The NCP programme — much like other social security programmes in this country — developed in a disorganized manner, involving the grant of various categories of benefits. These include assistance pensions for old-age, disability and mothers with seven or more children; auxiliary pensions (pensiones graciables) awarded by the national legislature; pensions for Malvinas (Falkland Islands) war veterans; pensions for families of persons who "disappeared" during the military regime (1976-83) and pensions granted through special legislation. The NCP programme developed in the context of a social policy characterized by a high degree of fragmentation between not only the national institutions (for example, the Social Security Administration and the Ministry of Social Development), but also between the various levels of government (national, provincial and municipal).

The NCP programme accounts for 3 per cent of the aggregate social security expenditure and 0.2 per cent of the GDP. The number of direct beneficiaries with pensions is 350,000 persons, but if health coverage provided for the families of some beneficiaries is included, coverage may be said to extend to 450,000 persons. The average benefit is \$153, which is 57 per cent of the average benefit in the contributory system.

As regards the programme's effectiveness in reducing poverty, for those families with a member who receives the benefit, the incidence of poverty is reduced by 31 per cent, while that of extreme poverty or indigence is reduced by 67 per cent. The effect would be greater if inclusion errors were reduced and if the scheme of auxiliary pensions (pensiones graciables) granted by legislators was reformed, or eliminated altogether. Furthermore, the programme must be adapted to the proposed reform of the social security system scheduled for 2002, which provides for the possibility of granting a "universal benefit" to persons over the age of 70 with no source of income or other financial resources.

1. Introduction

There is a growing acknowledgement of the need to extend the scope of social protection to those segments of the population that have traditionally been excluded from social security. In the past, social security for the poor and the more vulnerable members of society has usually been provided through various mechanisms (the grant of benefits in cash or in kind) and has been financed by taxes and/or contributions.

Among the benefits generally provided by social security systems are non-contributory pensions. These take a number of forms, and include pensions for old-age, disability, and mothers of large families, etc. Owing to the complexity of the social security schemes that have developed over the years through various programmes, it is often difficult to distinguish the specific characteristics of each programme, its effectiveness, and its complementarity with others aimed at the same target population.

In keeping with the fact that one of the main strategic objectives of the ILO is to extend the scope of social security, this study will attempt to describe and evaluate the Non-Contributory Pension programme administered by the National Government of Argentina. It will also examine the context in which the programme operates, given the overall framework of social protection programmes in the country. In particular, it will examine the extent to which the NCP programme reduces poverty and, thus, socio-economic vulnerability.

The report consists of three sections, in addition to this introductory section. The first section describes the characteristics of public social spending in Argentina and the role of social policy in alleviating poverty. The second section analyzes the general characteristics of the NCP programme and its constituent elements with respect to benefits, coverage, financing and administration. The third section contains a socio-demographic profile of NCP beneficiaries and evaluates the effectiveness of the programme in terms of the objective of alleviating poverty. Finally, the last section summarizes the conclusions and discusses policy recommendations.

2. Public social expenditure, social policy and poverty in Argentina

Argentina is a relatively rich country; however, it is also a society with a relatively high level of poverty, as may be seen by a comprehensive poverty report prepared by the World Bank in 2000. Public social expenditures represented more than 20 per cent of Gross Domestic Product (GDP), although not all of the related programmes were specifically designed to reduce poverty¹. The non-targeted social programmes, chiefly in the areas of education and health, benefit all socio-economic groups. Thus, low-income families do not benefit particularly from these programmes. On the other hand, government programmes aimed specifically at poor persons are, generally speaking, well targeted, although some inclusion errors do occur.

¹ Table 1 summarizes the development and composition of total public expenditure and the public social expenditure for the period 1993-2000. The figure for public social expenditure is broken down by government level, and by modality (social sectors and social security).

The more general problem, as indicated by the World Bank report, is that of the scope of coverage, given that only approximately 25 per cent of poor families receive some type of direct government assistance, whether in cash or in kind. According to the report's estimates, public and private transfers together reduce overall poverty by approximately 4 percentage points. These transfers are particularly important for reducing poverty among the elderly. In 1998, the percentage of poor in urban areas was 29 per cent and those living in extreme poverty amounted to 7 per cent. These figures have most likely risen, given the fact that the economy experienced a sharp recession in 1999-2001, leading to a considerable decrease in per capita income.

The organization of the institutions that provide social security in Argentina is complex owing to the fact that the country operates on a federal system with three co-existing levels of government (national, provincial, and municipal). Each of these levels has different responsibilities as far as fiscal expenditure and tax collection are concerned.

Historically, this has led to an enormous fragmentation of social policies and programmes, which, in turn, has adversely affected their implementation in terms of efficiency and effectiveness. The complex fiscal organization has led to broad divergences from the concept of the correspondence between government revenues and expenditures. These imbalances are largely attributable to concerns for efficiency and equity, the study of which exceeds the scope of this report.

Aggregate public social spending in Argentina for the year 2000 breaks down among the various levels of government as follows: nation, 51.4 per cent; provinces (including the City of Buenos Aires), 41.4 per cent; and municipalities, 7.2 per cent. Social expenditures account for 63 per cent of total aggregate spending and fall into two basic categories: social security, 12 per cent of GDP (55.5 per cent of government social expenditure); and social sector programmes, 9 per cent of GDP (44.5 per cent of government social expenditure). Social sector expenditures may be broken down into programmes aimed at the public in general (universal programmes) and those aimed specifically at the poor, which represent 8 per cent and 1 per cent, respectively, of GDP.

Table 1.Total public expenditure and public social expenditure in Argentina, 1993-2000
(as a percentage of GDP) a/

	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
Total public expenditure by category								
Administration	6.17	6.34	6.26	5.88	5.68	5.97	6.80	6.31
Social expenditure	20.24	20.93	21.17	20.06	19.76	19.94	21.51	21.03
Economic services	3.40	2.74	2.83	2.41	2.24	2.35	2.18	1.81
Public debt servicing	1.85	1.75	2.24	2.21	2.67	2.69	3.58	4.25
Total	31.66	31.77	32.50	30.56	30.35	30.95	34.07	33.41
Public social expenditure by category								
Education, culture, science and technology	4.08	4.12	4.29	4.15	4.30	4.41	4.94	4.91
Health	4.61	4.88	4.96	4.60	4.51	4.56	5.05	4.84
Social assistance and promotion	1.12	1.16	1.05	0.96	1.12	1.15	1.22	1.13
Social security	7.88	8.22	8.38	8.00	7.48	7.43	7.86	7.85
Labour	0.84	0.91	0.96	0.91	0.86	0.85	0.89	0.88
Other ^{b/}	1.69	1.63	1.53	1.45	1.49	1.54	1.55	1.41
Total	20.24	20.93	21.17	20.06	19.76	19.94	21.51	21.03
Aggregate public social expenditur by government level	.e							
National	10.22	11.03	11.36	11.12	10.64	10.53	11.07	10.82
Provinces and City of Buenos Aires	8.46	8.37	8.38	7.60	7.74	7.96	8.91	8.71
Municipalities	1.56	1.52	1.44	1.34	1.38	1.44	1.53	1.50
Total	20.24	20.93	21.17	20.06	19.76	19.94	21.51	21.03
Public social expenditure by type								
Social sectors	8.53	8.64	8.57	8.23	8.62	8.91	9.73	9.35
Social security	11.71	12.29	12.61	11.84	11.14	11.03	11.77	11.68
Total	20.24	20.93	21.17	20.06	19.76	19.94	21.51	21.03
GDP (in millions of year 2000 2 pesos)	255,501	271,514	257,927	267,048	286,475	295,851	287,438	285,045

^{a/} For 1999 and 2000: provisional data.

^{b/} Other includes: water and sewerage, housing and urban development, and other urban services.

Source: MECON (2001b).

Table 2 shows that total government social spending is distributed in a relatively uniform manner among the five population segments classified by income bracket. However, public expenditures for the social sectors primarily benefit the poorest segments, whereas the opposite is true of social security expenditures, which, for the most part, are contributory in nature. Table 2 also shows the distribution of the tax burden, together with the income share of each population segment, indicating a regressive tax structure.

Quintiles	I	II	Ш	IV	v	Total
Public expenditure for social sectors Public expenditure for social security	29.8 9.9	18.8 20.6	21.7 19.5	16.8 23.6	13.0 26.5	100 100
Total public social expenditure	21.8	19.5	20.8	19.5	18.4	100
Taxes	7.1	10.7	14.9	20.1	47.2	100
Income share	4.0	8.4	13.2	21.2	53.2	100

Table 2. Distribution of public social expenditure and taxes by quintile, 1996 (in percentages)

As far as social security is concerned, the greatest fiscal responsibility is borne by the national government, which administers: (i) the Integrated Pensions System (SIJP), created in 1994; (ii) pension schemes for the armed and security forces; and (iii) the Non-Contributory Pension Programme. The Government also administers a complementary benefits scheme to combat poverty that is aimed at social security recipients in extreme need. In addition, there are benefits to help pay for electricity, gas and water for the poorest pensioners. Such benefits arose in conjunction with the privatization of the public service enterprises, which had previously exonerated low-income pensioners from totally paying their utility bills.

Some provinces have a particularly onerous responsibility for providing pensions, especially those where public employment represents a significant percentage of total employment. This is due to the fact that these jurisdictions administer the pension funds for provincial public employees.² In addition, the provinces administer non-contributory pension programmes; however, these have a limited scope — both in terms of the amount and number of claims processed — that complements the national scheme.³

3. General characteristics of the Non-Contributory Pension programme

When the social security system was reformed in 1994, the Non-Contributory Pension (NCP) programme was separated from the contributory programmes, which were reorganized under the Integrated Pensions System (SIJP). Beginning in January 1996, the NCP programme was administered by the Secretariat for Social Development (SDS), which until 1999 was under the Office of the President and since then has been transferred to the Ministry of Social Development and Environment.

The NCP programme grants seven types of benefits: (i) old-age; (ii) disability; (iii) mothers of seven or more children; (iv) families of the "disappeared"; (v) Malvinas war veterans; (vi) benefits granted by special legislation; and (vii) auxiliary benefits (pensiones graciables) granted by the national Congress. The first three of these are also referred to as assistance pensions. As for the size of the various schemes within the programme, the auxiliary

 $^{^{2}}$ In 1993 the City of Buenos Aires and 11 of the 23 provincial jurisdictions transferred their pension systems for municipal and provincial public employees to the SIJP.

³ There is no national register or system to consolidate information on beneficiaries of the provincial Non-Contributory Pension programmes.

pensions (pensiones graciables) granted by Congress and the assistance pensions are the largest, both in terms of quantity of benefits and resources allocated. This information is contained in Table 3. Table 4 describes the conditions for entitlement to the assistance benefits.

Type of pension		Pensioners (,000)	%	Initial legislation
Auxiliary pensions (pensiones graciables)		171	49	Law 13337/48
	Disability	73	21	Decree 432/97
Assistance	Mothers of 7 children	51	15	Law 23746/89
	Old-age	40	11	Law 13478/48
Malvinas war veterans		14	4	Law 23848/90
Family of disappeared p	persons	1	_	Law 23466/86
Special legislation		1	_	Law 14125/52
Total		351	100	-

Table 3.Non-Contributory Pension programme, December 2000: Types of benefits,
total number of beneficiaries and legislation

Table 4. Characteristics and conditions for entitlement to assistance benefits, 2000

Type of assistance pension	General characteristics	General conditions for entitlement	Specífic conditions for entitlement
Disability	Granted to the totally disabled (76% or more) and to the permanently disabled for work.	Not to be in receipt of any social security or retirement benefit. Not to hold assets, income or resources of any kind that would provide support for the claimant and his/her family.	Not to have relatives required and able to provide financial support. Foreigners must have resided in the country for an uninterrupted period of at least 20 years.
Allocations for mothers with seven children	Granted to mothers of 7 or more children born alive, whether natural or adopted.		Foreigners must have resided in the country for an uninterrupted period of at least 15 years.
Old-age	Old-age assistance pension.		As from age 70. Not to have relatives required and able to provide financial support. Foreigners must have resided in the country for an uninterrupted period of at least 20 years.

In establishing the conditions for entitlement to assistance pensions or auxiliary pensions (pensiones graciables), some of the following factors are taken into account (depending upon the type of pension): lack of alternative social security coverage, lack of any benefit whatsoever, lack of income from earnings, medical/social risk, old-age, solitude, absence of the breadwinner or unemployment of the breadwinner for mothers of large families, unemployment, presence and number of dependent children, permanent disability and lack of institutional protection. The use of these factors to define the conditions for entitlement to benefit has led to a situation in which the majority of the covered population may be

characterized as having unsatisfied basic needs. These aspects will be analysed in subsequent sections.

One of the characteristics of this programme, much like other subsystems of social protection in Argentina, is that it was founded on a legal framework that developed in a disjointed and uncoordinated fashion. Table 3 lists the initial legislation corresponding to each type of pension. For example, the auxiliary pensions (pensiones graciables) awarded by Congress and the Old-Age Assistance pensions were introduced in 1948, whereas assistance pensions for mothers of seven or more children were legislated in 1989. Subsequently, the various statutory benefits were consolidated within a general framework — in this case — within the NCP programme. This type of development, together with the Government's limited ability to terminate programmes or to homogenize or standardize them, has led to the coexistence of various types of benefits with differences in their scope and conditions of entitlement.

3.1. Benefits

Current benefit levels date from 1991 since, legally, they are tied to the minimum retirement benefit, which has remained fairly constant as a result of government fiscal constraints. It must be recalled that in 1991 the convertibility stabilization plan was implemented. It established parity between the peso and the dollar and eliminated automatic indexing mechanisms for prices and salaries. Table 5 presents the average levels of the various types of Non-Contributory Pension, the average retirement pension and average pension in the contributory system, as well as the average wage for the national economy.

	Type of pension	Monthly amount	Observations
	Old-age	\$ 105	Fixed amount
<i>(</i>)	Mothers with 7 or more children	\$ 150	Fixed amount
Von-contributory pensions	Disability	\$ 114 (*)	Fixed amount (\$105), incremented by family allowances
y pe	Malvinas war veterans	\$ 315	Fixed amount
ibutor	Auxiliary pensions (pensiones graciables)	\$ 162 (*)	Variable amount
n-contr	Special legislation	\$ 503 (*)	Variable amount, as determined by applicable legislation
Nor	Family members of disappeared persons	\$ 150	Fixed amount
	Average pension	\$ 153	
Average	retirement pension, contributory system	\$ 393	
0	widowhood and disability pension, tory system	\$ 267	
•	wage, national economy arners contributing to the SIJP)	\$ 863	

Table 5.	Monthly	/ amounts	of social	security	/ benefits,	1999 ((in US dollars)	

(*) Average of all beneficiaries as at 30-06-99. Disability pensioners are the only ones who may, in addition, receive family allowances, although fewer than 10 per cent of these actually do.

The auxiliary pensions (pensiones graciables) granted by Congress deserve special comment. In theory, these benefits must adhere to the objectives established for protecting

vulnerable groups; however, national legislators are responsible for selecting and managing the benefit without intervention on the part of the institution responsible for administering the NCP programme. Moreover, the average level of these pensions is greater than that of the other pensions (with the exception of those granted by special legislation for special cases, such as ex-presidents of the country, Nobel prize winners, etc.) Another exclusive advantage of the auxiliary benefit is the fact that it is retroactive to the month of January for the year in which it is granted. Nonetheless, these pensions do expire ten years after the date issued and are not renewable if total income exceeds twice the minimum retirement benefit.

3.2. Coverage

At the end of 2000, the number of pensioners registered in the non-contributory programme was 351,000; however, the actual number of beneficiaries exceeds this figure since, in a number of cases, the families of beneficiaries receive medical coverage, as described in section 3.2.1.

The NCP programme has grown steadily (at least from the time for which figures are available). Between 1991 and 2000 the number of beneficiaries more than doubled (from 158,000 to 351,000). Of the various types of benefits granted by the NCP programme (see Table 6), there are two that account for the majority of the benefits granted: old-age and disability pensions, and auxiliary pensions (pensiones graciables) granted by Congress. It is important to point out that for the period 1991-2000, the number of old-age and disability beneficiaries increased by 35 per cent, whereas those granted by Congress increased by 174 per cent.

It is noteworthy that the number of beneficiaries of old-age and disability pensions has remained virtually static since 1999. This is due to the fact that, in order to grant a new benefit, there must be a decrease in the number of beneficiaries so that resources may be made available to pay for the new benefit.

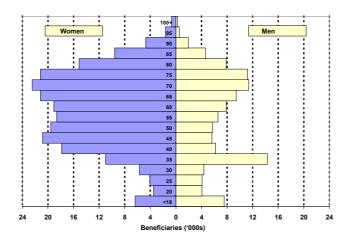
Figure 1 shows the distribution of NCP benefits by age and sex, according to the databases of the National Social Security Administration (ANSES). One may note that the largest share of pensions was granted to women (66 per cent), except in the 35-to-40-year-old bracket, which may be accounted for by the grant of benefits to Malvinas war veterans. Some 43 per cent of the beneficiaries were over the age of 65.

Year	Old-age and disability	Mothers of 7 or more children	Family members of disappeared persons	War Veterans	Auxiliary (pensiones graciables)	Special legislation	Total
1989	80,556		3,426		51,767		135,749
1990	82,884		3,479		65,867		152,230
1991	83,767	769	3,483	7,728	62,329		158,076
1992	93,152	4,718	3,332	9,039	98,026		208,267
1993	99,277	13,879	3,165	9,621	110,617		236,659
1994	112,785	24,535	2,919	9,871	122,099		272,209
1995	115,571	32,081	2,346	10,512	130,270		290,778
1996	116,964	35,853	2,059	10,832	134,355		300,063
1997	118,357	39,626	1,772	11,152	138,440	964	310,311
1998	116,300	39,000	1,750	11,150	146,128	970	315,298
1999	120,004	41,702	1,700	11,283	152,065	897	327,651
2000	113,006	51,004	1,370	13,868	170,567	795	350,610
			Index 1991	I=100			
1989	96.2		98.4		83.1		85.9
1990	98.9		99.9		105.7		96.3
1991	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0
1992	111.2	613.5	95.7	117.0	157.3		131.8
1993	118.5	1804.8	90.9	124.5	177.5		149.7
1994	134.6	3190.5	83.8	127.7	195.9		172.2
1995	138.0	4171.8	67.4	136.0	209.0		183.9
1996	139.6	4662.3	59.1	140.2	215.6		189.8
1997	141.3	5152.9	50.9	144.3	222.1		196.3
1998	138.8	5071.5	50.2	144.3	234.4		199.5
1999	143.3	5422.9	48.8	146.0	244.0		207.3
2000	134.9	6632.5	39.3	179.5	273.7		221.8

Table 6.	Trends in the number of beneficiaries of the NCP Programme, 1989-2000
Table 6.	rrends in the number of beneficiaries of the NCP Programme, 1989-2000

Note: Figures for 1995 and 1996 are estimates. Sources: Bertranou, Grushka and Schulthess (2000), and data from the CNPA (2001).

Figure 1. Demographic (age and sex) breakdown of NCP beneficiaries, 2000



An analysis of each type of benefit reveals an uneven distribution on the basis of age and sex. Of the pensions awarded by the legislature, 69 per cent were granted to women and 47 per cent to persons over the age of 65. In the case of assistance pensions, these figures are 56 and 61 per cent, respectively, while those granted by special legislation correspond to 80 and 11 percent, respectively. The distribution of beneficiaries for the different types of Non-Contributory Pension is presented in Figures 2, 3 and 4.

Figure 2. Distribution of beneficiaries of auxiliary NCPs (*pensiones graciables*), by sex and age bracket, 2000

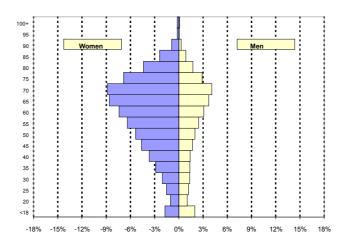


Figure 3. Distribution of beneficiaries of assistance NCPs, by sex and age bracket, 2000

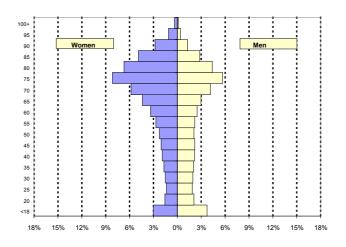
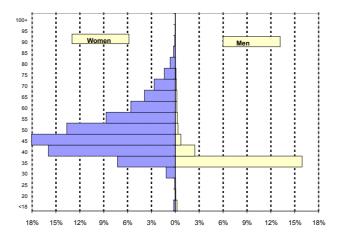


Figure 4. Distribution of beneficiaries of special legislation NCPs, by sex and age bracket, 2000



The 1997 Social Development Survey (SDS) is the only population survey that provides a socio-economic profile of the individuals and households that receive non-contributory benefits and evaluates the extent of their coverage. It should be noted that the survey form does not distinguish between recipients of benefits granted by the national NCP programme and those granted by similar provincial programmes. However, owing to the negligible amounts in question, the SDS data may be considered to be fairly representative of the national programme.

Figure 5 shows the percentage of individuals covered by Non-Contributory Pensions according to age bracket, beginning with age 50, and reveals a greater percentage of coverage, in general, for the adult female population. For example, coverage of women ranges from 2.0 per cent for the 50-to-54-year-old age bracket to 8.6 per cent for those over the age of 75. Similarly, for males in these same age brackets, the number covered ranges from 0.3 per cent to 3.9 per cent.

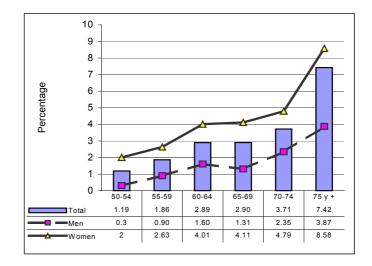


Figure 5. Individual coverage of Non-Contributory Pensions, by age, 1997

3.2.1. Health care provision for NCP beneficiaries

One important aspect of the NCP programme is the fact that it entitles some beneficiaries to health care coverage. Numerous beneficiaries of the programme and members of their family enjoy access to health care, whether through the Comprehensive Medical Care Programme (PAMI) or the Federal Health Programme (PRO-FE). PAMI is the medical care programme for pensioners within the contributory system. It is administered by the National Social Services Institute for Retirees and Pensioners (INSSJP). PRO-FE is a programme financed by the National Commission of Assistance Pensions (CNPA), which, by means of agreements entered into with the provincial ministries of health, provides a medical benefit plan to beneficiaries.

The number of PRO-FE beneficiaries includes 220,000 primary beneficiaries and 100,000 family members for a total of approximately 320,000. The NCP programme is thus able to extend the scope of its coverage from 350,000 primary beneficiaries receiving cash benefits to 450,000 beneficiaries when family members who receive health care benefits are included. The following subsection will describe various aspects of financing, as well as provide details of the cost of providing medical care.

3.3. Financing

The total expenditure for NCP benefits also demonstrates an upward trend, reaching an average of approximately \$535 million for the period 1994-2000. This is equivalent to 3.1 per cent of the total public social expenditure and less than 0.2 per cent of the GDP (see Table 7).

Expenditures of the National Non-Contributory Pension (NCP) Programme^{a/}, Table 7. 1994-2000 (in millions pesos of year 2000, as a percentage of social security expenditure and GDP)

	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	1994-2000 average
NCPs in millions of pesos of year 2000	447	504	488	554	545	555	654	535
NCPs as a % of national social security expenditure ^{b/}	2.6	3.0	2.8	3.2	3.1	3.0	3.6	3.1
NCPs as a % of GDP	0.16	0.20	0.18	0.19	0.18	0.19	0.23	0.19

Notes: Figures for 1999 and 2000 are provisional.

a/ The provinces also grant NCPs through retirement funds and provincial pensions, or through social protection programmes. The aggregate amount of such expenditure is not known.

b/ Includes total benefits (SIJP, as well as armed and security forces, subsidies and administrative expenses). Source: MECON (2001b).

The total 1999⁴ annual budget of the CNPA was \$835 million, of which more than 77 per cent (\$643 million) corresponded to pension payments, although only 85 per cent of these were actually paid. The rest of the budget was allocated to: administration, 0.4 per cent; social assistance, 1.7 per cent; and medical care, 20.8 per cent (see Table 8). Medical care is broken down into capitation expenditures in conjunction with PAMI and PRO-FE, and non capitation expenditures, which include resources aimed at providing benefits for disability, hemodialysis, geriatrics, psychiatry and others.

			Millions of \$	%
Non-contributory pensions			643.2	77.1
Administration			3.4	0.4
Social services			14.5	1.7
	Capitation		90.7	10.9
		Disability	40.8	4.9
Medical care	Non-capitation	Hemodialysis	23.1	2.8
		Geriatrics	11.2	1.3
		Psychiatry	0.8	0.1
		Other	3.2	0.4
Total			834.6	100.0

Table 8.	Annual Budget of the National Commission of Assistance Pensions, 1999	
	Annual Budget er the National Commission er Accietance i enclosed, rece	

Source: CNPA 1999.

⁴ This is the latest year for which detailed information concerning CNPA expenditures is available. Note that the figure budgeted for 1999 is greater than that reported by the Ministry of the Economy for actual expenditures, although the latter is provisional.

3.4. Administration

Following the 1994 social security reform and in accordance with Decree 292/95, functions relating to the processing, awarding, settlement and payment of Non-Contributory Pensions, which had previously been handled by the ANSES, were transferred, beginning in January 1996, to the Secretariat for Social Development. In addition to the functions mentioned above, the provision of health care to beneficiaries of these pensions, which until then had been handled by PAMI, was transferred as well. Initially, pensions for Malvinas war veterans were excluded, as far as medical care was concerned, and subsequently, so were disability pensions. The PAMI continues to administer medical care for these pensions. In order to do so, it receives a capitation payment that does not cover hemodialysis, disability, geriatrics or psychiatry, which are directly covered by the National Commission of Assistance Pensions (CNPA).

For the purposes of organization and implementation of Decree 292/95, the CNPA was created by Decree 1455/96. The CNPA was set up to function as an autonomous body and was given a basic structure consisting of two national agencies. These are the National Non-Contributory Pensions Agency, which is organized into three main departments (registration and processing, beneficiary services, and determination of entitlement); and the National Medical Care Benefits Agency, which is also organized into three departments (benefits and services, verification and settlement, and medical auditing). The number of human resources staff assigned to the CNPA stood at 423 officials as of December 1999. Its operating budget for the same year was approximately 3.4 million pesos, or 0.4 per cent of the total budget.

The CNPA has been assigned the following responsibilities:

- To handle entirely: the reception, processing, and evaluation of requests for assistance pensions (old-age, disability and mothers of seven or more children), as well as those for Malvinas war veterans, families of the "disappeared", and others enacted through special legislation and awarded by the administrative authority, with the assistance of the provincial and municipal governments in managing the entire process. Claimants must not be in receipt of any type of social security benefit or retirement pension, and must not have assets, income or resources of any kind that would constitute a means of support for the claimant or his/her family.
- To handle partially: the processing of auxiliary pensions (pensiones graciables) already awarded by Congress. (Legislators assume the management of the process from registration to awarding.)
- To handle entirely: the settlement of benefits (pension amounts).

Owing to an increasing demand for the benefits provided by this programme and the fiscal constraints facing the Government, the CNPA has, over the last few years, had to more closely target its efforts so as to give priority to the neediest persons. Consequently, it has implemented a claims evaluation system based on a rigorous socio-economic survey (see Annex 2). Likewise, efforts have gotten underway to improve the coordination and cross-referencing of information with other social protection programmes in order to avoid errors of inclusion in the NCP programme. Such efforts consist of identifying potential beneficiaries of similar provincial programmes or potential medical benefit recipients in households in which one of the members has access to social security health care through an occupational institution

known as an Obra Social. Cross-referencing of information is carried out by means of the Social and Fiscal National Identification System (SINTYS), which seeks to consolidate data pertaining to all subsystems of information on taxation, programme beneficiaries, and social security. These efforts to more carefully target beneficiaries have begun to produce results; however, there is still room for improvement.

4. Evaluation of the effectiveness of the NCP programme in reducing poverty

This section provides a socio-economic profile of the beneficiaries of the NCP programme (see annex 1). Direct consultation of the beneficiary database would have been the ideal way to carry out this task, but this was not possible. Therefore, an analysis was made of the distribution of beneficiaries by jurisdiction, followed by a profile of the population on the basis of data contained in the 1997 EDS population survey. One advantage of this source is that it allows for comparisons with those who are not included in the programme. On the basis of the same EDS data, this section will also evaluate the effectiveness of the NCP programme in alleviating poverty and indigence.

4.1. Geographic distribution of NCP recipients

Beneficiaries of non-contributory pensions are distributed by jurisdiction in a similar fashion to the total population of the country. The respective percentages show a very significant (r=0.96) Pearson correlation coefficient. However, this association is strongly affected by the extreme point (province of Buenos Aires) since its exclusion reduces the value of the coefficient to 0.82.

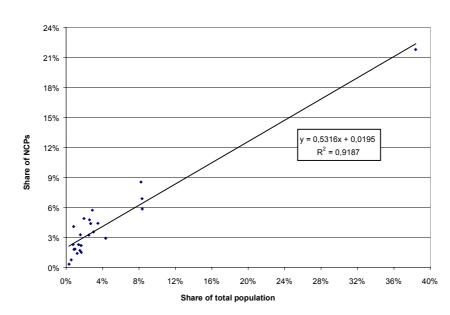


Figure 6. Distribution of total population and NCP beneficiaries, by jurisdiction, 1999

Given the nature and objective of the NCP programme, it is to be hoped that the scope of coverage is greater in the more needy jurisdictions than in the rest. Infant mortality was chosen as an indicator of need, given its proven strong link to other socio-economic variables, both personal (income, education, etc.) and structural (toilets and other items considered to be basic necessities).

For the purposes of this analysis, an indicator based on the percentage of the total population receiving NCPs was determined for each jurisdiction. This was then compared to the infant mortality rate (Ministry of Health and Social Action, 2000). As shown in Figure 7, the association is not significant. Three provinces (La Pampa, La Rioja and Santiago del Estero) appear on one side, with a high percentage of NCP recipients and intermediate infant mortality. On the other side is Chaco, with the highest infant mortality rate and intermediate values for the percentage of NCP recipients.

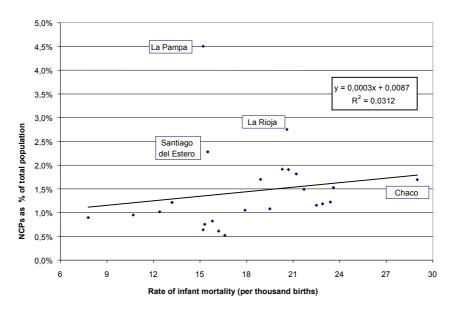


Figure 7. Percentage of NCPs and infant mortality, by province, 1999

It should be noted that a separate analysis of the various types of non-compensatory pension reveals that the low correlation observed (r=0.18) is due to the distribution of the auxiliary pensions (pensiones graciables) granted by Congress, which present a negative (r=-0.13), though not significant association (see Figure 8). On the other hand, the assistance NCPs do present a positive (r=0.57), though not significant association (see Figure 9).

Figure 8. Percentage of auxiliary NCPs (pensiones graciables) and infant mortality, by province, 1999

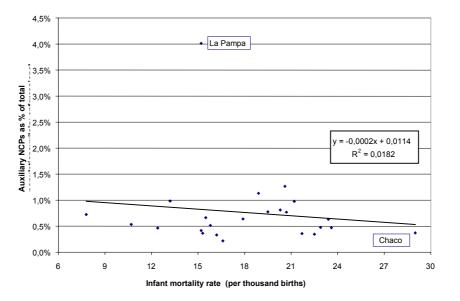
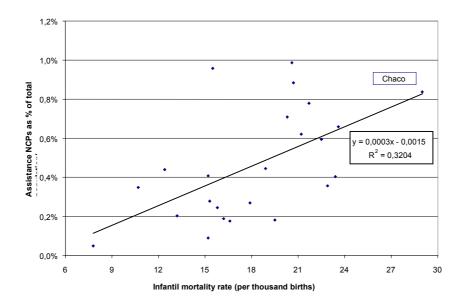


Figure 9. Percentage of assistance NCPs and infant mortality, by province, 1999



4.2. Socio-demographic profile of NCP recipients

One initial way to evaluate the degree to which the NCP programme is well targeted is to establish a socio-demographic profile of the beneficiaries and their households. Table 9 contains information on various population groups according to the type of social security benefit to which they have access. The groups identified are (1) recipients of non-contributory pensions; (2) recipients of retirement pensions and/or survivor's benefits of any contributory scheme; (3) non-recipients of social security benefits.

From the information contained in Table 9, the following conclusions may be drawn. NCP recipients constitute 1 per cent of the population over the age of 15 and are mainly women (72 per cent). They present the highest incidence of disability (28 per cent), the least average number of years of schooling (5) and the least per capita income per household (\$230). The average age is lower than that of beneficiaries in the contributory system. This explains in part why this group also presents a greater incidence of chronic illness than is usually associated with old age.

	Non-contributory pension (1)	Retirement and/or contributory pension (2)	No social security benefit (3)	Total (4)
Share in population 15 +	1%	12%	87%	100%
Age (years)	59.7	67.6	35.5	39.7
Female (%)	72.2	55.7	52.1	52.8
Head of household (%)	50.8	73.6	36.3	41.3
Private health insurance (%)	56.0	10.1	10.3	10.2
Economic inactivity (%)	82.4	85.6	35.7	42.4
Disability (%)	28.2	10.1	2.6	3.9
Chronic illness (%)	48.5	55.5	18.2	23.1
Number in household	3.9	3.0	4.7	4.4
Years of schooling	4.9	7.3	9.5	9.2
Household per capita income (\$)	230	417	286	301

Table 9. Socio-demographic characteristics of the population over age 15, according to receipt of contributory or non-contributory benefits

It is interesting to note that 6 per cent of the NCP recipients reported having access to private health insurance. This shows a certain disposition to pay for private medical care, implying the possibility of errors in targeting beneficiaries. Unfortunately, the EDS does not allow a distinction to be made between the recipients of non-contributory assistance pensions and those of the auxiliary pensions (pensiones graciables) granted by Congress. The later are not subjected to a clear means test, and therefore allow some infiltration of higher income strata.

For the purposes of comparison, it is interesting to evaluate the same characteristics as above, but for a more homogenous segment of the population—that is, for persons over age 65, among whom NCP recipients constitute 5 per cent of the total population (See Table 10). Although the differences are less marked between the three population groups considered, the NCP recipients are distinguished by higher statistics for: average age (76 years); female beneficiaries (77 per cent); economic inactivity (94 per cent); disability (19 per cent); chronic illness (59 per cent); and number of members in the household (3.2). On the other hand, NCP recipients showed the lowest averages for number of years of schooling (4) and per capita income per household (\$243).

5%		(3)	
0,0	66%	29%	100%
76.0	73.9	70.9	73.1
76.9	54.4	66.9	59.0
55.6	73.2	44.0	63.9
67	10.4	10.5	10.2
94.2	90.8	77.8	87.2
19.5	11.7	9.6	11.4
58.7	60.0	52.0	57.7
3.2	2.7	3.0	2.8
4.0	6.6	5.7	6.2
243	406	242	349
	76.9 55.6 67 94.2 19.5 58.7 3.2 4.0	76.954.455.673.26710.494.290.819.511.758.760.03.22.74.06.6243406	76.954.466.955.673.244.06710.410.594.290.877.819.511.79.658.760.052.03.22.73.04.06.65.7243406242

Table 10. Socio-demographic characteristics of the population over age 65, according to receipt of contributory or non-contributory benefits

4.3. Effect of the NCP programme on poverty

The fundamental objective of the non-contributory pension programme is to provide social protection to those segments of the population that do not have the means to access the social security system, which is based on contributory schemes. One of the reasons for this inaccessibility is the situation of poverty or indigence that characterizes these households. It gives rise to a family circle with limited access to education and health, which impedes the formation of human capital and restricts opportunities for entering the formal and modern labour market with its accompanying network of social protection.

In order to evaluate the effectiveness of the NCP programme in alleviating poverty and indigence in the recipient households, EDS data was used to identify each household, its total income and the income provided by the particular programme in question. On the basis of demographic data for each household, per capita income per equivalent adult was calculated and a comparison was made of income before and after the transfer originating from the non-contributory pension. In keeping with the lines of poverty and indigence determined by INDEC (for more details, see Annex 3), an estimate was made of the percentage of households below each of these measurements. The evaluation criteria took the following three factors into account: (1) households with a recipient of an NCP benefit; (2) households with an NCP recipient over the age of 65; and (3) the total number of households. Table 11 presents the results of these estimates.

	I	Percentage of	of the poor	Decrease in	Per	centage of indigent	Decrease in
	Share			poverty incidence	With transfers	Without transfers	poverty incidence
Households with a NCP recipient	3.4	39.1	56.5	30.8	10.0	30.4	67.1
Households with a NCP recipient aged 65 years or over	1.6	19.6	20.6	4.8	6.9	8.2	15.8
Total households	100	36.8	37.0	0.5	12.1	12.3	1.6

Table 11. Effectiveness of NCPs in reducing poverty and indigence, 1997 (as a percentage)

The NCP programme reduces the incidence of poverty in recipient households by 31 per cent, and indigence (or extreme poverty) by 67 per cent. For the smaller group represented by households with a recipient over the age of 65, the effect is still considerable, given that poverty is reduced by 5 per cent and indigence by 16 per cent. This means that the greatest impact is felt in those households with a younger and more numerous population, for example through the benefits provided to mothers of seven or more children. On the contrary, if the size of the group under consideration is expanded to include the total number of households, the poverty reduction effect is diluted, leading to a reduction of only 0.5 per cent in poverty and 1.6 per cent in indigence. These figures provide an idea of the overall impact of the programme in reducing poverty.

The conclusions to be drawn from the above-mentioned figures are that the NCP programme is fairly effective in reducing poverty. Owing to the socio-demographic characteristics of the beneficiaries described in the previous section, it appears that there is still a margin for improving the impact of the NCP programme by ensuring that coverage is targeted to the neediest households.

5. Conclusions and policy recommendations

The Non-Contributory Pensions administered by the Argentine government constitute a sizeable programme, both from the standpoint of the number of beneficiaries and the level of financing required of the national treasury. In general, the programme is aimed at providing assistance; however, some of its benefits do not entirely fulfil that objective. One salient aspect of the programme is the auxiliary pensions (pensiones graciables) granted by legislators. Although these exist in other countries, in Argentina they have attained significant levels, both in terms of quantity and amounts, not found in other systems of social protection in the region. In spite of this, the programme appears to be sufficiently well targeted so as to produce, overall, a positive effect in reducing poverty. This effect could be increased if the structure of auxiliary NCPs were modified and better targeted.

Below are some additional comments, as well as recommendations for improving the design of the programme and its role in the social security system:

Improvements in targeting

Given the socio-demographic characteristics of the programme's beneficiaries, there is definitely room for improving the way in which benefits are targeted, thereby maximizing poverty reduction. This calls for a careful study on the part of the CNPA of the rationality and equity of the requirements for entitlement to assistance pensions. However, the greatest challenge lies in the auxiliary benefits granted by the legislature since the CNPA (which uses a mechanism to evaluate the socio-economic status of claimants) does not intervene in determinations of entitlement.

One tool that the CNPA could use to continue developing and perfecting the system would be to cross-reference information from other databases pertaining to beneficiaries of national, provincial and municipal social programmes.

• Fiscal costs of the programme

From the fiscal standpoint, and in view of the recent financial constraints being experienced by the Argentine government, it would be useful to perform an actuarial evaluation of the financial and budgetary projections concerning the benefits that have already been granted. It would also be useful to carry out projections for various future scenarios that take into account a greater demand for these benefits as a result of the expected decrease in coverage by the contributory social security system (SIJP).

• Elimination of auxiliary pensions (pensiones graciables). Definition of the authority responsible for social security policy

The process used by legislators to grant auxiliary pensions (pensiones graciables) is scarcely sustainable. The current mechanism creates clientelism, lacks transparency, and as a result, promotes inequality. Ideally, the auxiliary pensions (pensiones graciables) programme should be eliminated altogether. Failing this, minimum entitlement requirements, such as age, disability and/or insufficient income, should be established, subject to evaluation and verification by the CNPA. Such changes would enable each of the branches of government to assume a more appropriate role, since the legislative branch would have neither the mandate nor the constitutional authority to implement social security policy.

Improvements in transparency

The manner in which the programme currently operates does not provide total transparency as regards the procedures used by the CNPA to award benefits. Priority is usually established according to: 1) order of arrival; 2) health-related urgency; 3) special requests made by the authorities (Defender of the People, legal offices, etc.). The greatest problems of transparency occur in relation to the auxiliary pensions (pensiones graciables) granted by the legislature.

• Greater coherence and proposed changes to the social security system

In December 2000, the Government issued a decree (No. 1306/00) establishing a number of reforms aimed at the social security system. The decree has not yet entered into force for various legal and political reasons. One of the reforms consists of modifying the benefits granted by the contributory system, and introducing a "universal benefit" aimed at all adults

over the age of 70 who have no other source of social security or earnings income (of their own or provided by their spouse) and no means of supporting themselves.

The decree does not state whether the new programme would be administered by the social security institution (ANSES) or by another department, such as the Ministry of Social Development. Nor does the decree define the status of the NCP programme. As has been the custom in the historical development of the social protection system in Argentina, new legislation and programmes overlap each other in terms of objectives and target population. Consequently, the Government should seriously evaluate the advantages of unifying the assistance pensions through this new "universal benefit" scheme.

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Annex 1 Distribution of NCPs, total population and infant mortality by jurisdiction, 1999

Annex 2

Forms to identify and assess potential beneficiaries of non-contributory pensions

Request for pension (application form)

Código	Tipo de Beneficio		ITUD DE PENSI		
030	MAYOR DE 80 Años				
054	A LA VEJEZ		Trá	mite Gratuito	
055	POR INVALIDEZ				
038	MADRE DE 7 HUOS				
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Socio-economic questionnaire



Ministerio de Desarrollo Social y Medio Ambiente rmisión Nacional de Pensiones Asistenciales

ENCUESTA SOCIOECONÓMICA TRÁMITE GRATUITO

Código	Tipo de Beneficio]
030	MAYOR DE 80 años	
054	A LA VEJEZ	
055	POR INVALIDEZ	
038	MADRE DE 7 HIJOS	
811	TRANSFERENCIA	

Expediente					
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¿Es Inquilino? SI Advanta del Alquier	Apellid	o y Nombre, do	m icilio	dei Propie	etario							

VII. OTROS FAMILIARES CON OBLIGACIÓN LEGAL DE PROPORCIONAR AMPARO (No Convivientes)

Vive en SI 🔲 l Casa Propia NO 🗍	Ubicación	Tiene otra propiedad SI 🔲 Ubicación NO[]								
¿Es Inquilino? SI □ NO □	Monto del Alquider Apell \$	lido y Nombre. domicilio del Propietano								
En caso g	En caso que el alquiler no lo pague el solicitante indicer apellido y nombre, parentesco, y domicilio de quien lo abona.									
Vive en SI 🗌										
Casa Cedida NO 🔲	Apellido y Nombre, pare	entesco del que les cede la vivienda.								
Construida en Terreno Fi	iscal SI 🗋 NO 🔲 Adjudicada Plan	Habitacional SI 🔲 NO 🔲 Usurpada SI 📋 NO 🗍								
Posee Automotor SI	En caso afirmativo indicar:									
NO 🗌	Modelo Marca	Тіро								

Los datos que he consignado en esta DECLARACIÓN JURADA son correctos y completos.

Firma o I.D.P del Solicitante	En caso que el solicitante lenga designado CURADOR, completar: Apetitido y Nombre:
Aclaración	Doc. Idantidad Datos dei Juzgado interviniente:
Firma del Padre/Madre/Tutor/Guardador/Curador	Certificación de Identidad y Firma. El / la actuante certifica que los datos personales de solicitante y de los famikares declarados son copia hiel delos obrantes en los DNI y Partidas que tuve a la vista. La/s lirma/s o f.D.P fueron colocadas en mi presencia.
Lugar y Fecha de la Entrevista,//	/// Firma y Sello del Profesional

TRÁMITE GRATUITO

IX. DESCRIPCIÓN DE LA VIVIENDA QU	E OCUPA EL SOLICITANTE
UBICACIÓN	TIPO

UBICACIÓN	TIPO	TERRENO
Urbana 🗌 Sub-urbana 🔲 Rural 🛄	Casa 🗍 Inquilinato 🗌 Casilla 🗌	
Villa de Emergencia 🛛	Dpto. 🗌 Rancho 🔲	Con Escritura: SI 🔲 NO 🗍
		Dimensiones:
CARACTERÍSTICAS DE LA VIVIENDA.		
№ de ambientes Interno Baño	Completo Exclusivo	Interno 🗌 Completo 🗌 Exclusivo 🗌 ocina
	🔲 Incompleto 🗌 Compartido 📋	Externo 🗍 Incompleto 🗌 Compartido 🗌
Luz eléctrica SI 🗌 Gas SI NO NO 🗌 Garrata	Pozo 🗌 NO	
Artefactos Eléctricos SI 🗌 NO 🗌		p: Suficiente 🗌 Insuficiente 🗌 Deteriorado [
X. INFORME SOCIAL		
objetivo sobre las cond	iciones personales, cargas de	familia, sanitarias, habitacionales y
objetivo sobre las cond	iciones personales, cargas de del solicitante, de las persona	familia, sanitarias, habitacionales y
objetivo sobre las cond medios de subsistencia legales.	iciones personales, cargas de del solicitante, de las persona	eve pero completo, claro, preciso y familia, sanitarias, habitacionales y s convivientes y de sus obligados
objetivo sobre las cond medios de subsistencia legales. a) Lugar y Fecha de la Visita domic	iciones personales, cargas de del solicitante, de las persona	familia, sanitarias, habitacionales y
objetivo sobre las cond medios de subsistencia legales. a) Lugar y Fecha de la Visita domic	iciones personales, cargas de del solicitante, de las persona	familia, sanitarias, habitacionales y
objetivo sobre las cond medios de subsistencia legales. a) Lugar y Fecha de la Visita domic	iciones personales, cargas de del solicitante, de las persona	familia, sanitarias, habitacionales y
objetivo sobre las cond medios de subsistencia legales. a) Lugar y Fecha de la Visita domic	iciones personales, cargas de del solicitante, de las persona	familia, sanitarias, habitacionales y
objetivo sobre las cond medios de subsistencia legales. a) Lugar y Fecha de la Visita domic	iciones personales, cargas de del solicitante, de las persona	familia, sanitarias, habitacionales y
objetivo sobre las cond medios de subsistencia legales. a) Lugar y Fecha de la Visita domic	iciones personales, cargas de del solicitante, de las persona	familia, sanitarias, habitacionales y
objetivo sobre las cond medios de subsistencia legales. a) Lugar y Fecha de la Visita domic	iciones personales, cargas de del solicitante, de las persona	familia, sanitarias, habitacionales y
objetivo sobre las cond medios de subsistencia legales. a) Lugar y Fecha de la Visita domic	iciones personales, cargas de del solicitante, de las persona	familia, sanitarias, habitacionales y
objetivo sobre las cond medios de subsistencia legales. a) Lugar y Fecha de la Visita domic	iciones personales, cargas de del solicitante, de las persona	familia, sanitarias, habitacionales y
objetivo sobre las cond medios de subsistencia legales. a) Lugar y Fecha de la Visita domic	iciones personales, cargas de del solicitante, de las persona	familia, sanitarias, habitacionales y
objetivo sobre las cond medios de subsistencia legales. a) Lugar y Fecha de la Visita domic	iciones personales, cargas de del solicitante, de las persona	familia, sanitarias, habitacionales y
objetivo sobre las cond medios de subsistencia legales. a) Lugar y Fecha de la Visita domic	iciones personales, cargas de del solicitante, de las persona	familia, sanitarias, habitacionales y
objetivo sobre las cond medios de subsistencia legales. a) Lugar y Fecha de la Visita domic	iciones personales, cargas de del solicitante, de las persona	familia, sanitarias, habitacionales y
objetivo sobre las cond medios de subsistencia legales. a) Lugar y Fecha de la Visita domic	iciones personales, cargas de del solicitante, de las persona	familia, sanitarias, habitacionales y

Continuación Informe Social	
) Diagnóstico del caso y opinión del profesional actuante	

Fecha,...../___/___/

XI. MEDIDA ACONSEJADA

Teniendo en cuenta lo actuado se aconseja:

Lugar y Fecha,...../___/

Firma y Sello del Responsable

••••••

Firma y Sello del Asistente Social

Annex 3

Methodology for determining lines of poverty and indigence

The lines of poverty and indigence are determined by the National Institute of Statistics and Census (INDEC) as a function of the value of the "basic food basket" (CBA) and the cost of non-food goods and services, the number of members in the household by age and sex and the total income of the latter.

The CBA reflects the nutritional requirements for an adult male between the ages of 30 and 59 with a moderate level of activity. It refers to the group of foods needed to meet the minimum requirements for calories and protein in accordance with international standards and at minimum cost. The value established for Greater Buenos Aires in October 1999 was \$70 per month.

The nutritional requirements of the remaining members of the household are estimated on the basis of the unit of measure used for the adult male. Thus, a baby under one year of age requires a consumption of nutrients and energy equal to 0.33 (in relation to the adult male) and a 16 or 17-year-old adolescent male requires a consumption equivalent to 1.05 per month.

In order to calculate the CBA for each household, the total coefficient (sum) of equivalent adults is multiplied by the value (in pesos) of the CBA established for an equivalent adult. A household is classified as indigent when its total income is less than the value of the CBA calculated for that household. A person is considered to fall "below the line of indigence" if he/she resides in an indigent household.

In addition to the CBA, the calculation of the line of poverty takes into account expenditures for health, education, clothing, transportation, etc. The total value of non-food goods and services is established as a coefficient (the inverse of the Engels coefficient) that relates total expenses to those for food.

A coefficient of 2.34 was determined on the basis of the 1985 Income and Expenses Survey for Greater Buenos Aires. As a result, the line of poverty per equivalent adult was established at \$224 (2.34 * \$70). The line of poverty for each household is obtained by multiplying this figure by the number of equivalent adults residing in the household.

A household is considered poor when its total income is less than the value of the line of poverty calculated for that household. A person is considered to fall "below the line of poverty" if he/she resides in a poor household.

The incidence of indigence/poverty in households is obtained by dividing the number of indigent and poor households by the total number of households. Similarly, the incidence of indigence/poverty in the population is obtained by dividing the population resident in these households by the total population.

Papers already published

- Chaabane, M. Towards the universalization of social security: The experience of Tunisia. ESS Paper No. 4. May 2002.
- Reynaud, E. The extension of social security coverage: The approach of the International Labour Office. ESS Paper No. 3. May 2002.
- Cruz-Saco, M.A. Labour markets and social security coverage: The Latin American experience. March 2002. ESS Paper No. 2. March 2002.
- Kwon, S. Achieving health insurance for all: Lessons from the Republic of Korea. March 2002. ESS Paper No. 1. March 2002.

0'582 1'908 2'255 3'560 3'278	Leyes especiales 2'083 18'111 1'259	Casos 28'930 73'909	Particip. 8.5%	N°	Particip.	PNC grac. / Pob.Tot.	Pob.Tot.	Pob.Tot.	(por mil
4'908 2'255 3'560	18'111		8.5%					1 00.101.	nacimientos)
2'255 3'560		72'000		3'046'662	8.2%	0.5%	0.3%	0.9%	10.7
3'560	1'259	13 303	21.8%	14'214'701	38.4%	0.2%	0.2%	0.5%	16.6
		6'095	1.8%	318'147	0.9%	0.8%	0.7%	1.9%	20.3
3'278	3'519	23'298	6.9%	3'090'803	8.3%	0.4%	0.3%	0.8%	15.3
10	3'266	10'923	3.2%	921'933	2.5%	0.5%	0.4%	1.2%	22.9
7'971	4'622	16'119	4.7%	951'795	2.6%	0.4%	0.8%	1.7%	29.0
1'201	647	4'709	1.4%	448'028	1.2%	0.6%	0.3%	1.1%	17.9
2'008	1'362	12'005	3.5%	1'113'438	3.0%	0.8%	0.2%	1.1%	19.5
3'322	2'018	7'703	2.3%	504'185	1.4%	0.5%	0.7%	1.5%	23.6
<u>2</u> '433	1'138	7'380	2.2%	604'002	1.6%	0.6%	0.4%	1.2%	23.4
1'245	268	13'795	4.1%	306'113	0.8%	4.0%	0.4%	4.5%	15.2
2'764	1'401	7'708	2.3%	280'198	0.8%	1.3%	1.0%	2.8%	20.6
3'017	1'502	9'820	2.9%	1'607'618	4.3%	0.3%	0.2%	0.6%	16.2
7'752	3'539	14'836	4.4%	995'326	2.7%	0.4%	0.8%	1.5%	21.7
2'460	652	5'704	1.7%	560'726	1.5%	0.5%	0.4%	1.0%	12.4
1'507	391	5'074	1.5%	618'486	1.7%	0.5%	0.2%	0.8%	15.8
623	2'327	19'363	5.7%	1'067'347	2.9%	1.0%	0.6%	1.8%	21.2
5'112	1'471	11'028	3.2%	578'504	1.6%	0.8%	0.9%	1.9%	20.7
1'614	451	6'174	1.8%	363'345	1.0%	1.1%	0.4%	1.7%	18.9
417	65	2'513	0.7%	206'897	0.6%	1.0%	0.2%	1.2%	13.2
2'747	4'193	19'793	5.8%	3'098'661	8.4%	0.4%	0.1%	0.6%	15.2
6'955	4'783	16'552	4.9%	725'993	2.0%	0.7%	1.0%	2.3%	15.5
7'680	2'792	14'928	4.4%	1'293'349	3.5%	0.3%	0.6%	1.2%	22.5
55	143	1'034	0.3%	115'538	0.3%	0.7%	0.0%	0.9%	7.8
6'466	62'003	339'393	100.0%	37'031'795	100.0%	0.4%	0.3%	0.9%	17.6
	55 '466	55 143 '466 62'003	55 143 1'034 '466 62'003 339'393	55 143 1'034 0.3% '466 62'003 339'393 100.0%	55 143 1'034 0.3% 115'538 '466 62'003 339'393 100.0% 37'031'795	55 143 1'034 0.3% 115'538 0.3% '466 62'003 339'393 100.0% 37'031'795 100.0%	55 143 1'034 0.3% 115'538 0.3% 0.7% '466 62'003 339'393 100.0% 37'031'795 100.0% 0.4%	55 143 1'034 0.3% 115'538 0.3% 0.7% 0.0% '466 62'003 339'393 100.0% 37'031'795 100.0% 0.4% 0.3%	55 143 1'034 0.3% 115'538 0.3% 0.7% 0.0% 0.9%