

Distr.
LIMITED
E/CEPAL/CELADE/L.5
30 August 1983
ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: SPANISH



POPULATION REDISTRIBUTION POLICIES IN
LATIN AMERICA */

*/ Document prepared by the Latin American Demographic Centre and submitted to the Meeting of the Group of Experts on Population Distribution, Migration and Development, convened by the Population Division and the United Nations Fund for Population Activities, Hammamet, Tunisia, 21-25 March 1983.

I. PROBLEMS AND POLICY ISSUES.

The activities carried out during World Population Year (1974) and the deliberations leading to the adoption of the World Population Plan of Action (WPPA) helped increase the exchange of views among governments regarding the interrelationship between demographic, social and economic processes. Although the WPPA does not prescribe specific action, it contains a set of criteria for assessing the situation and for applying the policies considered most appropriate within each specific social context. In particular, the WPPA attaches great importance to the spatial distribution of population and to internal migration. On this matter, it urges governments to consider certain basic principles for the formulation and implementation of internal migration policies, such as the need for planned regional development; the advisability, in planning the location of activities, of taking into account not only short-term economic returns, but also "equity and social justice in the distribution of benefits among all groups and regions"; the possibility of "establishing and strengthening networks of small and medium-size cities" and of carrying out intensive programmes of economic and social improvement in rural areas.

1. Perception of problems

With the purpose of specifying the application of the WPPA to its social and economic realm, ECLA convened the Second Latin American Meeting on population. The Report produced by this meeting (ECLA, 1975) identified seven "critical situations resulting from the interaction of socioeconomic, political and demographic structures in the specific situations inherent in each country's modes of development". Five of those situations are related to the distribution and mobility of the population: i.e., the "imbalance of regional development"; the destruction of natural resources; the deterioration in the equality of the urban environment; "agricultural development trends and their effects on employment, living levels, access to services, infant mortality,

the factors determining a high fertility rate, and the exodus from the countryside; the insufficient employment opportunities in relation to population growth and urbanization" (Ibid:46).

More recently, in 1979, the Committee of High-level Government Experts recalled that action under the Regional Population Programme should be oriented in the first place towards 'critical problems ... including regional and urban development, ... habitat and the quality of the urban and rural environment" (ECLA, 1979:14). With regard to the challenges presented by demographic trends, the Committee mentioned the persistence of poverty in both urban and rural areas; the unequal distribution of income among social groups and geographical areas; the aggravation of regional disparities within the countries, which accentuates the concentration of economic activity and reproduces situations of cultural and social backwardness of the population settled in large areas of the national territory" (CEPAL, 1979).

The governments' responses to the surveys conducted by the United Nations Population Division showed that in Latin America, a larger proportion of countries than in any other major area of the world considered that the distribution of population within their national territory was "largely unacceptable" (United Nations, 1978, 1980 and 1982). The diseconomies of scale resulting from high metropolitan primacy and over-concentration of population in urban zones and the difficulty of supplying services to scattered rural population were mentioned as serious problems (United Nations 1980:44). Most of the governments deemed it necessary to decelerate internal migration and to modify substantially the rural and urban population structures.

An analysis of the diagnoses contained in the development plans of the Latin American countries (Alberts, 1979) reveals certain aspects of the spatial distribution of population that are perceived as being particularly critical, i.e., concentration in metropolitan areas and dispersion of rural population; the existence of sparsely populated zones, especially in countries having areas of high "population pressure" on the land; the predominance of migration flows towards major cities and seasonal displacements of labour. Many of the diagnoses mentioned "regional imbalance", "irrationality in the

occupation of space" and "inadequate distribution of population"; these "ailments", however, are not always substantiated by some explanation as to how the situation arose and how it has developed.

2. Identification of policies

The Second Latin American Meeting on Population noted that measures aimed at changing the spatial distribution of population involved regional, urban and rural development programmes (including agrarian reform), as well as settlement programmes (ECLA, 1975:48). On turn, the Latin American Conference on Population and Development Planning recognized the importance of integrating population and development at subnational levels (UNFPA, 1979:12). With the information provided by the governments, a long list could be made of measures intended to affect the spatial distribution of the population and internal migration (CELADE, 1976). In many cases, however, the measures taken have not been specifically conceived for this purpose and are part of the regional, urban and rural development plans which indirectly affect the distribution of population and its mobility by generating job opportunities or means of satisfying basic needs.

The unequal distribution of the population and of economic activities has given rise to regional policies which were originally aimed at specific areas of the countries. The difficulties encountered in applying these programmes led to the formulation of national strategies for regional development and economic deconcentration. As regards urbanization policies, public action was begun at the local level with regulations regarding land use and the provision of services. In time, national urbanization policies were formulated which emphasized the problems of concentration in metropolitan areas. Considering the obstacles to economic expansion imposed by the limitations of the domestic market, some governments sponsored agrarian reform programmes and comprehensive rural development and settlement programmes. Such measures called for modifications in the systems of the land tenancy, allocation of plots and technical and credit assistance.

The considerable resources that were put into these various initiatives do not seem to have borne much fruit, at least as far as the demographic implications are concerned. The population still tends to concentrate in large cities whereas scattering continues to be common in rural areas; some areas with very little productive potential are still relatively overpopulated while other more promising areas remain underpopulated; certain forms of seasonal mobility persist and, in general, so do regional inequalities as regards material living conditions. A few countries, notably Mexico, have drawn up regional population policies, but since these usually do not have their own implementation mechanisms and have only recently been devised, it is too early to evaluate their effects. Other countries, particularly Brazil and Colombia, have taken measures in the area of migration, such as the establishment of information and training centres and assistance to migrants, both in connection with their movement and with their settling. Finally, most governments of the region have recognized the need to establish population units within their planning agencies so as to study the interrelationship between economic, social and demographic variables.

II. PUBLIC ACTION: SOME EXAMPLES.

The purpose of the following presentation is not to provide an exhaustive analysis of the population redistribution policies undertaken in Latin America, but rather to point out certain aspects which can help understand their effect on population distribution and internal migration patterns. Nor is any attempt made to evaluate the effectiveness of each programme. The aim, rather, is to provide some concrete examples which, bearing in mind the unique aspects of each case, may provide some food for thought.

1. A development programme for a depressed region of Brazil: the Northeast

The development programme for the Northeast of Brazil which, with some fluctuations, has been in operation since 1959, is a prototype of the efforts that have been made to develop a depressed zone (Stöhr, 1975). With 1.6 million sq. km. and slightly less than one-third of the country's population (35 million in 1980), the Northeast represents the largest poverty area of South America (Robock, 1975:78). It has been depressed since the late seventeenth century, when the sugar plantations of Brazil were displaced from the international market by the ones in the Caribbean. The centre of gravity of the Brazilian economy gradually moved towards the Southeast. The decline of sugar planting led to a transfer of population from the humid coast to the semi-arid interior of the Northeast, where extensive stock-raising was combined with subsistence agriculture. As a result of this transfer to the interior, the periodic drought of the region became catastrophic. These circumstances, together with the existence of an agrarian structure where the latifundio was predominant, have only kept the region in a state of stagnation and widespread misery (ILPES, 1978:27).

Beginning with the devastating drought of 1877, the federal government sporadically sponsored programmes aimed at developing the irrigation and road

infrastructure; engineering projects were the main weapon in the struggle against the drought. However, the meagre results obtained by these programmes, the accusations of corruption that were levelled at the institutions administering them and the potential social and political pressure represented by the increasing poverty of the Northeast were factors that led to a replacement of the "water solution" (Hirschman, 1963) by a multisectoral regional development approach. This conception emerged from a working group which, reinterpreting the effect of the droughts as a consequence of the underdevelopment of the Northeast with respect to the rest of Brazil (Furtado, 1950), proposed a radical transformation of the regional economic structure through industrialization, crop diversification, encouragement of migration from the arid zones and settlement of the peri-Amazonic area in the northern part of the region. The explicit purpose was to improve the position of the Northeast with respect to the Southeast and the implicit objective was to attenuate the exodus of the population from the Northeast by generating jobs within that region. Another explicit objective was to redistribute the inhabitants of the Northeast to less densely settled rural areas and to reduce the high density of occupation of the lands that were more subject to drought.

Although the proposed programme of changes met with strong opposition (Robock, 1963), in 1959 the Northeastern Development Authority (SUDENE) was created; from the beginning, however, the proposals made by SUDENE were drastically changed before being given full approval. Although the objective of increasing the regional income was maintained, the development strategy adopted had to give priority to criteria of economic efficiency. Thus, activities were concentrated on a large-scale industrialization programme, based essentially on the application of the scheme known as "article 34/18", which provided fiscal incentives (partial tax exemption to enterprises investing in the Northeast). This scheme was supplemented with transfers of federal resources, the implementation of large-scale transport and energy projects, advantageous lines of credit and tariff exemptions (Hirschman, 1968).

What effect has SUDENE's regional policy had on the well-being of the population, its spatial distribution and migration? One of its central purposes has been to reduce interregional income disparities. Although it is not possible, with the evidence available, to reach any definitive conclusions, it appears that the situation has remained stable (Gilbert, 1974; U.F. Pernambuco, 1977). It seems, however, that net out-migration has offset the negative effect of a slower growth of the product on per capita income in the Northeast (Gilbert and Goodman, 1976:129); in fact, the difference between the growth rates of the population of the Northeast and of Brazil as a whole constituted a greater potential for achieving some measure of interregional equity than the direct measures adopted. If it is agreed that the inter-regional differences in income remained stable during the first years of SUDENE's existence (Ramos, 1981:62, holds that the economic planning implemented was not sufficient even to bring the region back to the position it had occupied in 1939), it remains to be seen whether industry, the sector that benefited most from the incentives, was able to generate enough jobs at least to keep constant the region's relative share of total industrial jobs in Brazil. The latest data available refer to 1970; when compared with 1950 data by means of shift-and-share analysis (Haddad, 1977), they show that industrial employment in the region grew at a lower rate than in the country as a whole or in the other regions. Moreover, the Northeast is the only region in which the two components of change showed negative values.

BRAZIL: REGIONAL PATTERNS OF GROWTH OF INDUSTRIAL EMPLOYMENT a/
(1950-1970)

Region	Total net change	Differential change	Structural change
North	6 342	5 301	1 041
NORTHEAST	-174 396	-63 980	-110 416
Southeast	96 140	-16 722	112 862
South	53 017	56 327	-3 310
Centre-West	18 897	19 074	-177

Source: Haddad, 1977

a/ Estimates for 25 states of Brazil and 19 branches of industry.

The above is reflected in the serious situation with regard to unemployment and underemployment in the Northeast: according to a 1972 survey, 42 per cent of the regional labour force was in a situation of either visible or disguised underemployment (Evangelista et al, 1979:211). More recently, it has been found that 70 per cent of the economically active population received an income that was equal to or lower than the minimum wage (Macedo, 1982:263). These data suggest that the relative deterioration of the Northeast is so pronounced that the predominant factors are those which tend to expel population. At the same time, the differences in wages with respect to the states of Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo are large enough (in these states over two-thirds of the economically active population receives more than the minimum wage) to make them highly attractive to the population of the Northeast. It is not surprising, therefore, that during the period 1950-1970 there should have been an increase in the region's tendency towards expulsion: the net migration rate rose from -5.8 percent in 1950 to -12.5 percent in 1970 (Castro et al, 1978:14) and the number of out migrants (natives of the Northeast enumerated in other regions) rose from one million to nearly 4 million during the same period (De Moura, 1979). Consequently, the Northeast's share of the total population of Brazil has dropped from 34.6 percent in 1950 to 29.3 percent in 1980. This has happened despite a slight increase in the population growth rate after 1950, which reflects the persistence of a relatively high fertility rate. It has been estimated that in 1978, the total fertility rate of the region was 50 percent higher than that of the country as a whole (Leite, 1980).

A further sign of the deterioration of the Northeast is the fact that life expectancy at birth for the decade 1960-1970 was ten years lower than the average for Brazil and almost 20 years lower than for the southern states (Carvalho and Ribeiro, 1979; Montenegro and Da Cunha, 1978). Infant mortality is considerably higher than in the other regions, as shown by the fact that in the late 1970s, the probability of dying before the age of two was 50 per cent higher than for the rest of the country (Leite, 1980). In other words, the relatively high fertility of the Northeast is counteracted by heavy out-migration and high mortality. Twenty years after the beginning of the SUDENE programme, the region is still depressed and still tends, essentially, to expel its population.

If there is no visible improvement in the position of the Northeast with respect to the other regions, it might be pertinent to ask what effect the development strategy adopted has had at the intra-regional level. The inequality in the distribution of income increased during the 1960s, as shown by the rise in the Gini coefficient from .49 to .56 (Langoni, 1973). There has been a persistent trend towards concentration of income in the urban areas, where industries are located, and a slight reduction of the inequality in rural areas; this seems to be the combined result of the migration of unemployed persons and unpaid family workers from the country to the more productive urban sectors, on the one hand, and of the dissemination of capital-intensive techniques within the industrial sector of the region, on the other (Cavalcanti, 1970).

Since SUDENE's efforts have been concentrated on applying an industrialization programme, it is not surprising that projects in the rural areas have been of a lesser scale; a study carried out in the 1970s showed that in those areas, around 3 million families received a lower per capita income than that which the World Bank considers to be the absolute poverty threshold (De Carvalho, 1979:463). Agrarian reform and settlement programmes within the Northeast have progressed very slowly. It appears that the possibility of redistributing the population over the rural space may already be drastically reduced because the peri-Amazonic zone seems to have been saturated after absorbing no more than 250 000 persons during the period 1950-1970 (De Moura, 1979:85). Moreover, although there is still a latifundio structure in which extensive use is made of resources, rural modernization has led to the application of labour-saving technologies at the same time that stock-raising has grown, to the detriment of agriculture (Alves and Fiorentino, 1981). The economic evolution of the region has also led to the destruction of the rural production complexes, as transformation industries have moved to the cities (Evangalista et al, 1979). All these elements have limited the capacity of the rural environment to absorb labour force and led to its expulsion.

Between 1950 and 1970, nearly six million persons migrated from the rural areas of the Northeast and about half of them went to the urban areas

of the region. As a result of this transfer, the urban population grew at a rate of one percent. If the Northeast was overwhelmingly rural in 1950 (with only one-fourth of the population living in urban areas), in 1980 it was predominantly urban (with 50.4 percent of the region's population living in urban areas). Despite this heavy rural-urban transfer, it is estimated that, given the conditions under which resources are utilized at present, it would be necessary to displace around 2 million rural workers to avoid "structural surplus" problems (Martine, 1978).

2. Ciudad Guayana: a new city and a development pole?

Ciudad Guayana, in southeastern Venezuela, is one of the most ambitious programmes for opening up "internal frontiers" in Latin America. Its purpose was to set up an industrial complex that would make use of mineral and hydroenergy resources and help diversify the national economy. The idea was to create an economic and demographic "growth pole" that would counteract the centripetal tendency of the Caracas metropolitan region (Friedman, 1966, 1969). In 1950, the Guayana region, with 217 000 sq. km., had 3 percent of the country's population (146 000 inhabitants), i.e., half an inhabitant per square kilometer. The region was predominantly rural and the only important urban centre, Ciudad Bolívar, had a population of 30 000 (DGE and CN, 1975). During the 1950s, the mining of large iron ore deposits began and new settlements came to life; one of these, Puerto Ordaz, would later, together with San Félix, become Ciudad Guayana. Systematic exploration began in the region and projects were drawn up for a steel plant and hydroelectric plants in the Caroní river basin; these were commissioned to a new entity, the Corporación Venezolana de Guayana (CVG), which was to be in charge of the overall development of the region. Under the stimulus of mining activity and construction, the settlements which were later to become Ciudad Guayana grew from a population of 4 000 to a population of 30 000 between 1950 and 1961; Ciudad Bolívar, about 100 kilometers away, doubled its population and the region as a whole grew at a rate of 4.4 percent, although almost all the increase was absorbed by the areas most directly linked with the implementation of the steel and energy

programme. The fact that the rural population remained almost unchanged throughout the decade corroborates the fact that the expansion of the 1950s was quite concentrated.

In 1961, Santo Tomé de Guayana was founded in an effort to achieve metropolitan deconcentration (Amaro et al, 1975). The city brought together the settlements that had already been established at the confluence of the Caroní and the Orinoco rivers. During the 1960s, the CVG completed, around this city, what is considered to be the fundamental cycle of the Guayana programme: the establishment of basic industries that would give birth to a complex of intermediate industries. If the 1950s saw considerable growth in the region, the 1960s saw an even more remarkable transformation. Ciudad Guayana grew at a faster pace: from a population of 30 000 to a population of 144 000 between 1961 and 1971 (a growth rate of 15.8 percent per year); for its part, Ciudad Bolívar reached a population of over 103 000 in 1971. The region as a whole grew at an annual rate of 5.5 percent; again, however, most of this increase was absorbed by the Ciudad Guayana area; while the share of urban population rose above 75 percent, the rural population only grew at a rate of 1 per cent per year.

Despite the significance of the changes that took place, the programme's impact extended over a limited area of influence. One study points out that the enormous effort made by the State in Guayana, where it concentrated 10 per cent of all its investments during the 1960s, has only made it possible to generate an "incomplete development pole": industry has grown and an urban agglomeration has been created, but since the linkages are directed outward, even to foreign countries, there has been no dynamic effect on the region itself, which instead has experienced stagnation and urban marginality (Travieso, 1976).

After fifteen years' experience, it has still not been possible to integrate the two basic settlements of Ciudad Guayana, i.e., Puerto Ordaz and San Félix; instead of disappearing, the differences between them increased, as shown by local indicators on public and environmental health (Pazos et al, 1975), thus, a socially segregated agglomeration was shaped. In other words, Ciudad Guayana is not articulated internally. Another characteristic of Ciudad

Guayana is the young age of its population (70 per cent were under 25 years old in 1971), which reflects the heavy migration of young adults. This age structure has put pressure on the supply of jobs and urban services which Ciudad Guayana has not been able to meet. Thus, the open unemployment rate was still 15 percent in 1973 (CVG, 1973); such a high rate is the result of a high-technology industrial base which took in a large mass of workers during the construction stage, only to subsequently reduce the number of jobs and raise entry requirements. As regards housing, in 1970 Ciudad Guayana had a deficit of 46 percent, well over twice as high as deficits of other Venezuelan cities with high growth rates (Travieso, 1976:473). To these circumstances must be added the high cost of essential consumer goods, especially foods (which must be "imported" from other regions), the considerable distance from other large cities and the scarcity of local facilities for recreation and cultural dissemination. Because of its failure to satisfy the basic needs of the population, the persistence of forms of segregation as regards land use, the inadequacy of material living conditions and the repeated social conflicts Ciudad Guayana is in real life very different from the theoretical model designed at the time of its foundation (Vladar, 1981).

Ciudad Guayana does not seem to have had any overall impact on the region -except that of "typical enclave relations" (Ibid.). Nor does it seem to be an example of an urban project that meets the requirements of a new and highly dynamic community (Rodwin, 1972; Nogueira and Negrón, 1974; Travieso, 1976). Has the programme helped deconcentrate the Venezuelan population and provided a counterbalance to the metropolitan region? Although the magnitude of the investments involved is considerable, they have been channeled to basic industries which, because of the technology they employ, have absorbed a very small portion of the labour force. Although domestic resources are being used which contribute to the diversification of the national economy, the programme has not succeeded in attracting to the area enough intermediate industries to generate a significant number of jobs. For all these reasons, the programme cannot be expected to have provided an effective counterbalance to metropolitan concentration. Strictly speaking, the Guayana region stopped expelling its population and became a receiving region, but it still had a meagre 4 percent

of the country's population in 1971. According to one estimate (Chen and Picouet, 1979), the region had a net internal migratory flow of 44 000 persons between 1961 and 1971; this is equivalent to less than 10 per cent of the number of migrants to the metropolitan region during the same period. Guayana attracts migrants mostly from the northeastern area of the country (79 percent of migrants come from that area); however, less than one-fourth of all the out-migrants from that area went to Guayana, whereas most of them migrated to the metropolitan region. Since Guayana has very little exchange of population with other regions, the programme contributes very little towards the redistribution of the population at the national scale and has apparently been limited to offering an alternative to only one portion of the migrants from the northeastern area of the country, which has had a long history of out-migration.

3. Bolivia: from agrarian reform to settlement programmes

Before 1952, Bolivia could be singled out as a typical agrarian economy in which inefficiency went hand in hand with social inequity. In 1950, eight of every ten Bolivians lived and worked in the rural environment and yet the product obtained from the land was so small that, in order to meet the scanty domestic demand, the country had to use a large proportion of its available foreign exchange, generated almost entirely by mining, a sector which absorbed only 5 percent of the male labour force (CEPAL, 1958). To a large extent, the limited productivity of agriculture was explained by the existence of servile social production relations. The lack of capital investment in the country and the non-existence of wage-earning peasants gave rise to a "national subsistence economy" (García, 1964). The distribution of productive resources revealed huge differences: a meagre 6 per cent of the units surveyed in 1950 occupied 92 percent of the land area, while half the units occupied only 0.13 percent. Moreover, 29 percent of all plots were smaller than half a hectare (Canelas, 1966). Since land ownership was essentially a means of acquiring social power, the areas actually cultivated comprised only 0.5 per cent of the area of the country and were almost entirely operated under "semifeudal" conditions (Alexander, 1958:58; Carter, 1971). Moreover, with no investments being made

in roads, the intricate configuration of the mountains contributed to the fragmentation of the national space and increased the isolation of the populated areas without any regular trade circuit being developed.

In 1950, the population pattern of Bolivia was very irregular. Although 80 percent of the population lived in rural areas, its location gave an appearance of "insularity", since the absolute majority of the population lived in the more humid areas of the Altiplano and in the flat bottoms of the inter-Andean valleys (Valles). The two zones, however, comprise only one-third of the area of the country and contain large areas of marginal agricultural potential; consequently, the population has tended to group together in the better areas, where forms of "rural saturation" (relative overpopulation) could be identified. Hence, only 12 percent of the population lived in the Llanos area, which covering more than 60 percent of the territory had a population density of 0.5 per sq. km. Although no detailed information is available for 1950, it is quite likely that the high mortality of the overall population, which had a life expectancy of 40 years in 1950-1955 (Somoza and Llanos, 1963), was even higher in the highly populated rural areas of the Altiplano and the Valles. This high mortality was undoubtedly associated with the extremely difficult material living conditions.

In 1952, there was a major political change in Bolivia. A revolutionary government came to power which postulated a programme of structural changes in society; one of the mainstays of this change was the agrarian reform, initiated in 1953. This measure was designed to overcome the stagnation of agricultural production and expand the domestic market by changing rural workers into producers with purchasing power. One of the general objectives of the agrarian reform was: "to retain the rural population, preventing the depopulation of Bolivian agricultural areas, whose human mass, being unable to find adequate means of subsistence in the countryside, constantly migrates, in search of jobs, to the mining centres, the urban places and foreign countries" (SIAP, 1978:269). Among the specific objectives were the granting of plots to peasants, the restitution of usurped land to the agricultural communities, the elimination of the servile system of agricultural labour, the encouragement of agricultural industry, the conservation of natural resources and the "promotion of internal

migration flows of the rural population, which was then excessively concentrated in the inter-Andean zone, in order to achieve a rational human distribution, affirm national unity and build up economic links between the eastern and western regions of the Bolivian territory" (Ibid.:270).

Up to 1975, some 18 million hectares of land had been distributed to around 305 000 beneficiaries (SNRA, 1975), a figure that represent more than 51 percent of the male agricultural workers enumerated by the 1976 population census. Although a much smaller area of the Altiplano and the Valles is affected than of the Llanos, because of the historical characteristics of the occupation of space, the reform process, measured by the number of beneficiaries, has been much more intense in the former two areas. Even though the agrarian reform was significant in many ways, however, the experience has been criticized from several standpoints. For one thing, it has been pointed out that the programme is essentially distributive in nature, and that this has led to the preservation of minifundismo in the Valles and the Altiplano. There was no significant increase in the size of units and it is quite likely that, by virtue of the growth of the peasant population and of the handing down of land by inheritance, fragmentation has been further accentuated, thus limiting the possibilities for introducing technology and for producing the foodstuffs required for family subsistence (M.A.C.A., 1974:18).

Extreme minifundismo generates situations of disguised underemployment which are evident in the fact that only one-sixth of the rural labour force of the Altiplano receives the wage prevailing in the region (IDB, 1973).

Since the reform has not succeeded in facilitating the access of the peasantry to credit or in establishing marketing mechanisms, the working tools used are still very basic and, as was the case before 1953, still require intensive work on the part of the entire family group in order to allow for the ultimate generation of a small surplus that can be traded on the market. While the male population working in agriculture grew at a rate of 1.3 per cent per year between 1950 and 1976, the labour force involved in the independent peasant economy grew at a rate of 3.6 per cent per year (Pinto, 1982).

The agrarian reform has contributed towards modifying the pattern of settlements in the Andean zones. Some of the older populated areas, closely linked to the colonial hacienda, experienced a sudden decline whereas others have risen as a result of the appearance of new marketing circuits for peasant production. In the Altiplano alone, it is reported that nearly 30 new towns emerged after the agrarian reform was enacted (Preston, 1970; Marshall, 1970): next to the local markets, whose existence became possible due to the abolition of the landowners' control over transactions, small businesses began to develop, centres for collection, storage and lodging were established, and facilities were built for peasant unions, administrative activities, schools, etc. (Preston, 1975).

On the other hand, the eastern region (Llanos) was not greatly affected by the agrarian reform. Although over 40 per cent of the total area distributed by the agrarian reform corresponds to this region, because of the abundance of land and the shortage of labour, the large holdings have been maintained and reproduced. Moreover, in order to promote the capitalist development of agriculture (M.N.R., 1954) and in pursuance of its strategy of economic diversification, the State has given solid support to agriculture in the Llanos through its loan policies and its infrastructure programmes. All this has put the agricultural entrepreneurs in a privileged position (Romero, 1978). Under such circumstances, it is not surprising that tropical agriculture in the eastern region should have been instrumental in causing the domestic agricultural sector to change from being an importer to being an exporter, particularly of sugar, cotton, and soybeans (CEPAL-CIDA, 1979). These same production units, which use only a small amount of permanent labour force, provide seasonal employment to some 50 thousand workers who now have an alternative to their traditional seasonal movement to work in the sugar harvest in Northwestern Argentina (CONEPLAN, 1978). It must be stressed, however, that the growth of the Llanos has not only been due to the agricultural sector, but also to the oil industry and agroindustry.

The process of change in the Llanos has occurred as a side effect of the changes brought about by the national strategy of "economic diversification", the nationalization of mining and the agrarian reform. Simultaneously, although

at a quite different pace, the virgin lands ("internal frontier") of Eastern Bolivia have undergone a settlement process by means of various colonization schemes. The initiative of moving to the east is not a new one, but it was not until the 1952 revolution and the enactment of the agrarian reform that settlement began to be important. The recognized objectives of the program were: to alleviate the "demographic pressure" of the Andean zones, to raise the level of agricultural production, to diversify the economy and exports and to occupy in an effective manner the empty spaces of the national territory (Ayala, 1978). During the 1950s, some efforts were made but they were not very encouraging. The planning agencies, however, continued to assign a key role to settlement. It was expected that in the 1960s some 140 thousand jobs could be generated in the Llanos; this was estimated to account for a movement of nearly 100 thousand families or half a million persons out from the mountainous areas (J.N.P., 1961:115).

Settlement was reactivated in the 1960s and 1970s with the creation of agencies responsible for encouraging migration from the highlands to the Llanos and for granting lands. The Interamerican Development Bank granted loans for the settlement of 9 000 miners who were to be relocated because of the technological modernization of the mines. In addition, the State obtained foreign loans for highway construction. Nevertheless, an appraisal by the Organization of American States shows that there was a high desertion rate with more than half the settlers deserting in some instances (OAS, 1963). Experience with the transfer of miners was particularly negative: having no knowledge of agriculture, no technical and credit support and no support from official agencies, they decided to return home (Stearman, 1973).

There have been three major settlement zones: Caranavi-Alto Beni, Chaparé-Chimoré and the northern sector of Santa Cruz. The first two are located in the Andean piedmont near the two major cities of the country (La Paz and Cochabamba) and the third is on a road that runs north from Santa Cruz. Since the road system crosses towards the eastern Andes only from the major cities, this location pattern seems to be determined by accessibility.

Despite the efforts made intermittently by the Government, the outcome of the settlement programme has been disappointing (Hiraoka, 1977). It is

estimated that a little over 48 thousand families (194 thousand persons), some of them already residents (mostly natives) of the Llanos, were relocated to the Eastern Bolivian settlements between 1950 and 1976 (CONEPLAN, 1976). The small size of the population settled -in 26 years it did not amount to half the population that had been expected to move from the Valles and the Altiplano during the 1960s- may be attributed to the lack of a comprehensive government policy and of real options for potential settlers. Thus, the official agencies have been neglectful as regards selection, training and assistance and have not given sufficient attention to providing services and infrastructure. Moreover, the zones actually open for settlements are small in size and, ironically, land has become a scarce resource in them. Settlers often obtained such a small monetary income from working their plots that, as in the case of the settlements located north of Santa Cruz, they have been obliged to give up some of their independence as producers and sell their labour to the agricultural enterprises of the zone (Drevon and Treche, 1976:720). Thus, settlement has become a means for guaranteeing, on favourable terms, a labour reservoir for the capitalist enterprises. In the other settlement frontiers, Chaparé and Alto Beni, where there are no agricultural enterprises, the small producers have had to pay high freight charges imposed by the oligopolistic control of the transport system (Ibid.:704).

Despite the fact that the country remains predominantly rural, the degree of urbanization has risen considerable since 1950, reaching 42 percent in 1976. This shows that there has been a significant transfer of population from the countryside to the urban centres. The average annual growth rates for the urban and rural populations were 3.8 and 1.1 percent with the city of Santa Cruz reaching an exceptionally high level of over 7 percent. The differences in the growth of the rural and urban areas reflect great differences in their respective living conditions. As a matter of fact, in 1960, the urban per capita income was seven times higher than that of the rural areas and this ratio increased to almost 9:1 in 1972 (PREALC, 1978). Another fundamental aspect of this rural-urban transfer was that of the changes which took place in the structure of employment: the male economically active population working in agriculture, including unpaid family workers, remained virtually constant between 1950 and 1976 (Maletta, 1980), while the male economically active population in the other sectors of the economy rose by 3.36 percent per year.

According to the 1976 census, two thirds of the interdepartmental migration over the previous five years was channelled to the departments where the three main cities of the country are located; these same departments were the places of origin of only 48 percent of the interdepartment migration. This seems to indicate a high degree of attractiveness on the part of the larger cities. Santa Cruz appears as the area which most attracted migration; it showed a high positive net migration, while the departments of Valles and the Altiplano had much higher out-migration than in-migration rates. Moreover, the migration balance of Santa Cruz with respect to the other departments of the country is positive in every case. The southern zone of the Altiplano, on the other hand, showed negative balances in its exchanges with all the other departments. Again, at the provincial level, the population has mostly moved towards the provinces where the larger cities are located (Herrera, 1980). This tends to confirm the importance of the transfer of population from the rural to the urban areas. The effect of migration on the growth of the urban areas is highlighted by the evidence that natural growth in the urban areas is slower than that of the rural areas (BOL/78/PO.1).

The census figures also show the growing importance of the Eastern region of the country. Nevertheless, the Altiplano and Valles absorbed 70 percent of the national population increase during the inter-censal period; the growth of the major cities of those regions alone surpassed the total growth of the Llanos. It would appear, therefore, that the Eastern region has not fulfilled the function assigned to it, i.e., to serve as an escape valve to alleviate "demographic pressure" on the rural areas of the mountainous zones. The Instituto Nacional de Colonización has recognized that the efforts made over a period to 25 years have not even succeeded in alleviating as much as 10 per cent of the demographic pressure added to the Altiplano region (Albó, 1976). In 1976, despite the fact that the growth rate of the rural population of the Altiplano and Valles had been less than half that of the Llanos, those regions still had 83 per cent of the rural population of the country. In view of the high fertility of the lower rural classes, man-land ratios can be expected

to continue deteriorating in the pockets of the greatest fragmentation of plots in the Andean zones. In the absence of a sustained effort to encourage rural settlement in the "frontier areas", this will result in an increase of migration towards the urban zones.

As noted before, the process of change initiated during the 1950s has had a considerable economic and sociodemographic impact. Peasants became free to move around and to use their plots; nevertheless, the size of the plots granted and their subsequent partition through inheritance have led to excessive fragmentation, especially in mountainous zones. Not having access to credit or to technological change, the peasants still use a great deal of family labour and because of their low productivity, they are only able to maintain a basic subsistence level of living. Public action has not been limited to the distribution of land, however; the State's economic diversification strategy has included support through credit to the agricultural enterprises of the Llanos which have also benefited from road and railway works. Simultaneously, oil production has contributed to the economic growth of Santa Cruz, a city which has become a dynamic agroindustrial centre. The very expansion of the State apparatus, (which has gradually assumed control of the absolute majority of investments), the expansion of tertiary activities, and the limitations imposed by the Andean rural environment have all served as incentives for migration towards the cities.

4. A regional population policy: the case of Mexico

The Regional Population Policy (PDR) of Mexico, drawn up by the National Population Council (CONAPO) during the second half of the 1970s, was conceived for the purpose of "achieving, at the national level, a growth rate of 2.5 per cent in 1982 and 1 percent in the year 2000" (CONAPO, 1977:1). This policy provides a general framework to ensure that activities at the regional (state) level will be consistent with national guidelines and goals. The latter, as the antithesis of the "populationist policy" followed by the State in the preceding decade, represent a reaction to "the negative effects which so-called

demographic pressures might have on the future development of the country and the well-being of the population" (Ocampo, 1982:B). "Demographic pressures" are understood to be the "population explosion and the urban revolution". The former is reflected in the steady rise of population growth, which shows that the population of the country tripled between 1940 and 1976, reaching a total of 62 million. The latter is reflected in the increased proportion of the population that lives in urban areas, which rose from 33 to 63 percent during the same period; this increase was primarily the result of the rural-urban migration. During the 1970s, according to the PDR, significant changes took place. There was a transition towards lower fertility rates, greater efforts were made to influence demographic variables and population was interpreted as a factor that influences and is influenced by development.

CONAPO encourages the planning of the process of population change through direct action (family planning programmes, education regarding population, sex education, communications and information) and indirect action (based on the sectoral economic and social development policies). The latter are expected "to make irreversible the factors which determine the constitution of smaller families and increase the capacity of certain zones to retain and reorient migration flows" (Ocampo, 1982:2). To determine growth goals for the population, CONAPO prepared a "programme projection" providing for gradual decreases in the growth rate through a drop in the birth rate, so that by the year 2000 the country would have a population of 100 million, or 30 million less than the population figure obtained by applying a constant growth rate. Since "almost every state shows evidence of demographic pressures which exceed the response capacity of the economic and social structures" (CONAPO, 1977:36), a global strategy is proposed which allows for fulfillment of the programme projection. Thus, the PDR has set the following objectives with regard to natural growth: a) to harmonize the growth of entities in order to meet national goals; b) to achieve a reduction of regional differences in fertility; and c) to integrate family planning into the federal, state and municipal programmes. In accordance with those objectives, goals are expressed in terms of natural growth rates and birth rates for different groups of states; likewise, state goals and goals by age groups are set for average annual coverage of contraceptive adopters.

The PDR considers that the sharp fluctuations of migration as a component of population growth are due to uneven regional development. As a result of such a situation, population tends to be concentrated mainly in the three metropolitan areas of the country. Migration patterns and uneven regional development, elements considered synonymous with "inadequate distribution" of the population, could become more serious because, as fertility declines, the importance of migration in determining the regional dynamics of population will increase (Ibid.:47-48). Consequently, CONAPO encourages a migration policy. Using information on the migration balances of the intercensal period 1960-1970, the PDR distinguishes between states that attract population and those that expel population. By grouping the states of origin of migrants with the metropolitan areas of destination, three migration regions are defined. The analysis of this information leads to the conclusion that a regional demographic policy is required "to help change the trend towards concentration of current migration patterns, to facilitate the development of backward regions and to improve the equilibrium between population, economic activity and natural resources" (Ibid.:68). Essentially, the PDR proposes to change "migration flows and the elements inherent in the need to migrate" (Ibid.:74). It identifies the following sub-objectives: a) to promote greater stability among the populations of the population-expelling entities; b) to reorient migration towards entities where resources, infrastructure and comparative advantages can be used more efficiently; c) to decelerate the concentration of population; and, d) to provide a framework for action oriented towards reducing spatial inequalities as regards well-being. It is also felt that taking into account its effect on population change, "the migration policy should not produce state growth rates of more than 4.5 percent per year" (Ibid.:77).

The strategy of the migration policy provides for three components called the "three R's", i. e.: the retention of population in the entities having a high rate of out-migration, both in the past and at present; the reorientation of some of the current migration flows; and the relocation of federal civil servants currently located in the Mexico City metropolitan area (MCMC). It is held that these three policy elements support each other and tend to reduce

migration towards the metropolitan areas. Moreover, it is believed that the decline in the natural growth of the states will encourage retention of possible migrants, "without any new demographic pressures being brought to bear on the local economic and social structures" (Ibid.:81). In addition, comprehensive programmes are outlined as particular combinations of the three policy elements for the three migration regions mentioned above.

In order to assign goals for the decade 1978-1988, the PDR identifies those states which direct their migration flows towards metropolitan areas, as well as states that are potential receivers of immigrants. In the first case, i.e., of the entities which expel population, the goals proposed consist of reducing out-migration to a negative net migration rate of from 0.5 to one percent. This would mean that between 800 and 860 thousand persons would be retained during the decade in the different states. The reorientation component, which is designed to divert the migration flows currently directed to the metropolitan areas, would mean that the alternative entities of destination would have positive net migration rates of from 0.6 to 1 percent per year. These goals, if fulfilled, would affect between 529 and 550 thousand persons during the decade. Finally, the relocation component is covered by the National Territorial Deconcentration Programme of the Federal Public Administration, drawn up by an office of the Presidency and the Secretariat of Human Settlements and Public Works. This plan envisages relocating part of the population of Mexico City which depends directly on public employments. The goal proposed for the five-year period 1978-1982 was to relocate some 330 thousand persons. In sum, during the decade 1978-1988, the population covered by the programmes would amount to 1.7 million persons, "sufficient to change the trend of migration flows" (Ibid.:102).

The goals are disaggregated into two five-year stages: one, aimed at "breaking current trends", is based fundamentally on the relocation programmes; the second, aimed at "consolidation", is based on the application of the other two programmes. The addition of the goals of retention, reorientation and relocation for each migration region makes it possible to establish the goals for the comprehensive programmes, the largest of which is the MCMA programme, which, during the decade 1978-1988, would remove nearly 1.3 million persons from the city's growth; this amount is similar to the total number of in-migrants estimates to have arrived to the MCMA during the decade 1960-1970 (Ibid.:108). The PDR

concludes by setting global goals for the distribution of the total population, by entities, for the years 1982, 1988 and 2000, reflecting the net effect of the reduction of natural growth and the change in the intensity and direction of migration flows.

Noting that unless some action is taken regarding migration, the country will move towards situations of "social conflict", the PDR holds that "the tools and programmes established up to a few years ago to counteract such a prospect have not managed to make any significant impact on the process of spatial concentration of population. In view of the inertia which leads to concentration and the recently initiated population distribution policy, it is important to look at the effectiveness of such tools as industrial parks, regional economic development laws, differential energy and transport rates and selective fiscal incentives" (Ibid.:135). The PDR however, does not do this nor does it mention alternative measures or tools, except in the case of the programme on the relocation of civil service jobs. Hence, it may be inferred that the direct means of action to be used in putting the PDR into practice are basically those which would reduce natural growth. In the meantime, the migration programmes are to be implemented by various government agencies, which are asked to take into account the goals established by the PDR. In other words, the strategy on spatial distribution of the population will depend fundamentally on what is done to reduce fertility and to integrate the goals of the migration policy into the sectoral and regional development plans, considered "as the only way to generate their implementation" (Ibid.:143). Moreover, it is stated that "any progress that might be made in solving the population problems now being faced will depend fundamentally on how the objectives proposed by the different institutions responsible for the development programmes being carried out in the country are assumed" (Ibid.:153). Several years after the formulation of the PDR, it appears that "no definitive steps have yet been taken to provide the population policy with tools and mechanisms necessary to articulate it with the economic and social programmes" (Ocampo, 1982:52-53).

It is too early to evaluate the fulfillment of the goals identified by the PDR. Nevertheless, the basic data of the 1980 Population Census provide some indication of what the population situation is halfway through

the first five-year period considered by the policy. There is evidence of a decline in fertility during the 1970s, although this cannot be attributed solely to the action of CONAPO or of the agencies sponsoring the use of contraceptives. Moreover, it appears that the percentage share of the metropolitan areas in the total population of the country has increased less than what would be expected from an extrapolation of the trends and that it is, apparently, even lower than the figure proposed for the first five-year goal of the PDR. In the same way, the states which have traditionally expelled population have declined in importance much less than had been assumed in 1977. These data are interpreted as showing a decline of the trend towards concentration because "the strengthening of the regional economies through economic and social development programmes is making it possible to begin retaining populations that might otherwise migrate" (Ibid.:42-43). Since it is not stated which programmes are involved nor which are their tools, it is impossible to know how they fit in with the objectives and goals of the PDR. It could be that the any changes that might eventually occur in migration patterns would be the result, expected or otherwise, of public and private action undertaken prior to the formulation -or even without consideration- of the PDR. Moreover, since changes in the distribution of population are net effects of changes in total growth patterns, one might also assume that in the 1970s, the impact of the differences between states in the decline of fertility was more pronounced than changes occurred in migration flows. Unless the effect of the decline in fertility and of changes in migration patterns are recognized separately (without denying their interrelationships), it will be impossible to determine to what extent the objectives of the PDR are being fulfilled.

Another critical point relating to the PDR is that of how the migration goals are to be fulfilled. While the policy on reducing birth rates has specific tools, the policy on migration depends on actions or tools that are used for other purposes as well and that are not identified by the PDR. In any event, it would seem reasonable to assume that any expectation of success in the retention, reorientation and relocation of the population will depend on the policies pertaining to spatial patterns in the creation of jobs and the

supply of services. From the operational standpoint, therefore, the precise goals envisaged in the PDR regarding migration would appear to be more like points of reference, the theoretical and empirical grounds of which are not sufficiently explicit (Lavell, 1981). Strictly speaking, in view of the instability of the regional economies, the fluctuations experienced by public policies designed for specific sectors and the high rates of underutilization of labour, it does not seem very wise to propose precise goals concerning migration. "If it is difficult to set out clear goals in the field of fertility, it is vitually impossible to do so in connection with the territorial distribution of population, given the complexity of the factors that intervene in the phenomenon and the incipient degree of knowledge we have about it" (Brito, 1979:4471).

III. THE SCOPE OF POLICIES ON SPATIAL REDISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION: PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS.

As will be noted from the illustrations given above, many different programmes have been undertaken to modify the spatial organization patterns of the Latin American countries. Nevertheless, it may be said, from many different angles, that the results obtained have not been very encouraging (Gilbert, 1980). These observations are specially valid with respect to the spatial distribution of the population and internal migration. Despite the importance of the programmes undertaken to change them, the trends towards concentration of the population persist and interregional inequalities have become sharper. This manifest discrepancy between trends of the population distribution process and what the governments consider desirable poses a tremendous challenge to the planners of Latin America. There are many circumstances underlying this discrepancy; some are discussed in the following section.

1. Identification of "critical situations"

It has already been noted that development plans and other government documents frequently refer to "critical situations" the scope and significance of which are not sufficiently defined. Often these situations are not analyzed thoroughly enough to make it possible to measure their extent, characterize their dynamism and establish the factors which determine them. It is therefore difficult to formulate objectives that are not ambiguous or contradictory (Gilbert, 1980).

One of the "critical situations" on which there appears to be consensus in Latin America is the concentration of population in metropolitan areas. This concentration has been increasing in several countries, along with urban growth in general (Hardoy, 1982). However, this fact does not justify the inference that the situation is a "negative" one in every case, regardless of the degree of development and the urbanization pattern of the country. Nor is it right to describe metropolitan concentration as "irrational" unless it can be shown that it goes against the historical trends of the development

process or it is agreed that a radical change must be made. Since the prevailing development styles, which fit in with the capitalist rationale, support an accumulation model which basically leads to concentration, metropolitan growth cannot be understood as anything but a historically necessary product (ILPES, 1980:790).

Under these conditions, areas of concentration which have given rise to external economies of agglomeration have developed in Latin America and the pattern of concentration has been reinforced by the establishment of new industries, services and commercial activities. In every country the dynamics of economic concentration appear to be even greater than that of population regardless of the size of the territory or the degree of industrialization (De Mattos, 1981). In one way or another, the State, representing alliances of urban social groups, has tended to reinforce this pattern of concentration. Moreover, the rural areas have experienced a decline in their capacity to retain population, either because of the persistence of the traditional forms of production or because of the introduction of technologies which exclude labour (De Mattos, 1982).

Considering the above elements, one must ask whether it is possible by defining a "critical situation", such as metropolitan concentration, to identify viable objectives. Pointing out that metropolitan concentration per se is a "critical situation" may give rise to objectives that are openly opposed to the general operating modalities of the economic and social system (Boisier, 1981). Thus, metropolitan concentration must be viewed in its proper context by establishing the relationship between the specific form in which it appears and the factors which give rise to its existence. Even the specific form must be analyzed in greater detail, however; it is important to recognize the interactions of the components of demographic change and consider the trends thereof in light of the variable structuring of the society in differentiated groups, and the migration modalities. It is also necessary to study the implications of these trends, as that is the only way to evaluate the extent of the "problem". From this standpoint, many of the current "critical situations" will probably have to be redefined.

Although, it is usually conceived as one of the clearest "critical situations; population dispersion is a phenomenon that has not been properly characterized. The absence of nucleated settlements imposes serious limits on the provision of services and the full incorporation of those population groups into the market. In such cases, it is not sufficient to know how many inhabitants live in small localities or what the population density indexes are. It is essential to evaluate the ways in which those establishments fit into the national and regional systems of human settlements and to know their productive structures, in order to consider possible ways of reorganizing their spatial patterns. It is essential to analyze the population dynamics in order to find out what are the trends and interactions between the population of those areas of dispersion and the population of the rest of the country.

The "overpopulation" of rural areas and the existence of "empty spaces" are other "critical situations" that also deserve more careful description. As has been noted in the case of Bolivia, these situations may occur simultaneously and, although they may be viewed as internal contradictions of a system, solving one may not automatically solve the other. They are both products of history which persist even after the introduction of profound structural changes because of the fact that population distribution is a very complex process which has great inertia.

2. Policy measures and tools

As has been noted, many of the measures proposed by governments following the suggestions of the WPPA to check urbanization and orient internal migration have already been considered by regional, urban and rural planning. In operational and instrumental terms, the proposals for change in the spatial distribution of population bring to mind regional, urban, or rural development policies, particularly when they include components aimed at generating or relocating jobs (Lavell, 1981). The cases used as illustrations in this paper represent experiences with public programmes which although explicitly or implicitly including objectives of population redistribution and migration, are actually part of a general development strategy. As suggested in the cases described above, the policies often have many very broad, often contradictory

objectives which produce effects other than those expected, particularly as regards population distribution and internal migration. This is why many population redistribution measures are in practice only residual.

Strictly speaking, many of the policy measures designed to affect population distribution and migration are not based on such considerations alone. Most agrarian reform and rural development programmes have not helped retain population in rural areas, but rather have encouraged the transfer of the rural population towards the urban areas. This may be due in part to problems with actual implementation but it must not be forgotten that some objectives, such as diversifying or increasing production, tend to lead to the use of technologies which exclude labour. In many cases, as in the Northeast of Brazil, policies are designed explicitly to reduce interregional inequalities but, because there are higher objectives of a macroeconomic nature, they end up producing the opposite effect. In other cases, as in Ciudad Guayana, the concentration of large investments in a given region in order to make intensive use of internal resources and promote regional industrialization results in the formation of enclaves so that most of the benefits of those investments are not internalized by the region itself.

To a large extent, the failure of redistribution policies has been due to the interference of other measures of a global and sectoral nature, which implicitly affect the distribution of the population. This is the case, for example, of certain policies which have a bearing upon the labour market, either by creating jobs or establishing wages, and of policies relating to the service sectors, which can affect a region's capacity for retaining population.

The above considerations do not mean that the possibilities for planning in Latin America have been exhausted, although it must be acknowledged that certain structural frameworks impose severe limit on the State's sphere of action. Nevertheless, even with these limitations, it is essential to influence the market forces. Otherwise, the inequalities to which the logic of capitalist accumulation leads will increase even more. Along this line of thought, population redistribution policies must be integrated with economic and social planning and must be stated as precise objectives among the measures

envisaged in such planning. Linkages with global, sectoral and regional measures concerning employment and the satisfaction of the basic needs of population will be particularly important. Population redistribution policies are unquestionably valid, but this does not mean that they can be drawn up independently or that they can lead to specific measures. Rather, the challenge is to analyze how the redistribution objectives are integrated into the whole range of measures which make up the planning system.

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