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POPULATION POLICIES IN LATIN AMERICA: 10 YEARS' EXPERIENCE

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CONTENTS

/I. POPULATION

I. POPULATION GROWTH IN LATIN AMERICA: CHANGES DURING THE LAST 10 YEARS

In 1974 the World Population Conference convened by the United Nations adopted the World Population Plan of Action. The purpose of the Plan was to "help co-ordinate population trends and the trends of economic and social development".

After establishing its background and explicitly stating the principles and objectives by which it is governed and guided, the Plan devotes a chapter to a set of recommendations for action in respect of each of the demographic variables. As regards the growth of population, the year 1985 was expected to witness the stabilization of average growth rates, both in the developed regions and in the developing countries. For the latter a drop from 24% -the level existing at the time of formulating the Plan- to 2% was foreseen for 1985.

By 1980 the total population of the region was approximately 357 million inhabitants, of whom 83 million lived in the Andean Area; 156 in the Atlantic Area; 23 in Central America; and 90 million in Mexico and the Caribbean republics (Cuba, Haiti and the Dominican Republic), while the population of other Caribbean countries and territories barely exceeded 6 million inhabitants. In relative terms, the share of the Andean Area in the population of Latin America was 23%, while that of the Atlantic Area was 43.5%; Central America accounted for 6.4% of the population of the region, Mexico and the Caribbean republics for 253%, and other Caribbean countries and territories for 1.7%. (See table 1.)

During the period 1975-1980 the annual growth rate of the population of Latin America was approximately 2.41%. Appreciable disparities are observable, however, between the different areas. For example, whereas the rate of increase in the Atlantic Area was 2.17% -the lowest noted-, in Central America, where it was highest, it was 3%. These figures imply that if the same growth rates were to be maintained, the population of the Atlantic Area would double in 32 years, while that of Central America would do so in 24 years. Differences in this respect become more striking when attention is turned to the countries which show the extreme figures for the Latin American region, and which also belong to the areas mentioned. In the Atlantic Area, Uruguay, with an average annual growth rate of 0.56%, would need 124 years for its population to be doubled; at the other extreme, Honduras, with an annual rate of 3.52%, would take only 20 years to double the number of its inhabitants.

For the period 1980-1985, it is estimated that the total growth rate for the region as a whole will reach 2.32% per annum, a slightly lower figure than in the preceding period. The total increase in the population of Latin America as a whole reveals, with the sole exception of the Atlantic Area, significant downward movements in its population growth rate. An outstanding example is the decline observable in Mexico and the Caribbean republics, and other Caribbean countries and territories, the rates recorded in 1975-1980 falling by about 8% in 1980-1985.

/Table 1

Table 1

TOTAL POPULATION OF LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN, 1980 AND 1985

(Millions)

	1980	%	1985	%
Latin America and the Caribbean	357.9	100.0	401.4	100.0
Andean Area	82.8	23.1	93.5	23.3
Bolivia	5.6		6.4	
Colombia	25.8		28.7	
Chile	11.1		12.0	
Ecuador	8.0		9.4	
Peru	17.3		19.7	
Venezuela	15.0		17.3	
Atlantic Area	155.6	43.5	172.9	43.1
Argentina	28.2		30.6	
Brazil	121.3		135.6	
Paraguay	3.2		3.7	
Uruguay	2.9		3.0	
Central America	22.9	6.4	26.5	6.6
Costa Rica	2.3		2.6	
El Salvador	4.8		5.6	
Guatemala	7.3		8.4	
Honduras	3.7		4.4	
Nicaragua	2.8		3.3	
Panama	2.0		2.2	
Mexico and Caribbean republics	90.5	25.3	101.8	25.4
Cuba	9.7		10.0	
Haiti	5.8		6.6	
Mexico	69.4		79.0	
Dominican Republic	5.6		6.2	
Caribbean: other countries and territories	6.1	1.7	6.7	1.7
Antigua	0.075		0.084	
Bahamas	0.241		0,268	
Barbados	0.263		0.277	
Belize	0.162		0.184	
Dominica	0.083		0.089	
Grenada	0.111		0.118	
Guyana	0.883		0.979	
Jamaica	2.188		2.358	
St. Vincent and the Grenadines	0.097		0.103	
St. Lucia	0.118		0.127	
Suriname	0.388		0.445	
Trinidad and Tobago	1.168		1.252	
Netherlands Antilles	0.256		0.285	
Montserrat	0.011		0.012	
St. Kitts, Nevis and Anguilla	0.074		0.082	

Source: CELADE, Boletín Demográfico, Year XVI, No. 32, 1983; and United Nations, Demographic Indicators of Countries, New York, 1982.

The slowing-down of population growth is not a generalized occurrence throughout the countries composing each of the areas. In countries like Bolivia and Ecuador in the Andean Area, Nicaragua in Central America, and Haiti in the Caribbean, not only has the population shown no sign of increasing more slowly, but it has actually grown faster. This is partly due to high and constant rates of natural growth.

As regards the levels of growth estimated for 1980-1985, it may be said that some countries, despite the expected decline in their growth rates, still keep up annual rates of more than 3%. If this trend were to persist, they would double their population in approximately 20 years' time. Cases in point are afforded by Ecuador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Paraguay and Suriname.

Notwithstanding its slight decrease, the growth rate for the Latin American region as a whole is not consonant with the recommendations of the World Plan of Action. The Latin American countries would seem to need more integrated population policies with specific demographic goals for those countries that have not accorded a place among national priorities to the question of population growth and its relation with economic development and well-being.

1. Natural growth

Up to now, thinking on the subject of total population growth in Latin America has drawn no distinction between the levels reached by its two components: natural growth and migration. The present section will deal with the levels and trends of natural growth.

In the period 1975-1980, Latin America recorded an annual rate of natural growth of 2.46%, on the basis of a birth rate of 33.51 per thousand and a mortality rate of 8.90 per thousand. This average masks a range of widely diverse situations; thus, for example, while Uruguay's annual rate of natural growth was 1.0%, that of Honduras approached 3.5%. Such different behaviour is largely due to differences in the birth rates, which in Honduras are more than twice as high as in Uruguay.

According to estimates for 1980-1985, only in four countries -Ecuador, El Salvador, Honduras and Nicaragua- will the annual average growth rate rise to over 3%. At the other extreme, only Argentina, Cuba, Chile and Uruguay will keep their natural growth rates below 2%. (See table 2.)

On analysing the behaviour of the birth rate in 1975-1980 it will be seen that levels of reproduction dropped in the region as a whole and in all the individual countries without exception. Countries like Bolivia, Ecuador, El Salvador, Haiti, Honduras and Nicaragua experienced an incipient decline, although in the period 1980-1985 they are all expected to maintain birth rates exceeding 40 per thousand.

The countries with rates below 40 per thousand in 1975-1980, in which the birth rate would seem to be undergoing significant reductions are -in order of size of the decrease- Mexico, Panama, Venezuela, Brazil and the Dominican Republic.

/Table 2

Table 2

LATIN AMERICA: NATURAL GROWTH RATE, MIGRATION AND TOTAL GROWTH RATE BY REGIONS AND COUNTRIES, 1975-1980 AND 1980-1985

(Percentages)

	1975-1980			1980-1985		
	Natural growth rate	International migration	Total growth rate	Natural growth rate	International migration	Total growth rate
Latin America	2.46	-0.05	2.41	2.37	-0.05	2.32
Andean Area	2.57	-0.02	2.55	2.54	-0.02	2.52
Bolivia	2.74	-0.15	2.59	2.82	-0.14	2.68
Colombia	2.39	-0.25	2.14	2.33	-0.18	2.15
Chile	1.74	-0.03	1.71	1.70	-0.02	1.68
Ecuador	3.12	-0.09	3.03	3.17	-0.05	3.12
Peru	2.63	-	2.63	2.60	-	2.60
Venezuela	3.08	0.41	3.49	2.96	0.29	3.25
Atlantic Area	2.17	-0.001	2.17	2.10	-0.002	2.10
Argentina	1.61	-	1.61	1.58	-	1.58
Brazil	2.31	-	2.31	2.22	-	2.22
Paraguay	2.91	0.37	3.28	2.88	0.12	3.00
Uruguay	1.01	-0.45	0.56	0.93	-0.23	0.70
Central America	3.11	-0.11	3.00	3.04	-0.09	2.95
Costa Rica	2.61	0.34	2.95	2.63	-	2.63
El Salvador	3.27	-0.34	2.93	3.21	-0.28	2.93
Guatemala	3.02	-	3.02	2.91	-	2.91
Honduras	3.52	-	3.52	3.38	-	3.38
Nicaragua	3.40	-0.58	2.82	3.45	-0.13	3.32
Panama	2.50	-0.11	2.39	2.26	-0.09	2.17
Mexico and Caribbean republics	2.71	-0.14	2.57	2.51	-0.14	2.37
Cuba	1.10	-0.26	0.84	1.05	0.43	0.62
Haiti	2.62	-0.24	2.38	2.72	-0.21	2.51
Mexico	2.96	-0.11	2.85	2.68	-0.09	2.59
Dominican Republic	2.55	-0.21	2.34	2.52	-0.20	2.32

Source: CELADE, Boletín Demográfico, Year XVI, No. 32, Santiago, Chile, 1983.

/The group

The group of countries formed by Argentina, Cuba, Chile and Uruguay, in which the birth rate in 1975-1980 was lower than 25 per thousand, will maintain, according to the forecasts, stable or slightly declining birth rates. (See table 3.)

If these data are compared with the recommendations of the World Plan of Action it can be seen that the Latin American region is apparently not too far from attaining the birth rate of about 30 per thousand proposed by the United Nations. Taking the countries individually, however, most of them will not comply with this recommendation. It should be recalled that those with rates below the figure mentioned attained this objective before the adoption of the Plan in 1974.

In order to trace the behaviour pattern of fertility between two quinquennia (1975-1980 and 1980-1985) use will next be made of two measurements which sum up age-specific fertility rates: i.e., the global fertility rate and the gross rate of reproduction. (See table 4.)

It can be seen that, but for a very slight increase in Argentina, all the countries of the region experienced a decline in fertility although with differing degrees of intensity. Thus, while in Mexico, Panama, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago the decreases reached about 15%, in Bolivia and Haiti they did not exceed 3%.

The downward movements observed in many of the countries of the region have not as yet made any difference to the wide disparities between their respective global fertility rates. In the five-year period 1980-1985, countries like Bolivia, Ecuador, Honduras and Haiti will still have global fertility rates of about 6, while in Chile, Uruguay and Cuba -with substantial differences between them- these rates will be lower than 3.

Current fertility rates are the result of the inter-country differences in the patterns followed during the period of demographic transition. In the years preceding 1960, Uruguay, Argentina and Cuba experienced a slow but steady decline in fertility which is not unlike demographic transition in Europe.

Elsewhere -in Chile, Costa Rica, Colombia and Venezuela- the decline in fertility during the 1960s assumed a novel aspect, characterized by a very rapid rate of decrease and by its widespread diffusion among women of all ages and all social groups.

The third group of countries, formed by Brazil, Ecuador, Jamaica, Mexico, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, the Dominican Republic and Trinidad and Tobago, have entered upon the process of demographic transition in recent times, and in some of them -Mexico, Panama and Paraguay- the rate of decline has been even more rapid than in Chile and in the other countries mentioned above.

Lastly, Bolivia, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua and Suriname have not yet entered upon a definite phase of decline in their reproduction levels. While global fertility rates have fallen slightly but steadily in recent years in El Salvador, Guatemala and Nicaragua, in the rest of the countries this trend is not clearly evident.

/Table 3

Table 3

LATIN AMERICA: RATES OF BIRTH, MORTALITY AND NATURAL GROWTH BY REGIONS AND COUNTRIES, 1975-1980 AND 1980-1985

	1975-1980			1980-1985		
	Birth rate (per thousand)	Mortality rate (per thousand)	Natural growth (%)	Birth rate (per thousand)	Mortality rate (per thousand)	Natural growth (%)
Latin America	35.51	8.90	2.46	31.94	8.23	2.37
Andean Area	35.04	9.36	2.57	33.98	8.60	2.54
Bolivia	44.84	17.45	2.74	44.02	15.84	2.82
Colombia	32.06	8.21	2.39	31.01	7.73	2.33
Chile	25.41	8.05	1.74	24.77	7.74	1.70
Ecuador	41.60	10.42	3.12	40.58	8.87	3.17
Peru	38.01	11.71	2.63	36.71	10.47	2.60
Venezuela	36.93	6.17	3.08	35.17	5.59	2.96
Atlantic Area	30.58	8.89	2.17	29.43	8.44	2.10
Argentina	24.95	8.85	1.61	24.57	8.74	1.58
Brazil	32.02	8.90	2.31	30.60	8.36	2.22
Paraguay	36.75	7.67	2.91	36.03	7.24	2.88
Uruguay	20.27	10.14	1.01	19.50	10.21	0.93
Central America	40.89	9.75	3.11	38.75	8.37	3.04
Costa Rica	30.68	4.61	2.61	30.54	4.22	2.63
El Salvador	42.06	9.37	3.27	40.17	8.01	3.21
Guatemala	41.11	10.91	3.02	38.44	9.32	2.91
Honduras	47.05	11.81	3.52	43.86	10.06	3.38
Nicaragua	45.58	11.61	3.40	44.21	9.69	3.45
Panama	30.99	6.0	2.50	28.01	5.38	2.26
Mexico and Caribbean republics	35.35	8.29	2.71	32.59	7.51	2.51
Cuba	16.98	5.94	1.10	16.87	6.38	1.05
Haiti	41.84	15.65	2.62	41.32	14.13	2.72
Mexico	37.56	7.94	2.96	33.91	7.07	2.68
Dominican Republic	34.6	9.09	2.55	33.10	7.95	2.52

Source: CELADE, Boletín Demográfico, Year XVI, No. 32, Santiago, Chile, 1983.

Table 4

LATIN AMERICA: GLOBAL FERTILITY RATES AND GROSS REPRODUCTION RATES BY REGIONS AND COUNTRIES, 1975-1980 AND 1980-1985

	1975-1980		1980-1985	
	GFR	GRR	GFR	GRR
Latin America	5.05	2.46	4.55	2.22
Andean Area	5.14	2.51	4.74	2.31
Bolivia	6.50	3.17	6.39	3.12
Colombia	4.31	2.10	3.93	1.92
Chile	3.10	1.51	2.90	1.42
Ecuador	6.29	3.07	6.0	2.93
Peru	5.38	2.62	5.0	2.44
Venezuela	4.74	2.31	4.33	2.11
Atlantic Area	4.05	1.98	3.74	1.82
Argentina	3.36	1.65	3.38	1.66
Brazil	4.21	2.05	3.81	1.86
Paraguay	5.20	2.54	4.85	2.37
Uruguay	2.93	1.43	2.76	1.35
Central America	5.69	2.78	5.21	2.54
Costa Rica	3.74	1.82	3.50	1.71
El Salvador	6.01	2.93	5.56	2.71
Guatemala	5.68	2.77	5.17	2.52
Honduras	7.14	3.48	6.50	3.17
Nicaragua	6.31	3.08	5.94	2.90
Panama	4.06	1.98	3.46	1.69
Mexico and Caribbean republics	5.02	2.45	4.36	2.13
Cuba	2.18	1.06	1.98	0.96
Haiti	5.92	2.89	5.74	2.80
Mexico	5.40	2.63	4.61	2.25
Dominican Republic	4.80	2.34	4.18	2.04

Source: CELADE, Boletín Demográfico, Year XVI, No. 32, Santiago, Chile, 1983.

/As regards

As regards the mortality rate, one of the objectives proposed in the Plan of Action is the reduction of its levels to the greatest extent possible, especially in respect of infant mortality and death directly or indirectly due to childbearing. Another is to reduce in each individual country the differences between national and subnational mortality rates. The Plan of Action postulated that to ensure throughout the world an average expectation of life of 62 years by 1985 and 74 by the year 2000, it would be necessary to obtain by the end of the present century an increase of 11 years in Latin America's case, 17 years in that of Asia and 28 years in that of Africa.

In Latin America mortality rates have fallen significantly in recent decades, and it is expected that this downward movement will continue, although at a slower pace. Some countries of the region, such as Bolivia, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua and Peru, despite having witnessed considerable reductions, still show particularly high mortality levels. In these countries the decline in mortality rates, combined with the maintenance of high birth rates, has helped to speed up the population growth rate in past decades.

In order to bring to light the differences in mortality levels, the expectation of life at birth and the infant mortality rate will be used as indicators, since it is they that most faithfully reflect living conditions in the various countries. (See table 5.)

In 1975-1980 the population of the region had a life expectancy at birth of approximately 62.8 years; it is estimated that this figure will rise to 64.4 years in 1980-1985. With reference to the recommendation of the World Population Plan of Action that throughout the world figures of 62 years by 1985 and 74 years by the year 2000 should be reached, it may be said that the region as a whole has already attained the first of these goals.

If recent trends in the rate of reduction of mortality were maintained, most of the countries would take over 30 years to achieve the second of the objectives proposed by the Plan of Action, which would bring them to dates subsequent to the period 2015-2020.

According to available estimates, only six countries will not fulfil the objectives set for 1985. They are Bolivia, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua and Peru. Assuming in two of these countries a reduction in mortality similar to that observed in 1965-1980, Bolivia will need 73 years to attain the goal of 74 years of life expectancy at birth established for the year 2000, and Haiti approximately 57 years. It must be pointed out, however, that if account is taken of the recommendation in the Plan of Action that "countries with the highest mortality levels should aim by 1985 to have an expectation of life at birth of at least 50 years", all the countries of the region will attain this objective.

As regards infant mortality rates, this indicator has declined significantly in recent decades, although the rate of decrease has slowed down of late. Countries like Bolivia, Peru, Honduras, Nicaragua and Haiti still maintain rates of over 80 deaths per thousand live births. Nevertheless, it would seem that these countries, except for Bolivia, will reach the goal proposed by the Plan of Action of fewer than 120 per thousand.

/Table 5

Table 5

LATIN AMERICA: EXPECTATION OF LIFE AT BIRTH AND INFANT MORTALITY, BY REGIONS AND COUNTRIES, 1975-1980 AND 1980-1985

	1975-1980		1980-1985	
	Expectation of life (years)	IMR (per thousand)	Expectation of life (years)	IMR (per thousand)
Latin America	62.81		64.38	
Andean Area	61.19		62.85	
Bolivia	48.64	138.2	64.38	124.4
Colombia	62.16	59.4	63.63	53.3
Chile a/	67.62	43.4	69.72	27.9
Ecuador	59.96	83.2	62.67	68.8
Peru	59.94	93.4	58.60	81.9
Venezuela b/	67.85	43.3	68.97	38.7
Atlantic Area	63.30		64.70	
Argentina	68.71	40.5	69.71	36.0
Brazil	61.84	78.7	63.41	70.6
Paraguay	64.11	48.6	65.11	45.0
Uruguay	69.61	41.6	70.34	37.5
Central America	60.77		63.43	
Costa Rica	71.43	29.6	73.03	20.2
El Salvador	62.17	84.8	64.83	71.0
Guatemala	57.79	79.0	60.72	67.7
Honduras	57.11	95.4	59.91	81.5
Nicaragua	56.26	96.5	59.81	84.5
Panama	69.19	36.2	70.98	32.5
Mexico and the Caribbean republics	63.96		65.49	
Cuba	72.75	22.5	73.45	20.4
Haiti	50.65	120.9	56.63	108.1
Mexico	64.09	60.5	65.73	53.0
Dominican Republic	60.27	73.1	62.58	63.5

Source: CELADE, Boletín Demográfico, Year XVI, No. 32, Santiago, Chile, 1983. For expectation of life at birth, see CELADE, "Mortalidad y Políticas de Salud" (E/CEPAL/CELADE/L.3).

a/ CELADE, Population projections for 1950-2025, August 1983 (provisional).
b/ CELADE, Population projections for 1950-2025, 1983.

/2. Spatial

2. Spatial population distribution

During the last decade or two, Latin America has undergone intensive urbanization. Between 1960 and 1970 the urban population increased very rapidly, from 49.6% to 57.7% of the total population, but the estimates prepared on the basis of the available data from censuses taken about 1980 suggest that the process was slower during the following decade. With the result that the urban population reached 63% in 1980, and according to estimates will attain 66% in 1985. (See table 6.) It is important to stress that between 1950 and 1980 the urban population of the region increased by 247%, whereas the rural population did so by only 38%.

On the other hand, it is also evident that urbanization processes do not occur simultaneously and on similar lines throughout the whole of the Latin American region. Both the degree of urbanization and the trends of its components vary widely among the different areas, and within them, from one country to another.

In the Atlantic Area the proportion of urban population rose from 52.5% to 60.4% between 1960 and 1970, and to 66.0% in 1980, while estimates suggest that it will approximate to 69% in 1985. This area includes Argentina and Uruguay, two Latin American countries that started urbanization at an early date and have attained the highest levels; Paraguay, which still appears among the least urbanized; and Brazil, which takes an intermediate place.

The Andean Area as a whole has followed much the same trend as the Atlantic Area. The degree of urbanization rose from 54.1% in 1960 to 60.3% in 1970 and to 65.7% in 1980. It is estimated that in 1985 the proportion of urban population will also approach 69%. In addition, substantial differences are observable among the Andean countries: two of them, Chile and Venezuela, already showed high levels of urbanization in 1960; two others (Colombia and Peru) had made significant advances in this process, while Bolivia and Ecuador were and still are less urbanized.

In Central America urbanization has been slower and somewhat belated. The proportion of the population living in urban areas climbed from 32.1% in 1960 to 38.4% in 1970 and to 43.1% in 1980, while estimates indicate that by 1985 the index in question will not rise as high as 46%. The Central American countries formed a relatively homogeneous group in 1960, but since then the differences between them have increased to such an extent that there are one or two (Nicaragua and Panama) which currently have about 55% of urban population, while in Guatemala and Honduras the indicator in question falls short of 40%.

Lastly, in the area including Mexico and the Caribbean republics, the degree of urbanization increased rapidly from 47.9 to 55.1% between 1960 and 1970 and then more slowly up to about 62% in 1980, while according to estimates it will reach 65% by 1985. Trends in this area are similar to those shown by its two largest countries, which as early as 1960 had over 50% of urban population and by 1980 over 65%. At the same time the Dominican Republic, which had less than 30% of urban population in 1960, became rapidly urbanized, so that by 1980 a proportion had reached 47%. Lastly, this group includes Haiti, which was and still is the least urbanized country of the region.

/Table 6

Table 6

URBAN POPULATION TRENDS IN LATIN AMERICA FOR THE YEARS 1960, 1970, 1975, 1980 AND 1985. PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL POPULATION

	1960	1970	1975	1980	1985
Latin America	49.6	57.7	60.5	63.3	66.1
Andean Area	50.1	60.3	63.0	65.7	68.6
Bolivia	30.2	38.2	41.3	44.7	50.5
Colombia	48.6	59.3	62.8	66.3	69.5
Chile	67.6	75.2	77.0	78.7	80.3
Ecuador	31.8	39.6	42.1	44.7	47.5
Peru	44.5	58.0	60.7	63.4	65.9
Venezuela	62.9	72.1	74.1	76.2	78.0
Atlantic Area	52.5	60.4	63.1	66.0	68.7
Argentina	73.3	78.5	80.2	81.6	83.0
Brazil	46.2	55.8	59.3	62.8	66.1
Paraguay	31.4	37.0	37.7	38.6	40.0
Uruguay	77.7	82.0	82.9	83.8	84.6
Central America	32.1	38.4	40.7	43.1	45.6
Costa Rica	34.1	38.8	42.1	45.7	49.2
El Salvador	31.4	39.5	41.8	44.2	46.7
Guatemala	30.6	34.4	35.6	36.5	37.8
Honduras	23.9	33.2	35.9	38.8	42.2
Nicaragua	39.9	47.0	50.4	53.8	57.2
Panama	41.1	47.8	51.5	55.3	58.9
Mexico and Caribbean republics	47.9	55.1	58.4	61.7	64.8
Cuba	54.1	59.6	63.2	67.0	70.4
Haiti	13.0	19.8	21.3	23.1	25.0
Mexico	51.8	58.9	62.2	65.5	68.5
Dominican Republic	29.0	39.4	42.8	46.8	50.8

Source: 1960: CELADE, on the basis of census data.
For 1970-1985: CELADE, Boletín Demográfico, No. 28.

/A comparison

A comparison of the countries' degree of urbanization with their level of development shows a positive correlation with wide variations around the mean, the explanation of which might lie in the differences between the numerous variables shaping these processes. Some of them, such as the degree of concentration of total population or of urban population in places of different sizes, are relatively easy to quantify; on others, such as the size, composition, origin and destination of migratory flows, much less is known.

In addition to its great dynamism, the urbanization process in Latin America has been characterized by a high degree of concentration in large towns. In Latin America as a whole, the percentage of urban population living in the primate cities increased from 31.4% in 1960 to 34.5% in 1980. The situation varies greatly from one country to another, but has tended to even itself out, although urban concentration in the most populous cities still ranges today from over 60% in Panama to under 30% in Venezuela.

During the last two decades cities with 100 000 inhabitants and over have also proliferated in the region, so that in them an increasing proportion of the population has been concentrated. Already by 1960 one in every four Latin Americans lived in cities of this size, which accounted for over 50% of the region's urban population. The concentration process continued later, although probably at a slower rate during the 1970s, and it is estimated that in 1980 the cities in question contained 37% of the total population and 58% of the urban population of Latin America. The inter-country variations in this last concentration index are substantial, but, generally speaking, it tends to rise to figures ranging from 60 to 70%.

The cities which in the aggregate have grown most rapidly are those with one million inhabitants and over. In 1960 there were already 11 cities of this size which together had 31 million inhabitants, i.e., 15% of the total population and 30% of the urban population. Subsequently, their number quickly multiplied; in 1980 there were 26 with a sum total of about 100 million inhabitants, which means that more than 40% of the population lived in them and one out of every four inhabitants of the region. Lastly, it should be noted that the continuance of the concentration process does not mean that urban growth is keeping up a rate similar to that observed during the 1960s. In most of the countries and in the region as a whole, the growth rate of the urban population and that of the population of big cities decreased during the 1970s, and the same was true of rural populations and total population growth rates. The concentration of the urbanization process is due simply to the fact that in any event the urban population continued to grow faster than the rural.

3. International migration

Latin America is only just beginning to build up a stock of knowledge on international migration. The study of this question has often been hampered by the inadequacy of the available data. To this must be added the fact that in many cases international migration is illegal or clandestine, with the obvious result that information on such movements is lacking. Accordingly, in these conditions, it should not be found surprising that knowledge of the subject is characteristically fragmentary and insufficient in such basic respects as the volume and composition of migratory flows.

/Studies on

Studies on international migration often draw a distinction between the migration of unskilled manpower (migrant workers) and that of highly skilled personnel (the "brain drain"). In both cases, migration seems to be chiefly motivated by economic considerations. In recent years, however, there has been a vigorous upsurge of a specific type of migration, in which the economic motive, although present, is not necessarily the preponderant cause, as in the case of population shifts determined by the climate of uncertainty and political instability that prevails in some countries of the region.

In Latin America migration of unskilled workers, especially between adjacent countries, has become more intensive in the last decade or two. Because of their quantitative significance the following flows, inter alia, are worthy of mention: those of Bolivian, Brazilians, Chileans, Paraguayans and Uruguayans to Argentina; of Haitians to the Dominican Republic; of Central Americans to Mexico; of Salvadorians to Guatemala and Honduras; of Nicaraguans to Costa Rica; of Colombians to Ecuador, Panama and Venezuela; of Mexicans and Puerto Ricans, Haitians, Dominicans, Central Americans and Caribbean nationals to the United States; and of Argentinians and Brazilians to Paraguay. As will be noted, these migratory flows generally center upon regional systems or subsystems, within which are to be found labour markets with special characteristics. As a general rule, predominant in these flows is the migration of seasonal workers whose stay in the recipient country tends to be relatively short. To judge from the available data, however, migration with a view to definitive settlement has been gaining importance in recent years.

Among the Latin American countries, the chief recipient of migratory labour flows is Argentina. It is estimated that in this country there are about one million resident aliens from across its borders. Similarly, in Venezuela the inflow of immigration from Colombia may amount, according to available estimates, to figures ranging from 350 000 to over one million persons. The increasing size of these two migratory flows, together with others of less magnitude between South American countries, has meant that today over 3 million people are living in a country other than that of their birth. If the current growth rates of this expatriate population are maintained, it is estimated that by the end of the century their number, in South America alone, might reach about 15 million persons.

The migration of unskilled Latin American workers to the United States has also attained fairly high levels in recent years. The main migratory flow to that country is constituted by Mexican citizens. Owing to the predominantly surreptitious nature of this migration, quantifying its real dimensions is a difficult task. With the aid of a sizeable body of measurement techniques and procedures, however, it has been possible to reduce, in absolute terms, the margin of uncertainty as to the probable volume of the Mexican population registered in the United States, which, according to estimates, is currently from 500 000 to 1 600 000 persons.

/Countries such

Countries such as Haiti, the Dominican Republic and most of the Central American and Caribbean nations have also recorded high levels of emigration to the United States, where, accordingly, a large proportion of these countries' labour force is living at present. Suffice it to mention that between 1960 and 1975, emigrants into the United States from the Virgin Islands, Barbados and Trinidad and Tobago represented approximately 36.2%, 6.7% and 6.1% of the respective national populations.

The available data show that in Mexico, in recent years, there has been a substantial increase in both legal and illegal immigration, chiefly from the Central American area. Year by year, Guatemalan agricultural workers have seasonally or definitively emigrated to the south and southeast of Mexico. To this migratory flow have recently been added workers from such countries as Belize, El Salvador, Honduras and Nicaragua.

In face of this general picture of labour migrations in Latin America, a need has begun to arise for countries to formulate and apply co-ordinated policies for the regulation of such movements. In recent years great strides forward have been made in this respect. A case in point is the agreement signed in 1977 by the Governments of Venezuela, Colombia and Ecuador, with the aim of jointly establishing programmes and measures designed to regulate labour migrations within the Andean subregion.

A common occurrence in the Latin American countries is the emigration of highly skilled personnel. Emigration of this kind, although to some extent distributed within the region, has been primarily directed towards developed countries, such as the United States and Canada. Statistics show that between 1961 and 1975 a total number of 80 200 Latin American professionals and technicians entered the United States alone; they included engineers, doctors and paramedical personnel, and teachers at all educational levels, and came mainly from three relatively more developed countries (Argentina, Colombia and Mexico) and two comparatively less developed (Haiti and the Dominican Republic).

To make a more accurate and updated appraisal of the "brain drain" from Latin America is, of course, a very complex matter, owing to the lack of reliable information. It is acknowledged, however, that the phenomenon is presenting serious features, since the Latin American governments are still issuing resolutions which advocate explicit policies at the national, regional and international levels, to counteract the causes of the "brain drain" and its most harmful effects.

II. STATUS OF POPULATION POLICIES IN LATIN AMERICA

To analyse the evolution of population policies in Latin America is no easy task. On the one hand, only fragmentary information is available and, on the other hand, the countries' official positions in this respect have been almost constantly changing.

Despite these constraints, a first approach to the subject is possible on the basis of the most recent information to be found in official surveys carried out by the United Nations, and in various documents issued by official sources in the individual countries, as well as in the work of students of the subject.

An analysis of population policy for an entire region runs the risk either of over generalizing, when it relates to the region as a whole, or of finding difficulty in presenting the most important phenomena, when it is too detailed. Hence the presentation of the information, observations and conclusions presented in this document will take a middle way.

In the present document, population policy is understood as the adoption by a national government of measures which are integrated with socio-economic programmes and which are consciously directed towards influencing demographic variables -either as their main effect or as an expected side-effect- with the aim of helping to harmonize population and development trends.

For the purpose of classifying countries of the area by type of population policy, various criteria can be applied. One of these may refer to whether the population policy is explicitly stated or not. This criterion reflects, in our opinion, some degree of recognition of a population phenomenon conducive to the formulation of specific policies for dealing with it. (See annex 1.)

The first step will be to review those countries which have explicit population policies. They do not form a homogeneous group, however, since within it a distinction can be drawn between two subgroups of countries: one comprising those whose policies are directed towards reducing the population growth rate, and the other consisting of those whose intention is to increase it. This situation was anticipated in the World Population Plan of Action, when, in its chapter entitled "Recommendations for action", it pointed out that there are "countries which consider that their present or expected rates of population growth hamper progress towards their goals of promoting human welfare". These would include "countries which aim at achieving moderate or low population growth" and which are encouraged to "try to achieve it through a low level of birth and death rates". Co-existing with these are the "countries wishing to increase their rate of population growth", to which it is suggested that they should, according to circumstances, reduce mortality or "encourage an increase in fertility and promote emigration".

/1. Countries

1. Countries with explicit population policies directed towards reducing the population growth rate

This group of countries (Colombia, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Jamaica, Mexico, Dominican Republic and Peru) had a population of approximately 134.7 million inhabitants in 1980, a figure representing 38.0% of the population of Latin America.

All these countries, when formulating their population policy, take into account the close relationship existing between population and development. Today there is no need to vindicate this relationship, since there seems to be unanimous agreement as to its existence. The Plan of Action reflects this consensus when it notes that "where trends of population growth, distribution and structure are out of balance with social, economic and environmental factors, they can, at certain stages of development, create additional difficulties for the achievement of sustained development". It recognizes, however, that "policies whose aim is to affect population trends must not be considered substitutes for socio-economic development policies but as being integrated with those policies in order to facilitate the solution of certain problems facing both developing and developed countries and to promote a more balanced and rational development". Hence population policies will be successful only if they form an integral part of development planning, as one more of its sectoral strategies.

In this sense, countries forming the subgroup in question have accepted the principles of the Plan of Action, conceiving population policy as an instrument of development, integrated with its global strategy. They seek to reduce their rate of growth by fundamentally modifying fertility. To this end, explicitly at least, they take into account the proposals of the Plan of Action as regards the right of couples and individuals "to decide freely and responsibly the number and spacing of their children and to have the information ... to do so". With this aim, countries have channelled their efforts towards ensuring that "family planning, medical and related social services aim not only at the prevention of unwanted pregnancies but also at the elimination of involuntary sterility and subfecundity, in order that all couples may be permitted to achieve their desired number of children".

In some of these countries population growth goals have been established. In Mexico, the target set was an annual rate of 2.5% for 1982 and 1.9% for 1988, implying a reduction of the birth rate from 33 per thousand to 25 per thousand in the same period; the long-term objective defined for the year 2000 is one per cent, and the goals posited for 1982 have already been reached. In El Salvador the growth target was established at an annual rate of 2.9% for 1982, with reductions of the birth rate to 40.2 births per thousand and of the mortality rate to 8 per thousand. The Dominican Republic, in its turn, has also set goals for the lowering of the birth rate: for 1978 the target was 28 births per thousand, a figure which it has already attained.

In 1982 the Government of Jamaica established the following population objectives: a) to have a population of not more than three million inhabitants in the year 2000; b) to attain a life expectancy at birth of at least 73 years, also for the year 2000; and c) to reach a replacement level of fertility by the end of the 1980s. These goals are considered as an integral and interdependent part of the country's economic and social development.

/El Salvador

El Salvador, Jamaica, Mexico and the Dominican Republic have acceded to the Plan of Action's invitation "to countries which consider their birth-rates detrimental to their national purposes" to the effect that they "consider setting quantitative goals", although this suggestion should in no way "interfere with the sovereignty" of governments.

For the purposes of co-ordinating, implementing and evaluating population policy, the above-mentioned countries have created specific institutions -a National Population Council in Colombia, Mexico, Peru and the Dominican Republic; a National Population Commission in Costa Rica and El Salvador; and a National Planning Council in Guatemala- which are under either the Ministry responsible for policy (the Department of the Interior in Mexico's case), the Ministry of Health or the Development Planning Ministry.

In this sense, the countries in question have echoed the relevant proposals of the Plan of Action in which "it is suggested that the unit dealing with population aspects be created at a high level of the national administrative structure and that such a unit be staffed with personnel trained in the pertinent disciplines".

As stated before, the policy of reducing the growth rates in these countries has focused essentially upon diminishing fertility levels.

The instruments of this policy take the form, fundamentally, of family planning measures linked, in most cases, to the health sector structures and to population activities concerned with education and communication. In both cases, this strategy is consistent with the recommendations of the Plan of Action. In the former, the Plan invites "governments which have family planning programmes ... to consider integrating and co-ordinating those services with health services". Education and communication would be directed, according to the Plan, towards ensuring that "information about, and education in, family planning and other methods which affect fertility are based on valid and proven scientific knowledge".

In Colombia, the Maternal-Child Health Programme of the Ministry of Health and the Programa Profamilia (Pro-family programme), a private institution affiliated to the International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF), provide family planning services in both rural and urban areas. Likewise, an act was recently passed establishing measures incorporated in a General Health Law and relating to information on family planning.

Similarly, Costa Rica provides family planning services through the Ministry of Health and social security institutions and in conjunction with the Costa Rican branch of IPPF.

Again, in El Salvador, some of the planning, maternal-child health and communication programmes have been applied with the threefold aim of reducing fertility, speeding-up educational processes and improving the status of women. Mortality and morbidity levels are considered unsatisfactory, and attempts have been made to bring down the rate of infant mortality and raise nutritional levels. Family planning is in the hands of the Ministry of Health, the social security service and a private association affiliated to IPPF.

/In Guatemala

In Guatemala, family planning is implemented by the Ministry of Health and a branch of IPPF. Steps have also been taken to reduce morbidity.

The Government of Jamaica has established, under the direction of the National Family Planning Council, a group of clinics offering services in this field.

The objectives of natural birth policy in Mexico are to reduce fertility levels and lessen the disparities between these levels in the country's different social groups and different regions. Programmes are being formulated with respect to education and communication on population questions under the National Population Council, and on family planning under the medical services. The latter are organized by the National Family Planning Co-ordination Unit of the Ministry of Health, and are provided by all government institutions in the health sector; the services cover the areas of maternal-child care and family planning.

Lastly, programmes geared to lowering the growth rate in the Dominican Republic are also focused on family planning and maternal-child health, as well as on education, communication and information. The government will encourage women's participation in productive activities as a means of improving the status of women. As regards morbidity and mortality, it is considered that the levels of both these are acceptable.

Through these measures, the governments of the countries mentioned have taken the first steps towards ensuring that couples and individuals can freely and responsibly exercise the right to have the number of children they desire, while endeavouring to reconcile individual reproductive behaviour with the needs and aspirations of society.

It must be recalled that the fundamental objective of population policy is to improve the quality of life, and that family planning programmes are only an instrument which must be understood as a constituent of development promotion.

In this connection, the Plan of Action recommends that "countries wishing to affect fertility levels give priority to implementing development programmes and to education health strategies which, while contributing to economic growth and higher standards of living, have a decisive impact upon demographic trends, including fertility".

2. Countries with explicit population policies directed towards increasing population growth rate

While the majority of the Latin American countries propose -explicitly or otherwise- to bring down their population growth rates, there is also a group which follows the opposite course. This possibility was already contemplated in the Plan of Action, which recommends that "countries wishing to increase their rate of population growth should when mortality is high, concentrate efforts on the reduction of mortality, when appropriate, encourage an increase of fertility and promote immigration".

/In Latin

In Latin America, the three countries forming this group are Argentina, Bolivia and Chile. In 1980 their population numbered 44.9 million inhabitants, representing 12.7% of the population of Latin America.

The characteristic feature of population policy in Argentina and Chile is its orientation towards increasing population growth as a response to low levels of fertility. Both countries also point to their need for growth on grounds of national security.

The objectives of their population policy are as follows:

a) to encourage a rise in fertility levels and eradicate abortion and sterilization; and
b) to reduce general morbidity and infant mortality.

The countries in question have adopted measures to further these ends. In Argentina, for example, direct and indirect incentives have been established to encourage a rise in fertility levels, such as effective family allowances, day-care centres for the benefit of working mothers and a legal régime propitious to motherhood.

In Chile, communication and education programmes to encourage motherhood have been put into effect, and are complemented by measures hindering access to contraceptive methods.

The Bolivian Government recently adopted policies designed to increase the population growth rate. To that end it established programmes directed towards maintaining current fertility levels and bringing down those of general morbidity and mortality. In this latter respect, the explicit goal set by the government consisted in increasing life expectancy to 52 years and reducing general mortality to 16.9 per thousand in 1980. To attain its fertility objectives, the Bolivian government ordered the suspension of official support for family planning activities.

The constitution of this group is clear evidence that, even in cases where the objectives of natural growth policy coincide, they may stem from different combinations of the components of demographic change. Accordingly, specific policies must recognize this peculiarity, and must be formulated in relation to each specific situation.

3. Countries without explicit population growth policies

This group of countries comprises Brazil, Cuba, Ecuador, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panamá, Paraguay, Uruguay and Venezuela, plus most of the English-speaking countries of the Caribbean. In 1980 their aggregate population amounted to 175 million inhabitants, a figure which represented 49.4% of the population of the Latin American region. All these countries support family planning programmes. These programmes are not geared to strictly demographic objectives, but are chiefly oriented towards health goals. Generally speaking, family planning facilities are provided through the Ministries of Health, under maternal-child care and

/nutrition programmes.

nutrition programmes. In most of the above-mentioned countries there are private associations affiliated to IPPF which collaborate with the official institutions in the work of communication and education on population and in the provision and distribution of contraceptive methods.

It is noteworthy that this group of countries has begun to recognize the importance of demographic factors in development planning. Up to now, however, this recognition has not been reflected in the formulation of specific policies. With respect to these countries, the World Population Plan of Action (WPPA), while acknowledging that every government is responsible for defining its own policy and formulating its own programmes of action, also points out that the success of this Plan of Action will largely depend on the measures adopted by national governments. Hence the advisability of urging the importance of explicit declaration of population policy.

4. Spatial distribution of population and migration

Another possible way of characterizing the countries of the region is by their policies on the spatial distribution of population. In almost all the Latin American countries the territorial distribution of the population and the prevailing patterns of migration are considered unacceptable. Identified as particularly pressing problems, inter alia, are the dispersion of the rural and the concentration of the urban population, the predominance of rural-urban migratory flows and the inappropriate occupation of the territory.

Latin America fits into the Plan of Action's description of population distribution, where it is pointed out that "urbanization in those countries is characterized by a number of adverse factors: drain from rural areas through migration of individuals who cannot be absorbed by productive employment in the urban areas, serious disequilibrium in the growth of urban centres, pollution of the environment, inadequate housing and services and social and psychological stress. In many developing countries, adverse consequences are due in large parts to the economic structures resulting from the dependent situation of those countries in the international economic system; the correction of these shortcomings requires as a matter of priority the establishment of equitable economic relations among peoples".

Measures designed to regulate the intensity and direction of migratory flows, as well as the spatial distribution of the population, have been accorded special attention in the countries of the region, albeit the results obtained have not been very encouraging. Some of the reasons for this failure may be found in the intervention of measures relating to global and sectoral objectives which often come into conflict with the goals of spatial redistribution of the population. What is required, however, is a diagnosis to determine the mechanisms and instruments for implementing the declarations, intentions and objectives embodied in policies in this field.

The Plan of Action lays down a set of guidelines for population redistribution policies. They include, inter alia, emphasis on "planned and equitable regional development", attempts to ensure "equity and social justice in the distribution

/of the

of the benefits of development among all groups and regions", the introduction of alternatives to urban and rural ways of living through the strengthening of small and medium-sized cities, and the economic and social improvement of the rural environment "through balanced agricultural development" and the provision of basic social services in rural centres to which scattered populations have access.

While almost all the countries testify in various documents to their dissatisfaction with the spatial distribution of the population, only a few of them have formulated and explicitly stated policies aimed at reversing the processes of population concentration and dispersion. In this group are to be found Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Cuba, Jamaica, Mexico, Nicaragua and Panama.

In Argentina's case, the Government considers that the concentration of industrial activity has fostered an agglomeration of population in the capital of the Republic and in the Province of Buenos Aires. Since 1977 regional development policies have been formulated with the aim of keeping population in the rural areas and controlling metropolitan growth.

Bolivia, in its turn in May 1979, launched a project under the title of "Migrations, occupational situation and urban and rural labour markets", the object of which is to lay the foundations for the formulation of a labour migration policy.

Brazil has carried out programmes not only for assistance to low-income immigrants but also for the retention of manpower in frontier or traditional agricultural areas. Outstanding examples are the integrated development and settlement programmes for agricultural frontier extension areas, as, for instance, Amazonas.

In Colombia, a spatial organization policy has been designed with the aim of regulating the intensity of internal and international migratory flows and the distribution of the population. Since 1975, this country has pursued a systematic and planned labour migration policy which embraces four basic programmes:

a) Channelling of migratory movements;
b) Regulation of migratory flows;
c) Retention of potentially migrant population; and
d) Labour assistance for the migrant worker and his family.

In Cuba, the objective of domestic migration policy is to lessen the growth of the capital city and the development of other cities so as to reduce possible migratory movements of workers; and it also aims at more uniform distribution of skilled personnel among the provinces. In addition, a goal set for 1985 is that at least two-thirds of the population should be living in urban areas.

Jamaica has implemented a set of measures aimed at slowing down rural-urban migratory flows and adjusting population distribution in rural areas.

/Mexico, in

Mexico, in its turn, designed a population distribution policy in 1978, and established three programmes in the field of internal migration:

a) Retention of population in its place of origin;
b) Rechannelling of the potentially migrant population into other areas; and
c) Re-location of the population resident in the metropolitan area of Mexico City.

These three programmes are integrated with one another for the purpose of regulating the intensity of migratory flows. Total growth targets were established for each of the federal units, with the aim of ensuring that none of them should grow at an annual rate of more than 4.5%.

Again, Nicaragua has expressed interest in settlement of the Atlántic coast and has formulated programmes oriented towards the integration of this area with the rest of the country.

In Panama it is proposed to divide the country into four major regions, with a view to applying spatial distribution policies in each. This represents an attempt to control population growth in the metropolitan area, to reduce rural dispersion in the centre and west of the country and to settle the eastern region.

The fact that many of these policies have not yet produced the expected results may be largely due to the lack of appropriate instruments and mechanisms, which will continue to be a source of vagueness and uncertainty. The rest of the countries of the region, as previously stated, are conscious of the negative repercussions of their population distribution, in spite of which this awareness has not yet been reflected in specific spatial distribution and internal migration policies.

5. International migration

Special attention is devoted in the Plan of Action to international migration. The Plan recognizes that "the significance of international migration varies widely among countries, depending upon their area, population size and growth rate, social and economic structure and environmental conditions". It recommends broad lines of action for "countries that are concerned with the outflow of migrant workers", especially that of skilled personnel, as well as for "countries receiving migrant workers". In the first case, it suggest that "particular efforts" should be made "to create favourable employment opportunities" and postulates the "urgent need to formulate national and international policies to avoid the 'brain drain' and to obviate its adverse effects". In the case of countries receiving immigrants, stress is laid on the necessity of respecting their human rights and "providing proper treatment and adequate social welfare services for them and their families", while in addition, "where immigration has proved to be of a long-term nature, countries are invited to explore the possibilities of extending national civil rights to immigrants".

/Diverse government

Diverse government positions are observable in the Latin American countries with respect to the importance and significance of international migration. One is represented by the view that neither the volume of immigration nor that of emigration is of much significance. This is the opinion held by Brazil, Guatemala, Haiti, Nicaragua, Panama and Peru. A different attitude, adopted by most of the countries, is one which regards migration, in either direction, as a process that has attained significant and unsatisfactory levels.

As far as immigration is concerned, only Costa Rica and Venezuela have voiced concern for the levels it has reached. Some governments have expressed satisfaction with the number of foreigners in their countries -Colombia, El Salvador, Honduras, Paraguay and the Dominican Republic- while Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Ecuador and Uruguay have tried to encourage immigration. These viewpoints were put forward by the governments in response to the Fifth United Nations Survey on the subject. Concurrently, some countries have adopted measures making for regulation of international migratory flows.

In Argentina, for example, it is proposed to encourage foreign immigration to settlement areas, offering exemptions from import duties on equipment, tools, scientific apparatus, etc., to persons entering the country under special settlement of aliens programmes. Similarly, Chile has stated its interest in settling areas with potentially exploitable natural resources, and is planning to create incentives whereby Chileans and selected immigrants may be induced to settle in the areas in question.

In sharp contrast with the position that encourages immigration, El Salvador is the only country in Latin America which has displayed dissatisfaction on account of the small volume of emigration. To reduce population growth, the Government is promoting emigration through bilateral agreements under which urban labour force is transferred to settlement areas in Bolivia, and to regions needing construction workers in Saudi Arabia.

In the past, the Government of Jamaica encouraged the emigration of unskilled workers. In recent years, on realizing that it was predominantly highly trained personnel that emigrated, it has adopted measures designed to reduce the volume of emigration.

In conclusion, it should be made clear that although most of the countries have not adopted an explicit policy either to encourage or discourage international migratory flows, almost all of them possess legal instruments designed to regulate such flows, albeit measures of this kind may not be intended to serve a strictly demographic purpose.

6. Conclusions

From the data presented here it can be seen that eight Latin American countries have explicit population policies aimed at reducing their natural growth levels, while only three seek to raise this growth rate. Explicit natural growth policies are lacking in the rest of the countries of the region.

With respect to the spatial distribution of the population, although all the countries express, in one way or another, their dissatisfaction with their present

/spatial structure

spatial structure, only nine of them have adopted policies expressly designed to alter the trends in question. Lastly, international migration is a matter of concern to all the countries. All but one show some signs of disquiet on account of the levels and characteristics of immigration. Eleven of these countries are satisfied with immigration and another seven express concern for its volume, two of them because they consider it too great, and five because they think it insufficient.

In short, it can be seen that the evaluation, characteristics and resolution of population problems in the Latin American countries by no means coincide; rather does the situation reflect a great diversity and fluidity resulting from the different population structures of the countries of the region and from different ideas on the subject.

As regards the integration of population policies and measures with development policies as a whole, the fact of the matter is that in Latin America much more progress has been made in proposing it than in putting it into effect. In this connection, it may be noted that international co-operation has been channelled mainly towards research on the relations between the two phenomena. Up to now, the body of knowledge obtained has not been reflected in the formulation of population policies which are fully integrated with the development process.

Moreover, it should be noted that although the recommendations of international meetings on population invite countries to give priority to support for population and development programmes, a tendency to allocate an impressive amount of resources to family planning activities still persists.

Respect for the selfgovernment of peoples, a fundamental principle of international relations, is present in each and every one of the Plan of Action's recommendations. To this it alludes when it affirms that "the formulation and implementation of population policies is the sovereign right of each nation. This right is to be exercised in accordance with national objectives and needs and without external interference". Respect for it presupposes recognition of the "diversity of conditions within and among different countries". Accordingly, the Plan of Action lays upon governments the responsibility for deciding their own policy and formulating their own programmes of action, taking into account, with due flexibility, the most important population needs, as seen and interpreted by the governments of the countries themselves. The formulation of these policies likewise entails "recognition of the dignity of the individual, appreciation for the human person and his selfdetermination", consistently with the universally recognized definitions of human rights.

The principle of respect for the dignity of the human person, as regards reproduction and freedom of movement, has been adopted by most of the countries that have taken measures bearing both on the regulation of natural growth and on that of migratory flows. It is to be hoped that all countries will adhere to this fundamental tenet.

A last point worth stressing is that the World Population Plan of Action is consistent with a line of thought and action that tends to transcend a simplistic view of demographic questions. From this standpoint, population phenomena would seem to be the fundamental cause of the major problems of mankind, and these could be resolved by the manipulation of demographic components. Over against this position, the Plan, in contrast, leaves no room for doubt when it asserts that the basis for an effective solution of population programmes is, first and foremost, economic and social change.

/III. BASES

III. BASES FOR THE CONTINUATION OF THE PLAN OF ACTION

The interrelationship between population and social and economic development is the fundamental principle of the Plan of Action. Accordingly, the explicit aim of the Plan is "to help co-ordinate population trends and the trends of economic and social development".

The Plan repeatedly asserts that the basis for an effective solution of population problems is, first and foremost, economic and social change, whence it follows that in order to achieve the said harmonization, population policy, which is one of the instruments for bringing it about, must form an integral part of the other sectoral strategies.

The foregoing principles are the foundation on which the components and recommendations of the Plan are built up, together with its suggestions with respect to population planning, through a policy that integrates social and population issues. The Plan recognizes, however, that on the one hand, by virtue of this mutual integration, population policies may have a measure of success, and, on the other, that just as in the case of other sectoral strategies, its contribution to the solution of world development problems will be only partial.

Now that the Plan has been in operation for at least 8 years, the foregoing considerations suggest some observations which may clarify for Latin America the future evolution of its population programmes.

In the first place, the interrelationships between population and development have been analysed at the level of academic circles, governments and international organizations in the Latin American region since the 1960s. Suffice it to mention that at the First Latin American Population Conference, held in Mexico City in 1970 and organized by CELADE, they were one of the central subjects of discussion. There it was unanimously agreed that the population question could not be considered apart from cultural and social conditions, that is, from the approach adopted by each country or society to its development style.

Consequently, the Plan of Action constitutes a set of guidelines assimilated and recommended from the very outset by government and international institutions in the region, and recognized, through the dissemination of the Plan, by almost every country in the world.

Latin America's experience in this direction goes back to the beginning of the 1960s, although since 1974 there has unquestionably been an increase in international co-operation efforts and national measures to put into practice population policies which combine, at least in their view of the matter, the constituents to which the Plan alludes.

Is there anything in Latin America's past experience that can more unerringly orientate any future action which may derive from reviewing the Plan of Action? There are at least five fundamental aspects of the Plan with reference to which the following questions may be formulated:

/a) Is

a) Is it now possible to define more precisely, or at any rate less ambiguously, what is meant by the integration of the population area with the socio-economic area, so that this concept may play a more operative part in population policy measures, not only in methodological and instrumental but also in administrative respects?

b) What components of the Plan should be reiterated, expanded or developed in greater depth in relation to the next ten years, so that the governments of the region may more effectively establish their population policies?

c) What significant efforts may be made in the future to train human resources in the region, from the standpoint of integration?

d) Is it possible, within the system of the Plan of Action, to make progress in the adoption of population policies, without still more vigorously promoting the elucidation of some of the region's population-development relations?

e) What can be done by international co-operation, especially on the part of the specialized agencies of the United Nations, to ensure that the Plan plays a more meaningful role in Latin America?

Indubitably, to non of the questions posed can there be a categorical and absolute reply. Some relevant considerations, however, may help to channel the observations of experts and representatives of the Latin American countries, thereby paving the way for progress along whatever lines may be deemed appropriate.

1. Integration of population and socio-economic issues: prospects and recommendations

The interrelationship between population and socio-economic issues, and the necessity for population policies to form an integral part of development programmes, are concepts which are constantly present throughout the exposition and recommendations of the Plan of Action. In this connection, it should be borne in mind from the outset that the definition of population policies which has been current hitherto must incorporate some additional and already-known elements centering upon this population-development relationship, to make it more in keeping with such policies' scope and strategy.

This is not a matter of reviving an old controversy in order to arrive at a new definition backed by a full consensus, which would be pointless, but of identifying and amplifying the features that may characterize a population policy today.

It may be understood, then, that a policy in this sense is the adoption by a national government of measures integrated with socio-economic programmes that are deliberately directed towards influencing the behaviour of the demographic variables, with the aim of helping to harmonize population and development trends. This would be the policy description to be derived from the Plan of Action in force, and out of it several considerations and even recommendations arise.

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In the first place, if progress in integration is to be made, it must be borne in mind that the process must also embrace the existing interrelations between the demographic components themselves, which generate a specific population dynamics and spatial distribution. As a demographic phenomenon, natural growth and migration are closely associated, and, therefore, the behaviour of their variables has reciprocal effects; fertility is affected by the incidence of mortality and migration, and similarly the effects of other demographic variables are also combined.

This does not imply any intention of expatiating on a subject that is already familiar; or of going to the extreme of relating everything with everything, which may paralyse or at least unnecessarily defer theoretical and practical progress in population planning. Nevertheless, it seems appropriate that in what might be called inward-directed integration, population variables should be interrelated in the formulation and application of a population policy.

It can be seen in practice that a number of Latin American countries which declare themselves dissatisfied with their rates of growth or fertility focus their population policy on the provision of medical services and the distribution of contraceptives; their sphere of action is primarily the health sector, and they receive support from private organizations. Concurrently, they also express their dissatisfaction with the spatial distribution of their population, and in the attempt to find a solution apply strategies and programmes aimed at influencing internal migration, and implemented by sectors or Ministries concerned with matters other than population questions proper (human settlements, urban development, or others). Similarly, if international migration causes adverse effects, there is another administrative department which assumes responsibility for measures in this field. This delinkage between aspects of the population problem, as well as of the propositions formulated for the conduct of policy, weaken reorientation efforts. It is these efforts in the aggregate that will affect national and subnational population trends and, therefore, the harmonization of population with development issues.

The progress that has been made in integration in the last 10 years -or nearly- is limited. While most of the Latin American governments declare that population questions are taken into account in the development plan, it is not easy to determine, as far as the information available allows, the methodological and operational procedures adopted to effect the desired integration with health, education, employment, nutrition, agricultural and other sectoral programmes. Furthermore, population programmes in several countries of the region establish objectives and even set targets, but do not indicate the instruments for attaining them.

Many countries have made legislative advances in this field, either through new articles and addenda in their respective constitutions, or by presidential decrees expressing the political will to accord priority to action in the sphere of population and to its legitimate conduct by the State; in recent years, too, in several countries of the region, population councils or units have been establish which adopt, within the administrative organizations of the governments concerned, different ways of creating population policies, or at least supplying the necessary demographic data for national and sectoral population planning.

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These moves, however, have not sufficed to initiate a phase in development planning in which concern with population questions finds expression in the country's political, social and economic project. In this sense, room has not yet been made for a population project potentially complementary to what every country's society requires for its well-being.

In most of the Latin American countries, development plans, both overall and sectoral, are mandatory for the executive power and indicative for the private sector. Thus, it is essential that right from the stage of formulation of the principles, objectives and strategies of the development plan, the population area should be explicitly recognized, as occurs in the case of other political, economic and social areas (independency and selfdetermination, the external debt, internal financing, employment, health, education, agricultural and industrial production, etc.). The population phenomenon must be taken into account, not only as an input for quantitative reference -how many we are and how many we shall be- but as an indication of what it would be advisable to modify or to consolidate in the demographic field.

In other words, in these days in which demographic questions are of steadily increasing concern to the nation-States, whether on account of population with unsatisfied basic needs, or from the standpoint of the means of carrying out economic, political and social projects, it is necessary not so much to suggest piecemeal measures for the conduct of demographic affairs, as to recommend to the countries forming the Latin American community that they adopt a political position which is reflected in the inclusion of population issues in the broad outlines of national strategies.

The foregoing should be taken in a twofold sense. In the first place, that laws and decrees should cover duties and obligations respecting the decision of couples on the number and spacing of their children, freedom of movement, the rescindment or imposition of penalties for abortion, the obligation of the State to provide family planning services, and other pertinent legal principles and norms; and secondly, that governments should put these provisions into practice.

Furthermore, the fact that the features, principles and strategies of the development plan are mandatory creates a commitment with all official programming sectors. This is particularly important in the case of population planning, since here the responsibility is not incumbent upon a single sector, as it is in other spheres of social or economic planning. The education sector, or that of health, for example, have their special fields clearly defined and their own instruments for taking action, although of course they have to interrelate with each other and join forces with other sectoral programmes; but, given the characteristics of population planning, virtually the whole of a government's programming apparatus intervenes in its conduct.

Thus, if compliance with the mandates stemming from the fundamental principles of the national development plan is to be ensured, planners must add to their own sectoral responsibility the responsibility of their contribution to population planning; if they fail to do so, there will be no appointed place for population policies and no chance of their integration.

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The second integration requirement, taking for granted the assumption of the shared responsibility described above, is the interrelation of the various components of population planning and policy with economic and social planning at the sectoral level.

As integration begins to take more specific forms, it becomes more complex and, above all, more likely to come into conflict with other priorities of the political and economic conjuncture. It has two main streams: the explicit exposition of the mutual cause-and-effect relations between population and development, and the establishment of these relations in demographic and socio-economic programming. This is the sphere of academic research, with results applicable to the real situation prevailing at the time. It must not be forgotten that there is a time-lag between scientific research and the course of social events, but unlike other socio-economic problems which it is also erroneously sought to resolve over the short term, those of a demographic character are established over the medium and, above all, the long term. Political circles or governments and the technical apparatus that sustains them have not yet grasped that they are faced with a social phenomenon, which calls for patient programming if results are to be obtained that will be reflected in greater well-being, or if it is to be feasible to expect direct effects on the various social phenomena that shape development problems.

It is true that in the formulation of sectoral programmes various demographic components intervene: the rate of growth, total population and its structure by age and sex; the incidence of the birth rate and the mortality rate; the distribution of the rural and urban population, etc. But in the formulation of the particular objectives and goals of the programming sector, these population characteristics are used, through the instrument of population projections, only to determine the scale of the effort which will have to be made in the specific sector (number of jobs, population to be cared for in schools at the various levels of education, or in health services, etc.), without analysing the possible impact of the programme itself on the desired population trends. In other words, demographic data are used for programming, and the programme then develops independently of future population trends. Population dynamics is subject to whatever pressures are exerted upon it by each individual sectoral programme. The balance of their united effect will be known only when a census is taken or surveys are carried out. And the cycle will be repeated: revision of population projections and preparation of new ones; use of them for programming or reprogramming the sector; programming divorced from the sector's effects on population.

Sectoral integration, therefore, can be interpreted in two ways: first, that the programmes deriving from population policies to exert a direct influence on demographic components will have to form an integral part of sectoral programmes, to which end they will not have to be superadded to these programmes, nor established alongside them, still less independently, but set up within the organized and substantive structure for action. Medical services for family planning in the health sector, as a component of health care; in the educational sector, education on population, and also sex education at its different levels, as subjects on the curriculum of teacher training schools or institutes of education; migration matters, in the employment sector, with a view to communication and orientation

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respecting possible work options and their conditions. These, which are but a few of many similar examples, throw into relief the necessity of giving the demographic area an integral place in sectoral programming, but always on the basis of a single population policy with all its components likewise integrally co-ordinated.

The second interpretation relates to the effect of economic and social problems on population. While research on population and development has made progress in Latin America, a still greater effort is required to establish or improve the bases of population policies. But even if the causes of the behaviour of demographic components come to be better known, methodologies must be established whereby the nature and direction of the effects of sectoral programmes on trends in demographic variables can be determined.

By way of illustration: a sectoral employment programme contains various subprogrammes -financial, economic and social- to promote the creation of sources of work, in which future population dynamics have already been taken into account for the purpose of estimating the labour supply. The subprogramme in question, in fulfilling its own objectives of reducing or eradicating underemployment and unemployment, may also have an influence on population problems: for example, on internal migration, either by backing up the stipulations of population policy as regards the distribution of the population, or by counteracting and annulling various measures.

In all education, health, industrialization, agricultural development and other programmes some elements may be found which make for integration of the demographic with the sectoral: one is the introduction of a quantitative component relating to the demand which it is estimated population dynamics will produce; another consists in specific programmes designed to influence the dynamics in question; and a third will be the effect of the sectoral programme on population dynamics itself, which will close the circle of integration with sectoral programming.

Outstanding among various methodological efforts which have been made in connection with the analysis and projection of these interrelationships is the preparation of various demographic-economic models which have been applied to the real situation in individual countries. This will be the motive for yet another analysis; suffice it to say here that their use has been limited and their practical results of little significance.

At the present time no formula exists for settling this conceptual, methodological and operational problem. However, it is worth putting forward a few brief reflections of a general nature. When attention is called to the need of ascertaining the possible effects of sectoral programmes under a development plan upon population dynamics, what is proposed is not to measure the degree of influence that each sector exerts on the behaviour of the demographic variables, but to establish in what direction the programme will affect them. To know this it is necessary to analyse sectoral programming in terms of its population coverage, of the socio-economic characteristics or social strata which the programme would benefit, of its subnational location and of the goals it is desired to reach, and then to infer, in the light of a demographic criterion, what effect would make

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itself felt. This effect will be positive, if the coverage of the measures adopted is significant in relation to disadvantaged social groups, where the highest morbidity and mortality indexes are found, where birth frequency is high, and where areas of high emigration, whether internal or international, are located. Such general elements will indicate the direction -not the quantification- of the foreseeable effect on demographic variables.

Study of the planning sectors in accordance with what has been called a demographic criterion helps to determine the effects on population dynamics that sectoral development programming can be expected to produce, and their degree of consonance with the postulates of the country's population policy.

In this first approach to a combination of programming and population aspects, and applying the same demographic criterion by which the direction in which sectoral programmes operate is identified, it is possible to formulate recommendations to sectors, or to suggest alternatives whereby, without acting at variance with their own objectives, they may further demographic aims, or at least, may realize that population dynamics and structures cannot be modified by way of given sectoral programmes.

Another objective of population policies is to induce not only a reduction of the differences between demographic components in different social groups or geographic areas, but also an attitude that interprets them as a reflection of the unfavourable conditions in which these groups or areas develop.

This means that there is another level, the subnational, in the integration of the demographic area in development plans. Every country must bear in mind the situation of its regions, their local problems, their natural resources, their economic activity, their culture, their religious and social traditions, their isolation from or integration with the rest of the country, their ethnical groups and, in short, the stamp that their colonial history and the style of their development in modern times have set upon them, with results in the shape of socio-economic heterogeneity and consequently of differences in demographic behaviour.

The political-administrative divisions, whose name and organization differs from one Latin American country to another (federal units, provinces and more recently metropolitan areas and cities or conurbations), have their own objectives and their own planning mechanisms for dealing with subnational and local problems. In these specific spheres, objectives, strategies and social and economic programmes are established which have an incidence on population. Integration at this level might become a major agent of cohesion between national, sectoral and subnational population objectives, with direct programmes aiming at change. Bearing in mind the demographic criterion, it is desirable to examine the plans of subnational authorities and identify the direction that their main effects will take.

The scheme described as the operational basis for integration will depend upon whether the Latin American countries explicitly state their development programmes and their population policy.

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2. The World Population Plan of Action during the next ten years

In the "recommendations for action" of the World Population Plan of Action there are a series of elements relating to goals, to population policies and to the role of national governments, which serve as guidelines for the conduct of population trends in such a way as to bring about their harmonization with economic and social development. It is considered, however, that since this is a world plan, it is hardly possible to establish population trends in large regions -and still less in countries- in greater and more specific detail. In any case, the Plan's frame of reference is the traditional dichotomy between developed and developing countries, which is of no help in understanding the population question in relation to ideological concepts of development, and to which of the alternatives they offer the countries have adopted.

According to the low hypothesis of the United Nations population projections, the developing countries are expected to reach a population growth rate of 2% by 1985. The information available for Latin America suggests that this goal will not be attained in the year in question. Such countries as Brazil, Colombia, Mexico, Venezuela and, generally speaking, all those of the region with the exception of Argentina, Cuba, Chile and Uruguay, will show rates of over 2%.

Similarly, it is estimated that in Latin America the birth rate will be slightly higher than that proposed in the Plan of Action for developing countries, i.e., not more than 30 births per thousand inhabitants in 1985. In contrast, as regards recommendations on general mortality, the expectation of life at birth in Latin America will exceed that suggested by the Plan (62 years) and the infant mortality rate will be lower than 120 per thousand.

It may be asked what real significance can attach, for Latin America or for any other region, to a frame of reference pertaining to the world or to the developing countries as a whole with respect to the desired behaviour of demographic variables in the future. What interpretation can be placed on these reductions of population dynamics, at such a universal level, in face of the differences observed in the development processes of different regions and countries?

If world population and its demographic components had evolved at the rates suggested by the Plan, it might be concluded that the latter's ten years in operation have been a success. But these achievements would not be an indication that the more backward regions, and still less the countries forming them, had undergone demographic and socio-economic changes that had initiated a reduction of the incredible differences at present existing between the countries of the world. Real conditions could show even more marked dissimilarities in demographic behaviour and, consequently, a wider gap between the extremes of the developing and developed countries. One of the lessons of the last ten years is that the aspiration to harmonize population trends with development trends is still far from fulfilment.

/3. Regional

3. Regional population plans of action

The current World Plan of Action may be regarded as an exhaustive catalogue of social and economic programmes which is related to population, and which has the virtue that its comprehensive recommendations are grounded on universal principles and truths, which could hardly be oppugned. But these very qualities make its application a complex matter, while its world coverage does not allow of disaggregations to take into account particular situations in face of which the Plan should be more specific.

It could also be divined, even in the absence of any empirical evidence, that since 1974 knowledge of the World Plan of Action has tended to become watered down in various national sectors responsible for development planning. In addition to the rotation of professional and administrative staff -which helps to make the Plan little known- the task of assimilating it in order to put it into practice has such diverse ramifications that, unless priority is given to those programmes which are deemed relevant for population policies, it is difficult to follow suggestions and harmonize them in an ordered whole.

The foregoing comments do not imply disregard of the effort that was made in formulating the Plan or the useful purpose it has served. But it would be advisable to explore the possibility that in revising it, after its ten years in force, account might be taken of a few general lines to follow that would make it more accessible and specific.

The World Plan of Action has been a useful document for the countries of the world and has fulfilled its general objectives as far as could be expected in view of its own characteristics. In the next phase more significant advances than in the past decade can hardly be hoped for, even with the additions and amendments to its existing recommendations, unless certain changes in its strategies are established as well. One of these relates to the desirable possibility that, in consonance with the essential features of the World Plan, regional population plans of action should be derived from it. This suggestion may be summed up under the following heads:

a) The World Population Plan of Action would continue to exist with the approval of the countries;

b) The Plan for the future might be a synthesized version of the existing text, with the relevant modifications. The central nucleus would contain, in essence, the background information, principles and objectives, and would include a body of summarized recommendations, ranked in order of importance, on the role of international co-operation, as well as on procedures for its appraisal;

c) In keeping with the earlier norms of worldwide application, respective regional population plans of action would be established which would take into account the peculiar characteristics of the region, and of the countries forming it, in demographic and socio-economic respects, formulating, where possible, recommendations as to objectives and population policies and programmes. In general, it would cover the same heads as the World Plan, but introducing special regional characteristics;

/d) Within

d) Within the United Nations system the Regional Commissions would be responsible for the co-ordination of the regional plans, jointly with the specialized agencies.

This proposal may be regarded as a variant of what is already established in the existing Plan, in paragraph 102, which reads: "Countries sharing similar population conditions and problems are invited to consider jointly this Plan of Action, exchange experience in relevant fields and elaborate those aspects of the Plan that are of particular relevance to them. The United Nations Regional Economic Commissions and other regional bodies of the United Nations system should play an important role towards this end".

A possible variant of the above suggestion consists in retaining the present Plan, with whatever amendments may be appropriate, and proposing at the 1984 World Conference, in Mexico, that the corresponding regional plans be established in a period of not more than two years.

In either of these two situations, the important point would be to reflect as to whether the proposal combines viable and beneficial elements. For example, it may be considered that regional plans would have advantages for the countries in that identification with them would be closer; that the programmes would be more realistic; that they could constitute a means of agglutinating efforts and experiments around an instrument common to all and more genuinely appropriate; and that social programmes -regional likewise- on women, on health, on employment, on human settlements, on ecology, on education and many others would be more closely interrelated with population programmes. In another sphere, strategies and measures respecting research and teaching would be more clearly deducible from the regional plan, and would take into account regional progress in these fields, as well as what seems necessary in view of the region's general situation and the individual situation of each country. It is likewise possible that through a regional plan cohesion might be increased between the organs of the United Nations Secretariat, UNFPA, ECLA, CELADE and the specialized agencies.

4. Importance of demographic objectives

In the recommendations of the existing World Plan of Action and its direct relation with population policies, several aspects can be distinguished: one of them is the integration of population policies with social and economic plans and programmes. This point has already been discussed; all that will be reiterated here is the necessity for the Plan to state explicitly what is understood by integration and to formulate some generic recommendations for putting it into practice. In default of these elements the possibility of the countries' giving it effect has been deferred. The fact of the matter is that, in principle, some few countries in Latin America have made efforts in this direction, with what are as yet incipient results.

The Plan also recommends that countries so desiring should include quantitative goals in their population policies; but, as in the case of integration, it does not indicate reasons for the desirability of their incorporation.

/The purpose

The purpose of demographic goals is not to impose a condition with which the population must comply. People, although they are the actors in population policy, are not subject to any mandate whatsoever on the size of their families or their freedom of movement. Everything that curtails the freedom of the individual or couple to determine their desired number of children, or their place of residence, is considered a violation of human rights.

Goals are an instrument of programming which makes it possible to estimate the magnitude of the effort that the State must make in respect of institutional organization and provision of fitting financial and social instruments through specific programmes. Thus, goals may also be regarded as a desirable indicator in the evolution of population dynamics, always provided they are inserted in the context of development.

This implies that not all demographic goals are meaningful in themselves; a reduction or an increase in the population growth rate, divorced from its significance for society, means nothing; in contrast, targets for the reduction of mortality are valid per se. In addition, demographic objectives must be judged in terms of an interpretation of the qualitative change which they would bring about.

If a country decides, in the exercise of its sovereignty, to establish national demographic objectives, it would be recommendable that it should also set up subnational goals; national objectives may be necessary, but not sufficient, since they are based on averages which are valid for the country as a whole, but which do not reflect the enormous variations occurring within it.

The harmonization of the demographic with the socio-economic area becomes more meaningful when it is achieved in the subnational social sectors and environments. Population policy must relate its national objectives and goals with those set at the subnational level; otherwise, there is a risk of creating even more marked distortions in socio-demographic development within the country and in its component social groups. The reduction of heterogeneity in demographic and social behaviour is another of the major objectives of population policies.

5. Institutional bases of population policies

With regard to the creation of a unit in the national administrative structure to be responsible for the formulation, strategy and co-ordination of the programmes and direct instruments of population policy, for analysis of effects of other social and economic programmes and for the establishment of guidelines for follow-up and evaluation of the demographic situation, the Plan of Action confines itself to making a partial suggestion in paragraph 95. To comply with the recommendation that the countries' government machinery should include institutional means for establishing and conducting population policy, it would be indispensable to possess a politico-technical organ for the purpose, although its mere creation would not automatically resolve the problems. With no intention of limiting the freedom of countries to organize their own institutions, it seems useful here to put forward the following suggestions:

/a) The

a) The co-ordination of population planning should be placed in the hands of a single institution;

b) This institution should be directly under a Ministry or Secretariat which ex officio holds a higher political or programming rank than the planning sectors;

c) The co-ordinating institution should not belong to a single programming sector, since this would reduce its sphere of competence and might bring it into conflict with other sectors;

d) The co-ordinating institution should be legally constituted and endowed with a sufficient budget for its work to be effective, besides having explicit functions and rank. Its organization by administrative provision alone, as an addition to a Department, Office or Division of a Ministry, should be avoided;

e) While the institution set up to co-ordinate population planning may generate some primary statistical data, that is not its basic function. Its importance lies in the analysis, co-ordination and evaluation of programmes. It is recommendable, however, that it should establish formal relations with the institutions that generate statistics and that in conjunction with them it should formulate single -i.e., official- population projections, to obviate a proliferation which causes confusion among users. The same should be done in relation to the United Nations institutions in the region, with a view to jointly preparing future population estimates for national and international use;

f) The professional staff of these national demographic institutions must be high-level representatives of various disciplines in the fields of social sciences and statistics, and so that it may not constitute a burdensome bureaucratic apparatus, the size of the staff should be limited. The credibility of the population policy will also depend on these institutions' degree of excellence;

g) It is recommended that for the purposes of liaison between these and other government institutions, small demographic units should be established in the Ministries overseeing the pertinent population programmes, to facilitate technical functions;

h) Lastly, it is recommended that State, federal unit or provincial authorities should in their turn have demographic units to plan their own development, since the national units would hardly be able to devote direct attention to the population needs of each of these politico-administrative divisions. Moreover, in this way a formal liaison would be established between national and subnational planning.

6. Training of the region's human resources

The World Plan of Action makes a number of recommendations in the section relating to administration, training, education and information. They strongly support the establishment and development of population policies, through fuller technical and academic training, with the aim of understanding and explaining population phenomena; increasing management capacity with respect to programmes under

/population policies;

population policies; promoting the dissemination of knowledge to broad sectors of society and helping to bring about a change in attitudes towards national, community or family population dynamics; in short, using all possible cultural, scientific, educational and informative means of consolidating policies.

A shortage of human resources in the population area is considered a severe constraint on the implementation and conduct of population policies in Latin America. Although in the last ten years, efforts have been made in this field, they have been handicapped by budgetary difficulties. Apart from CELADE's Master's Degree courses, the basic courses at the Costa Rica Office of CELADE, and those that have been held, also with CELADE's support, in various countries of the region, few of the latter have been able to organize regular training programmes, such as those in Brazil, Cuba, Mexico and Peru.

Requirements in respect of trained personnel in this field are different in each country, but they have undoubtedly increased in recent years throughout Latin America. The governments of the region are in need of professionals in demography, or in development planning, with knowledge of the relations between population and development. While it is not easy to tell how many population specialists with training at different levels and based on different approaches are needed in Latin America, what can be done is to estimate the possible future deficits and requirements. For instance, Mexico at present has a little over 100 professionals in the population area, some with one year's basic training, some with Master's Degrees or Doctorates, and all of them members of the Sociedad Mexicana de Demografía. It also possesses a broad base of technicians that have received short-term training (courses of three months, six weeks, etc.), which is also being quantified. It is estimated that today at least 80 more medium and high-level professionals are needed, and that in the next 10 years requirements will be similar.

The governments need professionals in this area for sectoral planning of health, education, urban and rural development, employment, etc., besides those directly involved in population planning, in councils or high-level units of the administrative machinery. Personnel of this kind are also required by the governments or administrative authorities of federal units or provinces for their subnational planning, and lastly, by national or State universities for the expansion or creation of demographic research, through centres or institutes. These are the main spheres in which countries need to broaden their base of human resources.

Latin America is very far from possessing all the personnel it requires in these fields, so that any additional effort to train them will be of value. Nevertheless, it should be taken into consideration that an organized effort, with explicit objectives, would have more satisfactory results as regards training and use of economic resources. To this end, the following steps are proposed:

a) To strengthen and expand in Latin America human resource training programmes on population, bearing in mind the quantitative and qualitative requirements of the region and of individual countries;

/b) To

b) To incorporate in the projects of countries supported by UNFPA information on the countries' endowment of professionals in the field of demography, with a view to evaluation of their human resource requirements;

c) To include training among international co-operation priorities, as a branch of activity of great importance for the implementation and success of population policies, to which a more significant financial dimension should be accorded;

d) To select institutional training programmes on population existing in the countries of the region for extension to students in Latin America, or else to create new programmes as a means to wider national and regional coverage;

e) To strengthen and expand short courses (of six months' duration at most) with the object of giving professionals from the social disciplines training on the relations between population and development;

f) To recommend to population professionals in the Latin American countries that they organize themselves in societies or associations, to ensure the existence of institutions concerned with the progress and development of the speciality which will contribute as independent forums to the analysis of the demographic situation and of pertinent training programme requirements;

g) Taking into account the fact that in the countries of the region there is a large number of communication professionals, but that the great majority of them are trained for commercial, not social, purposes, to call upon United Nations agencies, such as UNESCO, to intensify or establish in the region training programmes on social communication in the demographic sphere;

h) To urge, in conformity with the World Plan of Action, that one of the best uses to which the limited financial resources of the countries and of the United Nations agencies themselves can be put is the training of professional personnel in the different areas of demography and their relation with development, and to invite the United Nations to revise the existing criteria for the allocation of financing to national and regional projects and programmes in the field of population, with a view to giving them greater support.

7. Information and research on the relation between population and development

The Plan of Action assigns high priority to research on population problems as a way of attaining its objectives and duly putting into practice its policy recommendations, since knowledge is the basis of all the measures that make population policies meaningful.

A primary factor in the promotion of knowledge in this field is the generation and analysis of socio-demographic statistical data. In this connection, Latin America has traditionally taken population censuses, maintained records of vital statistics and carried out sampling surveys which, in the aggregate, meet the minimum requisites for the analysis of population trends in the region and in the countries forming it. The quality and representativeness of this information,

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however, is still affected by serious limitations. Moreover, new data are required for a better understanding of population phenomena in relation to those of a social, economic and political character.

Only six countries in the region have failed to comply with the Plan's recommendation to take a population census between 1975 and 1985. Between 1979 and 1980, however, all the countries of the region did so, largely owing to the international co-operation received. The drastic reduction of this latter in recent years has weakened and delayed the taking of new censuses. This state of affairs is also influenced by the socio-political and financial problems under which many of the countries of the region are labouring. Governments will have to make greater efforts to avoid depending solely upon international co-operation in the activities in question.

The information recorded on vital statistics has maintained its traditional juridical character, and has been adapted slowly to the statistical requirements of demography. However, despite the fact that almost all the countries of the region have taken pains to improve the quality of information and to present it more punctually, over the short term no substantial changes may be expected in this primary source of population statistics.

As already pointed out, the Latin American countries carry out a considerable number of sampling surveys, which from various angles of approach aim at measuring population variables and relating them with those of a socio-economic character. In recent years the accumulation of survey data, augmented with the information from censuses and records of vital statistics, has overbrimmed the countries' capacity to apply professional resources to their analysis. It is not surprising to find that in many countries of the region the results and interpretation of the surveys have been issued only after 8 or 10 years.

The foregoing observations indicate, in the first place, that there is a shortage of researchers and analysts in national institutions, whether governmental or academic, systematically engaged in the study of surveys; and, secondly, that in the programming of surveys priority is attached to the work and financing required to generate information, and much less care is usually taken over the phase of analysis of results. This imbalance between the assembling of statistics and their analysis has precluded the establishment of an adequate factual basis for the formulation and application of population policies.

The World Plan of Action should urge the international and national community to make a more rational use of information and to expend greater efforts on analysing it, so as to strike a balance between the generation of data, their interpretation and their dissemination and use.

The intensity of certain population phenomena which have recently assumed new forms and characteristics in Latin America -international migration, for example- has not been properly reflected in information systems. With all due regard to the complexity of their statistical representation, national governments and international institutions should promote the organization of information in this field of demographic research, outstandingly relevant for all the countries of the region.

/The progress

The progress made in study and research on the interrelationships between population and development in Latin America is difficult to evaluate, but does not seem satisfactory. Merely as an illustration, not to be taken as a representative sample of what happens in the region, during the last 10 years the Programme of Social Research on Population in Latin America (Programa de Investigaciones Sociales sobre Población en América Latina - PISPAL) has supported more than 120 projects corresponding to 43 national institutions in 13 countries, and to three regional organizations. Of these, 50% were executed in three countries alone -Argentina, Brazil and Chile- and 19% by CELADE, the Higher Council of Central American Universities (Consejo Superior de Universidades Centroamericanas - CSUCA) and the Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences (Facultad Lationoamericana de Ciencias Sociales - FLACSO). The remaining 31% were carried out by 21 national centres in 10 countries.

Research on population and development, dealing with a wide variety of subjects, has been conducted mainly in the countries and institutions mentioned above and, to a small extent, in Colombia, Mexico and Uruguay. It is quite certain that there is a larger number of research projects and centres in the region that have been concerned with the study of these interrelationships. However, there was no reason to expect a significant increase in academic studies on the relations between population and socio-economic phenomena in the past 10 years.

From the information available on the countries of the region which report that they have integrated their population policies with their development programmes, nothing can be deduced as to the methodology that has been used or the instruments that have been devised for such purposes. Possibly Cuba and Mexico are the countries which, through their own planning systems, approximate most closely to the integrated approach. Governments seem to have made very limited use of the research undertaken, and very little effort to support studies more serviceable for their own ends.

Clearly evident in this broad picture is the lack of stability of the research centres in the region, in respect of both their financial and their human resources, which is a hindrance to the continuity of programmes. There are few national institutions that have not experienced temporary and even definitive suspensions of their work, as well as rotation or changes of researchers. Nor have the centres which have remained uninterruptedly active been exempt from financial problems, with the result that their activities have been reduced or, at best, not expanded.

In some cases, the survival of the institutions themselves depends upon external financing, a situation which is reflected even in the priority assigned to specific lines of research.

The regional organizations have also been subject to substantial budget cuts, which have considerably diminished their capacity to provide technical assistance to the countries of the region and limited their research in the area of population and development. This fact runs counter to the recommendations of the Plan of Action advocating the integration of policies and the collaboration of national and regional institutions in the support and expansion of research activities.

/The shortage

The shortage of human resources trained in these fields is another reason for the limited progress made in research on and implementation of population policies. The quantitative and qualitative weakness of the former imposes severe constraints on the latter, and the lack of support and financial resources for research handicaps researchers.

The only possible formula is to assign a high priority to these activities, to allocate more national and international resources to the training of professionals and the promotion of research and to procure, as far as possible, institutional stability.

8. International co-operation

The World Population Plan of Action lays it down that for the promotion of development and social welfare co-ordinated measures are required in all the major socio-economic spheres, including that of population.

At the international level, various strategies and programmes have already been formulated with the explicit design of influencing variables in areas other than those of population. The World Plan of Action came as an addition and a complement to this group of world programmes and plans on agricultural development, food, environment, employment, science and technology, women and ageing, inter alia, together with, on a larger scale, the Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade and the Declaration and Programme of Action on a New International Economic Order.

Thus, the World Population Plan of Action becomes a new and important component of the system of international strategies, which must be integrated with world social and economic development plans.

Examination of these international plans will show that the said integration is incipient and that all that is to be found is the formality of explicitly stating the importance of population questions and their relations with development programmes.

In almost all world plans reference is made to population. In some of them special attention is paid to population programmes, such as family planning programmes and plans relating to women and to health; in others, the population phenomenon is studied for its effects on a given sector, as in the case of employment. No linkage is observable, however, between the various international sectoral plans and programmes; each is concerned with its own objectives and strategies.

These considerations lead to the conclusion that in the period during which the World Plan of Action has been in operation -almost 10 years- the organizations and agencies of the United Nations themselves have been unable to put into practice the fundamental principle which sustains and orients the content and the strategy of the Plan, and to which it repeatedly and emphatically alludes as an essential requisite if the conduct of population policy is to be meaningful and to some extent successful in its results: its integration with other plans and strategies of the international community.

/What factors,

What factors, then, have made progress in this direction so slow?

a) In the appraisal of the World Population Plan of Action prepared by the United Nations in 1979, the view is expressed that probably one of the reasons why the integration in question was not considered at greater length as a general factor in each sectoral strategy, was the feeling that the World Population Plan of Action had dealt with the subject on sufficiently detailed and satisfactory lines. This interpretation evades the principle of integration, since integration should not be taken to mean simply indicating pressumed factors of integration between population and socio-economic aspects within the population plan itself; the essential point is that these interrelationships should be structurally present in the sectoral plans. Otherwise such integration does not exist, and population questions continue to be exogenous to the socio-economic area;

b) The lack of more explicit references in the World Plan of Action to what is understood by integration creates a lacuna in the mode of putting it into effect. This combines with the exhaustive and ambitious objectives envisaged in all world sectoral plans, which makes them complex in their application, in themselves and in their relations with the rest. The worldwide coverage of plans acts as a constraint on putting integration into effect;

c) Another factor that would favour co-ordination of population programmes and sectoral programmes would be harmonization of the resolutions adopted at different governmental meetings organized by the United Nations system and the bringing of such resolutions into line with the recommendations of the Plan of Action urging the international community to integrate the population and socio-economic areas. The practice followed is not always in keeping with the recommendations in question. Thus, for example, the lion's share of international resources is allocated to family planning programmes, while a low priority is assigned to co-operation in projects on population and development.

In Latin America the contrast in resource allocation is even more marked; furthermore, the countries' efforts are not amplified or supported in respect of their integration projects, because either the countries themselves, or else the topic, are not accorded priority in international co-operation.

The many resolutions on the subject adopted in the last 10 years have been watered down or are contradictory, and not all of them are put into practice. Unless these resolutions are suitably adapted and are harmonized with one another, the Plan of Action, where its fundamental principles are concerned, will continue to be referred to in documents, but its application will be of limited scope.

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Annex 1

LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES AND THE POSITION ADOPTED BY THEIR GOVERNMENTS REGARDING NATURAL GROWTH, POPULATION DISTRIBUTION AND INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

ountries	Natural growth	Population distribution	International migration
rgentina	Situation: The Government has set itself the task of increasing the population growth rate by raising fertility and immigration levels and by lowering emigration and mortality. In 1974 a National Population Policies Commission was established. Policies adopted: - Stimulation of natural growth: a) direct incentives: - subsidies through social security b) indirect incentives: - health benefits, child-care centres - Programmes on: a) nutrition b) health education c) environmental sanitation d) rural health services e) maternal-infant health	Situation: - Unsatisfactory because of concentration of activities in the Province of Buenos Aires. Policies adopted: - Regional development: keeping population in rural areas and controlling metropolitan growth.	Situation: - Trends unsatisfactory. Policies adopted: a) to diminish emigration ("brain drain") b) to stimulate immigration of skilled persons
Bolivia	Situation: The Government favours direct intervention in order to modify demographic variables. Policies adopted: Official policy is to increase the population growth rate through immigration, to maintain present fertility levels, and to reduce emigration and mortality.	Situation: - Unsatisfactory. Population dispersion. Policies adopted: - To strengthen a territorial system encouraging rural population settlement around existing urban centres	Situation: Immigration considered unsatisfactory because it is too low, and emigration because it is too high.
Brazil	Situation: Official support for family planning (access to information and methods) Policies adopted: - Social Security through nutrition programme - Ministry of Health - BEN-FAM (private) - Official family planning programmes at State and municipal levels	Policies adopted: To stimulate regional growth with a view to populating Western and Northern regions and establishing settlements in the Amazon area. Programmes for stabilizing manpower supply in frontier traditional agriculture areas.	Policies adopted: Immigration restricted (by law).
Chile	Policies adopted: The Government has designated the National Planning Office (ODEPLAN) to direct population policy. For reasons of national security and development: - Promotion of higher fertility levels - Reduction of mortality rate - Restriction of access to contraceptives, abortion and sterilization - Communication and education programmes to encourage motherhood.	Policies adopted: Settlement of underutilized areas presenting natural resource potential.	Situation: Immigration, though very slight, is satisfactory. Emigration is unsatisfactory. Policies adopted: - Immigration to underpopulated regions which it is desired to colonize is encouraged.

Countries	Natural growth	Population distribution	International migration
Colombia	Policies adopted: Government has no explicit policy for modifying fertility or population growth. The Population Unit (1979) has as its objective promoting population activities within development programmes. The Population Plan sets the importance of the demographic factor; it considers that high population growth rates constitute an obstacle to development. The population policy is integrated with development. The Ministry of Health and the Pro-family Programme (IPPF) provide urban and rural family planning services. Law: specifications on family planning information are included in a general health law.	Situation: Unsatisfactory high concentration in Bogotá and two other urban centres (Cali and Medellín). Policies adopted: Policy of spatial reorganization so as to regulate the intensity of migratory flows and population distribution.	
Costa Rica	Policies adopted: Government has formulated population policy. A Decree creating the National Population Policy Commission, responsible for defining and directing population was adopted in 1978. The Government still considers fertility levels high in relation to family welfare, although not in relation to population growth. - Ministry of Health and Social Security provides family planning services, along with an IPPF branch, to help couples to freely decide spacing and number of children.	Policies adopted: Deceleration of rural-urban flow. Spatial redistribution policy has been implemented to promote regional development and economic deconcentration.	Situation: Unsatisfactory: both immigration and emigration are too high.
Cuba	Situation: - Natural growth and fertility trends are satisfactory. Policies adopted: The Government does not intervene to modify fertility and population growth. Demographic factors are integrated into development planning. - Family planning is integrated into health services as a constituent of the maternal-infant health programme of the Ministry of Health. - Abortion Law was adopted in 1979.	Policies adopted: Urbanization policies to check explosive growth in Havana and to develop new industrial centres.	

Countries	Natural growth	Population distribution	International migration
Dominican Republic	Situation: Mortality and morbidity acceptable. Policies adopted: Explicit population policy. Objective: to diminish growth rate through fertility reduction. Programmes: a) family planning and maternal-infant health; b) education, communication and information. Integrated into development strategies. Quantitative goals: 28 per thousand CBR in 1978 (not reached). National Population Council (1968). Family planning programmes (1968). Women's participation in production activities stimulated. Objective set to reduce infant mortality and that of children from 1 to 4 years old, for which extension of health coverage in rural sector will be attempted. There is a goal to increase life expectancy at birth from 55 to 60 years between 1976 and 1985.	Situation: Unsatisfactory. Policies adopted: Spatial adjustment policy at designed stage; there are guidelines for attaining more adequate regional development and an agrarian reform project to reduce rural-urban migration. Relocation of industries outside Santo Domingo by means of the Industrial Incentive Law has also been discussed.	Policies adopted: Acknowledgement of role played by emigration in reducing growth and obtaining foreign exchange. The need to adopt measures to discourage illegal emigration to the United States and Venezuela is also acknowledged.
Ecuador	Situation: Growth and fertility rates are considered satisfactory, although the Government has implemented a set of programmes that might affect fertility behaviour. Policies adopted: No explicit policy exists. The Government maintains that the changes which might be produced in the demographic process can be obtained by modifying social and economic variables. New Constitution: The Government supports responsible parenthood and the right of parents to have the number of children they can support and educate. The National Population Council, coming under the Ministry of Health, was established in 1974. The Development Council has responsibility for establishing population policy within social and economic guidelines, according to the principle of respecting both State sovereignty and parents' decisions. A private association (affiliated to IPPF) receives government funds and, under agreements with the Ministry of Health, trains personnel in family planning, sexual education and fertility control.	Situation: Unsatisfactory. Policies adopted: Rural and regional development policies and programmes are directed toward a redistribution of population.	Policies adopted: Qualified foreign immigration and the repatriation of technicians and professionals have been attempted, although these measures do not appear as having strictly demograhic aims.

Countries	Natural growth	Population distribution	International migration
Mexico	Policies adopted: - Explicit population policy, integrated into national development policy. - Reduction of natural growth rate desired, through reduction of fertility. Goals set are 2.5% in 1982 (reached), 1.8% in 1988, and 1% towards 2000. The National Population Council was set up in 1974 and is the body in charge of directing population policy. The Co-ordinating Committee of the National Family Planning Programme of the Health Ministry (set up in 1977), with the Social Security Institute and other governmental agencies, provides family planning services and maternal-infant care.	Policies adopted: Regional demographic policy was adopted in 1978 and includes three policies dealing with internal migration: a) retention, b) reorientation, c) relocation, integrated among themselves in order to regulate the intensity of migratory flows. Total growth goals were established for each one of the federative entities so that none would grow at a rate higher than 4.5% yearly.	Policies adopted: There is no explicit emigration policy. As regards immigration, the General Population Law regulates foreign residence in the country, with no goals established in this aspect.
Nicaragua	Policies adopted: Family planning is an integral constituent of health services. Law: there are legal provisions for obligations to children and male participation in domestic activities.	Policies adopted: Regional development on the weakly populated Atlantic coast.	Policies adopted: Two hundred thousand refugees have been repatriated and stimulation of skilled immigration is proposed.
Panama	Situation: Acceptable mortality and morbidity levels, although a problem of differentials is recognized. Goals set to reduce infant mortality from 31.5 in 1976 to 18.6 per thousand in 1980. Policies adopted: The Government finances family planning activity as a constituent part of maternal-infant health services. The establishment of a Population Office is being considered.	Situation: Unsatisfactory: high concentration in the metropolitan centre, extreme rural dispersion and communication lacking between rural and urban zones. Policies adopted: Subdividing the country into four regions and implementing specific policies in each one: control of growth and economic activities in metropolitan regions, colonization of the eastern regions, strengthening of rural development in the Centre and West, and strengthening of service centres.	Situation: Satisfactory.
Paraguay	Situation: Low natural growth. Policies adopted: Family planning programmes directed towards health. Objective: to reduce mortality and morbidity. Law: there are provisions in a health code on human reproduction policies.	Policies adopted: More adequate distribution and a deceleration of rural-urban migration.	Policies adopted: To diminish emigration to bordering countries.

Countries	Natural growth	Population distribution	International migration
Peru	Situation: The Government considers fertility to be too high. Policies adopted: There is an explicit population policy, integrated into the development plan. The National Population Council (set up in 1980) carries out the population policy. There are no quantitative goals. The policy is to diminish population growth. Its objectives are: a) to reach a reduction in fertility and mortality (particularly among mothers and children); b) to increase the quantity and quality of health services; c) to guarantee responsible parenthood. Programmes: a) maternal-infant health and family planning; b) education on population matters.	Policies adopted: Objective: to improve the spatial distribution of the population. There is no explicit policy.	Policies adopted: Immigration is restricted through a decree adopted in 1979.
Uruguay	Situation: Unsatisfactory. Low population growth. Policies adopted: The Government does not stimulate family planning: there are high taxes on contraceptives and regulations controlling abortion.	Situation: Unsatisfactory. Policies adopted: To develop rural-urban migration.	Policies adopted: High priority to immigration. Repatriation of Uruguayans living in bordering countries.
Venezuela	Policies adopted: Family planning programmes within maternal-infant programmes, under the National Health System. Reduction of incidence of illegitimacy.	Policies adopted: To establish a spatial distribution pattern.	Situation: Concern over the great numbers of legal and illegal immigrants. Attempts are being made to control this situation.