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6.1

**CONDITIONING FACTORS OF
THE SUCCESS OR FAILURE OF
EXPLICIT POPULATION POLICIES**

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**FACTEURS DETERMINANT LE
SUCCES OU L'ECHEC DES POLITIQUES
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Union Internationale pour l'Etude Scientifique de la Population

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**CONDITIONING FACTORS OF THE SUCCESS OF POPULATION POLICIES:
THE CASES OF EL SALVADOR AND COSTA RICA**

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INTRODUCTION

The identification of factors which condition the efficiency of public policies adopted for the purpose of reducing the birth rate in countries whose demographic growth is very rapid is of great importance for the formulation as well as the evaluation of those policies. The present paper deals with some hypotheses related to those factors based on the comparison of two Central American countries : El Salvador and Costa Rica, which around 1960 had gross birth rates of nearly 50 per thousand. Due to limited space, only a shortened version of a considerably more detailed study prepared by the author for the Population Policy Committee of IUSSP is presented here.

The development of this paper will first include some information on the recent fertility levels and trends in both countries as well as on related policies. Secondly, several hypotheses will be presented regarding the factors conditioning changes in fertility which in turn would affect the success of population policies. And finally, the validity of these hypotheses will be discussed comparing Costa Rica and El Salvador by way of selected factors. This brief report is not intended to provide proofs of the suggested hypotheses, rather to furnish empirical support so as to further the progress of this difficult and complex task.

FERTILITY AND MORTALITY TRENDS

Around 1950 Costa Rica and El Salvador had very similar fertility structures and levels (see Figure 1). Between

TABLE 1

GROSS BIRTH RATES (b), GROSS MORTALITY RATES (d)
AND LIFE EXPECTANCY AT BIRTH (e°) FOR COSTA RICA
AND EL SALVADOR BETWEEN 1950-55 AND 1970-75

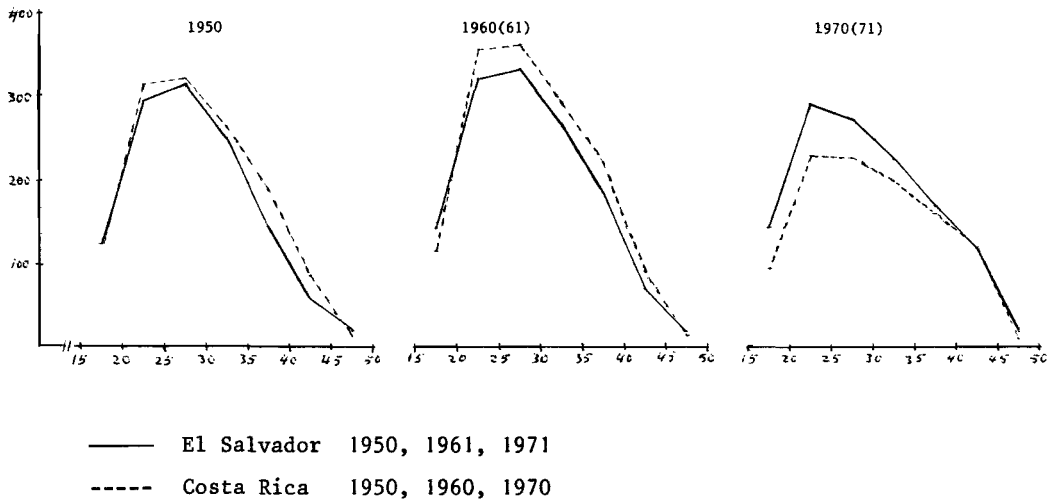
	Costa Rica			El Salvador		
	b	d	e°	b	d	e°
1950 - 1955	47,56	11,89	58,24	48,09	21,26	43,73
1955 - 1960	48,25	10,71	60,50	48,85	18,79	47,12
1960 - 1965	44,86	9,23	62,81	47,95	15,50	51,53
1965 - 1970	37,29	7,31	65,41	44,23	13,00	54,87
1970 - 1975	33,40	5,89	68,18	42,17	11,09	57,83

Source : CELADE, Boletín Demográfico N° 17, January, 1976.

1950 and 1960 in both cases a slight rise can be observed which leads to the highest fertility levels noted in both countries in the recent past. Between 1960 and 1970 the decline begins, moderately in El Salvador and accelerated in Costa Rica. These changes are expressed in birth rates which towards 1973 - as shown in Table 1 - are 9 points lower in Costa Rica than in El Salvador, having been very similar until 1960.

The subject of mortality will be treated again further on when we deal with factors which condition the change in fertility. We must point out, however, that according to the estimates of life expectancy at birth, around 1953 Costa Rica had already reached the levels which El Salvador was only approaching 20 years later (see Table 1).

These changes described on an aggregated level, as is the national one, summarize but at the same time hide the diversity of reproductive behaviour which can be expected in societies that are internally so heterogeneous in economic as well as socio-spatial terms. At least for Costa Rica, indications exist that, even in the periods of highest fertility, there were important differences between rural and urban populations, and between social classes within the latter. A survey made in 1975 for the purpose of studying fertility differentials by class and their changes, provides us with an estimate for the years prior to 1960 of an



- Source : - Costa Rica : Dirección General de Estadística y Censos. *Informes Estadísticos y Anuarios Estadísticos*, taken from Campanario, Paulo, *Caracterización Demográfica de Costa Rica, Proyecto Estrategias de Desarrollo y Políticas de Población*, CELADE, table 4.5.6. (unpublished).
- El Salvador : Alens, Alex, *La Población de El Salvador por Sexo y Edad en el Período 1950-2000*, CONAPLAN and DIGESTIC, 1976, table 7. Original data used are vital statistics and censuses.

FIGURE 1

Specific fertility rates by age groups in Costa Rica, El Salvador for 1950, 1960(61) and 1970(71)

average number of approximately six children born alive for the four classes studied in the rural sector.¹ In the urban sectors this average number would be 5.77 for the marginal social strata, 4.72 for the proletarian class (blue collar workers mainly of the industrial sector) and only 3.77 for the middle class. The same study, comparing the estimates just mentioned with those of recent fertility shows that fertility of peasants (who work their own plots) as well as that of rural workers (wage-earners) has dropped by approximately 20 percent; that all classes in the urban area have also declined, and that this decrease has been of particular importance in the marginal strata. Thus it can be concluded that in Costa Rica the change came about with time gaps starting first in the urban middle class, next in the urban working class and finally in both the urban marginal sector and the rural working class and peasants.

For El Salvador it is impossible to determine directly the differentials by social class, although it can be assumed that they exist and that they explain in part the observed urban-rural differentials.

Analysis of accumulated fertility of women in marital union, 40 to 49 years of age, according to information obtained in the 1973 national survey,² allows us to estimate approximately the urban-rural differences in fertility, around 1960. These figures indicate that fertility in the countryside was 34 per cent higher than in urban and metropolitan areas, while fertility in the villages was only 6 per cent higher. On the other hand, data from the 1975 national survey³ provide estimates of the gross birth rate for the period July 1974-June 1975 of 31-33 per thousand for the metropolitan area, 34-35 for the rest of the urban sector, and 46-47 for the rural area. GBR for the whole country would be 40-41. Thus the birth rate in rural areas would be 45 per cent higher than in the metropolitan area.

¹ Campanario, Paulo, *Análisis preliminar de la encuesta sobre los determinantes de algunas variables demográficas en Costa Rica*. Proyecto Estrategias de Desarrollo y Políticas de Población en América Latina, CELADE (Progress Report), December 1976, San José, Costa Rica.

² FESAL-73 : Sales de Rodríguez, Lima *et al.*, *Encuesta Nacional de Fecundidad de El Salvador*, 3° parte, mayo 1976, Asociación Demográfica Salvadoreña, elaborated data from Table 1, page 51.

³ FESAL-75 : Castañeda, Ricardo and Morris, Leo, *Encuesta Nacional de Fecundidad y Planificación*, April 1976, Table 12.

It seems, therefore, that the distance between the fertility levels predominant in rural areas and that of the urban areas would have increased as a result of the decline in fertility in the latter and of the stability or significantly smaller decline in the former.

POPULATION POLICIES IN COSTA RICA AND EL SALVADOR

The development of a population policy and the formation of governmental entities in charge of its formulation and implementation have followed parallel paths in both countries.

The process begins with the formation on a private basis, but with official recognition, of the Asociación Demográfica Salvadoreña (ADS) in April, 1963, and of the Asociación Demográfica Costarricense (ADC) in September, 1966, both associated to IPPF. The discussion of population problems and the development of family planning activities which arise in these private associations leads to a second phase: the official formation of national family planning programmes implemented then on a large scale as part of or closely linked to mother-child health services. Foreign aid plays an important role. This phase begins first in Costa Rica with the creation of the Population Office in the Ministry of Health (April, 1967) and with the publication by that office of the National Programme on Population Policy (November 1967). In El Salvador institutionalization of family planning activities at the national level takes place only a year later, with its initiation within the Ministry of Public Health (April, 1968) and within the Institute of Social Security (November, 1968).

The name of the Costa Rican programme should not be misleading. It is basically a national family planning programme, the purpose of which is primarily socio-medical (fight against abortion, mother-child health, family welfare). There is no definition of demographic objectives and goals. However, in a more or less explicit way the undesirable consequences of an accelerated rhythm of population growth are pointed out and the statement that the programme "indirectly fortifies and accelerates the tendency to diminish the birth rate"⁴ is presented as an argument in its favour.

From the very beginning coordinated participation is

⁴ Oficina de Población, Ministerio de Salubridad, *Programa Nacional sobre Política de Población*, San José, Costa Rica, November 1967 (mimeographed), page 8.

achieved in this programme between public and private organizations such as the Ministry of Health, the Medical School and the ADC. The process of institutionalization continues in 1968 with the formation of the National Population Committee (CONAPO) in charge of the coordination of the programme. Besides the above-mentioned entities, in CONAPO participated the Costa Rican Social Security Office and, since May 1969, the Ministry of Education.

It should be pointed out that in Costa Rica, up to the end of 1976, neither a formal integration nor a functional link existed between the government organization in charge of economic and social planning and CONAPO. The Government is well aware of this lack of coordination and has publicly stated its intention to advance towards the establishment of an integral population policy, both in institutional and programming terms. ⁵

The path followed by El Salvador differs from that of Costa Rica, in that the progress in some aspects is slower and in others more rapid. Only at the end of 1971 a Technical Committee is created in the ADS with representatives of the Ministry of Health and the Social Security Institute in order to evaluate and coordinate the activities of those organisms in the field of family planning. This Committee maintains emphatically that "family planning *is, essentially, a public health programme ...*(and) is not, as some have said either because of ignorance or malice, a population control programme". ⁶

Between 1971 and 1974 an important change of attitude takes place. During this last year the National Council of Economic Planning and Coordination (CONAPLAN) prepared a document entitled "Integral Population Policy", which was approved by the Council of Ministers in October 1974. In this way the explicit population policy came into existence formally to deal with problems of nutrition, morbidity, mortality, employment, spatial distribution and demographic growth. With regard to this last matter, one of the objectives is "to reduce accelerated population growth by means of joint action in the fields of health, education, employment services, income distribution and activities in other

⁵ See First Technical Exchange Meeting of Governmental Entities in charge of Population Policies in Latin America, CELADE, San José, Costa Rica, November 1976, *Report of the Costa Rican delegation*, page 5.

⁶ *Consideraciones acerca de una Política de Coordinación del Programa Nacional de Planificación Familiar*. Report of the Technical Committee assigned by the ADS in October 1971. Presented in January 1972 (the underlining is from the original document).

fields which are considered necessary".⁷

The above-quoted document establishes the institutional structure for policy implementation, mainly the National Population Commission, at a ministerial level and the Technical Population Committee at the level of heads of departments. CONAPLAN acts as the coordinator.

The information given above shows that it is not possible to discuss the success or failure of explicit population policies in Costa Rica and El Salvador because in the first case what has been established and implemented is a sex education and family planning programme without explicit demographic objectives, and in the second case, the population policy has been only recently established.

What they have in common, however, is that in both countries national family planning programmes have been progressively developing since 1967-1968, with training, education and social communication components, which have foreseeable demographic effects considered beneficial by the public and private organisms implementing them. On this basis, it is worth exploring the factors which could explain the notable differences between both countries as to their patterns of fertility change.

SOME CONSIDERATIONS ON KEY SOCIAL SECTORS AND STRATEGIC FACTORS FOR A DECREASE IN FERTILITY

We can consider as key social sectors for demographic change those which around 1960 showed high fertility levels and which represented a relatively important fraction of the total population. The information given in Section 2 leads to assume that, in the countries under consideration, key social sectors would be the large mass of rural population composed principally of peasants and agricultural workers and, in the urban areas, an important fraction of the population composed of the proletarian class and the marginal strata.

It could be thought that the high degree of fertility of each of these social sectors does not necessarily respond to the same combination of factors and that, consequently, the propensity to change could also differ among them. For reasons of space, only a few factors dealing with the reproductive behaviour of the rural key social sectors will be discussed.

⁷ CONAPLAN, *Política Integral de Población*, República de El Salvador, C.A., Document N° 920, October 1974, page 15.

Hypotheses concerning these factors and their particular combination for different social sectors require a general conceptual framework which could allow to clarify the chain of relationships linking the micro level of reproductive behaviour with the macro socio-economic level. On the basis of the classical propositions of Kingsley Davis and Judith Blake and of Ronald Freedman, it could be assumed that fertility depends basically on the factors which condition : (a) the formation and permanence of relatively stable sexual unions; (b) the orientation of reproductive behaviour towards a large, medium or small number of children, and (c) the use of means to dissociate sexual activity from its reproductive consequences (contraception in the broad sense) or to eliminate these consequences (abortion).

Factors influencing the dissemination of knowledge on contraceptive methods, the maintenance or suppression of cultural resistance to its use or to the practice of abortion, and the access to family planning services and medical abortion fall in category (c). These can be called "facilitating factors" in as much as they perform the function of facilitating the control of reproductive behaviour in fertile women who have sexual relations and who are motivated to postpone or to permanently avoid any further pregnancies. If this motivation - which depends on what we have called "orientation of reproductive behaviour" (b) - does not exist, then the facilitating factors become only a potential resource.

If this proposition is valid, it can be thought that an important and sustained decline in fertility leading developing countries to reach the final stages in demographic transition, depends basically on factors (b).

An enlightening perspective for the identification of these factors (b) is that of the economic significance of children.

The sign and value of this significance will depend on whether the children represent in objective terms a means of economic contribution to the family - intra-family work or income - or a source of expenditure.

From this perspective, the typical situation of the social sector of peasants bound to the so-called agricultural "latifundia-minifundia complex", can be characterized in the following terms : They are owners of a small plot of land cultivated by the family and some of them permanently or seasonally sell part of their labor to larger farms. Their levels of instruction are very low because of the lack of educational services. They have a minimum amount of capital and are constrained to rely principally on human working force.

In this context, mortality - especially infant mortality - is usually high because of poor access to health services and low educational levels. The surviving children represent an economic contribution to the family from an early age since (1) favourable objective conditions exist for child labor within the family unit, as well as outside of it (gathering coffee, for example); (2) the existence of few rural schools plus the dispersed settlement of the rural population and the poor means of transportation, make children's education extremely difficult and indirectly favours their incorporation into economic activity at a young age; and (3) although the productivity level of children is low, it rapidly reaches that of adults (given the low qualifications and lack of capital) which makes their contribution relatively important. On the other hand, since this social sector is usually not included in the social security system, the children and the network of relatives formed around them constitute significant economic support for old age.

Considering now the situation in terms of cost, limited contact with the urban market and low exposure to the urban culture encourage the maintenance of self-consumption patterns in a low monetized economy with a limited local market. Patterns of consumption are not diversified and aspirations of consumption are low - all of which determines that the cost of a child is low. Additionally, the cost of opportunity which a new baby represents to a woman is low or non-existent since her work is predominantly intra-familial and that caring for the child is carried out by various members of the extended family, thus reducing considerably the conflict of roles which could emerge when faced with an eventual extra-family job.

In this type of situation it seems evident that a large number of children could hardly be detrimental for the family. Therefore the maintenance of reproductive behaviour oriented toward large families is understandable.

Space prevents a full discussion of the foregoing hypotheses, the majority of which have been amply treated in the literature on the subject.

These hypotheses, proposed on a micro-social level, touch on various macro-level factors which could be grouped together in three main inter-related, but relatively independent, categories which are :

- A. Forms of insertion into the productive structure which conditions the work of women and children.
- B. Socio-Spatial Integration :
 - Integration in the urban market.
 - Exposure to urban culture.

C. Access to social services :

- Education.
- Social security.
- Health.

The role which these factors can play in changing fertility will now be discussed, using as empirical references the cases of Costa Rica and El Salvador.

A. Forms of insertion into the productive structure

Of the many factors which can be considered in this category, only one which operates in the rural context will be examined, i.e., land which is owned and cultivated by the family. In this paper these type of units will be referred to as "family holdings". As mentioned, owning land creates favourable conditions for children to work from an early age, for intra-family work of women, and for the development of a self-consumption economy, all of which support the orientation towards large families.

The 1963 agricultural census in Costa Rica shows that 52.7 per cent of the land units were of less than 10 hectares, corresponding to what is usually considered a family or sub-family unit of production. In 1973 the number of these units had increased in 30.3 per cent, now including 57.5 per cent of the total. In spite of the increase in the number of units in absolute and relative terms, the agricultural area taken up by these family holdings was reduced in 55.5 per cent. In this way, the surface corresponding to this category dropped from 10.6 per cent of the total cultivated land in 1963, to scarcely 4 per cent in 1973. The reduction of this area occurred at the same time as the agriculture frontier was expanding and the area of land being worked during the period had increased in 18.6 per cent. The increase of the number of units accompanied by an absolute reduction of the occupied surface, is the result of a reduction in the average size of these family holdings : the number of units of less than one hectare tripled during the period, while those of 5 to 9.99 hectares are reduced in 15.8 per cent. It should also be noted that the number of units of 10 to 19.99 hectares diminished as well whereas the number of units of 100 and more hectares increased in 33.6 per cent. These figures demonstrate the effect of property concentration which capitalist development has produced on Costa Rican agriculture, with its side-effect of increasing the process of "minifundia" formation.

The situation in El Salvador differs from what we have just described in Costa Rica, both in levels and in tendencies. Between 1950 and 1960, while the total cultivated

surface augmented only 6.7 per cent, the total number of units increased 30.2 per cent with the holding of less than 10 hectares forming 91.4 per cent of the total. During this period in El Salvador, not only did the number of small farms increase considerably while the average size decreased, but also - differing from the situation in Costa Rica - the area cultivated increased 22.6 per cent occupying 28 per cent of the total surface. This increase is particularly significant in the smaller family holdings of less than one hectare, which expanded the area occupied by them in 57.8 per cent. Between 1961 and 1971 this tendency continued, increasing in 21.8 per cent the number of farms of less than 10 hectares.

TABLE 2

DISTRIBUTION OF PERMANENT WORKERS IN AGRICULTURE IN EL SALVADOR
BY SALARIED CONDITION AND BY AGE, 1961 AND 1971

	1961		1971	
	N (In thousands)	%	N (In thousands)	%
Peasants and family workers	<u>290</u>	<u>64,7</u>	<u>422</u>	<u>76,4</u>
10 to 14 years old	60	13,4	31	5,6
15 and more	230	51,3	391	70,7
Salaried workers	<u>158</u>	<u>35,3</u>	<u>131</u>	<u>23,6</u>
10 to 14 years old	31	6,9	2	0,4
15 and more	127	28,4	129	23,2
Total	<u>448</u>	<u>100,0</u>	<u>553</u>	<u>100,0</u>

Source : Dirección General de Estadística y Censos, República de El Salvador, Segundo Censo Agropecuario, 1961. Tercer Censo Agropecuario, 1971, Cifras preliminares obtenidas por muestreo.

This structure of land tenure has its counterpart in the structure of the economically active population (EAP) in agriculture. As shown in Table 2, when considering only the permanent agricultural workers, the number of peasants and unpaid family workers increased in 45.8 per cent between 1961 and 1971, while the number of salaried workers decreased in 17.2 per cent.

As for working children, in 1961 they represented about one fifth of the labour force in the salaried and the unsalaried rural social sectors, which implies a very high rate of participation of children under 15 years of age, whether or not their parents owned land. Judging from the figures of the 1971 census, the change which occurred during this period is notable, as the number of salaried working children practically disappeared, and there was a significant drop in the non-salaried figure as well (from 20.7 per cent to 7.4 per cent). An explanation for this could be found in the combination of labor legislation (for earners), the reduced average size of the family holdings, and the increase in access to rural schools, as will be shown further on.

B. Socio-spatial integration

By socio-spatial integration is meant here the process by which urban economy and culture penetrate the rural milieu, increasingly incorporating rural population into the urban market and diffusing values, attitudes and behavioural patterns of the so-called "urban culture". It coincides to a great extent with the concept of urbanization process in its broadest sense.

This process, which is extremely complex, depends on the combined action of various factors, among which the following should be singled out : (1) demographic growth and the size of the urban centers and conglomerates; (2) the modernization of the urban economic structure, in terms of the development of industry and modern services, with the corresponding expansion of the middle class; (3) the transformation of the economic structure of agriculture, one form of which is the expansion of capitalist enterprise, with the corresponding formation of a salaried rural working class and growing use of currency within the rural economy; (4) the spatial pattern of distribution of urban nuclei and of the rural population in relation to them; (5) the development of the infrastructure of communication and basic services (roads, transportation, telephone, mail, electricity, etc.); and (6) the development of the infrastructure of social services (education, health and social security).

This last dimension will be treated separately in Section C.

In countries with market economies, as those being analyzed here, the behaviour of these factors seems to depend, on the one hand, on the dynamism of the capitalist system and, on the other hand, on the role played by the State through public policies in the orientation of the economic process as well as in the redistribution of its benefits among the social classes in the different regions.

The presentation of some information which will provide a preliminary idea of what has happened in Costa Rica and El Salvador in the field of socio-spatial integration is presented here in a limited way.

As can be seen in Table 3, in 1970 both countries had a similar degree of urbanization measured in terms of percentage of urban population.

However, there are significant differences which must be mentioned : A first difference is given by the pattern of spatial location of the urban centers. Costa Rica presents a very high concentration of the population occupying a reduced portion of the territory, the Central Valley. The principal cities of three of the six remaining provinces are concentrated near San José, in a radius of 30 kilometers around the capital, including more than 80 per cent of the urban population and an important part of the rural population. In El Salvador, however, the entire territory is densely populated (197 inhabitants/km² in 1975) and the urban centers are spread throughout the country.

Another important element is the unequal development between the capital and the rest of the urban centers. Only two indicators are analyzed : the percentage of houses with electricity, as an indicator of the degree of development of the basic services, and the type of fuel used for cooking, in order to estimate the degree of incorporation in the market of industrial products. Examination of data presented in Table 3 allows to conclude that : (1) Regarding modernization, contrast between the capital city and the rest of the urban areas seems to be much greater in El Salvador than in Costa Rica; (2) given their degree of development and the prevailing levels of education (see Table 4), the urban centers which are not the capital in El Salvador seem to have a very low potential of irradiation of "urban culture".

Penetration and development of basic services in the rural area would seem in 1970 to be superior in Costa Rica than in El Salvador. The degree of electrification of the latter in 1971 was considerably inferior to that of Costa Rica in 1963. In 1973 Costa Rica had nearly 100 per cent of electrification, even in the most rural provinces. Data on fuel for cooking compared with the percentage of rural

TABLE 3

COSTA RICA

Province	Total populat. 1973		Urban popu- lation 1973 *	Rural popu- lation %	% Household with electricity				% Household using wood for cooking			
	N*	%			1963		1973		1963		1973	
			U	R	T	T	U	R	T	T		
San José ^a	695	37,1	428	38,4	96	39	72	98	22	79	46	27
Alajuela	326	17,4	81	75,2	95	33	45	96	41	92	81	62
Cartago	205	11,0	73	64,4	96	44	58	97	52	91	80	50
Heredia	134	7,2	51	62,1	97	60	73	97	41	87	70	40
Guanacaste	179	9,6	43	76,1	67	6	16	97	80	98	95	81
Puntarenas	218	11,6	46	79,1	90	27	42	98	49	83	75	61
Limón	115	6,1	39	66,0	88	10	36	98	29	81	63	35
Total	1 872	100,0	760	59,4	94	32	55	98	32	87	67	45

EL SALVADOR

Region Department	Total populat. 1971		Urban popu- lat. 1971 *	Rural popu- lat. %	% Household with elect.			% Household using wood for cooking				
	N*	%			1971			1971				
			U	R	T	U	R	T				
Occidental												
Huachapán	184	5,1	42	77,2	61	5	19	80	97	93		
Santa Ana	347	9,5	147	57,6	75	11	39	61	95	81		
Sonsonate	247	6,8	92	62,7	67	7	30	64	96	84		
Central												
Chalatenango	182	5,0	49	73,2	46	2	15	88	99	96		
La Libertad	292	8,0	100	65,7	72	13	34	58	95	82		
San Salva- dor ^a	748	20,5	575	23,0	89	26	75	26	82	39		
Paracentral												
Cuscatlán	163	4,5	44	73,0	66	3	21	71	98	91		
La Paz	187	5,1	57	69,5	55	7	22	78	96	91		
Cabañas	133	3,7	21	84,0	57	1	12	83	99	96		
San Vicente	153	4,2	43	71,8	61	3	20	77	98	92		
Oriental												
Usulután	299	8,2	81	73,0	56	4	19	77	97	92		
San Miguel	325	8,9	111	65,9	58	3	22	73	97	89		
Morazan	162	4,4	30	81,7	36	(0,4)	7	89	99	97		
La Unión	221	6,1	49	77,8	45	2	12	86	98	95		
País (Total)	3 641	100,0	1 441	59,4	72	7	34	54	96	79		

Source : For Costa Rica : 1963 and 1973 censuses.

For El Salvador : Ministerio de Planificación de El Salvador,
Indicadores Económicos y Sociales,
julio-diciembre, 1975.

* In thousands.

^a Metropolitan areas.

population leads one to believe that an important fraction of this population would be using industrially manufactured artefacts in Costa Rica, which in El Salvador is noted slightly only in the province of the capital city.

The very fragmentary data just presented gives an idea of the importance of the process of spatial integration in Costa Rica during the decade of the 60's, a process which began at least a decade earlier. One of the results is that an important fraction of the population classed as rural in the census participates in the secondary and tertiary economic activities (rural population is 59.4 per cent; EAP in agriculture is 36.4 per cent in 1973). This phenomenon is particularly important in the quarter of the rural economically active population living in the metropolitan area of San José. Of it, no more than a third worked in agriculture activities in 1973.⁸ On the other hand, the survey mentioned above leads to the conclusion that the peasants in Costa Rica sell an average of 80 per cent of their family product, which indicates a high degree of incorporation into the market. In El Salvador, however, the socio-spatial integration process would seem to be less advanced up to 1971 and as a result, the rural population less incorporated into the urban market as well as less exposed to the influence of urban culture.

C. Access to social services

1. Education

The level of education attained by the parents and the availability of education for children seems to be a very important factor in the change of the orientation of reproductive behaviour in the rural population, as it retards the age of incorporation of the child into productive activities, raises the level of aspirations as far as work, life style, and consumption patterns are concerned and often constitutes, by its very content, a means of penetration of the "urban culture" values and patterns of behaviour.

The level of education is practically fixed between 15 and 19 years of age for the great majority of the population. For this reason the present levels of adult population are the result of the changes in the access to this service undergone in the last 50 years.

From Table 4 it may be concluded that : (1) In the

⁸ See Fox, Robert and Jerrold, Huguet, *Demographic Trends and Urbanization in Costa Rica*. Inter American Development Bank, page 31.

TABLE 4

PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN WITH LESS THAN FOUR YEARS OF EDUCATION

COSTA RICA

Age	1963				1973			
	Capital	Other urban	Rural	Total	Capital	Other urban	Rural	Total
15-49	27	37	65	50	16	19	44	31
15-19	16	19	48	35	8	8	20	14
20-24	20	26	55	42	10	13	34	23
25-29	24	32	65	50	14	19	46	32
30-34	25	33	67	51	20	27	57	41
35-39	30	41	71	56	25	33	64	47
40-44	32	45	74	57	28	37	68	51
45-49	35	47	77	61	26	38	74	53

EL SALVADOR

Age	1961				1971			
	Capital	Other urban	Rural	Total	Capital	Other urban	Rural	Total
15-49	51	68	94	81	40	59	89	73
15-19	36	44	90	69	22	33	74	53
20-24	42	56	88	73	29	42	82	63
25-29	47	68	94	81	35	49	88	70
30-34	55	73	96	84	41	56	90	74
35-39	57	75	97	86	49	67	95	81
40-44	55	73	97	84	49	71	96	82
45-49	74	78	98	88	55	79	96	86

Source : CELADE, OMUECE, Census samples.

urban areas of both countries, especially during the decade of the 60's, there has been a considerable raising of the level of education. However, the historical process of development of this service began earlier in Costa Rica, to the extent that this country shows in 1970 an advantage of two decades over El Salvador. (2) The levels of education in the rural areas have also improved in both countries, but in El Salvador the disadvantage with respect to Costa Rica in these areas is greater than the one found when comparing urban areas, reaching approximately 30 years. (3) On the other hand, the advances achieved in rural areas in Costa Rica between 1963 and 1973 are considerably greater than those achieved in El Salvador. If the four years of elementary education are considered as a threshold in terms of their influence over reproductive behaviour, it is found that 80 per cent of women entering the reproductive contingent (15 to 19 years) in the rural areas of Costa Rica have passed this threshold. In El Salvador, however, hardly 26 per cent would have passed it (1971).

If recent accessibility to educational services is considered, data shows that in Costa Rica the percentage of school attendance for children between 10 and 14 years rises from 66 per cent in 1963 to 76 per cent in 1973 in rural areas. In El Salvador, although the levels are considerably lower (40 per cent in 1961 and 55 per cent in 1971), the increase in real access to these services is also important.

2. Social security

Differences between both countries with regard to the degree of development achieved by the social security services and their extension to rural areas are perhaps greater than those in the fields of education.

Already in 1950, 23 per cent of the EAP in Costa Rica was covered by social security, at least concerning illness and maternity care. This figure rises to 29 per cent in 1963 and to 50 per cent in 1973, as a result of a government decision in 1961 to universalize insurance coverage. In El Salvador, however, in 1963 there was only 5 per cent coverage, and in 1973, 11 per cent.

At the beginning of this period in El Salvador, 92 per cent of the insured were in the metropolitan area. In 1973 the area covered by the service had expanded, with 32 per cent of beneficiaries residing in areas outside the capital. This 32 per cent represents a scant 3.7 per cent of the total EAP and it can be thought that it is located in the remainder of the urban areas. It therefore appears that social security coverage in the rural areas is minimal. Costa Rica contrasts in this respect in that 57 per cent of

salaried rural workers in 1973 had social security. For peasants, the coverage is considerably lower, though reaching 12.5 per cent.

3. Health services

The accessibility to health services is important for a change in reproductive behaviour for at least two reasons : first, it contributes decisively to a decline in mortality, especially in children, thereby increasing the ultimate size of the family and parents' expectations of their children's survival. In this way it constitutes an important condition for a change in the orientation of reproductive behaviour. In the second place, it seems to be a logistic factor of great importance for the development of family planning services as they are conceived in the countries under analysis.

a) THE DISTRIBUTION OF HEALTH RESOURCES

The analysis of some basic indicators shows that, in terms of the level of resources, as well as their pattern of socio-spatial distribution, the situation in health is similar to that of education and of social security. The ratio of medical doctors to inhabitants in El Salvador in 1975 is similar to that of Costa Rica in 1960 (2.8 doctors per 1,000 inhabitants). During this period, Costa Rica increased the number by 121 per cent. In spite of this difference at the national level, the ratio doctors/inhabitants does not differ significantly in the two metropolitan areas, as can be observed in Table 5. In both countries there are considerably fewer doctors in the remaining predominantly rural areas, though this difference is much more accentuated in El Salvador than in Costa Rica.

A similar phenomenon occurs when considering the ratio of beds in medical services per number of inhabitants, although the difference between both countries is in the level rather than in the pattern of distribution. Thus it can be concluded that the accessibility of health resources for the rural population is considerably greater in Costa Rica than in El Salvador, as a result of a greater availability of resources *per capita* and of a less concentrated distribution of the same.

b) MORTALITY LEVELS

The steady decline of mortality in Costa Rica - referred to in Section 2 - leads in 1973 to an infant mortality rate which is quite low among developing countries : 37.6

TABLE 5
SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF SOME MEDICAL RESOURCES

	Costa Rica (1973) ^a			El Salvador (1975) ^b		
	Total	Metropolitan regions	Other regions	Total	Metropolitan regions	Other regions
- Medical doctors per 10 000 inhabitants	6,2	11,6	1,8 - 4,0	2,8	9,7	0,3 - 1,7
- Beds in medical services per 10 000 inhabitants	38	73	12 - 26	14	29	6 - 17

Source : a. Behm, Hugo, *La Mortalidad en los Primeros Años de Vida en Países de América Latina : Costa Rica, 1968-1969*. CELADE, San José, Serie A, N° 1024, diciembre, 1976, p. 37.

b. Sermeño, José, *La Salud de la Población Salvadoreña*, en *Notas de Población*, CELADE, N° 11, agosto, 1976.

per thousand born. Although important differences exist among the regions, varying from 29.1 in the central region to 48.2 in the North Pacific Region, the levels attained seem to be sufficiently low in all of them as to result in high expectations of parents with regard to the survival of their children.

El Salvador has also experienced an important decline in infant mortality, changing from an average estimated rate of 147 per thousand for the 1951-1961 decade to 118 per thousand in 1961-1971. ⁹

Under the assumption that the decline in infant mortality has continued at the same speed, it would have reached a rate of around 95 per thousand towards 1975. Findings at this respect made by FESAL-73 national survey confirm this figure. ¹⁰

⁹ See Sermeño, José A., "La salud de la población salvadoreña", in *Notas de Población*, CELADE, N° 11, August 1976.

¹⁰ FESAL-73, *Aspectos metodológicos para la estimación de la fecundidad y de la mortalidad infantil*, Asociación Demográfica Salvadoreña, San Salvador, December, 1975.

There is no information available for El Salvador on infant mortality by regions. It can only be assumed that, given the strong differentials obtained in other countries among social classes and between urban and rural areas, this relatively high average level implies that infant mortality rates are still substantially high in the rural population.

c) FAMILY PLANNING SERVICES AND CONTRACEPTIVE PRACTICE

The development of family planning activities in both countries requires a detailed analysis, not possible in this document. For this reason, only an analysis of their results will be made, based on data on the use of contraceptives.

The survey made in the metropolitan area of San José in 1964 found that at that time - 4 years before the beginning of the national family planning programme (NFPP) - 65.7 per cent of women between 20 and 50 years of age had used contraceptives. Five years later, a survey in the urban zone of Heredia, in the central valley, showed that 86 per cent of women in marital union between 15 and 44 years of age had practiced contraception. As for the rural population, the 1969 National Survey shows that 36 per cent of women from 15 to 49 years had resorted to contraception.

From this information we can conclude that the use of contraceptive methods had become rather widespread even before the expansion of the NFPP. In spite of this fact, the programme was important in facilitating and generalizing such behaviour.

The survey made in 1976 by CELADE in the framework of the project on Development Strategies and Population Policies in Latin America provides enlightening information in this respect. ¹¹ The wives of heads of family and women heads of family were studied. The use of contraception was widely spread (56 per cent) among peasants as well as for the rural working class. Even among young women (15 to 24 years), who because of their age could not have had many children, more than 50 per cent practiced contraception. This behaviour is particularly frequent (70 per cent) in women of 25 to 34 years. Secondly, it is significant that women over 34 years of age in peasant families as well as in the families of rural laborers began to use contraceptives as early as around 1968. Those in the 25 to 34 age group began to use them, on an average, around 1972, but in far greater numbers.

In the third place, it can be established that three-quarters of the women using contraceptives in the rural

¹¹ See Campanario, Paulo, *op. cit.*

working class obtained them from the health centers which belong to the NFPP. This figure drops to 51 per cent in the case of peasants, whose second most important source of supply are the pharmacies (44 per cent). In order to realize NFPP's coverage, it should be noted that even in the middle class half of the users obtain contraceptives from that source. This figure is 76 per cent for the urban working class.

The situation in El Salvador contrasts strongly with that of Costa Rica. The FESAL-75 survey shows that in the metropolitan area among women ever married, (15 to 44 years), 39.9 per cent practice contraception. In the remaining urban areas, this figure diminishes to 22.5 per cent and in the rural areas it is only 12.2 per cent. Sterilization is the most frequently used method. In the rural area, practically half (48 per cent) of women who use some method of contraception have been sterilized, which reduces the percentage of women in the rural area who use reversible methods to nearly 6.3 per cent. The same is true for the non-metropolitan urban areas.

Data obtained by the FESAL-75 show that NFPP in El Salvador has been an important facilitating factor, as in both the rural areas and the non-metropolitan urban centers 82 per cent of those who practice contraception have either been sterilized or else receive contraceptives from the NFPP.

CONCLUSIONS

The information just presented, although partial, gives as a result a coherent picture which makes understandable - from the theoretical approach adopted - the different courses taken by demographic dynamics in both countries.

The sustained fertility decline observed in the rural areas of Costa Rica would be mainly explained by a significant change in the orientation of reproductive behaviour of both peasants and agricultural proletarians. Such a change would be the result of the converging action of a set of factors : the marginality-creation effects of the process of capitalist penetration in agriculture (quantitative increase of minifundia) would have been neutralized by the process of socio-spatial integration. The latter, acting through the physical integration and the expansion of social services, would have produced in the key rural social sectors a considerable rise in the health and education levels, an increasing internalization of values and behavioural patterns characteristics of an urban culture and an increasing incor-

poration into the urban market. These very factors - particularly the expansion of health services - would have created favourable conditions for the development of a national family planning programme which, in turn, would have contributed, to an important extent, to facilitate a change in reproductive behaviour, accelerating it.

The persistence of high fertility levels in the rural areas of El Salvador is understandable if account is taken of the different values taken and courses followed by those same factors. In terms of agrarian structure, the minifundia-generation process has been progressive, affecting an important part of the rural population. Although the expansion of health and education services has been quite important in relative terms, in the last years, the absolute levels are still very low, particularly in relation to education. The low degree of modernization of the urban, non-metropolitan centers contributes to their low capacity of irradiation of urban culture to the rural environment. All of these factors determine, for the peasants, a low exposition to the urban culture and a low integration into the urban market.

In spite of the advances made, in the rural areas of El Salvador there still seems to persist some objective conditions which would sustain an orientation of reproductive behaviour toward a large family or, at least, which do not favour its change.

These same conditions would have contributed to make more difficult than in Costa Rica the expansion of the coverage of the family planning services. It is possible to think, however, that the low levels of contraceptive practices found in the rural areas in 1975 do not respond as much to the low accessibility to such services (facilitating factors) as to the persistence of an orientation of reproductive behaviour toward a numerous family.

Part of the differences observed between the two countries is evidently a result of their different degrees of economic development : the *per capita* GNP estimated for 1970 was of US\$ 560 in Costa Rica and of US\$ 300 in El Salvador.¹² However, the main explanation seems to be found in the differences related to their styles of development. In Costa Rica the important redistributive role played by the State in the last three decades through public policies - particularly social policies - would have contributed to diminish the internal heterogeneity, both social and geographic. The style of development up to recent years of El Salvador, in turn, was characterized by a high concentration of the resources and benefits in socio-spatial terms, keeping mostly

¹² Estimates from the IBRD published in Population Reference Bureau, *Cifras de Población mundial, 1975.*

unchanged an acute internal heterogeneity both in economic and social terms. However, in the last years the efforts made by the Government to reverse such a situation would allow to expect an important change in the style of development. At the same time, the Government seems to be wholly conscious of the importance of such changes for the attainment of the demographic goals of the "Integral Population Policy". This is undoubtedly a difficult task which would require a deeper study on the factors discussed in this document.

RÉSUMÉ

Les facteurs conditionnant le succès des politiques démographiques :
les exemples d'El Salvador et de Costa Rica

Durant la décennie de 1960, un changement généralisé est intervenu au Costa Rica pour ce qui est du niveau de fécondité. Ce phénomène a affecté toutes les classes sociales, y compris les paysans et les travailleurs agricoles. Au El Salvador, on n'a noté un déclin de la fécondité que dans les zones urbaines, sans variations notoires de celle-ci dans les campagnes. Ces deux pays ont instauré des programmes de planification familiale vers 1968.

En se fondant sur cette base, cette communication commente la situation et les changements qui sont intervenus dans ces 2 pays au sein de la population rurale, en relation avec 3 ensembles de variables : possession des terres, intégration socio-spatiale et accessibilité aux prestations sociales (enseignement, santé et sécurité sociale). De telles variables peuvent être déterminantes du point de vue des changements qui se sont produits dans l'orientation assignée au comportement procréateur. Ils permettent aussi de comprendre les voies démographiques différentes suivies par le Costa Rica et le El Salvador.

