

SOLE CONSIDERATIONS ON THE NATURE
OF THE TASK FACED BY THE IRG, AND
A FEW SUGGESTIONS AS TO HOW TO ORGANIZE
ITS ACTIVITIES, WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO
LATIN AMERICA

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When convening this preliminary meeting to discuss the proposal of a number of donor agencies to set up an International Review Group on social science research in population and development, its organizers showed interest in having the participants reactions on a number of issues deemed important for the future work of the group. In the following pages I will present some thoughts about the task to be accomplished by the group to be set up, as well as a few suggestions as to how to re-arrange the list of subjects to be reviewed which is presented by the organizers. Needless to say, both thoughts and suggestions are very tentative: they are offered as a modest contribution to the debate and certainly not as a final word.

I. THE TASK TO BE ACCOMPLISHED.

The nature of the task the IRG will face depends on how four issues are resolved: the scope of the mandate, how population policy is defined; what a population policy relevant research is; and what the audience for the IRG reports is expected to be.

1. The scope of the mandate.

When I learned of the intention to organize a group with the objective of assessing the "state of the arts" in the population field with particular reference to its usefulness to development policy, the first thought that came to my mind was whether it was really necessary to do once again what even a cursory review of the literature shows it has been intended many times in recent years. Wouldn't it be better to put the money required for that review to better and more practical uses? Don't we already have knowledge enough as to propose different population-policy alternatives to policy-makers, and as to evaluate with an acceptable degree of accuracy past and current policies?

The answers to these questions depend on how the objectives of the Review Group are defined. If the mandate is to ask in a general way: where does the population field stand?, as it is said at the beginning of the document convening the group, then it is clear that many surveys on the state of knowledge on population issues already exist, and that perhaps time and effort should be devoted to other more rewarding tasks.

But, on the contrary, if the specific objective is "to review the present state of social science knowledge deemed important for the understanding of the relationships of population and development..."^{1/}, then one can safely conclude that although there are a few efforts in the same direction, they have come to inconclusive results on key issues. Of course, there is a much larger number of reviews of social science research efforts on specific subjects, but where no attempt is made to interpret them in the content of development, or where policy relevance is not an important criterion for evaluating the findings.

In other words, the group's existence would be justified if it convened for reviewing not the population field as a whole, but only the specific aspects of the latter which are linked with understanding the interrelationships between population and development.

As I understand it, our mandate is more specific than, but at the same time goes beyond, more orthodox reviews. We are convened here not just to make an academic review of the interrelations between population and development; our task is to review those aspects of these interrelations which are deemed to be of particular relevance to the population policy area. In other words, we are expected to examine the state of knowledge on the ways through which development policies may be related to population policies and, conversely, on how population policies may be integrated into development policies.

All previous reviews which are not addressed to those interrelationships -either on population as such or on social science and population- are, of course, welcome and, in fact, a necessary input to the task this group has to face, but by no means make another review unnecessary.

^{1/} Original document, p.2, emphasis added.

In a sense, then, it may be said that the group is expected to examine the case for the "population policies through development policies approach". If this interpretation is correct, our review should go beyond the analysis of socioeconomic factors which are affecting demographic variables and include an assessment of the degree to which those factors are subject to manipulation through public policies, as well as an identification of the development policies (both general and specific) which have affected or caused them; this in order to increase the capacity to propose alternative policies which might allow to alter the demographic trends in the desired direction.

To put it differently, the mandate to the IRG as I read it, is no more or no less than to examine whether the emphasis given at Bucharest to development policies and socioeconomic macrostructural variables is mere ideology or it has some scientific basis; if the latter is true, to evaluate what that basis is, and to identify gaps in knowledge on which research is needed, in order to strengthen the efficiency and efficacy of this approach to population policies.

On the other hand, if my understanding of the objectives assigned to the group is correct, the emphasis given to population and development should not, at least in principle, prejudice the group against the more conventional family planning approach. Rather, family planning programs should be analyzed with a view to determine how socioeconomic factors are influencing the results obtained through them, as well as to combine these programs with indirect policies oriented to the same goal.

In fact, I believe that this group should attempt to overcome the dichotomous view that has tended to divide the field of population policies into two irreconcilable groups (the family planning fans vs. the development fans), identifying common grounds which could make a combination of both approaches theoretically convenient and practically feasible in those cases where the objective is to decrease fertility rates.

2. How population policy is defined

We don't find in the document convening the group a definition of population policy, and certainly it is not my intention to deal extensively with such a subject here.

Nevertheless, it is necessary to recognize that the concept has been and is given very different meanings and that some agreement must be reached from the outset if we don't want the group members to end up speaking of very different things.

A review of the different definitions of population policies proposed in the last years, particularly by Latin American authors and social scientists from abroad but working in the region, has just been done by the Central Unit of FISPAL.^{2/} Thirty two different definitions have been identified in that publication, varying drastically from those which practically identify population policies with development policies, to those which limit them to policies aiming at fertility reduction through family planning; from those considering as population policy all governmental action with demographic effects, to the others which require the explicit intention to alter some demographic variable; from those believing that only when direct means are used to attain the desired demographic goals we are allowed to speak of a population policy, to those others which accept both direct and indirect means, etc.

Summarizing the main trends shown by these definitions the authors come to a number of conclusions which are useful for our purposes. In the first place, there now seems to be a consensus that population policies are not identical with development policies, but that neither are they solely policies aiming at fertility reduction through family planning. In the second place, the deliberate intention to alter a demographic variable or, at least, the recognition and acceptance of that alteration even as a side effect of other policies, is more often than not considered a requisite to define governmental actions as population policies. In the third place, there is a growing recognition of the importance of indirect means to affect demographic variables.

^{2/} See Raúl Atria and Juan Carlos González, La Noción de Política de Población: Una Revisión de la Literatura Reciente, CRLADE, Unidad Central del Programa de Investigaciones Sociales sobre Problemas de Población Relevantes para Políticas de Población en América Latina, Documento de Trabajo N° 13, Santiago de Chile, noviembre 1975.

If the above consensual criteria are also accepted by the IRG, then the definition of population policy advanced by Carmen Miró as "the adoption by the government of a country of measures deliberately addressed at influencing demographic variables, whether as their principal effect or as a foreseen side effect",^{3/} which incorporates them all, could perhaps be adopted by the group. The IRG would then exclude as population policies the unforeseen effects of economic and social policies, but it would include any public action which policy-makers might consider adequate to reach the desired population objectives. Health, housing, educational, employment, income or other similar policies aiming at obtaining given demographic effects, even if they do it as a side effect of policies with other objectives, would then be considered no less population policies than family planning programs and measures which attempt to decrease fertility going beyond family planning.

Furthermore, if that definition is accepted, the deliberate actions to influence any of the basic demographic variables and not only those that attempt to change fertility would be included in the group's deliberations. As we shall see below, in Latin America there is a growing recognition of the need to formulate and implement policies oriented to alter the trends of population distribution. Whatever (and certainly the efficacy of a policy cannot be a defining criterion) the degree of success the policies thus far implemented may have had, if the previous definition is accepted by the group, they would have to be considered as population policies.

Although lipservice is usually paid to definitions similar to that here suggested, the comment is generally made that, despite all, population policy still primarily means policies aiming at reducing fertility rates, and particularly family planning programs. From this the conclusion is quickly reached that time and efforts should be concentrated on those policies rather than on others which appear as more elusive and are judged less efficient to reach the desired population goals. This, it should be noticed, amounts to actually accepting two definitions of population policies: a formal one, which does not restrict either the demographic variable to be affected or the direction of the desired changes, and another which limits them to just one variable (fertility) and to actions in one direction (reduction).

^{3/} Carmen Miró, "Interrelationships of Population Policy and Aspects of Development", in Social Science Research on Population and Development, Papers presented at a conference at the Ford Foundation, New York City, October 29-30, 1974, p. 173.

On the contrary, if we stick to a definition such as the one proposed by Miró, we would conceive family planning programs as a specific case of a particular type of population policies (those oriented to affect the rates of population growth). Although they are an important case both for the crucial role they have played in the whole population policy movement and for their alleged and quite probable successes in achieving the goal they are aiming at, it is still an open question whether they are the most common, or more efficient and efficacious than policies aiming at changing other demographic variables.

By accepting that definition of population policy we are of course widening the scope of the task the IRG will face but, on the other hand, as I hope to show below, we are closer to the governments' own definitions (at least Latin American governments), thus facilitating the establishment of a bridge between their needs and demands and social science research. On the contrary, if a more restricted definition is accepted, communication channels will be unnecessarily closed.

3. The criteria to determine relevance for population policies

The criteria which should be used to define population policy-relevant research are thus introduced in the debate. Let us start by remembering that, according to what seems to be the most plausible interpretation of the IRG's mandate, our task is to identify research priorities on those interrelationships between population and development which are relevant for population policies.

That is, given the definition here proposed of population policies, we should end up by making suggestions which might allow a better understanding of those interrelationships between societal and demographic variables which will allow to choose and clarify the objectives for population policies, as well as to identify combinations of population and development policies which might facilitate the attainment of those objectives, and to guide the selection among policy alternatives. The number and type of subjects relevant for population policies can be derived from the kinds of suggestions I believe the group is expected to produce.

We can easily agree on that the formulation of population policies requires an adequate knowledge of present and future demographic trends. Without this descriptive knowledge it is highly improbable that a government might become aware of the impact these trends are having on different societal goals.

We can also come to a quick agreement on that demographic characteristics and trends as such ~~do~~ constitute a population problem only when they are defined as negatively affecting some societal goals.

Since all governments attempt to legitimize their actions defining them as positively related to the welfare of the majority of the people, and in the less developed countries socioeconomic development is seen as a condition for welfare improvements, another set of policy-relevant knowledge is that dealing with the impact of demographic trends and characteristics on development in general and on specific aspects of the welfare of the people, in particular. This is a kind of problem-defining research in which the demographic variables are taken as independent with relation to other development and welfare components.

Once a certain population trend or characteristic has been defined as a problem the question is raised whether it is possible to change it through appropriate policy measures or whether, on the contrary, it is necessary to adjust other societal components to it.

If the conclusion is reached that the population trend or characteristic may be altered, the question is then raised as to which are the means available to change it and what are the relative costs and benefits -economic and non-economic- of choosing one or another alternative. Given the particular mandate to this group, this second question can be phrased more specifically as to how can different development policies, either by themselves or together with more direct measures, become means to change the demographic variables in the desired directions, -that is, in a direction which might solve what has been defined as a population problem and, consequently, increase development and improve the welfare of the people.

To answer both questions, knowledge should be obtained of the causes of present demographic trends and characteristics. If research proves that whatever the economic, social or political system, whatever the style of development pursued, or whatever the specific policies which are implemented, a process of modernization will inevitably produce a certain trend (say, rural-urban migration), the conclusion can be reached that the trend is not subject to policies and that, on the contrary, governments should formulate and implement policies to better adjust their development plans and the social structure to that unavoidable fact.

In this case social research is actually defining the scope and limits of population policy options, but those limits and scope are by no means fixed. On the contrary, one of the most important tasks of social science research with respect to population matters (as well as to others) is precisely to enlarge the opportunities for purposeful intervention by showing how certain processes which had been conceived as historically or structurally determined are actually the outcome of past policy-decisions and can, consequently, be altered by other policy decisions. Far from accepting a given trend as an unavoidable fate, social science research on these matters should, perhaps, be oriented to examine those population trends which up to now appear as more difficult to change.^{4/}

Once the possibility of purposeful intervention has been determined by the scientific knowledge we have of the causal determinants of demographic trends, and of the possibility of manipulating them through public policies, the problem still remains of how to choose among different alternatives: to intervene or to refrain from doing it?; if intervention is decided, what means to choose?; how to evaluate the costs and benefits of different alternatives?

^{4/} If, for instance, it appears that the trends in urbanization have proved difficult to change, this is no reason to define them as out of the scope of policy actions but, on the contrary, to more carefully analyse the different factors involved, with a view to widening the range of policy options.

To be sure, the decision as to which policy alternative is chosen is never taken on the basis of full knowledge of all the relevant facts, but one important function of social science research is precisely to increase the policy-makers' awareness of those facts. The economic costs and benefits of the different alternatives is information that social science research can provide. But these are certainly not the only costs and benefits to be taken into account when deciding on what alternative to choose: the social and political costs involved if a population policy totally or partially conflictive with people's values and desires is formulated cannot be ignored. An evaluation of the relative degree of acceptance or rejection of different policies by either the population as a whole, or by those social groups potentially or actually more affected by them, thus becomes a policy-relevant knowledge. This amounts to obtaining the fullest possible knowledge of the cultural and socio-psychological factors which might affect the acceptance or rejection of a policy, and of the ways they might be changed, if this is deemed necessary.

Social science research on all the above mentioned aspects is policy-relevant to the degree that it provides policy-makers with a better understanding of the causes and consequences of present and future demographic trends and characteristics and, consequently, with a wider choice of alternative actions as well as with criteria to choose among them. But we all know that scientific knowledge never is the sole criterion taken into account in the political decision making process. The question can then be raised whether we must set the boundaries of policy-relevant research in the aspects already discussed, or we should include in it the scientific analysis of the decision-making process as such.

The differences as to the formulation of population policies among governments facing similar problems and with the same type of development strategies, can be partially explained by differences in the degree of awareness the political elites have of the relevance of demographic factors for the political platforms and programs of different political groups, as well as for the sectorial policies which the government attempts to implement.

But it is unquestionable that this is not the only factor, since even where political leaders and the government's technical staff have a clear understanding of the implications of demographic variables for their own conception of development, no action with regard to them is sometimes taken. In fact, different government postures cannot be explained fully if a political analysis is not made of all the factors involved in the decision-making process, and particularly of the ways political power is distributed among different political parties (or their functional equivalents, when they are not allowed to be organized) and interest groups, as well as of the probability that a certain population policy might count with sufficient support as to be pushed through the whole decision-making process.

How different political groups evaluate the degree of acceptance the proposal may have among their constituency is, another important consideration in countries with an open political system; but neither in those countries with a closed system, political authorities can or are willing to disregard completely public opinion on these matters.

Besides, it should be remembered that policy decisions, particularly on population matters, are strongly affected by considerations of international politics and that very few governments are willing to openly adopt population policies which their allies might formally reject. The degree to which these considerations are affecting the process of population policy formulation cannot be disdained when examining the political implications of the process of population-policy formulation.

Furthermore, once a certain policy has been formulated, social science research may determine the administrative capacity of public bureaucracy to implement it. Finally, the periodic evaluation of the degree to which the implemented policies are achieving their goals and suggestions as to how to improve their efficiency also require the contribution of social science research.

In sum, population policy-relevant research includes descriptive studies of population trends and characteristics; research on the effects of those trends and characteristics on the nation's development and the people's welfare; research on their causes, with a view to determining up to what degree they may be subject to policy measures, the public policies which have influenced them, the range of alternatives open and the criteria to choose among them; research on the more political aspects of the decision-making process; research on the administrative viability of a certain policy and, finally, evaluative research of their successes and failures.

4. The nature of the audience

The fourth factor contributing to determine the task of the International Review Group is the audience for their recommendations that the Donor Agencies had in mind when convening the group.

Three different audiences are mentioned in the original document: developing countries' policy-makers, international agencies, and the social science research community throughout the world. These three audiences, with different expectations and frames of reference, to which IRG recommendations should be addressed, certainly make the group's task much more complicated than if only one of them would have to be considered.

International Agencies are the less conflictive of the three audiences. If we consider that precisely some of the most important ones are those which are sponsoring and financing the group, there can be little doubt that they are willing and prepared to approach the population policies area with an open mind and based on the most scientifically reliable knowledge at their disposal. On this matter, it might be pertinent to remember that it is only "in the absence of adequate data regarding the impact of non family-planning programme activities on population change, (that) the donor community has emphasized family planning as the principal means of affecting fertility"^{5/} and that it is their recognition

^{5/} United States Agency for International Development Memorandum, p. 284, in Social Science Research on Population and Development, op.cit.

that "prescriptions for action are limited to the extent that our understanding of the determinants of population change is limited"^{6/} which has prompted the need to review the state of the arts with regard to the possibility of better integrating population policies with development policies. Of course, it is our task to evaluate up to what degree it is already possible to do that, and to identify the research effort which would be necessary in order to improve it, but it would be a mistake to consider that what international agencies have been doing is not subject to modifications, if the feasibility of new alternatives is shown to them.

Things are not that clear with regard to the other two audiences. Donor Agencies and social scientists preoccupied with policy-relevant research in the area of population are becoming increasingly aware of the need to cross the bridge now separating the scientific community from policy-makers. The most pessimistic member of the former are convinced that none of all the research findings on population matters have influenced or are influencing policy-decisions, and even those more optimistic are willing to recognize the great difficulties with which these findings can be adjusted to the policy-makers' needs.

Self-critical social scientists have pointed out a number of reasons which might help to explain the policy-makers neglect of social science research findings, even of avowedly policy-oriented research: the presence of different universes of discourse, the time-lag between the need for adopting a policy-decision and the availability of research findings, the translation problem, etc.^{7/} Prescriptions on how to improve the use of social science knowledge by policy-makers are certainly abundant and go from the creation of a new social role -the population policy analyst^{8/} to the establishment of a new version of the ten commandments for the use of social scientists interested in bridging that gap^{9/}.

It is probably out of the scope of this group's mandate to examine those prescriptions or to propose new ones, but we should be aware of the problems so that the way the field is divided for review purposes and the research priorities

^{6/} USAID, *ibid*, emphasis in the original.

^{7/} See for instance, Ames Hawley "Some Thoughts on Organizational Models for Population Policy Research", in Social Science Research on Population and Development, *op.cit.*, pp. 113-120; and Ozzie G. Simmons and Lyle Saunders, "The Present and Prospective of Policy Approaches to Fertility", in *ibid*, pp. 85-109.

^{8/} Simmons and Saunders, *op.cit.*

^{9/} James Coleman, "Ten Principles Governing Policy Research", Footnotes, American Sociological Association, March 1973.

to be recommended take into account or, better yet, be molded upon those issues which policy-makers have defined as relevant. A review which might satisfy the most strict criteria of the social science research community throughout the world will surely find only indifference among policy-makers.

To pay particular attention to the way policy-makers are defining the issues is certainly a lesson that we must learn from the fate of the Draft World Plan of Action in the World Population Conference^{10/}. But it would be a mistake to believe that it is only between policy-makers and social scientists where communications barriers exist: they are no less strong within the social science community. Population issues are, by their very nature, interdisciplinary issues, but the different social sciences which are involved in their analysis, make use of different conceptual tools and hence construct different research problems. It shouldn't surprise us, therefore, that social scientists from different disciplines might emphasize different research issues and propose different research priorities.

It might be said that the importance which is now recognized to interdisciplinary -or at least multidisciplinary- research is minimizing disciplinary barriers and will eventually lead to the disappearance of the present source of internal heterogeneity in the academic community interested in population issues. But even if we accept this rather optimistic view, there still remain two additional sources of disagreement within the scientific community: ideological and sub-cultural differences.

While it would be a childish oversimplification to state that all scientific knowledge is ideological, it would certainly be very naive to pretend that ideological considerations are irrelevant for scientific matters. It would be more than naive to believe that they are irrelevant when population is the main issue. Aren't, in fact, ideological considerations those which are leading some social scientists to make generalizations for which adequate scientific proof is lacking (say, that development will always and automatically reduce birth rates, or that current fertility rates should be decreased in all countries?); aren't, also, ideological considerations those which are many times determining which problems are

^{10/} For an analysis along the above lines of the reasons why consensus among social scientists with respect to the draft failed to produce a consensus in the Conference is found in Jason L. Finkle and Barbara B. Crane, "The Politics of Bucharest: Population, Development and the New International Economic Order", in Population and Development Review, vol. 1, No. 1 (sept. 1975), pp. 87-114. In the same issue of that review Bernard Berelson makes a detailed analysis of the differences between the draft and the plan. See his "The World Population Plan of Action: Where now?", in Ibid., pp. 115-146.

studied and which are avoided?; isn't the mutual distrust of concepts, models, paradigms and questions asked, many times an ideological reaction rather than a scientifically based evaluation of them?

Subcultural differences are a more subtle and less recognized, but not less real, source of conflict or, at least, misunderstanding within the social science community. Although these subcultural differences are sometimes confounded with ideological components, they usually lead to an intra-subcultural consensus as to the main characteristics of the approach to be followed as well as to criteria of relevance and methodology, which cuts across the different ideologies, but makes it more difficult the dialogue between social scientists belonging to two scientific subcultural worlds. Isn't this, by any chance, one important source of misunderstandings between Latin American social scientists, if we take them as a homogeneous subcultural group and, say, North American and North European social science communities?

Of course, barriers are not unsurmountable (not even between partisans of the "dialectic" and the "positive" approach to social sciences, to mention a dispute which T. Adorno and his disciples are constantly trying to keep alive)^{11/} because, after all, "there are common standards of scholarship, which assert its universality and the solidarity of any one scholar with the international fraternity of other scholars. Commitment to the search for knowledge, to scientific objectivity and to telling the truth as one sees it, know no national frontiers... In this sense... there cannot be African, Asian and Latin American criteria for truth and validity"^{12/}, but they certainly exist -as I am sure most members of the IRG have learned the hard way- and we should do well to organize the group activities so as to minimize rather than to strengthen them.

Practically, this amounts to accepting common criteria of truth while at the same time keeping an open mind to differences in scientific styles and methodologies.

11/ See T.W. Adorno, et.al., La Disputa del Positivismo en la Sociología Alemana, Barcelona, México, Editorial Grijalbe, 1973.

12/ Paul Streeken, "Some Problems in the Use and Transfer of an Intellectual Technology", in The Social Sciences and Development, papers presented at a Conference in Bellagio, Italy, on the Financing of Social Science Research for Development, February 12-14, 1974, pp. 3-54. The quotation is taken from pages 11-12.

Although this is, perhaps, a point which deserves closer scrutiny, it is possible to hypothesize that at least in some of the developing countries social scientists are closer to the political elites and are more important opinion-leaders than in already developed countries and, consequently, that their view on population-related issues (scientifically based or not) have a higher chance of shaping the politicians view of them. Consequently, and if that hypothesis is true, it might be a good idea to pay particular attention to the ways social scientists from these countries are defining population issues.

In sum, if a decision would have to be taken as to which of the different audiences to favor when selecting the issues to be reviewed, I would suggest that policy-makers be given first priority but that particular attention be also given to the ways social scientists from developing countries are defining the different issues, so that the reviews to be made might be seen by them as relevant for their own research interest and as springboards for deepening their understanding of the interrelationships between population and development.

Of course, this should by no means be understood as a disregard for the interest of the Donor Agencies. Quite the contrary, a concentration of the review efforts on the issues important for governments and social scientists in developing countries would allow the IRG to make recommendations for these agencies not only based on the best available knowledge, but also sensitive to national and regional concerns and interests. This is, if I'm not completely wrong, precisely what they are expecting from that group.

The discussion of all the above points makes clear the complexity and wide scope of the task faced by the IRG, but at the same time it provides, I hope, with important leads as to how to organize the group activities so that its objectives might be met with a reasonable degree of approximation. In the following section of this document I will try to transform my own reading of these leads into concrete suggestions as to the issues to be reviewed.

II. CONCRETE SUGGESTIONS

Let me say, first of all, that I don't have a deep quarrel with the list of subjects/issues mentioned in section 3 ("The Substance") of the original document, or with the more detailed list included in its Appendix A. In fact, they cover most of the relevant topics one can think of. What I think is still open to discussion is the most appropriate way to organize them, if the intention is that social science findings on them might come closer to the policy-makers "felt needs", and be eventually more used by them.

In the previous section of this document it was argued that, in making the selection of issues to be reviewed, priority should be given to those which policy-makers themselves consider relevant. Of course, the problem then becomes one of identifying which are the relevant issues for policy-makers, of decomposing them into the different scientific inputs they would require, and of later reviewing the state of knowledge regarding those required inputs.

There is one goal which all policy-makers from underdeveloped countries share: namely, the development of their own nations. The pursuit of development and the successes and failures in the task, constitute the main source of internal legitimacy of a government. Equally important for their legitimacy is the degree of success they have in improving the welfare of the population as a whole, and particularly of its poorer segments. An assessment of the impact of population trends on development and the welfare of the people living in underdeveloped countries, with a view to determine the degree to which high rates of population growth and present trends in population distribution are contributing to increase intra as well as inter-country inequalities in levels of living and in the quality of life, can then be considered a task directly related to the governments' sense of priorities.

Nevertheless, it cannot be ignored that the already existing reviews of the subject have come to the conclusion that, to put it in the words of one of them, "the precise nature of the interrelations between population and economic and social variables in the developing countries differs among regions and individual

countries".^{13/} Even the World Bank Staff Report Population Policies and Economic Development, which comes closer than any other recent review to concluding that population growth has had a negative effect on development, cannot but say that "it is often difficult to disentangle the effects of growth from many of the other influences on economic growth. With hindsight, it often appears that wiser policies might have overcome some of the problems which are often attributed to population growth".^{14/} There is no reason to believe that without fresh data another review of the same type will not come to the same inconclusive results.

With respect to this issue -as well as to a few others- perhaps instead of commissioning another general review it might be better to carefully select a few countries, representing different demographics, socio-economic and political situations, and commission some leading national or regional research centers to make a study of the economic, social and political consequences of present trends in population growth and distribution in each of the selected countries. Once the findings from those studies become available, a seminar might be organized to discuss them and make inter-country comparisons. On the basis of these discussions and findings the IRG or somebody particularly commissioned to do it, would prepare a paper summarizing and interpreting them, preferable in a non-technical language,

1. Priorities set by the Latin American governments:
formal presentations in population meetings.

Although it is true that all governments from developing countries have development as a major goal, we do not need to keep their definition of policy-issues at such an abstract level, since in recent years they have had ample opportunity to express their views on population matters, first in the preparatory regional meetings for the WPC, later in the WPC itself, and finally in the post-Bucharest regional conferences. Although in many cases governments' formal declarations in international conferences differ from their actual behavior, it cannot be denied that, if properly analyzed, they are an important guide to identify how governments are defining population-related issues.

^{13/} Report of the Symposium on Population and Development, World Population Conference, Cairo, 1973, paragraph 77. Similar conclusions can be found in the United Nations, The Determinants and Consequences of Population Trends: New Summary of Findings on Interaction of Demographic, Economic and Social Factors, Volume I, 1973, and particularly in chapter XIII: "Demographic Aspects of Savings, Investment, Employment and Productivity", and chapter XIV: "Demographic Aspects of Economic Growth".

^{14/} World Bank, Population Policies and Economic Development, Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1974, p. 43.

Some attempts in that direction have already been done, though not always specifying the positions taken by individual countries, as it is here suggested.^{15/} Although not as detailed as other similar efforts, the analysis of the WPC and the two Latin American regional population conferences done by the Population Policies sector of CELADE is particularly worth mentioning for the pathways it opens for future studies.^{16/}

The position held by a number of Latin American countries on fertility, urban concentration and international migration in the two Latin American Population meetings (San José, Costa Rica, April 15-19, 1974; Mexico City, March 3-7, 1975) is summarized in Table I below.

An inspection of that table is in itself illuminating of the relevance which very broad population issues have for the Latin American governments. It is clear that the highest priority is given to what is considered to be an "excessive" urban concentration; that the second is assigned to high fertility rates and that international migration is a relevant issue for a very small minority of the countries for which information was available (87% of those countries whose position could be determined defined as "excessive" their degree of urban concentration, while 59% of them considered their fertility rates to be too high).

It is also interesting to compare the position that those Latin American governments have on fertility with their actual crude birth rates for the period 1970-75, according to CELADE's last estimates of them.^{17/} Of the five countries defining their fertility rates as acceptable, only Cuba had a crude birth rate less than 30.00 in 1970-75. Of the remaining four, only Brazil had rates lower than the Latin American average (37.12 vs. 37.27), while the other three had

15/ See Finkle and Crane, op.cit., and Berelson, op.cit., to mention just two of them.

16/ See Gerardo González and Margarita M. Errázuriz, "Políticas de Población en América Latina: La Conferencia Mundial y las Reuniones Regionales de Población", paper presented to the Seminar on Political Structure and Population Policies, organized by CELADE and PISPAL in Santiago de Chile, May 26-30, 1975.

17/ See Jorge L. Somoza, América Latina: Situación Demográfica Alrededor de 1975 y Perspectivas para el Año 2000, CELADE, Serie A, N° 128, Enero de 1975.

TABLE 1

AN NATIONS TOWARDS THEIR FERTILITY RATES, DEGREE OF URBAN CONCENTRATION AND
 NG TO THEIR GOVERNMENTS FORMAL PRESENTATIONS IN THE TWO LATIN AMERICAN
 ILATION MEETINGS (SAN JOSE AND MEXICO)

Urban concentration	International migration					
	Too high	Encouraged	Out migration Tolerated	Discouraged	Immigration Discouraged	Encouraged
	X					X
	-		-		-	-
	-		-	-	-	-
	-		-	-	-	(X)
	X		-	-	-	-
	-		-	-	-	-
	-		-	-	-	-
	X		-	-	-	-
	-		X	-	-	-
	-		-	-	-	-
	-		(X)	-	-	-
	X		-	-	-	-
	-		-	-	-	-
	-		-	-	-	-
	4		2	-		2

rates higher than 40.00, and in the case of Nicaragua it reached to 48.32 (all the figures are in per thousand). It is also worth noticing that two of the countries with the highest birth rates in the region (the Dominican Republic, with a crude birth rate of 45.84, and Bolivia, with one of 43.72) made no reference to fertility.

A similar analysis with respect to urban concentration would lead to the conclusion that in this case the objective situation of each country, and the evaluation of it made by its government, are much closer to each other.

Although superficial, these remarks are sufficient to show the need for deeper studies on the "closeness of fit" between the demographic characteristics and trends present in a country, on the one hand, and the perception which the government has of them, on the other, as well as on the underlying factors explaining inter-country differences on this respect. While studies on the "closeness of fit" just mentioned could be commissioned on a regional basis and should provide quick results, those of the underlying factors could be linked to case studies on the economic, social and political consequences of population trends, if the cases to be analyzed are chosen taking those differences as one criterion for selection. As an intermediate step a review of the available studies on the decision-making process with regard to population policies could be commissioned.

Although the conclusions reached in the papers commissioned on those matters will be of importance for the deliberations of the IRG, and will eventually allow the international agencies to support social science research more attuned to the policy-makers needs, fortunately it is not necessary to wait for them in order to structure the subjects/issues to be reviewed along the lines of the governments felt needs, at least in the Latin American region. In fact, the document entitled "Report of the Meeting" of the already mentioned Second Latin American Meeting on Population^{18/} provides us with a good amount of useful information.

^{18/} See Economic Commission for Latin America, Report of the Meeting, Second Latin American Meeting on Population, ST/ECLA/Conf. 54/L.9/Rev.1, March 31, 1975.

The first set of information relevant for the IRG purposes is presented in the section including those considered to be "critical situations" with respect to population, by the Latin American governments. Two different kinds of these situations are identified in it: those "resulting from the interaction between socio-economic, political and demographic structures in the specific situations inherent in each country's mode of development, and those deriving from the demand for services generated by population dynamics".^{19/}

In the following paragraph of that Report, seven critical situations of the first kind are identified:

- a) urbanization and metropolitanization trends and the imbalance of regional development;
- b) irrational destruction and poor utilization of natural resources;
- c) deterioration in the quality of the environment, particularly in urban areas;
- d) agricultural development trends and their effects on employment living levels, access to services, infant mortality, the factors determining a high fertility rate, and the exodus from the countryside;
- e) insufficient employment opportunities in relation to population growth and urbanization, leading to high levels of underemployment and unemployment;
- f) the exodus of highly skilled personnel and the migration of workers between adjacent countries;
- g) the distortions and anomalies in the structure and patterns of consumption, and those occurring in investment, for example, with respect to technology, employment and non-priority investment in luxury items.^{20/}

As it can be seen, there is a close agreement between those critical situations and the priority that the governments' official declarations had attributed to problems linked with urban concentration: five out of those seven critical situations are directly related -either as causes or consequences- with the trends in urbanization and spatial distribution of the population, and the remaining two are indirectly

^{19/} Report of the Meeting, paragraph 153.

^{20/} Report of the Meeting, paragraph 154.

related to them. In two of them the rates of population growth are seen as either caused by or contributing to the problems created by those trends in spatial distribution.

On the other hand, only a brief mention is made to the fact that high density and rapid population growth in Latin America have created critical situations in some countries where rates of economic growth have not kept pace with population growth^{21/}

With respect to the second kind of critical situations, particular mention was made of the increase in educational demands, and demands for health services and housing, which "are clearly related to the trends of population growth, distribution and structure"^{22/}

The same document presents a summary of the means national governments have used to attempt solving those critical situations. Nevertheless, in this case actions are mentioned not only with respect to the trends in population distribution, but also in reference to mortality, fertility and international migration. Among the first, regional development, rural development and agrarian reform, and settlement policies are specially mentioned. Among the second, apart from statements recognizing the importance of the improvement of levels of living in order to decrease mortality and morbidity, preventive medicine, improvement of health services in the rural areas, community development programmes, nutritional programmes, and educational programmes, are mentioned as more direct measures. With respect to efforts to decrease fertility, governments recognize to have given particular emphasis to women's participation in social, economic and political activities, and to the improvement of levels of living and education, while marriage and health incentives, medical programmes to decrease sub-fertility and sterility, as well as programmes to decrease mortality, were mentioned as adequate to increase fertility.

Finally, a long list of suggestions for research is made to CELADE and CERAL, as UN regional organizations. Seven studies are proposed in the area of urbanization, metropolization and rural dispersion, two in the area of fertility and mortality, five with relation to international migration (four of which are legal and administrative studies); and four leading to a better integration of population policies in the region's development strategies and policies.

21/ Report of the Meeting, paragraph 157.

22/ Report of the Meeting, paragraph 155.

2. The Latin American social scientists' priorities in the field of Population and Development.

When discussing the different audiences for the group's activities the suggestion was made that special attention should be given to the way social scientists from developing countries are defining the interrelations between population and development, and to the issue which appear as most relevant for them. A brief review of what Latin American social scientists have been or are studying within the broad area of population policy-relevant research might allow us to obtain information useful for taking that audience into account when selecting the issues to be reviewed.

To begin with, it is necessary to recognize that population-related subjects were, until a few years ago, almost completely ignored by Latin American social scientists, except demographers, and that even now the number of them explicitly involved in research on population and development, although increasing, still remains relatively small.

Certainly the number grows when the scope is widened so as to include studies on issues relevant for population policies but not explicitly dealing with the subject. In an effort to determine which those studies were, the Programme on Social Science Research on Population Problems relevant for Population Policies in Latin America (PISPAL) decided to make an inventory of them in those countries where the research centers participating in the programme are located. The inventories for Argentina, Chile and Mexico are already published and allow us to have a better basis for judging the social scientists' interest on these matters.^{23/}

^{23/} Programa de Investigaciones Sociales Relevantes para Políticas de Población en América Latina, Inventario de Investigaciones Sociales relevantes para Políticas de Población, Volumen I: Argentina; Volumen III: Chile; Volumen V: Mexico, Santiago de Chile; Centro Latinoamericano de Demografía -Unidad Central del PISPAL. Two other volumes, one on Brazil and the other on Colombia, are presently in press. It is possible that some of the conclusions reached here might need qualification once research conducted in these countries is analyzed.

330 studies relevant for population policies were identified in Argentina for the period 1955-74 (but only 208 of them have been analyzed up to now); 85 in Mexico for the period 1955-74; and 657 in Chile, 438 of which were on Chile and the rest on Latin America as a whole or on other Latin American countries. The distribution of those studies along different categories is presented in Table 2.

In three out of the four cases included, descriptive studies on population structure and dynamics are by far the most common ones, followed by studies on the interrelations between economic and demographic variables, and these by those dealing with the interrelations between spatial (urbanization, urban systems, urban and regional development, etc.) and demographic variables. The exception is Chile, where practically one half of the studies listed were only indirectly related with either demographic variables or with the interrelations between them and other societal variables.^{24/}

The analysis of how the studies included in the inventories are distributed within the categories, allows a closer approximation to what the social scientists' actual research priorities regarding population issues have been in those countries. In all cases, except the studies made in Chile but covering Latin America, migration is the most common subject in the first category (23.64% of the category total in Argentina; 14.58% in Mexico and 17.91% in Chile), closely followed by mortality in Argentina and Chile, and tied with demographic growth in Mexico. This latter issue is the most common among those studies dealing with Latin America (27.13%), displacing migration to the second place.

Within the second category -that embracing studies dealing with the interrelations between economic and demographic variables- the relationships between the characteristics of the labor force, employment problems and demographic variables are overwhelmingly preferred, except in the case of Latin America, as it can be seen in Table 3.

^{24/} The lack of interest of Chilean social scientists on population studies is also confirmed in Errázuriz, Margarita María, El tratamiento del problema de población en la producción de los científicos sociales en Chile (1958-1972). Santiago de Chile, CELADE, S.152/121, June 1974. This author found that only 26% of those social scientists which had published between 1958 and 1972 had at least once dealt with population either as a main or a secondary subject. Furthermore, she found that 51.3% of those studies dealing with population as the main subject had been made by just one institution (CELADE).

TABLE 2

DISTRIBUTION OF SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH STUDIES RELEVANT FOR
POPULATION POLICIES IN ARGENTINA, MEXICO, CHILE
AND LATIN AMERICA 1/ 2/

C O U N T R I E S

	<u>Argentina</u>	<u>Mexico</u>	<u>Chile</u>	<u>La. America</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
	2,64 (110)	41,38 (48)	13,24 (67)	23,41 (59)	25,09 (284)
	(40)	16,38 (19)	11,26 (57)	13,88 (35)	13,34 (151)
	(19)	6,03 (7)	10,27 (52)	7,14 (18)	8,48 (96)
	(2)	—	4,15 (21)	3,57 (9)	2,82 (32)
	(37)	12,07 (14)	4,15 (21)	7,53 (19)	8,04 (91)
	(3)	2,59 (3)	4,34 (22)	3,96 (10)	3,35 (38)
	(12)	9,48 (11)	6,91 (35)	9,52 (24)	7,24 (82)
	(11)	5,17 (6)	28,26 (143)	17,06 (43)	17,93 (203)
	(24)	6,88 (8)	17,39 (88)	13,88 (35)	13,69 (155)
	(258)	100 (116)	100 (506)	100 (252)	100 (1132)

de Población relevantes para Políticas de Población en América Latina,
a Políticas de Población, Volumen I: Argentina, Table 2; Volumen III:

is a whole, or other Latinamerican countries.
in each case. Each study could fall under more than one category,

TABLE 3

INTERRELATIONS BETWEEN ECONOMIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES:
 PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF STUDIES BY TYPE OF ECONOMIC
 VARIABLE: ARGENTINA, MEXICO, CHILE AND LATIN AMERICA

<u>Economic Variables</u>	<u>C o u n t r i e s</u>			
	<u>Argentina</u>	<u>Mexico</u>	<u>Chile</u>	<u>Latin America</u>
Labor force and employment	67,50	47,37	61,40	45,72
Economic development	20,00	31,58	12,28	42,86
Productive structure	10,00	15,79	19,30	8,56
Income, savings and consumption	2,50	5,26	7,02	2,86
TOTAL	100 (40)	100 (19)	100 (57)	100 (35)

Source: PISPAL, op.cit., Vol. I, p. 161; Vol. III, p. 385; Vol. V, p. 181.

Among the studies interrelating social and demographic variables, priority is assigned to the relationships between levels of living and demographic variables, followed closely by those examining the links between the latter and different social classes and social strata.^{25/}

The above data are enough to give us an idea of the main problems analyzed and the explanatory factors most often used by Latin American social scientists when dealing with population issues. Two general conclusions are, perhaps, worth being mentioned with respect to them. The first is that the range of problems examined and of societal variables related to them covers a wider spectrum than what is usually thought. The second is that priorities seem to change from country to

^{25/} For more precise information on this and the other categories, see Appendix A. For a list of the projects presently financed and sponsored by PISPAL, the most ambitious programme of social science research relevant for population policies now being developed in Latin America, both for its budget and for including the largest centers in the region, see Appendix B.

country in a direction coinciding with what from the outside would appear as the countries' most salient demographic problems. Thus, migration is the most commonly analyzed demographic variable, but population growth is equally important in precisely that country with one of the highest rates of natural growth in the whole region, while mortality is the second best choice in those countries with low or relatively low growth rates. Although the number of cases is too small to allow a generalization, this seems to indicate that, contrary to common assumptions, social scientists from those countries included in the inventory are not insensitive to the demographic challenges their nations are meeting.

3. Re-arrangement for the Latin American case of the subjects/issues proposed

The knowledge of the priorities given by the Latin American governments and social scientists to population issues and problems allows us to suggest a re-arrangement of the subjects proposed by the organizers of this meeting. Since, as it is probable remembered, governments have here been considered as the most important audience for the group's deliberations, a first criterion to be followed in making that re-arrangement is to respect their own priorities. Given the saliency that the Latin American governments attribute to the trends in population distribution, the re-arrangement we are referring to, would lead to organize the different subjects to be reviewed around those trends in that region.

Although at first sight it could be suspected that to adopt such criterion would unduly restrict the range of problems to be reviewed, this is not necessarily the case, since the following questions are inevitable raised with regard to these trends: Do we have sufficient descriptive knowledge about them? What is the relative contribution natural growth and migration are making to them? What factors have been found to be related with differences in those trends and in the relative importance of their demographic determinants? What do we know about the quality of life in different urban and rural settlements? How and up to what degree are high rates of population growth in rural areas contributing to rural emigration? Are there differences in rates of natural growth by city size, and how are they affecting inter-city migration? In what ways and up to what degree are distribution

patterns affecting the rates of population growth? How successful have policies aiming at changing those patterns been, and what factors appear to be related to their success or failure? The search for adequate answers to these questions forces us to find information about practically all the issues mentioned in the document convening this meeting.

Also in accordance with the priorities given to the different audiences, an effort should be made to include among the non-demographic factors to be reviewed in relation with population those more often considered as relevant factors by the Latin American social scientists: labor force absorptive capacity; employment and unemployment; levels of living; urban marginality and social stratification in general.

Of course, the use of those two criteria should not be a hindrance for incorporating into the list all those other issues which, while not yet having the same relevance for governments and social scientists in Latin America as the ones already mentioned, the group considers important to analyze so as to have a balanced view of the interrelations between population and development in the region and in the underdeveloped world as a whole.

Applying the above criteria, the following list of subjects is here proposed as an appropriate way of having a scientific assessment of the state of knowledge on policy-relevant interrelationships between population and development which might, hopefully, be relevant for both Latin American governments and social scientists, while at the same time providing useful information for the social science community in other regions and for the donor agencies:

A. Issues related with the "push" factors from the rural to the urban areas.^{25/}

The rural areas of the great majority of the Latin American countries show higher fertility than the urban areas. On the other hand, although the information is not as conclusive as in the case of fertility, reliable studies have shown

^{25/} With slight differences, the description of these issues will follow Carmen Miró's suggestions for research made in Miró, op.cit.

that while in both the urban and the rural areas mortality rates have been decreasing, they have decreased faster in the former, thus leading to higher mortality (particularly higher infant mortality) in the rural than the urban areas.^{27/}

These demographic characteristics would by themselves justify concentrating attention on them. They are also important because the spatial distribution or redistribution of the population-and the settlement patterns associated with them-are either directly or indirectly dependent on them, in as much as rural out-migration has as one of its main causes the high rates of rural unemployment and underemployment, and these, in turn, are determined by imbalances between labor force supply and demand.

Within this broad field, an assessment of our state of knowledge regarding the following issues seems particularly relevant:

- a) the relationships existing between the discernible trends in rural development and structural change in the rural areas, on the one hand, and the labor force absorptive capacity of the agricultural sector, and rural-urban as well as rural-rural migration, on the other. In reviewing this issue, particular attention should be given to distinguishing between those changes which are the unforeseen consequences of overall development trends, and those which appear as the effect of policies oriented to deliberately affect the rural structure;
- b) the relative importance of demographic and non-demographic variables in the determination of rural labor force supply, and the relations they have with rural development patterns. The analysis of the factors affecting rural fertility and mortality should be considered in relation with this issue, and particularly:

^{27/} For a summary of the available information on this point see United Nations, ECLA, Development and Population in Latin America: a synthetic diagnosis, ST/ECLA/Conf. 54/L.3, January 20, 1975, paper prepared by CELADE and ECLA for the Second Latin American Conference on Population, Mexico City, March 3-7, 1975.

- i - the ways rural development patterns are affecting nuptiality patterns, and
- ii - the impact of rural development patterns on family structure and the consequences that this impact has had on the demand for means to control fertility.

Among the non-demographic factors affecting labor force supply, particular analyses should be made of the ways structural factors and the patterns of rural development are affecting women's participation in the agricultural labor force, linking this knowledge to the actual and probable effects this participation might have had on fertility.

- c) the interrelationships between the settlement patterns of the rural population, their levels of living and the access they have to health and family planning services;
- d) the degree to which different rural social structures and different rural groups vary as to acceptance-rate and family planning programmes users-rate.

B. Issues related with the systems of urban settlements, their structural determinants and their relations with socio-economic development.

A number of more specific policy-relevant issues can be accommodated under this heading. Among them:

- a) detailed presentation and comparison of the information already available with respect to descriptive characteristics of the systems and of their trends (number of settlements in the urban network, their size and density; their geographic distribution; their hierarchical arrangements; past, present and future trends in each characteristic and in the system as a whole), on a country and regional basis, identifying gaps in knowledge, and countries where specific efforts should be made to complete this information;
- b) evaluation of the existing information on the relative importance of rates of natural growth and migration in the growth of cities of different sizes, and of the factors related to it.

- c) analysis of the hypotheses advanced and the findings available with respect to the ways the prevailing patterns of socio-economic change and public policies (particularly policies for investment and allocation of productive activities) are interrelated with the system of urban settlements;
- d) identification and evaluation of the actions taken by different governments to curb the pattern and trends of population distribution.

C. Issues related with the consequences derived from present trends in urbanization.

- a) Identification of the alleged consequences cited in the literature and evaluation of the evidence used to define them as such. Since this issue is closely related to the proposed case studies of the economic, social and political consequences of present trends in population growth and distribution, it may very well be skipped here. Nevertheless, perhaps a general questions-raising paper could be useful;
- b) Assessment of the degree to which general development trends are conducive to social and cultural inequalities in the cities, and their impact on fertility and mortality;
- c) Appraisal of the traceable effect on the fertility and mortality levels of those social strata where they are comparatively high, of socio-economic variables such as: education, level of living, ecological and/or employment marginality, and degree and type of women's participation in the labor force;
- d) in close connection with c), particular attention should be given to:
 - i - the use of traditional birth control practices: extent, types and factors related to them;
 - ii - those factors affecting the demand for modern means to control fertility;
 - iii - the accessibility of health and family planning services to families and women from high fertility and mortality social strata, and
 - iv - the factors related to acceptance and user rates of family planning programmes.

D. Issues related with international migration.

Finally, and in response to the demands made by a few number of countries which see international migration as an important policy-issue, a review should be made of past and current research studies on the subject, with a view to identify its causes and consequences for both country of origin and country of destination, where it is proposed as a population policy-issue, and what the effects of policies aiming at increasing or decreasing out-migration have been.

For the reasons given at the beginning of this chapter, the list of subjects to be reviewed does not make reference to studies on the effects of population growth on development. On the other hand, a review of the studies on the process of population policy formulation, mentioned earlier in this paper, should be considered as included in this listing.

As I have said before, the re-ordering of the subjects to be reviewed is here conceived as just that, and not as a completely different alternative to those proposed by the organizers of this meeting. If my reasoning and interpretation of the available information have been correct, it could facilitate communications with Latin American policy-makers and social scientists.

Since the post-Bucharest regional consultations convened by the UN have shown that -their agreement on the relationship between population and development notwithstanding- the regions have different interests, concerns and problems, it would probably be unwise to use the same re-ordering for reviewing population and development issues in other regions. Nevertheless, perhaps the procedure could have wider applicability as a way of having at least a first approximation to the way regions and countries are formally defining their positions vis a vis population-related issues.

The position adopted here stresses reviews by regions instead than on a world basis. It would be the task of the IRG to analyze those regional reviews, propose some generalizations derived from them, and identify gaps in knowledge on which further work is needed both at the world and regional levels.

I started these pages with the intention of writing a few comments in response to some of the questions posed to us by the organizers of this meeting. I ended up writing too long a paper, as it usually happens when your ideas are not clear enough to be phrased concisely. It is no more than an improvised discussion paper and I would be satisfied if the few ideas it might have (let's hope that you are able to find at least one in it) are of some help to motivate others to present their own.

APPENDIX B

RESEARCH PROJECTS INCLUDED IN THE PISPAL PROGRAMME

- I. Projects related with aspects of rural development and population variables.
 - 1) Development, agrarian structure and migration in Brazil (CEBRAP)
 - 2) Socio-economic characteristics of argentinian rural areas, rural employment, and migration streams (CEUR)
 - 3) Demographic changes in different mexican rural socio-economic contexts (CENED, El Colegio de México)
 - 4) Population, rural development, and migration in Middle America (CSUCA, Costa Rica)
 - 5) Population dynamics in the rural sector of Uruguay (CIESU)
 - 6) The state, agrarian structure and population (CEBRAP)
 - 7) Population stocks, labor force and capital accumulation in brazilian agriculture (CEBRAP)
 - 8) Interrelations between agricultural development potential, agrarian structure, regional development and migration (Ximena Aranda, Chile)

- II. Projects related with the system of urban settlements, their structural determinants and their relations with socio-economic development.
 - 1) Urban system, urban structure and marginality, and their relations with population growth and distribution (CEBRAP)
 - 2) Unbalanced development and social classes: four cities in the development of contemporary Argentina (Jorge Balán)

- III. Projects related with the consequences derived from present trends in urbanization.
 - 1) Changes in the argentinian urban working class between 1952-1972 and their relations with migration and class differences in rates of natural growth (CEUR)

- 2) Urban labor market, trade union participation and migration in Argentina (FIACSO)
- 3) Migration and health (ASCOEAME, Colombia) (Also related with first category of projects)
- 4) The demographic consequences of marginality and poverty in complex urban systems (CEBRAP, Brazil)

IV. Projects related with international migration.

Conditioning factors of intra-regional international migration in the southern Latin American countries (CELADE-FIACSO)

V. Projects related with the interrelations between political structure and population policies.

- 1) Population policies in the Brazilian Amazonia (CEBRAP-CEDIP)
- 2) Social actors in population policy formulation: political party leaders and social scientists in Chile (CELADE)
- 3) Law and population (CELADE)
- 4) Development strategies and population policies in Latin America (CELADE) (Also related with first and third categories of projects)
- 5) Development strategies and population redistribution in selected Latin American countries (Centro Regional de Población, Colombia)
- 6) Institutions and fertility (CEBRAP-CEDIP)
- 7) Population, development styles and wage differentials (L.Geller) (Also related with first category of projects)

VI. Projects on other areas

- 1) Population and development in Mexican history (ISUNAM)
- 2) Construction of an integrated system of socio-demographic statistical data (EIAS-CELADE)

APPENDIX A

DISTRIBUTION OF CLASSIFIED STUDIES BY CATEGORIES

	<u>Latin America</u>		<u>Argentina</u>
3	(8,48)	13	(11,82)
9	(15,25)	11	(10,00)
3	(5,08)	22	(20,00)
10	(16,95)	26	(23,64)
16	(27,13)	15	(13,64)
3	(5,08)	11	(10,00)
-		3	(2,73)
13	(22,02)	9	(8,18)
59	(100 %)	110	(100 %)
12	(34,29)	12	(30,00)
4	(11,43)	15	(37,50)
1	(2,86)	1	(2,50)
3	(8,56)	4	(10,00)
15	(42,86)	8	(20,00)
35	(100 %)	40	(100 %)
6	(33,33)	11	(57,84)
-		1	(5,26)
11	(61,11)	5	(26,32)
1	(5,56)	-	
-		2	(10,53)
18	(100 %)	19	(100 %)

ChileMexicoTotal

9	(13,43)	6	(12,50)	33	(11,62)
10	(14,93)	4	(8,33)	34	(11,97)
12	(17,91)	6	(12,50)	43	(15,14)
12	(17,91)	7	(14,58)	55	(19,37)
4	(5,97)	7	(14,58)	42	(14,79)
9	(13,43)	6	(12,50)	29	(10,21)
-		6	(12,50)	9	(3,17)
11	(16,42)	6	(12,50)	39	(13,73)

67	(100 %)	48	(100 %)	284	(100 %)
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17	(29,82)	6	(31,58)	47	(31,13)
18	(31,58)	3	(15,79)	40	(26,49)
4	(7,02)	1	(5,26)	7	(4,64)
11	(19,30)	3	(15,79)	21	(13,91)
7	(12,28)	6	(31,58)	36	(23,84)

57	(100 %)	19	(100 %)	151	(100 %)
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16	(30,77)	2	(28,57)	35	(36,46)
4	(7,69)	1	(14,29)	6	(6,25)
20	(38,46)	2	(28,57)	38	(39,58)
12	(23,08)	1	(14,29)	14	(14,58)
-		1	(14,29)	3	(3,13)

52	(100 %)	7	(100 %)	96	(100 %)
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(Omnis Argentina)

AND

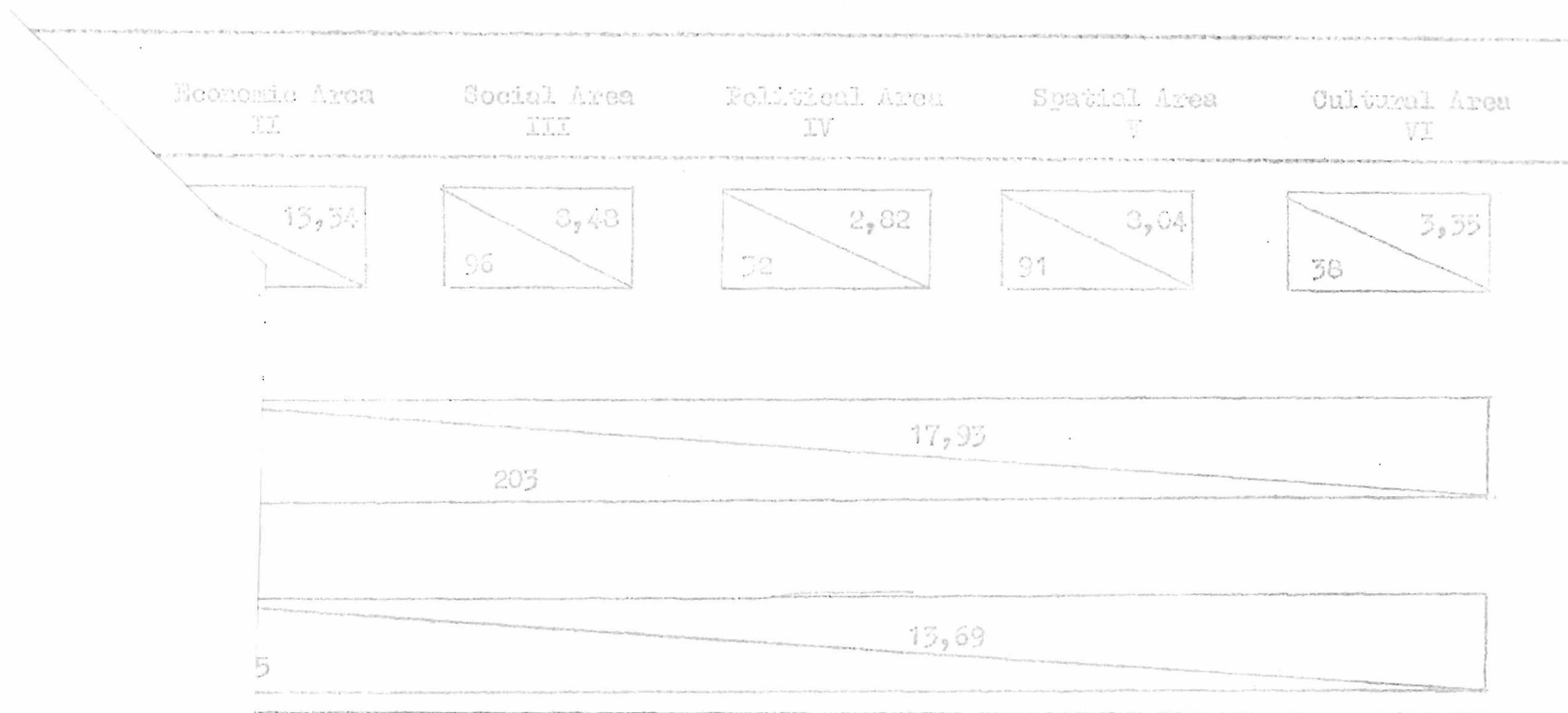
	<u>Latin America</u>		<u>Argentina</u>
	9	(100 %)	2 (100 %)
	12	(63,16)	17 (45,95)
	2	(10,53)	1 (2,70)
	-		-
	5	(26,32)	19 (51,35)
	19	(100 %)	37 (100 %)
	10	(100 %)	3 (100 %)
	6	(25,00)	-
	-		-
	1	(4,17)	2 (16,67)
	6	(25,00)	3 (25,00)
	11	(45,83)	7 (58,33)
	24	(100 %)	12 (100 %)
	4	(9,30)	3 (27,27)
	1	(2,32)	1 (9,9)
	1	(2,32)	-
	4	(9,30)	-
	2	(4,65)	-
	1	(2,32)	-
	2	(4,65)	-
	2	(4,65)	-
	9	(20,93)	1 (9,9)

<u>Chile</u>		<u>Mexico</u>		<u>Total</u>	
21	(100 %)	-		32	(100 %)
6	(28,57)	9	(64,29)	44	(48,35)
3	(14,29)	1	(7,14)	7	(7,69)
1	(4,76)	2	(14,29)	3	(3,50)
11	(52,38)	2	(14,29)	37	(40,66)
21	(100 %)	14	(100 %)	91	(100 %)
22	(100 %)	3	(100 %)	38	(100 %)
21	(60,00)	3	(27,27)	30	(36,59)
2	(5,71)	-		2	(2,44)
1	(2,86)	-		4	(4,88)
1	(2,86)	4	(36,36)	14	(17,07)
10	(28,57)	4	(36,36)	32	(39,02)
35	(100 %)	11	(100 %)	82	(100 %)
19	(13,28)	2	(33,33)	28	(13,79)
12	(8,39)	1	(16,67)	15	(7,38)
9	(6,29)	-		10	(4,92)
12	(8,39)	-		16	(7,88)
3	(2,09)	-		5	(2,46)
6	(4,19)	-		7	(3,44)
10	(6,99)	1	(16,67)	13	(6,40)
13	(9,09)	-		15	(7,38)
24	(16,78)	1	(16,67)	35	(17,28)

	<u>Latin America</u>	<u>Argentina</u>	<u>Chile</u>	<u>Mexico</u>	<u>Total</u>				
2	{ 4,65 }	-	1	{ 0,69 }	-	3	{ 1,47 }		
2	{ 4,65 }	-	1	{ 0,69 }	-	3	{ 1,47 }		
13	{ 30,23 }	6	(54,55)	30	{ 20,97 }	1	(16,67)	50	{ 24,63 }
-		-		3	{ 2,09 }	-		3	{ 1,47 }
43	(100 %)	11	(100 %)	143	(100 %)	6	(100 %)	203	(100 %)
35	(100 %)	24	(100 %)	88	(100 %)	8	(100 %)	155	(100 %)
252		258		506		116		1132	

Volume III, Appendix 5, pp. 385-389; Volume V, Appendix 5, pp. 181-182

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