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**FOLLOW-UP REPORT ON THE LATIN AMERICAN AND CARIBBEAN REGIONAL
PLAN OF ACTION ON POPULATION AND DEVELOPMENT**

(Note by the secretariat)*

* This Note by the secretariat was prepared in compliance with ECLAC resolution 536(XXV) and the Latin American and Caribbean Regional Plan of Action on Population and Development.

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I. INTRODUCTION

The Latin American and Caribbean Regional Conference on Population and Development (Mexico City, 29 April to 4 May 1993), preparatory to the International Conference on Population and Development (Cairo, September 1994), unanimously adopted a declaration entitled "Latin American and Caribbean Consensus on Population and Development", which set forth the common position of the countries of the region concerning the issues of population and development. The objectives and goals of the Consensus reflect the views and aspirations of the region in relation to links among population, development and the environment and to progress in ensuring respect for human rights and correcting the inequality of living conditions observed among different social and ethnic groups and geographic areas and between men and women.

On the premise that greater mutual support among the countries of the region will help achieve more solid progress towards the realization of those objectives and goals, at the Regional Conference the countries decided to promote the adoption of a regional plan of action whose general purposes would be to facilitate integration and the exchange of national experiences in the formulation and application of population policies and programmes, both past and present.

For the preparation of such a plan, the countries asked the secretariat of the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) to prepare a preliminary draft, in accordance with guidelines established by the Presiding Officers of the Committee of High-level Government Experts (CEGAN) and in collaboration with the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA). The process that led to the adoption of the Draft Regional Plan of Action at the twenty-fifth session of ECLAC (Cartagena, April 1994) included a number of meetings, both subregional meetings and meetings of the Presiding Officers and countries that wished to join them in considering preliminary versions. It was also agreed that the inputs generated by the International Conference on Population and Development should be incorporated into the Draft Regional Plan of Action.

The process of incorporating the inputs began during the Cairo Conference, with the full participation of the countries members of ECLAC that attended the meetings convened by the Presiding Officers and transmitted proposed drafting changes, which chiefly concerned the terms to be used. This process was completed on 1 February 1996, once the relevant consultations among all the countries members of ECLAC had been held. The text of the Latin American and Caribbean Regional Plan of Action on Population and Development is set forth in background paper (LC/G.1920; LC/DEM/G.159).

It should be recalled that in this Plan, the countries agreed —bearing in mind their review of demographic and socioeconomic changes, the experience gained in applying population policies and programmes, and the agreements reached at Cairo— on a set of objectives, goals and recommendations for action. Since these objectives mainly pertain to national concerns, they will be adapted to —and implemented in— the individual countries by means of actions which, of course, will be national in scope.

The countries also agreed on the need for carrying out supplementary activities at the regional and subregional levels, to support the national programs. Thus, they identified those activities to which priority should be given, for purposes of implementation at the regional or subregional level. The Regional Plan, therefore, involves activities of regional scope, and is aimed to support and facilitate action at the national level.

In order to ensure that the Regional Plan of Action is properly implemented, monitored and reviewed, the countries agreed, at the twenty-fifth session of ECLAC, to entrust that responsibility to the ECLAC sessional Ad Hoc Committee on Population and Development, which will meet for the first time during the course of the twenty-sixth session, in San José, Costa Rica.

This Ad Hoc Committee, which is made up of representatives of countries members of ECLAC, will also undertake, as part of the activities envisaged in the Plan, an overall analysis of the population situation in the region, as well as matters pertaining to the execution and institutionalization of population policies and programmes (paragraphs 78 and 99 of the Plan).

In this regard, this Note by the secretariat includes a summary of recent socio-demographic trends in the context of economic and social development during the 1990s (chapters II and III). This section is supplementary to and updates the Regional Plan of Action, with special emphasis on the most significant events and trends of recent years.

Chapter IV presents some reflections based on the aforementioned analysis of population trends and developments in the social and economic spheres in the Latin American and Caribbean countries. This chapter discusses the complex challenges in the areas of know-how and political action that must be addressed in the next few years, in order to ensure that development brings about improvements in the well-being of the population as a whole without jeopardizing environmental sustainability, and that it takes place within a framework of strengthened democratic systems.

Chapter V includes a brief review of the efforts to institutionalize population policies implemented in the region and of the new scenario for population policies. Mention is also made of the importance of continuing with efforts to include population variables in development policies and programmes.

Finally, Chapter VI discusses certain significant developments pertaining to the Regional Plan of Action that have occurred subsequent to the twenty-fifth session.

II. DEVELOPMENT AND POPULATION STRATEGY

A. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN RECENT YEARS

In the mid-1990s, the Latin American and Caribbean region is in the process of recovering —albeit with ups and downs— from an extremely serious crisis as regards its economic and social development. The 1980s were marked by the great crisis which began in 1982 and 1983, as evidenced in the inability of the countries of the region to pay their foreign debt. The situation was serious, and elicited different responses on the part of economic agents; these were followed by the efforts of governments to restore the macroeconomic equilibria which had been so severely distorted. Balance of payments problems were the most serious of these distortions; recovery in that area was particularly difficult because of the reversal of non-compensatory capital flows, which became highly negative. In an atmosphere of unfavourable international trade, currency devaluations tended to feed inflation rather than increase exports, and this, in turn, aggravated the fiscal imbalance, inasmuch as the State guaranteed the service of the foreign debt. Local currency interest rates were raised, in terms of real positive values, to record levels, in order to retain capital, and also as a result of domestic public indebtedness. Given the magnitude of this domestic public indebtedness, the increase in rates was another factor in the growth of the fiscal deficit.

In these circumstances, the production of goods and services declined sharply, and this was the main factor leading to the payments deficit, inasmuch as it led to a sharp drop in imports, both of capital goods and current inputs, and of consumer goods. The most significant result of this whole process was that the per capita gross domestic product (GDP) fell by around 9% between 1981 and 1990; this figure, however, masks the considerable differences between different countries. Investment, expressed as a percentage of GDP, also fell dramatically. It should be noted that this refers to gross investment, and that net addition of production capacity dropped even more.

Income distribution also changed substantially. Significant changes in relative prices of goods and services involved large transfers of income between branches of production. From the standpoint of functional distribution, changes also took place, including the sharp increase in interest on capital in real terms and, in particular, the reductions in salaries and wages. In most of the countries, real wages fell much more than per capita product. Thus, the primary distribution of income changed regressively. As regards measurements based on poverty indicators, the share of the population whose incomes were below the poverty line increased to over 40%. Hence, the cost of adjusting to the new situation affected the different sectors of society to different extents.

B. NEW DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES

In response to this crisis, which gave rise to the term "*the lost decade*" to describe the 1980s, the Governments of the region tried not only to restore basic macroeconomic equilibria but also to devise a new development strategy. The common denominator of these efforts was the thrust towards liberalization and deregulation of the economy; this began with the opening up of national economies to foreign trade, liberalization of the domestic financial markets and downplaying of the role of the State, particularly by privatizing public corporations, including utilities, and working towards balancing the budget. Although the sequence and the scope of the measures taken differed from one country to another, in most cases incentives and guarantees of nondiscriminatory treatment were granted to foreign investors, and there was some degree of openness towards external financial transactions, as well as deregulation of the labour market.¹

Much more was involved, therefore, than simply making a few adjustments in order to avert a short-term crisis. In every case, the goal was to achieve real change in the most important relationships of the production structure, and this effort went hand-in-hand with intense public discussion as to what goals should be sought and what means should be used to attain them. In this context, one of the proposals put forth was that of changing production patterns with social equity. This met with a high degree of consensus among the Governments of the region, within the forum of the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC). This proposal takes an integrated approach towards the development of production capacity and addresses the issue of ensuring equitable distribution both of the efforts involved and of the fruits of this development. It also focuses explicitly on the role of population variables in development strategy.

The central thesis is that the purpose of development is to improve the level of well-being of the population. This well-being depends on many factors, such as respect for human rights, democratic political systems, minimum levels of social equity and social solidarity and, clearly, an increase in the availability of material goods and services and their being accessible to all sectors of the population. The supply of goods cannot increase unless production increases; in other words, it depends on economic growth. Moreover, given the advanced degree of interconnection of the national economies and the globalization of the world economy, competitiveness on the international market has more and more become a prerequisite to growth. For all these reasons, the effort to attain competitiveness is inherent to development efforts. Moreover, because world markets are in a constant state of flux, competitiveness cannot be seen as something which, once achieved, becomes automatic or stable; on the contrary, the countries must constantly strive to remain competitive.

At other times in history, countries have resorted to mechanisms such as over-exploitation of natural resources, reduction of wages, and steady devaluation; these measures, however, are imperfect substitutes for the only genuine source of improved competitiveness, i.e., an increase in the productivity of factors through the adoption of improved technologies. The current process of technological change is somewhat different than in the past. In the first place, the process of change is predominantly systemic. It is the result of a deliberate effort involving production enterprises, research and technological

¹ For a more in-depth analysis of the issues discussed in this section, see ECLAC, Strengthening Development: the Interplay of Macro- and Micro-Economics (LC/G.1898(SES.26/3)), Santiago, Chile, 1996. This document will be submitted for consideration at the twenty-sixth session of ECLAC.

development institutions, universities, and agencies specializing in the funding of research, and others. In the second place, technical progress is also systemic, in that it tends to be spread throughout the production system. In this regard, successful economies do not confine themselves to introducing only changes that have been developed locally, but they also promote the rapid adoption of improvements developed in other countries. In the third place, technological change is no longer a matter of merely "incorporating" capital equipment. Change now also depends not only on new physical investment, but also on human resources that are able to understand and grasp the underlying concepts of change and, when necessary, rather than adopting it through imitation, adapting it to local conditions. In general, change entails both the reorganization of production, marketing and financing, and re-engineering of equipment. Consequently, when we speak of human resources capable of introducing change, it is important to bear in mind all the types of human resources that have a part to play in economic units. Without compatible quality in human resources, technological change cannot be effectively introduced.

These human resources consist of the population itself, and —beyond the fact that improving the well-being of the population is the ultimate objective of development— its participation in the incorporation of technical change means that, in labour markets reflecting productivity, all those who are involved in the process must be able to play a part in the improved productivity which change produces.

When a country's economic growth strategy is based on the introduction of technical change it is, comparatively speaking, biased in favour of social equity. Hence, social equity is usually greater in those economies that have more successfully introduced new technologies. The development of the economies of western Europe and of North America illustrate how growth based on the on-going introduction of technical change has gone hand-in-hand with a relatively more progressive distribution of income. In more recent cases, such as those of Japan and some of the countries of southeast Asia, where wages were low, growth based on innovation brought with it an increase in wages, without detriment to productivity. It should be noted, however, that in general, in the successful cases just mentioned, social equity did not depend solely on production strategy, but was also pursued —in complementary and consistent fashion— through other public policy measures, including educational and other social policies, as well as by programmes specifically designed to address unemployment.

This is one of the most significant features of the concept of changing production patterns with social equity. There are important trade-offs between growth and social equity, mainly because those income distribution patterns that are most likely to encourage investment tend to involve a degree of concentration; however, the two objectives also complement and mutually reinforce each other. The adoption of technological advances is the clearest case of such relationships, as is the promotion of universal education, inasmuch as it allows for a more even supply of production skills, thus contributing to a more equitable distribution of income while improving the productivity of the economy. Consequently, it is worth stressing "...the need to adopt an integrated approach of changing production patterns and equity which implies, on the one hand, opting for those economic policies which favour not only growth but also equity and, on the other, emphasizing productivity and efficiency and not only equity, in social policy".² In other words, the strategy takes into account the fact that it is difficult, at the present time, to conceive of economic development as the product of enclaves of wealth (production enclaves and social enclaves) within an economic territory where poverty prevails —since this is more

² ECLAC/CELADE, Population, Social Equity and Changing Production Patterns (LC/G.1758/Rev.1-P; LC/DEM/G.131/Rev.1-Series E, No. 37), Santiago, Chile, 1993. United Nations publication, Sales No. E.93.II.G.8; p. 36.

consistent with stagnation than with development— and focuses attention on the overall set of policy measures that make it possible to pursue growth and social equity simultaneously, with economic and social policies being conceived not as separate worlds but as aspects that are different from the operational standpoint but are part of a single comprehensive public policy.

C. THE CENTRAL ELEMENTS LINKING POPULATION DYNAMICS WITH CHANGING PRODUCTION PATTERNS WITH SOCIAL EQUITY

In the above paragraphs, we have discussed one of the main linkages between population variables and the process of changing production patterns with social equity, namely, the role of human resources in the introduction of the technical change required to transform production patterns. No less important are the linkages between population and social equity, and between population and the environmental sustainability of the economic and social development process. In fact, the distinction between these elements is purely academic. As will be shown below, these elements actually intersect, inasmuch as variables such as education and health play a crucial role both in the relationship between population and changing production patterns and in the relationship between population and social equity. When environmental variables are managed properly, this will affect, on the one hand, the sustainability of progress in production and, on the other, the health conditions, and even the social equity, with which the population lives.

We have already mentioned that high-quality human resources are essential to improving the efficiency of economic activity. The magnitude of the gap between the two is so large that large sectors of the society still have a low level of schooling. A considerable effort must also be made in the field of health, in order to ensure that the population is psychologically and physically fit to meet the requirements for working in those sectors that are improving their productivity.

Because of its systemic nature, the process of changing production patterns calls for the participation of all sectors of society; this has already been proven to result in greater social equity. Compared with other regions, including some developing regions, Latin America and the Caribbean are starting out with a poor level of social equity, both in terms of income distribution by strata and in terms of the poverty-line concept. This inequity is also apparent in some key demographic variables, such as life expectancy at birth and child mortality, which show enormous discrepancies between the poor and the not poor or between ethnic groups. Infant mortality among the most underprivileged groups is sometimes four or five times higher than among children whose mothers belong to the higher income groups.

Fertility also varies according to distribution strata, and many of the differences may be attributed directly to forms of inequity. Fertility surveys —with wide coverage— conducted in several countries of the region show that among the poor sectors (identified in terms of the mothers' level of schooling) there is a high percentage of unwanted fertility —a result of lack of information on and access to family planning methods—, and that this phenomenon is much less prevalent among the strata that are not poor. There are also other factors that indirectly contribute to such differences, such as the aforementioned higher infant mortality or the more limited —sometimes virtually nonexistent— coverage of social security. The overall result of these and other factors is that the aforementioned surveys typically show fertility values of 5.5 to 6.5 children born live per female in the strata that have not completed primary

school or have had no schooling at all, as compared with values of around 2.5 children in the sectors that have secondary or a higher level of education.

The significance of these differences lies, in particular, in the fact that a high level of fertility is an element that contributes to the intergenerational perpetuation of poverty. Indeed, children born in poor homes —i.e., in homes where the parents, because of their limited participation in production and labor markets, have access only to low incomes— grow up under unfavourable circumstances as regards nutrition and care, health services and education. Thus, when they grow up, they are poorly equipped to gain access to highly productive occupations, and they end up replicating the low income of their parents, i.e., they become poor adults. This cycle is reinforced when the number of children in poor homes is relatively high, since in such cases, each child receives a smaller share of nutrition, education, etc. Moreover, because they grow up in poverty, they are quite likely to reproduce the fertility patterns of their parents. In this connection, it should be noted that poor households not only have different fertility rates, but they also have higher rates of early fertility (teenage pregnancy) and family units headed by a single woman. This situation also contributes to the intergenerational perpetuation of poverty.

The above facts do not mean that fertility patterns are the main mechanism at work in the appearance and reproduction of poverty. Economic trends and the supply of productive employment also play a key role in the phenomenon. During the "lost decade", in fact, the rate of increase in the number of poor people was clearly higher than might be determined by demographic dynamics, and this increase occurred at a time when fertility was declining, even among the poor sectors. Moreover, as mentioned above, at the microsocial level (family units), nutrition, health and education —which are determined fundamentally by the income level of the parents— were the most significant factors contributing to this situation. It is in this context that we must focus on the contributing role of high fertility rates in the mechanism of intergenerational perpetuation of poverty.

As is well known, irrational patterns of utilization of natural resources —both in terms of the technology applied and of the volume and types of use— have caused serious concern worldwide, and have given rise to heated controversy in different sectors and countries. These controversies have focused on the magnitude and characteristics of the phenomenon and on the responsibilities of the parties concerned and how to deal with the issues. The region has also taken part in these discussions. In the approach of changing production patterns with social equity, great importance is attached to the question of the environmental sustainability of development. In this regard, the role played by population variables has been a subject of concern. Bearing in mind the volume of the assets of the region, as well as its supply of natural resources, much of the emphasis of discussions on relationship between population and environment has been placed on territorial or geographic distribution. Between 1960 and 1990, the population of the region rose by 230 million persons; 94% of this increase occurred in urban areas. The urbanization of Latin America and the Caribbean is reaching a level similar to that of the developed countries; with only 8% of the world population, the region has some of the largest cities in the world. This means that there has been tremendous pressure on urban ecosystems, which in turn has led to high levels of pollution and degradation of the habitat. This situation has been very detrimental to quality of life; in view of the inequities mentioned above, the phenomenon has been much more evident in the urban areas where the poor live.

The rural areas have not escaped the problems of environmental deterioration. Again, this has been due to irrational exploitation patterns. There are many examples in which short-term economic benefits have been obtained at the expense of environmental sustainability, either because of the size and characteristics of the natural resources so exploited, or because of the unsuitability of the technology

applied, from the standpoint of sustainability. This has gone hand-in-hand (or has been associated) with changes in the volume and location of the population. Thus, for example, there have been complex phenomena of occupation of virgin lands, with landless migrant farm workers often cutting down or burning off native forests in order to start a small farm; these same lands have subsequently been used for large-scale farming or stock raising. In many cases, the lands so used are not well suited to that purpose, or their ecosystems are very fragile, and serious environmental damage results. Similar phenomena of environmental degradation have also occurred on the coastlands.

The existence of the three linkages mentioned above —population and human resources, population and social equity, and population and environment— means that population variables cannot be separated from efforts carried out in the region to change production patterns while ensuring social equity. The cases mentioned so far are just a few examples of these types of relationships, and have not been described in their full complexity. In discussing the existing inequities, we have not touched on one of the most serious manifestations of the problem, which is gender inequity, nor have we, in discussing human relations, mentioned the potential effect of the demographic transition that is going on in the different countries on the age structure of the population, and its economic and social impact. These relations are discussed in greater detail in the following sections.

III. SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC SITUATION AND TRENDS³

A. POPULATION TRENDS DURING THE SECOND HALF OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Between 1950 and 1995, the population of Latin America and the Caribbean tripled, reaching a total of 479 million. This unprecedented increase took place at an uneven rate throughout the last 35 years. Up until the mid-1960s, the reduction of mortality and the consistently high fertility rates led to a substantial growth of the population. During this period, the economy of the region, invigorated by a process of import substitution —in which industry and services played an increasingly important role— was characterized by a steady growth of the per capita product. Along with these changes, far-reaching social changes also took place, as evidenced by the strengthening of the middle classes and wage-earners, an increase in levels of schooling and rapid urbanization. Along with the changes in the economic and social structures of the region, a number of cultural contributions contributed —among other things— to a preference for smaller families which was facilitated by the implementation of family planning strategies. As a result, fertility began to decline and to have a deflating effect on the average annual population growth rate, which fell from 2.7% in 1950 and 1960 to 1.8% during the first half of the 1990s.

During the 1980s, as the decline in the population growth rate was taking hold, the region found itself in a serious crisis which jeopardized many of the economic and social advances that had been achieved during the postwar period. This recessive cycle caused serious macroeconomic imbalances and cancelled out some of the progress achieved in the social sphere; hence, there was a deterioration in the supply of services —such as health and education— and the operation of the labour markets. Despite the lower population growth rate, the impact of this reduction was offset by the transfer of the previously higher rate, which led to larger cohorts of women of childbearing age; thus, lower fertility rates notwithstanding, the number of births continued to rise. The demand for social services continued to increase, while the supply was grossly inadequate. At the same time, the growing numbers of young people of working age contrasted with the slowdown in the creation of jobs, leading to significant

³ ECLAC/CELADE, Population, Social Equity and Changing Production Patterns (LC/G.1758/Rev.1-P; LC/DEM/G.131/Rev.1-Serie E, No. 37), Santiago, Chile, 1993; United Nations publication, Sales No. E.93.II.G.8; CEPAL, América Latina y el Caribe: dinámica de la población y desarrollo (LC/DEM/G.156, Cuadernos de la CEPAL No. 74), Santiago, Chile, 1995; United Nations publication, Sales No. S.95.II.G.13; B. Boland, Population Dynamics and Development in the Caribbean (With special emphasis on adolescent fertility, international migration and population policy and development planning) (DDR/2), Santiago, Chile, CEPAL/UNFPA/CELADE, Background Paper prepared for the Meeting of Government Experts on Population and Development in Latin America and the Caribbean, Saint Lucia, 6-9 October 1992.

increases in unemployment and underemployment. The demographic inertia, which was intertwined with the recessive processes in the economic and social spheres, posed serious challenges to development, and will continue to do so in the years to come. Hence the need to understand the population dynamics that are involved.

Perhaps the most notable demographic change in Latin America and the Caribbean during the last 35 years has been the sharp drop in fertility; indeed, the average number of children per woman fell from 6 in 1950 to 3 in 1995, and will be 2.7 in the year 2000. Along with this change in reproductive behaviour, reductions in mortality were reflected in longer life expectancy at birth, which rose from 52 to 69 years between the early 1950s and the 1990s, and is expected to reach 70 around the end of the century. This progress has been especially notable in the early years of life, inasmuch as infant mortality, which fell from 125 to 45 per thousand between the 1950s and the early 1990s, is expected to drop to 40 per thousand around the end of the 1990s. Finally, the population growth rate will continue to fall, and is expected to reach an annual average of 1.6% during the second half of the 1990s.⁴ These trends—particularly the fertility trends—have contributed to a change in the age structure of the population; the ageing of the population will lead to an increase—both absolute and relative—in the population of reproductive age as well as in the population of productive and passive ages. An immediate effect of this process is the marked growth in the number of persons wishing to enter the work force, particularly young people, who are suffering the effect of high unemployment rates. The population aged 60 and over, which already totalled 35 million in 1995—virtually four times the 1950 population in that age group—will rise rapidly, and this will create unprecedented demands in most countries, especially as regards the health and social security systems.

Although the region as a whole is in a process of full demographic transition, this statement does not apply equally to all the countries. Strictly speaking, regional indicators represent the average of a wide variety of national situations. Thus, there is a sharp contrast between countries in which women have an average of around five children, and others in which the figure is less than two; likewise, in some countries, life expectancy at birth is still under 60 years, while in others, it is over 75. Because of these differences, the population growth rate in some countries is higher than 2.6% per year, and in others, it is under 1%.⁵ Differences in demographic behaviour are evident not only from one country to another, but also within individual countries, between geographic areas, social groups and ethnic groups. This intranational diversity reflects the persistence of serious social inequities, which are reflected in the unequal participation of the different groups in the distribution of the fruits of material progress and in the general lack of access to essential services, such as education, health, family planning, housing and social security.

B. FUTURE POPULATION TRENDS IN THE REGION

Medium- and long-term projections of population trends indicate that the rate of growth will continue to slow down, and that, by the first decade of the twenty-first century, it will be close to 1%, while by the year 2025, it will be lower than that. According to these projections, the population of Latin America and the Caribbean will be around 700 million by the year 2025, which is 46% lower than the estimated figure

⁴ More detailed information on demographic indicators may be found in the tables in the Appendix.

⁵ These differences are illustrated in the diagram and the tables in the Appendix.

for 1995. Hypothetically speaking, by the year 2030, the combined fertility and death rates of the region would be such that each woman would have approximately two children and, on average, only one daughter to replace her in her reproductive functions. If this theory proves to be true, the region would move gradually towards zero population growth; thus, the population would eventually become virtually stationary. However, because the age distribution is still young, the region probably would not reach that status until after the year 2050, at which time, it would have a population of about 800 million.⁶

According to these projections, fertility will drop to replacement levels, and the ageing of the population will become more pronounced, so that around the middle of the twenty-first century, in most countries, only around one-fifth of the total population will be under 15 years old, and the percentage of elderly persons will increase. The dependency ratio will fall at first, but will subsequently rise.⁷ Because fertility trends and changes in the age structure of the population are occurring simultaneously in many countries, the number of births has already reached a record high, and will soon begin to fall, with the resulting impact on demand for mother and child care and other child-related services; in countries that have only recently begun their demographic transition, however, this will not happen until twenty or thirty years from now. Changes in the components of population, in terms of age structure and related aspects —such as epidemiological profiles— would indicate that, over the short and medium term, there will be a coexistence of demands; thus, without prejudice to a moderate increase in the number of children, there will be a sharp increase in the number of persons of active age and an even sharper increase in the percentage of elderly persons.

C. TERRITORIAL MOBILITY AND GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION

In addition to the aforementioned changes, the territorial mobility and distribution patterns of Latin America and the Caribbean have broadened. In an international context of increasing interaction and more and more flexible linkage mechanisms —facilitated by progress in the areas of transport and communications—, the marked disparities in degrees of development among countries and the restrictive economies of the region have contributed to an increase of international mobility, basically among countries within the region and towards the United States. In the last few decades, in addition to the usual flows of individuals —at all levels of skill— seeking better economic opportunities, there have also been movements of entire contingents of displaced persons and refugees, uprooted by sociopolitical conflicts, and of others who have returned to their countries of origin thanks to the democratization and pacification efforts of the 1980s. Not only has there been an increase in the number of people migrating out of their countries, but there has been a trend towards more diversity in migration flows, some of which have been itinerant, cyclical and temporary movements. International migration is a matter of special concern to the countries of the Caribbean subregion; because these countries are small both in territorial and in demographic terms, population exchanges aggravate their vulnerability to external economic factors.⁸

⁶ The Caribbean is at an advanced stage of demographic transition, and would be close to its replacement level around the year 2005.

⁷ This ratio is expected to drop —for the region as a whole— from the 1995 level of about 70 persons of non-active age per 100 persons of active age, to nearly 50 per 100 in the year 2010, after which it will begin to rise.

⁸ Since international mobility is selective by gender, age and skills, it tends to have a detrimental impact on the development potential of these countries.

Along with the aforementioned trends, the Latin American and Caribbean countries have undergone an intense process of urbanization. The population of the region, which was still mainly rural in 1950, became essentially urban—as a result of strong internal migratory flows—during the 1960s and 1970s. Although the process has slowed down, it is expected that by the year 2000, three-fourths of the total population will live in urban areas. The situation, however, is not at all homogeneous, inasmuch as in some countries, more than 55% of the population lived in rural areas in 1995. One feature of the urbanization phenomenon in the region is the high degree of concentration of the population; in 1995, the 42 cities with a population of over 1 million accounted for around 39% of the total urban population. Although prevailing development models encouraged the territorial concentration of economic activities and of human settlements—which accentuated the disparities in terms of space—, during the 1970s and 1980s, this trend began to diminish. During those two decades, the largest cities grew at slower rates than other cities of intermediate and smaller size. However, this change—which was associated with the weakening of industry, the reorientation of economies towards exports and the measures designed to reduce centralism in public administration—has not brought with it any change in the structural patterns of concentration nor has it relieved the severe pressures on the environment or on natural resources. Moreover, internal migratory flows have become increasingly diverse, not only in terms of the areas of origin and of destination—which are predominantly urban—but also in terms of the time factor. The traditional pattern of migration involving a change of residence will probably shift to migrations of a temporary nature which, in essence, involve a redefinition of living spaces.

IV. CHALLENGES IN THE AREA OF POPULATION AND DEVELOPMENT

At a time in history that is characterized by the universal technical and cultural change, the relationship between population trends and socioeconomic dynamics of the Latin American and Caribbean countries poses complex challenges in the area of knowledge and political action. In this section, we discuss seven areas which are particularly relevant to the efforts being made by the region —and the countries in it— to promote a type of development that will improve the well-being of the population while at the same time ensuring environmental sustainability and strengthening democratic systems.

A. RIGID EMPLOYMENT PATTERNS

The reactivation of the Latin American and Caribbean economies, following the crisis of the 1980s, has entailed the utilization of idle installed capacity and unemployed manpower, and this has led to an overall increase in urban employment. However, once the pre-crisis levels of gross domestic product (GDP) were attained, the growth of employment slowed down, due to the fact that economic growth has tended to be based on capital accumulation.⁹ Recent trends in the economies of the region have evidenced serious weaknesses as regards the generation of jobs.¹⁰ This situation is associated with new forms of economic growth based on the increasing use of technology, which affects both the quantity and the quality of jobs, as well as their structure and distribution. The systematic adoption of technical innovations —a prerequisite for attaining competitiveness in a context of constant universalization of transactions, and for raising productivity and income from work— has led to changes in production patterns which, in turn, call for an increasingly skilled work force. Since the linkages in the production system cause the need for competitiveness to be transferred from the tradable goods sector to the non-tradables sector —which supplies the tradables sector—, increases in productivity would be expected to be spread throughout the entire economic system. Although these factors are considered to be fundamental to the existing development paradigms, they have not been fully developed because of the lags in the training of available manpower.¹¹

⁹ This situation is discussed in Social Panorama of Latin America, 1995 edition (LC/G.1866-P), Santiago, Chile, 1995. United Nations publication, Sales No. E.95.II.G.17.

¹⁰ This effect is even more serious in countries that have intensified their macroeconomic and institutional reform programmes.

¹¹ ECLAC, Changing Production Patterns with Social Equity (LC/G.1601-P), Santiago, Chile, 1990; United Nations publication, Sales No. E.90.II.G.6; ECLAC, Social Equity and Changing Production Patterns: An Integrated Approach (LC/G.1701/Rev.1-P), Santiago, Chile, 1992; United Nations publication, Sales No. E.92.II.G.5; ECLAC/OREALC, Education and Knowledge: Basic Pillars of Changing Production Patterns with Social Equity (LC/G.1702(SES.24/4)), Santiago, Chile, 1992; United Nations publication, Sales No. E.92.II.G.6.

Higher skills requirements have seriously reduced the opportunities available to workers having little or no training, especially those who are functionally illiterate. In many countries, the open unemployment rate among the poorest 20% of households is three or four times higher than average national rates; on the other hand, among the richest 20% of households, unemployment is virtually frictional. Thus, economic growth and increasing technical innovation can significantly affect employment for a small group of the population, so that a very high and sustained level of economic growth would be required in order to reduce unemployment among the lower income sectors. This is particularly true in the case of young people; even though they have a higher level of schooling than their parents, the rate of unemployment is twice as high in this group as among the population as a whole. This is further evidence of the limited growth of jobs, and may be interpreted as an indication of the maladjustments between the type of education received and the nature of the skills required to get a job. In addition to the many gender-based inequities that exist on the employment scene in general, unemployment is also higher among women.

The changes in orientation of the economy have led to movements of manpower between sectors, and as the role of the State as an employer has diminished, the role of the private sector in this area has been strengthened. These changes are related to another aspect of the labour market, namely, that of job stability. As technological innovations are constantly adopted, in an effort to attain competitiveness, the use of manpower has become increasingly flexible, and contractual relations have been deregulated. This means that there is a considerable turnover of workers; services are subcontracted in order to reduce operating costs, less skilled workers are replaced by more skilled workers, and payrolls are adapted to the performance of demand and the options provided by new technologies. These adjustments in the labour market have excluded, to an extent that may be permanent, those segments of the worker population that do not have the required skills, who therefore find themselves in a very uncertain situation. That is why it is so important to promote on-going programmes that will make it possible to redeploy manpower.¹²

Not only is it important for policy makers to take into account trends in the demand for manpower—such as those pertaining to the quality and structure of employment—, but they must also pay special attention to matters relating to the supply of manpower within the population. In this regard, the rate of growth of the working-age population has begun to slow down—having peaked during the 1970s—, and it is estimated that the annual average will be 2.3% during the 1990s. This means that, as a result of the decline in fertility begun during the 1960s, the region as a whole is beginning to experience a gradual decrease in the rate of growth of its manpower pool. Nevertheless, in some of the countries that have most recently begun this transition process, the rates are close to 3%, and this means there is still strong pressure to create new jobs.

Along with the aforementioned trends, there appears to be a downward bias in the levels of participation of the younger population—who remain in the educational system longer, especially as coverage of secondary education increases—and of the older population—who are more likely to take advantage of retirement mechanisms. The figures on participation in the work force also show gender-based differences, i.e., there is a slight drop among men and a strong increase among women. The

¹² See ECLAC/CELADE, Population, Social Equity and Changing Production Patterns (LC/G.1758/Rev.2-P) (LC/DEM/G.131/Rev.2), Santiago, Chile, 1993; United Nations publication, Sales No. E.93.II.G.8.

increased participation of women is a result not only of changes in the economic and sociocultural spheres, but also of the drop in fertility, which enables women to work outside the home.

A net result of the trends mentioned above is the gradual decline of dependency, which means that the economic burden of individual workers is alleviated and, *mutatis mutandi*, there is a greater potential for increasing the average income of households. The effect of the decline in new cohorts of persons becoming old enough to work will be more immediately evident in countries that have reached more advanced stages of demographic transition, and will be less evident in countries that began the transition later. Without prejudice to these differences, the trends in question mean that the countries of the region must face the tremendous challenge of making the most of their manpower potential by strengthening skills and creating new jobs.

B. EDUCATION AND STRENGTHENING OF HUMAN RESOURCES

Employment trends, conditioned by a gradual adoption of technical innovation in production, are reflected in the demand for an increasingly skilled work force. The need to attain competitiveness on the international market poses a challenge and calls for a transformation of production patterns that will increase the productivity of factors, which is a prerequisite for economic and social development. Having more skilled labour increases the potential for participating in highly productive activities and earning higher wages, and this is a prerequisite for achieving greater social equity. One of the greatest challenges facing the Latin American and Caribbean countries is that of strengthening human resources in order to make it possible to systematically adopt technical innovation. There is consensus to the effect that the quality of human resources is even more important than the quantity. Even though employment trends seem to indicate that education is not enough to guarantee that a person will be able to get a productive and well-paid job, it does play a crucial role in developing the abilities and skills required for an internationally competitive economy. By the same token, education contributes to the consolidation of democracy and the achievement of greater social equity, and both of these are not only ethical imperatives but essential to the full enjoyment of civil rights and responsibilities.

Over the last few decades, educational systems have experienced a significant —albeit incomplete— growth in most of the countries of the region. At the primary level, coverage is practically universal —more than 90% of children of primary age are in school— and the average duration of schooling is seven years; however, enrollment rates are much lower in some countries, in rural and indigenous areas and among the urban poor. Moreover, repetition rates, age lags and dropouts are high in primary education, and this leads to a high risk of functional illiteracy among the young population. As coverage of primary education has improved, enrollment in secondary education has increased significantly in almost all the countries, but it is still low —under 40%— in some of them. Finally, there has been a notable increase in the number of students enrolled in higher education, but the percentage participation is still much lower than at the other levels, and there are substantial differences between countries and within individual countries. In brief, despite the progress that has been made, many countries still need to make a much greater effort to extend educational coverage and keep students within the system.

One of the most important challenges facing all the Latin American and Caribbean countries is that of improving the quality of education. There are obvious shortcomings both in substantive results and in

equity of access to knowledge among the different social strata.¹³ The content of education is becoming rapidly outdated because there is no emphasis on the concepts and talents required in a world of constant socioeconomic, cultural and technological change. At the same time, institutional education tends to be rigid, bureaucratic and out of touch with real circumstances.¹⁴ If the countries of the region wish to improve the quality of education and increase opportunities for access by the new generations to more productive and better paid jobs, they will have to make far-reaching changes in education. From the standpoint of content—in addition to providing adequate skills in language (reading and writing) and arithmetic—there must be a greater linkage with the production sector, in order to adjust education to the demands of the economic and social context. This means moving towards more intensive education, with emphasis on the production and dissemination of scientific and technological know-how, without detriment to the humanistic aspects that are essential to developing responsible citizens. As regards institutional aspects, the agents must have more autonomy and responsibility, and interaction between the school and the social environment must be encouraged.

In order for these changes to be viable, there must be a broad consensus among social agents, and sustained investment in education. It can be demonstrated that investing in the education of children, teenagers and young people is profitable not only for them and their families, but also for society and for the economy as a whole.¹⁵ In particular, it has been found that in the countries of the region, a person must have completed at least ten years of schooling—and in some cases, the entire secondary education—in order to earn enough to have a good chance of putting poverty behind. Moreover, the benefits of a timely investment in education—i.e., of training young people at the right ages—are substantially greater than the benefits of training programmes, which are usually more costly and less effective.

In many cases, the extent to which education can be improved depends on the economic and social situation of each country, but what can be accomplished with a given amount of resources will depend on the number of students enrolling in each grade, and this is highly contingent on the situation with respect to demographic transition. The countries that began this process first have increasingly smaller school-age populations—and usually better coverage and equity of access to the educational system—and this opens up the possibility of universalizing coverage of secondary education, increasing entry into higher education and improving the quality of the entire educational system. Even those countries that have begun their demographic transition more recently will begin to see a gradual reduction in the percentage of school-age children, and will therefore be able to increase coverage of primary education, although they will still need more resources in order to meet the demand for secondary education. In these countries, access to education tends to be less equitable, and this adversely affects the poor, the indigenous groups and women, especially in the rural areas. Although changes in age structure are

¹³ With regard to this lack of equity, it should be noted that although the countries of the region have made progress towards achieving the educational goals established at the World Summit on Children, the children whose needs are greatest are still not benefiting from improvements which, for the most part, are to be found in sectors that would have made progress even without any goals having been set. ECLAC, Social Panorama of Latin America, 1995 edition, op. cit.

¹⁴ ECLAC/OREALC, Education and Knowledge: Basic Pillars of Changing Production Patterns with Social Equity, op. cit.

¹⁵ Investing in more and better education is so profitable that in most countries, such an investment could be recovered quite rapidly. In fact, if improving the quality of education involved higher levels of spending than those required to expand coverage, such an expenditure would still be economically profitable. ECLAC, Social Panorama of Latin America, 1995 edition, op. cit.

important, they are not the only demographic factor to be considered; migration also plays a significant role, since it involves transfers of demand over space and directly affects decisions on the location of educational services. In addition, the different aspects of urbanization—including the concentration of school-age population— may be seen as contributing factors in the extension of education. Finally, dropout rates can be brought down by reducing teenage fertility—especially when it is unwanted— and child labour.

Although it is essential, in order to improve the quality of human resources—the immediate challenge—, to invest in improving and extending education, this in itself will not be enough to ensure that the population can actually get highly productive jobs. Such an effort must be linked with policies designed to ensure that the transformation of production patterns is seen as a systemic process, i.e., that it involve the different dimensions (economic, social and cultural) of society. It is also worth stressing that the returns on the investment made in improving education will be seen over the medium and the long term; the results will not be seen until the children have completed several years of schooling and entered the work force. Moreover, when the time comes for these students to enter the work force, the results of the changes in the educational system will not be entirely clear, since there will still be a larger number of workers belonging to the older cohorts, who have not benefited from the changes.

C. INVESTMENT IN GENERAL HEALTH AND REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH

Although it is essential to educate the population for work in an economic environment of constant technological change, and for life in a democratic society, these conditions cannot be met unless the population is physically and mentally fit. Investment in health—for all ages—is fundamental to the achievement of this end. Good health not only makes it easier to achieve greater individual well-being and a higher level of social equity, it also contributes to sustained human development. Consequently, if the countries of the region are to make progress towards the effective realization of the creative and productive potential of the population, they must invest in health.¹⁶

As a number of diseases have been brought under control, the incidence of some causes of death, especially among the infant population, has been reduced; moreover, the use of vaccines, antibiotics and insecticides has helped eradicate many pathologies, as well as the vectors that transmit them. These advances have made it possible to reach a point of "epidemiological transition"; this concept reflects the process of change from a situation of high death rates, with a prevalence of contagious diseases (both infectious and parasitic), to a situation of low death rates, with a prevalence of degenerative diseases, tumors and deaths caused by external circumstances. This process is closely related to the changes brought about by the demographic transition—fewer young people and more elderly people—, as reflected in the structure of demand on the health sector. Thus, as the demographic transition evolves, the major share of the demand for health services shifts from children to the elderly; this increases the cost of health care, especially because degenerative diseases are chronic and difficult to treat.

Demographic changes and their effect on the structure of the population not only change the incidence of diseases and causes of death, but they must also be taken into account in the health reform

¹⁶ ECLAC/PAHO, Health, social equity and changing production patterns in Latin America and the Caribbean (LC/G.1813/SES.25/18), Santiago, Chile, 1994.

programmes being implemented by many countries in the context of their policies on modernization of the State and their strategies on decentralization and social participation. These initiatives are aimed, *inter alia*, at improving the quality and efficiency of health services and expanding coverage for the more vulnerable and lower income strata. The goal is to ensure the financial sustainability of these services; at the same time, emphasis is placed on reorienting investment —over the medium and long terms— towards prevention. These reforms also take into account the new direction of social policy as regards the definition of efficient institutional structures and the identification of target populations and criteria for allocating resources. Consequently, projects designed to ensure access to health services for different groups must have information on the spatial distribution of the population and on the social characteristics of individuals and families.

Given the diversity of situations involved in the demographic transition of the region, different countries face different challenges in the field of health.¹⁷ Thus, in countries that have advanced further in the transition, the population is relatively old, and the most serious health risks are basically those that affect adults and the elderly. This means that they are faced with a very different type of problems, which call for complex and costly diagnostic techniques, treatment and rehabilitation. At the same time, the falling birth rate means that these same countries will see a stabilization of demand for maternal and child care; in addition, there is the possibility of setting up specialized services to provide care for congenital and perinatal diseases, which play a major role in reducing infant mortality.

The countries that are in full demographic transition —which include most of the population of the region—, where the drop in fertility and death rates has been more recent and more rapid, will have to deal with simultaneous demands from all age groups. Although requirements for maternal and child care will begin to stabilize as the number of births declines, the coverage of such services is generally inadequate. Consequently, these countries will be faced with an unprecedented level of unmet demand for health services, mainly from the poorest groups. This demand has increased as a result of rapid urbanization and environmental deterioration —as evidenced in the pollution of the atmosphere and of water sources, deficient residential conditions and inadequate infrastructure of potable water and sewer systems. To this is added the serious backwardness of the rural areas. In addition to striving to increase the coverage of maternal and child care services, these countries will have to strengthen their strategies for providing care to the elderly; with the gradual growth of this population group has come an increase in health problems specific to them.

Finally, the countries whose demographic transition is incipient, whose fertility rate has not yet dropped, the greatest need will be for services to mothers and children and to young adults. The structure of the causes of death indicates that these countries still have patterns of morbidity and mortality that are characterized by a high incidence of infectious and parasitic diseases, and by the persistence of acute malnutrition. Since the high-risk groups make up a significant part of the total population of these countries, the struggle against contagious diseases calls for an integrated approach that includes the expansion of potable water systems, improvements in environmental sanitation, strengthening of health education and expansion of coverage of primary health care services. Communities and families must all play an active role in providing services aimed primarily at women and children.

¹⁷ A more detailed discussion may be found in the book entitled Impactos de las tendencias demográficas sobre los sectores sociales en América Latina: Contribución al diseño de políticas y programas, to be published under the IDB/CELADE Agreement (ATN/TF-4098/RG.IDB-CELADE).

Reproductive health is a fundamental aspect of health in general. Indeed, it is a matter of concern not only because of the ethical issues involved, which have to do with the protection and preservation of life, but also because —although both men and women are affected— it is closely linked to the status of women in society and to the process of early socialization of children.¹⁸ In this regard, the drop in fertility has been the most noteworthy phenomenon of recent years in Latin America and the Caribbean. Although the lower fertility rates have not led to an immediate reduction in the number of pregnancies and births and the demand for postnatal care, the rate of growth in these areas has slowed down. These changes have been associated with an increase in the use of contraceptives and a shift in births to less risky ages. This, in turn, has contributed to improved reproductive health, which will have a positive effect on morbidity and mortality rates, both in mothers and in children.

Nevertheless, the number of births among women of high-risk ages is still significant, particularly as regards teenagers. This is a matter of serious concern, because of the biological risks involved and their negative implications for the future development of both the mothers and their children. The problems raised by teenage pregnancy are reason enough to promote effective prevention and care for this group; concrete actions should be implemented to provide young people (both male and female) with sex education and to ensure that they have access to appropriate information on family planning methods.¹⁹ Moreover, there are large contingents of women —particularly indigenous women and women living in poverty in rural and urban areas— who are in a particularly vulnerable situation because of their low socioeconomic level, their lack of education and their high fertility. This vulnerability is aggravated by the lack of general health services. These women pose a challenge to reproductive health programmes, inasmuch as they have little access to contraceptive methods —especially the most modern ones— and they have the highest rate of unwanted pregnancies.

Another aspect that is worth mentioning, because of its relevance to reproductive health issues, is the incidence of sexually transmitted diseases, abortion and maternal mortality. These are all phenomena that cannot be properly quantified because of the lack of reliable statistics and the difficulties encountered —including legal obstacles— in trying to obtain them. Despite the lack of accurate data, however, the

¹⁸ The Programme of Action adopted at the International Conference on Population and Development defines reproductive health as a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity, in all matters relating to the reproductive system and to its functions and processes. This concept also refers to the rights of women to receive adequate health services during and after childbirth, to be informed and to have access to safe, effective, affordable and acceptable methods of family planning of their choice. In this regard, see: United Nations, Population and Development. Programme of Action adopted at the International Conference on Population and Development, Cairo, 5-13 September 1994 (ST/ESA/SER.A/149), United Nations, 1995. United Nations publication, Sales No. E.95.XII.7.

¹⁹ Section II.5, Recommendation No. 2, of the Latin American and Caribbean Consensus on Population and Development reads as follows: "Recognizing that the opportunity to regulate fertility is a universally recognized human right, it is recommended that Governments ensure the full exercise of this right as one of their prime objectives and provide the accurate, complete information necessary for that purpose. Accordingly, they should provide access to family planning services, expand their coverage and improve their quality, providing care without restriction to all men and women who want it, in a framework of full respect for individual freedoms and for the diversity of socio-cultural and religious beliefs and values."

estimates available make it necessary to sound a warning about the seriousness and persistence of these problems.

D. OBSTACLES TO THE ATTAINMENT OF SOCIAL EQUITY

As evidenced by the significant groups of the population that are in a vulnerable position, the societies of the region are characterized by severe inequities. Women, the elderly, children, young people, aboriginal populations and other ethnic groups are all exposed to the risks of poverty and social neglect, and this is accentuated by their lack of participation in civic affairs. The persistence of these vulnerable groups, even during periods of economic reactivation, limits the countries' prospects of moving towards the consolidation of authentically democratic societies, with economic and social development models based on the proper utilization of their human resources.

Somewhat over 40% of the population of Latin America and the Caribbean lives in poverty, and about one-fifth of this population does not even have the income necessary to have access to a minimum foodbasket. Although poverty and indigence declined during the economic expansion of the postwar period, the crisis and the subsequent economic adjustment of the 1980s reversed this trend. In the early 1990s, the reduction of open unemployment brought about by economic reactivation helped reduce poverty again, especially in those countries that have made more progress in their restructuring efforts. For the most part, these advances may be explained by the fact that household incomes have improved as the product increased and inflation decreased; on the other hand, changes in income distribution only played a minor role in this improvement, and the inequalities that have always prevailed in the countries of the region have persisted.²⁰

As market relations have been broadened, in step with the trend towards social, economic and cultural globalization, the structure and functions of institutions such as the family and other primary social groups have been changing, and this has led to a deterioration of bonds of solidarity and an increase in social risk factors. This aggravates the difficulties faced by countries in their efforts to alleviate poverty. Moreover, since the poor tend to have higher fertility rates, more unwanted children and a much lower life expectancy than those who are not poor, there is considerable pressure on resources to provide the social services —health, reproductive health and family planning and education— that are needed to help break the vicious circle of perpetual poverty. In this regard, population policies aimed at overcoming inequities related to population trends are not only important from the ethical standpoint —because they promote equal opportunity—, but they are also relevant as a means of establishing specific investment requirements in the area of human resources.

The injustice of many of the situations that exist in the region is particularly apparent when these situations are analyzed according to gender. There are marked disparities between men and women when it comes to income, occupation and access to jobs. A clear example of the segregation that exists on the job market is the concentration of women in a very few occupations considered "typically feminine". Even though in the last few decades, there has been a slight decrease in gender-based income inequalities,

²⁰ As in previous decades, during the 1990s, the distribution of costs has been uneven during stages of adjustment, and income distribution has remained unchanged during periods of boom. ECLAC, Social Panorama of Latin America, 1995 edition, op. cit.

women's wages are still between 20% and 40% lower than those earned by men.²¹ It has also been found that women in households that are not poor are more likely to have jobs and that, if they did not work, a significant part of those households would fall into poverty; this is an eloquent testimony of the importance of women's work. When households are headed by women—a situation that has become more prevalent over time—the disparities are particularly linked to poverty. It is therefore essential that social policies include gender issues. In particular, labour policies that facilitate the entry of female heads of household into the labour market—by improving their skills, eliminating discriminatory practices, and establishing day-care centers— not only help reduce injustices based on gender, but they also help alleviate poverty.

In order for a society to be economically and socially efficient, there must also be equity between the different generations that make up the population; hence, an adequate social security system is a prerequisite for equity. However, there is not much likelihood of social security systems achieving universal coverage over the short term, because there are too many people working in low-productivity sectors who are not provided for in labour legislation. Although pension models vary from country to country, they are all affected by demographic factors, especially by the ageing of the population caused by the decline in fertility, and by individual ageing caused by the decline in adult mortality. These two dimensions of the ageing process have led to an increase in the ratio between the retired population and the economically active population. Consequently, measures must be taken to counteract the risk of intergenerational inequality that is inherent in these trends.

The challenge of overcoming the many forms of social inequity in the region is a tremendous one, and it must be addressed as efforts are made to transform production patterns. Because these inequities have existed throughout history, as have the mechanisms that reproduce them, any effort to eradicate them must include economic reforms accompanied by strong social policies, and these must, of course, include population policies.

E. DEMOCRACY, PARTICIPATION AND DECENTRALIZATION

The concept of changing production patterns with social equity goes beyond the purely economic aspects traditionally considered in the development process; indeed, this approach calls for the different agents involved to reach consensus as to what type of society they wish to build. The use of democratic participatory mechanisms, both in discussions and in decision making, is essential if this shared vision of the type of society desired is to effectively represent the national majorities while at the same time taking into account—and, insofar as possible, harmonizing—the interests, technical contributions and values of all agents of development. This initial broad agreement on the formal and substantive value of democratic forms of government and management is the foundation for attaining consensus in other areas, as required for the construction of a development process that is socially sustainable. The use of democratic and participatory mechanisms will make it possible to move towards meeting the demands of all the different sectors of society.

²¹ Although there has been a significant increase in the number of professional and technical women, 40% of them work in low-productivity sectors where salaries are also low. See ECLAC, Social Panorama of Latin America, 1995 edition, op. cit.

For all its negative repercussions, the crisis of the 1980s helped bring about a new appreciation for democracy and set in motion a process of enhancing democratic principles in the countries of the region. One of the initiatives that has most often been adopted to accomplish this has been the decentralization of public administration, as a means for ensuring that available resources are used more efficiently and for strengthening the participation of the civil society. These sociopolitical trends have also accentuated the expectation that better living conditions can be achieved. Among other things, decentralization entails reforming public administration by transferring duties and resources from central agencies to local governments (usually at the municipal level). There are several advantages to transferring responsibilities from central government to local community representatives. Thus, in local communities, where geographical distances are shorter and personal contact is facilitated, the authorities are better able to keep abreast of the problems and potentials of the territory and of the population that they are responsible for; there is more contact between the government and the governed, and there are more opportunities for the community to play a part in solving local problems. In brief, conditions are better, at the local level, for the formulation, design, application, monitoring and evaluation of social policies or programmes, including population programmes.

If the positive expectations for decentralization are to be realized, some additional requirements must be met. Obviously, the availability of human resources, efficiency in policy and project management, the legitimacy granted by popular elections and the existence of effective channels for well-informed participation are essential to the type of decentralization that is sought. Even though it is too early to evaluate an experience that has only recently begun in the region, there are indications that the process is turning out to be more difficult than had been anticipated. Material resources and community involvement do not guarantee that local governments will be able to direct the development process in their territories or that they will satisfactorily respond to the requirements of the population. In order to be able to do this, they need know-how, technical elements and human resources. Even more important is the need for decentralization to be undertaken as a social and political strategy of national scope. If there are serious social inequities in the territories of the countries, there will be great discrepancies in the capacity of local governments to work towards the goal. In fact, when the differentiating factor is the economic power of the resident population, decentralization can aggravate social and geographic inequalities.

In a complex situation like this, an understanding of social and demographic issues and knowledge of how to handle population data—for which a certain level of specialization is required—can have a number of significant applications to local administration. In the first place, data relating to population dynamics are not mere background information, but basic material for determining the magnitude and the type of social requirements that local governments must face and to enable both local authorities and private investors to identify the potential—for example, in terms of quantity and quality of the work force—of the local population. In the second place, population changes in subnational geographic units can occur quite suddenly, e.g., a family planning programme in a poor urban neighbourhood with high rates of unwanted fertility could have a rapid and direct impact on the number of births. Such changes could have far-reaching effects, as is the case when accelerated emigration or immigration processes lead to underutilization or crowding of schools in small communities. Hence, it is important to forecast

population trends, and in fact, intervention in this regard can prove to be a decisive issue in the development of subnational communities.²²

Finally, it is important to stress that some countries have made significant progress in strengthening local government capacities as regards know-how, technical elements and human resources in the area of population and development. Nevertheless, the task of extending and consolidating the advances made represents a serious challenge, inasmuch as it calls for a better understanding of the linkages between population and development at the subnational level, especially in small areas and specific ecosystems. Among other things, personnel training must be reoriented towards teaching skills relating to demographic analysis, research must be conducted on specific aspects of the interrelations between population and development, these interrelations must be taken into account in policy and investment decisions, and population programmes must be designed and executed.²³ In addition, local databases must be improved by means of special data-gathering operations and the inclusion of clear geographical references in periodic updates. Technologies must be developed to facilitate the geographic disaggregation of the available information, especially periodic data that include geographical references (censuses, household surveys and many sectoral statistics). Finally, methodologies and routines must be designed to allow authorities to obtain indicators that are useful to local administration, which involve the use of the aforementioned technologies and data.

F. THE DIFFICULTY OF ACHIEVING SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

In order for the transformation of production patterns to be genuine, economic growth must be sustainable, and the first requirement for sustainability—in broad and not purely environmental terms—is the generation of goods and services (economic growth) for the population as a whole (social equity). These two elements must be managed in such a way as to make them compatible with the maintenance of a base of natural resources that will guarantee that the needs of future generations are also met.²⁴ Along these lines, the Programme of Action adopted at the International Conference on Population and Development points out that sustainable development is a means for guaranteeing equitable human well-being and that in order for this to be possible, it is important that the relationship between population, resources, the environment and development be fully recognized, be properly managed and

²² For all these reasons, it is important to raise awareness about population and development matters. At the subnational level, it would appear to be easier to identify potential conflicts between demographic trends and local administration. For this same reason, the community can play a more active role in addressing these conflicts at the local level than at the national level.

²³ Until recently, training was aimed almost exclusively at teaching professional and technical staff how to perform tasks relating to planning, management and evaluation in central agencies, such as ministries, central banks and national statistical institutes.

²⁴ ECLAC, Sustainable Development: Changing Production Patterns, Social Equity and the Environment (LC/G.1648/Rev.2-P), Santiago, Chile, 1991; United Nations publication, Sales No. E.91.II.G.5.

be harmoniously and dynamically balanced.²⁵ There is consensus that population trends, development and ecosystems are interrelated in a number of complex ways. With regard to ecosystems and population, the net result of the interrelation has to do with a combination of factors, including the initial condition of the ecosystems concerned, production and consumption patterns, lags in conservation technology, poverty and lack of infrastructure, lack of public awareness of ecological concerns, lack of political will to address environmental issues, and institutional weaknesses that preclude taking appropriate measures. Consequently, any study of the interrelations of population, development and the environment must necessarily take into account the diversity —between countries and within individual countries— of the variables involved, both as direct and indirect factors.²⁶

The situation of the region as regards the environment is an irrefutable example of the multitude of aspects that make the relationship between population, development and the environment so complex and variable. Thus, the accelerated demographic growth of some cities and the itinerant mobility of landless farm workers in the hot rainy ecosystems are extreme examples of the critical linkages that exist between population trends and the natural environment; however, the nature of the problems must be evaluated in the light of other factors that determine how serious the impact is and what it means. The rapid growth of cities may be linked to certain effects such as the exhaustion of sources of potable water, atmospheric pollution, deterioration of soils and accumulation of waste, all of which cause environmental degradation. Although population growth may play a part in this deterioration, there is not a lineal relationship between the increase in the number of people living in a given area and the degree to which its environment deteriorates; rather, non-demographic factors play a major role. The exhaustion of potable water supplies has to do with the capacity for recycling and with habitually inequitable consumption patterns that lead to waste; atmospheric pollution is linked with the inappropriate location of physical facilities (as in the case of many industries) and prevailing modalities in the social use of transportation; the organization of urban soil is affected by real estate speculation and public action in the area of housing (occupation of low-cost lands located outside the urban radius), and finally, difficulties with waste disposal are associated with the lack of investment in sewer systems and in the treatment (and processing) of waste materials. In the case of landless farm workers who move to regions with hot rainy ecosystems, demographic factors are not the only ones that are responsible for deforestation, leaching of soils or contamination of rivers. Land ownership systems, the lack of technical support and of credit, and massive expulsions of settlers by forestry, agricultural and mining companies, all play a significant role in the damage caused to the natural heritage.

Strictly speaking, there are many cases in which, even where growth is rapid, population trends take place in relative harmony with the environment. There are situations of environmental deterioration where population variables clearly play a secondary role, and the damage is caused by other factors; this is the case in the large self-contained tourist projects that have been developed in the Caribbean islands. On the other hand, the virtual demographic stability of the Latin American and Caribbean rural areas does not mean that there have not been cases of rapid population growth in certain rural areas —e.g., as a result of migration for settlement purposes—, in which there has been an immediate effect on the

²⁵ The Programme of Action links the principle of sustainability with the principles of the right to development, and endorses the objectives and actions set forth in Agenda 21, adopted at the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development. United Nations, Population and Development. Programme..., op. cit.

²⁶ CELADE, Dos artículos sobre población, medio ambiente y desarrollo en América Latina y el Caribe (LC/DEM/G.152; serie E, No. 43), Santiago, Chile, 1995.

ecosystem. In brief, regional averages cannot be used to evaluate the relationship between population, development and the environment, because that would entail grouping together essentially dissimilar situations. It is therefore advisable to analyze situations on a smaller scale, such as that of specific ecosystems.²⁷

As mentioned above, the Latin American and Caribbean countries have experienced a process of rapid urbanization, and it is expected that around the year 2000, three-fourths of the total population will live in urban areas. Even though —because of the drop in the population growth rate— the absolute number of urban dwellers will be lower than that shown in projections made during the 1970s, and that the growth rate of the largest cities has slowed down, it is estimated that in the year 2000, around 159 million people —almost one out of every three Latin Americans and Caribbeans— will live in cities of over one million inhabitants. Although it is generally agreed that it would not be advisable to prevent urban growth —especially because of the advantages cities offer in terms of adopting technical progress, both in production processes and in human resources training—, there is an awareness of the need to make the urban areas function more efficiently. Working towards this end would help improve environmental sustainability in urban areas, make them more compatible with the requirements of changing production patterns, improve the levels of social equity and strengthen forms of democratic participation.

Most of the poor population of the region lives in the urban environment —although rural areas have higher percentages of poor households— and one of the major problems in these areas is the lack of proper housing. Since the poor are outside the residential market, some solution must be found that is based on social transfers. Because resources are scarce, housing policies must focus on these groups, the identification of which can be facilitated by the use of sociodemographic information and know-how. The impact of these policies can be strengthened if they are coordinated with policies in other areas that are directed at the same underprivileged groups.²⁸ However, this is a difficult task because the longstanding housing deficit has been aggravated by the lack of growth of the construction industry and the scarcity of resources.²⁹ The rapid increase in the number of households has added to this difficulty. Even though in most of the countries there has been a trend towards smaller households as a result of the decline in the number of children, the cohorts of people who are starting families have grown. In addition, socioeconomic and cultural changes have led to changes in the nature and function of families, and this has led to the prevalence of the nuclear family —replacing the extended family— and to an increase in the number of unipersonal households —made up of single persons beginning or ending their life cycle— and single-parent families, especially headed by women, which have grown as a result of the increase in separation and divorce, migration of spouses, increase in the number of widows and widowers, and the persistence of teenage fertility. The net effect of these trends has been an increase in the number of households; given the scarcity of housing, there has been an increase in the number of

²⁷ With regard to ecosystems, tools are needed to estimate the environmental impact of population trends, simulate alternative trends and incorporate population variables into environmental impact studies.

²⁸ Social "focalization" of housing subsidies should be accompanied by measures aimed at ensuring universal coverage, in order to avoid potential negative reactions from certain sectors, and prevent the development of a culture of dependency among the recipients of public assistance.

²⁹ During the periods of crisis and fiscal adjustment of the 1980s and early 1990s, in most countries of the region, actual spending on housing fell at a greater rate than that of overall spending. ECLAC, *Social Panorama of Latin America, 1995 edition* (LC/G.1844), Santiago, Chile, 1994.

multigenerational residential arrangements, particularly among the poor, who live in even more crowded and precarious conditions.

Although urbanization has also brought an expansion of potable water and sewer services, contributing to the decline of infant mortality in the countries of the region, it is estimated that about 25 million dwellings in the region (28% of all units) lack potable water, and that one-third of urban households still do not have acceptable systems for eliminating sewage.³⁰ Given the magnitude and the seriousness of this situation, and the pollution it causes, efforts to meet these basic needs in urban and rural localities may be seen as preventive environmental action aimed at improving the quality of the residential habitat and of material living conditions, especially among poor families.

G. TRADE, GLOBALIZATION AND ECONOMIC INTEGRATION

As a result both of the trend towards universalization of trade and of the lessons learned from recent economic trends, the participation of the countries of the region in international trade has changed significantly. The emphasis on exports and the liberalization of imports are examples of such change. In a context that is characterized by accentuated globalization and by technological innovation, if the transformation of production patterns is to be sustainable, the economies of the region must increase their participation in dynamic trade flows, in direct foreign investment and in technology and investment.³¹ The population is not indifferent to international interaction, and one of the most direct manifestations of such interaction is migration and mobility across country borders. These phenomena are not new to the region. In fact, people have moved between countries throughout the history of the Latin American and Caribbean region, sometimes helping to build entire nations and sometimes exchanging goods, services and ideas. Some of the main flows taking place at present are the emigration to the United States and the intraregional migrations; in all these cases, there has been a proliferation of new types of movements, as regards duration, sequence and diversity of motives. These new migratory arrangements are clearly linked to the trend towards globalization of the economy and one of its expressions, namely, the integration of markets. Despite the novel aspects of these movements, their common denominator is the existence of inequalities in the levels of development of the countries of origin and of destination. This common factor seems to persist even in the context of the reactivation of production and the macroeconomic reforms undertaken in recent years.

The overall displacement involved in the international mobility of the population must be examined not only in terms of its causes —which are not only economic, but also sociopolitical— but also of its repercussions. Among these, it is worth mentioning the loss of talents needed for development, and the flow of financial remittances from émigrés to their countries of origin. These are repercussions that have to do with migration outside the region —mainly to the United States— as well as to other countries within the region. Both types of flows affect —either directly or indirectly— the size, growth and

³⁰ ECLAC, Human settlements. The shelter of development (LC/L.906(Conf.85/3)/Rev.1), Santiago, Chile, 1995.

³¹ ECLAC, Open regionalism in Latin America and the Caribbean. Economic integration as a contribution to changing production patterns with social equity (LC/G.1801/Rev.1-P), Santiago, Chile, 1994; United Nations publication, Sales No. E.94.II.G.3; ECLAC, Latin America and the Caribbean: Policies to improve linkages with the global economy (LC/G.1800/Rev.1-P), Santiago, Chile, 1994.

structure of the population; although one must not generalize that these effects obtain throughout the whole region, they are widespread, and are particularly evident in the Caribbean nations with small populations and in certain regions of the more populated countries.

There are many reasons why international population mobility is an important item on the agenda of relations between countries and a matter of political concern for each one of them. In this connection, it is worth mentioning at least two issues: the phenomenon of "illegality" and the emergence of new forms of mobility. In the first case, the issue is a very sensitive one and is repeatedly mentioned as one of the negative effects of international mobility. However, the phenomenon of undocumented migrants is, to a large extent, a consequence of the sharp disparities in development and of the need people have to seek new and better opportunities; moreover, there are arguments to suggest that this irregular migration is functional for some sectors of the country of destination. These situations must therefore be handled through agreements aimed at addressing the causes of so-called "migratory pressures". In the case of the new forms of mobility, it should be noted that these have been facilitated by the internationalization of borders resulting from recent trade agreements between countries and by advances in the area of transport and communications.

Because of the complexity of the determining factors and the random element of immediate circumstances, it is extremely difficult to attempt to predict how the international migration of the Latin American population will evolve. It is to be expected, for example, that in the near future, the flows will be similar to those that have prevailed in recent years. However, it must be borne in mind that migration takes place in a constantly changing international framework, in which the economic, social, political and cultural spheres are becoming more and more universal. In this context, migratory flows are part of the new organization of international relations.

According to traditional economic theory, free trade agreements between developed and underdeveloped economies —such as NAFTA— represent a means for attenuating the flow of persons by strengthening trade in goods and capital; capital can be used to promote labour-intensive production activities, so as to keep people in their countries of origin and reduce wage disparities. Contrasting with this type of trade agreement, there are agreements between developing countries in the same region —such as MERCOSUR—, which are not conceived as tools for discouraging migration and which could revitalize the transit zones in the border areas. Moreover, some of the signatories to the second type of agreements have a long tradition of population exchange; hence, the new trade agreement may increase migration and strengthen other forms of population mobility, and may even include provisions regarding the free movement of workers. Evidently, in a context of more and more universal economic relations —involving increasingly broad agreements on regional, subregional or binational integration— population mobility poses challenges that require urgent attention, both in terms of research and of policy.

V. FIELDS OF ACTION IN THE AREA OF POPULATION

A. POPULATION POLICIES: TWO DECADES OF INSTITUTIONALIZATION EFFORTS³²

Throughout the history of the countries of the region, there has been discussion of the possibility of taking deliberate action to influence population dynamics, in the broadest sense of the term. In their efforts to implement such a policy, Governments have designed actions and have made use of institutional arrangements and operational tools. Nevertheless, it has only recently that the concept of a population policy has been formally accepted. A significant step in this direction was taken at the Regional Population Conference held in San José, Costa Rica, in 1974. This conference—which was preparatory to the first intergovernmental conference on population, held that same year in Bucharest, and which helped draft the World Plan of Action adopted in Bucharest—articulated a consensus on the fundamental concepts underlying population policy, which are still valid. The first one had to do with the delimitation of the sphere of competence of population policy, which was considered to be made up of three basic demographic variables (fertility, mortality and migration) and of age structure, gender composition and spatial distribution of the population. The second concept consisted of recognizing that all population policies should be rooted in the development strategies of the countries concerned. The two concepts were seen as intersecting, and the conclusion reached was that the central purpose of population policy was to harmonize population trends with development trends, and that this was a general requirement that could be fulfilled while bearing in mind the political viewpoints that each country might decide to apply.

It was in this context that the first official agencies were established to oversee population policies in Latin America and the Caribbean, namely, the national population councils. Although these were usually interministerial commissions located in the higher ranks of government, councils were often set up as a result of the upgrading of an entity that was responsible for studying population trends or applying specific population measures. Despite their official standing, many of these councils were quite short-lived; some, although active at the beginning, soon lost their impetus, and were reorganized or replaced by a different type of institution. In several countries, the councils only operated in response to circumstantial stimuli, as they had no well-defined and systematic plan of work. The composition of the population councils also varied considerably; some were made up of ministers or their immediate subordinates, which made it difficult to hold working meetings, especially if population dynamics were not a political priority; others were made up of distinguished professionals who nevertheless were relatively removed from decision-making spheres, and thus their proposals had to be constantly submitted to consultation with higher authorities. On the other hand, in the few countries in which the national

³² A more detailed discussion of this topic may be found in CELADE, Las políticas de población en América Latina y el Caribe: algunas reflexiones en el umbral del siglo XXI (LC/DEM/G.150; Serie E, No. 42), Santiago, Chile, 1995.

population councils, regardless of their composition, started off with strong political support, they not only persisted but they managed to develop sound networks of institutional support, and were thus able to overcome the vicissitudes of changing administrations, maintaining a steady work pace and gaining recognition.

Ten years after the Bucharest meeting, the International Conference held in Mexico in 1984 reaffirmed the principles of the Plan of Action, proposed goals, and stressed that population policies should be included within the guidelines of development strategies. Consistent with this reaffirmation, and in view of the experience gained in previous years, the organizational effort this time was focused on the establishment of population units within the national planning bodies, usually ministries. Thus, the function of setting population policy tended to be linked —and often confused— with the function of incorporating demographic variables in development planning at all levels (global, regional and sectoral). In some cases, no specific division was set up to deal with these matters; in others, a division was set up after experimenting with sectoral agencies in charge of specific aspects of population policy. Several of these entities conducted research and carried out studies on population and its linkage to other aspects of development; others promoted activities relating to dissemination and sensitization, while only a few actually proposed guidelines for a possible population policy. Some countries, rather than entrusting the planning agencies with the task of formulating population policies, assigned this responsibility to special working groups made up of representatives of several ministries.³³ These teams carried out diagnoses aimed at formulating population policies and making recommendations for including demographic variables in government plans and programmes. About half of these groups achieved their goal, to the extent that they drew up the policies requested; the other did not complete their task, and remain inactive.

Finally, at the International Conference on Population and Development held in Cairo in 1994, the conditions were created for examining the population trends of the countries of the region. From this review one can draw useful inferences on the topic of population policy.³⁴ Indeed, significant demographic changes have occurred over the past two decades, and underlying the quantitative evidence of these changes are major qualitative changes in the social and cultural spheres. In this regard, there were considerable differences among countries, social strata, ethnic groups and areas of residence of the populations concerned. In addition, these changes in population trends were not attributable solely to the impact of population policies; in some cases, they occurred in the absence of such policies. Finally, it should be noted that the national planning agencies, which had been badly shaken by the recessive storm of the "lost decade" and by the structural adjustment programmes put underway, were subjected to strong political pressures —accentuated by the weakening of the role of the State—, and that this had impaired their ability to promote population initiatives. Since this same review concluded with a recognition of the legitimacy and validity of population policies, it is worthwhile to explore the factors that have hindered their application.

³³ The most notable example is that of some of the English-speaking Caribbean nations, which, during the 1980s, set up special groups (Population Task Forces) to carry out this duty.

³⁴ It is worth mentioning here the documentation presented at the Latin American and Caribbean Regional Conference on Population and Development, held in Mexico in 1993, and the Meeting of Government Experts on Population and Development in Latin America and the Caribbean, held in Saint Lucia in 1992.

B. OPERATIONAL OBSTACLES

Although during the past twenty years, the region has made progress in defining its population policies, there are some significant hindrances that seem to affect a number of countries. Several of the countries that have chosen to act on a specific demographic variable —which means adopting a sectoral approach, e.g., focusing on health— have obtained the expected effects; family planning and reproductive health programmes are examples of this type of orientation. However, in all of these cases, there has obviously been no *general framework for population policy*. It has often been the case that when an attempt has been made to draw up global policies —i.e., policies that would include the entire demographic spectrum and the determining factors thereof— the effort has not gone beyond the drawing table. *The persistence of ideological controversies*, often associated with the tendency to confuse the scope of population policies with actions on specific aspects —such as "birth control"— has been one of the most constant sources of difficulty. This is due to a lack of understanding of the potential synergies between population policies and social policies and of their usefulness in facilitating the achievement of specific development goals. One of the reasons for this lack of understanding is that shapers of public opinion, as well as society in general, are *not sensitive* to sociodemographic problems, such as those relating to employment, health, reproductive health, education and poverty. This has been reflected in a *lack of effective political will* to translate technical efforts into viable strategies that can obtain the necessary support.

In addition to the above problems, the *inability to include population issues in political discourse* has prevented the different social sectors from reaching agreement on a number of objectives. Instead, the risk of facing adverse reactions of influential groups of public opinion has frustrated certain initiatives before they could be submitted to general debate. These sociopolitical shortcomings hinder the emergence of implementation mechanisms whereby responsibilities could be distributed among individual and institutional agents —both public and private— and community participation strategies could be applied to formulate, execute and evaluate actions. When population policy is so *institutionally fragile*, funding tends to dry up, and this causes operational instability and loss of skilled human resources. Another factor that makes it difficult to establish population policies is the *lack of knowledge* regarding the complex interrelations between population and development; in particular, if the sociocultural dimensions of demographic performance were properly understood, it would be possible to identify intermediation factors and then decide how to intervene in that area. The unreliability of data in this area makes it difficult to choose means and tools which, along with those used in connection with other economic and social policies, could help upgrade the skills of human resources, improve the productivity of the work force and move towards higher levels of social equity. In order to overcome these limitations, it is essential to improve communications both between researchers and technical staff in the field of population, and between these two and those responsible for investing in human resources.

There are also many obstacles to the execution and evaluation of existing policies; in particular, social, temporal and territorial objectives are not specific enough. The delimitation of short- and medium-term population scenarios is, of course, a complex task, especially in these areas. While social demands are usually considered urgent —a matter to be borne in mind when estimating the economic and political costs of services—, population policies tend to be geared towards relatively long-term goals. This disparity —aggravated by the fact that individual administrations have relatively short terms in which to meet their commitments— makes it difficult to ensure the continuity of actions designed to meet specific demographic objectives, which usually require longer time periods. The interests of local communities or specific groups are not always consistent with the general objectives of population policy; hence, there is a conflict between the need for central coordination and the requirements of decentralized

implementation. Furthermore, the lack of political support, insensitivity, institutional weaknesses, knowledge gaps, scarcity of resources and inflexible operational mechanisms all work together to make evaluation an extremely difficult task. To this must be added the lack of expeditious and suitable follow-up tools and the inability of information sources to provide up-to-date and continuous data.

C. A NEW SCENARIO FOR POPULATION POLICY

Although the problems discussed above are certainly serious, this does not mean that the efforts made to date have been fruitless or that population policies should be abandoned. On the contrary, the Cairo agreements demonstrate the need for population policies to be established as a framework for the many tasks that the Programme of Action will entail. This Programme addresses key population issues and the interrelations between them and efforts to achieve steady economic growth, sustainable development and gender equity; moreover, it must be borne in mind that this action-oriented Programme, which envisages a time span of 20 years, has been proposed as a new world strategy.³⁵ In keeping with the spirit of the International Conference on Population and Development, the Programme reiterates the sovereign right of countries to decide whether to put into practice its recommendations, and reaffirms full respect both for religious and ethical values and for the cultural characteristics of individuals. Both of these principles stress the need for population policies that will promote, in regard to decision making on this question, a proper balance between individual rights and needs and social responsibilities.

The above considerations are consistent with those that led to the adoption of the Latin American and Caribbean Consensus on Population and Development and the drawing up of the Latin American and Regional Plan of Action on Population and Development. Both texts stress the need for governments to develop institutional mechanisms for the formulation, execution and evaluation of population policies, in accordance with each country's characteristics and needs. Therefore, in addition to providing a framework for programme actions and serving as a means for harmonizing individual and social interests, a population policy is also necessary to enable countries to address a number of aspects that were highlighted in the review of their situation and of recent population trends. A population policy can become a tool for ensuring that changes in demographic dynamics move in the direction desired by the societies concerned. This means that such a policy must identify the nature and the direction of the linkages between demographic changes and the changes that are taking place in the economic, social and cultural spheres. But it is also important that population policy help promote social equity, through the effective exercise of the individual rights of both men and women, with a view to overcoming demographic inequalities and strengthening the human resources available to the countries. To this end, it is essential that population policies identify adequate linkages with policies pertaining to social and production issues.

³⁵ As pointed out by Dr. Nafis Sadik, the Programme of Action endorses "a new strategy that emphasizes the integral linkages between population and development and focuses on meeting the needs of individual women and men, rather than on achieving demographic targets." United Nations, Population and development. Programme of action adopted at the International Conference on Population and Development, Cairo, 5-13 September 1994 (ST/ESA/SER.A/149), United Nations, 1995. United Nations publication, Sales No. E.95.XII.7.

In view of the many obstacles they have had to face, the countries of the region have gained ample experience with mechanisms for defining population policies and programmes.³⁶ One lesson they have learned is that policy making entails identifying the bodies that are to be responsible for implementing it, even though they may not necessarily be entrusted with every aspect of design, execution, monitoring and evaluation. In this regard, it is important to make use of the existing capacities of different units of the public sector, and to establish flexible coordination mechanisms. Population policy must be conceived as a tool for coordinating institutions and not as an entity with a life of its own that belongs to one specific compartment of the administration. Likewise, the implementation of population policy—and any other policy as well—cannot be left exclusively to the public sector; on the contrary, this task should mobilize society, eliciting active participation on the part of all sectors (nongovernmental organizations, academic institutions, community representatives, etc.). There is no question that the success of a population policy will depend, to a great extent, on its having a sound scientific and technical basis, and this means that a continuous supply of information must be available in order to facilitate decision making, identification of operational tools, design of programmes and projects that can be linked to other economic and social policies, and the choice of follow-up and evaluation mechanisms. Finally, population policy is a sphere in which the exchange of experiences, training, technical assistance and horizontal cooperation all have a fundamental role to play in the region. The region has already gained valuable and relatively broad experience, and the lessons learned from previous efforts can be used as a foundation on which it must continue to build.

D. POPULATION AND DEVELOPMENT POLICIES

The fact that a country has a population policy does not mean that it will not have to work constantly to incorporate demographic variables into development policies and programmes; this is also necessary in countries that do not have explicit population policies. The need to include demographic variables in the formulation, execution and evaluation of policies, programmes and investment decisions on economic and social matters arises in response to the concrete demands of social agents—both public and private—, and has been recognized and recommended by the countries of the region. This is stressed in the Programme of Action adopted at Cairo.³⁷ Indeed, it is unthinkable that the population factor should be omitted from development initiatives; from a technical standpoint, however, the fact that it is considered does not necessarily mean that it will be integrated into development programmes. Although this is a complex task, it is an essential one, inasmuch as demographic variables do have an effect on different aspects of development, and vice versa. This is evident from the experience of the population units set up in the development planning agencies of the countries of the region; in some cases, there was a tendency to consider population as just another social sector, without considering its essentially multisectoral nature; in other cases, demographic projections were only used as inputs for sectoral programming, without regard to the resulting interactions; in several cases, methodological obstacles were encountered because large-scale demographic-economic models were used but the lack of suitable data

³⁶ For further details, see CELADE, Las políticas de población en América Latina y el Caribe..., op. cit.

³⁷ See, for example: Latin American and Caribbean Consensus on Population and Development, chapter I, para. 14; Draft Latin American and Caribbean Regional Plan of Action on Population and Development, paras. 45 and 46, and United Nations, Population and development. Programme of action..., op. cit., chapter III, section A.

or the difficulty of establishing endogenous relationships between variables made it impossible to analyze the potential implications of different strategy options.

Without prejudice to the usefulness of including demographic considerations in conventional macroeconomic planning —where population projections are a key element in defining future national scenarios—, there is also ample room for including population variables in sectoral policies. As noted in a previous paragraph, population trends play a significant role in many social problems, and it is therefore important to take them into account in the solution of those problems. In this regard, some Latin American and Caribbean countries have had success with experiments in which population variables were taken into account, based on knowledge acquired, by means of relatively simple models, directed at specific problems and sectors, that enabled them to analyze the impact of population trends on the needs of different social services at the national and subnational levels. There are clear advantages to such efforts, given the current tendency to minimize the all-encompassing planning role of the central State and to replace it with decentralized sectoral plans. Indeed, the approach of considering population variables makes it possible to maintain the diversity of interrelations between population and development and plan for the specific needs of different social strata and scales of geographic aggregation, while identifying the potential impact —on social sectors and specific areas of development— of sociodemographic dynamics.³⁸ This is particularly important in the case of those policies that are not universal in scope but rather are focused on well-defined target populations ("focalization").

This does not mean that one should ignore the usefulness of population variables in efforts to achieve complementarity (synergy) between sectoral actions. Strengthening intersectoral relations is helpful in attaining compatibility between population variables and development, guaranteeing the exercise of individual rights and integrating demographic variables into the development process. This is the case with policies aimed at promoting greater gender equality "in all spheres of life" and strengthening the status of women in society; reproductive behaviour, for example, plays an important part in gender inequalities.³⁹ Similarly, the different aspects of reproductive health involve areas that go beyond the health sector, and call for innovative educational and community participation programmes. Likewise, problems relating to the environment and natural resources cross sectoral boundaries, and their solution requires taking into account not only the size and growth of the population, but also patterns of population mobility, which are closely linked to rapid changes in ecosystems. Of course, demographic variables are essential to the formulation and monitoring of actions aimed at breaking the vicious circle of perpetual poverty. Inequalities in the areas of fertility and mortality, such as the age profile of poor people, are links in the so-called cycle of intergenerational perpetuation of poverty. As mentioned above, the quality and quantity of human resources —social equity, for example— are closely related to population trends, and this must be borne in mind when defining target populations for social policy and specific ways for halting the perpetuation of poverty.

At present, countries are being increasingly challenged to incorporate population variables into social policies and decision making on resource allocation. The orientation of recent social policies has

³⁸ Over time, there has been a growing tendency to adopt this approach to the integration of demographic variables into programming. At present, the specialists firmly believe that certain demographic characteristics —such as age, gender, migratory status, spatial location, reproductive experience, etc.— impose specific requirements on some of the classic social sectors (employment, health, education, social security, housing and basic services).

³⁹ This was stressed at the Fourth World Conference on Women, held in Beijing in 1995.

generated increasing demand for the inclusion of sociodemographic data in the identification and description of target groups (vulnerable populations or geographical areas) and simulation and forecasting exercises.⁴⁰ At the same time, progress in this area has been facilitated by the development of software packages that make it easier to process large databases —which can be broken down by spatial categories— such as those provided by population censuses and household surveys; in addition, they are helpful in obtaining relevant indicators.⁴¹ The progress that has been made in this regard will help ensure that decisions on measures to be implemented —including explicit population policies— will be based on more reliable information, both in technical terms and in terms of sociopolitical legitimacy; this will make it possible to go beyond simplistic assessments of social problems. In many countries, however, the lack of skilled personnel, the lack of knowledge on the interrelations between population and development, and the unavailability of timely, reliable, accurate and disaggregated statistics hinder efforts to take advantage fully of tools and methodologies designed to enable them to adequately integrate population factors into their policies and programmes.⁴²

⁴⁰ The "focalization" approach, for example, calls for the identification of groups with specific characteristics, including the classic demographic indicators (age, gender, marital status, migratory status, area of residence). Likewise, decentralization processes assign new responsibilities and increasing flows of resources to local governments, which therefore need information and knowledge on the situation of the territories under their jurisdiction in order to be able to identify the measures that should be implemented and the resources that should be assigned to the different areas or population groups they serve.

⁴¹ An example of this type of tools is the *REDATAM* system (*RE*trieval of *DATA* for small *Areas* by *Microcomputer*) developed by CELADE.

⁴² It should be pointed out that because of the shortage of resources and the lack of international support, the countries of the region have found it increasingly difficult to maintain a high level of quality in sociodemographic data —particularly in censuses and vital statistics— and to adopt technological innovations in this field.

VI. LATIN AMERICAN AND CARIBBEAN REGIONAL PLAN OF ACTION ON POPULATION AND DEVELOPMENT

A. REGIONAL PLAN OF ACTION

In April 1994, the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), by resolution 536 (XXV), adopted the Draft Latin American and Caribbean Regional Plan of Action on Population and Development, and pointed out the need to enrich it with the results of the International Conference on Population and Development, held at Cairo in September 1994. This enrichment was the result of a process of consultation with the countries members of ECLAC and the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA). The consultations were conducted according to the guidelines established by the Bureau of Presiding Officers of the Committee of High-level Government Experts (CEGAN). The Latin American Population Center (CELADE) served as secretariat for the consultations.

The process began with two meetings of the expanded Bureau of Presiding Officers, which were held on 6 and 13 September 1994, in the framework of the International Conference at Cairo. At these meetings, it was agreed to request all the countries to send their suggestions to the Presidency, with a copy to the secretariat. The minutes of these meetings are included in Annex A.

Subsequently, all the countries members of ECLAC were invited to a meeting of the expanded Bureau of Presiding Officers, held on 18 November at United Nations Headquarters in New York City, with the participation of UNFPA. The purpose of this meeting was to examine the proposals that had been received.

At that meeting, it was agreed that some changes in terminology should be made in the Regional Plan of Action, in order to bring it in line with the language used in the Programme of Action of the Cairo Conference. The secretariat was asked to draw up a new version that would include the suggestions that had already been received from member countries, as well as those that might be received before 15 December 1994. Finally, the meeting delegated to the Bureau of Presiding Officers the responsibility of approving the revised text. Annex B contains the minutes of that meeting.

This process of consultation between the countries members of the Bureau of Presiding Officers and the Presidency thereof were conducted during 1995, and specific suggestions were received from several countries. The revised text that includes them was duly approved and sent to all the members countries by the Presidency of the Bureau of Presiding Officers around the end of 1995. On 1 February 1996, the process agreed on at the twenty-fifth session of ECLAC was carried to completion. The revised text of the Plan of Action, as enriched with the results of the International Conference on Population and Development held at Cairo (September 1994), is contained in the background paper (LC/DEM/G.159).

B. IMPLEMENTATION OF THE REGIONAL PLAN OF ACTION

In order to ensure that the Plan of Action can be implemented expeditiously, the Bureau of Presiding Officers asked the secretariat, along with the process of enriching the Regional Plan of Action, to initiate steps —under the guidance of the Presidency— to obtain the financial resources necessary to carry out the activities indicated in the Regional Plan of Action.

The Presidency of CEGAN and the secretariat have approached several international funding agencies and governments of developed countries on this matter. In some cases, proposed cooperation projects for financing some of the activities included in the Plan of Action were presented, considering the priority of each one. In particular, the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) showed interest in supporting several of the activities envisaged in the Regional Plan of Action. In addition, UNFPA has already collaborated in the implementation of a number of subregional activities envisaged in the Plan of Action for the Caribbean, and will continue to do so during 1996.

Further information on the contacts made and the outcome thereof will be made available at the twenty-sixth session of ECLAC.

It should also be noted that although the Plan includes proposals for holding seminars, working groups and similar activities —which can only be carried out when funding is made available— many of the activities envisaged in the Plan have been carried out based on programmes that are already underway in regional or multilateral institutions operating in the region, such as the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), the Pan American Health Organization (PAHO), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), the Latin American Programme of Population Activities (PROLAP) and ECLAC/CELADE. In the specific case of CELADE, the secretariat has, over the last few years, considered the guidelines for regional action set forth by the countries of the region in the Consensus and Plan of Action as a guide for its actions. Consequently, CELADE continued with its training activities —duly adapted to the new circumstances and needs—, particularly in the fields of demographic analysis and population and development. It has also taken part in organizing and carrying out a number of seminar/workshops on topics of interest (such as poverty, mortality/AIDS, ageing/social security, international migration, etc.), and has continued to maintain information networks and develop tools for use in connection with the incorporation of population variables in development policies and programmes. The report of the Commission's activities since April 1994 (LC/G.1900(SES.26/5) describes in detail the activities carried out by the secretariat over the last two years in the field of population and development.

Finally, the activities envisaged in the Plan of Action for the first few years are summarized in Annex C of this document. How, when and where these activities are carried out will depend to a large extent on whether or not the necessary funding is obtained. Consequently, they must be continually reviewed and adjusted in the light of available resources. It should be noted that, as stated in the Plan itself, this list is not an exhaustive one, and proposals made by the countries of the region may be added, as provided for in the agreed review mechanisms.

Annex I

MINUTES OF THE MEETINGS OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE LATIN AMERICAN
AND CARIBBEAN COUNTRIES TO DISCUSS THE REGIONAL PLAN OF ACTION
ON POPULATION AND DEVELOPMENT

(Cairo, September 1994)

As agreed at the meeting of the Committee of High-level Government Experts (CEGAN) on population (Santiago, March 1994) and at the twenty-fifth session of the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (Cartagena de Indias, April 1994), the representatives of the countries of the region met during the course of the International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) (Cairo, September 1994) to discuss procedures to be followed and mechanisms to be used in fulfilling the objective established in the relevant resolutions of CEGAN and ECLAC, i.e., to enrich the approved Draft Regional Plan of Action on Population and Development.

Meetings were held on 6 and 13 September. The agenda of the first meeting was carried out in full. After an initial statement by the representative of Panama, the representative of Mexico summarized the process that had been followed in drawing up the Plan, mentioning the different meetings that had been held and the decisions that were currently in force. He also mentioned the preliminary contacts that had been made with funding agencies, with a view to financing the activities. The secretariat and the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) discussed ways in which the Draft Plan might be enriched and, in particular, in which the activities envisaged therein might be implemented.

The representative of Mexico then introduced the specific topic for the meeting, recalling that one of the aforementioned decisions had been to hold a meeting in New York on an unspecified date in November, during the course of the United Nations General Assembly. It was expected that by then, the secretariat would be able to prepare a draft for enriching the activities of the Plan, based on the official opinions of the countries, which would have been gathered prior to that.

A debate then followed, in which representatives of several countries took part. There was general agreement to the effect that the established timetable should be followed, and that it was advisable to wait until the ICPD had progressed further before discussing the content and the mechanism for making changes in the activities envisaged in the Plan. In conclusion, it was decided that deliberations should continue towards the end of the Conference.

At this session, the secretariat made available to the representatives of the countries a publication containing the Draft Plan of Action, along with the text of Resolution 536(XXV), by which the Draft Plan had been approved (Publication LC/DEM/G.144, ECLAD/CELADE, August 1994).

According to the agreed timetable, the representatives of the countries met again on 13 September. Again, the agenda was carried out in full. After the representative of Panama had made a statement on the objectives of the meeting, the representative of Mexico spoke on the advisability of establishing a mechanism for enriching the Plan.

A discussion followed, in which representatives of several countries took part. The unanimous conclusion was that once the representatives had returned to their countries, they should analyze the content of the World Programme (which was in the process of being adopted on that same day), and that they should then transmit their suggestions for enriching the Draft Plan to the Presidency of CEGAN, sending a copy simultaneously to the secretariat. The secretariat would proceed to draw up a version of the activities included in the Plan that would be compatible with the suggestions received. To this end, it would, following the usual practice, hold such consultations as might be necessary with the liaisons and with the Presidency, and would seek collaboration from UNFPA. The new version would be discussed in New York on a date that was yet to be determined. To facilitate the discussion, it was requested that the revised version should be sent to the liaison for each country one week in advance. The countries were asked to update the data for their respective liaisons and to send the updated information to the Presidency and to the secretariat. In the case of the Caribbean countries, it was to be sent through the ECLAC office in Port of Spain.

Finally, the secretariat was asked, in preparation for the November meeting, to proceed with the preparation of project profiles corresponding to the activities envisaged in the Plan. At the same time, it was asked, in order to facilitate consideration of possible sources of funding, to inform the Presidency of the progress of its work in that regard.

Annex II

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE BUREAU OF PRESIDING OFFICERS
OF THE COMMITTEE OF HIGH-LEVEL GOVERNMENT EXPERTS (CEGAN)
ON POPULATION

New York, 18 November 1994

In fulfilment of resolution 536(XXV) (Cartagena de Indias, April 1994), a meeting of the Bureau of Presiding Officers of the Committee of High-level Government Experts (CEGAN), open to all countries members of the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), was held at United Nations Headquarters in New York City to discuss population issues. This resolution approved the Draft Plan of Action and envisaged the mechanisms to enhance and implement it.

The following were the objectives of the meeting:

- (a) To revise proposals for the enhancement of the Regional Plan of Action (RPA), in the light of the results of the International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) held in Cairo.
- (b) To establish priorities for specific actions aimed at promoting the initiation of RPA implementation during 1995.

The Meeting was presided over by the Mexican Delegation, and ECLAC acted as the secretariat. The United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), the United Nations Population Division and the Pan American Health Organization (PAHO) also participated.

In the first place, reference was made by the Presidency to the process undergone theretofore by the Regional Plan of Action. Also, resolutions from the previous open meetings of the Bureau of Presiding Officers were recalled, particularly those approved in Cairo on 6 and 13 September 1994.

The secretariat, in turn, reported that no suggestions to modify the content of the Plan had been included in the communications received after the Cairo meetings.

After an exchange of views and considering that no substantive changes would be made to the Draft Regional Plan of Action, the delegates present unanimously agreed on the following:

- (a) To make changes in the wording of the RPA to match that of the ICPD Plan of Action. For this purpose, the countries will send their specific suggestions to the Presidency and the secretariat before 15 December. The secretariat will include the suggestions received in a revised text, and will be particularly careful to record —if applicable— the reservations expressed during the above mentioned ICPD. The secretariat will submit this text to the Presidency before 15 January 1995.
- (b) The participating countries delegated the responsibility for approving the revised text to the Bureau of Presiding Officers.

The representatives then discussed the priorities for action for 1995. A number of suggestions were made, and it was considered advisable to send them in writing to the Presidency and the secretariat before 15 December 1994.

The secretariat was entrusted with the task of compiling the proposals on priorities before 15 January 1995. Without detriment to the completion of this task, the secretariat is to start drawing up the relevant projects for submission —under the guidance of the Presidency— to different international funding agencies.

Annex III

**ACTIVITIES ENVISAGED IN THE REGIONAL PLAN OF ACTION
FOR 1996-1998**

ACTIVITY	1996	1997	1998	Remarks
1. Meetings for overall analysis				
-Ad Hoc Committee on Population and Development	April		April	Meetings during ECLAC session
-Subregional meetings				On-going communications
2. Seminars for analysis of issues (regional or subregional; para.79 of Plan); see also 5. "Working groups"				
-Social and population policies (para. 80)	**			
-International migration (para. 80)	**			
-Information, communication and education on population issues (para. 80)		**		
-Demographic dynamics and the environment (para. 80)			**	
-Discussion seminars with authorities (para. 80)				Plan does not specify date
-Seminars with social communicators (para. 80)				Plan does not specify date
3. Thematic workshops				
-Workshops for administrators of family planning and mother and child care programmes on organization of services (para. 81)				Plan does not specify date or priority
-Workshops on different forms of contraception (para. 81)				Ibid.
-Workshops for doctors on the importance of vital statistics (para. 81)				Ibid.

Annex III (cont.)

-Workshops for research centers on identification of needs in the area of sociodemographic studies (para. 81)	**			PROLAP has already begun work on this, with support from CELADE (Dec.95)
4. Training activities				
Regional and subregional training activities to train human resources in demography and population and development at different levels of skills, including short courses on specific subjects (paras. 82 and 85)	*	*	*	
Post-graduate Course on Population and Development (para. 83)	**	**	**	This course is part of the UNFPA Global Programme, and beginning in 1996, will be offered by the U. of Chile
Regional Intensive Course on Demographic Analysis for Development (para. 83)	**	**	**	
Short courses for the Caribbean sub-region on: census evaluation, programming of reproductive health services, family life programmes, adolescent fertility, database development (para. 84)	**	**	**	
Establishment of a working group to collect and systematize support material for courses on population and development (para. 86)	**	**	**	PROLAP has begun activities in this area, and is planning others for 1996/1997
5. Working groups (see also seminars for analysis of issues) (para. 87)				
Population dynamics and social and population policies geared to overcome differences in demographic behaviour (including the topic of poverty) (para. 88)	**			A working group is preparing inputs for seminars
Migration and international mobility (para. 88)	**			Ibid.
Information, communication and educational programmes on population (para. 88)		**		Ibid.

Annex III (concl.)

Demographic dynamics and the environment (para. 88)		*	**	Ibid.
6. Horizontal cooperation among countries of the region				
Promotion of horizontal cooperation among the countries, in different fields, with a view to facilitating the achievement of objectives and goals of the Plan (paras. 89, 90, 91)				On-going activity
Support for agreements between countries relating to international movements (with concerned agencies, such as IMO and UNHCR) (paras. 92 and 93)				On-going activity
7. Joint research				
Joint research projects at regional and subregional levels and comparative research (para. 94) on the following subjects (para. 95): -demographic variables and the environment -human settlement patterns -international mobility -sociocultural factors that influence sexual and reproductive behaviour -adolescent fertility -indigenous populations -ageing of the population -demographic implications of structural adjustment processes				
8. Data banks and regional information networks (para. 97)				
Bibliographic databases and networks (DOCPAL/IPALCA)				On-going activity
Bibliographic database for the Caribbean (expansion)				On-going activity
Regional census data bank, including IMILA (regional and subregional, Caribbean)				On-going activity
User network of information systems (REDATAM)				On-going activity
Publication of an information bulletin				On-going activity

Annex IV

**LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN:
SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC INDICATORS**

**LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN: COUNTRY SITUATION BY STAGE
IN DEMOGRAPHIC TRANSITION, 1990 - 1995**

Birth rate

H I I G H			BOLIVIA *	2.6		I	
					HAITI	2.3	
			HONDURAS	3.1	GUATEMALA	3.1	II
			BELIZE	3.0			
			NICARAGUA	2.9			
M O D E R A T E			PARAGUAY	2.8	EL SALVADOR	2.6	
			COSTA RICA	2.3			III
			VENEZUELA	2.3			
			ECUADOR	2.2			
			MEXICO	2.2			
			DOMINICAN				
			REPUBLIC	2.2			
			PERU	2.1			
			PANAMA	2.0			
L O W			SURINAME	2.0	GUYANA	1.8	
			COLOMBIA	1.8	BRAZIL	1.7	
			CHILE	1.6			IV
			JAMAICA	1.6			
			TRINIDAD AND				
			TOBAGO	1.5			
			BAHAMAS	1.4			
			GUADELOUPE	1.4			
			NETHERLANDS		ARGENTINA	1.2	
			ANTILLES	1.2	MARTINIQUE	1.0	
			CUBA	1.0	PUERTO RICO	1.0	
					BARBADOS	0.7	
					URUGUAY	0.7	

Death rate

LOW

Rates per thousands:

Birth rate: LOW: 10-24

Death rate: LOW: 4-7

MODERATE

MODERATE: 24 - 32

MODERATE: 7 - 11

HIGH

HIGH: 32-45

HIGH: 11-16

Source: Latin American Demographic Centre (CELADE), current population projections; United Nations, *World Population Prospects: the 1994 Revision*, New York, 1995.

*: Because of the arbitrary nature of the limits used for the rates, this country shows a death rate that is close to Group II, although it is still closer to Group I.

Note: Next to each country, the natural population growth rate is expressed as a percentage.

Table 1
LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN: TOTAL POPULATION, 1950-2000
(In thousands)

Country or territory	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	1995	2000
Regional total	165 796	217 089	283 347	358 925	438 152	478 738	519 234
Latin America	159 489	209 687	274 698	349 197	427 314	467 365	507 286
Argentina	17 150	20 616	23 962	28 114	32 546	34 587	36 648
Bolivia	2 714	3 351	4 212	5 355	6 573	7 414	8 329
Brazil	53 444	72 594	95 847	121 286	148 477	161 790	174 825
Colombia	11 946	15 939	21 360	26 525	32 300	35 101	37 822
Costa Rica	862	1 236	1 731	2 284	3 034	3 424	3 798
Cuba	5 850	6 985	8 520	9 710	10 598	11 041	11 385
Chile	6 082	7 608	9 496	11 147	13 100	14 210	15 211
Ecuador	3 387	4 439	5 970	7 961	10 264	11 460	12 646
El Salvador	1 940	2 570	3 588	4 525	5 172	5 768	6 425
Guatemala	2 969	3 964	5 246	6 917	9 197	10 621	12 222
Haiti	3 261	3 804	4 520	5 353	6 486	7 180	7 959
Honduras	1 380	1 894	2 592	3 569	4 879	5 654	6 485
Malvinas (Falkland) Islands	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Mexico	27 737	36 945	50 596	67 570	83 226	91 145	98 881
Nicaragua	1 098	1 493	2 054	2 790	3 568	4 124	4 694
Panama	860	1 126	1 506	1 950	2 398	2 631	2 856
Paraguay	1 488	1 842	2 350	3 114	4 219	4 828	5 496
Peru	7 632	9 931	13 193	17 324	21 569	23 532	25 662
Dominican Republic	2 353	3 231	4 423	5 697	7 110	7 823	8 495
Uruguay	2 239	2 538	2 808	2 914	3 094	3 186	3 274
Venezuela	5 094	7 579	10 721	15 091	19 502	21 844	24 170
The Caribbean	6 307	7 402	8 649	9 728	10 838	11 373	11 948
Anguilla	5	6	6	7	7	8	8
Antigua and Barbuda	46	55	57	61	64	66	68
Netherlands Antilles	112	135	159	174	190	199	207
Aruba	57	59	61	60	67	70	73
Bahamas	79	110	170	210	256	276	295
Barbados	211	231	239	249	257	262	268
Belize	69	93	123	146	189	215	245
Dominica	51	60	70	74	71	71	71
Grenada	76	90	94	89	91	92	94
Guadeloupe	210	275	320	327	391	428	462
French Guiana	25	33	49	68	117	147	179
Guyana	423	569	709	759	796	835	883
Cayman Islands	6	9	10	17	26	31	36
Turks and Caicos Islands	5	6	6	7	12	14	17
British Virgin Islands	6	7	10	12	16	19	21
United States Virgin Islands	27	33	64	97	102	105	108
Jamaica	1 403	1 629	1 869	2 133	2 366	2 447	2 543
Martinique	222	282	326	326	360	379	397
Montserrat	14	12	11	12	11	11	11
Puerto Rico	2 219	2 358	2 718	3 206	3 531	3 674	3 825
Saint Kitts and Nevis	44	51	47	44	42	41	41
Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	67	80	87	98	107	112	117
Saint Lucia	79	86	101	115	133	142	152
Suriname	215	290	372	355	400	423	447
Trinidad and Tobago	636	843	971	1 082	1 236	1 306	1 380

Source: Latin American Demographic Centre (CELADE), current population projections, and United Nations, *World Population Prospects: the 1994 Revision*, New York, 1995.

Table 2
**LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN: TOTAL FERTILITY RATE BY FIVE-YEAR PERIODS,
 BY COUNTRIES AND TERRITORIES GROUPED ACCORDING TO STAGES OF
 DEMOGRAPHIC TRANSITION, 1950-2000**

Countries	Five-year periods									
	1950- 1955	1955- 1960	1960- 1965	1965- 1970	1970- 1975	1975- 1980	1980- 1985	1985- 1990	1990- 1995	1995- 2000
Regional total ^a	5.9	5.9	6.0	5.5	5.0	4.4	3.8	3.4	3.1	2.8
Group I										
Bolivia	6.8	6.8	6.6	6.6	6.5	5.8	5.3	5.0	4.8	4.4
Haiti	6.3	6.3	6.3	6.0	5.8	5.4	5.2	5.0	4.8	4.6
Group II										
Belize	6.7	6.6	6.5	6.4	6.3	6.2	5.4	4.7	4.2	3.7
El Salvador	6.5	6.8	6.9	6.6	6.1	5.7	5.0	4.5	4.0	3.6
Guatemala	7.1	6.9	6.9	6.6	6.5	6.4	6.1	5.8	5.4	4.9
Honduras	7.5	7.5	7.4	7.4	7.1	6.6	6.0	5.4	4.9	4.3
Nicaragua	7.3	7.3	7.3	7.1	6.8	6.4	6.0	5.0	4.4	3.9
Paraguay	6.5	6.5	6.6	6.3	5.7	5.2	5.3	4.9	4.6	4.2
Group III										
Brazil	6.2	6.2	6.2	5.3	4.7	4.2	3.7	3.2	2.9	2.7
Colombia	6.8	6.8	6.8	6.3	4.7	4.1	3.5	2.9	2.7	2.5
Costa Rica	6.7	7.1	7.0	5.8	4.3	3.9	3.5	3.4	3.1	3.0
Ecuador	6.7	6.7	6.7	6.5	6.0	5.4	4.7	4.0	3.5	3.1
Guyana	6.7	6.8	6.2	6.1	4.9	3.9	3.3	2.8	2.6	2.3
Mexico	6.9	7.0	6.8	6.8	6.5	5.3	4.2	3.6	3.1	2.8
Panama	5.7	5.9	5.9	5.6	4.9	4.1	3.5	3.2	2.9	2.6
Peru	6.9	6.9	6.9	6.6	6.0	5.4	4.7	4.0	3.4	3.0
Dominican Republic	7.4	7.4	7.3	6.7	5.6	4.7	3.9	3.5	3.1	2.8
Suriname	6.6	6.6	6.6	5.9	5.3	4.2	3.4	3.0	2.7	2.4
Venezuela	6.5	6.5	6.7	5.9	4.9	4.5	4.0	3.7	3.3	3.0
Group IV										
Netherlands Antilles	5.7	5.2	4.4	3.3	2.7	2.5	2.3	2.1	2.1	2.1
Argentina	3.2	3.1	3.1	3.1	3.2	3.4	3.2	3.0	2.8	2.6
Bahamas	4.2	3.7	3.9	3.3	3.0	2.8	2.8	2.3	2.0	2.0
Barbados	4.7	4.7	4.3	3.5	2.7	2.2	1.9	1.6	1.8	1.8
Cuba	4.1	3.7	4.7	4.3	3.6	2.1	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.8
Chile	5.0	5.3	5.3	4.4	3.6	3.0	2.7	2.7	2.5	2.4
Guadeloupe	5.6	5.6	5.6	5.2	4.5	3.1	2.6	2.5	2.3	2.2
Jamaica	4.2	5.1	5.6	5.8	5.0	4.0	3.6	2.6	2.4	2.1
Martinique	5.7	5.7	5.5	5.0	4.1	2.7	2.1	2.1	2.0	2.0
Puerto Rico	5.0	4.8	4.4	3.4	3.0	2.8	2.5	2.3	2.2	2.1
Trinidad and Tobago	5.3	5.3	5.0	3.8	3.5	3.4	3.2	2.8	2.4	2.3
Uruguay	2.7	2.8	2.9	2.8	3.0	2.9	2.6	2.4	2.3	2.3

Source: Latin American Demographic Centre (CELADE), Current population projections, and United Nations, *World Population Prospects: the 1994 Revision*, New York, 1995.

^a Including Anguilla, Antigua, Aruba, Dominica, Grenada, Cayman Islands, Turks and Caicos Islands, British Virgin Islands, United States Virgin Islands, Montserrat, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia and Saint Vincent and the Grenadines.

Table 3
LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN: LIFE EXPECTANCY AT BIRTH BY FIVE-YEAR PERIODS, BY COUNTRIES AND TERRITORIES GROUPED ACCORDING TO STAGES OF DEMOGRAPHIC TRANSITION, 1950-2000

Countries	Five-year periods									
	1950-1955	1955-1960	1960-1965	1965-1970	1970-1975	1975-1980	1980-1985	1985-1990	1990-1995	1995-2000
Regional total ^a	51.4	54.4	56.9	58.9	61.1	63.2	65.1	66.9	68.5	69.8
Group I										
Bolivia	40.4	41.9	43.5	45.1	46.7	50.1	53.7	56.8	59.3	61.4
Haiti	37.6	40.7	43.6	46.3	48.5	50.7	52.7	54.7	56.6	58.4
Group II										
Belize	57.7	60.2	62.7	65.2	67.6	69.7	71.4	72.5	73.6	74.7
El Salvador	45.3	48.6	52.3	55.9	58.8	57.4	57.2	62.4	66.3	68.3
Guatemala	42.1	44.2	47.0	50.1	54.0	56.4	59.0	62.0	64.8	67.2
Honduras	41.8	44.6	48.0	51.0	54.1	57.7	61.6	65.4	67.7	69.8
Nicaragua	42.3	45.4	48.6	51.9	55.2	57.6	59.5	62.2	66.1	68.2
Paraguay	62.6	63.2	64.4	65.0	65.9	66.5	67.1	67.6	68.5	69.7
Group III										
Brazil	51.0	53.4	55.9	57.9	59.8	61.8	63.3	64.8	66.3	67.7
Colombia	50.6	55.1	57.9	60.0	61.6	64.0	67.2	68.2	69.2	70.2
Costa Rica	57.3	60.2	63.0	65.6	68.1	71.0	73.8	75.3	76.3	76.8
Ecuador	48.4	51.4	54.7	56.8	58.9	61.4	64.5	67.1	68.8	69.9
Guyana	52.3	54.8	57.3	59.2	60.0	60.7	61.1	63.2	65.2	66.9
Mexico	50.7	55.3	58.5	60.3	62.6	65.3	67.7	69.8	71.5	72.4
Panama	55.3	59.3	62.0	64.3	66.5	69.1	70.8	71.7	72.9	74.0
Peru	43.9	46.3	49.1	51.5	55.5	58.5	61.6	64.4	66.7	68.3
Dominican Republic	46.0	50.0	53.6	57.0	59.9	62.1	65.6	68.2	69.6	71.0
Suriname	56.0	58.7	61.6	62.4	64.0	65.1	67.2	68.8	70.3	71.5
Venezuela	55.2	58.1	61.0	63.8	66.1	67.7	68.8	70.5	71.8	72.8
Group IV										
Netherlands Antilles	54.8	57.3	59.8	62.2	66.1	70.1	71.1	72.1	73.1	74.0
Argentina	62.7	64.7	65.5	66.0	67.4	68.8	70.2	71.0	72.1	73.1
Bahamas	59.8	62.3	64.1	65.8	66.6	67.3	69.7	72.0	73.1	74.2
Barbados	57.2	62.6	65.9	67.6	69.4	71.3	73.2	74.6	75.6	76.4
Cuba	59.5	62.4	65.4	68.6	71.0	73.1	73.9	74.6	75.3	76.0
Chile	54.8	56.2	58.1	60.6	63.6	67.2	70.7	72.7	74.4	75.2
Guadeloupe	56.5	61.6	64.6	65.8	67.8	69.9	72.5	73.6	74.6	75.5
Jamaica	57.2	61.2	64.3	66.3	68.6	70.1	71.4	72.5	73.6	74.6
Martinique	56.5	61.7	64.2	66.7	69.2	71.8	74.5	75.4	76.2	77.0
Puerto Rico	64.8	68.6	69.7	70.8	72.5	73.5	74.0	74.6	75.3	76.0
Trinidad and Tobago	58.2	62.4	64.5	64.8	65.7	67.1	68.6	70.4	71.6	72.8
Uruguay	66.3	67.2	68.4	68.6	68.8	69.7	70.9	72.0	72.4	72.8

Source: Latin American Demographic Centre (CELADE), current population projections, and United Nations, *World Population Prospects: the 1994 Revision*, New York, 1995.

^a Including Anguilla, Antigua, Aruba, Dominica, Grenada, Cayman Islands, Turks and Caicos Islands, British Virgin Islands, United States Virgin Islands, Montserrat, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia and Saint Vincent and the Grenadines.

Table 4
**LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN: AVERAGE ANNUAL
 POPULATION GROWTH RATES, 1950-2000**
 (Percentages)

Country or territory	1950- 1960	1960- 1970	1970- 1980	1980- 1990	1990- 2000
Regional total	2.68	2.65	2.35	1.99	1.69
Latin America	2.72	2.68	2.39	2.01	1.71
Argentina	1.84	1.50	1.59	1.46	1.19
Bolivia	2.10	2.28	2.39	2.04	2.36
Brazil	3.04	2.76	2.34	2.02	1.63
Colombia	2.86	2.91	2.16	1.96	1.57
Costa Rica	3.57	3.34	2.75	2.82	2.24
Cuba	1.77	1.98	1.31	0.87	0.72
Chile	2.23	2.21	1.60	1.61	1.49
Ecuador	2.69	2.94	2.86	2.53	2.08
El Salvador	2.79	3.31	2.31	1.33	2.16
Guatemala	2.87	2.78	2.75	2.83	2.82
Haiti	1.54	1.72	1.69	1.91	2.04
Honduras	3.14	3.11	3.17	3.10	2.83
Malvinas (Falkland) Islands	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Mexico	2.85	3.12	2.87	2.08	1.72
Nicaragua	3.05	3.17	3.04	2.45	2.73
Panama	2.68	2.89	2.57	2.06	1.74
Paraguay	2.13	2.42	2.79	3.01	2.63
Peru	2.62	2.82	2.71	2.18	1.73
Dominican Republic	3.14	3.11	2.52	2.21	1.78
Uruguay	1.25	1.01	0.37	0.60	0.57
Venezuela	3.92	3.43	3.39	2.55	2.14
The Caribbean	1.60	1.55	1.17	1.08	0.97
Anguilla	1.82	0.00	1.54	0.00	1.33
Antigua and Barbuda	1.78	0.36	0.68	0.48	0.61
Netherlands Antilles	1.86	1.63	0.90	0.88	0.86
Aruba	0.34	0.33	-0.17	1.10	0.86
Bahamas	3.28	4.29	2.11	1.97	1.42
Barbados	0.90	0.34	0.41	0.32	0.42
Belize	2.96	2.78	1.71	2.57	2.58
Dominica	1.62	1.54	0.56	-0.41	0.00
Grenada	1.69	0.43	-0.55	0.22	0.32
Guadeloupe	2.68	1.51	0.22	1.78	1.66
French Guiana	2.76	3.90	3.25	5.30	4.19
Guyana	2.94	2.19	0.68	0.48	1.04
Cayman Islands	4.00	1.05	5.19	4.19	3.23
Turks and Caicos Islands	1.82	0.00	1.54	5.26	3.45
British Virgin Islands	1.54	3.53	1.82	2.86	2.70
United States Virgin Islands	2.00	6.39	4.10	0.50	0.57
Jamaica	1.49	1.37	1.32	1.04	0.72
Martinique	2.38	1.45	0.00	0.99	0.98
Montserrat	-1.54	-0.87	0.87	-0.87	0.00
Puerto Rico	0.61	1.42	1.65	0.96	0.80
Saint Kitts and Nevis	1.47	-0.82	-0.66	-0.47	-0.24
Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	1.77	0.84	1.19	0.88	0.89
Saint Lucia	0.85	1.60	1.30	1.45	1.33
Suriname	2.97	2.48	-0.47	1.19	1.11
Trinidad and Tobago	2.80	1.41	1.08	1.33	1.10

Source: Latin American Demographic Centre (CELADE), current population projections, and United Nations, *World Population Prospects: the 1994 Revision*, New York, 1995.

Table 5
LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN: INFANT MORTALITY RATES BY FIVE-YEAR PERIODS, BY COUNTRIES AND TERRITORIES GROUPED ACCORDING TO STAGES OF DEMOGRAPHIC TRANSITION, 1950-2000
(Rates per thousand live births)

Countries	Five-year periods									
	1950-1955	1955-1960	1960-1965	1965-1970	1970-1975	1975-1980	1980-1985	1985-1990	1990-1995	1995-2000
Regional total ^a	125	112	100	91	80	69	59	51	45	41
Group I										
Bolivia	176	170	164	157	151	131	109	90	75	66
Haiti	220	193	170	150	135	121	108	97	86	77
Group II										
Belize	88	78	69	60	52	45	39	36	33	30
El Salvador	151	137	123	110	99	87	77	59	46	39
Guatemala	141	131	119	108	95	82	70	59	48	40
Honduras	169	154	135	119	104	81	65	53	43	35
Nicaragua	172	151	131	114	98	90	80	65	52	44
Paraguay	73	70	62	59	53	51	49	47	43	39
Group III										
Brazil	135	122	109	100	91	79	71	64	58	53
Colombia	123	105	92	82	73	59	41	40	37	34
Costa Rica	94	88	81	68	53	30	19	16	14	12
Ecuador	140	129	119	107	95	82	68	57	50	46
Guyana	119	105	95	82	79	67	63	56	48	42
Mexico	121	101	88	79	69	57	47	40	34	31
Panama	93	75	63	52	43	35	30	28	25	21
Peru	159	148	136	126	110	99	82	68	55	45
Dominican Republic	149	132	117	105	94	84	71	55	42	34
Suriname	89	76	63	55	49	44	39	33	28	24
Venezuela	106	89	73	60	49	39	34	27	23	21
Group IV										
Netherlands Antilles	97	84	72	61	44	29	25	22	19	17
Argentina	66	60	60	57	48	39	32	27	24	22
Bahamas	80	57	44	44	32	29	28	27	23	19
Barbados	132	87	61	46	33	27	17	13	9	9
Cuba	81	70	59	50	38	22	17	13	12	11
Chile	120	118	109	89	69	45	24	18	14	13
Guadeloupe	68	54	45	50	42	25	15	14	12	11
Jamaica	85	71	54	45	42	26	18	17	14	12
Martinique	65	56	48	42	35	22	14	11	8	7
Puerto Rico	63	51	45	33	25	20	17	14	11	9
Trinidad and Tobago	79	64	48	46	42	38	31	24	18	16
Uruguay	57	53	48	47	46	42	33	24	20	17

Source: Latin American Demographic Centre (CELADE), current population projections, and United Nations, *World Population Prospects: the 1994 Revision*, New York, 1995.

^a Including Anguilla, Antigua, Aruba, Dominica, Grenada, Cayman Islands, Turks and Caicos Islands, British Virgin Islands, United States Virgin Islands, Montserrat, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia and Saint Vincent and the Grenadines.

Table 6
**LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN: ESTIMATED TOTAL FERTILITY RATE,
 PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN BETWEEN 15-49 YEARS OLD, CURRENTLY MARRIED,
 BY KNOWLEDGE AND USE OF CONTRACEPTIVE METHODS
 AND TOTAL UNWANTED FERTILITY RATE**

Countries	Year of survey	TGF 1990 ^a	Percentage that knows some modern method ^b	Percentage that currently uses some method	Percentage that currently uses some modern method ^b	Total unwanted fertility rate ^c
Group I						
Bolivia	1994	4.9	77	45	18	2.1
Group II						
Belize ^d	1991	4.5	95	47	42	1.1
El Salvador ^d	1993	4.3	96	53	48	-
Guatemala ^d	1987	5.6	72	23	19	0.7
Honduras ^d	1991	5.2	-	47	34	-
Nicaragua	1993	4.7	94	49	45	-
Paraguay	1990	4.8	96	48	35	1.2
Group III						
Brazil ^d	1986	3.1	100	66	57	0.7
Colombia	1990	2.8	100	66	55	0.7
Costa Rica ^d	1993	3.3	-	75	62	1.0
Ecuador	1994	3.8	85	57	46	-
Mexico	1987	3.4	93	53	45	-
Peru	1991	3.7	95	59	33	1.5
Dominican Republic	1991	3.3	100	56	52	0.7
Group IV						
Trinidad and Tobago	1987	2.6	99	53	44	-

Source: Table 2 in this statistical appendix; National Reports of the Programme of Demographic and Health Surveys DHS, and the Survey Programme of the Center for Disease Control CDC and other national surveys.

^a Total fertility rate (average of estimates for 1985-1990 and 1990-1995). ^b Mechanical and chemical procedures to prevent conception. ^c Difference between the total fertility rate and the total wanted fertility rate recorded by the surveys. ^d Women aged 15 to 44.

Table 7
LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN: RELATIVE DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION BY COUNTRIES OR TERRITORIES GROUPED ACCORDING TO STAGES OF DEMOGRAPHIC TRANSITION, BY LARGE AGE GROUPS, 1950-2000
 (Percentages)

Countries	1950			1995			2000		
	<15	15-64	65 and over	<15	15-64	65 and over	<15	15-64	65 and over
Regional total ^a	40.2	56.3	3.5	33.8	61.0	5.2	31.8	62.6	5.6
Group I									
Bolivia	41.4	55.1	3.5	40.6	55.6	3.8	39.6	56.4	4.0
Haiti	36.8	58.0	5.2	40.2	55.9	3.9	39.9	56.3	3.8
Group II									
Belize	38.6	57.8	3.6	42.3	53.4	4.3	40.5	55.2	4.3
El Salvador	42.8	54.1	3.1	40.7	55.2	4.1	38.9	56.7	4.4
Guatemala	44.1	53.3	2.6	44.3	52.2	3.5	42.9	53.4	3.7
Honduras	45.1	52.5	2.4	43.8	53.1	3.1	41.6	55.0	3.4
Nicaragua	44.6	52.9	2.5	43.6	53.4	3.0	40.8	56.0	3.2
Paraguay	39.0	55.2	5.8	41.6	54.9	3.5	39.5	57.0	3.5
Group III									
Brazil	42.0	55.5	2.5	32.3	62.5	5.2	30.1	64.2	5.7
Colombia	42.7	53.6	3.7	32.9	62.6	4.5	30.4	64.9	4.7
Costa Rica	43.3	53.0	3.7	35.0	60.3	4.7	33.1	61.8	5.1
Ecuador	39.5	55.2	5.3	36.4	59.2	4.4	33.8	61.5	4.7
Guyana	41.0	54.5	4.5	32.3	63.7	4.0	30.2	65.6	4.2
Mexico	42.0	53.6	4.4	35.5	60.2	4.3	33.1	62.2	4.7
Panama	40.2	55.7	4.1	33.4	61.3	5.3	31.3	63.2	5.5
Peru	41.6	54.9	3.5	35.9	59.7	4.4	33.4	61.8	4.8
Dominican Republic	44.5	52.3	3.2	35.1	60.9	4.0	33.0	62.5	4.5
Suriname	40.0	54.0	6.0	34.9	60.2	4.9	32.4	62.1	5.5
Venezuela	43.5	54.6	1.9	36.2	59.7	4.1	34.0	61.5	4.5
Group IV									
Netherlands Antilles	35.2	58.4	6.4	26.0	67.0	7.0	24.7	67.7	7.6
Argentina	30.5	65.3	4.2	28.7	61.8	9.5	27.4	62.8	9.8
Bahamas	39.2	56.3	4.5	29.2	65.8	5.0	26.7	67.7	5.6
Barbados	33.2	61.1	5.7	23.6	64.6	11.8	22.5	66.4	11.1
Cuba	35.8	59.3	4.9	22.9	68.2	8.9	22.6	67.9	9.5
Chile	36.7	59.0	4.3	29.5	63.9	6.6	28.5	64.3	7.2
Guadeloupe	39.5	56.2	4.3	26.0	65.8	8.2	25.8	65.9	8.3
Jamaica	36.1	60.0	3.9	30.9	62.5	6.6	28.3	65.1	6.6
Martinique	37.4	57.4	5.2	23.9	66.0	10.1	23.4	66.0	10.6
Puerto Rico	43.3	52.9	3.8	25.2	64.8	10.0	24.2	65.4	10.4
Trinidad and Tobago	40.4	55.7	3.9	32.3	62.0	5.7	28.6	65.6	5.8
Uruguay	27.9	63.9	8.2	24.4	63.3	12.3	23.9	63.4	12.7

Source: Latin American Demographic Centre (CELADE), current population projections, and United Nations, *World Population Prospects: the 1994 Revision*, New York, 1995.

^a Including Anguilla, Antigua, Aruba, Dominica, Grenada, Cayman Islands, Turks and Caicos Islands, British Virgin Islands, United States Virgin Islands, Montserrat, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia and Saint Vincent and the Grenadines.

Table 8
LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN: TOTAL FERTILITY RATE AND INFANT MORTALITY RATE, BY AREA OF RESIDENCE AND EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF THE MOTHER, ACCORDING TO DATA FROM NATIONAL SURVEYS

Country	Year of survey	Period of estimate	Area of residence		Educational level				Total
			Urban	Rural	None	Prim. inc.	Prim. com.	Sec. and higher	
Total fertility rate									
Group I									
Bolivia	1994	1991-1994	3.8	6.3	6.5	6.0	4.9	2.7	4.8
Group II									
Belize	1991	1986-1991	3.9	5.8	-----6.0-----	-----	4.5	3.2	4.5
El Salvador	1993	1988-1993	2.7	5.0	5.4	4.8	3.8	2.3	3.9
Guatemala	1987	1983-1987	4.1	6.5	7.0	5.6	3.9	2.7	5.6
Nicaragua	1993	1987-1992	3.2	6.4	6.9	5.4	3.9	2.4	4.6
Paraguay	1990	1987-1990	3.6	6.1	6.7	6.2	4.5	3.2	4.7
Group III									
Brazil	1986	1983-1986	3.0	5.0	6.5	5.1	3.1	2.5	3.5
Colombia	1990	1987-1990	2.5	3.8	4.9	3.6	2.3	1.6	2.9
Ecuador	1994	1989-1994	3.0	4.6	6.2	5.4	4.0	2.6	3.6
Mexico	1987	1984-1986	3.1	5.2	6.1	5.7	3.7	2.5	3.8
Peru	1991	1988-1991	2.8	6.2	7.1	5.1	3.1	1.9	3.5
Dominican Republic	1991	1988-1991	2.8	4.4	5.2	4.3	3.5	2.8	3.3
Group IV									
Trinidad and Tobago	1987	1984-1987	3.0	3.1	-	3.6	3.5	3.2	3.1
Infant mortality rate (per thousand)									
Group I									
Bolivia	1994	1984-1994	69	106	122	103	62	38	87
Group II									
El Salvador	1993	1988-1993	38	44	38	53	39	24	41
Guatemala	1987	1983-1987	65	84	82	86	61	41	79
Nicaragua	1993	1982-1992	51	68	73	70	46	29	60
Paraguay	1990	1980-1990	32	38	45	42	33	22	35
Group III									
Brazil	1986	1976-1986	76	107	-	-	-	-	86
Colombia	1990	1980-1990	29	23	61	27	22	12	27
Ecuador	1994	1989-1994	28	51	80	-----44-----	-----	31	40
Mexico	1987	1982-1987	23	64	83	64	46	27	56
Peru	1991	1981-1991	48	90	102	83	39	21	64
Dominican Republic	1991	1981-1991	37	55	48	62	47	33	45
Group IV									
Trinidad and Tobago	1987	1977-1987	36	28	-	28	25	35	31

Source: National Reports of the Programme of Demographic and Health Surveys DHS, and the Survey Programme of the Center for Disease Control CDC.

Note: *Level of instruction:* In Colombia and Peru, the following groups are covered: no education, primary, secondary and university; in Bolivia, the groups are: no instruction, basic intermediate, middle and over. In Paraguay, the "no instruction" group includes those who have 2 years or less of schooling. In Ecuador, Dominican Republic and Trinidad and Tobago, the "secondary and higher" group includes only secondary. *Area of residence:* In Nicaragua and El Salvador, the urban area means the national capitals. In Mexico, the urban area includes cities with a population of more than 20,000.