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PROSPECTS FOR ACTION IN THE FIELD OF POPULATION
IN LATIN AMERICA. THE CONTRIBUTION OF
REGIONAL AGENCIES

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I. TOWARDS AN INTERNATIONAL CONSENSUS ON POPULATION

Until barely ten years ago, in the countries of the region population matters had not been included in the list of governmental concerns in internal policy nor were they objects for debate or special consideration on the part of regional governmental organizations. Before 1965 the policy-making organs of the United Nations, headed by the General Assembly, had not taken a stand on actions that would devolve upon the Organization, and consequently abstained from addressing recommendations on these matters to the Member States.

That year the Economic and Social Council adopted an important resolution whereby - after recognizing that rapid population growth in many developing countries demands urgent action - it is pointed out that the United Nations should provide training and advisory services on action programmes in the field of population, to Governments requesting assistance (1084-XXXIX).

Historical resolution 2211 (XXI) of the General Assembly supported the position of the ECOSOC by requesting the Secretary-General to pursue activity programmes in consultation with the specialized bodies, and propose working priorities in population matters; and the Economic and Social Council, the Population Commission, the regional economic commissions and interested specialized organizations were requested to provide assistance, whenever it is requested, for the development and strengthening of national and regional training, research, information and advisory services on population matters, bearing in mind the diverse nature of the population problems in each country and region, as well as the needs to which they give rise. It is interesting to find in the whereas clauses of this resolution the approach prevailing at the latest international meetings of government representatives, to the effect that population and development are interrelated and mutually affect one another, and hence must be examined from both angles - as determinants and as consequences.

/Since then

Since then new measures have contributed to strengthen international action in population matters. Particularly noteworthy among such measures are the creation of the United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA) which has made it possible to give financial support to programmes on population activities in developing countries, by means of direct assistance and through regional organizations such as CELADE and ECLA in Latin America, and the inclusion of specific areas and activity programmes in the field of population by specialized agencies, as in the case of WHO, UNESCO, FAO, ILO and UNICEF.

Possibly the first expression of a consensus on the importance of the topic reflecting the preoccupation of major sectors of opinion over the rapid population growth in the region, as interpreted by the thinking of the majority of the demography and population experts active in the region, was the Latin American Regional Population Conference held in Mexico in 1970.

Before four years had elapsed, in early 1974, the Governments of Latin America met in San José, Costa Rica, to discuss these matters for the first time on a regional level, the framework of a world population plan of action - one of the central topics of the World Population Conference that was scheduled to meet in Bucharest in August 1974. The Report of the San José Meeting stresses that "the most significant thing is the awareness that has been aroused in a few years on population factors as an element and integral part of the socio-economic development process. Even taking into account the diversity of situations in the matter of population ... the statements of the participants left no room to doubt that Governments and national communities grant the greatest attention to population dynamics and various population processes in a broad context of considerations on economic and social development".

The World Population Conference in Bucharest became a historic milestone insofar as it unified the interest of Governments in concerting national and international actions to face the challenge involved in ensuring economic and social development, particularly of the peoples and social groups that benefit less from the advances of every kind achieved by man, in the face of growth, internal movements and other aspects of population which under certain circumstances may clash with the universal objective of raising the quality and dignity of human life.

Apart from a harmony of wills, the Conference reached consensus on a number of basic points. Specifically, the World Population Plan of Action (WPPA) approved states a set of principles, norms and recommendations for action which should serve to guide national governments and international organizations in their plans and programmes of activities having to do with population.

The general points of consensus of greater significance and applicability, above and beyond natural and regional differences in political organization, culture and stages of development, appear to be the following:

1. The indivisible nature of the demographic features of the population and the economic and social development of the society in which it is organized.

As stated in the WPPA, its formulation reflects the awareness of the international community as to the importance of population trends for socio-economic development and the socio-economic nature of the recommendations ... reflects their awareness of the crucial part played by development in everything affecting population trends (WPPA 14.c).

2. Predominance of economic and social development as the base for an effective answer to so-called "population problems". Consequently, policies and measures on population are not viewed as alternatives to those on economic and social development, but rather as one of the instruments for achieving it.

/3. Action

3. Action on population matters world-wide is an integral part of the system of international strategies. This requires co-ordinated measures that should lead to concerting the WPPA with other strategies and programmes such as the World Food Programme, the World Employment Programme, and the Quito Declaration on Integral Development, within the framework of international development strategy of the United Nations.

4. The formulation and application of population policies is the sovereign right of each nation, taking into account universal solidarity arising from interdependence among nations, in order to improve the quality of life of the peoples of the world.

5. Respect for recognized human rights. The WPPA declares that its objectives must be in harmony with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The recommendations of the WPPA and the Latin American Meeting in San José either explicitly or implicitly assign to the regional organizations specific responsibilities in the area of population which such organizations should bear in mind when planning their future activities. With this end in view the final part of this document contains programme proposals that might serve as the base for the formulation of a Regional Action Plan to be developed by regional organizations, according to the specific functions they are currently carrying out and those that would be assigned to them for fulfilling the Programme.

Chapter II below is intended to draw attention to certain critical situations revealed by a diagnosis of the relations between population and development in the Latin American context, which analysis serves as support for the programme proposals at the end of this document.

II. POPULATION AND DEVELOPMENT. SOME CRITICAL SITUATIONS

The growth and spatial distribution patterns of the population fill a dominant place in the constellation of population variables affecting population development problems.

Prior to discussing this topic it appears necessary to recognize that the trends observed in the past decades in population volume and geographic distribution cannot be modified in the relatively near future beyond certain limits. Consequently, efforts aimed at solving many of the problems inherent to development must take into account these facts.

In fact, even though substantial modifications in fertility were brought about in the developing countries - as a result of urban development, changes in social structures, improvement in levels of living of the less favoured groups, and actions arising from family planning programmes - the population growth rates will continue for several generations to be high enough for the population to increase considerably in volume.

It may reasonably be expected that this population inertia will not reach the same degree of significance in all the countries of Latin America, owing to the diversity of situations as regards population volumes, densities, natural resources and levels of development reached in each case. Generally speaking, economic growth targets, for instance, should be set high enough by comparison with world standards, if it is sought to improve the living conditions of the population in the short or medium term.

The countries of Latin America are currently in different stages of urban development. In some, the lesser number, this process reaches levels comparable with those of the developed countries of other regions; most of them are going through the more dynamic stages of the urban development cycle or will enter this phase in the coming decades. The process should be regulated to reduce the negative effects observable everywhere; no attempt should be made to stop it, since it may be inherent to economic and social development. The undertaking

/offers serious

offers serious difficulties; no policies or measures of proved effectiveness are known that will modify substantially the trends of migratory movements which have led to the prevailing spatial distribution patterns; in any case, policies and measures that have been applied with relative success in some countries have a high cost and could produce significant effects only in the long run. In brief, the countries should be prepared to face a second front of population inertness, which is added to the inertness of population growth and is to a great extent one of its consequences.

In the measure that dynamics, geographic distribution and other demographic features of the population fail to harmonize with development objectives or raise obstacles to their achievement, a critical situation arises in population-development problems. To contribute to harmonize population trends with the trends of social and economic development is, precisely, the explicit aim of the WPPA.

The demographic variables of the population are interrelated in manifold and complex fashion with the economic, technological, social, political and cultural dimensions of development. It is however possible and advisable to identify sets of relations defining problem and action areas. It is in those strategic areas of development where population variables play a recognized role and governments and international organizations have devoted particular attention to them. It is not difficult to identify among these problem areas those of employment, regional development, agricultural development, education, health, housing and quality of the environment.

From this angle it is worth examining, however briefly, the role played by population variables in these and other problem areas of development. Specifically, with what intensity and in what direction do employment, regional development, education and information, the forms of agricultural production, income distribution and health conditions, for example, affect natural growth, family size and composition, migrations, urban development patterns, forms of rural settlements, etc. Conversely, through what kind of relationships can population conditions lead to originating problems of employment,

/education, housing

education, housing, environment quality and in general of quality of life, when trends exceed capacity for creating productive employment, planned development of urban infrastructures and institutional possibilities of adapting to the changing situations of the modern world.

Given that population and development are not autonomous entities, as has just been said, policies and measures intended to affect the former are an integral part of socio-economic development. (WPPA 14.d) This proposition is supported, on the one hand, by the principle that population policies have as their main objective to improve levels of living and the quality of life of the people, (WPPA 14.a), and, consequently, the achievement of development goals; on the other hand, by the conviction that concerted action on manifold economic and social factors is required to reach certain population goals, particularly in a context of underdevelopment.

1. Regional development

Modern economic growth originates changes in the spatial distribution patterns of the population inside countries. Their most typical expressions in conditions current in developing countries, applicable to most of the Latin American ones, are rapid urban development and the emergence of large population concentrations (metropolitanization), to a great extent as the result of a process of response from manpower to the changing distribution of "production factors".

Economic growth involves new production techniques, substitution of resources, modifications in relative incomes and places of residence of end users and, consequently, changes in patterns of consumption of goods and services. These forces tend continually to modify the direction of investments, hence too the geographic location of economic activities.

The so-called external economies, particularly those arising from the fact of the agglomeration of activities and population in a few "poles" of development, adequately explain some of the modern trends of spatial location of economic activity. These agglomeration

/economies include

economies include the advantages offered by physical infrastructure and basic services existing in the large cities, the proximity of a wide market for consumer goods, diversified and skilled manpower, and advantages derived from the proximity of related activities.

As a result of the foregoing, in many Latin American countries - and to some extent in all of them - national income, the product of industry, communications media, specialized services devoted to enterprises and government agencies, residential activities (housing, urban development works, etc.), and services to private individuals (education, health, leisure activities, etc.) are concentrated in a small fraction of their territory.

There is consensus in that market forces tend to increase rather than diminish the unequal spatial distribution of production resources, and consequently to emphasize the patterns of concentrated population distribution. Migration, interregional trade and capital movements are the processes through which the different growth of rich regions and poor regions takes place, increasing the gap between them. A vicious circle reinforces the trends towards concentration of activities and population, and of affluence and poverty in regional terms. At one extreme are found the dispersed populations and at the other those inhabiting the great metropolises, without attaining in most cases the necessary degree of territorial, functional and social integration of the various human groups occupying the national geographic space under diverse settlement patterns.

From a long-term standpoint this "imbalanced" regional development also raises critical situations worthy of governmental attention. Such situations have to do with conservation and utilization of natural resources, the quality of human environment, economic and social welfare objectives for the population, and national security considerations.

Signs of serious deterioration in the quality of the human environment may already be observed in the large Latin American metropolises, as a result of high industrial concentration and population density. This deterioration is derived partly from affluence

/factors (technology

factors (technology, traffic intensity, styles of consumption etc.) and poverty factors (mainly inadequate housing). Similar conditions are apparent in many intermediate towns which have been growing at very high rates while their physical infrastructures are modified at a considerably slower rate than the population.

Imbalanced regional development would likewise attempt against the achievement of certain welfare goals in the general economic development policy aimed at benefiting all social sectors, hence also the populations inhabiting the various sections of the national territory. Among specific goals special reference should be made to full employment, more equitable income distribution and access of the majorities to social services (education, health, etc.) and to socially acceptable housing.

Under present conditions of concentrated economic growth, the urban economy lacks capacity to absorb the growing supply of manpower in cities, at acceptable productivity levels. Various factors affecting employment contribute to aggravate the effects of an ever-increasing supply, as will be discussed later.

Since in these areas a considerable fraction of population growth - and consequently of manpower growth - stems from the presence of large contingents of migrants coming to a great extent from backward regions, serious problems of economic, social and cultural assimilation arise, one of whose most typical and significant expressions is the segregation of major social groups with subsistence incomes, in slum and improvised dwelling areas lacking the most elementary sanitary and comfort services (tenement houses, shanties, "favelas", "villas miserias", camps, etc.).

2. Agricultural development

The structural transformation of the economy is inherent to modern economic development. Industrialization and technological innovations of all kinds imply an increasing reduction, in relative terms, of the product generated by agriculture and simultaneously of the population depending on work in the agricultural sector. In Latin America as in developing countries in other regions, this transformation of the economy

/has been

has been taking place together with an insufficient agricultural development, not only as regards productivity per unit of land, but also - which is still more important - in terms of structural changes in the rural society.

The traditional forms of productive organization - latifundia and minifundia - have in fact been incapable of creating socially acceptable employment conditions. On the other hand, the modernization foci taking the shape of enterprises, since their profitability is based on mechanization of agricultural work, offer a limited source of jobs.

The trends on the market of resources and consumption, profitability and modifications in the structure of demand, added to the structure of land tenure, have been provoking the increasing deterioration of the economic base of the rural population and of the cities closely depending on agricultural economy, thus broadening the gap in income levels and living conditions between regions. This evolution encourages, even forces, migration in search of economic opportunities and of education and health services.

Simultaneously, the lag in economic and social development maintains the conditions determining a high fertility rate, including high infant mortality rate. In this way the rural population maintains a significant natural growth which by pressing on available production resources, reinforces the stimulus to population migration. Paradoxical though it may seem, agricultural development in the form of modern enterprises, by fostering the transformation of a sector of rural workers into wage-earners under urban forms of employment, certainly facilitates movement towards cities.

Another important aspect of agricultural development which is often overlooked is the function of the sector as producer of foodstuffs and raw materials for industry. Population growth must be accompanied by a similar or greater one in food production. Since owing to urban development an ever-increasing percentage of workers are taking up non-agricultural activities, a continually growing surplus of food production is required per agricultural worker, to avoid having to

/import food

import food products from abroad, thus evidently damaging national capital resources that might otherwise be invested in manufacturing industries, physical infrastructure, research or teaching. The inference from this is that increased productivity per agricultural worker is a requirement of urban development. Lastly, it should not be overlooked that agricultural development is the main potential source of foreign currency earnings for developing countries whose economy is based on agriculture to a fairly considerable degree. It is assumed that the various models of agricultural development will have a significant effect on retaining the population in rural areas. In general terms, greater expectations are placed on increased yield of lands under cultivation than on farming new lands potentially available but out of reach of economic and technical possibilities in short and medium-term. The use of fertilizers and hybrid cereals opens extensive possibilities for the intensive utilization of agricultural manpower, whereby it becomes possible to achieve considerable increase in productivity per hectare and worker. Possibly in many regions such innovations may not be introduced without major changes in the land tenure and farming systems, apart from appropriate financial and technical aid. As far as possible and particularly in those countries where the dispersed rural population represents a significant percentage of the total, such assistance should be extended to those groups settled in isolated fashion, practising a low-productivity agriculture, typically exhausting the environment and generally left out of the market.

3. Employment

The way in which the benefits of economic growth, and economic growth itself, are distributed depend to a great extent on the level and structure of employment. To conciliate economic growth with sufficient employment is one of the major problems raised by development on modern bases.

/As stated

As stated earlier, the orientation of investments in urban activities and in the agricultural sector, as observed in the countries of the region, has proved incapable of creating enough permanent employment opportunities by comparison with population growth and urban development. Among the elements contributing to this situation, the following may be mentioned: (i) a considerable portion of investments is devoted to housing construction and an increasingly expensive urban infrastructure; (ii) profitability considerations fostering the development of high capital-intensive industries; and (iii) polarization of income in population groups connected with modern sectors of the economy, which determines the relative growth of a type of sophisticated demand which in turn stimulates the modern sectors, thus originating a vicious circle. To counteract this order of events requires a firm employment policy included in development policies and implemented appropriately in economic and social planning.

The role of employment as a socio-economic factor determining population growth and spatial distribution should be stressed. Chronic unemployment and underemployment are usually synonymous with extreme poverty, consequently the populations involved have no access to education or health services. High fertility and infant mortality and migration are its sequels in depressed regions; in the large cities, economic and social neglect, while the lines of reproductive behaviour characteristic of underdevelopment are retained.

Although the level of living of the mass of the population is inevitably linked to employment conditions, it is no less true that population trends and characteristics exert a clear influence on quantitative and qualitative manpower supply. The natural growth rate and migration both obviously press on the employment market and may also bring about temporary manpower shortages in regional agricultural work, and of skilled workers in manufacturing and repair industries in secondary urban centres. The large cities - as well as the intermediate-size urban centres which have been growing at top speed under the influence of a relatively significant industrial expansion - show fairly clear symptoms of the negative effects of excess manpower

/supply, usually

supply, usually most notable in sectors employing unskilled workers (construction workers, food and textile factories, etc.). Such effects take the shape of low wages, open unemployment, and various forms of urban underemployment.

On the other hand, the general educational level as well as technical professional training of the population play a major role in sectoral manpower supply, in income levels and professional mobility. In the case of female manpower, age at marriage and the number and spacing of children are additional factors clearly affecting manpower supply. In brief, it may be stated that population characteristics and trends are elements to be taken into account in general development and employment policies.

4. Deterioration of the urban environment

With varying degrees of intensity and with different characteristics, the human environment in the countries of Latin America has not escaped being affected by negative influences. This is true both of the rural and urban environments, but deterioration of the latter may be more clearly and to a non-negligible degree related to population factors.

Deterioration of the urban environment takes various forms. Certain manifestations have their roots in extreme poverty affecting certain groups of the population, while others are connected with expressions of affluence to be found in large cities. Lastly, the deterioration may arise from the physical extension of the city, in terms of costs of basic services, irrational use of land, unproductive use of time, higher prices and other diseconomies.

The influence of these factors - poverty, affluence, physical extension of the city - usually converges on certain forms of deterioration. Nevertheless it is possible to point out various aspects of the problem.

One of them is the transformation into slums of the central sector of the large cities, former residential areas left behind by the relatively high-income classes as they move to new residential districts outside the town. The gradual occupation of central sectors

/by low-income

by low-income families - owing mainly to lower rental levels probably connected with forms of living in tenement houses - leads to deterioration of the dwelling originated by lack of maintenance of the building as well as by the increased density of inhabitants not accompanied by expansion or renewal of essential services.

Another manifestation of poor dwelling conditions is observed in so-called "poblaciones marginales" or shanty towns, as a rule precarious settlements outside urban regulations. The characteristics of these sectors include improvised dwellings made of light, low-quality materials, lack of basic public utilities, unpaved streets, sometimes even no streets at all, deficient sanitary conditions, crowding and promiscuousness, difficult access to health services, social incommunication of women and children, and conditions of extreme poverty involving everything mentioned above and much more besides.

Affluence, as an exponent of large cities, is expressed in various ways. On one hand, the increased number of automotive vehicles, main cause of environmental pollution in many cities, a problem that has become so serious as urgently to require a short-term solution. Technology utilized by a number of modern industries, together with deficient location control and waste-cleaning processes, are polluting the air, water and soil with chemicals.

The expansion of areas occupied by cities brings about a number of consequences affecting the quality of urban environment. The movement of the population towards peripheral districts is characterized by low-density settlements giving rise to infrastructure works that have in turn favoured this type of urban development. One result is the rise in the installation cost of essential services (light, water, sewers) owing to the extension of the networks, as well as the costs of paving, and health and security systems. As distances are longer public transportation services become more expensive and the cost of transport in private vehicles rises; to these should be added other costs which though less tangible undoubtedly affect the mental health of individuals (loss of time, noise, tension, etc.).

/It would

It would not be hazardous to say that the extended settlement of cities has contributed to a considerable extent to the lack of basic services and other urban development works that may be observed in them. The magnitude and complexity of some of the facilities erected in the large cities to resolve, or at least partly answer, transportation or water supply problems, for instance, require considerable public investment. In some cases the operation cost per user may entail real diseconomies.

Although the studies conducted on urban costs per inhabitant in cities of different sizes fail to contribute elements sufficient to lead to definitive conclusions, the opinion predominates among specialists that unit urban development costs increase when the population of a city exceeds certain limits. To validate this conclusion it would in any case be necessary to take into account the quality of the services and make comparisons between specific situations in each country.

Besides the foregoing it should be added that the exaggerated physical expansion of the Latin American city has frequently been carried out at the expense of valuable agricultural land which could otherwise have continued to be utilized as a source of food supply for growing urban population.

5. International migrations

In Latin America preoccupation on this subject centres on two aspects vitally important for development, i.e., the brain drain prevailing in the region and regional integration of the manpower market.

The emigration of scientists, professionals and skilled workers generally is a characteristic common to all the countries of the region, emphasized in the past few decades and encouraged by the immigration policies of developed countries. Although the available statistical information is partial and incomplete it is known that such emigration entails a major economic loss: firstly, in terms of training costs, and secondly, in view of the valuable resources deducted from national production.

/Apart from

Apart from purely economic considerations motivating the emigration, in this case other factors also play a significant part, particularly the degree of realization and satisfaction the professional or the scientist may attain in his work. A contribution in this direction stems from the difficulties for improving knowledge and the lack of a scientific and technological policy permitting full incorporation of skilled personnel to the task of national development.

A few isolated and occasional efforts to turn back the movement of skilled personnel towards the country of origin, by means of incentives, do not appear to have been successful. It is felt that the key to the problem lies in the creation of real work opportunities and motivations of another kind, rather than in legal or financial hindrances to prevent departure from the country.

Intra-regional migration, of a certain significance, is nothing new in some Latin American countries. It may be said, however, that its dimension has grown significantly since 1950, when in some cases it began to replace European immigration of unskilled manpower, and in others to provide agricultural manpower to low-density regions or areas affected by internal migration towards the main cities of the receiving country. In both situations it is mainly a case of population movements between neighbouring countries.

This type of intra-regional migration has raised problems both to the migrants and to the countries involved. The absence of bilateral agreements regulating these movements, as well as the anachronism of the legislation in this matter, encourages illegal entries or permanencies with their respective sequels: discrimination in the job market, lack of social security, absence of legal protection and other forms of assistance and orientation.

Protection of and assistance to migrants and their families have focused the attention of governments and international organizations. Several recommendations contained in the WPPA are indicative of the concern felt by governments over this matter. Mention should be made of the recommendation urging the countries affected by important movements of migrant workers to concert ... bilateral and multilateral agreements to govern migration, protect and aid migrants and safeguard /the interests

the interests of the countries involved. (WPPA 62). In the regional framework, the Second Conference of Ministers of Labour in the Andean Group Countries adopted the "Simón Rodríguez" agreement contemplating the co-ordination of policies and actions in matters of employment, social security and manpower mobility in the sub-region as part of the strategies and action plans for the objectives of the Cartagena Agreement to lead to integral improvement of living and working conditions in the Andean Group.

The policies and measures aimed at affecting the intra-regional migratory movements must be considered as part of the regional or sub-regional economic integration policies, among other reasons because manpower mobility fills an essential function in the economic and social integration of the countries.

III. CONTRIBUTION OF REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

The WPPA recognized that each government is responsible for deciding its own policy and formulate its own action programmes to face population and economic and social progress problems (WPPA, 97). On the other hand, the WPPA assigns to international co-operation a supporting role in attaining the goals set out in the Plan, possibly in the form of direct technical and financial assistance to supplement development assistance (WPPA, 99).

Participation of international and regional organizations is likewise envisaged in research and training programmes directed to giving effectiveness to assistance in national and regional programmes, according to priorities established by the countries. (WPPA, 82, 87, 103)

In accordance with the WPPA and in view of the positions already put forward by the governments at the Latin American Meeting in San José (1974), international organizations should be in a position to "increase their action in the fields of research, technical assistance and orientation and evaluation activities" (San José, IV-28). It was expressly stated at this Meeting that the United Nations organizations operating in the region should concert their action to co-operate actively with the countries in personnel training, data collecting, and research required for formulating policies and planning (San José, IV-28).

Together with direct technical assistance, some of the advantages of assistance granted through regional programmes should be pointed out. One of them is the scale economy obtained by applying regional formation and training programmes for specialized personnel, for instance, from the standpoint of cost and quality, vis-à-vis similar national programmes. The development and maintenance of information systems is another specific area of activity that could be met effectively at regional level. As regards research, far from being a duplication they can supplement to advantage those

conducted at national level. Regarding the latter, the regional organizations would undertake promotion work and advisory services in project design and implementation.

From the Report of the San José Meeting and the WPPA it is clearly inferred that population policies must be closely linked to development strategies (San José, IV-14). More explicitly, population policies are not considered as alternatives to economic and social development policies but as one of the instruments to achieve it (San José, IV-5).

If population is one of the principal elements in the economic and social development process, then development planning must include population as a fundamental variable in all those dimensions of economic and social development where it intervenes as a problem element, as in the case of employment, spatial distribution of the population, and regional and agricultural development, quality of the environment, availability of basic social services, to mention some of the most salient aspects.

Although some countries have formulated policies explicitly intended to affect population variables, practically none of them have incorporated them operationally in their overall development policies. In other cases, when decisions have been taken with a view to modifying the historic trend of certain population variables, this has happened outside the context of development plans, as though they were independent processes.

It could be stated quite accurately that development plans and other economic and social measures taken hitherto fail to take into account the reaction effects between population and development, population trends - in the sectoral aspects of health, education, and employment - generally being taken as a given autonomous datum.

Some factors hindering the task of formulating population policies and implementing them in the form of plans may be recognized and they should deserve the attention of regional organizations. Of them the "lack of true and coherent development policies and of long-term strategies that may serve as a reference framework for population policies" (ECLA, 14th Session) stands out specially.

/On the

On the other hand, the formulation of a population policy assumes knowledge of the factors determining population trends and the socio-economic results of these trends in heterogeneous national and regional contexts, an area showing partial and in any case fairly limited progress.

To this must be added, furthermore, the lack of specialized technical personnel capable of appropriately incorporating the consideration of population factors in development planning; as well as of formulating population policies as elements in overall development policy; also, the insufficient development of theory and method to allow effective fulfilment of this task.

It is recognized, too, that the critical problem is development and that population policies are subject to trends and policies in matters of employment, education, health, housing, income levels and distribution, and scientific progress, the economic and social programming goals and techniques should include more intensively than has been done so far, basic population studies on reproduction behaviour, propensity to migrate, female employment supply, among others, and development "models" including population variables.

ECLA, ILPES, CELADE, owing to the nature of their functions in the region and by virtue of concentrating resources that are generally scarce in the region, are in a position to contribute to find solutions to the problems raised by providing the countries with data, studies, criteria for judgement and interpretations for preparing population policies in the broader framework of general development policies and their implementation in planning. The decision of governments to adopt development strategies and policies including population variables will surely open a wide path for technical assistance in these matters. (San José, IV.29.)

The WPPA refers at length to instruments and inputs required to advance towards the goals set. Whatever the priorities and orientations that the countries give themselves, in the population

/policies it

policies it will be necessary to take into account statistical information, technical training, information dissemination and research.

It appears needless to insist on the importance of statistical information on population for the studies that are to serve as the base for formulating, applying and evaluating population and development policies. (WPPA, 72) Population censuses, the basic source of population and social data, deserve special mention. Though efforts have been made in the past to improve information quality and usefulness of census tabulations, they should be programmed in future to serve more efficiently and completely the needs of planners and policy makers on the national and regional planes and at the level of socio-economic groups. (WPPA, 73)

Equal importance in studies required for directing the development process attaches to periodic data on the evolution of basic population variables, which in many countries of the region may only be obtained through sampling surveys especially designed for the purpose.

The development of the System of Population and Social Statistics of the United Nations offers an instrument that could be made use of for developing the necessary action.

ECLA and CELADE play a major role in the improvement and adjustment of population statistics, particularly as regards planning, general co-ordination and direct assistance to the countries of the region possessing less technical resources.

The WPPA grants high priority to research activities in population and related matters in connexion with the formulation, application and evaluation of population policies. (WPPA, 78) In accordance with this position it recommends giving or expanding support as the case may be, to national and regional institutions active in the field, taking care that such research activities be properly co-ordinated. (WPPA, 80) A lengthy indicative list of topics is presented, in terms of programmes, since it is clear that it is for governments and national institutions to identify the areas and priorities of research. (WPPA, 79)

/Production of

Production of information and research require trained personnel of various technical and scientific levels. Such personnel is relatively scarce in the region, training having been undertaken in the past by academic centres outside the region and lately by regional centres such as ILPES and CELADE. The programmes conducted by the latter organization in the past fifteen years have produced several hundred population data analysts, researchers on population topics capable of planning and directing study programmes and providing technical assistance at international level. CELADE has also trained physicians, administrators and other personnel active in national family planning programmes, bio-social research, and programme evaluation systems, supplemented technical and professional studies (teachers and researchers) by means of special courses on population in the countries, and given courses on census management and computing applied to demography. Scientist training through postgraduate programmes, with the participation of national universities is a recent task that should be strengthened.

Future expansion of activities and their revision in terms of objectives and priorities over time will depend mainly upon the work programmes set by the countries of the region and an evaluation of the human and financial resources available.

It appears possible nonetheless to advance some suggestions connected with the subject areas that such activities should cover with priority, and even propose - on the basis of the above-mentioned recommendations contained in the WPPA and adopted at the Latin American Meeting Preparatory to the Bucharest Conference, held in San José - some specific areas where concrete programmes should be started or those currently under way should be strengthened.

It is were possible to summarize in a few words the information contained in this and other documents prepared for the Second Latin American Meeting on Population, in Mexico, it would have to be concluded that population growth and spatial distribution are the two points towards which direct actions on fertility and migration

/should be

should be directed, as well as indirect socio-economic actions affecting the level of living and forming an integral part of the measures that should be adopted to promote and encourage development in a broad sense.

1. Spatial distribution of the population: urban development, metropolitanization and dispersal

The starting point is the premise that the current situation and spatial distribution trends of the population are mainly the result of modalities and trends of economic and social development. The policies and measures intended to modify distribution or prevent a distribution considered inappropriate are consequently part of the more general development strategies and policies.

On the other hand, numerous proposals and recommendations of the WPPA and of the Latin American Meeting Preparatory to the World Population Conference point expressly to goals and conditions that should be met in development, beyond overall and economic criteria at national level, including, inter alia, a more equitable social and territorial distribution of the benefits of development and of the social costs and benefits of investment location; conservation of natural resources and environment quality, supply of social services to dispersed populations and, generally, improvement of the living level of the greatest number of inhabitants.

The programmes that regional organizations conduct in this area should contemplate the following:

(a) Diagnosis and planning studies on development of regional scope, adjusting analysis and action methods and instruments at this level, **revising** if necessary the objectives and aims of the models in use, in the light of economic policies harmonizing with the desired population policies, for which the respective population variables should be made explicit.

(b) Studies on the structure of integrated city systems appropriate to the economic and social objectives of development strategies, proposing alternative policy measures to achieve a more rational distribution of the population, in different contexts and according to the styles of development desired and their goals.

/(c) Diagnosis

(c) Diagnosis and planning studies on the development of metropolitan areas, covering in integrated fashion the physical, economic, social and cultural aspects of such development.

(d) Basic studies and proposed alternative measures for decentralizing the metropolitan population or to avoid excessive centralization in the future, for example through actions such as urban development of the metropolitan region, including the creation of satellite towns and administrative and industrial decentralization.

(e) Studies and proposed alternative measures to foster economic and social development of dispersed populations, by means of modernization of their forms of production, their integration to the national economic system, and location of health, education, information, security and other social services, keeping in mind the dispersal of human settlements.

(f) Diagnosis and planning studies on agricultural development, conciliating objectives involved with food and raw materials production for internal consumption and export, with welfare targets for the rural population in terms of income, and population goals such as reducing mortality and modifying reproduction behaviour and the propensity to migrate to cities.

It should be pointed out, finally, that measures and policies addressed to modifying the spatial distribution patterns will prove beneficial or harmful according to the objectives pursued and the patterns set up to measure their results. Conflicting effects may logically be foreseen, particularly in the short and medium term; a partial and temporary sacrifice in the overall growth of the economy might create conditions more favourable for education, health and the progress ambitions of the population, and in the long-run reproduction conditions more in harmony with the goals expected for economic growth.

2. Population growth: fertility and mortality

The WPPA recommends that countries wishing to affect fertility levels give high priority to the application of development programmes and education and health strategies which, while contributing to economic growth and to raising the level of living, will have decisive influence on population trends. (WPPA, 31)

As regards mortality, in addition to general objectives emphasis is laid on "the reduction or if possible the elimination of differences of morbidity and mortality within the countries, especially as regards differences between regions, urban and rural areas, social and ethnic groups, and sexes". (WPPA, 24c) There is awareness too of the effect that a reduction of mortality - particularly of infants - may have on fertility. (WPPA, 21,32)

Today a high population growth is one of the attributes of underdevelopment, although underdevelopment situations with moderate and even slow population growth are not excluded. It cannot be thought that underdevelopment may be overcome just by reducing population growth; the reverse, however, holds true.

Two ways are proposed for reducing fertility and population growth with it: development and modern birth control techniques. The former is desirable; the latter should be viewed solely as an alternative for rising more rapidly out of underdevelopment, and always on a par with other measures tending to modify the economic, social and policy structures.

Whatever the position of Governments in the face of high population growth, it is necessary to study the nature and mechanics of relations between reproduction behaviour of families from different social strata and their general living conditions, in the economic and social context of the countries themselves. For the Latin American case in particular account will have to be taken of effects derived from the accelerated reduction of differences in mortality levels observed at the present time, both regionally and nationally, and between various subgroups of the population.

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In the long run it should be expected that economic and social development will lead to a change in population fertility. In order, however, to identify and put in practice policies and measures intended to affect fertility and population growth, it is necessary first to know which are the most appropriate policies and means to act on reproduction behaviour in the context of the specific society involved, together with the cost of implementing the proposed policies and measures. From another angle, how realistic are the population goals established, bearing in mind both indirect socio-economic measures as well as direct actions in family planning and in general the means to be utilized.

From the foregoing and considering the spirit of WPPA proposals and recommendations it is concluded that regional organizations should envisage the following major studies in their activity programmes:

(a) Research into the effects of family structure, fertility, education of women, family income and other elements conditioning the level of living, on the participation of women in the labour force; conversely, research into the foreseeable effects on fertility of changes in education, participation of women in work and functions assigned to them by society.

(b) Research into the relations between family and economic structures of the rural population, their reproduction and mortality and probable effects on reproduction arising from changes in family structures.

3. International migrations

International migration, though affecting the population both as to size and spatial distribution, justifies separate treatment in this section owing to its varied facets requiring study, because it affects the different Latin American countries with varying intensity and direction, and because - to the contrary of other population movements - to a greater or lesser degree such other movements have already become the object of governmental control.

/Action by

Action by regional organizations in the area of international migration should be directed to meeting the demands for technical assistance manifested at the Latin American Meeting in San José and those to arise from the Second Meeting in Mexico. Such action should cover studies dealing with:

(a) Mechanisms for regulating illegal migration, bearing in mind the mutual benefit of the immigration and emigration countries.

(b) Types of agreements and procedures to ensure for the immigrant working and social insurance conditions in conformity with universally recognized human rights.

(c) The magnitude, causes, social costs and negative or positive effects of migration of professionals, technicians and skilled manpower generally.

(d) Temporary worker migrations (types of bilateral agreements contemplating: forms of transfer to the receiving countries and return to the countries of origin, working conditions, protection during the stay in the receiving country, etc.).

(e) Incorporation of manpower mobility policies and measures into regional integration policies.

4. Population and development planning

In the preceding sections proposals were made for action by regional organizations in some critical situations arising from consideration of population-development problems. As has been sufficiently recognized, such situations and hence the actions proposed are not independent but interrelated in the broader framework of national development and international relations.

The need then arises to prepare analytical and methodological approaches permitting integration of population policies into overall development strategies and policies, thus contributing to achieving greater coherence of sectoral and regional goals and policies. The WPPA points to the advisability of establishing at top level the bodies responsible for formulating population policies. Both the WPPA and the Latin American Meeting in San José recognize these needs and the importance of the technical assistance that international organizations should provide in these matters.

/With these

With these points in mind, the activity programmes should cover the following:

(a) Analytical and methodological studies tending to the preparation of models including population variables in development plans and strategies in the countries of the region.

(b) Examination of experiences and methods connected with the constitution of national organs for planning, co-ordination and implementation of population policies.

(c) Case studies on population change and economic and social development.

(d) Comparative analysis of population policies in the region.

5. Technical assistance and training

Lastly, the basic task before international organizations in this area is assistance to governments so that they may formulate, carry out and evaluate their own population policies.

Actions mentioned above should take concrete form in direct technical assistance programmes and training programmes for countries requesting them, including:

A. Technical assistance for:

(a) Constitution or strengthening - where they exist - of national technical organizations included in the governmental planning system, responsible for matters connected with formulation, execution and evaluation of population policies. Such assistance should cover advice on:

- (i) diagnosis studies, of national and subnational scope;
- (ii) development of analysis and planning models covering population variables;
- (iii) formulation of population policies integrated in development strategies;
- (iv) design of legal normative instruments related to population and family;
- (v) execution of pilot projects for application of policy measures.

/(b) Collecting,

(b) Collecting, processing and analysing population data, and development and maintenance of service and information statistics systems.

(c) Implementation and evaluation of national programmes involving direct actions on fertility, mortality and migrations.

(d) Periodic evaluation of the effects of their population policies.(WPPA, 107)

B. Formation and training

(a) Continuation and expansion of regional academic programmes, with special attention to improvement of planners.

(b) Top level training programmes for professionals on population studies, co-ordinated with universities of the region.

(c) Assistance to appropriate national bodies for inclusion of subjects dealing with population, environment and development on the curricula of formal secondary schooling systems and the different university disciplines.

6. Evaluation and co-ordination of regional activities

The entire action programme of international organizations of regional scope, as outlined above, requires a co-ordination effort and will entail periodic evaluation, for which the following is proposed:

(a) Identifying and setting out the major co-ordination guidelines between ECLA, ILPES and CELADE and other regional organizations and regional programmes undertaken by United Nations specialized agencies, with a view to making better use of available resources in research, training and direct advisory services to countries on population.

(b) Establishing the mechanism to make this co-ordination effective.

(c) Evaluating the requirements in the area of population on activities, programmes, instruments and resources, in consultation with the interested countries.

/(d) Collecting

(d) Collecting information on regional and national programmes and activities on population currently under way, taking into account the recommendations and priorities contained in the WPPA and those arising from the Second Latin American Meeting on Population.

(e) Evaluating the use and volume of national and international resources available and utilized in the region in population matters, in connexion with the requirements and needs of the countries.

