



# Policy and Research Paper N°9

Women, Poverty and Demographic Change  
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## Introduction

Policy & Research Papers are primarily directed to policy makers at all levels. They should also be of interest to the educated public and to the academic community. The policy monographs give, in simple non-technical language, a synthetic overview of the main policy implications identified by the Committees and Working Groups. The contents are therefore strictly based on the papers and discussions of these seminars. For ease of reading no specific references to individual papers is given in the text. However the programme of the seminar and a listing of all the papers presented is given at the end of the monograph.

This policy monograph is based on the seminar on 'Women, Poverty and Demographic Change' organized by the IUSSP Scientific Committee on Gender and Population in collaboration with El Colegio de Mexico, SOMEDE, CONAPO and COESPO, held in Oaxaca, Mexico from 25-28 October 1994.

## Background

The state of current research gives us a reasonable idea of the levels and patterns of demographic phenomenon. We have reached a point where general and infant mortality patterns, reproductive and migratory processes, as well as labour force composition are not unknowns anywhere in the world. Nevertheless, this is not sufficient; there remains a need for policies that support the struggle for the betterment of life conditions for the population at large.

The elimination of poverty is one problem that must be urgently confronted. Almost all international meeting agendas feature consensus on the issue of poverty reduction. However, poverty, in spite of its universal recognition, is not a concept around which there is agreement. Poverty is a social phenomenon and as such, varies according to culture and the level of development. The establishment of a group of indexes that might measure poverty is still an incomplete effort, in spite of the many attempts. Dealing with women's poverty is even more problematic. One school of inquiry asks whether women are poorer than men; another relates the role of women to the context of overall development.

Understanding the conditions of women's lives and the impact their decisions have on important aspects of social well-being, such as child care, fertility regulation, or the management of environmental resources in rural areas, is of fundamental importance. A multitude of tasks rest in women's hands. The manner in which women manage these tasks has profound repercussions for society. For this reason, women have received a privileged place in recent analyses. This does not mean, however, that women should be analyzed in an isolated manner; rather, the study of women's lives should be tightly linked to all of society and particularly men.

Men have been and continue to be important actors through their power within the family and society at large. In order to transform this situation and achieve equality between genders - an aspiration that is far from being realized - men must be incorporated into the process of change. The nature of gender relations should be modified, and women and men must both participate in this change. Currently, there is an 'over-responsibility' borne by women. Women are now expected to carry out all the changes that society demands. In reality, this challenge must be assumed by society as a whole, which should create the appropriate conditions for change. Society cannot add on to the burden already carried by women, especially in traditional communities, where women are the sole actors in development.

Governmental and other social agency action is urgent, since it has been proven that women's poverty is more severe than that of the rest of the members of her family. This greater poverty is linked to her status, that is, the position that she occupies in her family and, more generally, in society. In many places, women are prohibited from ownership of goods, cannot inherit, have no access to health, cannot choose a husband, and cannot even move freely. To a large extent, patriarchal structures and religious prohibitions regulate the lives of women in many regions of the world.

Analytically, it is difficult to demonstrate the relationships between women, poverty and demographic dynamics. There is little agreement around the concept of poverty and studies on the topic usually take the household as the unit of analysis, without differentiating the levels of poverty of each individual household member. In the absence of a solid definition of poverty, it is complex to relate the three variables mentioned above; it is far easier to relate demographic characteristics with income levels or women's educational level. Cultural dimensions involved are even more difficult to capture and are, in general, limited to small-scale studies. These studies are very suggestive, especially regarding the institutional determinants of women's status.

Women's autonomy constitutes a key element of her social status. Some define autonomy as freedom of movement and the degree of influence women have over household decision-making. Unfortunately, there is little consensus on the definition, although such a definition would be useful in the comparison of countries. If we consider that women's participation in society is an essential component of development, the degree of women's autonomy gives us a sense of the level of development in each society. We have established that women who have achieved autonomy are better able to participate in the economy and obtain a salary. This salary usually contributes to the improvement of a woman's status and her children's well-being. With access to adequate goods, children are not obligated to enter the work force early and abandon their studies.

In spite of the conceptual vagueness that still exists, recent research points in the right direction. Women's autonomy is part of her status and this, in turn, contributes to social development which constitutes part of demographic change. For this reason, it is important to understand this dynamic with the end of formulating necessary policies to transform the idea of women's autonomy into a global reality.

## What is poverty?

The definition of poverty cannot be reduced to a simple measurement of the income level of the household, which is how the so-called 'poverty line' is defined. In developing countries, many of the goods that households consume are not market-sourced and do not translate into income. In the past, minimum standards used to define poverty have included food consumption, housing type and the degree of access to public services. It is also worth mentioning that the definition of levels of poverty on a "basic needs" criteria vary from one context to another and has been the subject of a great deal of debate. In some cases, indicators of stored food and school attendance are included in the index. When taking criteria other than income into account, levels of poverty generally tend to decline, as can be seen in the case of Colombia (Box 3). In Colombia, poverty levels were reduced from 51 percent to 37 percent when estimated on the basis of basic needs rather than income alone.

### The poor woman

Up to now, we have discussed poverty in general, but have not focused specifically on women's poverty. In this sense, gender studies are very relevant, as they allow comparisons of physical well-being between men and women. A gender focus can also illuminate women's concepts of self-value and negotiating power.

Some aspects that have been considered important in the study of women's poverty are:

- a) the power of decision and control that women have over household resources;
- b) women's participation in public fora;
- c) women's reproductive rights, including control of sexuality;
- d) women's reproductive health; and,
- e) marital stability and domestic violence.

Control over household resources, rights to inheritance and credit, economic participation outside the home, as well as rights governing a woman's body constitute definitional elements of women's status, and therefore, women's poverty level, or put another way, women's well-being.

### **BOX 3: A DEFINITION OF POVERTY BASED ON AN INDEX OF BASIC NEEDS OR QUALITY OF LIFE**

*In the Colombian studies, a concept of poverty was used which was based on the absence of basic needs. Households that fulfilled at least one of the following specifications were considered poor:*

- a) inadequate housing, meaning housing with dirt floors in urban areas or housing built with precarious materials and having dirt floors in rural areas;*
- b) lack of water sanitation;*
- c) overcrowding, meaning more than three persons per room;*
- d) lack of schooling, meaning that there was at least one child aged 7 to 11 years who was a relative of the household head and did not attend school (Colombia, 1991).*

*Another concept used to define poverty is "quality of life". This is more comprehensive but, at the same time, more difficult to estimate as it is comprised of a larger number of indicators of the physical situation of persons that are defined as follows:*

- 1. Access to employment or income, education, health (including certain nutritional conditions), and information.*
- 2. Access to ownership, common ownership and legal protection.*
- 3. Access to leisure.*

*Other simple measures of poverty that go beyond the income level of individuals would be, for example, educational level, durable consumer goods or the possession of production goods.*

## **Women and salaried employment**

One characteristic of women's salaried employment is its subsidiary character. A woman works as long as it is necessary for the upkeep of her home; once these conditions improve, she abandons her job. If a rural woman works outside the home, an indispensable pre-condition is possession of the means of production (land, cattle, business); the poorest women are not able to participate in the rural work force without these pre-requisites. This points to a need to ensure salaried work in locations close to the home, since, among other things, commuting to a job requires available cash money. Convenient work opportunities close to home give women access to income, which is in many cases indispensable to the maintenance of her family. However, this need is not restricted to poor women only; women who have some education and formal qualifications (teachers, nurses) also require convenient work opportunities. These women have even resorted to low paying agricultural jobs to avoid having to commute long distances.

One element that clearly demonstrates the disadvantaged position of women in the workplace compared to men is the number of hours worked weekly. In the case of rural populations in Pakistan (Box 4), when salaried and domestic work is summed, women carry a heavier load of hours than men. Women work 52 hours weekly on average (of which 32 correspond to domestic work), while men work only 45 hours a week. In Bangladesh, the estimated number of hours worked weekly is even higher: 70 for women and 63 for men.

Education is another important component of women's status. Education confers negotiation power that empowers educated women to demand better remunerated employment, particularly in comparison to their poorer and illiterate counterparts. Once a population has reached a relatively high level of education, this variable loses its discriminatory capacity.

Marital status and hierarchical family structures also affect women's participation in the labour force. For this reason, a single, poor woman participates most actively in economic life in Sri Lanka; as opposed to other countries where widows and abandoned women are more likely to work. On the other hand, leaving the home to work implies that women break with the rules of seclusion imposed, in certain areas, by religion, or in other areas, by the head of the family.

## **Poverty and reproductive life**

The degree of a woman's autonomy has a great impact on the size of her family. In India, for example, the poorest women have least autonomy and need a larger number of children to guarantee their subsistence. These children will leave home at an early age to work and contribute income to the household. In contrast, those

women with larger incomes have higher educational levels and greater autonomy. This autonomy also translates into higher rates of contraceptive use and fewer children.

Another advantage to poverty reduction is the improvement of familial well-being and, closely linked to this, improved child survival. With autonomy and education, women are more interested in planning their births and accepting the use of contraceptives to limit or space births. One example of this phenomenon has been witnessed in Bangladesh where a community participating in a development programme was compared to a community which received no intervention. Results from this study showed that women were more likely to put monetary contributions into the upkeep of the household. As an added benefit, a woman's contributions tended to strengthen her position within the family, increasing her autonomy to make choices about, among other things, the use of contraceptive methods.

<b>Box 4: Work Patterns of Men and Women by Selected Characteristics in Pakistan</b>					
	<i>Participation all economic work</i>		<i>Hours of work</i>		<i>Hours of household work</i>
	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>Females</i>
<b>Provinces</b>					
<i>Punjab</i>	0.68	0.42	44	21	31
<i>Sind</i>	0.71	0.51	47	23	38
<i>NWFP</i>	0.55	0.39	45	16	30
<i>Baluchistan</i>	0.53	0.31	47	20	27
<b>Agro-Climatic Region</b>					
<i>Rainfed</i>	0.68	0.43	45	22	33
<i>Irrigated</i>	0.61	0.44	46	18	31
<b>Family Type</b>					
<i>Complex</i>	0.67	0.42	47	21	34
<i>Nuclear</i>	0.67	0.48	46	21	37
<i>Extended</i>	0.66	0.42	44	21	30
<i>Laterally Extended</i>	0.62	0.40	44	17	26
<b>Economic Class</b>					
<i>Missing Information</i>	0.60	0.52	48	28	37
<i>No land /business/ livestock</i>	0.57	0.16	48	26	34
<i>No land /business/ but livestock</i>	0.61	0.48	52	19	33
<i>No land but business</i>	0.65	0.34	43	24	31
<i>Sharecropper</i>	0.75	0.56	43	24	32
<i>Land Owner</i>	0.67	0.50	41	17	31
<b>Total</b>	<b>0.65</b>	<b>0.43</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>32</b>
<p><i>In Pakistan, women's participation in extra-domestic work is always less than men, regardless of region, family type, or economic class. Nevertheless, gender differences are diminished in the case of women from nuclear families. In contrast, the number of hours worked weekly outside of the home is greater for men than for women. If domestic work is added, the relationship is inverted. In this case, women gain between 7 to 13 hours of additional work weekly compared to men.</i></p>					

Nevertheless, the relationship between poverty and the use of contraceptives is not as clear from other perspectives. In Brazil, for example, there are no significant differences between social groups with regard to their use of contraceptives, not even in the case of sterilization among young women (15-29 years old). The relationship between poverty and abortion is even less clear.

## **Within the themes of poverty and reproduction, adolescent motherhood also plays a role in the worsening and reproduction of poverty**

Young motherhood, before 20 years old, carries multiple disadvantages. Some of these include dropping out of school and parental disownment, at a time of total economic dependency on parents and scarce assistance from partners. In Nigeria, adolescent mothers are often the second wives of older men, or the first wife of an adolescent boy. In the case of the latter, the mother and her child become additional burdens to her parents' home, which tends to increase poverty. In spite of the permissiveness that exists in pre-marital sexual relations, there are few avenues of assistance for young women who become pregnant.

Women who give birth before their 20th birthday experience greater poverty levels than those women who wait to begin their families later. Adolescent maternity blocks the potential for the personal development of the mother herself, as well as that of her family. Pregnancy, in addition to cutting a young mother's education short, pushes young women into the work force with few skills, where they are obligated to assume poorly paid positions, generally as domestic servants. Given these conditions, it is possible to affirm that adolescent pregnancy propagates poverty (see Box 5).

### **BOX 5: THE ROLE OF THE FAMILY IN ADOLESCENT MOTHERHOOD**

*The amelioration of poverty and a woman's ability to pursue life opportunities are directly related to the level of assistance received from the young mother's family (i.e. their own parents and kin). In the absence of official or state welfare programmes, the financial and other contributions of adolescent mothers' families become a crucial factor in determining their eventual poverty level. Where such contributions are lacking or minimal, the ability of adolescent mothers to educate their children is severely constrained.*

It has also been observed that adolescent pregnancy is the result of few alternative life choices for young women. The absence of life options is most common among women from lower socio-economic classes, where women are portrayed in very traditional male-female roles. As a result, women are likely to submit easily to the authority of men. This same traditionalism impedes negotiation about the use of contraception to protect from the risk of pregnancy in a pre-marital sexual relationship.

Compared to adolescents from lower socio-economic classes, young women from the upper middle class have more options, and have other interests outside of motherhood that seem realizable. However, these class differences are not expressed through age at first intercourse or the person with whom they experience first intercourse, who is almost always a husband or boyfriend.

Adolescent pregnancy is usually unplanned and restricts the arena of action for young women, focusing them on maternity and its responsibilities. The pregnancy creates a situation of fragility for both the mother and the child, independent of its effect on the family at large. As lower socioeconomic groups tend to be more traditional, and consequently most resistant to the use of contraceptives, it is necessary to accept the existence of a vicious cycle between poverty and adolescent pregnancy that must be broken. To this effect, it is vital to understand the motivations that underlie reproductive behaviour and unravel its psycho-social conditioning. This path seems promising in the better comprehension of women experiencing early pregnancies.

## **Marital status and poverty**

Marital status exerts a strong influence on the likelihood of integration of women into economic activity. Single women are most likely to be economically active, and if this same woman is poor, her activity is likely to increase yet again. This effect varies across countries; there are a few countries where social rules governing women's seclusion are strictly enforced and leaving the home to work would violate these rules. Those that risk going to work find themselves in extreme situations, where the survival of the household would be severely threatened if additional income was not forthcoming. For this reason, those women that are most economically active tend to be widows or divorced.

The status of widows and divorced women leads almost inevitably to poverty. The daughters of these poor women, who also serve as household heads, form very unstable unions which often end in a return to the mother's home. This return, alone or with children, compounds the poverty of the female-headed household. This poverty then leads to the formation of poor and unstable households.

A few community development projects in India and Bangladesh have attempted to reach poor women without access to land or other means of production in order to create jobs that would allow them to work close to home. However, there are few women that dare to violate the laws of purdah, in spite of the opportunity to earn cash to alleviate their poverty (see Box 6).

Prolonged singledom allows women greater participation in economic activity, with its consequent opportunities to obtain money in order to improve conditions of their lives. In contrast, in societies where marriage occurs early, those who remain single are few, and the phenomenon of the single woman is concentrated in widows and divorced women. The proportion of single women is larger if separated and divorced women are included in the figures, especially if instability as a result of voluntary causes is common.

#### **BOX 6: WOMEN AND PURDAH IN BANGLADESH**

*Purdah can be understood as a broad set of norms and regulations that promote the seclusion of women, enforce their exclusion from public spaces, and give specific gender identities to labour. This conception of seclusion applies to women of all the major religions in the country, even though some of the symbolic expressions may be different. Purdah is centrally about the subjugation of women and is sustained by a powerful cultural and religious system, the net result of which is that observance of purdah grants status and prestige, and non observance erodes status.*

As has already been mentioned, in some societies, marital stability is seemingly linked to the possession of capital at the beginning of the conjugal life. However, the lack of economic resources is not the only cause of instability; studies have shown that the economic characteristics and the stability of the family of origin also influence the stability of children's own families. There are differences by type of family of origin, propensity to marry more or less early, the type of union, motives behind marriage, and finally, the level of conflict of the new couple.

The reproduction of conflictual relationships from one generation to another is an interesting topic. Poor families are likely to be more conflictual than the 'non-poor'. The daughters of these families are also more likely to reproduce these patterns in their own families. In other words, poor families are likely to generate new generations of poor, unstable families.

### **Relevance to health services**

Governments play an important role in the creation of health service infrastructure. The action of the state in this realm cannot be substituted by the actions of individuals, although most efforts are complementary (see Box 7).

The quality and range of services has been greatly affected by the reduction in public expenditure on health education over the past decade as a consequence of economic adjustment policies implemented in many developing countries. It was in this context that the focus of health services was transformed from a social to an individual responsibility. The results of this transformation have had the greatest impact on the poor, and poor women in particular, who are more dependent on public services. Poor women have borne the brunt of this so-called individual responsibility.

Within the realm of women and health, another issue frequently discussed is the causal relationship between a mother's education and the health of her children. However, in many countries, there is no consistent association between women's education and lower mortality in her children (see Box 8). Current scholarship promotes the following three arguments:

1. Women's educational level is a proxy indicator for individual characteristics of the family, such as income, social class, and residence.
2. Women's education level is a proxy indicator for community characteristics.
3. Education of mothers reinforces hygienic behaviour, precedes fertility decline, and confers greater autonomy for women. These factors, in turn, lead to an increase in the use of medical services.

### **BOX 7: USE OF HEALTH SERVICES IN EGYPT**

*Egyptian women who are in a socioeconomically advantageous position are much more likely to utilize maternal health care services than younger and low parity women. Thus, programmes aimed at improving women's access to education and paid employment, increasing women's access to family planning services, and improving the general living conditions in rural and less developed regions will contribute to the reduction of maternal mortality and morbidity. However, direct interventions targeted at specific disadvantaged groups can also have a positive impact on use of maternity services, as was seen in the effectiveness of a mass public campaign to increase tetanus toxoid coverage in Egypt.*

One of the principal arguments against these hypotheses is that mortality has none of the same characteristics of fertility, whose decline can be achieved exclusively with the use of contraceptives. On the contrary, mortality reduction requires a series of activities: immunization, availability of food and potable water, health services and parental knowledge and care. For this reason, it is not sufficient to merely educate women. A parallel government programme is needed to promote health services. In the case of mortality, social responsibility is especially important, as individual actions are not enough to promote the development of women and their families.

### **BOX 8: MATERNAL EDUCATION AND CHILD HEALTH**

*The link between maternal education and child health is not as strong as is generally believed. Moreover, an exclusive focus on women as procurers of family health overstates the importance of maternal factors on child health. Such a focus can even have negative consequences because it is sometimes used to justify reductions in state responsibilities for the provision of public health and basic infrastructure such as water and sanitation. These observations suggest a need for more research on the causal linkages between maternal education and also suggest a need to treat any apparent associations with caution.*

## **Is migration a means to reduce poverty?**

Migration can be seen as a process through which individuals are able to increase their probability of earning higher salaries. In situations where low occupational status is associated with low salaries and poor work conditions, and where this is also linked to poverty, migration represents a sort of escape.

The absence of salaried employment close to home forces women to migrate. However, what women receive in exchange for the move is little; at the most, their poverty is marginally alleviated. Women's low educational status limits their alternatives: many women are forced to take informal work in sweatshops or in domestic work. Turnover in domestic work is high and implies additional national and international displacement.

Although migration does not guarantee better economic conditions in the long term, migration does grant a degree of independence or autonomy that is not available in their places of origin. Nevertheless, this same independence can be gained when husbands migrate and women are left in charge of land and cattle. The self-worth that is gained in these cases can transform women's traditional relationship of dependency to men.

In general, men tend to migrate more often than women. There are some cases of preferential migration of women. In the latter setting, power relations inside communities play a role: greater control of women leads to their migration. In some parts of Africa, the level of subordination to the patriarch, ethnic origin and the co-residence of brothers affect the selection of migrants and their destinies.

Migration is not an individual act; it forms part of the reality of family and community survival strategies, which in accordance with the extant authority relations will favour the migration or retention of certain members.

## **Women and environment**

The relations between women, poverty, the use of resources and the environment is complex. Further, the relations are dual: on the one side, women have an impact on the environment; on the other, there are effects of environmental degradation on women. Whatever the form, the role of women in sustainable development is vital.

In rural areas, women must fetch the necessary water and fuel for cooking. To obtain these natural resources, women create pressure on the environment. The larger the family, the larger the required quantity of resources,

the larger the pressure on the environment. To reduce this pressure and create the conditions for sustainable development, rural populations must not view their survival as a function of existing forests. The so-called 'eco-feminist' sees women as one of the primary victims of environmental degradation, but at the same time, emphasizes the role of women responsible in the solution of environmental problems.

Tree planting projects for women have been blocked by women's own subjective ideas about the nature of female work. For these women, it is difficult to carry out work that is considered men's work when they are also obligated to perform domestic tasks intrinsic to their gender roles as women. The act of taking on men's work generates a conflict of roles. In reality, women do not wish to carry out men's work, and even less so when their cooperation is enlisted but control over obtained resources is not granted.

In sum, if society wishes to integrate women into work that will lead to sustainable development, these jobs should fall within the social setting that defines women's realm of activity. Any other approach should be adequately compensated.

## **Women, poverty, and demographic change: some policy implications**

Today, consensus exists that there is a need to struggle to reduce poverty. This struggle has received attention from many different perspectives; one of these is an approach which focuses on women's poverty and its relation to various demographic phenomenon. As these phenomena have diverse roots, their inter-relationships are also of varying characters. In spite of this diversity, it is possible to detect recurrent themes worth examining.

A frequent issue is the gender division of social roles. The persistence of traditional role division is a key impediment to the integration of women into development. This separation is even more evident when it comes to the division of labour. The existence of the marked differentiation confers greater power to the man at both micro and macro levels. At the same time, women resist abandoning their traditional roles, even though these roles confine them to domestic work and limit their participation in public spaces. Patriarchal power and religion act in many areas to preserve gender differences. Patriarchal power also manifests itself in the decision to migrate, in participation in economic life, and in the determination of who should leave the home to undertake a simple task, such as visiting a health centre.

To confront the regulatory power of the institutions just described, an improvement in women's status is sought. Efforts have usually centred around the poorest women, who are more vulnerable due to the survival requirements of their household, instead of a focus on salaried job creation. Women's economic participation, even in low skilled, low salary positions, confers a sense of worth to women themselves, to their communities, and to their own families. Through this lengthy process, women will obtain greater negotiating power within their homes, and ultimately, re-define gender roles.

The relation between salaried work and women's autonomy is not constant, and for this reason, merits additional study. Undoubtedly, education is one of the factors that contribute to the betterment of women, particularly in the case of autonomy. It is obvious that activities designed to promote economic participation, such as women's education, are important, but their effects become clear at different points in time. Education is indispensable, but it is a long-term effect, while community development projects attack poverty immediately; they provide income or health in the short-term.

Once women begin to participate in public fora and gain access to education, the use of health services and fertility regulation will occur. The problem in many countries is the achievement of this first step towards female autonomy. It is thus necessary to further study institutional conditions that shape women's lives and the effects of rural community development projects on the poorest and near poor populations. It seems, for example, that the social rules governing seclusion are applied more strictly to wealthier women than poorer women.

Adolescent fertility is yet another problem that worsens poverty. Young mothers limit their potential for personal development; the resultant cycle of impoverishment consuming the young mother and her family is difficult to avoid. In this sense, sex education for adolescents is of paramount importance. However, in order to implement such programmes, young women's subjective images of male-female relationships must be understood. Poor and poorly valued women lack the negotiating power, among other things, to protect themselves through the use of contraception and thus avoid early pregnancy.

To moderate the problem of poverty alleviation it should always be stressed that there are three inter-related aspects which need to be considered: the over-responsibilisation of women, the role of men, and the responsibility of society. To illustrate this observation let us focus on the woman who works a day of domestic labour that is approximately 70 percent of a man's work day. If work conducted outside the home is added to this already full day, one concludes that women work more hours than men and that the cost of sustaining the



household implies additional work for women outside of the home. This fact would not have the same social connotation if this effort resulted in a modification of gender roles. More likely, women do not leave the home to work or study with the idea of achieving greater autonomy. Rather, it is done because it carries multiple advantages for the woman and her family. The real problem is that little or nothing is known about men's participation in the processes of change, whether he becomes an active participant or remains entrenched in traditional roles. In any case, women should not be analyzed outside the context of her partner, family and the broader society. It is important to emphasize the State's role in the creation of necessary infrastructure for the operation of educational, health and job programmes. This task is not the exclusive province of government; in the struggle against poverty, non-governmental organizations and society at large must all participate. In reality, collective responsibility must go hand in hand with individual responsibility.

The debate over interventions necessary to modify demographic variables, together with the role of women and society, is of great interest. This debate should continue to be explored in the elucidation of appropriate policies.

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1. encouragement of research into demographic issues and problems world-wide;
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3. promotion of exchange between population specialists and those in related disciplines;
4. wide dissemination of scientific knowledge on population.

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